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Applying Human-Centred Design Tools in Social Work Research: A Desire-Centred Approach

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ABSTRACT

This article describes an exploration of the application of human-centred design (HCD) tools in social work research. Drawing on Tuck's [2009. Suspending damage: A letter to communities. *Harvard Educational Review*, *79*(3), 409–428] definition of "desire-centered" research (DCR), we describe the development of a set of HCD research tools based on DCR principles in a community support setting, focused on participants with experience of marginalisation and vulnerability. We present the design tools including "Show and Tell", a "Card Sort", a mapping tool called "The Circle of Support", Aspiration Trees and a Generative Toolkit activity using craft materials, and demonstrate how the application of these design tools enabled participant-led recommendations regarding their support experiences and needs to be foregrounded in research. We conclude that desire-centred research and human-centred design tools may provide beneficial methodological pathways to account for the complexity of human experience of individuals experiencing marginalisation and vulnerability.

IMPLICATIONS

- Human-centred design tools enable research participants to have greater agency over how they are represented in research.
- A desire-centred research method could be of benefit to individuals, families, and communities who experience structural oppression through their marginalised or at-risk status.

The aim of this article was to examine how the application of human-centred design (HCD) tools (Steen, 2008) within social work research facilitated what Tuck (2009) described as "desire-centered" research (DCR), serving to advance antioppressive practice for the benefit of research participants. According to Tuck, DCR accounts for the complex and contradictory nature of humanness, including aspirations as well as lived experiences of oppression, without "othering" research participants in relation to

stereotypes or problems (Tuck, 2009). This makes DCR a useful tool when working with communities characterised in social service systems as vulnerable or at-risk.

Contemporary social work practice emphasises collaborative, strengths-based, and antioppressive approaches to engage with structurally oppressed communities (Adams et al., 2017). Efforts to collaborate with communities with lived experience of marginalisation for the purposes of policy and program development have gained prominence within public and private settings globally (Razavi et al., 2020). Research approaches, including human-centred and codesign, were of interest in these contexts because they provide an avenue to integrate lived experience into the development of interventions (Blomkamp, 2018).

Various examples of effective community engagement leading to positive project outcomes exist (e.g., Bate & Robert, 2006; Szczepanksa, 2017; Weinstein, 2019). However, scholarly accounts exploring the application of human-centred design (HCD) methods or tools (Sanders & Stappers, 2012; Steen, 2008) within social work research are limited. To our knowledge, this article was the first to report on the application of HCD tools and techniques in a family services research context. It offers an example of the expansion of HCD tools into social work research, laying the groundwork to understand the potential benefits of HCD tools in sensitive contexts.

In this article, we described the development of a set of HCD tools, epistemologically grounded in Tuck's (2009) theory of desire-centred research (DCR). We began with a background discussion of how the problems and vulnerabilities of family services clients were often foregrounded in research, offering DCR as a potential way to include participants' own perspectives about what will enable them to thrive. We highlighted the methodological implications for DCR in social work and described how HCD tools can facilitate a complex representation of human experience. We then presented examples of the use of HCD tools in research that explored the community support experiences of recipients of a family support service (Goff et al., 2023). Lastly, we reflected on the advantages and limitations of HCD as a social work research approach. In conclusion, we proposed that design tools may be effective in enabling researchers to capture the balance of complexity in human experience without reducing participants to the sum of their vulnerabilities.

Epistemological Discussion

With a history connected to a culture of welfare and benevolence, contemporary social work focuses on improving conditions for those most affected by structural inequality by attending to what people lack, or their protection needs from (Adams et al., 2017). This includes examining service involvement or conversely, service disengagement—with the aim of interrupting "harmful" experiences or risk factors (Rogowski, 2018). Sheehan (2021) argued that some individuals (particularly children) do need protection and professional safeguards, yet Davies (2004) suggested that traditional casework and protectionist approaches may promote distrust of the profession and increase the burden for those who experience structural oppression. Indeed, Maylea (2021) criticised social work for lacking clarity in its theoretical underpinnings, which may further perpetuate structural oppression for families and communities (Keddell & Hyslop, 2019). While there are diverse ways that social workers challenge the sociopolitical and

historical context (Patton Davis & Museus, 2019), these systemic factors can implicitly promote social work practices that are limited to addressing risk and conceptualising risk as individualised problems intrinsic to the individual (Valencia, 2012; Wilkins et al., 2017).

