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2025-09-09

Tervonen, M & Välimäki, M 2025, 'Covered tracks? Deportation as a historical blind spot in twentieth to twenty-first century Nordic countries', *European Review of History*, pp. 1-26. <https://doi.org/10.1080/13507486.2025.2525192>

<http://hdl.handle.net/10138/601223>

10.1080/13507486.2025.2525192

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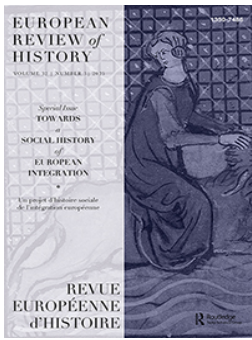
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Please cite the original version.



European Review of History: Revue européenne d'histoire

ISSN: 1350-7486 (Print) 1469-8293 (Online) Journal homepage: www.tandfonline.com/journals/cerh20

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To cite this article: Miika Tervonen & Matti Välimäki (09 Sep 2025): Covered tracks? Deportation as a historical blind spot in twentieth to twenty-first century Nordic countries, *European Review of History: Revue européenne d'histoire*, DOI: [10.1080/13507486.2025.2525192](https://doi.org/10.1080/13507486.2025.2525192)

To link to this article: <https://doi.org/10.1080/13507486.2025.2525192>



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Published online: 09 Sep 2025.



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Covered tracks? Deportation as a historical blind spot in twentieth to twenty-first century Nordic countries

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ABSTRACT

The article addresses modern forms of deportation – that is, the forced removal of non-citizens from a state territory – as a significant but frequently overlooked part of the histories of nation building, migration control and international relations. The authors approach deportation in the twentieth to twenty-first centuries as primarily a tool of selective nation-building intimately tied up with the boundary drawing of the nation/welfare states and the rise of the international nation-state system. Through the case of Nordic history, the authors identify four long-term logics of forced removals that serve as heuristic tools in examining long-term continuities and changes in the practice of deportation: 1) socioeconomic selection; 2) deportation as a foreign-policy instrument; 3) racial/cultural gatekeeping; and 4) guarding the administrative power of the state. The article argues that scarcity of research on deportation specifically as a long-term phenomenon in the Nordic and broader European context hinge on non-transparent administrative processes, opaque record keeping and archiving, and the missing voices produced by the physical act of removing migrants from the nation-state's territory. The authors suggest ways to address silences, including the use of oral history materials and reading administrative sources 'against the grain'. More broadly, the article calls for an epistemological shift from a nation-state-centred perspective that has omitted those whom the state has disposed itself of.

ARTICLE HISTORY

Received 21 June 2024
Accepted 23 June 2025

KEYWORDS

Deportation; history; migration control; politics of memory; nation-state; welfare-state; Nordic countries

Introduction

Countries of the so-called Global North are at present removing unwanted migrants from their territories on a mass scale. But while deportations have become a central and contested area of European security and justice systems, there is surprisingly little understanding of why and how they have become so prominent. Limited public information or research is available in most European countries regarding the removal of non-citizens, specifically as a long-term phenomenon. In the 'eternal present' of news flow, deportations appear time and again as exceptions or border

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spectacles¹ detached from each other as much as from the past. Meanwhile, there are evident gaps between history and social science, with the latter often overlooking the past beyond the latest migration ‘crisis’. Few studies connect what Matthew Gibney has termed the post-9/11 ‘deportation turn’² with deeper histories of migration control and nation-building.

This is not to argue that research would be altogether missing, as the growing historical interest in migration control and refugees has also spawned scholarship on deportation. But while historians have paid increasing attention to forced migrants, the Nordic case suggests that those rejected rather than received by the nation-states still tend to fall outside the focus of research. As we argue below, the research field remains in many respects fragmented, reproducing a pattern in which physical removal connects with a discursive one. In this article, we propose ways to address forced removals as a long-term societal phenomenon through looking at the case of modern Nordic history. The Nordic region has a long tradition of cooperating on immigration policies and has shared regional freedom of movement since 1952. The post-war Nordic ‘model’ has combined universal residence-based welfare with relatively strict immigration regulation. A connection between welfare and bordering³ appears evident, for example, in the exceptionally high per capita numbers of deportations from Sweden.⁴ While the Nordic case has significant historical specificities, we argue that it also reflects, and helps to examine, many broader European developments, from the changing logics of deportation to the silences surrounding them, as well as to the post-Cold War efforts to expand the state’s capacity to deport.⁵ With deportation, we refer in this article to forced removals of non-citizens from a state territory based on formal orders, regardless of legal mechanism used. Such conceptual openness is necessary to grasp the long-term development of a relatively non-transparent policy area that has undergone frequent legislative and conceptual shifts.⁶ Asking where the ‘heart of the matter’ is instead of working from an a priori definition⁷ aligns with the refusal of critical migration studies to take administrative concepts for granted.⁸ We thus approach refusal of entry, Dublin transfers and so-called voluntary-assisted departures – to the extent that they do not involve a possibility of legally staying – as *de facto* parts of a broader deportation policy.

Rather than seeing deportation as a ‘natural’ response to growing immigration, we examine it as a historically contingent tool of selective nation-state building, with elements of political, social and cultural/racial gatekeeping.⁹ Following Anderson, Gibney and Paoletti,¹⁰ we approach deportation policy as a key site wherein the nation’s formal and normative boundaries have been drawn and negotiated. As such, modern forms of deportation are intimately tied to the building and boundary-drawing of the nation/welfare state and the rise of the international nation-state system. As an object of research, deportation further invokes a conventionally overlooked perspective in migration studies, in which the nation-state is the *cause* of forced mobility, not just its neutral or natural framework.¹¹

In further examining the Nordic case, our aim is fourfold. First, we ask *why* deportation has become an underexamined historical area and outline intertwined layers of silence. Second, we present four societal ‘logics’ to set deportations into a long-term perspective and to move beyond exceptionalizing approaches. Third, we suggest ways to overcome silences and methodological challenges regarding the histories of deportation. Finally, throughout the article, we seek to review the state of the art of relevant historical

literature in the case of Nordic history and highlight directions where more research is needed.

Layers of silence

Even in the broader context of methodological presentism and public ‘amnesias’ on migration and refugeedom,¹² deportations appear shrouded by exceptional opaqueness, pointing to blind spots produced by nineteenth- and twentieth-century nation-building processes. While constructing in-groups of formally equal nationals/citizens, nation-building instituted symbolic and legal barriers around diverse ‘aliens’ and ‘others’. Deportations formed an important tool in the ensuing social, political and racial boundary-drawing. In the extreme example of the United States, Adam Goodman has estimated that more people were deported between 1882 and 2020 – as many as 57 million people – than moved into the US ‘melting pot’ within the same period. In effect, what took place was a demographic selection process on an immense scale, resulting in what Daniel Kanstroom has coined as a ‘deportation nation’.¹³ Although the Nordic and European countries are rarely conceived of as immigration countries,¹⁴ they also have centuries-long histories of restricting the entry and residence of ‘aliens’. In cumulative figures, deportation is not a marginal phenomenon. For example, Henrik Zip Sane estimated that c.30,000 people were deported from Denmark between 1875 and 1919.¹⁵ In seeking to understand silences and research gaps surrounding deportation, we distinguish *administrative*, *archival* and *historiographical* layers of silence, as well as *missing voices of the deportees*. The last-mentioned is the most obvious: as unwanted non-citizens have been physically removed from year to year and decade to decade, their experiences and narratives have also been removed. As the practice of expelling dissidents from authoritarian states suggests, removing a person from the territory of a state is an effective way of excluding their voice from a national sphere. Meanwhile, trauma and shame associated with deportations have often produced not just personal but also intergenerationally transmitted silences. Deportees – and the act of deporting – have in a very concrete sense been out of sight, out of mind.

