6. Super-diversity and intersectionality

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Over the past years the population of older migrants has risen continuously (Ciobanu et al., 2017). In the early 2000s, Warnes and colleagues (2004) raised awareness of the diversity in the older migrant population, and since then more scholars have stressed the importance of acknowledging the heterogeneity within this group (Ciobanu, 2019; Ciobanu et al., 2017, 2020; King et al., 2017; Torres, 2006). The increase in both the ageing and the migrant populations worldwide is creating a new social reality. To engage with it, there is a need for concepts and theoretical reflection and development, the lack of which has already been criticised (Phillipson, 2015; Torres, 2015). Therefore, this chapter enquires how the concepts of super-diversity and intersectionality can be relevant to problematise and advance the theoretical developments in the study of emerging populations and research themes at the intersection of ageing and migration.

<A> Definition of the Concepts

<B> Super-Diversity

The concept of super-diversity was coined in the 2000s by Steven Vertovec (2007) in the context of European debates about migration in urban settings. It is a multi-dimensional concept which stresses the increase in diversity of the migrant population. The source of super-diversity is not limited to the ethnic or national component (Vertovec, 2007), particularly because people belonging to the same national groups are heterogenous within them. Meissner and Vertovec argue that migrants are coming from "more varied national, ethnic, linguistic and religious backgrounds", and moreover there is an increase in the "migration channels (such as work permit programmes, mobilities created by the EU enlargements, ever-changing refugee and 'mixed migration' flows, undocumented movements, student migration, family reunion, and so on)", related to "legal statuses (conditions,

rights and restrictions), diverging patterns of gender and age, and variance in migrants' human capital (education, work skills and experience)" (2015: 542). Therefore, accounting for super-diversity allows us to move away from simplifying and reductionist perspectives which presume that ethnic or national groups are homogeneous.

Super-diversity constitutes a "lens to de-essentialise ethnic and cultural differences, casting light on the underlying concurrent processes of societal differentiation, individual identification and group (dis)alignment" (Boccagni, 2015: 611). First, there are migrants' characteristics such as age, the context in which migration took place, the legal status upon arrival, among others. Second, there is the timing of life events in the life course (see Chapter 2 on the life course in this volume). Timing has moved away from a rather standardised pattern – in which life course events occur within similar time frames – to a de-standardization of the life course (Widmer and Ritschard, 2009). This (dis)alignment from similarly timed trajectories also contributes to super-diversity (Boccagni 2015). Timing can refer to the age when one migrates, marries, has children, becomes employed or unemployed, or retires. The moment these events occurs in the life course allows one to recuperate disadvantages or can contribute to a cumulation of disadvantages. For example, becoming unemployed in young age is not the same as losing one's job close to retirement. Simultaneously, the life course approach considers not only the events occurring in one's life, but also the socio-economic and political context in which these events occur. Arriving as a political refugee in Western Europe in the 1980s is not the same as arriving in 2020, given that the possibilities to integrate to the labour market are different.

The relevance of super-diversity is that it provides researchers with a tool to identify and study bottom-up the sources of differentiation and how the latter emerge. A top-down approach would be limited to the immediately identifiable characteristics, such as nationality – being a Turkish migrant in Germany. A limitation of super-diversity is that scholars too often focus on the ethnic component, and thus newcomers to the literature think about super-diversity in terms of countries of origin, migrants' nationalities or ethnic groups. This would be an indicator of diversity but not of super-diversity, the latter drawing not only on migration but also on "other sources of individual and collective differentiation" (Boccagni, 2015: 612).

<B> Intersectionality

The concept of intersectionality, on the other hand, emerged in the late 1980s in the context of North American debates on gender and race, and constitutes one of the strongholds of gender studies. The starting point in the work of Kimberlé Crenshaw, who coined this concept, was that single characteristics do not suffice to explain inequality, when in fact sources of discrimination are

multiple. More importantly, the intersection of single characteristics like race or ethnicity and gender, as well as age and class, among others (Calasanti, 1993, 1996; Yuval-Davis, 2015) creates new forms of vulnerability and injustice, which would be overlooked if sources of inequality were taken separately. Moreover, the effect of these characteristics is not just the sum of the separate effects of each characteristic (Crenshaw, 1989). The aim of the concept of intersectionality is thus to look at how inequality is produced at the intersection of several categories of identity.

In her epistemological and methodological reflection on intersectionality, McCall (2005) distinguishes between three approaches to categories: anticategorical, intercategorical and intracategorical complexity. McCall (2005) places the relation to categories on a "continuum" from the anticategorical stance which considers reality as too complex to reduce it to "fixed categories […] that produce inequalities in the process of producing differences" (ibid: 1773), going through the intracategorical stance, which critically acknowledges categories, all the way to the intercategorical complexity which mobilises categories to study inequality.