The systemic context similarly impacts upon social work research. Much research is funded for program or policy development to explore lived experiences of risk and vulnerability, to generate evidence of risk prevention strategies, or to evaluate the successes or failures of current interventions (Devaney, 2021; Valencia, 2012). Academic incentives for knowledge creation link to service improvement, social impact, or opportunities to repair the historical and contemporary harms produced by the profession (e.g., Aboriginal child removal) (Joubert & Webber, 2020). Therefore, Patton Davis and Museus (2019) argued that social work researchers may face significant epistemological challenges when operating within this context, because such research can produce what Tuck (2009, p. 409) described as "damage-centered" research, or research that "others" participants by focusing on their challenges, disenfranchisement or what change is needed to achieve a baseline of survival. As an alternative to damage-centred accounts, social work researchers may benefit from exploring additional ways to adequately capture the complexities of people's lives (Patton Davis & Museus, 2019), which also include narratives of hope, strength, and desire—shaped by their experiences of structural oppression.

Desire-Centred Research

Desire-centred research (DCR) may provide an additional approach to social work research and facilitate the documentation of the breadth of human experience that is not solely focused on, or originates from, damage and deficit (Tuck, 2009, 2010). Emerging from Indigenous studies and educational pedagogies within the social sciences (e.g., Souto-Manning, 2022), DCR aims to "[make] room for the unanticipated, the uninvited, the unchartered, and unintended" (Tuck, 2010, p. 641). It is concerned with understanding and documenting the "complexity, contradiction and self-determination of people's lived lives" (Tuck, 2009, p. 416), which constitutes what communities no longer want, as well as what they are yet to encounter. DCR does not ignore the impacts of oppression; rather, it shifts the balance away from a sole focus on risk and vulnerability to explicitly account for the complexity of a person's broader life experiences. According to Tuck (2009), two key elements constitute desire. First is "complex personhood" (p. 420), or the entanglement of symptoms of (past and present) troubles and the imagined future beyond these troubles (Gordon, 1997). Complex personhood enables researchers to explore multiplicity, complexity, and contradiction of the participants' experiences. Accounting for complexity also allows space for a participant's challenges to be aired as lived experiences, without giving them extra weight in the context of a person's life story. The second is what Vizenor (1998, p. 93) has described as "survivance," which is to "move beyond basic survival" to outwit "dominance and victimry". In social work research, survivance shares similarities with the concept of "thrivability" (O'Leary, 1998, p. 430), which is "more than" returning to normality following profound challenge: it is to engage in opportunities for and to uphold transformative change despite difficulty. Although both survivance and thrivability are experienced in relationship to damage, intentionally documenting experiences of survivance may account for

the resistance and self-determination experienced by individuals and communities (Tuck, 2009).

The study described in this article utilised human-centred design (HCD) to explore and document family services recipients' lived experiences of community support, the kinds of community support they were yet to receive, and what they did not want to encounter in the future. This article examines how HCD tools might facilitate Tuck's (2009, 2010) theory of desire, which aimed to explore the complexity of participants' lived experience, understand contextual factors contributing to their experience, and to intentionally generate data highlighting participants' aspirations for their own and their children's futures.

Method

The study described in this article was conducted by a social work doctoral researcher (with past experience working in child protection and family services) between 2016 and 2021 as part of a larger government-commissioned, industry-funded research collaboration that sought to establish localised and consumer-led evidence of risks and vulnerabilities facing children and their families in a regional Australian town (Goff et al., 2023). The study was commissioned because of data highlighting that over 1,000 children from a population of 4,150 were known to family support services or child protection (Australian Bureau of Statistics, 2019), and that many of these families experienced persistent, entrenched challenges (Vinson et al., 2015). The doctoral researcher's (first author) supervisory panel included the second and third author (both social work academics with past experience of working in family services and associated contexts) as well as a family services representative to ensure alignment between research aims and the operational context. The first author's role was to engage parents known to the service as research participants. To attend to power imbalances and generate evidence applicable to the family services policy and practice, the study utilised human-centred design (HCD) (Sanders & Stappers, 2012; Steen, 2008) to identify the role of community in supporting families and generate parents' priorities and recommendations for how communities might meet their needs. The research was conducted under the auspices of Federation University Human Research Ethics Committee (A17-106).