In terms of *administrative silences*, decision-making and governance connected to forced removals have often been highly non-transparent, taking place in an administrative and juridical grey zone.¹⁶ In the Nordic context, deportations, denials of entry and so on could, in many cases, be undertaken as administrative decisions with little or no judicial oversight or right of appeal. For example, in Finland, appeals could only be launched after 1983. The lack of transparency can indeed be seen as a technique of control reducing the authorities’ need to justify decisions and helping to conceal and normalize their exercise of power.¹⁷ Even if not consciously constructed, the ‘opacity of state bureaucracy has profoundly disempowering effects for those trying to access it’, as noted by Lindberg and Borrelli.¹⁸ Processes leading to deportation have further involved multiple actors such as immigration officers, border guards, police, security and intelligence services, ministries of foreign affairs with their consulates and embassies, social authorities and courts, each wielding discretionary power and partly overlapping mandates. Within the framework of changing legislation, they have followed their own internal logic, practices, terminology and documentation procedures. Record-keeping has also historically often been non-

systematic, with incomplete or completely missing records.¹⁹ The overall results are patchy paper trails with differing if not downright conflicting information, for example, on the number of different types of removals.²⁰

The administrative non-transparency feeds into *archival* silences. Materials related to forced removals have frequently been disposed of in the processes of administration and archiving, sometimes indeed necessitated by privacy law.²¹ Preserved records can be subject to stringent research permit procedures, which are understandably stricter the closer one gets to the present day. Materials can also be held back by authorities lacking resources for proper archiving or concerned about privacy infringements. Even basic information tends not to be publicly available when going backward in time for more than a decade or two. For example, in Finland, the Immigration Service does not offer any statistical data related to deportations before 2011.²²

Having to rely on restricted, missing and laborious sources has undoubtedly contributed to the *historiographical* layer of silences. These silences, however, also have deeper epistemological roots, stemming from a nation-state-centric view of the past that has limited the questions that professional historians have tended to pose. Migration in general, and forced migrations in particular, have fitted poorly into homogenizing national narratives and only emerged as subjects of research relatively late.²³ This has applied even more strongly to deportation as a state-produced form of forced migration and a conscious exclusion of the deportees from the national community.

As historians have in recent decades gradually become interested in migration and migration control, forced removals also have garnered attention. Particularly in North America, scholarship has situated deportation and border control 'at the heart of [...] nation-building, international relations and transnational identifications'.²⁴ Economists have also begun crossing disciplinary boundaries by examining the long-term effects of deportation policies.²⁵ While notably fewer specialized monographs or interdisciplinary research pieces have been published in Europe, social historians have underscored the increasing regulation of destitute aliens at the turn of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, as well as the constraints in the state's capacity to deport them.²⁶ In the former imperial metropolises, researchers have further examined forced migrations related to colonialism.²⁷

Overviews of Nordic research literature²⁸ suggest continuing gaps in the European context, however. With a few notable exceptions,²⁹ forced removals have received limited specific attention within the otherwise expanding Nordic literature on migration history. To the extent that historians *have* discussed deportation, the focus has tended to be on a small number of exceptional cases that had already received a lot of public attention in their own time. In the Nordic context, such examples include the deportation of Jews from occupied Norway to Nazi Germany, or 'those eight' (12) Jewish refugees Finland deported to Nazi Germany in 1942.³⁰

Focus on the most prominent and controversial cases³¹ is understandable, especially considering the patchy source materials. However, it has meant sparse attention on 'everyday' removals taking place from year to year, the voices of deportees or the slowly evolving administrative 'machinery' putting the removals into practice. Continuities of methodological nationalism are further reflected in the absence of comparative research, while lack of communication across history and social science has fed the frequent presentism of the latter. In effect, a narrow reach of mainstream research has tended to

exceptionalize deportations and disconnected them from the nation-state structures they have helped to shape.

Many of the gaps in the Nordic scholarship undoubtedly reflect local and national specificities. Yet our limited survey of European research literature published in English suggests that the above-mentioned tendencies – a limited focus on deportations in migration history; the predominance of exceptional cases; the paucity of comparative research; and the disconnect between the historical and social science literature – are not confined just to the Nordic context.

Four logics of Nordic deportation regimes

The figure of a rejected asylum seeker being escorted to an airplane is so familiar in today's media landscape that it is easy to forget that many, if not most, deportations have both historically and currently been connected to other logics. In the remainder of this article, we seek to examine some of these presently less conspicuous areas through identifying four societal 'logics' of forced removals: 1) socio-economic selection; 2) deportation as a foreign-policy instrument; 3) racial/cultural gatekeeping; and 4) guarding the administrative power of the state.

Our argument is not that these logics or modes of deporting would have always been prevalent, nor that they would cover all types of deportations. In particular, colonial rationales have been prominent in the development of modern forms of deportation, with punitive relocations connecting and distinguishing metropolises and colonies well into the twentieth century.³² In the Nordic case, convict labour was used in the early colonizing of Greenland and the 'New Sweden' colony in North America, while convicts and dissidents were sent from the Finnish Grand Duchy to Siberia until as late as 1917.³³ It is an open question to what extent the racialized othering of Sámi and Kalaallit indigenous populations and other colonized people have shaped the Nordic deportation regime, or to what extent there might have been legislative 'boomerang' effects from the slave codes used in Swedish and Danish colonies in the Antilles. However, in this article we focus on the nation-state-centred logics of deportation more accessible through existing research. While the outlined logics were (and are) not the *only* ones, we suggest that they emerged as the primary rationales in the twentieth century through parallel processes of nation/welfare-state building and decolonization.

We do not imply that the suggested logics would be mutually exclusive. On the contrary, it has historically been typical for social and 'racial' gatekeeping to intertwine, while disputes over extradition or the handling of unwanted migrants have frequently turned into diplomatic issues between states. Rather than as mutually exclusive ideal types, we employ the notion of 'logics' as a heuristic tool that enables examining long-term continuities and changes in the practice of deportation. We further suggest that a structural and comparative orientation towards societal rationale can help to broaden the scope of research, highlighting often bypassed 'routine' removals and opening new pathways to study the histories of modern nation/welfare states.

In outlining the suggested logics below, we underline a multidimensional and multi-actor approach, including a wide diversity of state- and non-state actors. Crucially, it is also necessary to consider the agency, coping strategies and experiences of individuals caught up in forced removal processes, which frequently complicate or challenge the

picture arising from official sources.³⁴ We return to this theme in the last section, in which we assess the possibilities and limits of the archival uncovering of deportations.

Socioeconomic selection

A 'welfare nationalist' striving to limit the use of resources of a polity to (tax-paying) citizens is deeply ingrained in migration policing in Europe. Local, national and international polities – from parishes to nation-states to free mobility areas – have sought to turn away or remove outsiders unable to support themselves, restrict welfare provisions to 'members', and to protect the social order from disorder and crime. Guilds and labour unions have further sought to prevent employers from undercutting their position by using poorly paid migrant workers, contributing to further hurdles.