Not only can research tease out sources of inequality and power, it also shows how people who belong to several groups in society also develop an intersectional awareness or consciousness (Curtin et al., 2015). This is particularly the case for people who experiences multiple forms of discrimination or inequality (Harnois et al., 2020), and for whom identifying one source of discrimination is difficult. Considering this, an older migrant might not be able to identify a single reason for being marginalised: their age or migration or their racialised background.

<B> Commonalities between Super-Diversity and Intersectionality

Although the two concepts emerged in different fields of research, the mere definitions point to one common element: multi-dimensional approaches, the fact that both concepts require social scientists to consider several dimensions and their intersections (Boccagni, 2015; Crenshaw, 1989; Crul, 2016). They also aim to deconstruct homogeneity and acknowledge diversity within the population (Ciobanu, 2019; Hash and Weirich, 2020). Both intersectionality and super-diversity are bottom-up and dynamic constructions, meaning that one can observe different manifestations of super-diversity in different urban settings or populations; and likewise, inequality can be produced at the intersection of different variables depending on context.

Proponents of intersectionality strongly stress the fact that it emerged to better grasp sources of inequality. While this is not a characteristic of super-diversity, Boccagni (2015) argues that super-diversity provides us with a better understanding of the sources of social inequality that migrant populations often face beyond ethnicity, nationality or migration. Grzymala-Kazlowska and Phillimore (2019), who employ the concept of super-diversity, consider intersectionality as a source

of diversification by incorporating "the intersectional factors shaping migrants' lives, such as their capitals, migration motivations and life trajectories as well as complexities associated with the superdiverse urban contexts in which they settle" (ibid: 40).

<A> A Literature Review of Concepts and their Intersections

The literature review that follows is structured around the junction between the key concepts of this chapter: super-diversity and intersectionality on the one hand; ageing and migration on the other.

<B> Super-Diversity and Ageing

The intersection between the concepts of diversity, more generally, and ageing has received some attention in the gerontological literature (Calasanti, 1993; 1996; Calasanti and Zajicek, 1993), with the use of diversity alluding to the concept of intersectionality. At a meso level, the qualitative study by Ciobanu (2019) among representatives of local institutions working, among others, with older (migrant) populations in Switzerland observes that acknowledging super-diversity in the native population has a positive impact on the perception and acceptance of the diversity of older migrants (Ciobanu, 2019), otherwise a population that is often over-homogenised and othered (Torres, 2006).

<B> Super-Diversity and Migration

Within scholarship on migration, the lens of super-diversity is used to overcome the essentialising of the migrant population, and also national groups of migrants (Grzymala-Kazlowska and Phillimore, 2019). Migrant and / or ethnic background constitutes, after all, one source of super-diversity (Grzymala-Kazlowska and Phillimore, 2019; Phillimore, 2016), but not the only one. Thus, migration scholars that have employed the super-diversity lens stress the importance of going beyond an ethnicity-centred understanding of super-diversity (De Bock, 2015).

As an analytical tool, super-diversity has been used to understand for example access to medical services among migrants (Phillimore, 2016) or their use of Internet-based health services (Samkange-Zeeb et al., 2020). Drawing on 82 questionnaires and 13 in-depth interviews, Phillimore (2016) compares the ways in which different groups of migrants in the United Kingdom – asylum seekers, spousal migrants, failed asylum seekers, Eastern European migrants, and undocumented migrants – access medical services, and what these migrants' super-diversity means to that access. Samkange-Zeeb and colleagues (2020) did a survey in 8 super-diverse neighbourhoods across 4 European cities (Birmingham, UK; Bremen, Germany; Lisbon, Portugal; Uppsala, Sweden) to

understand "how migration background and other migration-related factors, along with health-related and socio-economic factors, might influence the use of Internet-based health-related information when addressing health concerns" (ibid: 9).

As in this latter case, super-diversity has been used by migration scholars to describe macro- or meso-level contexts. Super-diversity has therefore been studied as a landscape (Goh, 2019; Samkange-Zeeb et al., 2020), and in this sense the literature refers to super-diverse cities like London (Pardo, 2018; Robins, 2019) or global Asian cities (Goh, 2019). Research on diversity in urban settings shows that such environments facilitate migrants' integration (Nicholls and Uitermark, 2016). Unfortunately though, some studies have used the concept of super-diversity as a descriptive characteristic, as an attribute of neighbourhoods, cities or migrant groups (Kloosterman et al., 2016; Robins, 2019) without problematising it, reflecting on internal variations in super-diversity within the cities, or considering the consequences of super-diversity.

<B> Intersectionality and Ageing

Intersectionality remains rather marginal in ageing studies (Holman and Walker, 2021). Articulating intersectionality and the life course approach, Holman and Walker (2021) provide a conceptual framework for understanding unequal ageing and health inequalities.