Recruitment occurred through three family services agencies, with case managers informing clients who met criteria (domiciled within the region and in receipt of family services) of the study. Potential participants were invited to contact the first author, and case managers were not aware of which clients contributed to the research. Six non-Indigenous and two Indigenous participants caring for children under 18 elected to contribute to the study. Six of the participants were women and two were men. All participants (and the people they discussed) were given pseudonyms and other identifying information was removed or replaced.

The research was grounded in ecological theory (Bronfenbrenner, 1979) and the Strengths Perspective (McCashen, 2017). These theories are significant to social work research because they assist the researcher to consider participants' strengths and challenges within the ecological systems with which they interact, to offer a holistic view of empowerment. In combination with a desire-centred framing, these theories reposition participants as powerholders and experts in identifying what they no longer want,

and what they are yet to experience within their relational and physical surrounds, relative to their challenges. These factors influenced the choice in methodology, HCD, because it offers creative strategies to reinforce the research participants as dynamic and capable in identifying how their self-defined communities might better support them in ways that would meet their own and their families' needs.

Human-centred Design

Human-centred Design is a multi-disciplinary framework emerging from design thinking, which incorporates methodologies such as codesign (Sanders & Stappers, 2012) and participatory design (Sanoff, 1990). HCD focuses on people, not technology, at the centre of design. It draws from participatory action research (PAR; Park, 1993), social learning theory (Bandura, 1977) and narrative-based qualitative research (Celikoglu et al., 2020) to involve people with lived and professional experience in an iterative solution-focused process regarding issues of personal significance (Szczepanska, 2017). While PAR and other consumer-led research engage in similar cycles of collaboration, planning, and action (Ayton et al., 2022), HCD aims to jointly articulate problems and develop novel solutions to these problems (Steen, 2012). The study employed Kimbell and Julier's (2012) modes of exploring, making sense, and proposing to examine a parent's experiences and needs and generate ideas to meet those needs.

Research data were collected through an in-depth semistructured interview and design workshop, in which we employed a range of HCD tools (described below). Interviews were utilised to invite openness and learn from participants (Steen, 2012), and to explore how people conceptualise their experience and hopes in relation to their social contexts (Crotty, 1998). All participants opted to be interviewed in their own home, enhancing trust and personal empowerment, both elements which support desire-centred research (DCR). This allowed the participants to develop relationships with the researcher in their preferred setting, further enabling an in-depth exploration of participants' experiences. Braun and Clarke's (2006) six-step thematic analysis method were used to construct themes from the interview data.

The design workshop brought together participants to jointly engage in the act of "collective creativity" (Sanders & Stappers, 2012, p. 58). In HCD, workshops allow participants to discuss their experiences with other people and to use tools to identify their priorities and generate aspirational ideas for support, through a process of "abductive reasoning" (Blomkamp, 2018; Sanders & Stappers, 2012, p. 60). Workshops also enabled researchers to communicate and verify research findings of prior activities to participants (Visser et al., 2005), which are foundational to proposed designs. To maximise flexibility, participants were given the option of attending the group workshop or taking part in an individual follow-up interview. Three participants opted to attend the workshop and two opted for follow-up interviews. Three participants opted to limit their participation to the first interview only.

Application and Outcomes of Design Tools and Techniques

Human-centred design (HCD) methods are creative, open-ended, and adaptive to foster participants' self-expression, and accommodate personal interpretation and sensitivity to

their identities, needs, or circumstances (Sanders & Stappers, 2012). In traditional qualitative studies, a researcher may opt for semistructured interviews or observation, whereas an HCD researcher uses these methods as the *context* for deploying design tools, which include using physical items (like pens, paper, post-it notes or other abstract materials) and instructions for using the items (Sanders & Stappers, 2012) to elicit multidimensional, playful, tactile insights. This fosters participants' capacity to discuss the spectrum of their life experiences and potentially experience more agency in the process.