Socially and economically selective mobility control has thus both local and national-level roots. From the late Middle Ages onwards, landowners' efforts to tie down the workforce led to the criminalization of the combination of poverty and mobility as 'vagrancy'. The development of secular local poor relief incentivized elites to treat the migrant poor as a burden to be turned away.³⁵ In the Nordic region, economic utility and reputation formed the basis of social control, codified into vagrancy laws and service obligations from the sixteenth to nineteenth centuries. Those without land or an independent livelihood needed to serve a master for legal protection. Non-elite travellers needed certificates from local authorities or risk being apprehended as vagabonds. Parishes and municipalities could deny domicile rights to those with insufficient means or who might potentially have to rely on poor relief in the future.³⁶

In the late nineteenth century, centralizing Nordic states began to gradually shift the focus of control from internal to cross-border mobility. Yet one's ability to support oneself, evaluated by local authorities, remained key criteria. Foreign residents who had work or sufficient means of support were usually safe from the authorities, conforming to a broader Western European pattern.³⁷ Meanwhile, the authorities routinely expelled foreigners apprehended for vagrancy or crime, beggars, the unemployed and others considered to be without means, as well as pedlars, circus artists, sex workers and criminals.³⁸ In the Danish case, for example, those expelled included thousands of Germans, Poles, Swedes, Finns and others.³⁹ Travelling groups of Roma were often automatically equated with vagrants and deported regardless of whether they had valid passports, pointing to the intertwining of racial and social gatekeeping.

Nation-building efforts produced in each Nordic country a deepening legal, institutional and documentary borderline between 'citizens' and 'aliens'. The first citizenship acts were enacted side by side with immigration and deportation laws between 1875 and 1914.⁴⁰ The latter worked above all as instruments for evicting people considered burdensome to municipalities. The laws continued to be loosely formulated and sporadically enforced, however. Micro-historical perspectives suggest ambiguities in law and policy practice, with borderline cases such as a foreign-born widower of a citizen or long-term residents accused of minor crimes often leading to contestation.⁴¹ The first Swedish aliens law of 1914 led the way towards a more precisely outlined and strictly enforced migration-control regime. The law specifically focused on deportation, granting local police clearer authority to expel 'foreign Gypsies', vagrants, prostitutes, aliens sentenced to prison and those guilty of illegal house-to-house peddling. Additionally, sick and

elderly individuals or those likely to require social welfare aid could be denied entry at the border.⁴²

The outbreak of the First World War marked a turning point, ending passport-free travel and leading to the rise of restrictive migration controls enforced by expanding state bureaucracies in the Nordic region and across Europe.⁴³ After the war, migration controls remained largely in force, accompanied by provisions such as visa requirements and residence permits. This regulation formed an elemental if often overlooked component in the early development of the 'folkhemmet' or 'the people's home' model in Sweden and other Nordic countries. Obligatory work permits were introduced in Sweden, Norway and Finland in 1926–27 with the support of labour unions.⁴⁴ The Great Depression further increased suspicion of foreign nationals. However, mass overseas emigration meant that the largest group of deportees in the Nordic countries likely continued to be their own citizens sent back from North America and other regions.⁴⁵

After the Second World War, rapid economic growth prompted Nordic countries to abolish residence and work permit requirements between the countries (1954). Denmark, Norway and Sweden also began to actively recruit foreign labour. For a brief period, the Scandinavian countries were relatively open to migrants, who played a significant role in their industrialization.⁴⁶ However, the Nordic Passport Union also meant increased cooperation in the policing of borders and the expulsions of third-country citizens. From the 1970s to the 1980s, debates sparked up over the removal – and often quick return – of Finnish citizens from Sweden and Denmark who were alcoholics, homeless or arrested for crimes.⁴⁷ Concerns over social control and vagrancy continued to be central to the removal of non-Nordic foreigners. In Finland, roughly half of the 397 foreigners subjected to administrative removal (*maastapassitus*) in 1965–68 lacked the means to support themselves or were classified as vagrants, while the other half had committed or were suspected of committing a crime.⁴⁸

The oil crisis of the early 1970s led to 'migration stops' in the Scandinavian countries. As the movement of refugees became increasingly globalized, concerns for labour market protection intertwined with those for cultural integration, forming the basis of the 'migration issue' in its modern form. The Nordic migration control regimes began to take the shape of a distinctive model, in which aspirations for universalism and relatively generous welfare arrangements for recognized residents were combined with strict immigration regulations and enforcement of removals.⁴⁹

In the post-Cold War period, social selectivity has remained central in removing foreigners. Control of the increasingly differentiated labour market continues to be a major reason for deportation.⁵⁰ Although vagrancy laws have nominally been abolished, the situation of the 'paperless' or irregular migrants is reminiscent in many ways of the earlier foreign vagrants, with a grey zone in which the right to social rights and residency is often contestable, and a familiar pattern of detaining and removing precarious people caught in 'wrong' places. Continuities are further apparent in new forms of criminalization of homelessness and begging,⁵¹ and in the deportations of those – including EU citizens – repeatedly resorting to the use of social security. Financial support requirements for family reunification have created new layers of socio-economic bordering, while deportability has expanded to some groups previously considered as secure residents, including citizens and even native-born residents convicted of crimes (e.g. 'Koko ikänsä Suomessa asunut mies karkotetaan', *YLE News*, 8 July 2021). As the population of

non-citizens in ‘in-between’ legal statuses has grown, deportations appear to have increased their importance as a tool of post-entry social control.

Foreign policy rationales

From the exchange of prisoners to Dublin transfers and readmission agreements, the history of deportations has been enmeshed in international relations and law. The foreign policy logic of deportations refers to the adaptation of forced removal decisions to rationales of ‘national interest’ in foreign relations and developing international structures.⁵² Before and during the emergence of the international system of modern nation-states, Western European and Nordic deportation regimes were based on unilateralism and internal deportations within states or empires. Towards the beginning of the twentieth century, forced removals became increasingly based on multilateral agreements between sovereign nation-states.⁵³ Subsequently, the foreign policy logic of interstate agreements, alliances and international regulations have enabled and limited the mechanisms, collaborations, and obstacles of deportation policy.⁵⁴ In the post-war period, the EU and other international actors have added new supranational levels to the migration diplomacy.⁵⁵

In the turbulent nineteenth- and twentieth-century formative period of the international nation-state system, an important part in maintaining the ‘public order’ in many European states and empires was the removing of foreigners considered as posing a security threat.⁵⁶ State informers, spies and suspected revolutionaries were deported from the Nordic countries throughout the period. Such cases were often handled with discretion to avoid domestic scrutiny and conflicts with other states. In Sweden, for example, political expulsion (*politisk utvisning*) was possible if the authorities considered a person to be a danger to the security or interests of the state. The use of this instrument was highly selective according to political outlook and social class. While allowing the stay of Finnish officials and politicians exiled by the Russian governor-general in 1903, dozens of protesters, socialists and anarchists were deported to the Grand Duchy of Finland and Russia between 1906 and 1909. Some years later, Sweden returned many of the so-called Red refugees who fled Finland after the 1918 Finnish Civil War, with intensified control and deportations in the early 1920s.⁵⁷

The Second World War and its aftermath highlighted the connection between deportation and foreign policy. In the earlier mentioned case of the Jewish refugees returned by Finland to Nazi Germany in 1942, the deportation had an element of currying favour with the Germans. Concern for foreign relations likely also played a role in Sweden’s controversial deportation of tens of German military deserters between 1940 and 1942, at least some of whom were subsequently executed by German authorities.⁵⁸ Norwegian authorities, meanwhile, assisted in the unlawful mass arrest and deportation of 767 Norwegian Jews from Norway to Germany between November 1942 and August 1944.⁵⁹ In the immediate post-war years, the direction of deportations shifted from Germany to the Soviet Union, with some of the largest forced population transfers in Nordic history. Between 1945 and 1955, more than 100,000 Soviet citizens, including approximately 55,000 Ingrians,⁶⁰ were either forcibly removed, pressured to leave or voluntarily exited Finland under the Finnish–Soviet peace agreement. Many if not most of these returnees ended up in imprisonment or forced labour. Swedish authorities also

cooperated with their Soviet counterparts in 1944–46 in sending approximately 2500 Soviet soldiers and 150 civilians – mainly men of Baltic origin who had fought in the German forces – to the Soviet Union.⁶¹

