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Superdiversity and Digital Social Work

Pablo Álvarez-Pérez

Abstract

Digital Social Work has become, in recent years, a fashionable concept since its use has spread rapidly after the constraints caused by the 2020 global pandemic (Pink, Ferguson, and Kelly 2021). In turn, global migrations at the beginning of the century radically changed the preset notions about the migratory flows of the 20th century, bringing new ways of understanding the existing difference within societies, with superdiversity being one of its conceptual manifestations (Vertovec 2007).

This chapter aims to associate these two conceptual notions to discuss, on the one hand, the importance of digitization in social intervention, and specifically for Social Work, in the context of contemporary reality, which is complex (van Ewijk 2018) and superdiverse (Vertovec 2010; Álvarez-Pérez and Harris 2021). On the other hand, the aim is to discuss technology and digitization as tools to get to know the superdiversity dimensions of the subjects of intervention, and, therefore, also useful tools for intervention. For this, digital integrations will be presented for the practice with superdiverse populations at the macro, meso and micro levels.

Introduction

By the end of the 1970s, the use of computers for digital record-keeping was already widespread, and in the 1990s, the virtual space known as the Internet expanded rapidly, ushering in the "digital age", characterized by the speed of communications and the beginning of a new social space for coexistence. However, it seems as if the socio-health reality that we currently live in has made us rediscover the digital world in which we have lived for decades. It seems like a *digital awakening* has occurred for which there has not been enough preparation or training. However, all professions, including Social Work, have been increasingly digitized, in what is now known as the data imperative (Schildt 2020).

Alongside the digitization of society, the global migratory reality at the beginning of the century, especially in European countries such as Spain, Italy, and the United Kingdom, brought with it considerable changes in mobility patterns, differentiated from other "waves" by its intensity, dimensions, socio-political configurations and impacts on the origin and host societies (OECD and DAES 2013). This new social configuration of migratory flows into host societies has been defined by Vertovec (2007) as *superdiversity*.

At the same time, Digital Social Work has been described by some authors as a "hybrid, anticipatory and flexible practice" (Pink, Ferguson, and Kelly 2021, 3), where face-to-face intervention will continue, but where practice is supplemented when appropriate by digital means. Others have defined digital social work as a specific field of intervention explicitly related to the online space and use of ICT, describing this specificity as digital social work or e-social work (López Peláez, Pérez García, and Aguilar-Tablada Massó 2017).

Incorporating the concept of superdiversity within the sphere of Digital Social Work provides an opportunity for considering the complexity and *inter-dimensionality* of populations in contemporary societies (Álvarez-Pérez and Harris 2021), recognizing their needs, and adapting social work practice so that it can respond effectively to this new social composition.

Although, the use of technology by social workers has been present since the beginning of the profession, with the telephone as an early example (López Peláez and Marcuello Servós 2018b, 26), the profession and academic literature did not engage in much discussion regarding the use of technology openly and consciously until a few years ago, with the arrival of the digital revolution, which has led to the conceptualisation of Digital Social Work or e-Social Work (López Peláez, Pérez García, and Aguilar-Tablada Massó 2017).

Widespread access to the internet, ICT, digital social networks, the application of the internet of things, robotization and domotization, artificial intelligence, algorithms for detecting social needs and the use of big data, among others, constitute useful and effective supporting tools for social intervention (Castillo De Mesa et al. 2019), and within this new superdiverse configuration, they are presented in this chapter as a *sine qua non* condition for the analysis and interpretation of contemporary social realities.

This chapter will discuss the digital adaptations that social work must consider adopting in order to respond to the characteristics of superdiverse societies. At the macro level, this requires attention to public policies, and reorganization of services; at the meso level, it must focus on the relationships between individuals and institutions; and, at the micro level, it requires attention to the relationships between subjects, reference groups and peers.

Contextualizing superdiversity

Since the term ‘superdiversity’ was first coined by Vertovec (2007), it has been used by multiple authors and disciplines with very varied orientations, reinterpreting, in turn, the concept itself (Vertovec 2019).

