



A Scoping Review on Ageing Migrants in Finland Through the Lens of Intersectionality and Vulnerability

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RESEARCH

HUP HELSINKI
UNIVERSITY
PRESS

ABSTRACT

Finland is one of the most rapidly ageing countries in the world while concomitantly becoming a more diverse society through increased migration in recent decades. Concepts of ageing have often been constructed on a normative basis embedded in the narratives of Finland as a homogeneous society with universal services. These constructions render the needs of ageing migrants with diverse backgrounds invisible. This scoping review aims to identify and review the existing research on older migrants in Finland through the lens of intersectionality and vulnerability. It presents findings from 16 peer-reviewed publications, and sheds light on the paucity of research on ageing migrants in the Finnish context. Through a thematic analysis of a range of publications in this field, this review finds that research has not yet included the perspectives and lived experiences of diverse older migrants from marginal positions. The inequalities experienced by older migrants through multiple social identities and increased heterogeneity within the migrant groups are not captured enough in the Finnish literature. Older migrants report gaps in accessing services and struggle with discrimination. Rather than viewing ageing migrants as vulnerable, the study opens perspectives for future research to be more inclusive to the needs of growing diversity by adopting an intersectional approach and engaging older people from marginalized groups to understand key aspects of inequalities.

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KEYWORDS:

Migrant older people;
Ageing migrants; Race
and ethnicity in ageing;
Intersectionality;
Vulnerability; Scoping
review

TO CITE THIS ARTICLE:

KC, S, Clarke, K and
Seppänen, M. 2023. A
Scoping Review on Ageing
Migrants in Finland Through
the Lens of Intersectionality
and Vulnerability. *Nordic
Journal of Migration
Research*, 13(3): 2,
pp. 1–18. DOI: [https://doi.
org/10.33134/njmr.561](https://doi.org/10.33134/njmr.561)

INTRODUCTION

Ageing and migration have transformed the global demographics (Warnes et al. 2006). Finland is one of the most rapidly ageing societies in Europe and its share of older population will become the second highest in the European Union by 2030 (Antolin et al. 2001; THL 2020). At present, people over the age of 65 constitute 22 percent of the population and are projected to be 29 percent by 2060 (Statistics Finland 2016). The share of Finland's older migrants is still comparatively small, amounting to 1.6 percent of the total population (Statistics Finland 2016). However, this figure will likely change soon with growing numbers of ageing refugees and asylum seekers as well as many first-generation migrants from the 1990s approaching retirement age. As pressure is intensifying on the social welfare and health systems to support ageing people, issues of intersectional identities and vulnerabilities are starting to come to the forefront in Finnish ageing research. Intersectionality is a concept that emerged from Black feminist thought to theorize the cross sections and overlays of complex entanglements of disadvantage, underprivilege and exclusion that have contextual origins in local systems of oppression (Collins 2020; McCall 2005). Although the concept of intersectionality is accepted as important in research with ageing migrants (Calasanti 2004; Horn & Schweppe 2016; Karl & Torres 2016; McMullin 2000; Moore 2009; Näre, Walsh & Baldassar 2017; Walsh & Näre 2016), many scholars are yet to embrace it in their research (Ciobanu, Fokkema & Nedelcu 2017; Holman & Walker 2020). An intersectional perspective on ageing opens up the heterogeneity of cumulative experiences and the fluidity of identities within migrant groups, where diverse categorizations can be deconstructed (Zubair & Norris 2015).

The article asks: How is the issue of ageing migrants discussed from the perspective of intersectionality and vulnerability in the existing research in Finland? The review presents key findings based on 16 peer-reviewed articles. The unequal experience of ageing of diverse older migrants is linked to structural and systemic inequalities that they face throughout their life course, an area which is not explored sufficiently in Finnish ageing research. Older migrants' simultaneous experience of ageism, racism, sexism, classism is encapsulated through their social invisibility, thus, the theoretical lens of intersectionality offers a robust perspective on the interlocking nature of their identities in relation to oppression (Koehn, Ferrer & Brotman 2020; McMullin 2000). Vulnerability is another key concept that reminds us to not simply categorize older migrants as a singular entity but rather understand their complex life situations which can also be a result of structural inequality. The aim of this article is to identify some of the critical gaps in Finnish ageing research. We highlight areas for future multidisciplinary research in ageing in Finland to promote the inclusion of ageing migrants in marginal positions to better address the inequalities in ageing and to capture the heterogeneity of their ageing experiences.