During the Cold War, the politics of asylum and deportation became arenas of ideological contestation between the capitalist and communist blocs. Refugees from communist countries were seen as legitimizing the democratic order and welcomed in Sweden, Denmark and Norway.⁶² Finland, however, faced dire pressure to placate the Soviet Union after two lost wars.⁶³ Fear of Soviet reaction had a profound effect on Finland's asylum policy. Of the 153 irregular border crossers from the Soviet Union in 1945–81, 114 were returned, while only 36 were allowed to stay in Finland or continue to a third country, usually Sweden.⁶⁴ In contrast, there were no more deportations from Sweden to the Soviet Union after 1948, although a number of dissidents were returned to other Eastern bloc countries. Between 1950 and 1967, some 24,000 refugees from Eastern bloc countries were received in Sweden, including c.7000 following the Hungarian uprising in 1956.⁶⁵ The differing treatment of Soviet-bloc refugees in Finland and Sweden highlights the tension between *realpolitik* and human rights.

Individuals were sometimes able to defy the mechanisms of border control and deportation (as well as to break silences on them). In 1965, Vladimir Krysanov crossed the Soviet–Finnish border from the north of Vyborg and walked to the Swedish border in Haparanda for two weeks. He told a Swedish newspaper that he had planned his escape for more than a year, choosing passage through Finland only after considering alternative routes through Turkey, Poland, Hungary or Czechoslovakia (*Helsingin Sanomat*, 15 September 1965). In 1985, *Reader's Digest* published an account of Alexander Jourjine's daring escape from Murmansk six years earlier, traversing Finnish Lapland, and ultimately reaching Sweden. The flight had required a trek lasting more than 20 days in largely uninhabited areas, crossing water routes with a kayak, hiding from Soviet border guards and Finnish police, crossing barbed-wire barriers at the Soviet border using wooden poles, and getting help from an unknown Finnish couple. Jourjine, who continued to emigrate to the United States in 1980 after being granted political asylum in Sweden, said that he had also considered fleeing from Crimea via Turkey or heading from the Latvian coast to the Swedish island of Gotland on a rubber boat.⁶⁶

From the 1950s to the 1980s, intra-Nordic agreements led to a restructuring of deportation politics, foreshadowing later Europeanization. Efforts at joint Nordic planning of migration and deportation regimes were reflected in regular cooperation meetings between immigration authorities. The results included a common entry ban list and the principle that the first country of entry is responsible for asylum seekers, bearing a direct resemblance to the later EU Dublin Regulation.⁶⁷

The end of the Cold War marked an opening of the former Eastern bloc countries and a speeding up of the Europeanization of borders that had continued at a slow pace since the 1950s.⁶⁸ In a continuum from the Cold War, Finland and the Russian Federation established a so-called non-entry regime on the Finnish eastern border in the early 1990s, with agreements and cooperation aiming to keep the number of asylum seekers low.⁶⁹ Meanwhile, the Schengen countries formed a free movement area, while tightening the regulation of migration from outside. Together with the adopting of the UN refugee convention and international human rights legislation, this increased the inter- and supra-national elements in Nordic deportation policy. Improvements in the legal

protection of migrants meant, for example, the right of appeal for would-be deportees. At the same time, the Nordic countries began expanding their infrastructure and legal capacity to deport and adapted to common European regulations, including the Dublin Regulation enabling intra-EU transfers of asylum seekers.⁷⁰ This effort has also affected the Nordic countries' relations with countries of the Global South, including attempts to secure readmission agreements with countries of origin using development aid as leverage (e.g. 'Finland Suspends Development Cooperation with Somalia', *YLE News*, 20 November 2024).

Europeanization was thus paralleled by a 'deportation turn', particularly in the second decade of the 2000s.⁷¹ In the autumn of 2015, Sweden decided to strengthen measures to restrict entry and remove migrants after receiving over 160,000 asylum seekers. Norway and Finland also introduced more tools to speed up removals, as did Denmark, which had already tightened its asylum policy significantly earlier.⁷² Boosting forced removals has become increasingly central not only in the Nordic countries, but also in the EU Commission and Parliament.⁷³ This post-2015 convergence illustrates the deepening transnationalism of deportation regimes, with policies emulated from and legitimized in relation to those of other EU member states.

Racial/cultural gatekeeping

The bordering out of racialized others has played a prominent role in the long-term development of modern deportation regimes. In early-modern Europe, Jewish and Roma populations in particular were targeted for violent persecution and removal. From the early nineteenth century onwards, nation-building turned the notion of a homogeneous 'people' into a normative political goal, politicizing identities and problematizing distinctive minorities and migrants more broadly. The rise of nation-states was in many cases associated with mass deportation of unwanted 'others', as for example in the Finnish expulsion of c.20,000–80,000 Russian and Russian-speaking civilians and soldiers in the aftermath of independence and civil war in 1918.⁷⁴ Nationalism intersected with racial pseudo-science, while colonial hierarchies and techniques for controlling populations circulated back to the European metropolises. As modern media and public spheres formed, the figure of a racialized outsider emerged as a threat justifying new bordering practices.⁷⁵

Antisemitism and antiziganism have also figured prominently in the development of modern Nordic deportation regimes. Between the sixteenth and nineteenth centuries, the Danish and Swedish kingdoms decreed several restrictions and partial or full bans on the entry and residence of Jews and the Roma. As the two kingdoms included most of the area of today's Norway, Finland and Iceland, traditions of anti-Roma and anti-Jewish laws were established throughout the region. When Nordic nation-states began to emerge in the nineteenth century, elements of earlier decrees found their way into modern legislation.

This continuity was particularly clear in relation to the Roma. In the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, each Nordic country categorically banned the entry of 'foreign Gypsies'. The new centralized police departments duly deported or denied entry to many visiting Roma groups.⁷⁶ In the 1920s and 1930s, Norway sought to expel c.100 Roma of Hungarian and Romanian origin that had migrated to the country in the 1880s.

In 1934, Norway cooperated with Danish and Swedish authorities to strand a group of 68 Roma from returning from their travels in Belgium on the German–Danish border, stripping their citizenship. During the Second World War, the group was detained in Belgium and eventually deported to Auschwitz. Only 12 of the original 68 people survived and continued to be denied entry into Norway after the war.⁷⁷

The targeted entry bans on the Roma remained in force in Sweden, Denmark and Norway throughout the Second World War, during which a large part of the Roma and Sinti populations in Central Europe were killed or deported by the German Nazi regime and its allies. Restrictions remained in place after the war as the last explicit racial laws in the region. Denmark, Sweden and Norway lifted entry bans on Roma in 1953, 1954 and 1956, respectively, as part of the establishment of the Nordic Passport Union and the adoption of the UN's principles of human rights.⁷⁸ However, diverse groups of Roma have continued to be targeted by removals, as in the unlawful deportation of 23 Romanian Roma from Denmark in 2010.⁷⁹

The legacy of antisemitic restrictions in modern Nordic immigration control has been less straightforward. The Norwegian Constitution of 1814, for example, categorically denied Jews access to the realm, while in Denmark, Jews gained equal citizenship rights (in principle) that same year. In Sweden, Jews were first allowed to settle in the 1770s, and were granted general emancipation in the 1870s. Norway was the last Scandinavian country to repeal its entry ban in 1851. The Grand Duchy of Finland, however, deported at least one-third of its estimated 1000 Jewish residents in the 1880s and the 1890s.⁸⁰

After the Nazis came into power in Germany, all the Nordic countries assumed a highly restrictive stance on Jewish refugees, who were excluded from a narrow definition of a political refugee. Particularly after the annexation of Austria and Czechoslovakia and the November pogroms in 1938, strict entry restrictions were put in place. Denmark ruled out asylum status for Jews, while Finland refused landing to 53 Jewish refugees on board the SS *Ariadne* and returned them towards Germany. Iceland, for its part, announced in 1938 and 1939 that it would systematically decline all residence permit applications by German, Austrian and Czech Jews and proceeded to deport tens of Jewish refugees residing in the country.⁸¹

Overall, the cases of Jews and Roma highlight the distinctive (and at times lethal) ethnic/racial element in Nordic deportation histories. They also point to a pattern in which moral panics directed at often small groups of racialized migrants led to strong public reactions and, over time, to an accumulation of *ad hoc* restrictive legislation.