The participative basis of HCD is highlighted by Sanders and Stappers (2012), who consider design tools to fall into one of three categories: what people *do, say* or *make* (Sanders & Stappers, 2012, p. 67). "*Do* tools" are observational and ethnographic in nature, determine interactions undertaken by participants and aim to understand participant relationships with their surrounds, such as journalling. "*Say* tools" provoke stories and are commonly used in interviews or conversation. Based on a question, *say* tools evoke a descriptive response like needs or stories and enable a participant to move in unexpected directions and illustrate the flexibility noted above. "*Make* tools" are creative activities that generate artefacts representative of thoughts and feelings. These tools produce a multidimensional dataset by triggering complex associations, emotions, or memories by using abstract and ambiguous materials (Sanders & Stappers, 2012) through inclusive, creative, and accessible methods (Bate & Robert, 2006). The five examples of HCD tools that we presented here are *say, make* and *do* tools, incorporated into a semistructured interview and a design workshop. These tools were Show and Tell, a Card Sort, a visual mapping tool called The Circle of Support, Aspiration Trees, and a Generative Toolkit. The tools were adapted for relevance to the study from publicly available models (IDEO U, 2019).

Show and Tell

The icebreaker Show and Tell aimed to develop rapport between the researcher and participant, familiarise them with the creative style of the interview, and provide insight into meaning ascribed to a subject by participants (Csertan, 2016). In a prior introductory telephone call, the first author asked each participant to identify two items of importance to them, and to share why the items were important. Participants selected items related to places, people or significant periods in their lives. Figure 1 exemplifies a card painted by a participant's child. While the real card can't be shared for privacy reasons, this stock image provides a sense of its form and character. Brandon (42) had recently had his three children returned to his care following statutory separation. Based on the desire-centred approach, Brandon was not asked directly about services involvement, rather the researcher asked open-ended questions about the item. Below is Brandon's explanation of his item.

> It would have to be the first Father's Day present from my little boy … I got it just after I got them back … Then the school sent that back for me. It sort of made me feel like I'd really put in the hard yards, and that was my reward. I got my kids back … It's sort of like a congratulations sort of thing for me. Just reminds me of the day that I set a goal and I finally accomplished it. I bettered myself for my kids, and thought to myself, "I'm never going to lose them."

Brandon's item showed how an object prompts a story about personal strengths, motivation, and achievement amidst complexity, encouraging him to share experiences of personal value.

Figure 1 An image representing Brandon's Show and Tell item

Note: From Canva Pro stock photos, "Father's Day Card" by Anthony Rosenberg from Getty Images, 2023, https://www.canva.com.

Card Sort

The second activity involved participants selecting the five most meaningful cards out of a deck of 30 predesigned by the first author, reflecting different descriptions of community, derived from peer-reviewed literature (e.g., Bauman, 2001). Two cards were left blank to enable them to write their own descriptions. This tool aimed to spark conversation and identify how participants conceptualised community. Accompanying prompts invited them to share their concept of community based on their personal interpretations and experiences of the concepts written on the cards. Carol's (who is in her late 50s) card selection is displayed in Figure 2. Carol explained how her spirituality influenced her community experiences, and how she met her husband, with whom she had five children, through the church. When asked about her selection, she commented on the inter-relationship between her spirituality, personal experiences, and perceptions of "the small things" to ensure community functioning.

> We look out for each other. We are family … The ones without which I don't think community works … If you don't have friends and family, then you need to find family. If you don't have a place to get help, then the community is not supporting you. If the community doesn't look out for each other, it falls apart. They have to supply services to keep it going. And when it works, you get connection and belonging. And if you don't, there's something wrong.