Finland has often been portrayed as a homogenous society with its normative understanding of the 'people' and their life situations (Keskinen et al. 2019; Koskinen 2015). Recent scholarship has started questioning the position and belongingness of Sámi and other 'old' minorities like the Roma and the Tatars (Siivikko 2019). As a nation that has been enmeshed in complex colonial relations – colonized by its neighbors, colonizer of Indigenous people in Sápmi and beneficiary of European colonial relations and imaginaries, Finnish society reflects similar structural power dynamics to industrialized Global North societies (Keskinen & Andreassen 2017; Koskinen 2015).

However, compared to other European countries, Finnish society's exposure to racial minorities is much lower than fellow European nations due to comparatively lesser immigration and its peripheral location on the continent (Rask 2018). Race is not openly or adequately discussed in Finland and racial meanings are expressed in the context of 'ethnicity', 'immigrants' or 'refugees' (Leinonen & Toivanen 2014). Many still consider that talking about 'race' fosters racialization and that equality means treating everyone the same (Eliassi 2017). Yet as intersectionality scholar Kimberlé Crenshaw (1997) points out, 'it is fairly obvious that treating different things the same can generate as much inequality as treating the same things differently' (Collins 2008).

INTERSECTIONALITY AND AGEING MIGRANTS

The concept of intersectionality has become a buzzword in contemporary social sciences. This article seeks to deepen the understanding of intersectionality by focusing on its roots in Black feminism to consider the complex meaning of the concept in terms of ageing research. Angela Davis' (1981) on 'Women, Race and Class', 'A Black Feminist Statement' drafted by the Combahee River Collective (1977) and Audre Lorde's *Sister Outsider* (1984) were trailblazing texts that outlined how interlocking systems of oppression had complex impacts on diverse social identities. The term 'intersectionality' was first used by a legal scholar, Kimberlé Crenshaw (1991), who conceived it as a way to describe the impact of multiple oppressions on individuals (Collins 2008). Crenshaw used intersectionality to illustrate how Black women were excluded from the mainstream White feminist and antiracist discourses (Bowleg 2012). Deeply rooted in critical race theory and Black feminism, intersectionality is a concept that explains how systems are structured to support the dominance of certain identities that are rooted in normative systems, while oppressing others through a 'matrix of domination' (Collins 2000). Critical race theory illustrates the oppressive experiences of racial minorities and highlights that failure to examine the interaction of identities lead to disparities (Constance-Huggins 2019). Crenshaw explains how the different identities of a person such as gender, social class, age, sexuality and migrant status are critical points where structures of power and discriminatory processes intersect (Crenshaw 1991). As a theoretical framework, intersectionality explains how multiple social categories such as race, ethnicity, gender, sexuality, ability and class produce disparate opportunities and challenges. Racism, sexism, heterosexism, for example operate at the micro level of individual experience within broader interlocking systems of privilege and oppression at the macro, social-structural level (Bowleg 2012; Holman and Walker 2020). Intersectionality understands that oppression is not siloed and is indeed interconnected (Collins 2008).

There are also critiques of intersectionality that underline its ambiguity and open-endedness (Jibrin & Salem 2015) as well as the need for different analytical approaches for different identities (Foley 2019). It is also criticized for having departed from its original focus on race and gender (Mügge et al. 2018) with the influence of neoliberal academy (Bilge 2013). However, if the intersectional experiences of ageing migrants are not acknowledged in research and practice, chances are that they remain invisible and misunderstood, and key aspects of inequalities experienced by diverse groups will be missed (Collins 2008; Holman & Walker 2020). Accumulated interpersonal discrimination throughout the life makes older migrants feel excluded and can adversely impact their well-being and mental health (Bécares & Zhang 2018). The level of cognitive or functional capacity, pension wealth, social connections,