Similar patterns are also visible in later Nordic history. People racialized as non-white or 'non-Western' are disproportionately targeted for deportation,⁸² while the arrival of humanitarian migrants seen as culturally distant frequently triggers restrictive political reactions. For example, in Finland, the arrival of Somalian asylum seekers in 1990–91 and Roma asylum seekers from several Central and Eastern European countries at the turn of the 2000s were both met with rapid legislative restrictions to stop the 'flood' of unwanted migrants. In the latter case, the reaction included introducing policies on safe country and accelerated procedure for 'manifestly unfounded' asylum seekers that have subsequently become prominent parts of the Finnish asylum and deportation regime.⁸³ Both cases also highlight another recurring feature: the rapid waning of public interest after a prohibitive government response, once again contributing to the public 'amnesia' surrounding past deportations.⁸⁴

Guarding the administrative power of the state

The last long-term 'logic' of deportation we wish to explore is a self-referential administrative one. Removals of non-citizens have acted as a last-instance border-keeping mechanism that has played a role not only in the physical management of migration but also in upholding the integrity of the state's administrative control over migration.⁸⁵ Political debates sometimes make this self-affirming logic explicit in arguments that pathways for rejected asylum-seekers to legitimate residence status instead of automatic deportation 'undermines the foundations of the entire asylum system'.⁸⁶ Removal of non-citizens without residence permits is thus presented as necessary for maintaining the migration control system *itself*, and in affirming the state's sanctioning power over who can and cannot reside in its territory.

This guarding of administrative rationale through removal has historical roots once again connected to the consolidation of territorial nation-states. In Nordic countries, this development took place from the nineteenth to twentieth centuries side by side with a strengthening demarcation of citizens and aliens, enforced by new centralized state offices such as the Finnish *Passitoimisto* (1919–49). As subjects turned into citizens, early modern expulsion practices – for example, sending vagrants and criminals to colonies – gave way to forms of deportation targeting only non-citizens.

Deportations thus evolved into a practice that is 'constitutive of citizenship' in that it 'reaffirms the legal boundaries of membership in an international state system'.⁸⁷ It became a crucial component in what John Torpey (1998) has called the modern states' 'monopolization of the legitimate means of movement'.⁸⁸ Torpey has argued that the regulation of movement contributes to constituting the very 'state-ness' of nation-states, as they depend on being able to administratively 'embrace' their populations and to distinguish them from others. While Torpey has focused on documentary systems allowing states to 'embrace' 'their' populations, deportation can be seen as an elemental part of the state's power to control mobility and render the population 'legible' for state administration.

Again, however, perspectives 'from below' complicate the picture and point to ambiguities. Both historical and present-day research makes it clear that deportations have been a difficult and costly to enforce⁸⁹ and could be frustrated by lacking police resources, public resistance or by the resistance of deportees or their countries of origin. In the Danish case, Sane's findings point to an effective police organization that was already able to routinely deport destitute aliens at the turn of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. Yet it is impossible to estimate how many managed to evade police attention or to return after their removal.⁹⁰

While the two world wars contributed to the growth of state bureaucracy controlling migrants, both wars also left in their wake displaced and stateless people, such as Russian refugees, prisoners of war (POWs) and forced labourers, whose handling posed administrative, legal and moral dilemmas. In Finland, the state authorities detained and extradited tens of thousands of prisoners of war and displaced people demanded by the Soviet Union within months in 1944. Yet after the POW camps were emptied, it became increasingly difficult for the authorities to return wanted persons. This was due in part to the reluctance of the population to help in these efforts, but also to the divergent and even contradictory methods and rationales of the authorities involved. While the security

police, directly linked to foreign policy, actively sought to reach those claimed by the Soviet Union, the local police could drag its feet or even actively protect the sought-after persons.⁹¹

Indeed, the complex deportation processes point to the nature of the state 'as made up by many hands and ridden by internal frictions, conflicting interests and values, [...] rendering state practices unpredictable and opaque', as argued by Lindberg and Borrelli.⁹² The guarding of the administrative power of the state through removals has frequently been a test case of state power that the responsible authorities have failed to pass. After Scandinavian countries halted labour recruitment from non-Nordic nations in the early 1970s, efforts to limit the numbers of refugees and migrants from outside Europe gradually led to new focus on irregular or so-called illegal migration. An early example of this was Sweden's efforts to restrict the entry and residence of Assyrian and other Middle Eastern migrants in the latter half of 1970s. Despite the detaining, and denying of entry to thousands of people, the police admitted they were unable to assess the scale of the phenomenon, let alone stop or deport all undocumented migrants.⁹³

Post-war rescaling of borders through the Nordic Passport Union and later EU and Schengen area memberships complicated the demarcating between citizens and non-citizens further, as new groups became eligible to move and reside in Nordic countries. Supranational mechanisms were needed to guard the state monopoly on legitimate means of movement. The so-called Dublin transfers enabled Nordic states to return third-country asylum seekers to mostly Mediterranean EU countries of first arrival. They have been prominent in Norway, where a system of yearly deportation quotas – itself an example of the self-affirming administrative logic of forced removals – gave the police an incentive to prioritize Dublin returns seen as easier to enforce than other deportations.⁹⁴ However, intensified control of mobility and population legibility have led to paradoxical results. In many ways, strict immigration regulation produces the very 'illegality' it is designed to eradicate.⁹⁵ In Finland, for example, the authorities have sought to reduce the number of irregular migrants and coerce rejected asylum seekers into 'voluntary' return through cancelling their reception services and scrapping temporary and humanitarian residence permits – policies that have directly *increased* the number of irregular migrants.⁹⁶ State attempts to use deportation or the threat thereof to control their populations and make them more "legible" can thus be self-defeating, while contributing to a shift to a post-universal Nordic welfare state⁹⁷ characterized by an increasing hierarchization of rights.⁹⁸

Overcoming silences

To overcome silences on deportation, we have suggested a shift of focus from short- to long-term, and from discrete and exceptional to continuums and evolving routines. In ways reminiscent of microhistory, subaltern studies or colonial history, there is a need to read archives produced by state bureaucracies on deportations 'against the grain'.⁹⁹ That is, to interrogate the way the archives have been created and the categories, hierarchies and 'governmentality' they employ, as well as to seek out the perspectives and agency of those not merely 'othered' but physically removed from the nation-state territory.

