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For the Nation and the Future: Historical Snapshots into Refugee Education during the Last 100 Years in Finland and Sweden

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ABSTRACT

The role of education for school-aged refugee children has evolved throughout history, influenced by time, geopolitical contexts, public perceptions, and ideas about the purposes of education. This article examines refugee education in Finland and Sweden over the past century, focusing on three periods. The first is the 1920s, when newly independent Finland agreed to the migration of large groups of refugees from Russia. The next phase is the 1940s, when Finnish children were sent as forced migrants to Sweden. Finally, we consider the 1980s–1990s, when large groups of refugees from outside Europe arrived in the Nordic countries. Our analysis shows that arrivals received varying degrees of welcome. The discourse on refugee education shifted from a Christian duty to care toward rationality, scarce resources, and security, with refugee students seen either as potential citizens or temporary visitors.

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Introduction

Throughout the history of nation-states, school-aged children have fled areas of war and conflict to safer countries, seeking sanctuary and a new start. Children may have moved with their families or independently, like Finnish war children moving to Sweden in the 1940s and the large groups of unaccompanied asylum-seeking children and youth coming to Europe in 2015. Often children's destination is close to home, in the neighbouring countries of conflict areas, while at other times the destination may be geographically and culturally far away.

How refugee students are welcomed to schools, and how schools view their responsibilities in educating this group of learners, have varied through time and place, but often education is regarded as a key domain of integration and/or formation for refugees.[1] The changes in organising refugee education link to the geopolitical situations of each era, as well as the changing public perceptions of refugees. However, the impact of refugee experience on education, and on the other

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hand, the influence of forced migration on schools, has received little interest in research of educational history. In fact, there is a "historical silence on refugee schooling," as noted by Kevin Myers in *History of Education* already in 2001.[2]

During the two decades after Myers wrote about the silence, the topic has only increased in its importance. After Russia invaded Ukraine in 2022, many noted a striking difference between how Ukrainian refugees, young and old, have been welcomed, compared with the public and educational response to the so-called refugee crisis of 2015, or the reception of Afghan asylum seekers in 2021.[3] As mostly white Europeans, Ukrainians tend to be depicted as active individuals with credible claims, fleeing for political reasons while in contrast, refugees who came to northern Europe in the 1980s and 1990s from African and Asian countries or around 2015 from the Middle East are shown as dehumanised objects.[4] Moreover, it has been argued that host societies in northern Europe find Ukrainians culturally and religiously relatable, which might make it easier for people to welcome them.[5] However, at the same time, scholars acknowledge that the idea of relatability may not be central to successful exile.

Following the wider societal trends outlined above, the discourse around educating refugees has also shifted through time. Sometimes, the discussion has been about the duty to care and the right of a child to be safe and educated. Other times the main emphasis has been on scarce resources, the rights of the host country's citizens, and security. Underlining all these discourses are the questions of who deserves to be "here" and safe, what we "owe" to refugee children, and for what aims should they be educated. The aim of education may be, for example, to help new arrivals settle into a new community or alternatively, to support their return as soon as possible.

Education is always shaped by the political and ideological conditions of its site. No teaching is neutral or apolitical; children, youth and their education have historically been at the heart of nation-building projects, linking the desired political, economic and social visions with the futures of children.[6] Nations are not naturally emerging social units but culturally and discursively constructed entities imagined by communities through shared histories and feelings of belonging in relation to other nations.[7] We consider nation-building as an active process involving both institutional actors and members of civil society, and in practice it often narrows the range of policy choices in areas such as education by prioritising the consolidation and stability of the nation-state. The state policies and decisions highlighted in this article's material reflect the primacy of official perspectives, meaning that the categories and solutions developed for refugee education have frequently relied on statist and nation-statist approaches, exemplifying what James Scott has described as the "administrative ordering of society."[8]

Ideals of nation-building, religious and ideological coherence and conveying skills and values that are important for the desirable citizens can be read in teaching materials and educational documents of those times.[9] The rhetoric of nation-building positions refugee students in a peculiar situation as not-yet-citizens, posing the question: are refugee students temporary visitors or future citizens?[10] If they stay, is the duty to adapt on the individual student or the school and society? The consideration relates not only to what the students should learn in the new school system, but also to what kind of special support they need, who is responsible for giving and paying for this support, and where

the future of these students will be. As we show in this article, these notions are variable over time and between refugee groups.

In this article, we investigate how refugee education has been organised, rationalised and talked about in Finland and Sweden in the last 100 years. The educational systems of these northern European neighbouring countries share at least two important institutional and contextual conditions: their national educational systems are rooted in strong Lutheran state church systems and they both, through time, have developed similar Nordic welfare models, providing financial and social safety nets for their citizens. We provide historical examples from the 1920s, 1940s and 1980s/1990s to illuminate different facets of refugee education as discussed by the education providers and, when possible, by students of those times. Our selection of historical periods or examples does not aim to provide a comprehensive, chronological or complete narrative of refugee education in Finland and Sweden. Instead, the selected snippets from historical sources work as illustrative examples that can, together with previous research on the history of education, help us understand the different ways in which refugee education has been conceptualised and realised at different points in time. This, in turn, can help us shape refugee education for the future.

In our analysis, we started by looking at how refugee education has been organised in practice: What has been taught, by whom, with whom and where? Then, we moved on to investigate how these practices of refugee education have been rationalised in terms of who has the right to be educated, for what aims, and what role refugees have in societies. We focus on three periods in the history of Europe in the twentieth century when refugee questions affected virtually the whole continent. From the 1920s to the 1940s, in the post-First World War era of conflicts and collapses of empires, and the war years of the Second World War, tens of millions of people were forced to leave their homes.[11] From this time, we firstly examine the educational thinking and organisation of schools for Russian forced migrants in 1920s Finland and secondly Finnish evacuee children in Sweden in the 1940s. The third period we examine is the 1980s/1990s, when the division of Europe into two ideological blocs ended and new large groups of refugees emerged, for example through the conflicts in the Horn of Africa and the wars of disintegration in Yugoslavia. Although we briefly discuss the current situation at the end, we mitigate the risks of presentism by allowing the past to challenge present-day concerns, focusing on context, differences and historical complexity rather than letting contemporary issues of forced displacement and education dominate interpretation. In addition, we consider it essential to adopt creative, counter-intuitive interpretations and maintain a consistently reflective research approach.[12]

Refugee Education – Definition and a Brief Background

By *refugee education*, we refer to any formal and nonformal schooling for students who have been forcibly displaced. There are different contexts for research on refugee education: the education of refugees in areas of crisis and war or transit, or countries that host refugees.[13] These countries may include neighbouring countries of crisis areas, in which a vast majority of refugees arrive, or high-income countries of settlement.[14] Our focus in this article is on Finland and Sweden as countries that have hosted, and sent away, refugees at different points in time.

We do not limit the scope according to the students' legal status as refugees or asylum seekers as we note the decidedly changing legal-political definitions of these statuses in the twentieth century as well as the diversity of students who come with various refugee and asylum statuses that makes them a heterogeneous group, and like all children and young people, they have individual needs. Instead, we consider which groups during the times in our focus have been displaced and direct our attention to those groups.