Toni Calasanti through her work on diversity with a feminist approach has encouraged researchers to acknowledge and study the sources of diversity within ageing populations (Calasanti, 1993, 1996; Calasanti and Zajicek, 1993). In the works of Calasanti (1993, 1996) and McMullin (2000), the sources of diversity are gender, age, class and ethnicity or race, and they look at how these dimensions create, separately and in interaction, "power relations that structure social life" (McMullin, 2000: 517). In line with this, it seems that within social gerontological literature, the concept of diversity is closely intertwined with that of intersectionality.

Drawing on a scoping review of the health-related issues among older persons from various ethnic groups in Canada, Koehn and her colleagues (2013) apply an intersectional lens to disentangle the categories considered in these studies. They observe that heterogeneity within the largest migrant groups is little accounted for and stress the importance of intersectionality to understand health inequalities.

Gao and Kerstetter (2016) employ, for example, qualitative methods to study how intersections between age, gender and race explain the constraints that shape the travel of older Chinese women.

The study by Warner and Brown (2011) uses longitudinal quantitative data from the United States to analyse variation in the prevalence of disability across groups. They show that the

intersectionality between race and gender plays a role at baseline with older white men having the lowest disability levels and Hispanic women the highest. Differences in health are maintained during the life course, except for black women who are more vulnerable in old age. And in general women are worse off than men.

The study by Ghosh and colleagues (2020) draws on a quantitative survey with two measurements in time to capture how family caregivers of older persons with multiple morbidities perceive the burden of care provision. Results show that there are important differences between men and women in terms of burden experience, indicating complex relations between five intersecting factors. Such outcomes are particularly pertinent for policies as an intersectional approach enables a focus on groups that could be particularly vulnerable in some contexts such as "younger male caregivers who are employed and have moderate or high social interference, as well as older and younger female care-givers … because these target populations have shown greater likelihood of experiencing aggravated role strain" (Ghosh et al., 2020: 464).

Intersectionality has also been used in studies on ageing that do not focus specifically on older people but rather on the practitioners who cater to their needs. Deployed in this way, intersectionality has promise as a tool for practitioners to better understand differences between them, as clinicians, and their patients. To the three main concepts employed in intersectional approaches – gender, race and class – Eilenberger and colleagues (2019) therefore add the age difference between practitioner and patient. They argue that age is associated with a perspective on the world, a way of reflecting on "health, illness, life and death" (ibid: 33). Therefore, in a clinical context, knowledge of one's age, as well as one's patient's age and the implication of each other's age, is essential for medical practice.

To sum up, the variables that are taken into account in the intersectional approaches most often found in studies on ageing are age, gender and race (e.g. Gao and Kerstetter, 2016; Warner and Brown, 2011), but also class (Calasanti 1993; Sidloyi, 2016), and "education, employment and social interference" (Ghosh et al., 2020: 460). An intersectional lens sheds light on new forms of discrimination that would be unexplored had researchers focused only on the impact or contribution of one individual variable at a time.

<B> Intersectionality and Migration

Even before the emergence of the concept of intersectionality, scholars acknowledged the importance of considering multiple individual characteristics and their interaction in the way they impact social phenomena. Phillipson (2015) has argued, for example, that when studying older migrants or ethnic minority groups, the theories of 'double' or 'triple-jeopardy' – used in social

gerontological literature for many decades – stressed that vulnerability is created at the intersection of several variables. Dowd and Bengtson (1978) argued early on that the intersection of race or ethnicity and old age can place older ethno-racialised minorities in disadvantageous positions, which is why they formulated the double jeopardy theory. Norman (1985) argued also that migration background, old age and disadvantaged situations could interact with one another to create a triple jeopardy.

It is worth noting, however, that even though the concept of intersectionality emerged to study sources of inequality and discrimination (Crenshaw, 1989; Yuval-Davis, 2015), some migration researchers have applied it to privileged populations (e.g. Kynsilehto, 2011; Riaño, 2011; Song, 2020). Riaño (2011), for example, uses the concept of intersectionality to study highly skilled female migrants. Song (2020) focuses on privilege among Korean American return migrants and shows how applying intersectionality allows us to unpack this group's privilege down to masculinity, while women's experience is one of ambivalence if not marginalisation.

In relation to inequality, reviewing the literature on migration from an intersectional perspective, Bastia (2014) shows how this has been gender blind, with women being portrayed as trailing wives for a long time. There has been a change both in migration patterns, and simultaneously migration researchers are increasingly studying women's position and role in migration, and how this challenges gender roles (Bastia, 2014). The paper by Bastia (2014) does a critical review of the literature employing intersectionality in migration studies, going beyond European and North American studies.