This chapter adopts Vertovec's original use of the term, that is, its explanatory capacity in relation to migratory flows and migrant populations. However, migration does not have to be the main variable that defines a superdiversity perspective. This means that, although the cultural, ethnic and country of origin elements of individuals are variables to be taken into account, they are not considered *a priori* as starting points for an analysis using superdiversity methodologies, a point that has been previously argued:

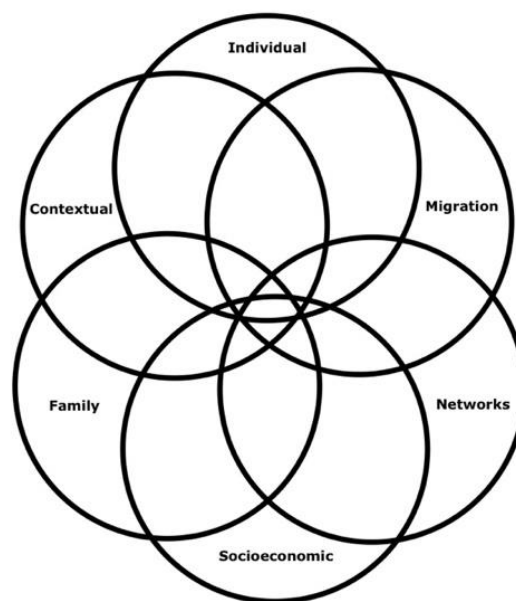
“Being faithful to the notion of superdiversity requires consideration of ‘all’ the possible elements of differentiation that international migrations during the last two decades have contributed to diverse societies, including that individuals can also justifiably be studied as the unit of analysis in superdiversity research.” (Álvarez-Pérez, López Peláez, and Harris 2021, 3).

Superdiversity is an interesting concept for social workers to consider because, according to Vertovec (2007, 1025), it addresses the “diversification of diversity” and it does not assume that all people fit into classically defined groups but suggests that they possess a multiplicity of individual characteristics, even when belonging to pre-defined groups. For this reason, diversity cannot be associated only with migration, but as a constituent characteristic of societies (UNESCO 2001; Van Breugel, Maan, and Scholten 2014).

For this reason, it is the intersection of variables that must be considered when understanding superdiversity, meaning that people’s experiences should not be presented or interpreted simply as a correlation of predefined characteristics, but rather their experiences are best understood as an *inter-dimensionality* of all of them (Álvarez-Pérez and Harris 2021).

In this vein, multiple authors have theorized about the intrinsic dimensions of superdiversity in an implicit or explicit way (Vertovec 2007; 2010; 2017; Nowicka and Vertovec 2014; Boccagni 2015; Meissner 2015; Meissner and Vertovec 2015; Schrooten, Geldof, and Withaecx 2015; Padilla, Azevedo, and Olmos-Alcaraz 2015; Pride 2015; Geldof 2016; Goodson and Grzymala-Kazlowska 2017; Creese and Blackledge 2018; Grzymala-Kazlowska and Phillimore 2018; Van Robaeys, Van Ewijk, and Dierckx 2018; Aptekar 2019; Ozkazanc-Pan 2019; Álvarez-Pérez and Harris 2021; Álvarez-Pérez, López Peláez, and Harris 2021), and this is presented graphically in Graph 1.

Graph 1. Superdiversity Dimensions



Source: author's own

According to the systematization made (Álvarez-Pérez, López Peláez, and Harris 2021), it could be considered, within the *individual dimension*, age, sex, gender, personality traits (extraversion, neuroticism, agreeableness, conscientiousness, openness), country of origin, marital status, language, disability(ies), principles and values, religion, and lifestyle.

For the *migration dimension*, three large categories emerge: a) Legal status, in which the type of migrant would be included, that is: economic migrants, undocumented migrants (illegal; irregular),

family reunification, return migration, retiree migration or forced migrants (refugees; asylum seekers); b) transnational practices, that includes sending of remittances and goods, use of mother tongue/bilingualism, consumption of products from the country of origin, third sector activities, country of origin visits, participation in elections, personal contacts by Internet, use of online contact and exchange platforms, letters, phone calls and SMS, among others; and c) migration channels, referring to channels used and its legality (or not), and safety in the migratory process.