The history of refugee education in Finland and Sweden follows the trends in other European countries, which are also prefigured by these countries' geopolitical position and the past wars. In an article about the education of Belgian refugee children in the UK after the First World War, Myers points out that there was a widespread assumption that the need for refugee schooling would be temporary, but providing primary school-aged refugee children education was a statutory obligation of the state.[15] The official documents in the UK emphasised the role of language learning and the immediate, practical needs of refugees but as Myers points out, the Belgian children were also used as a resource for the development of the country's patriotism, which was seen as needed in the aftermath of war. Belgian students were to be treated as "guests," like any decent hosts would do, because the UK as a strong country had the resources and the moral power to do that. Likewise, in France, the publicly expressed attitude towards refugee children was missionary, caring and even loving. One of the suggested primary school essay titles in France in 1915 included "Five reasons why you love the little refugee children."[16] Interestingly, Myers notes that Spanish refugee children in the UK in the 1930s were not expected to adapt to the UK culture.[17] Instead, schools prepared these "foster-citizens" for life in the UK by first and foremost supporting remembering and celebrating their national heritage. Notably, all these groups of refugees came from close-by European countries; they were "neighbours." Similarly, in the case of Russian displaced children in the early 1920s, education was shaped not only by humanitarian concerns but also by a strong ideological agenda. Relief and schooling efforts, which often were supported by international organisations and émigré communities, were motivated by strong anti-Bolshevik sentiment, aiming to preserve pre-revolutionary Russian values and prevent the spread of communist ideology among refugee youth.[18]

Today, education is considered a human right that applies to all children and youth regardless of their background, but the levels of obligation and commitment to education vary depending on the context. Refugees' right to education has been agreed since 1951, when the United Nations Convention Relating to the Status of Refugees[19] stated that refugees have the same right to elementary education as nationals and the same rights to education higher than elementary as other non-nationals.[20] However, refugee education research shows that these rights have been realised in various ways through history, depending on time and place.[21] Many refugees continue to face challenges accessing and fully participating in education at all levels. As Miquel Essomba argued, the events of 2015 made it clear that the right to education of refugee children is "currently being threatened and even violated in Europe," in part due to disjuncture between rhetoric and policies on the one hand and practice on the other.[22]

Materials and Methods

We draw on primary and secondary sources on planning and organising the refugee education of each period, including archival material and prior research. In the section on the 1920s, with its focus on newly independent Finland receiving refugees across its eastern border, we mostly draw on previous research,[23] and a limited number of available primary sources, consisting of school diaries, curricula, letters from teachers, student lists, annual reports and other notes stored in the National Archives of Finland. In the 1940s, as we investigate Sweden and the reception of Finnish evacuee children, we draw on previous research, as well as newspaper articles and annual reports including memos and notes from the Swedish National Archives. When coming to the 1980s/1990s, our sources include guidance materials from the Finnish Ministry of Education and Culture and the Swedish National Agency for Education, correspondence about refugee reception between refugee authorities and schools and education authorities, propositions for the governments and previous research.

In our content analysis of the sources, we focus on the educational, political and public discussion about how refugee children and their educational needs are perceived, and how refugee education was organised and rationalised at different points in time. We recognise that studying history through archival materials is inherently complex and entangled with issues of power and politics.[24] As Peter Gatrell[25] observes, the privileged position of researchers underscores how limited the representation of archived lives can be. Archives may document events from the lives of whole individuals, yet the powerful institutions responsible for archiving, such as the UNHCR in Gatrell's example, and the educational and political bodies in Finland and Sweden in our research, hold the authority to silence individuals, suppress alternative narratives, and ultimately present a singular version of the past, which continues to shape the present. We address this by acknowledging the limitation of our analysis and interpretation. Although a statist perspective was dominant in the archival materials and prior research we examined, these sources did not solely reflect that viewpoint. They also revealed, to some extent, the perspectives of pupils and teachers, and – particularly in the materials from the 1920s – the views of schools and local authorities, who often made autonomous, ad hoc decisions in conditions of limited resources.

1920s: Christian Values and Moral Obligations

From the 1920s to the 1940s, in the period of numerous conflicts, wars and revolutions, tens of millions of people were forced to move and many of the receiving societies in Europe and beyond were pushed to stretch their receiving capacity. Xenophobia was also part of the political debate and decision-making of the time.

After the Russian Revolution and Civil War (1917–1920) and especially in the early 1920s Finland received approximately 40,000 forced migrants. Most refugees came from Russia (later the Soviet Union), waiting for the post-revolution country to stabilise for their return.[26] The largest single group of refugees that crossed the Finnish border came in March 1921, when about 6,500 people fled to Finland within a few days, following the

failed Kronstadt rebellion. In 1922, refugees made up 1% of Finland's population at its peak, with around 33,500 people in the country at that time.[27]

In the 1920s Finland was a poor country with a national school system that was only forming under the conflicting pressures of different political parties. Cities and municipalities had in principle the duty to provide education for all Finnish children since 1921.[28] There was a large consensus across otherwise divided political parties that it was in the best interest of the young country to invest in education for all children, and this teaching should be patriotic.[29]

At the start, the reception and education of forced migrants from Russia was rather disorganised. This started to change in 1922, as Finland established the State Refugee Aid Center to administer food and shelter for refugees, often in barracks left behind by the Russian army. The same year, the Ministry of Interior appointed a board to organise education for refugees and the responsibility of refugee education was given to the Board of Education with a separate office of Refugee Affairs. Officials appointed to organise refugee education were often people affiliated with organisations with links to Karelia, an area stretching to both south-eastern Finland and north-western Russia/the Soviet Union and divided by a border as a result of Finnish independence.[30]

Although the Board of Education pushed schools to accept refugee students in the existing educational system, it was in practice very difficult for many schools to accommodate growing student groups.[31] The Basic Education Act did not apply to refugees, or other marginal groups, such as "sick, from pathetic homes or weak children from rural areas."[32] J. Kiski, who held the voluntary position responsible for social and health services in their region (*Piirimies*), pleaded with schools in eastern Finland in 1923:

> We urge you to consider choosing refugee children in your areas and enrol them in Nurmes school in addition to those refugee students who already started in the same school last winter. The selection should be done with care, in collaboration with refugee teachers, and naturally in correspondence with parents or caregivers.[33]

The option of not educating children was connected to predicted turmoil, which was fresh in people's minds in the 1920s as the Finnish Civil War of 1918 had ended just a couple of years previously. Similar concerns about child and youth refugees were raised in other countries, education was seen as the "bright path" and a way to keep young generations out of trouble.[34] Member of Finnish Parliament Mikael Soininen, representing the liberal National Progressive Party (*Kansallinen Edistyspuolue*), and a promoter of comprehensive education, predicted what happens if some youngsters are denied education:

> Above all, we should remember how those elements of the people who were primarily involved in the Red Rebellion were very young individuals. It would not be a mistake to say that the time they spent after school without any educational influence had matured them into such restless and dangerous individuals.[35]

To ease the pressure in the already existing school system, Finnish municipalities in the eastern and northern areas started to establish special refugee schools. In 1923, a total of 1,571 refugees, most of whom had Finnish ethnic background but were from areas that belonged to Russia/the Soviet Union after Finland's independence of 1917, were enrolled in various educational institutions.[36]