support system, access to services and technology are also intersectional issues specific to ageing. Intersectional differences due to marginal positions in society and inadequate resources result in unequal lived experiences of ageing (Marmot et al. 2020). Therefore, intersectionality scholars highlight the importance of understanding social identity as a complex and layered phenomenon within oppressive social structures that determine access, privilege and stigma (Holman & Walker 2020; Zubair & Norris 2015). In terms of ageing, studies suggest that people with intersectional identities can experience both greater depression and loneliness (Beam & Collins 2019), but they can also demonstrate high levels of resilience (Cortes et al. 2019). The intersectionality perspective features insufficiently in research on ageing with older migrants in Finland. We contend that intersectionality is an important concept that can open more far-reaching insight into how the complex identities of individuals are intertwined with social inequality in ageing (Bowleg 2012; Zubair & Norris 2015).

VULNERABILITY AND AGEING MIGRANTS

Vulnerability can be defined as having a need for protection against harms and support to access services (Fawcett 2009). There are restrictive concepts of vulnerability that see it as a state of being in various life situations such as social injustice, diminishing capabilities and dependency on others that result when a person or group has a need for social protection (Bozzaro & Schweda 2018). For some older people, declining physical health and psychological stress can make them more susceptible to challenges and harm (Bozzaro & Schweda 2018). As older migrants, some have difficulties with income wealth, saving and pensions, support networks with constrained resources, self-esteem and coping mechanisms due to societal structures of classism, sexism and racism (Fawcett 2009). Older migrants can lack local social networks and resources (Torres 2019). The double jeopardy theory claims that membership in two underprivileged groups at the same time causes an additive impact and can even lead to triple jeopardy if more statuses are added (Calasanti 1993; Calasanti and King 2014; Macnicol 2005). However, understanding people merely based on these discrete categories does not consider the within-group variations and multiple oppression they face (Koehn 2021; Moore 2009). Thus, being an older migrant alone should not be a sole criterion for being defined as vulnerable (Bozzaro & Schweda 2018). Researchers and practitioners should be careful while using this term as it should not come as patronizing, othering and stigmatizing a group (Virokannas, Liuski & Kuronen 2020). Labeling certain groups of migrant older people as vulnerable can be problematic as it creates stereotyping and ageism because ageing is not unidirectional and constant but rather a fluid process that depends on a person's life course (Bozzaro & Schweda 2018). Using only a restrictive concept of vulnerability demonstrates perceived weakness and dependence for help rather than looking at a person's strengths, autonomy and self-determination (Fawcett 2009).

Brown (2011) argues that presuming that older people are inherently vulnerable does not take into account intersectional vulnerabilities that are a result of structural inequality. Therefore, the layers of identities and complex experiences of a person should be studied through an intersectional lens. Instead of only identifying people as vulnerable, their complex life situations should be emphasized along with the role of the welfare services in reducing or (re)producing vulnerability (Virokannas et al. 2020).

Ciobanu et al. (2017) state that older migrants' vulnerabilities and resilience in their host country depends on different aspects at the macro, mezzo and micro levels. On the macro level, factors such as the social policies at the national and international level; migration regimes; care regimes; political and public opinions towards migrants; media portrayals of migrants and the economic status in the country of origin and at the host country affect power imbalance and structural conditions for older migrants' vulnerabilities. Universalism and egalitarianism are guiding principles behind social care policies and social service provisions in Finland. Universalism comprises ideas that all citizens have the rights to public services uniformly throughout the country (Anttonen & Häikiö 2011). However, notions of universalism often embedded in color-blindness that contests equality, neutrality and fairness can be questioned (Eliassi 2017) as it does not guarantee access to services of all inhabitants and limit the discussion of oppressive practices and hierarchical positions between groups (Häikiö & Hvinden 2012). The conception of deservingness and entitlement of services are based on exclusionary ethno-nationalist and racializing criteria, and non-European others viewed as undeserving and abusers of the system (Jørgensen & Thomsen 2016; Keskinen 2016; Krivonos 2019). Nordberg and Wrede (2015) argue that in welfare states like Finland, the notion of the 'state' as a dominant institutional structure gives rise to a kind of bias where local practices and encounters are not considered. As noted earlier, because Finnish identity is often constructed as a homogenous entity, a politics of Whiteness and privilege prevails where non-European forms of Whiteness are excluded and rendered invisible (Keskinen 2016; Krivonos 2019).