The *socioeconomic dimension* refers to employment, position in the labor market, schooling, academic background, income and purchasing power.

The *contextual dimension* can be divided into two categories: a) residence, that is, geographical area and type of housing; and b) Local Community, constituted by social networks of residents or neighbors, presence of other groups (i.e., minorities), responses from the host society (i.e., support), associations and places of worship.

The *family dimension* which includes the number of family members, degree of relatedness, dependent family members and spoken language; and lastly, the *networks dimension*, which has four categories: a) structural (size, density and type -family, friends, neighbors-); b) functional (social support -material and instrumental-, social company, access to resources and new links and social regulation); c) relational (homogeneity or heterogeneity, intensity, durability and sources of stress); and d) contextual (geographical dispersion and contact frequency).

This list must be considered as incomplete, but it represents a starting point for multivariate analysis, and current digital tools can assist this task. It would be impossible to measure service users' superdiversity characteristics (especially their hierarchy, relevance, and impact) without utilising technology.

Digital Social Work

In contemplating the application of "digital" approaches within social work practice, The SMACIT framework can be usefully incorporated where the acronym stands for the following dimensions: social, mobile, analytics, cloud, and the Internet of Things (Ross, Beath, and Mocker 2019). In this way, the realm of digital applications would cease to be external tools and instead would become components of practice, integrated within all fields of intervention, where appropriate.

It is useful to explain here the SMACIT acronym in more detail and consider how these dimensions of digital technology could be usefully applied in social work practice and research. Firstly, *Social* stands for social media platforms such as Twitter, Facebook, Instagram, Snapchat, which constitute a new way to reach and interact with current and future service users. These digital platforms also offer new ways of understanding service users' interactions, interests, hobbies and ways of thinking.

Mobile stands for devices and platforms, such as smartphones and tablets, that have changed the way people communicate, shop and work. The introduction of connected devices and wearable devices, both of which rely on cheap sensors to generate and transmit data, are the basis for new ways to gather reliable information and to offer targeted interventions to specific groups of services users.

Data *analytics* allows social workers to understand how, when and where people use services. In this *big data era*, the access to big data can be used as a predictive indicator for present and future service users' behavior or needs, as shown in exploratory studies (Babvey et al. 2021). Without neglecting the ethical issues related to data protection, we highlight here the access to information that users freely produce and upload to the Internet. For other types of data, consent must always be guaranteed.

Cloud computing provides a new way to access technology and the data an organization needs to quickly respond to changing needs and solve service users' problems. It has ushered in a new way to

build digital infrastructure, platforms, and services that social workers have been traditionally challenged to develop and deliver. A practice that could integrate this type of technology could be assessment, whether individual or community.

Lastly, the *Internet of things* (IoT) stands for a network of connected devices that enables machine to machine communications. Although it may seem futuristic and implausible for an application in the short or medium term, there are job tasks that could be digitized (for example, gathering real-time and continuous health information from smart devices) thus freeing professionals to attend to matters that require professional judgement. It is, therefore, arguable that the automation of tasks and information collection could be advantageous for social workers.

There are several ways to integrate ICTs into social work practice, namely:

- a) e-practices such as e-mails and videoconferences, not necessarily to replace, but useful in combination with, face-to-face interventions (Mitchell, Sarfati, and Stewart 2021; Pascoe 2021);
- b) web-based programs, such as agency platforms, which can be developed by an IT technician (Schwinn, Hopkins, and Schinke 2016; Fung, Chan, and Ross 2020); and
- c) programs supported by robots, games, or virtual environments (Sorbring, Bolin, and Ryding 2015; Elias-Lambert et al. 2015).

These digital options allow social workers to communicate with service users through digital technologies such as exchange of e-mails and text messages using their smartphones or through video calls, using tools such as cameras, Webpages, Skype, or FaceTime (López Peláez and Marcuello-Servós 2018a, 2018b; Castillo De Mesa et al. 2019).