Pedagogy and Content

Letters, funding applications and budgets from the 1920s show that schools where refugees studied were short of supplies, overcrowded and sometimes lacked suitable staff. Although formal teacher qualifications did not yet exist, educational decision makers tried to recruit people who had work experience as teachers.[37] A list of resources shows that materials were very basic, and what was available were donations from organisations linked to Karelia. Teaching materials were mostly created ad hoc, by the local teachers.[38] The schools experienced high rates of student- and staff changes due to the continuing forced migration, which constrained the development of sustainable educational practices in education in general.[39] Despite poor conditions, schoolchildren's memories of that time paint a picture of a rather typical school life, organised around reading, writing, songs, games, rhymes and performances.[40] Citizen and non-citizen students were mostly taught in Finnish with the same curriculum: religion, handwriting, Swedish, geography, biology (animals, plants), mathematics, singing, drawing and physical activity.[41] Diaries from a primary school for refugees in Pyhäjärvi detail an ordinary school day, listing not only subjects but also attendance and the contents of conducted lessons.[42] The pedagogy appears to follow typical steps of that day's schooling:

> The teaching method proceeds as follows: First, through questioning during the examination, and then students narrate periodically. In preparation, the teacher provides information and supplements missing details. Next, unfamiliar words are clarified. Following that, a deeper understanding and application are pursued.[43]

According to historian Pekka Nevalainen, many schools for refugees prioritised not only teachers with teaching experience, but also teachers who shared the cultural, linguistic and religious background with the students.[44] However, hiring teachers who were Orthodox Christian, as the majority of the refugee children were, was also opposed because Finland's common schooling system, developed at the same time, was heavily based on Lutheran Christian values. Until the 1921 Basic Education Act, the Lutheran Church was mainly responsible for teaching. Christian values and ethics were still prominent in the secular school system.[45] The Christian ethos of helping those in need might have also paved the way for organising education for refugees. However Jukka Rantala points out that teachers were not only religious examples but also under strong political pressure to be "model citizens." This might have appeared an unrealistic demand for teachers who themselves were not citizens and who were in precarious situations as refugees.[46]

Nevalainen notes that many of the educational aims of that time sounded noble but in reality, the main focus was not the best interest of the refugee child.[47] He writes:

> The best interest or success of the children and youth was not as important as the future and needs of East Karelia. It was believed that Soviet rule would fall, and people would return to their "free" home areas. Therefore, they had to be educated to be the new builders and leaders of their tribes.[48]

The special mission to preserve the cultures and religions of refugees' home regions is understandable especially in the eastern parts of Finland. People in the regions of Karelia had a long history of interaction and mixing, so the differences were not seen as

significant. Moreover, early refugee education in those areas was funded and organised by NGOs with close alliances with the Eastern Karelia of Russia/the Soviet Union, most significantly the Karelian Cultural Society (*Karjalan Sivistysseura*) but also the Red Cross and smaller organisations.[49]

Much of the rhetoric of sources from this time aligned with nation-statist perspective with the view of refugees being in Finland temporarily, waiting for their return to their home countries. However, as time passed, it became clear that not all refugees were able or willing to return to the Soviet Union when the opportunity arose. This view was raised in meetings with the organisations who were involved in educating refugees; the societal situation did not seem to improve, and it was unlikely that forced migrants would voluntarily return. Around the same time, funding for refugee reception and education was dramatically cut.[50] The changing realities of refugees, alongside shifts in policy, highlight how refugee histories and responses are often shaped by imagined futures, including expectations of return or integration in an imagined, homogeneous community, that may ultimately prove inaccurate.[51] Now new emphasis was placed on providing regular education in Finnish schools for younger children, and practical education and non-formal education such as clubs and sports for older youth, to promote the objectives of the construction of a nation-state in relation to those who stayed to be "citizens suitable for our society."[52] The aim to keep the refugees safe and educated to preserve their culture until their return changed into shaping refugee youth into a new generation of citizens in Finland. At the end of a semester in a folk high school in 1923 or 1924, a student, Lauri Koski, declares:

> Dear comrades! Our working season has come to an end. Each of us is going to different parts of the country. For you, fellow Finns, home is a refuge with your mothers and fathers, but we refugees must wander from place to place like migratory birds. It would be good, when we happen to meet, to recognise each other as good comrades. Then, our time at the institute would become a bright memory for us.[53]

In this speech, reflecting the ethos of the time, refugee and Finnish-born youth's "comradeship" was rationalised with the fact that they will live together for now and should be able to collaborate.

In summary, refugee education in 1920s Finland was organised rather quickly, relying on already scarce resources and getting additional aid from NGOs with links to Karelia, to answer the demands after war. Based on the primary and secondary sources, refugee education of this time had threefold aims: the need to educate people to return to their homes after the war, the humanitarian/Christian duty to act morally towards those in need and the demand aligning with statist and nation-building logics to support especially older youth's comradeship with their Finnish-born peers and keep them out of trouble as it became clear that the refugee youth were in Finland to stay.

1940s in Sweden: Conditional Solidarity with Finnish War Children

Across Finland's western border, two decades later, the situation was reversed. After the outbreak of the Second World War, the Swedish government declared Sweden to be neutral and that it would stay out of the war. When Finland was invaded by the Soviet

Union in the winter of 1939–1940, there was a discussion about military intervention from the Swedish side. However, rather than intervening, Sweden decided to offer material help, such as financial loans and war equipment to Finland. Very soon the offer to help extended to the mobilisation of Swedish families to receive Finnish children.

Children's transportation and resettlement were organised by the Finnish and Swedish governments, non-governmental organisations and volunteers affiliated with organisations or working independently.[54] The Central Finland Aid (*Centrala Finlandshjälpen*) was particularly impactful.[55] In a couple of weeks after its launch in December 1939, almost 10,000 Swedes had registered as volunteers to receive children from Finland.[56] Like Finland's attempts to help the refugees from Russia two decades earlier, Sweden's efforts to help Finnish war children have been explained by the Lutheran ethics of solidarity with the poor, and as acts of altruism and Christianity.[57] Between 1939 and 1944, about 70,000 children were separated from their families in Finland and evacuated to Sweden. Many children travelled back and forth between Sweden and Finland.[58]

The transports of Finnish children to Sweden have many international parallels from the same era. Approximately 30,000 Spanish children were sent mainly to France during the Spanish Civil War between 1936 and 1939 and 18,000 Jewish children fled Germany without their parents due to pogroms during the *Kristallnacht* (the Night of Broken Glass) of 1938.[59] The transports of the Finnish war children stand out due to their massive extent, and because the transported children were so young. A relatively large percentage were only two to three years old,[60] about half being school-aged.[61] The preference for Finnish children over children from other countries may be explained by the idea associated with the nation-building goals of politicians and officials in the country receiving refugees. These actors believed that Finnish children would be easier to integrate than children from countries which were geographically and culturally further away from Sweden.[62]

A further difference is that this movement was largely driven by Sweden, the receiving country, rather than an international organisation or the country of origin, even if there was close collaboration, especially with the Finnish embassy in Stockholm. Thus, one of the motivations for this work might have been a statist and foreign policy-driven objective of strengthening the ties between Finland and Sweden after the war.