Our analysis points to the importance of multi-actor perspectives. Relevant sources are produced by a myriad of actors, including the police, migration

services, border guards, security police and ombudsmen. Non-governmental organizations, grassroots activists and private companies also have crucial roles in aiding, resisting or monitoring removals, with actors such as the International Organization for Migration blurring the distinction between 'governmental' and 'non-governmental'. Moreover, as deportations transcend state borders, so do the source materials. United Nations (UN) and European Union (EU) agencies, international courts and foreign policy actors such as embassies and consulates, have produced materials that have so far been little utilized in the Nordic context.¹⁰⁰

Identifying the broad outlines of deportation history is made easier by the increasing availability of legislation, parliamentary records and press material in searchable electronic databases. Annual reporting, yearbooks, statistics, guidelines and correspondence can further help to discern the wider picture, as can nineteenth- and twentieth-century police newsletters¹⁰¹ and earlier official proclamations on fugitives read out loud in churches.¹⁰² Meanwhile, qualitative case studies can offer ways to crosscut the highly compartmentalized materials; in particular, unclear or contested 'borderline cases' have often produced rich materials, sometimes also including the voices of the would-be deportees themselves.¹⁰³

Indeed, a key to interrogating the administrative 'gaze' and overcoming silences on deportations lies in locating the agency of those caught in removal processes. Individual case files and other archived administrative documents can contain detailed narratives and the argumentation of migrants, as can appeals, petitions and complaints.¹⁰⁴ Targeted deportees have also sometimes reached the media, both in deporting and 'receiving' countries. Ego-documents, such as letters, diaries and memoirs, offer further pathways to reach migrant voices. Above all, oral history is central in unlocking experiences of those subjected to removal processes. Contacting deported people and/or their families or descendants is in most cases likely to be difficult, as well as resource- and time-consuming, however. It is also fraught with ethical dilemmas. The distress and shame associated with being deported can produce silences that are passed down through generations.¹⁰⁵ Attempts to break these silences can be not just difficult, but also potentially trauma-inducing for the research participants and their families. At the same time, avoiding such research perpetuates silences. In parallel with recognizing the ethical dilemmas of research, there is thus a need to acknowledge that without the stories of those a society has removed, our understanding of those societies remains incomplete.

Conclusion

In this article, we have called for a critical, historically embedded analysis of changing deportation policies and practices. Through looking at the Nordic case, we have argued that deportation forms a frequently missing yet significant part of the histories of nation-building, migration control, forced migration and even international relations. Histories of deportation have been shrouded by methodological presentism and historical 'amnesia', with layers of administrative, archival and historiographical silences. Physical removal has been accompanied by a discursive one, obscuring the agency and experiences of those caught in deportation processes. Historical research oriented on exceptional high-profile cases has sidelined long-term development of the state deportation

policies. While based on the Nordic case, we have suggested it also reflects in many respects broader European patterns of historical silences and research gaps.

We have sought to move beyond an exception-oriented, presentist approach by examining the long-term societal logics of deportation. We have argued that *socio-economic selection* has formed a key rationale in forced removals in the Nordic case, with continuities from early modern vagrancy control to present-day selective migration policies and post-universalist welfare nationalism. The Nordic countries have largely conformed to a Western- and Central European pattern in which the rise of centralized nation-states shifted the focus of control from internal to external mobility. This development also turned deportation into a *foreign policy instrument*, with the development of modern forms of deportations closely connected with the emergence and crisis of the increasingly complex and multi-layered system of international relations. We have further examined *racial/cultural gatekeeping*, identifying a deep pattern in Nordic history of removing culturally or racially othered migrants, intensified by nation-building as a homogenizing process. Finally, we have examined deportation as a tool in the guarding of the nation-state's control over mobility, as well as its notions of membership and sovereignty.

Each of these logics has pointed to deportations as a structural part of the modern nation/welfare-states as formal and normative communities. In the development of the interwar Nordic welfare states, there is a strong pattern of increasing social rights going hand in hand with a strengthening of the legal border between citizens and foreigners. Deportation was a significant tool in this boundary-drawing, and an integral element of the post-war Nordic 'model' of generous but strictly regulated residence-based welfare. At present, this constitutive role is reflected in the comparatively high Nordic deportation figures per capita. However, micro-historical, ethnographic and migrant perspectives have also consistently highlighted the limits in the state's power to implement deportation orders; the often successful resistance of the (would-be) deportees; and the incomplete and sometimes paradoxical results that attempts to eradicate migrant irregularity through deportation have produced.

From this long-term perspective, ideological or discursive shifts such as the 'migration stops' of the 1970s, the rise of anti-immigrant populism of the 2000s or Nordic reactions to the 'refugee crisis' of 2015 appear less transformative on established patterns of deportation than often imagined. This challenges short-term narratives such as the notion of post-2015 restrictions as a 'U-turn' in the Swedish migration regime. At the same time, our analysis also *does* suggest the significance of historical 'breaks' such as wars and other international crises, as well as moral panics over the arrival of racialized migrants, in the accumulation over time of restrictive laws and policy practices. This observation supports the previous understanding of migration control developing through the accumulation of *ad hoc* responses to 'exceptional' situations, reminiscent of what Giorgio Agamben has described as the 'state of exception' becoming the 'state of normality'.¹⁰⁶

While largely sidelined in national histories, deportations and deportees have had a significant role in shaping modern welfare/nation-states. Researching deportations opens possibilities to understand and 'denaturalise' these nation-states and their administrative systems, as well as to make visible their use of power. Further comparative historical research on deportations is needed to nuance and better understand the suggested

present-day ‘deportation turn’.¹⁰⁷ This appears significant in a period in which forced removal has become a mass-scale global phenomenon affecting the lives of millions.

Notes

1. De Genova, “Spectacles of Migrant ‘Illegality,’” 1180–98.
2. Gibney, “Asylum and Deportation in the UK,” 142; and see also Gibney, “Banishment and Legitimate Expulsion.”
3. Brochmann and Hagelund, “Migrants in Scandinavian Welfare”; Tervonen, “Borders of Welfare.”
4. Weber, “Deciphering Deportation Practices,” 15–16.
5. In the period 2013–22, the Nordic countries returned at least 134,150 third-country nationals following an order to leave. Eurostat, “Third Country Nationals Returned.”
6. In Finland, the law distinguishes between the *deportation* of foreigners who have had a residence permit and the *refusal of entry* of those without it. The meaning of both terms has evolved in the past, however; for example, the category of ‘refusal of entry’ was broadened in the 2004 Aliens Act, which meant reclassifying a significant proportion of what previously would have been counted as ‘deportations’. Moreover, a growing number of removals are carried out through so-called voluntary return systems and the Dublin procedure.
7. Cf. Hacking, *The Social Construction of What?* 5.
8. Cf. Weber et al., “Beyond Deportation,” 66.
9. Cf. Goodman, *The Deportation Machine*.
10. Anderson, Gibney, and Paoletti, “Citizenship and Deportation,” 548.
11. Marfleet, “Refugees and History,” 139.
12. See Schmidt, “Going Beyond Methodological Presentism”; Gatrell, “Refugees and History”; Marfleet, “Refugees and History.”
13. Kanstroom, *Deportation Nation* and Goodman, *The Deportation Machine*, 1. The majority of the deportations have been unofficial and often poorly documented ‘voluntary’ deportations that have focused on Mexican agricultural workers. Kanstroom, *Deportation Nation*.
14. Lucassen, *The Immigrant Threat*.
15. Sane, *Billige og villige?* 128–30.
16. E.g. Goodman, *The Deportation Machine*, 7–8.
17. Cf. Välimäki, “Kylmän sodan maastapoistamisen käytäntöjen murros,” 112–16.
18. Lindberg and Borrelli, “Let the Right One In?,” 17.
19. In particular, return decisions made on the external borders have often gone undocumented (e.g. Hammar, *Sverige åt svenskarna*, 314–15, 388), as have cases in which no formal removal decision has been issued, but the authorities’ pressuring or other actions have nevertheless prompted non-citizens to exit a country. This has been the case, for example, with the hundreds if not thousands of non-citizens wanted by the Soviet Union tacitly encouraged to transit from Finland to Sweden after the Second World War. See e.g. Jalagin, “Pelon ja toivon rajalla.”
20. Cf. Weber, “Deciphering Deportation Practices,” 5–9.
21. Hammar, *Sverige åt svenskarna*, 314–15; and Leitzinger, *Ulkomaalaiset Suomessa*, 274–7, 581. On the lack of other archival materials related to immigration and foreigners, see Byström and Frohnert, “Introduction I.,” 30–1; Gatrell et al., “Reckoning with Refugeeedom,” 78–9; and Leitzinger, *Ulkomaalaiset Suomessa*, 40, 44–5, 298.
22. Existing knowledge of earlier ‘routine’ deportations has been limited to sets of opaque numbers from 1942–71, discovered by the historian Antero Leitzinger in two notebooks stored in a closed basement of the Finnish Immigration Service. Figures given specify administrative returns (*maastapassitus*), refusal of entry at the border (*maastakäännetykset*) and orders to leave the country (*maastapoistumiset kehotuksesta*), but apparently do not include deportations proper (*karkotus*) by the Ministry of Interior. Leitzinger, *Ulkomaalaispolitiikka Suomessa*, 274–7.