The heavy workloads of social workers, and the pressure to provide high quality services, requires effective and efficient systems. This can be achieved through the use of ICTs for planning and organization processes, helping to ease the pressure of waiting times, administrative burdens, and labour-intensive tasks. The application of ICT into social intervention can never fully substitute for or replace face-to-face contact, but it can release more time for professional tasks that require higher professional judgment where technology would not be as useful as the social worker themselves (Arriazu Muñoz and Fernández-Pacheco Sáez 2013).

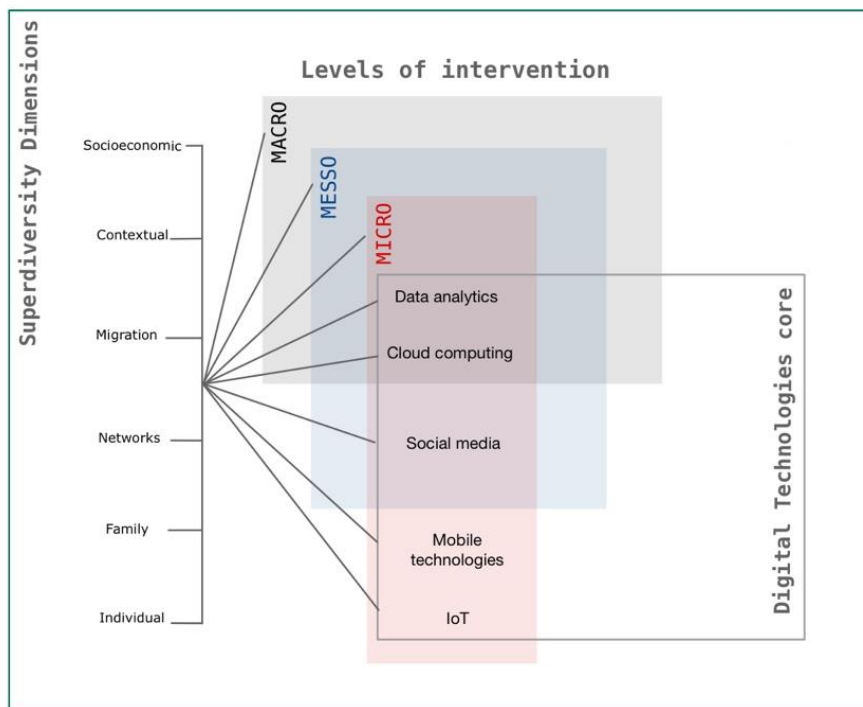
Research on Digital Social Work in *direct practice* is still in early development but already it includes examination of professional relationships in digital contexts (Chan and Holosko 2015; Turner 2016; Simpson 2017; Byrne and Kirwan 2019), the effective use of social media in social work practice (Chan 2016), online blogs (Aguilar-Idañez, Caparrós-Civera, and Anaut-Bravo 2020), apps specifically created for practice (Mackrill and Kirkegaard Ørnbøll 2019), social networks as an instrument of intervention (Rodríguez and Ferreira 2018; Castillo De Mesa et al. 2019), and interventions with specific populations (Fan 2016; De la Fuente Robles and Martín Cano 2018; Mois and Fortuna 2020). Also, social intervention models focused on digital tools have been discussed, including online counseling, video counseling, cyber-therapy (avatar therapy), self-guided web interventions, online group social work and community-based interventions (Reamer 2014; Wodarski and Curtis 2015;).

Integrating the Concept of Superdiversity into Digital Social Work Practice

Social work now has at its disposal two different, but arguably, complementary innovations, in the form of firstly, the new superdiversity paradigm and, secondly, a range of digital communication technologies (video-conferencing, etc) that have come of age in social work since the arrival of the COVID-19 pandemic. The question posed in this chapter is whether or not these two developments can be integrated as an aid to social work research and practice.

To avoid an overly abstract discussion, this section briefly considers how elements of superdiversity theory intersect with Digital technologies across the three major levels of social work intervention, namely, macro, related to policies; meso, referring to the (inter)institutional dimension; and micro, understood as direct intervention with service users.