On arrival in Sweden, Finnish children were put in quarantine to establish their health status. All children were examined by a doctor. Boys' hair was shaved, and girls' hair was washed with methylated alcohol.[63] After this, children were distributed to their accommodation, either in families or institutions. Volunteering Swedish families could choose a child of their preference. Young girls were preferred, which meant that many older boys were sent to orphanages or to work on farms. Siblings were sometimes separated to speed the process of acclimatisation and the transition to learning the Swedish language,[64] although some sources report an attempt by some regions to keep siblings together.[65]

Finnish refugee children were not seen by the authorities and volunteers as a particularly vulnerable group in Sweden.[66] Instead, they were seen by the Swedish hosts as "lucky children" who despite the ongoing war in their home country had a chance for a better life in Sweden, which may indicate the Swedish attitude towards Finnish people at that time. There also seemed to have been an idea in official documents and public discussions that children are naturally adaptable and could easily adjust to the Swedish system, which was considered to be culturally close. This

had an impact on how adults perceived children's capabilities to manage life changes and transitions.[67] However, healthcare professionals and researchers started to question whether it was beneficial to separate children from their families even in times of war. In 1943, in their influential publication *War and Children*, Anna Freud and Dorothy Burlingham warned that from a psychological perspective, separation from families was harmful to children.[68] The study was commented on by the Swedish sociologist and politician Alva Myrdal in 1944. Myrdal noted that no thorough evaluations regarding Finnish children's health or wellbeing had been made at the time of evacuation.[69] Later studies have pointed out that the family separation had long-lasting effects, and the experiences of Finnish war children were silenced for many years after.[70]

Education in the Same System but Marked as Different

From very early on, Swedish and Finnish authorities agreed that school-aged evacuee children had the right to attend Sweden's already existing educational structures of basic schooling, *folkskola*, mostly together with their Swedish peers. Whether the education was organised inclusively or in separate groups depended on the location. In urban areas with large numbers of Finnish children, schools aimed to hire Finnish-speaking teachers when possible. Even though there were initiatives supporting the Finnish language, such as organising Finnish teaching and broadcasting Finnish radio programmes, the main aim was to teach the Finnish evacuees Swedish as quickly as possible. For the Finnish students, this often resulted in forgetting their first language.[71]

The National Refugee Relief Board (*Nämnden för statlig flyktinghjälp*), established in Sweden in 1939, distributed state funding to voluntary committees and provided certain forms of education for refugees. The focus of education was in adjusting to the new context and in learning Swedish. This board was replaced by the National Refugee Board (*Statens flyktingnämnd*) in 1941.[72]

In interviews conducted later, many witnessed that they forgot their mother tongue. At the time an eight-year-old girl recalled later why she came back to Sweden shortly after being repatriated to Finland:

> I had forgotten the language. I only could speak Swedish fluently. . . . There I sat on my things crying. So sad, I couldn't speak the language [Finnish], couldn't talk with my relatives. And my parents thought this was terrible, they pitied me and said they had to send me back, we cannot let her stay here. And then I started school in Sweden.[73]

Finnish Children as "Not Mine"

Very few sources discuss the education of Finnish war children.[74] Most sources from that time either omit education or cover it with a neutral sentence indicating that children started school. Children were expected to speak Swedish and acclimatise to their new educational setting, which was seen by the Swedish authorities to be in their best interest. The rare sources discussing education point out how although schooling was mostly the same as it was for Swedish peers, Finnish children were labelled as different by their teachers. One striking example from the municipality of Alvesta in Sweden is that

teachers in *folkskola* used a red pen to mark Finnish children as "not mine," suggesting they were seen as separate from the mainstream students, the teacher's "own" students. Schooling was strongly influenced by Christianity, more precisely the evangelical Lutheran tradition, and pedagogical ideas with the teacher at the centre delivering fixed knowledge. However, practices of refugee education could differ drastically across and even within schools, as teachers were independent and there was little cooperation between them.[75]

When peace between the Soviet Union and Finland was proclaimed in 1944, the return of children did not take place on a large scale since the political situation in Finland remained unstable. Initially, in 1946, many children returned to Finland. Most of the now Swedish-speaking evacuees had to start or continue school in Finnish in Finland. School attendance was difficult due to the language switches, and therefore many evacuees dropped out of school.[76] About 7,100 children remained in Sweden and many of those who initially returned to Finland came back to Sweden.[77]

In summary, Sweden's reception of refugee children from Finland during the Second World War aimed first and foremost to provide physical safety and immediate support for the children. There seems to be very little focus in the sources on how education was organised, which may indicate an expectation of an easy process of acclimatisation, as the children came from a culturally similar country and were ethnically white, as their Swedish neighbours. The educational system was open for the Finnish war children, but it was deemed their duty to adjust. This similarity and relatability, which already then was assumed as central to successful exile and integration, in fact renders the group of Finnish refugee children invisible in the Swedish sources. The reviewed material shows that the switch to the Swedish language was considered crucial by the Swedish educational authorities, even if it meant a loss of the mother tongue, and that placing the Finnish war children in schools demanded the use of already existing educational structures. This, of course, overlooks the fact that the separation from families, combined with forced migration, is distressing regardless of the proximity of the cultures of the countries of origin and destination. This distress is absent from the archival material, though it emerges in later research based on interviews and memoirs.[78] This highlights how archival research can inadvertently silence alternative, often non-statist, perspectives, particularly those related to accountability.[79]

1980s–1990s in Finland and Sweden: Welfare Chauvinism Vs. Affirming Multiculturalism

On a geopolitical level, the end of the 1980s and the early-1990s marked the end of the division of Europe. This led to a rise in intra-European migration, but also new refugee movements emerged due to conflicts in the Horn of Africa and the wars of disintegration in Yugoslavia. Although Finland and Sweden were relatively peaceful countries at the time, this turmoil had implications throughout the Nordic countries.

Since Sweden did not become a battlefield in the Second World War and was widely considered neutral during the Cold War, its economy was relatively stable in the 1980s. In the post-war period, Sweden needed migrant workers, and they arrived in large numbers, mainly from Finland and Southern European countries. Sweden had started to regulate migration since the late 1960s, requiring a job and housing

from new arrivals. Nordic citizens, refugees and family members applying for reunification were excluded from these regulations. Over the next decades, this led to a reduction of non-European migrants and an increase of Nordic migration.[80] Finland, on the other hand, was a relatively poor country in the 1980s. For the previous decades, migration flows had moved mostly outwards, as people had sought work and better livelihoods in neighbouring Sweden, but also overseas, for example, in Australia and the USA. In 1990, 2.3% of people living in Finland were foreign-born.[81]

Forced migration had been quite low to both countries since the World Wars. A change came in the 1970s when both Sweden and Finland received the first two large groups of refugees from outside of Europe (from Chile and Vietnam). Making a decision to accept political refugees as a group from a far-away country was a significant turning point in both countries' refugee policies but in reality, the numbers were quite low, especially in Finland.[82] Sweden, in turn, received approximately 30,000 refugees during the Pinochet regime in Chile, becoming the largest destination country outside of Latin America.[83] In the mid-1980s, Sweden started to receive increasing numbers of asylum seekers from Iran, Iraq, Lebanon, Syria, Turkey and Eritrea. In the late 1980s, numbers of asylum seekers from Somalia, Kosovo and other Eastern European areas increased. Finland's forced migration followed the same trends, but slightly later and in smaller numbers.[84]

It is suggested in previous research and the governmental discussion memos of the time that these demographic changes divided people in the two Northern European nations into those favouring and those opposing multiculturalism.[85] The first groups of refugees and asylum seekers from outside Europe were singled out because they looked different and were from different cultural and religious backgrounds. These inherently racialised, unwelcoming arguments claimed that unlike refugees who came during the World Wars, those coming because of conflicts in Africa and Asia were not people in "real" need.[86] This rhetoric found its way to Finnish and Swedish politics, too. In Sweden, the Scania party (*Skånepartiet*), which has roots in Swedish fascism, and the Sweden Democrats (*Sverigedemokraterna*) began to gain support.[87] As these parties gained more support and agenda-setting power, immigration policies started to become tighter.[88] In Finland, the Finns Party (*Perussuomalaiset*), which has become known for its anti-immigration views, was founded in 1995.