On the mezzo level, the availability of resources, community and family networks and sense of belongingness to a racial and ethnic group that encompasses their way of life, coping mechanisms and needs in old age determine older migrant's vulnerability and resilience (Ciobanu et al. 2017). For migrants, belongingness in the Finnish society is still challenged in their everyday interactions (Leinonen & Toivanen 2014). Migrants are often problematized and characterized as creating social problems which further reproduces exclusionary practices and hierarchical identities (Eliassi 2015). The process of othering happens when powerful groups have the ability to define 'us' and 'them' or 'deserving' or 'undeserving' which is reproduced (Eliassi 2015).

On the micro level, specific individual factors such as the person's unique migration trajectory, educational and economic status, health and activity, technological literacy and language proficiency influence older migrant's vulnerability and resilience (Ciobanu et al. 2017). Previous research has shown that migrants tend to have a lesser quality of life, well-being and health status compared to non-migrants or the majority population (Nazroo 2006). The complexity of ageing experiences among older migrant groups, resulting from changing social locations and socially constructed identities is generally under-researched (Zubair & Norris 2015).

In Finland, there is not enough data or statistics on care needs or healthcare and social service utilization among the different groups of migrant older people. Migrant health and well-being study (Maamu) studied working-aged Russian, Somali and Kurdish immigrants in Finland. However, its focus has not been ageing migrants. Social and racial inequalities of other age and migrant groups are under-monitored and under-researched. As a result, social welfare policy and programs designed to reduce discrimination and inequalities for all migrant groups cannot be informed by evidence (Bécares & Nazroo 2020). There are large-scale studies and gerontological data resources available for native older population to expand the understanding of their life course and well-being. However, there has been little interest or institutional research conducted with migrant older people especially from the non-EU background.

METHODOLOGY

The article uses a scoping review to explore the current state of knowledge about ageing migrants in Finland. A scoping review is a methodological process that maps relevant literature in a particular field of study (Arksey & Malley 2005). It is done to identify the range, scope and breadth of an emerging research topic (Levac, Colquhoun & O'Brien 2010). A scoping review is conducted when the study area is not yet saturated with research (Arksey & Malley 2005; Daudt, van Mossel & Scott 2013). It is also done to highlight research gaps and to disseminate research results conducted previously in the field (Munn et al. 2018). A key feature of scoping review is to identify questions and topics for future research (Anderson et al. 2008). It can leverage the practicalities of research outputs to practitioners, researchers and policy makers through its summarized presentation of findings (Arksey & Malley 2005; Daudt et al. 2013). With its comprehensive overview that not only accentuates the extent and context of a topic, this scoping review also offers important policy and practice implications (Davis, Drey & Gloud 2009). The technique used in this article comprises a process of identifying the available literature, methods, current knowledge and implications for future research about diversity and migrant ageing in Finland.

The languages included in the search were English and Finnish. Only peer-reviewed articles were searched manually. The databases that were hand searched were EBSCOhost, Applied Social Sciences Index & Abstract (ProQuest), Social Sciences Citation Index (Web of Science), Scopus (Elsevier), and Google Scholar. Apart from the databases, three relevant Finnish journals were also searched: *Gerontologia*, *Janus* and the *Finnish Journal of Ethnicity and Migration*. The key words used were 'older migrants', 'ageing immigrants', 'race and ethnicity in ageing', 'intersectionality and ageing'. First, the titles and abstracts were screened, followed by selecting those articles that included older migrants in Finland. As there were only limited numbers of publications done in this field in Finland, any publications that encompassed older migrants and older refugees were included.

The sampling consisted of 16 peer-reviewed articles on ageing migrants in Finland among which 12 were in English language and 4 were in Finnish language. The search was conducted from December 2020 until November 2021 with no restrictions on the date of publication. Additionally, reference lists of the relevant articles were screened to identify studies that might have been missed. This article follows the methodological framework given by Arksey and Malley (2005) which includes the following five stages: identifying the research question, identifying relevant studies, study selection, charting the data, and finally, collating, summarizing and reporting the results.