Graph 2. An Integrated Model of Superdiversity and Digital Technology within Social Work Intervention Levels



Source: author's own

Macro level

Historically, the basis of public policies has been to focus on the protection of certain population sub-groups taking only a few variables into consideration, such as orphans, widows, people with disability; or focused on particular types of need such as unemployment, maternity benefits, etc (Greve 2019). This type of approach to policy formation has resulted in general responses in terms of social protection, but which tend to be inflexible in their ability to rapidly pivot in order to address the multiplicity of contingencies of the complex society in which we now live (van Ewijk 2017). Recent recognition and insight into the multiple identities and characteristics of individuals within superdiverse societies (Oliveira and Padilla 2017; van Breugel and Scholten 2017) has prompted the desire for better targeted protection measures. The questions that then arise include: what do we choose? under what criteria? Recognizing multiple identities and needs does not mean that resources are unlimited, and hard choices still need to be made.

The macro level is related, therefore, to the political dimension of professional practice. Ideally, at this level, the social worker is not simply carrying out public and social policies nor are they a technocrat at the service of the institutional bureaucracy, but rather a specialist who can (and should) contribute to the creation of the policies that later they may be involved in implementing (Ferreira and Álvarez-Pérez 2017) and which respond to the needs of the people they serve.

Superdiversity methodologies offer social workers a means of accessing vital information on which to make these decision. The superdiversity paradigm uses big data to understand not only largescale phenomena but also the particular needs of smaller groups in society. This type of data potentially offers social work an evidence base from which to advocate on behalf of many marginalized and underserved population sub-groups, some of whom are not fully visible in policy practices at present because they are subsumed within larger sub-groups. Thus, superdiversity moves beyond the paradigm of pre-established political policies, recognizing the importance of the individual experience in the midst of large groups (Boccagni 2015).

By way of example, Vertovec (2007) points out that most social services still do not adequately respond to the changes in need associated with the new immigration flows which have taken place in recent decades. This mismatch assumes high costs regarding the integration of migrating populations, as well as gaps in the satisfaction of their real needs, and is mainly caused by only interpreting need on the basis of a small set of characteristics, and ignoring the other characteristics of individuals: "In order to avoid the conventional trap of addressing newcomers just in terms of some presumably fixed ethnic identity, an awareness of the new super-diversity suggests that policy-makers and practitioners should take account of new immigrants' 'plurality of affiliations' (recognizing multiple identifications and axes of differentiation, only some of which concern ethnicity)" (Vertovec 2007, 1048). This criticism of policy formation and failure to use new methodologies to get a deeper level understanding of need is not only confined to how immigrant population needs are addressed; as a theoretical approach it possesses the potential for diverse applications.

Thus, policy makers and social workers are invited to reflect on the new perspectives of diversity that superdiversity brings to the scene, in the light of the new social dynamics caused by the new forms of migration as well as the consequent changes in population due to the social complexity we live in. This need not be a unidirectional process, but rather an interactive and dynamic process of constant exchange and sharing, where political decision-makers and social workers can create innovative public policies and intervention practices through the use of digital tools and methodologies that allow this complex type of analysis to be carried out.

From this perspective, social workers are prompted to develop a “meta-practice” (Grise-Owens, Miller, and Owens 2014) using the digital tools available to process information (among them, big data) in order to know how to better contextualize work within organizations and in interventions with superdiverse service users.

Meso level

At the meso level, social work practices focus on work within organizations and on the relationship between agencies and service users. Digital transformation is gaining pace in agencies where social workers are employed (Goldkind, Wolf, and Jones 2016). The use of social networks (not only for publicity purposes but for interaction with the public) as well as the use of cloud-based data storage, the use of big social data or online social capital are increasingly adopted as a means to connect with and understand the needs of increasingly superdiverse target groups.

Some preconditions are required to guarantee an effective practice at this level, both for organizations and within their structures, including the effective training of social workers (Goldkind, Wolf, and Jones 2016; Simpson 2017; De la Fuente Robles and Martín Cano 2018). This means that organizations must invest in infrastructure and training for innovation.