Since the 1990s in both countries, a commonly expressed view, especially by right-wing politicians, was securitisation, i.e. fear that refugee reception may cause internal threats, and that countries do not have enough resources for outsiders, such as refugees.[89] These discourses became part of a political rhetoric and narrative originating in the right-wing parties, but gaining broader appeal across the political spectrum, i.e. welfare nationalism and welfare chauvinism, meaning welfare benefits, including education, should be prioritised for the locally born population.[90] Research on the 1990s shows that harsh attitudes were not only rhetoric: powered by the above-mentioned political movement and officials with power, there were attempts to keep refugees out, including considering measures such as push back at the border, tightened visa regulations, punishing transportation companies bringing refugees to the border and listing "safe countries" from where refugees were not accepted.[91] The counterargument in the party and governmental politics from the 1970s onwards in Sweden and from the 1990s

onwards in Finland pointed out that societal change seemed inevitable. According to this view, the best a nation can do is to adapt to the new circumstances and affirm, or at least accept, multiculturalism.[92]

These two opposing views also made their way into the politics of education. Since 1975, Sweden had followed immigrant integration policy which emphasised equality and the right of all residents, including foreign-born persons, to have basic economic, social and educational rights.[93] All school-aged children had equal access to education[94] and foreign-born residents were entitled certain adaptations, such as mother tongue instruction and intensive training courses in Swedish.[95] Early in the 1990s, changes in regulations made immigration to Sweden more difficult – for refugees as well as for other immigrants, by severe tightening of the rules for asylum seekers. In education, this meant a stronger focus on "efficiency" of integration, and there was an expectation that students should learn Swedish quickly. In 1991, the responsibility and the right to decide on school funding was transferred from the state to municipalities. In some municipalities, this meant fewer resources for additional support for migrant students.[96]

In Finland, the starting point of educational authorities was that school-aged refugees must be placed in schools as fast as possible.[97] In 1987, Finland's School Board's Refugee Education Working Group published a memo, which became the first Finnish framework for refugee education.[98] The most important message of this specific and extensive, 68-page memorandum is that all comprehensive school-aged children are entitled to schooling regardless of their background and nationality, and their education must be in line with the standards of basic education.[99] The memo states:

> Schooling is primarily supported through conventional means, but, if necessary, also through separate teaching arrangements. Insufficient proficiency in the mother tongue has been found to cause learning and adaptation difficulties. It is considered important that a refugee student, alongside learning the Finnish language and receiving instruction in Finnish, also receives mother tongue teaching and, as far as possible, the language of instruction in these lessons should be their mother tongue.[100]

The document details the responsibilities on levels of state, region and municipalities and outlines specific contents and assessment guidelines for different age levels. Similarly to Sweden's approach, the focus was on the Finnish language, especially during the transition phase of refugees, and the aim is a quick integration into mainstream education and Finnish society: "The purpose of the initial education for refugee children is to provide them with the skills they need to transition to Finnish classes and to help them adapt to their new homeland."[101] Primary school-aged students received additional instruction in Finnish or Swedish (the second official language in Finland), other school-related subjects in their first languages if possible, and in maintaining their first language.[102]

The duty to educate was no longer justified by its promoters with Christian moral values or a collective good of the nation, but it was seen as a rational choice considering the state, and the right of the child.[103] Yet many were also sceptical about what multiculturalism would do to the existing school system and weighed its costs and benefits in a more critical manner. Based on one calculation by the Refugee Education Negotiations Council, education of refugees exceeded the cost of regular education by 75%.[104] A foreign journalist and an Africa-specialist Pekka Peltola argued in the Finnish

Refugee Affairs Negotiation Council in 1988 that considering the strengths and weaknesses of the existing Finnish education system, it seemed unwise to put resources into the basic education of refugees who migrate as teens or older, as their problems related to language, motivation and social life cannot be fixed with Finnish education.[105] This is at odds with the view that every school-aged child or youngster has the right to be educated and similar to the approach in Sweden in the 1940s, places the responsibility to adapt on the student.

Educational documents from both countries from the 1980s started to pay attention to children's systematic adaptation into a new country and its educational system. In Sweden, once refugee students' access to education was ensured, emphasis was put on supporting their sense of belonging, as well as balancing between learning Swedish and supporting the first language. Some of the strategies of individual teachers, such as aiming to promote the sense of belonging and the appreciation of differences, seemed flexible and innovative considering the time.[106] The Finnish Refugee Education Working Group outlined that adaptation happened in stages, which were divided into a preparatory phase, consisting of the first and second years, and a third transition year, after which the student would be fully integrated into mainstream education.[107] The initial phase was often organised separately near a refugee centre, after which children moved to local schools. As soon as possible and "ensuring the regular groups do not get divided because of this," refugees were gradually integrated into PE, art and music with the locally born students.[108]

The aim to support refugee students primarily through conventional methods and using some specialised measures was a practical choice, as conventional educational practices already existed. The choice was also linked with a desire expressed by the state-affiliated planning committees not to single out refugee students because of their background.[109] This has parallels with the silence in policy and research about the needs of Finnish refugee children in Sweden, but coming to the 1980s, we can see an increasing attempt to understand and sensitively address the needs caused by forced migration and supporting integration and inclusion.

Maintaining Culture and Language – To Some Extent

The Finnish Core Curriculum for Basic Education of 1985 talked about cultures and diversity at a very general level, learning about migrants and understanding different people,[110] but the next curriculum, published in 1994, stated that:

> Culture shapes the whole identity of a growing child or youth. The basis of a person's cultural identity is the lifestyle of their community as a whole. — Children belonging to marginal groups have the right to grow as part of their own cultural communities and as active parts of Finnish society.[111]

Like in the 1920s and 1940s, the first teachers for different refugee groups in Finland and Sweden in the 1980s were selected from among the groups that arrived, when possible. This was seen in a Finnish state-affiliated commission report in 1984 as particularly important for unaccompanied minors, as a teacher from the same cultural background could better work as a mediator between refugees and officials.[112] First language teaching was also seen as important. These ideals, encouraging refugee students to keep using their

language and recruiting teachers who can work as cultural mediators, were steps towards a more multicultural society.

Compared to the earlier periods, education in the 1980s/1990s Finland and Sweden was considered holistically, aiming to address the needs of each student. There was an attempt to understand how the needs of refugee students gradually change after their arrival, perhaps reflecting the new advances in research in child development and education.[113] Although the tone of the analysed documents from the 1980s and 1990s seems mostly progressive and sensitive to diversity, this was not the whole picture. Tove Skutnabb-Kangas and Jim Cummins argue that despite these aims, Finnish school practices aimed at supporting a gradual transition into a monolingual society, meaning that if not the generation of refugees, then at least their offspring, would abandon their first languages and adopt Finnish.[114] This is understandable, as topics of multicultural education or first language support were not familiar to all teachers. They remained either on an ideal level, or as something that individual, committed teachers may decide to do.