Carol continued to relay her own adverse experiences within the community setting, as well as how looking out for others within her social circle and relationships with friends and family enhanced her sense of connection and belonging. When asked to share their experiences of community, Carol and other participants shared stories of adversity;
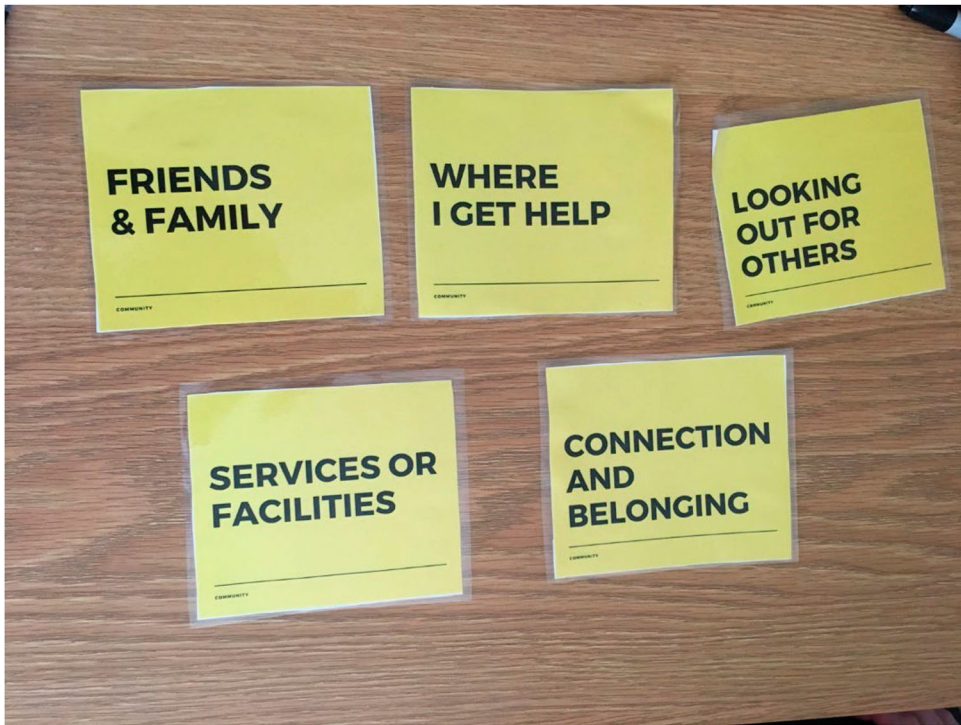
Figure 2 Carol's card sort

however, the open-ended nature of the interview prompts enabled them to discuss the community supports they sought out or experienced when facing challenges.

Circle of Support

Visual mapping is commonly used in HCD to identify and link people's interactions to what is subject to design (Visser et al., 2005). Visual mapping also enables researchers to understand participants' mindsets and experiences in relation to an area of inquiry (Gibbons, 2017). The first author created a visual mapping tool, reflecting Bronfenbrenner's (1979) ecological model, to explore community support. In the interview, participants were asked to imagine themselves in the smallest concentric circle and to depict their relationships from the most to least intimate and trusting. They were then asked to select an emoji sticker as a descriptor of the relationship, which were explored using prompts. Figure 3 maps Janelle's Circle of Support and illustrates the emotional associations of these relationships. Janelle (who is in her late 70s) cared for three grandchildren due to statutory removal and was experiencing significant health issues. Rather than focusing on these challenges, the interviewer used the identified relationships as a starting point for the exploration.