A thematic analysis was conducted. Thematic analysis is a method used for identifying, analyzing and reporting patterns within the data (Braun & Clarke 2006). It draws on explicit and implicit patterns of meaning relevant to the study (Joffe 2011). This article searched for themes and patterns that were meaningful for the study from the 16 peer-reviewed articles. Mainly, similarities and differences were sought in the reviewed articles that were guided by the research question on intersectional identities and vulnerability to provide insights on Finnish research on ageing migrants (Nowell et al. 2017).

FINDINGS

Table 1 presents the articles that have been published about older migrants and refugees in Finland with details of their aim and methodology.

AUTHOR (YEAR)	STUDY LOCATION	AIM	METHODOLOGY
Mölsä and Tiilikainen (2008)	Finland	Explores how ageing immigrants (especially refugees) understand ageing and their social role in Finland.	Individual and focus group interviews with 41 people of Somali background.
Kröger and Zechner (2009)	Finland	Looks at how migration and care are closely interrelated.	Literature review.
Heikkinen (2011)	Finland	Examines the factors that affect the exclusion of older immigrants from the former Soviet Union and their everyday lives in Finland in line with the second and third generation.	Interviews with five three-generation families.
Heikkinen (2012)	Finland	Explores the everyday realities of life in a new country by older people from the former Soviet Union in terms of social relations and integration.	Content analysis of qualitative interviews of ageing migrants from 18 municipalities.
Heikkinen and Lumme-Sandt (2013)	Finland	Studies how later-life migrants from former Soviet Union in Finland sustain and maintain their transnational connections.	Interviews with 11 later life migrants.
Mölsä et al. (2014)	Helsinki, Finland	Studies the mental and somatic health of older Somali refugees and their pair-matched Finns, and the role of pre-migration trauma and post-migration stressors among refugees.	Survey done with 128 older Somalis aged 50–80 years through interviews. For each Somali participant, a matched Finn counterpart was selected who completed the questionnaire.
Heikkinen and Lumme-Sandt (2014)	Finland	Examines how ageing migrants are seen in municipal ageing and integration policies.	Analyzes 21 official documents related to ageing policies and 23 integration plans for migrants.
Kuittinen et al. (2014).	Finland	Compares the depressive symptoms between older Somalis and Finns.	Questionnaire with 128 Somalis and their matched Finnish pairs.
Mölsä et al. (2017)	Finland	Examines how past traumatic stress, present acculturation and discrimination are linked with mental health and, the role of religiousness to reduce the negative impacts of war trauma for older migrants.	Questionnaire filled by 128 older Somali refugees aged 50 to 80 years.
Mölsä, Tiilikainen and Punamäki (2019)	Finland	Explores the healthcare services utilization patterns of older immigrants and compare the accessibility between older Somalis and Finns; examine the mental healthcare preference and test the mental service usage gap of older Somalis.	Survey with 256 older people ages of 50–85; half were Somali migrants and the other half Finns.
Wrede, Tiilikainen and Vartiainen (2020)	Finland	Descriptive essay about the diversifying ageing population of Finland by leading gerontological policy experts.	Essay format describes the diversity of needs of ageing populations.

(Contd.)

AUTHOR (YEAR)	STUDY LOCATION	AIM	METHODOLOGY
Tiainen-Qadir (2020)	Finland	Investigates how Russian-speaking migrant women living in Finland account for their ageing individually and in dialogue with collective identities.	Ethnographic fieldwork in an urban-based club for Russian-speaking seniors, written and oral life stories, ethnographic interviews with some of the participants and the group's coordinators, participant observation in the club.
Kouvonen et al. (2021)	Finland	Identifies the connection between depressive symptoms and self-rated health (SRH) with Digital Information Technology (DIT) use in Russian speaking older migrants.	Data collected from the Care, Health and Ageing of Russian-speaking Minority (CHARM) study. Random sampling of 3000 participants aged 50 and above from the Population Registry from postal survey. 1082 responded.
Asikainen (2021)	Helsinki Capital Region	Explores how a sense of groupness is negotiated in the meeting place for older Russian-speaking migrants.	Grounded in field work over a period of one year consisting of 150 hours of participant observation, 12 semi-structured interviews with attendees aged 65 and above, 10 follow-up interviews assisted by interaction diaries, 5 stakeholder interviews, review of documents and 3 video recordings of events.
Safarov (2021)	Finland	Examines the digital divide at the micro level of older Russian speaking migrants in Finland.	Participant observation of 100 hours, 17 semi-structured interviews and 16 collected documents.
Shin et al. (2022)	Finland	Studies the link between digital information technology (DIT) use and the utilization of transnational healthcare (THC) in ageing migrants and explore how this relationship depends on social integration or perceived discrimination in health services in Finland.	Data from the Care, Health and Ageing of Russian-speaking Minority in Finland (CHARM) study conducted in 2019, which targeted Russian-speaking residents aged 50 and above ($n = 1082$) nationwide, are analyzed.