23. Wimmer and Glick Schiller, "Methodological Nationalism, the Social Sciences, and the Study of Migration"; Gatrell, "Refugees and History"; and Tervonen et al., "Forced Migrants in Nordic History."
24. Citation by Rees, "Review of Expelling the Poor," 130. Aligning with Lucassen's (2005) observations on differences between European and North American discourses on migration histories, long-term research on deportation appears more prominent in the contexts of United States, but also Canada and Australia, where forced removals have been a subject of several notable works, e.g. Roberts, *Whence They Came*; Walters, "Deportation and Expulsion"; Kanstroom, *Deportation Nation*; Nicholls, *Deported*; Hirota, *Expelling the Poor*; and Goodman, *The Deportation Machine*.
25. E.g. Lee, Peri, and Yassenov, "The Employment Effects of Mexican Repatriations"; and Long et al., "Impact of the Chinese Exclusion Act."
26. Caestecker, "Transformation of West European Expulsion Policy"; and van Eijl, "Deportation of Migrants, Netherlands."
27. E.g. Amiri, "Exil pénal et circulations forcées dans l'Empire colonial français"; and De Vito, Anderson, and Bosma, "Transportation, Deportation and Exile."
28. Leinonen, *Muuttoliikebibliografia*; and Tervonen et al., "Forced Migrants in Nordic History."
29. Hammar, *Sverige åt svenskarna*; Juntunen, *Suomalaisten karkottaminen Siperiaan*; Sane, *Billige og villige?* and Östman, "Estniska överlöpare i Finland på 1810-talet."
30. On the extradition of Jews from Norway, see Ottosen, *I slik en natt*; from Finland, see Torvinen, *Pakolaiset Suomessa Hitlerin aikana*; Sana, *Luovutetut*; Silvennoinen, "Beyond 'Those Eight'." Studies have also been elicited, for example, by the post-war extradition or coercion of thousands of Ingrians, POWs and political refugees from Finland to the Soviet Union and Baltic citizens from Sweden to the Soviet Union. On the expulsion of the Balts, see Ekholm, "Balt- och tyskutlämningen 1945–46"; and Notini Burch, "Controlling the Untrustworthy," 209–10. On the returning of political refugees from post-war Finland, see Pekkarinen and Pohjonen, *Ei armoa Suomen selkänahasta*; and Rentola, "Suojelupoliisi kylmässä sodassa." On the coerced post-war return of c.55,000 Ingrians from Finland to the Soviet Union, see Flink, *Kotiin karkotettavaksi*; and Reuter, "Inkerinsuomalaisten karkotus ja vastarinta."
31. The pattern of focusing on high-profile special cases recurs in existing general historiographies of migration, see e.g. Leitzinger, *Ulkomaalaiset Suomessa*; Svanberg and Tyden, *Tusen år av invandring*; Brochmann and Kjeldstadli, *A History of Immigration*.
32. De Vito, Anderson, and Bosma, "Transportation, Deportation and Exile."
33. Juntunen, *Suomalaisten karkottaminen Siperiaan*.
34. Cf. Coutin, "Deportation Studies."
35. E.g. Lucassen, *The Immigrant Threat*, 15. Early modern towns could act as kinds of 'mini welfare states', controlling entry and poor relief through sometimes surprisingly 'modern' registries and identity control systems. E.g. Lucassen, "Cities, States and Migration Control in Western Europe," 220.
36. Einonen et al., "Leipä taivalten takana"; and Paloheimo, Uotila, and Korpjärvi, "Liikkuvuuden rajat 1800-luvulla," 3. See also, Nygård, *Irtolaisuus ja kontrolli Suomessa*. On the local level, decisions to reject individuals could be controversial. This is exemplified by the vehement objections to the majority decision in the Eastern Finnish municipality meeting of Rautu in January 1890, where the representatives decided not to grant domicile rights to a German married couple working in a local factory. This decision was made despite the good reputation of the couple, as they were seen as being liable to *potentially* becoming ill or unemployed in the future. Rautu municipal meeting minutes, January 27, 1890, Mikkeli Provincial Archive.
37. Caestecker, "Transformation of West European Expulsion Policy," 122.
38. Hammar, *Sverige åt svenskarna*, 64–5, 67–9, 385–6.
39. Sane, *Billige og villige?*

40. Citizenship Acts were decreed in Norway in 1888, Sweden in 1894, Denmark in 1898 and Finland in 1919. Major immigration and deportation laws were passed by the Grand Duchy of Finland in 1862 and 1888, and later independent Finland in 1919, 1924 and 1930; in Denmark in 1875; in Sweden in 1914 and 1927; and in Norway in 1888, 1901 and 1915.
41. Hammar, *Sverige åt svenskarna*, 67–8.
42. Hammar, *Sverige åt svenskarna*.
43. E.g. Reinecke, "Governing Aliens in Times of Upheaval."
44. Boguslav, *Svensk invandringspolitik 1512–2012*, 24, 29; and Kuosma, *Uusi ulkomaalaislaki*, 86–7.
45. For the Finnish example, see Huhta, "Undesirable Returnees."
46. Brochmann and Hagelund, "Migrants in Scandinavian Welfare," 15.
47. Tervonen, "The Nordic Passport Union and its Discontents," 135.
48. *Vaasa*, "Karkotusten lukumäärä lisääntynyt." These figures given by the newspaper *Vaasa* on 22 November 1969 apparently do not include more contentious deportations, including at least five Soviet political refugees returned to the Soviet Union in the same period. Cf. Pekkarinen and Pohjonen, *Ei armoa Suomen selkänahasta*, 344.
49. See note 3 above.
50. This is illustrated, for example, by the Danish crackdown on work by people not legally resident in 2023, or by the case of 139 Uzbekistan construction workers deported from Finland for having used forged degree certificates (e.g. 'Viranomaiset luottivat toisiinsa,' *YLE News*, August 24, 2019).
51. E.g. Norsk Senter for Menneskerettigheter, *Criminalisation of Homelessness in Oslo*.
52. Foreign policy is here understood as all activities of a state related to cooperation with foreign parties. Brown and Ainley, *Understanding International Relations*, 69–70, 74–7.
53. Caestecker, "Transformation of West European Expulsion Policy," 120, 126–8.
54. On recent developments, see Brochmann, "The Mechanisms of Control," 6; and İçduygu and Aksel, "Two-to-Tango in Migration Diplomacy."
55. Cf. Weber et al., "Beyond Deportation"; and Tolay, "Interrogating and Broadening the Emerging Narrative on Migration Diplomacy."
56. Caestecker, "Transformation of West European Expulsion Policy," 121.
57. Hammar, *Sverige åt svenskarna*, 72–4, 115, 286–8, 390–6.
58. Kvist Geverts, "Foreign Element within the Nation," 46.
59. Most of them were sent to the Auschwitz death camp, and only 26 people out of 767 survived. Ottosen, *I slik en natt*, 334–64.
60. The Ingrian returnees were part of the approximately 64,000 Ingrians who had in 1943–44 been moved to Finland from occupied parts of the Soviet Union. Thousands of Ingrians also left Finland for Sweden or other Western European countries to avoid repatriation. Flink, *Kotiin karkotettavaksi*, 11, 214.
61. One objective was to maintain good relations with the Soviet Union. Many of the Balts injured themselves in the hope of avoiding the extradition or committed suicide. Byström and Frohnert, "Introduction I.," 34–5; and Notini Burch, "Controlling the Untrustworthy," 209–10, 216.
62. Keely, "The International Refugee Regime(s)," 306–8; and Wihtol de Wenden, *Migration and International Relations*, 24. Immediately after the war, Denmark and Norway, like many other European countries, interned German refugees on their territory and sought their return or repatriation, Vad Jønsson and Petersen, "Denmark," 98. For details, see Havrehed, *De tyske flygtninge i Danmark 1945–1949*.
63. E.g. Roiko-Jokela, *Oikeutta moraalien kustannuksella?*
64. The cases focus on the years 1945–50 when about half (77) occurred. Until the 1950s, returns were based on peace treaties that forced Finland to return Soviet citizens and, after the 1950s, on orders from Finland's highest state leadership. Pekkarinen and Pohjonen, *Ei armoa Suomen selkänahasta*, 336–43; and Rentola, "Suojelupoliisi kylmässä sodassa," 27–8, 65.

