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REGULAR PAPER



Making hidden spaces visible: Using drawing as a method to illuminate new geographies

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In recent years there has been a growing body of scholarship on the use of alternative research methods in Geography, and the social sciences more broadly, as well as ongoing interest in the connections between Geography and art. There has been much less attention, however, given to how drawing might be used practically or productively as a method, and to how it might allow geographers to reach or see places they couldn't otherwise. Although many researchers advocate conducting interviews and research in situ, thinking about the importance of location, there are times when entering a specific space is not possible. This paper details how the practice of drawing enabled me to make spaces that I wasn't able to visit as an ethnographic researcher, spaces that I felt were largely invisible to me, visible. While conducting fieldwork in a shelter for migrant domestic workers who had fled from their employers in Singapore, I used drawing as a way to shed a new light on the homes in which they had been working and to understand their everyday lives and experiences within them. This method made visible the living and working environments of women who had experienced employment abuse, as well as physical and sexual violence, while maintaining their anonymity and confidentiality, from a space of (relative) safety.

KEYWORDS

arts-based methods, domestic work, drawing, location, migration, visibility

1 | INTRODUCTION

In Geography, there has been an ongoing dialogue about the potentials of arts-based methods, as well as considerable discussion about the importance of the visual (Leavy, 2015; Pink, 2009; Rose, 2001). With these debates there has, however, been less written about the role of drawing specifically. In my own research, I used drawing as a tool to enable me to look inside, or enter, a space where I wasn't welcome: the homes of the former employers of migrant domestic workers (DWs) who had fled to a shelter. Although the aim of entering these households was not to claim a more objective understanding of these workers' lives, I wanted to gain a richer perspective than verbal methods alone allowed. In many ways, these homes, and the relationships and experiences contained within them, had seemed hidden or obscured to me.

As many feminist and post-structural researchers have addressed, the location in which knowledge is produced, and the ways it is gathered, are important components of its construction. As Cairns insists, "feminists have long emphasised the significance of location in their scholarship" (2013, p. 324), referencing Haraway's (1988) notion that knowledge is "situated" and Alcoff's statement that "location is epistemologically salient" (1991, p. 7). The location where data was being collected, in this

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case from a shelter, and its connection to the memory of other spaces being discussed, therefore became of central importance. With this in mind, I turned to drawing as a method that could render particular spaces more visible and to engage in new kinds of dialogue and knowledge production. Although these practices enabled me to gain unique insights, they also raised important questions about representation, the co-production of knowledge and how drawings can be used as data.

In this paper, I first consider the importance of where knowledge is produced, where research is conducted, and the lines that are drawn around a field site. I then reflect on the importance of art and visual methods in Geography, particularly focusing on the role of drawing. Finally, in considering my own research findings, I demonstrate the potentials that drawing can have as a method, while highlighting some of the ongoing tensions surrounding the images produced and the dialogues that took place with their making. This paper ultimately details how drawings enabled me to enter a representation of a space that I couldn't access physically, a process that enabled a new kind of visibility and that triggered memories of events and everyday experiences.

2 | THE SPATIALITY OF KNOWLEDGE PRODUCTION

The location in which knowledge is produced is important to any kind of research, whether it be from a desk with a dataset or in the field. Anderson argues that the "social constructions of knowledge can be enhanced through harnessing the inherently socio-spatial character of human knowledge" (2004, p. 254). He discusses the importance of where knowledge is produced and the potential strengths of conversations had while travelling through an area. Ethnography can be the exemplar in this regard, as researchers often have access to the spaces in which their research participants live, work, travel through and/or socialise. Interviews and conversation during fieldwork can happen in a multitude of spaces however, and not necessarily in a place of interest or significance. Indeed, Elwood & Martin suggest that researchers pay too little attention to the geography of the interview, writing that "the interview site itself produces "micro-geographies" of spatial relations and meaning, where multiple scales of social relations intersect in the research interview" (2000, p. 649). They go on to explain that beyond practical concerns, such as where people can access, and beyond the dynamics of power that situate the interviewee and interviewer, researchers need to consider how participants might relate to the space of the interview itself. Similarly, Cairns suggests that, more than just the spatiality of the data collection, the geography of the field needs further reflection: "[W]hile ethnographic knowledge is always produced in context, it also produces that context in ways that warrant closer inspection" (2013, p. 324). It is important for researchers to not only reflect on the spatiality of their data collection therefore, but also to consider the importance of how the research process itself produces a new or altered context. In other words, thought is needed before researchers draw lines around a field site, as this is a process by which spatial (and other) boundaries, that were not necessarily there to begin with, become demarcated.