In the narration accompanying the map, Janelle commented on how the relationships relate to her barriers to and sources of support, based on her past or present circumstances or future goals, including shared experiences of ill-health or of caring for grandchildren; long-term friends with whom she held deep trust; a social worker who provided much-
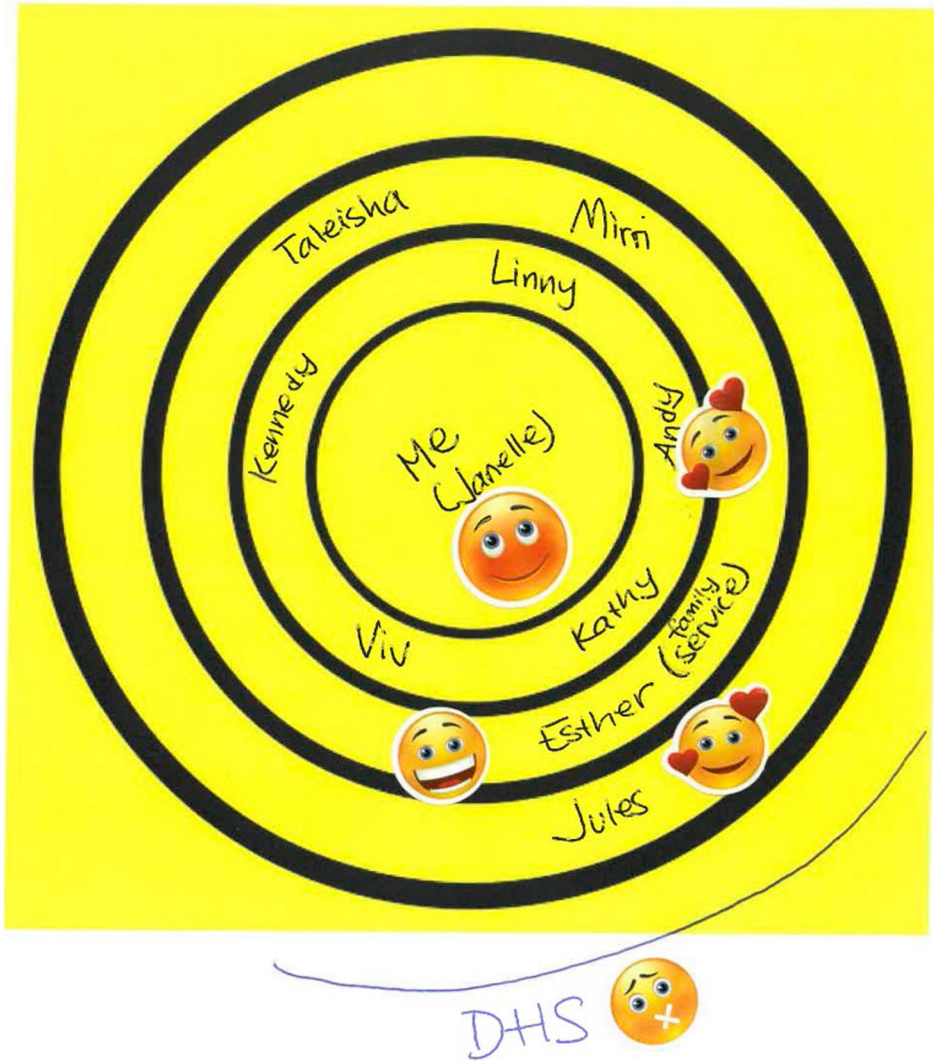
Figure 3 Janelle's *circle of support*

needed material support and advocacy; a close confidant; and a biological relationship described as "complicated", but reliable amidst crisis. Janelle said "I feel ruled by DHS [Department of Human Services—child protection] … Seriously, I wish they would shut up and go away. I feel like they rule my life." While this comment recognises the role of child protection in minimising her grandchildren's experience of risk and vulnerability, at the same time the emoji sticker symbolised the increased administrative burden of caregiving as well as feeling controlled by and subject to the statutory environment.

Aspiration Trees
The design workshop aimed to capture participants' aspirations for future experiences of community support. Following theme validation, member checking, and a brainstorm of
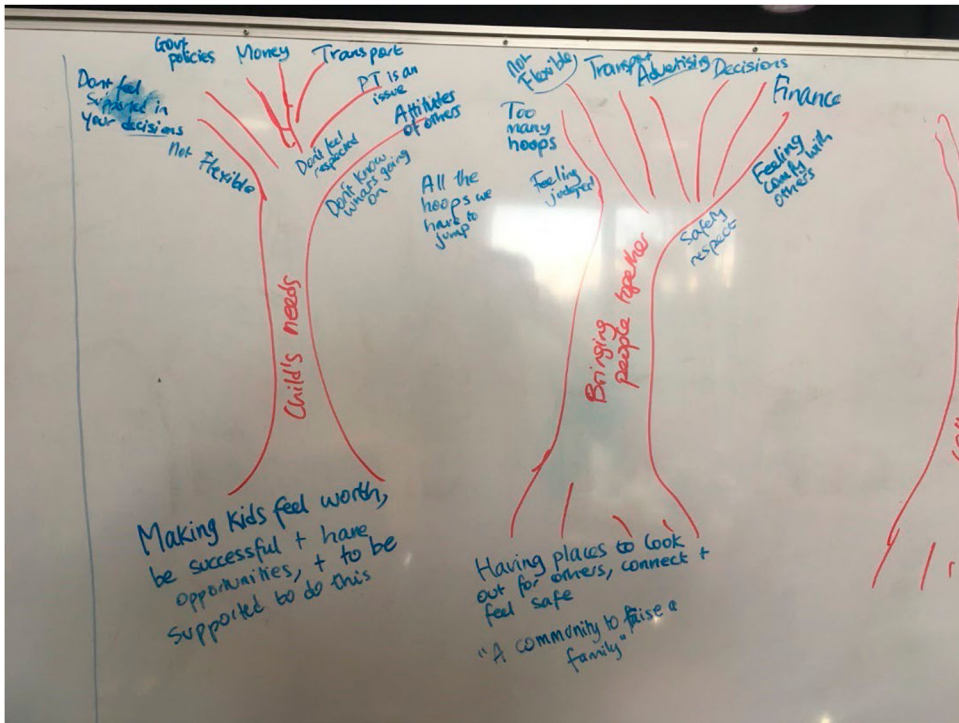
Figure 4 The aspiration tree