CURRENT STATE OF KNOWLEDGE

A thematic analysis reveals the following main topics in ageing research on older migrants in Finland.

INTERSECTIONAL PERSPECTIVE INADEQUATELY EXPLORED IN FINNISH AGEING LITERATURE

All publications noted the growing diversity in terms of ageing population in Finland and their needs. Recently, Finland has changed its position, from being a country of emigration to one of immigration (Heikkinen & Lumme-Sandt 2013). There are migrants residing in Finland from all ages, nationalities and backgrounds (Wrede et al. 2020). Older migrants are a diverse group with different migration histories (Heikkinen 2011). Out of 16 articles examined on ageing migrants, 8 articles focused on Russian-speaking older people and 5 articles were written about Somali older

Table 1 Presents the articles that have been published about older migrants and refugees in Finland with details of their aim and methodology.

people in Finland. Migrants from Russia or the former Soviet Union are the largest group in Finland, comprising 20 percent of the total migrant population (Kouvonen et al. 2021; Shin et al. 2022; Tiaynen-Qadir 2020). Somalis are the third largest group (Mölsä et al. 2019). We identified no articles written about other groups of migrant older people. Although a significant number of migrants in Finland are from its neighboring countries like Russia, Estonia and the Baltic nations because of geographical proximity, marriage, ancestral lineage and work (Malin & Gissler 2009), there are nonetheless also migrant older people from a diverse range of backgrounds in Finland who have come for work, studies, family reunification and as refugees, which makes it important to open discussion and research beyond limiting to a few migrant communities in ageing research. It is especially key to include groups who are racialized and are in marginal positions as their narratives are almost invisible in the Finnish ageing research. Previous researchers have usually taken just one variable at a time approach, consequently ignoring other societal positions such as gender, class, race, historical and regional differences on the topics of ageing and migration (Chaouni et al. 2021; Torres 2019). These positions should be studied to understand inequalities experienced by ageing migrants in relation to broader social structures and power dynamics.

Heikkinen and Lumme-Sandt's (2014) study finds that the Finnish municipal old-age policies and integration plans mention little about ageing migrants. They are limited on Finnish language learning and adjusting to the Finnish culture. Their research pointed out Finland's minimal experience with migrant older clients and the need for more action to include ageing migrants. In the Finnish health care, there are no specific services for migrant populations. Migrants are assessed with the same psychiatric and psychological tools as natives which can be problematic (Kuittinen et al. 2014). The new Elderly Services Act views the need for skills to work with diverse clients (Heikkinen & Lumme-Sandt's 2014). Wrede et al. (2020) have also highlighted that Finnish policies have to be more inclusive to the growing needs of a diverse population.

Research showed that Russians are not accepted in Finnish society and regarded as an unwelcomed minority group and sometimes, referred to by derogatory terms like 'Ryssä' even when they appear to be White and can speak Finnish (Heikkinen 2011; Tiaynen-Qadir 2020). Stereotypical discrimination against older Russian migrants for their accents is very prevalent (Asikainen 2021). The discrimination that older migrants face in the Finnish society have made them limit their group activities to only Russian-speaking participants (Asikainen 2021; Tiaynen-Qadir 2020). Due to discrimination and racism, some older migrants face microaggressions in their everyday lives along with limited opportunities to engage in the Finnish society. Additionally, the public and media have portrayed negative and stereotypical attitudes towards migrants which has all contributed to their minimal interaction with the Finnish community (Mölsä et al. 2017).