There are, however, still some spaces that are of interest to researchers, but that are not accessible to them; spaces that, for a number of reasons, are obscured or hidden. In these circumstances, arts-based methods have been used in diverse areas of research to bring a different kind of visibility and sensing to the experiences of various sites, in ways words alone could not.

3 | VISUAL METHODS AND DRAWING

The connection between art and Geography is not new. Geographers have long been interested in representation in artwork, and have reflected on the role of art in many other ways (Hawkins, 2012). Increasingly, however, and particularly since the cultural turn, art is being engaged with as a research method (Askins & Pain, 2011; Cant & Morris, 2006; Pink, 2009; Rose, 2001). As Hawkins highlights, geographers now "embrace practices normally deemed 'artistic,' or more broadly as 'creative,' within their own methodological repertoires" (2012, p. 53), allowing them to record things that might ordinarily be considered intangible (Tolia-Kelly, 2008).

Images play an important role in society and help us to connect to particular memories and events (Leavy, 2015). They can also provide an alternative language, with verbal methods often limiting the participation of certain people and certain kinds of knowledge (Tarr et al., 2017). Holm argues that there are three main categories of image that are used in visual research: "subject-produced images," "researcher-produced images" and "the pre-existing image" (2008, pp. 327–328). With "pre-existing" images, whether they be paintings in a museum or family photographs, the researcher has likely had no, or at least only a limited, part in their creation. Producing images of the first and second kind, however, changes this, as the researcher becomes much more explicitly a part of the production process. Even with "subject-produced" images, the researcher is still the person asking for its creation, and in many ways directing its production.

In an AHRC-funded project, titled "Curating Development: Filipino migrants' investment in Philippine futures," for example, researchers collaborated with Filipina care and domestic workers in London and Hong Kong, curating exhibitions that allowed the workers showcase artwork that they had produced (Goldsmiths, University of London, 2018). These events aimed to bring more public awareness to this labour and to the daily struggles faced by those working in private, and often hidden, spaces. By displaying images produced by these workers, a new kind of visibility was brought to their ongoing travails as the reality of their everyday lives, their interpretations and their emotions were brought to the fore. Although researchers arguably had much less involvement in the representation and interpretation of the images created and displayed, their role remains paramount and warrants further reflection.

Although the role of creative methods and the production of different kinds of images have been considered quite widely in Geography, the role of drawing as a method is yet to receive as much attention. With an increase in its use and its unique potentials, it is important to consider more specifically how drawing has been used practically by researchers, and the implications of these techniques.

3.1 | Placing drawing as a research method

Asking a research participant to produce a piece of artwork – whether it is a drawing, painting, sculpture, or otherwise – offers some distinct potentials. The materials required are relatively affordable, easily accessible and familiar (in one form or another) to most people. Unlike photography and film, they easily allow for an abstracted image to be created and produce an image that is unlikely to be identifiable to a particular person or place. Children's geographers have long deployed these methods as a participatory tool to break down power relations between the researcher and researched, making children central in the process of knowledge production (Barker & Weller, 2003; Hemming, 2008). Indeed, seminal works in children's geographies engaged with the potentials that drawing and mapping techniques had for understanding how children interact with different spaces (Bunge & Bordessa, 1975; Matthews, 1980a, 1980b, 1984, 1985) and these methods have now been adopted across many different contexts (Askins & Pain, 2011; Young & Barrett, 2001). Although Barker and Weller argue that drawing can allow children to "express themselves freely, especially children with low literacy skills" (2003, p. 44), they often can articulate their feelings in many others ways (Darbyshire et al., 2005). Backett-Milburn & McKie warn, therefore, that drawing methods should not simply be used as a "quick fix," so that researchers can avoid "their own inadequacies or being unwilling to invest the time and patience necessary to qualitatively investigate children's own social worlds" (1999, p. 396). Practically, Barker and Weller (2003) acknowledge three points that warranted further consideration following their own research. First, drawing with children of certain ages proved to be more successful than with others, as some perceived the activity to be too "babyish." Second, interpretations of drawings needed to be discussed with the child, to ensure that the researcher was understanding what the image was meant to be portraying. I would argue that this is key for researchers conducting any form of research, with adults or children, visual or otherwise. Finally, they call into question the ownership of these drawings and the ethical implications of this. While some of these issues may not be concerns for all researchers, they do require forethought.