Discussion

One question that keeps coming up in the past 100 years of refugee education is: "What do we owe to refugee children, and on what basis?" Asking this question is based on the idea that "we," as an imagined national community of Finns or Swedes, must make a conscious decision about what the community owes and act accordingly. This influences educational decisions of who are admitted to schools, how resources are allocated and for what purpose students are taught. On the other hand, a responsible approach to refugee education would recognise that obligations always already exist towards others, and the targets of obligations cannot be chosen based on newcomers' background. Using the words of philosopher Hannah Arendt, who experienced forced migration herself, the students who are in Northern European schools have "the right to have rights,"[115] and according to the international conventions and national legislations in force in the 2000s in Finland and Sweden, their right to education is not tied to their status or background.

In 2022, the number of refugees in Europe increased, once again, compared to previous years. This time the consequence was the Russian invasion of Ukraine. As in many other countries, the public debate in Finland and Sweden focused on Ukrainian asylum seekers, to whom the Temporary Protection Directive became applicable in all EU Member States, including Finland and Sweden. The public and political debate in general highlighted the positive attitude towards the reception of Ukrainian refugees.[116] As with many previous refugee groups, the initial idea was that over time, Ukrainians will return to their country of origin. This had an impact on the organisation of education, as well as the motivation of Ukrainian students to study in Finnish or Swedish educational systems.[117] With time, it has become clear that for many a quick return is not possible nor desirable, which pushed the Nordic educational systems to once again consider a group of refugees differently.

As our analysis shows, this trend has recurred in history; Russian refugees were originally thought to be only temporary guests in Finland in the 1920s, and although many Finnish children stayed in Sweden in the 1940s, many also returned, and the groups who arrived in the 1980s/1990s have become a solid part of our societies. Our analysis also reveals a parallel shift in refugee education practices, from refugee

children being taught together by teachers from their own cultural and religious backgrounds, with the aim of preserving heritage (as was the case in Finland in the 1920s), to later efforts focused on assimilation or at least integration into mainstream classrooms. This reflects a broader transition from viewing education as a temporary measure to maintain national identity in exile, based on the assumption of eventual return, to a growing emphasis on adaptation and integration.[118] The analysis also reveals how the perspective on refugee education links with the changing ideas of education and forced migration. Always, but particularly in times of conflict, social upheaval or economic depression, these ideals have been highly political and often grounded on the logics of nation-state centrism and nation-building efforts. Table 1 summarises the ideals of education and the rationale for refugee education, based on our reading of the primary and secondary sources.

Table 1. Ideals and rationale of refugee education.

	1920s in Finland	1940s in Sweden	1980s–1990s in Finland and Sweden
Educational ideals in general	Consensus from left to right about the importance of education.	Child-centredness, yet not all children.	The start of a comprehensive schooling for all. Education based on ideals of equity, inclusion and sameness.
Rationale for refugee education	Caring for, and educating refugees was seen as a moral obligation and Christian duty. Education for the future: Avoiding conflicts and preparing educated returnees to the East. Assimilating those who were going to stay.	Moral obligation. Making ties between two national neighbours. Helping the less fortunate Finns while highlighting own virtues. Preparing for future in Sweden.	Balancing between the individual right (of the refugee child) to be educated and scarce resources. Polarised debates about the ideals of multiculturalism and scepticism about deservingness.

It seems to us that we have historical knowledge about how forced migration might have impacted the individual experiences, school-level practices and national policies of education, even though research in this area is lacking. The last 100 years in Finland and Sweden show that refugee education should not be seen as a rare response to an exceptional situation, after which schools can return to normal. After the normal phase, another crisis brings new forced migrants. Ukrainians are not the last group of refugees that will come to our countries to seek sanctuary, as the number of wars and other armed conflicts is not decreasing in the world.

The analysed diaries, memos, notes, letters and policy documents indicate that more could be learnt from history. Yet, in our efforts to do so, we need to remain mindful of the methodological issues inherent in archival research. Topics that are sensitive or that implicate powerful institutions in questions of accountability are often omitted or silenced. Our study primarily reflects the ideals and perspectives of the receiving country, but in future research these could be contrasted with transnational or origin-country and origin-community viewpoints as well as the individual experiences and aspirations of refugee students. In some cases, archival documents and memoirs or interviews could help overcome the statist, "host-country bias" and make it possible to imagine a student-centred reconstruction of the history of refugee education.

Furthermore, the archival documents we analysed tended to focus solely on the present moment, with little reference to the past, which limits the possibility of drawing historical comparisons across different periods. The rare mentions of the past in the documents from the 1920s were that the most dangerous rebels in the Russian revolution were uneducated youth and thus, their education was a matter of crucial importance and national security. In the 1980s and 1990s, migration researchers noted that the settlement of Somali refugees in Finland could have some parallels with the reception of the Vietnamese and Chilean refugees a little over a decade earlier,[119] and these parallels should be considered when organising practical matters.

Understanding the impacts of forced migration on subsequent educational and policy choices, as well as on the experiences of students, can help us make justified choices when facing the current and future crises. Our reading of the sources suggests, for example, that we should openly discuss what level of support is needed for students from refugee backgrounds, acknowledging those needs differ between individuals. Silencing the differences or overlooking the special needs refugee students may have seems to be more common now than it has been historically, and it is done with good intentions: there is a reluctance to label or single out students as different.[120] Yet forced migrants today and in the past have expressed their wishes to be seen and heard as people and as refugees, as complete persons with their experiences and needs.[121] However, this act of seeing and hearing must acknowledge the individual as a person in their own right, not merely as a stereotypical representation of their social category.[122] All the analysed phases include discussions about the role of languages and cultures, and to what extent students should keep or lose those at the expense of the languages and cultures of the host country. Likewise, the role of religion in education seemed to be a recurring point, focusing on the question of whether students' own religions should be supported or not, and how. Interestingly, all these discussions continue today worldwide in different forced migrant reception contexts.

As educational researchers, we should keep these discussions alive, as it seems that we have not reached a simple right answer of how the needs of refugee children should be taken into consideration in our schools, and towards what futures refugee students should be educated. We should continue to try to develop our schools to be more welcoming for *all* students, regardless of their background, as the attempt made in the poor and newly independent Finland in the 1920s. We should keep developing our curricula to be more sensitive to differences, like the Finnish and Swedish educational policymakers have attempted, with varying success, especially since the 1980s. We should do more to take this knowledge into practice, as integral parts of pre- and in-service teacher education. Calls to incorporate refugee education as part of teacher training in the Nordic countries have been made for at least the last 40 years, but with limited success.[123] Importantly, we should see refugee education as the right of the educated student as well as the benefit of the new home country, regardless of whether it will be a permanent home or a temporary shelter.