Thus, there is an opportunity to incorporate online social networks into social intervention as a formula for social work innovation that improves information exchange and cooperation between professionals and organizations (Castillo de Mesa, Palma García, and Gómez Jacinto 2018; Castillo De Mesa et al. 2019; Castillo-De Mesa and Gómez-Jacinto 2020).

Micro level

At the micro level, social work intervention is centered on the level of individuals, groups, or communities. At this level, digital technologies can support professional practice in at least three aspects: planning and decision making, processing information, and direct intervention.

Regarding the first, the act of planning is internationally recognized, whether for intervention with people, or for organizing the work within the organizational context (Allison and Kaye 2015; Hughes and Wearing 2016). The act of planning, as well as decision-making, can be supported by digital technologies (Gillingham 2018) and an evidence base which incorporates superdiversity theory and methods.

The challenge at this level is to incorporate less conventional technologies that can support professionals in delivering more grounded and holistic social interventions, including mobile technologies (not only as a tool for interaction with service users but also for organizing work and obtaining information), as well as the IoT, which facilitates the flow of information between professionals and service users, and the use of robotics, as already highlighted by other authors (López Peláez and Marcuello-Servós 2018a).

Conclusions

Today's society is highly complex, and individuals have multiple characteristics of differentiation that can inform the development of a more responsive type of person-centered practice. For this, digital technologies can offer added value, not only of themselves but also when integrated with emerging ideas from the theoretical field of superdiversity.

Access in recent years to new ways of gathering and interpreting information has dramatically changed the economic, political, and social landscape, making it possible to identify the multiple superdiversity dimensions of individuals and communities. One of the most important benefits of the new digital technologies concerns their capacity for networking and data analysis (Antonucci, Ajrouch, and Manalel 2017), and also their applicability in direct service delivery, a potential that is very relevant for social work practice.

We are living in the information *saturation* era, in which individuals produce a lot of content not only actively (i.e., social networks), but also passively (i.e., recorded physical activity through the geolocation of mobile devices, or the interaction we have through home automation devices). The future of social work intervention approaches is likely to increasingly incorporate these possibilities in the development of new services as well as using digital data to enhance evidence-based practice.

It is true that Digital Social Work presupposes equal access to technology by organizations, professionals, and service users alike, which, currently is something of a false premise. It is evident that there are multiple barriers to this access, such as financials, gaps in skills (Elliott 2018) or even motivational (Gann 2018). In addition, the world's technological distribution is very uneven (United Nations 2020; ITU 2021) with evidence to suggest that more than half of the families in the world (53%) do not have access to a computer and 4 in 10 do not have internet access in their homes (ITU 2020, 6).

Digital technologies have enabled a new set of tools to support Social Work practice, but not without posing significant challenges also (López Peláez and Marcuello-Servós 2018b). In the ethical domain, issues exist relating to professional boundaries, conflicts of interest, confidentiality, privacy, online consent, and data protection, the latter being regulated in Europe by the General Data Protection Regulation (2016). Also, there are blurred boundaries between public and private domains and issues regarding access inequalities (Reamer 2014; 2015; Boddy and Dominelli 2017). As pointed out by López Peláez and Marcuello-Servós (2018a), issues related to the preservation of relationship-based practice with service users, computer systems piracy, digital identity theft and lack of legislation regarding these matters, as well as the greater intensification of work, are real concerns to be considered.

Nevertheless, there is a need to invest in training, both in digital skills for social workers as well as for service users (Punie and Brecko 2013; García-Castilla et al. 2019). To do so, an institutional responsibility for continuous learning is required. In addition, political commitment is necessary to transform the conceptualisation of public and social policy into a co-constructed process including front-line professionals and service users, which possesses enough flexibility to be adapted to the extremely diverse contexts in which social protection policies are applied. Through this process, digital tools could be used as a practice support tool for more accurate analysis, assessment, and interventions, highlighting Social Work's principles and values, especially the respect for the intrinsic uniqueness of each person, which acknowledges each service user's superdiverse uniqueness.

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