Aside from using drawing as a method when working with children, many other geographers have engaged with these techniques when working with: migrant communities (Tolia-Kelly, 2008); adults with learning disabilities (Murray, 2018); and people in conflict settings (Harel-Shalev et al., 2017). The participatory nature of this kind of research is often highlighted as a core strength, with the potential to shift relations of power (Askins & Pain, 2011). Aside from this, Harel-Shalev et al. note that drawings "enabled soldiers to share the experiences in which they felt insecure" (2017, p. 509), despite otherwise being socially taboo. Indeed, attempts to understand fears, violence, emotion, pain and other often intangible feelings can be facilitated by using drawing as a method.

Although not exclusively, much of this research engages with research participants in groups. These can be incredibly supportive spaces that are counter to more traditional research environments, but, as Askins & Pain warn, the creation of a safe place isn't guaranteed. They write of their own research process: "the divisive social relations that were problematic for young people in their everyday lives were fully present ... Exclusions were evident: at times we were drawn into negotiating between conflicting views and behaviours, never as neutral observers but as actors within the group dynamics" (2011, p. 811). Researchers must therefore take into account the dynamics that might emerge within group activities and consider how they might respond in difficult circumstances. The role and positionality of the researcher can, consequently, be messier, as they may become mediators of relationships and may need to choose appropriate times to stop research activities.

The potentials that drawing has to bring visibility to certain spaces, and to feelings or emotions in places, are being explored by geographers, despite not always being discussed explicitly. There are many places that are inaccessible to

researchers or research participants, and feelings that people attach to places that are difficult to express in words alone. Tolia-Kelly (2008), for example, used painting as a method to gain an insight into the emotional values her research participants attached to the Lake District. Using this technique, she was able to bring light to the ways in which this land-scape was perceived, and the different emotional responses different people have to it. Drawing, or painting, can therefore provide an alternative perspective and visibility to different places and bring novel insights to affective and emotional geographies.

4 | BRINGING VISIBILITY TO DOMESTIC WORKERS' EVERYDAY LIVES: DEPLOYING DRAWING AS A METHOD

While in Singapore carrying out fieldwork in a shelter for migrant DWs who were no longer willing, or able, to live with and work for their employers, I felt that the spaces that they had left were hidden to me. Although I was able to glean certain information during interviews and informal conversation, such as the hours people worked and details of why they had fled, the actual space of these homes – the material realities that shaped the everyday lives of those within them – were largely an object of my imagination. It was clear that my presence in these spaces was going to be an impossibility, but I felt that engaging in dialogues around imagery may help to bring visibility to these spaces. Other researchers have used photography with similar aims, to make certain spaces or practices visible (Alam et al., 2017; Johnsen et al., 2008; Lombard, 2013; Oh, 2012), but using any photos that had been taken before entering the shelter, while potentially interesting, would have meant that I was unable to maintain an individual's anonymity if I were to reproduce the images (if the residents even had such images). Drawing therefore became a tool that would allow me to *see* these spaces, without compromising anyone's safety. This process enabled me to ask individuals to draw floorplans or images of important spaces, and/or moments, in order for them to metaphorically walk me around the house, a process that engaged with the spatiality of memory and experience.

4.1 | Some practicalities

There was a lot of learning that took (and is continuing to take) place throughout this research process. Asking someone to produce an image of a room or household was not straightforward. Initially, many of the shelter residents were reluctant when I asked them if they would participate in this process, often telling me that they were embarrassed to draw. Eventually I found that asking individuals that I had a strong relationship with to form a small group was a much more successful strategy. This allowed people to share drawing ideas and to laugh with one another about the images produced. Given the nature of where these drawing activities took place, and that I suggested residents form their own groups, there was already a good level of respect among participants and a (relatively) safe atmosphere. Completing these exercises in small groups also allowed others to interject when stories were being told, and allowed people to share their own narratives when they had experienced similar events or working conditions, which seemed to be both supportive and validating.