Notes

1. Ager and Strang, "Understanding Integration," 172.
2. Myers, "The Hidden History," 153.

3. De Coninck, "The Refugee Paradox," 579–80.
4. Kotilainen and Pellander, "(Not) Looking Like," 280, 284.
5. De Coninck, "The Refugee Paradox," 580–81.
6. Millei, "Pedagogy of Nation," 83–4.
7. Anderson, *Imagined Communities*, 5–7.
8. Schwartz and Cook, "Archives, Records, and Power," 11–13; Scott, *Seeing Like a State*, 2–4.
9. Ahonen, "Politics of Identity," 180–1; Ahonen, "The Construction and Deconstruction," 347.
10. Kaukko and Wilkinson, "Praxis and Language," 43.
11. See, Gatrell, *The Making of the Modern Refugee*, 25–46, 52–94.
12. On differing views on mitigating presentism and the relevance of reflecting on present-day debates, see Maza, "Presentism and the Politics of History," 324–8, 331–4; Gurevich, "The Double Responsibility of the Historian," 81–2; Tosh, *Why History Matters*, 76–7.
13. Kaukko, McIntyre and Neuhaus, "Refugee Education."
14. McIntyre and Abrams, "Refugee Education."
15. Myers, "The Hidden History," 158.
16. Audoin-Rouzeau, "Children," 47.
17. Myers, "National Identity," 318.
18. Marshall, "The Declaration of Children's Rights," 103–4; White, "Relief, Reconstruction and the Rights of the Child," 70–96.
19. United Nations, "The 1951 Refugee Convention."
20. Ibid., Article 22.
21. Dryden-Peterson, *Right Where we Belong*.
22. Essomba, "The Right to Education," 207.
23. Nevalainen, *Karjalan Kansaa Valistamassa* [Educating the People of Karelia].
24. See Schwartz and Cook, "Archives, Records, and Power"; Carter, "Of Things Said and Unsaid."
25. Gatrell, "Raw Material," 227.
26. Nevalainen and Reichstein, "Vastavallankumoukselliset ja monarkit" [Counter-revolutionaries and Monarchs].
27. Ibid.
28. Perusopetuslaki [Basic Education Act], Finland 1921.
29. Soininen, *Opetusoppi* [Pedagogy]. In this seminal book, Soininen outlines the ideals and implementation of the forthcoming mandatory education in Finland. According to Soininen (p. 5), schools should "teach to know and love one's Fatherland; contents taught in schools have to be patriotic" (p. 65). The first edition, published before Finland's independence, made no reference to non-Finnish students.
30. Nevalainen, *Viskoi kuin Luoja kerjäläistä*, [Scattered Like God Scatters a Beggar], 150–88.
31. Ibid., 153–154. Because existing schools were short of staff and lacked suitable school buildings, four state-funded refugee education facilities were founded in the eastern parts of Finland in 1919. By 1921, 12 schools for Russian refugees were founded, with a total of 500 children enrolled. From 1922 onwards, the Board of Education's stated aim was to get Russian refugees in mainstream schools.
32. Senaatin ehdotus [Senate proposal], Finland, 1908.
33. Kouluhallituksen pakolaisasian toimisto, 1923–1924. [School Board's Refugee Affairs Office, 1923–1924].
34. White, Relief, "Relief, Reconstruction and the Rights of the Child."
35. Soininen, *Opetusoppi*; Valtiopäivät [Parliament], 1920, cited in Ahonen, "The Construction and Deconstruction," 18.
36. Nevalainen, *Karjalan kansaa valistamassa* [Educating the People of Karelia].
37. Itä-Karjalan pakolaisten huoltotoimikunta [Relief committee for refugees from Eastern Karelia].

38. Raajun inkeriläisen kansakoulun päiväkirja 1921–1922 [Diary of Raaju Ingrian School, 1921–1922].
39. Nevalainen, *Karjalan kansaa valistamassa, [Educating the People of Karelia]*.
40. Kivekäs, *Muistoja Vienan pakolaisista*, [Memories of Viena Refugees], 16.
41. Käkisalmen yhteiskoulu, Pientenlastenkoulun päiväkirja. [Diary of Käkisalmi Elementary School] 1921–1922.
42. Pyhäjärven inkeriläisen kansakoulun päiväkirja [Pyhäjärvi Ingrian Primary School journal], 1921–1922. The journal dated October 5, 1922, gave detailed schedules of school days: "Arts – drawing a circle. Physical activity – walking. Religion – the revenge of brothers. Maths – additions 0–100. 40 children present, 18 girls and 22 boys."
43. Pyhäjärven inkeriläisen kansakoulun päiväkirja [Pyhäjärvi Ingrian Primary School Journal], 1921–1922.
44. Nevalainen, *Karjalan kansaa valistamassa* [Educating the People of Karelia].
45. Salmesvuori and Salmi-Niklander, "Koti, uskonto ja kansakunta" [Home, Religion, and Nation].
46. Rantala, "Conflicting Views."
47. Nevalainen, *Karjalan kansaa valistamassa*, [Educating the People of Karelia], 108–9.
48. Ibid. Our translation.
49. Vainio, *Neljännesvuosisata vapaaehtoista rajaseututyötä*, [A Quarter Century of Voluntary Border Work].
50. Nevalainen, *Viskoi kuin Luoja kerjäläistä* [Scattered Like God Scatters a Beggar], 152–153.
51. Anderson, *Imagined communities*.
52. Vuoristo, "Karjalan nuoret opintiellä," [Karelian Youth on the Path of Learning].
53. Ibid., 43.
54. Isacson, "Ärans vinter"; Nehlin, "Exporting visions."
55. Centrala Finlandshjälpen, *Hur Sverige hjälpte Finland* [How Sweden Helped Finland].
56. Nehlin, "Exporting visions"; Sköld and Söderling, "Finska krigsbarn," [Finnish War Children].
57. Mattson, "Finnish War Children"; Sköld and Söderling, "Finska Krigsbarn," [Finnish War Children].
58. Mattson, "Finnish War Children."
59. Sköld and Söderling, "Finska krigsbarn," [Finnish War Children].
60. Ibid.
61. Sköld and Söderling, "Finska krigsbarn," [Finnish War Children]; Svensson, "Krigsbarn i Alvesta," [War Children in Alvesta].
62. Nehlin, "Exporting visions"; see also Rädda Barnen [Save the Children], Annual reports 1939–1956.
63. There was a strong rhetoric suggesting that hygiene and wellbeing in schools and society were primarily about being clean and healthy. Although maintaining children's hygiene was a practical concern not limited to refugees, worries about the "dirtiness" of certain groups have been linked to racist connotations. Landals, "Auktoritet och Ansvar" [Authority and responsibility], Andersson, *Krigsbarnsminnen, [Memories of War Children]*.
64. Sköld and Söderling, "Finska krigsbarn" [Finnish War Children].
65. Malinen, Laine-Frigren and Kaarninen. *Rebuilding Emotional Ties*.
66. Ibid.
67. Ibid.
68. Freud and Burlingham, *War and Children*.
69. *Aftontidningen*, March 5, 1944; see also Nehlin "Exporting Visions."
70. This silencing can be understood as part of the legacy of eugenics policies, including mass sterilisation and other racist and discriminatory practices. Despite their profound impact on those deemed "unfit," these policies were rarely acknowledged or discussed. Bright et al., "Reconsidering," Heilala and Santavirta, "Unveiling"; Lagnebro, *Finska krigsbarn* [Finnish War Children]; Sköld and Söderling, "Finska krigsbarn" [Finnish War Children].
71. Kavén, *Humanitaarisuuden varjossa* [In the Shadow of Humanitarianism].