Johansson and Śliwa (2016) look at how language interacts with other characteristics and in this way contributes to social differentiation. Analysing five life histories, they show how language places Polish migrants in the United Kingdom in the social hierarchy depending on the intersection between language proficiency and other characteristics: origin, gender, age and skills or class and foreign status and still others. In the context of ageing and migration, such an intersectional analysis can be applied to explain the access to care services.

Hung and colleagues (2020) employ intersectionality to study labour division among migrants from China to Hong-Kong. Manassen and Verkuyten (2018) study Thai female marriage migrants in the Netherlands and do a bottom up comparative analysis of gender and ethnic identity and the intersectionality between them. They approach intersectionality from a social psychological perspective and focus on the way that affiliations to several groups are subjectively brought together and experienced. Results show overlap but also differences between the three identities: "ethnic (Thai) identity, gender (female) identity, or intersectional (Thai woman) identity" (Manassen and Verkuyten, 2018: 3). Meanwhile, McIlwaine and Bermúdez (2011), using qualitative and quantitative methods, applied an intersectional lens to grasp the impact of gender, social class, position in the life

course and immigrant status on political and civic participation among female and male migrants from Columbia to London.

Researchers have also looked at how intersectionality is used by activists and local migrant and advocacy organisations to advance women migrants' rights (Miles et al., 2019; Tungohan, 2016). For example, Miles and colleagues use qualitative interviews with NGOs and focus groups to understand how the intersectionality between being a woman, migrant and worker produces "a specific set of challenges for advocates" (Miles et al., 2019: 20), and how it is used by local institutions. Similarly, Alberti and colleagues (2013) show that when intersectionality is disregarded, and trade unions look at migrant workers as workers solely, they can favour situations of discrimination, by omitting the intersection between migration background and working class.

In short, migration researchers have, among others, applied an intersectional lens to study political and civic participation (McIlwaine and Bermúdez, 2011), various facets of identity (Bastia, 2014; Harnois et al., 2020; Lulle and Jurkane-Hobein, 2017; Manassen and Verkuyten, 2018; Netto et al., 2020; Song, 2020), inequality (Johansson and Śliwa, 2016), gendered care labour (Hung et al., 2020; Ogawa, 2017; Raghuram, 2019), and different types of integration in the destination country, whether in society in general or in the labour market (Kynsilehto, 2011; Leung et al., 2019; Ogawa, 2017; Ressia et al., 2017; Riaño, 2011).

<A> Directions for Future Research

<b> How to Discuss Intersectionality and Super-Diversity Together?

Using super-diversity and intersectionality together would allow researchers to be better equipped to understand the sources of diversity and inequality.

Both concepts are focusing on individual characteristics and they both acknowledge that there are multiple sources of differentiation between persons. Yet they allude to different mechanisms of producing differentiation. On the one hand, the concept of super-diversity looks at how there is an increase in heterogeneity within the population and aims to untangle the sources of such variations. On the other hand, intersectionality takes these sources of variation and shows how new categories emerge at the intersection of two or more of these variables. As for the levels of analysis, super-diversity can also be an attribute of meso and macro structures, whereas intersectionality is most often explored at an individual or group level.

There are two key elements to be considered in relation to both concepts: contextualization and time, and the life course. Given the increasing transnational character of migration, research needs to consider the way different variables are framed in the host and home country (Gangamma

and Shipman, 2018). In this sense sources of differentiation are embedded in contexts, as Boccagni (2015) argues when applying a super-diverse lens to the study of migrants' inclusion. In relation to the process of ageing, it can be inferred that context is not only bound to space – home and host country – but also to time. For example, the expectations of how to organise one's old age care can change over time (Liversage and Mizrahi Mirdal, 2017).

Timing is also important. Kynsilehto (2011), drawing on four biographies of migrants, shows how some forms of intersectionality, such as high level of education, age and family status, are relevant or have consequences at some moments in time and others emerge in other moments. Therefore, a life course approach is highly pertinent to both intersectionality and super-diversity.

<b> What Needs to be Done in the Future?

The literature review in the previous part gave us the possibility to understand how researchers employ the concepts of super-diversity and intersectionality in relation to migration and ageing respectively. The literature on the ageing–migration nexus would benefit from employing the concepts of super-diversity and intersectionality mainly to avoid the over-essentialization of the older migrant population (Ciobanu, 2019; Torres, 2006; see also Chapter 5 on ethnicity in this volume). Doing a typology of older migrants with a super-diversity or intersectional lens, would not only account for the heterogeneity of this group, but would favour a better understanding of the sources of vulnerability or privilege among older migrants. Translated into policy recommendations, it would be possible to avoid 'one size fits all' solutions to respond to the needs of these diverse populations.

<A> Notes

<A> References

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