In the very first group drawing activity, in order to make everyone comfortable, I initially asked residents to draw the space they called "home." I felt that it was important to have a preliminary exercise, and to allow the research participants to engage in a dialogue about something I imagined to be less traumatic. What I hadn't anticipated, however, was that this in itself brought visibility to spaces I hadn't even considered as particularly significant. This ultimately provided me with a richer understanding of many of these individuals' backgrounds, enabling me to understand their life before and during migration with more clarity. The stories I heard also led me to question my own assumptions about the supposed ease I imagined this exercise to have. In order to detail some of this learning, and to demonstrate the kinds of visibility I gained by utilising drawing as a methodological strategy, I will highlight two examples of images produced. The names used are pseudonyms to protect the identity of those involved.

4.2 | A simple preliminary activity? How a drawing extended my research site

Eve was always fairly quiet while in the shelter, but we got on well. I knew that she was younger than the required age to work in Singapore, but I didn't know how she had managed to get a fake passport.³ When I asked her to draw the place she called home, while sitting on the concrete floor of one of the shelter's activity rooms, Eve produced an image completely unlike those around her. While everyone else produced an image of a wooden house, nearly always among fields, Eve drew a cityscape (Figure 1).

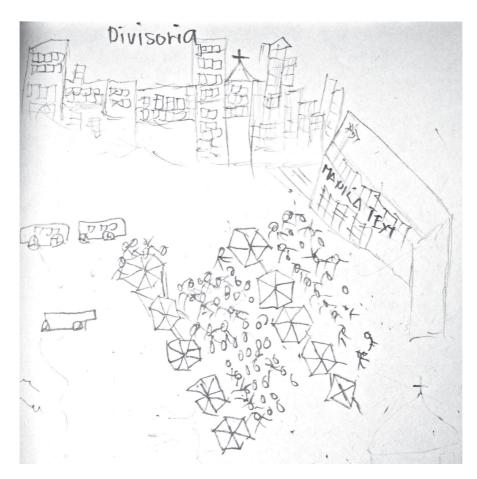


FIGURE 1 Eve's 'Home' - Divisoria, the Philippines.

When I asked her to talk about her image, she started to cry. After a minute she spoke:

EV: When I was a kid my mother was from another place, they moved her when she was a baby and they bring her in Japan ... And, at the age of 14 years old, she is a member of Yakuza group ... and she belongs to one of the most famous syndicates in Japan. And then she had a relationship with a Filipino man. It's my father ... I grew up with my parents but I always sleep in the street. I grew up in the street, in this place [she said while pointing to her drawing] ... Last time I always, my life is very hard and, and, because my parents didn't care about me ... there is no one taking care of me.

Eve went on to describe her life on the street after her parents were arrested. She talked about sleeping on the steps of the church that she had drawn at the top of her image, having also become a syndicate member:

EV: Then I become a syndicate kid that, someone taking care of us and we need to take, snatch, hand-phones.

LA: They make you steal from people?

EV: Stealing [she said nodding] ... Sometimes a lot of students eating, eating and then sometimes I ask 'can I have some food?' but they didn't gave me. I, you know what I'm doing, I'm holding the straw so they can't drink anymore ... so they can gave me ... After, after the fast food closed, they put all the food in the dustbin [her tears streamed down her face and her voice broke as she spoke], I always, I always find food from the dustbin.

She went on to describe how a family that had experienced the death of their own daughter, and who gave Eve that daughter's passport and identity cards, later adopted her as a teenager. Her narrative not only explained why she was able to work in Singapore at a younger age but also how home for her had a very different meaning to others, connecting to traumatic memories.