Studies need to explore how older migrants face barriers and discrimination in their everyday lives and access to services. Future research with ageing migrants should consider who is included in research and who is not and why. Lived experiences and perspectives of older migrants with racialized visibilities are lacking in Finland who would go through even higher individual and structural discrimination and have lesser resources to advocate for their needs. Research questions in ageing should include concepts of identity, belongingness, racialization and discrimination

to understand inequalities (Bécares & Nazroo 2020). An intersectional approach in ageing fosters understanding of not only who is left behind but also why this occurs and how, considering their multiple identities and social positions and the wider social structures (Kapilashrami & Hankivsky 2018).

AGEING MIGRANTS CONSTRUCTED AS VULNERABLE

Heikkinen and Lumme-Sandt's study found that relocating to a new country was not easy as it requires an array of resources and support besides considering the ageing process (2013). Older migrants' status such as being a refugee, repatriate or a migrant had an impact on how well they adjusted in the host country (Heikkinen 2011). Older refugees were considered vulnerable in a country which is culturally and linguistically different from their home countries (Mölsä et al. 2014). They endured challenges such as social exclusion, unemployment and perceived discrimination that take a toll on their mental health (Mölsä et al. 2017). Kuittinen et al.'s (2014) study states the differences in terms of culture, religion, care patterns, size of the family, collective and individual values among migrant older people. It was also found that cultural, gender and linguistic barriers are some of the reasons for older migrants' exclusion and insufficient access to formal and professional social and health services (Heikkinen 2012; Heikkinen 2011; Mölsä et al. 2019; Shin et al. 2022; Tiaynen-Qadir 2020). Migrant groups often relied on family care rather than formal care (Kröger & Zechner 2009).

The lack of language skills excluded them from forming meaningful social connections and friendships in Finland (Heikkinen 2011). Consequently, older migrants limited themselves with only their ethnic circles, associations and religious networks (Heikkinen 2011; Tiaynen-Qadir 2020). Asikainen's research reported that insufficient Finnish skills brought Russian migrants together because they were unable to mix with other groups or the Finnish community (2021). They found comfort and security in their own language and what seemed home-like to them (Tiaynen-Qadir 2020). Studies emphasized that health and social care are not culturally sensitive enough to understand the needs and culture of migrant populations (Shin et al. 2022). Most information is only available in the two official languages of Finland which may not be accessible to many migrant groups (Kröger & Zechner 2009; Mölsä et al. 2019).

Research has mostly emphasized the intercultural and linguistic differences, highlighting how migrant older people are different from the native population. This way of doing research further others them, producing, and reproducing inequalities and portraying them as different. It does not explore why they are excluded in personal, communal and structural levels. The increased heterogeneity within the migrant groups is not studied enough in the Finnish literature. When migrant groups are only problematized based on their cultural differences, they do not trust the system adequately and can confine themselves to their own circles. Constructing migrants only as vulnerable groups will risk stigmatizing them and considering them as incapable. It justifies interventions which 'know better' about what is best for people who are termed as vulnerable while excluding them from their own care (Virokannas et al. 2020). Research should focus on their resilience, strengths and coping mechanisms. It is equally important to have counter-narratives from migrant groups themselves and make research more participatory (Chaouni et al. 2021).

Findings suggest that migrants tend to reside in disadvantaged neighbourhoods and/or in poverty, which affects the use of social and health services (Heikkinen 2011). Having a racial and ethnic identity that is different from the majority population limited the use of resources and networks in Finland (Heikkinen 2011). Mölsä et al. (2019) study found that even though older refugees suffer from mental health issues, they do not make use of available universal healthcare services in Finland. Their research reported that older Somali went to doctors less and used fewer preventive health services than the majority Finnish population (Mölsä et al. 2019). Similarly, Somalis in Finland preferred somatic treatment more than psychological services, which was a practice back in Somalia where care focused on cure more than prevention (Mölsä et al. 2019). Further, based on cultural preferences, most older Somali preferred traditional healers, informal health workers and religious experts (Kuittinen 2014; Mölsä et al. 2019). Many ageing migrant clients did not use services in the western social and health care as they felt that western services do not necessarily value the holistic way of healing and security imparted by some cultural practices (Mölsä et al. 2014; Shin et al. 2022). Most of the Russian speaking older migrants were found to rely on transnational services to access health support when they have not integrated well in the Finnish system (Shin et al. 2022). Heikkinen (2011)'s research showed that there is a lack of cultural competence in Finnish social and health care providers. A need for cultural sensitivity in terms of the end of life for ageing refugees was also highlighted in Mölsä and Tiilikainen's study (2008).