65. Byström and Frohner, "Acknowledgements and General Background," 19; Caestecker, "Sweden's Exceptional Ability," 351–2; and Notini Burch, "Controlling the Untrustworthy," 209.
66. Feifer, "Escape from Russia, on Foot."
67. Tuominen and Välimäki, "Suomi ja muuttoliikepolitiikan," 214–16. On meetings of Nordic immigration authorities, see Finnish agreements with other countries on passports, visas and work permits: By country, A-Nordic countries, 1951–, 20 C3, The Archives of the Ministry for Foreign Affairs, Helsinki (AMFA); Finnish agreements with other countries on passports, visas and work permits: Nordic countries, VI, 1960–1964, 20 C2, AMFA.
68. Gatrell, *The Unsettling of Europe*, 80–3, 273, 321–3.
69. Välimäki, "Finland's Eastern Border Non-Entry Regime."
70. Lindberg, *Deportation Limbo*, 27.
71. On the 2000s 'deportation turn', see Gibney, "Asylum and Deportation in the UK," 146–7.
72. Barker, "Penal Power at the Border," 448; Brochmann and Hagelund, "Migrants in Scandinavian Welfare," 5–6, 10–15; and Lindberg, *Deportation Limbo*, 29–33, 35; Välimäki, "Kylmän sodan ajasta eurooppalaiseen päätöksentekoon," 54–5.
73. Cf. European Commission, "Progress on New Pact on Migration."
74. Engman, *Raja*, 68–70; Leitzinger, *Ulkomaalaispolitiikka Suomessa*, 228–35.
75. Indeed, it has been pointed out in the US context that democracies were the first countries to select immigrants by race – as in the US example through a targeted entry ban on Chinese migrants in 1882 – and the last to outlaw discrimination. FitzGerald and Cook-Martin, *Culling the Masses*. For the racialized origins of modern deportation regimes, see, also Goodman, *The Deportation Machine*; McKeown, *Melancholy Order*.
76. E.g. Regeringskansliet, "Den mörka och okända historien," 141–55.
77. Alexander and Brustad, "Norwegian Roma and the Authorities, 1915–1956."
78. E.g. Regeringskansliet, "Den mörka och okända historien," 155; and Alexander and Brustad, "Norwegian Roma and the Authorities, 1915–1956," 61–3.
79. E.g. Danish Institute for Human Rights, *Denmark*, 7; for Finland, see Tervonen, "Lokit ja kerjäläiset."
80. The remaining Jewish residents only gained citizenship in 1919 after Finland's independence. Torvinen, *Kadimah*.
81. Bergsson, *Erlendur landshornalýður?*; Ellenberger, "Women, Children and Hard Workers Only."
82. See note 70 above, 30.
83. Leitzinger, *Mansikkamaan vartijat*, 104; Salmenhaara, "A Case Study of Finnish Deportations"; and Välimäki, "Politiikkaa kansallisten," 52.
84. Tervonen, "Romanisiirtolaiset suomalaislehdissä 1990–2018."
85. Birnie and Bauböck, "Introduction," 269.
86. Government Proposal 162/2021, representative Ben Zyskovicz at the Parliament of Finland.
87. See note 10 above, 548.
88. Torpey, "State Monopolization of Legitimate Movement."
89. van Eijl, "Deportation of Migrants, Netherlands."
90. Sane, *Billige og villige?*
91. Pekkarinen and Pohjonen, *Ei armoa Suomen selkänahasta*.
92. See note 18 above, 17.
93. E.g. *Uusi Suomi*, "Pakolaiset pakosalla"; Lundberg, *The Assyrians*.
94. Weber et al., "Beyond Deportation," 77.
95. See for example De Genova, "Migrant 'Illegality,'" 6.
96. Annala, "Vastaanottopalveluiden lakkauttaminen epäonnistui"; Ahonen and Kallius, "Paperittomuuden tuotanto ja hallinta Suomessa 2015–2017."
97. Tervonen, "Borders of Welfare," 162.
98. Könönen, "Differential Inclusion of Non-Citizens."
99. See for example Cooper, "Conflict and Connection," 1526–7.

100. For interesting historical analysis based on diplomatic exchange, see Huhta, “Undesirable Returnees.”
101. Sane, *Billige og villige?*
102. Östman, “Estniska överlöpare i Finland.”
103. E.g. Välimäki, “Kylmän sodan maaastapoistamisen käytäntöjen murros.”
104. Välimäki, “Kylmän sodan maaastapoistamisen käytäntöjen murros,” 117, 119–21; cf. Gatrell, “Raw Material.” This is particularly so when the law has allowed the right of appeal, as in Sweden after 1937 and Finland after 1983. Caestecker, “Sweden’s Exceptional Ability,” 340; Välimäki, “Kylmän sodan maaastapoistamisen käytäntöjen murros,” 106–7.
105. E.g. Kähäri, Turjanmaa, and Leinonen, *Vaalimista, vaikenemista ja vastustusta*.
106. Agamben, *The State of Exception*.
107. In the Nordic case, there appear to have been several ‘turns’ already from the early twentieth century onwards, often followed by periods of *decreasing* deportations, and with no simple pattern or ‘starting point’ shared across different national cases.

Acknowledgements

We are thankful to the two anonymous referees for their thoughtful comments and suggestions. We warmly thank research assistants Yasemin Murr, Otso Metsola and Mette Kivistö (Centre of Excellence in Law, Identity and the European Narratives, University of Helsinki, Finland) for their help.

Disclosure statement

No potential conflict of interest was reported by the author(s).

Funding

The following research projects have contributed to the publishing of this article: ‘Gatekeeping the Nation: Deportation at Finnish Borderscapes from the Cold War to Europeanization’ (Research Council of Finland decision number 347906); ‘Centre of Excellence in Law, Identity and the European Narratives’ (Research Council of Finland, decision number 353311).

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