The exercise proved to be much more important than I had thought it would be. This simple preliminary activity brought visibility to a space that I had almost rendered obsolete by believing it to be beyond my research boundaries. Understanding some of Eve's experiences while living on the street in Divisoria ultimately helped me to understand much more about the time she spent in her former employer's home, why certain things were so difficult for her and why she still felt like she was given more than she previously had been.⁴

Although I had always believed my field site was tied to the boundaries of Singapore, the spaces where the shelter residents had previously lived and worked became much more significant to me after this. My interest was in DWs' experiences while at work, but attempting to separate out this period from others proved to be limiting. The insight this conversation gave me was more than simply a background narrative. What Eve revealed forced me to reflect on the ways I had been demarcating boundaries around a field without enough consideration, a concern of Cairns (2013), producing a form of invisibility. The shock I had experienced when hearing this story changed the way I envisioned my role as a researcher and helped me to see the research participants as co-producers of knowledge in new ways. Eve had challenged the ways I had been thinking and helped me to understand how particular memories and experiences could be triggered by drawing and imagining spaces of significance.

4.3 | Seeing how power asymmetries are inscribed spatially

I had known Angelynn for a few months before asking her if she would join in with a drawing activity and by this point she had shared many stories of her experiences with me. Angelynn had described her employer as very fussy, saying she wanted things to be done in very precise ways and would watch her on the CCTV regularly, even calling her from work on a few occasions when she wasn't visible on the cameras. After asking her to draw the home she had worked in, while sitting with a group of residents around a few tables, she *walked* me through the home she had drawn. Rather than simply telling me she felt that she was being watched, she showed me through the drawing:

LA: And the camera is by the TV?

AN: Yes, the camera is here, so if I go there [she pointed to the room labelled common toilet] she knows. If I go to the patio [moving her finger across the drawing] she knows. All the places [she said exasperated and pointing to the different cameras and the places they watched over; implying that her employer could see her everywhere].

The drawing and conversation that followed allowed Angelynn to visualise the degree of observation she was continually subjected to. I had already known this was something that she felt was oppressive, but it was further exemplified by the detail of each camera being drawn and labelled in the image, while other features of the household were clearly missing. The cameras were something that she chose to highlight, an object so small that it may not have even appeared in a photograph (Figure 2).

After a short while speaking, we reached the room where she had written "son's bed" and "place I sleep." I asked:

LA: This one is your room?

AN: Yea, this one is the bed, it's a very, very small place, same like this one table [she pointed down to the table we were sitting at to indicate the size – a small desk].

LA: You have a mattress?

AN: Yea, mattress. But then I did not use the mattress because she [her employer] said, if I use mattress, the floor is going to get spoiled. So, I use two towels [I looked shocked]. Yea [she sounded exasperated] I sleep on two towels, because spoil.

She went on to talk about the large piano (labelled "organ") that filled a big proportion of the room and the space she had to store her belongings – one drawer. The image gave her a new way of conveying how she felt in this space and my shocked expressions validated her feeling of injustice. To me, the drawing highlighted the spatial power asymmetries that Angelynn experienced; she was the one being watched, the one made to sleep on two towels – despite there being a mattress for her, and while sharing a room with her employer's young son – and the only person living in the household who had less space to sleep than the space the piano occupied. The drawing process allowed her to provide a greater insight into the politics of that home-space and helped me to see how she was expected to live and work. *Walking* around the drawing allowed her to tell stories about the everyday frustrations she had, but also about the acts of defiance she felt able to enact, as she pointed out the few places she would try to hide: under the CCTV in the kitchen to eat snacks or in the toilet to look at her phone. Angelynn hadn't previously mentioned these activities to me, but this process seemed to spark different memories and provided her with a tool to express more about the time she spent in this household.

In both of these examples, the practice of metaphorically walking through these households brought a new visibility to the lives and experiences of these workers. This process allowed the research participants to place themselves back into these homes, from a place of safety, allowing them to engage with memories in a different way, with an approach that fostered the socio-spatial construction of knowledge as Anderson (2004) promotes. Imagining these spaces, and their everyday journeys through them, sparked memories of particular events as well as mundane activities. It also provided me with a way of understanding not only the inter-personal power asymmetries prevalent, but also the spatial ones. These drawing