Older migrants experienced social exclusion which gave them a disadvantage in terms of their ability to participate in the society, engage in meaningful social relations or civic activities and access basic services (Heikkinen 2012; Heikkinen 2011; Scharf, Phillipson & Smith 2005; Walsh & Näre 2016). In addition to social exclusion, they also experienced digital exclusion which is linked to their access to technology and digital services as it is also associated with inadequate education, socioeconomic status, ethnic background and migration status (Kouvonen et al. 2021). Safarov's research showed that older migrants in Finland did not use digital technology fully because of language barriers and exclusion (Safarov 2021). Many essential government services such as Social Insurance Institution (Kela), online banking, tax administration, electronic forms, health care and public services have become digital in Finland (Kouvonen et al. 2021; Safarov 2021). Not all older people with a migrant background had an online identification in Finland as they found digital services to be complex and difficult to use (Safarov 2021). Most of the online forms were available only in the Finnish or Swedish language. Many older migrants have no experience or knowledge on how to use them (Ibid.). Russian speaking older migrants were often found to be using digital information technology and health care services from abroad which also had a risk of disconnecting older migrants with the local health care services in Finland (Shin et al. 2022).

In many cases, the Finnish system has been known to favor those with the capacity to access services for themselves and can fail to support those who are in marginal situations (Topo 2011). It is important to address the inequalities in accessing services. There has not been enough research on how and why interlocking systems of discrimination create inequalities in access to services considering beyond the mainstream homogenous ways of understanding older people's needs. Many issues on intersectionality may seem similar to the concept of exclusion. Nonetheless, intersectionality covers a broader understanding of power relations and how they

shape inequalities. Intersectionality is helpful to grasp the differences in ageing among different people with overlapping identities. Future research should consider leveraging an environment of dialogue between migrant communities and social services and research organizations to especially engage older people from racialized backgrounds.

CONCLUSION

In this scoping review, we identified and reviewed the existing peer-reviewed literature on ageing migrants in Finland. It gave an overview of what has been done in this field and what could be the focus for future research with ageing migrants. We looked at who is studied and who is not and found that Russian speaking and Somali were the only groups represented in Finnish ageing research with migrants. Based on the scoping review, older migrants faced many challenges at the micro level to access services and engage meaningfully in the Finnish society, to the structural level on how they were excluded in policies, program structures and research. Future research with ageing should engage older people from under-represented, racialized and non-European background as they go through more substantial structural discrimination and have lesser resources to access services and uphold for their needs that result in unequal lived experiences of ageing. There is inadequate evidence-based knowledge about these groups in ageing research (Seppänen & Ray 2022; Torres 2022). Problematizing migrant groups and constructing them as vulnerable by highlighting their intercultural differences (re) produces inequalities. A more robust study on intersectional perspective with ageing migrants would be instrumental to understanding older migrants' complex experiences in relation to their social positions such as gender, race and ethnicity. Research on their everyday lives touching upon questions of identity, belongingness and the impact of wider social structures will be beneficial to develop a better understanding of their ageing process. This article serves as a starting point for these conversations to take place. Ageing research should not be limited to a homogenous discourse with migrants as they are a heterogenous group with diverse life courses. There is a need for more studies to focus on multiple compounding identities and life situations and challenge systems of interlocking oppression to promote the well-being of ageing migrants.


FUNDING INFORMATION


This work was supported by the funding of the Finnish Cultural Foundation Central Fund (Grant number 00210508).

COMPETING INTERESTS

The authors have no competing interests to declare.

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KC et al.
Nordic Journal of Migration Research
DOI: 10.33134/njmr.561

TO CITE THIS ARTICLE:

KC, S, Clarke, K and Seppänen, M. 2023. A Scoping Review on Ageing Migrants in Finland Through the Lens of Intersectionality and Vulnerability. *Nordic Journal of Migration Research*, 13(3): 2, pp. 1–18. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.33134/njmr.561>

Submitted: 03 March 2022

Accepted: 07 November 2022

Published: 05 July 2023

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