ideal community support, the researcher guided the group to complete the Aspiration Tree (adapted by the first author aligning with the DCR approach) from the Problem Tree (Evans, 2004) tool. The tree-trunk depicted a representation of participants' priorities, with the leaves representing the obstacles they faced in attaining the identified priority, and the tree roots representing the motivations for addressing their priority. Figure 4 identified children's needs, growing minds, and social skills, and bringing people together, promoting equality as their greatest aspirations.

To stimulate conversation, the researcher employed a technique commonly termed in HCD as the 5 Whys. The researcher repeated "Why?" five times in relation to each priority, prompting participants to identify latent motivations underpinning each priority. An excerpt from the exploration is as follows:

Researcher: So why is this [children's needs] so important?
Participant K: Because they are our future … if they're not brought up right, we're going to have hell on earth … we've got girls, we don't want to see them pregnant at the age of 14 and have no job, living on the dole.
Researcher: Why is it so important that your kids have … ?
Participant H: It's not just about the kids, it's about the parents. It's a learning curve for the parents who didn't have access to those things as well.
Researcher: It sounds like it's about your kids having something different from you. Why is that important?
Participant H: It's so that they have the opportunities that we missed out on, or we didn't have.

Researcher:	Why is that so important?
Participant H:	Because it's what held us back.
Researcher:	It sounds like it's important for your kids' needs, minds, and social skills to be improved because you want your kids to be the best that they can be … Why?
Participant K:	We want our kids to be better.
Participant H:	It makes them a better person …
Researcher:	… and why do you want them to have opportunities that you didn't have?
Participant K:	It's about making them better than yourself. Because you feel worthless and whatnot, you just want your kids to do better.
Participant H:	Our children are supposed to go out and reach beyond what we are …
Participant K:	But there's no support there for them.

This process revealed that improving opportunities for children to thrive is an aspiration related to participants' own lived experience of inequality. Identifying the root cause of "lack of support" also highlights the structural focus of future design activities explored in the Generative Toolkit.

Generative Toolkit

A Generative Toolkit was the final tool utilised in the workshop. Participants were asked to utilise craft materials and objects to collaboratively create a physical representation of the desired solutions to the priorities identified in the Aspiration Tree activity. They were

Figure 5 Components of the generative toolkit to develop recommendations for addressing their priorities

encouraged to "build" their ideal supportive community where their children's needs, growing minds, and social skills would be supported, and they would encounter opportunities to be brought together and experience equality. They spent approximately 20 min working together, using materials such as Lego, playdough, and pipe cleaners (Figure 5).

Created around a central road with the words "We support each other," participants constructed a town with the materials. When asked to talk about their creation, they expressed desires for their own and their children's relationships, whereby "Everyone knows everyone"; people feel encouraged to "be themselves" and "do the things we are best at"; encounter opportunities to naturally create trusting relationships with new people; interact with accessible public assets (such as community gardens) to spend quality time together as families and neighbours; knowing that "Someone always steps in" and participants will feel supported when the need arises. Although the town symbolised opportunities for connection and mutual care, the activity also led participants to reflect upon the difficulties they had with formal support services, which they said often subjected them to judgement and impaired their capacity to establish autonomous, collaborative, flexible, and accessible relationships with service providers. They reported that financial instability frequently obstructed their ability to participate in community-based activities. Through this activity, participants acknowledged and identified the informal relationships within their communities, for whom they often relied on for reciprocal care and support.