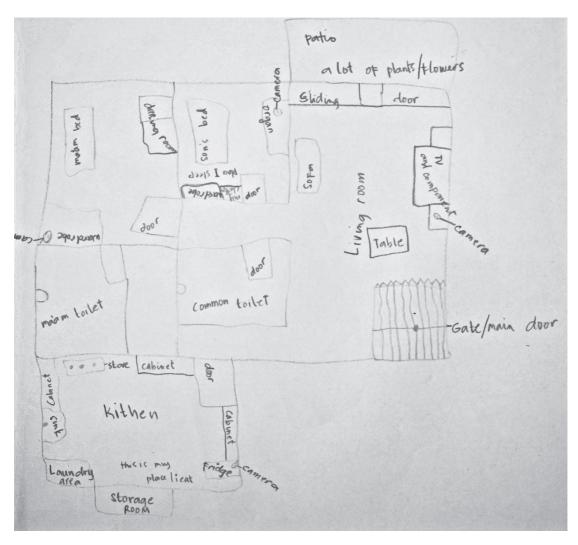


FIGURE 2 Angelynn's Employer's Home – A Floorplan.

exercises provided me with a different kind of presence in these homes, allowing me to reflect on the lines I had drawn around the field I was interested in and to re-evaluate the significance of those spaces that I had rendered obsolete. My own shock at the stories these residents shared with me allowed me to connect with them in a different way, as I was able to imagine their experiences in these spaces more vividly. Sumartojo and Pink (2017) suggest that utilising video techniques in their research allowed for "empathetic encounters" between researcher and research participants. Pink et al. suggest that — while taking "seriously the argument ... that the digital materiality of our everyday worlds is continually emergent," and while acknowledging that complete empathy is not possible — they also contend that "the empathy that researchers co-develop with research participants is ... emergent and labile, in a constant state of generation rather than fixed" (2017, p. 374). Despite having already heard about some of the residents' experiences before these drawing exercises, the images they produced allowed me to *see* their daily lives in ways that evoked new and transformative emotions, understandings and relationships. Of course, the residents who drew these images were portraying these spaces in the light they wanted, representing these households in a particular and actively constructed way. They must therefore be understood as a partial perspective and viewing, as must my interpretations.

5 | CONCLUSIONS

Sin (2003) suggests that the ways in which a research participant chooses to present themselves are spatially as well as socially constructed, arguing that the kinds of information revealed may differ from one space to another. He also proposes that the location of the interview structures the social relations and dynamic between interviewee and interviewer. While

the space of the shelter is intended to be one of safety and refuge, there are unequal relations of power embedded within it, in which I, as a researcher and volunteer, was enmeshed. The ways in which residents chose to frame their experiences was therefore contingent on this. Although the presence of other shelter residents appeared to bring similar narratives to light, it is important to acknowledge that it may have resulted in other silences. The absence of certain information, what people chose not to reveal in their drawings or dialogue, also warrants further reflection.

Although many scholars have advocated data collection methods that take place in spaces of meaning (Anderson, 2004), some sites will always be inaccessible. In these circumstances, while imperfect, arts-based methods offer themselves as a potential solution that can allow researchers to harness the socio-spatial character of knowledge without a physical presence in a particular place. While taking seriously the importance of research location and the lines that researchers create, the practice of drawing enabled the research participants to take part in this act of boundary making, choosing what to include in their images and what to omit. This being said, I, as researcher, was still the person asking the questions, suggesting what could be drawn and steering the conversation. I, therefore, am clearly implicated in the production, curation and dissemination of these drawings. What these images ultimately show is that drawing, as a method, provided different kinds of visibility to my research, and can provide new insights into understandings of *place* and *experience*, offering possibilities for further geographic engagement.

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ENDNOTES

- ¹ I recognise that cameras can also be used in a very abstract way in some instances, and can be manipulated so that they are not accurate representations of places, people and moments.
- ² Many of the DWs in the shelter had run away from their former employer's home, having faced emotional, physical and/or sexual assault. Others were sent away by their former employers, accused of abusing family members or of stealing.
- ³ DWs in Singapore have to be at least 23 years old. Many DWs are able to work in the country at a younger age, however, by getting fake documents or using someone else's identity.
- ⁴ Eve had previously told me that she was grateful to have had a bed in this house, an item I had felt was clearly essential but that she didn't have for many years.

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