Discussion

The methodological approach and methods described in this article, alongside the examples elicited from participants, provide opportunities for reflection on how human-centred design (HCD) tools can facilitate desire-centred research (DCR) as a form of antioppressive practice. By using HCD tools and guided by social work theory and Tuck's (2009) desire-centred approach, the study accounted for the complexity of a parent's experiences and aspirations without emphasising risk and vulnerability. In doing so, it proposed that the nexus of desire and HCD may offer researchers a beneficial methodology that accounts for complexity and contradiction in people's experiences of structural marginalisation and vulnerability.

Patton Davis and Museus (2019) called upon researchers to generate new methods and discourses that challenge deficit thinking and advance antioppressive knowledge. The combination of DCR and HCD may offer social work researchers a framework that explicitly contextualises study participants' experiences, challenges, and hopes within the sociopolitical and historical context. For example, Valencia (2012) suggested that a deficit perspective characterises study participants by what they lack, such as "hard to reach" or disengaged from contemporary service offerings; in contrast, the data generated within this study presents a more complex description of the kinds of support solutions that parents were looking for *beyond* a formal service. We proposed that HCD tools situated participants as more active in the dreaming and design of solutions and in the research process, and similar to other consumer-led research (Ayton et al., 2022), participants may be engaged *because of* their expert experiences, using the tools to share those experiences as appropriate.

We found that researcher–participant rapport was easily established in the semistructured interviews. This may have been due to the guiding principles of the Strengths

Perspective (McCashen, 2017), the inclusive and flexible nature of the tools, and the ability for participants to interpret and self-determine ambiguous tools in relation to what was important to them. As a relationship-building device, HCD is thought to build a bridge between researcher and participant (Steen, 2008) by expanding participant contribution beyond "question–answer" and increasing control over the nature of their participation. The empowering nature of these actions were congruent with a desire-centred approach.

We also noticed that the tools provided an opportunity for participants to articulate imagined and alternative futures through creative means. The intent of design tools is to access, generate, and test contrasting realities (Blomkamp, 2018) and elicit multidimensional data. We did not ask participants to talk about what led to their inclusion in the study. The stories of pain and suffering were present—as were the stories of pride and strength. For example, the Aspiration Tree and Circle of Support were particularly useful in articulating what participants desired as whole and complex humans (Gordon, 1997). Tools that elicit such contradictory, complex, and holistic data may be useful in the design and delivery of policy and services (Rogowski, 2018).

A final observation was that participants could draw connections between key experiences, contributing to the data analysis. For example, Brandon's reflection illustrated the importance of his child, connected to a personal achievement during significant challenge. The explanation of the Aspiration Tree highlighted participants' hopes for their children, resulting from their own experiences of adversity. The combination of tools generated rich data, illuminating how parents situated themselves, their priorities, their concept and experience of community, and what they valued most within their relationships, because the tools invited greater autonomy in their responses. Therefore, design tools may empower and enable participants to have more ownership over how they are represented in research—a core component of a desire-centred approach (Tuck, 2009).

Limitations

There are some limitations to this study. The number of participants was aligned to HCD, which focuses on the depth, rather than breadth of data generated through the design process and tools. However, the small sample size may limit the wider application of the tools utilised in this study. Recruitment was based on geography and family services involvement, limiting community support recommendations to this location and context. While we emphasised choice in how the tools were used and interpreted, including participants in the cocreation of tools may further enhance their applicability and usefulness. To decentre our power as researchers, the interpretation of tools, focus of the conversation, and the nature of the researchers' involvement was decided by participants; however, this increased the risk that research objectives would not be met. Lastly, an evaluation of the design tools was not integrated into the research to attain participant feedback on the research method. This presents opportunities for future research to understand how design tools and techniques are viewed and experienced by participants involved in HCD research.

Conclusion

The research undertaken in a social work setting offered an opportunity to use HCD tools, which have potential for illustrating a desire-centred approach to social work

research. HCD gave participants more opportunities to represent themselves as complex people with hopes and aspirations within their social context. Although participants were not involved in deciding upon the research objectives, methods, or activities used for data collection or analysis, the use of HCD, social work theory, and design tools positioned them as "experts", focused on their complexities as people in an attempt to illustrate desire. Ideally, social work researchers will recognise the potential for DCR and HCD to challenge damage-centred research and generate transformative possibilities in representing the breadth and complexity of human experience.

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