72. Byström and Frohnert, *Reaching a State of Hope*.
73. Smeds, *Finska krigsbarns minnesbilder* [Memories of Finnish War Children]; see also Häggström, *Finska krigsbarns livsberättelser* [Life Stories of Finnish War Children].
74. Kavén, "70.000 små öden" [70,000 Small Fates].
75. Svensson, "Krigsbarn i Alvesta," [War Children in Alvesta].
76. Heilala and Santavirta, "Unveiling."
77. Mattsson, "Finnish War Children."
78. See e.g. Kavén, *Humanitaarisuuden varjossa* [In the Shadow of Humanitarianism]; Salminen, *Lappu kaulassa yli Pohjanlahden* [Tag Around the Neck across the Gulf of Bothnia].
79. The use of historical methods and archival materials can make it difficult to capture accountability as well as the voices and agency of non-institutional and marginalised actors. Carter, "Of Things Said and Unsaid," 217–9, 233; Satia, *Time's Monster*, 2–3, 6, 10–11; Schwartz and Cook, "Archives, Records, and Power," 3–4, 17.
80. Byström and Frohnert. *Invandringens historia* [History of immigration], 53, 105.
81. Finnish Immigration Service, "Statistics"; Koivukangas, "Foreigners in Finland."
82. Suomen Pakolaisapu [Finnish Refugee Council]. Following the decision of Prime Minister Kalevi Sorsa in 1973, Finland accepted 180 refugees from Chile.
83. Olsson, "From Exile to Post-Exile."
84. Byström and Frohnert, *Invandringens historia* [History of Immigration]; Pakolaistoimikunnan muistio 1987 [Memo from the Refugee Committee, 1987]; Välimäki, "Kylmän sodan ajasta" [From the Cold War Era], 42–7. The arrival of Chilean and Vietnamese refugees pushed both Sweden and Finland, although the number of refugees in Finland was low, to revisit their migration regulations and formulate the first comprehensive and long-term policies on forced migration. In Sweden, the responsibility of refugee reception was transferred from the labour market authorities to the Swedish Immigration Service (the predecessor of the Swedish Migration Agency) in 1985. The same year, the Finnish Parliament decided the annual quota for refugees as part of the national budget. Initially, the quota was set at 100 refugees per year, but it has slightly increased over the years.
85. Ålund and Schierup, Paradoxes of Multiculturalism; Kouluhallituksen pakolaistoimikunnan mietintö, 1980 [Finland's School Board's Refugee Education Working Group's Report]; Virtanen, "Somalipakolaiset Suomessa" [Somali Refugees in Finland].
86. Kouluhallituksen pakolaistoimikunnan mietintö, 1980 [Finland's School Board's Refugee Education Working Group's Report]; Virtanen, "Somalipakolaiset Suomessa" [Somali Refugees in Finland].
87. Byström and Frohnert. *Invandringens historia*, [History of Immigration].
88. Ibid., 84–6.
89. Boréus, *Migrants and Natives*; Brochman and Hagelund, "Migrants in the Scandinavian."
90. E.g. Byström and Frohnert, *Reaching a State of Hope;* Keskinen, "From Welfare Nationalism"; Välimäki, *Politiikkaa kansallisten, kansainvälisten* [Politics of National and International].
91. Virtanen, "Somalipakolaiset Suomessa" [Somali Refugees in Finland]; Välimäki, "Kylmän sodan ajasta," [From the Cold War Era] 46–8.
92. See Wickström, "Conceptual change"; Lepola, *Ulkomaalaisesta suomenmaalaiseksi* [From Foreigner to Finn]; Välimäki, *Politiikkaa kansallisten, kansainvälisten* [Politics of National and International], 84–7.
93. Wickström, "Conceptual Change."
94. Perusopetuslaki [The Education Act] 1985, SFS 1985:1100.
95. Byström and Frohnert, Invandringens Historia [History of Immigration]; Westin, "Young People of Migrant Origin."
96. Ibid.

97. Mäkelä, Kalalahti and Varjo, "Monikulttuurinen suomalainen peruskoulu" [Multicultural Finnish Comprehensive School]; Rinne, *Suomen oppivelvollisuuskoulun opetussuunnitelman muutokset* [Changes in the Curriculum of Finnish Compulsory Education].
98. Kouluhallituksen pakolaisopetuksen työryhmän muistio. [Finland's School Board's Refugee Education Working Group].
99. Kouluhallituksen pakolaistoimikunnan muistio, 1987, 1–2 [Memo from the Refugee Committee, 1987, 1–2].
100. Ibid.
101. Ibid.
102. Kouluhallituksen pakolaisopetuksen työryhmän muistio [Finland's School Board's Refugee Education Working Group's Memo], 1987; Pakolaistoimikunnan mietintö, 1980 [Report of the Refugee Committee, 1980].
103. Rinne, *Suomen oppivelvollisuuskoulun opetussuunnitelman muutokset* [Changes in the Curriculum of Finnish Compulsory Education].
104. Sosiaalihallitus, Pakolaisten kouluttaminen [Social Administration, Educating Refugees].
105. Ibid. Refugee Affairs Negotiation Council appointed a working group in 1988 to plan the education of refugee youth and adults in Finland. Discussions were related to planned scholarship programmes aiming to recruit potential students from countries from where refugees were fleeing, including Somalia, Ethiopia and Sudan, and a specific vocational school for refugees from African countries (Nelson Mandela Institute). The notes of the discussions reveal ideas about refugee education in general, as well as reasons Finland should/should not accept refugee students from African countries. One reason to accept refugees as students was that, according to research, Finnish people's favourite foreigners are tourists, with students being the second favourite.
106. Bunar, Nyanlända och lärande [Newly Arrived and Learning]; Vetenskapsrådet [Swedish Research Council] Integration.
107. Kouluhallituksen pakolaistoimikunnan muistio [Memo from the Refugee Committee], 1987; Monikulttuurinen suomalainen peruskoulu? [Multicultural Finnish primary school?].
108. Ibid., 5.
109. See also Kuukka, *Rehtorin eettinen johtaminen* [The Ethical Leadership of the Principal], 196–7.
110. The Finnish Core Curriculum for Basic Education, 1985; Mäkelä, Kalalahti and Varjo, 2017.
111. The Finnish Core Curriculum for Basic Education, 1994, 14.
112. Kouluhallitus [Board of Education], Muistio yksin tulleista [Memo of Unaccompanied Minors], 1984.
113. Simola, "The Finnish Miracle."
114. Skutnabb-Kangas and Cummins, *Minority Education*.
115. Arendt, *The Origins of Totalitarianism*, 290–6.
116. Weisser, "A Near-Real-Time Analysis."
117. Petäjäniemi et al., "Successful Practices."
118. We thank the anonymous reviewer for this insight.
119. Virtanen, "Somalipakolaiset Suomessa" [Somali Refugees in Finland], Refugee Affairs Negotiation Council 1988. In his research from 1993, Dr Timo Virtanen cites research from Canada and Sweden, showing the successful integration of refugees from Vietnam. There was no research available on the topic in Finland. In the discussion of the Refugee Affairs Negotiation Council, Pekka Peltonen compared the arrival of African refugees in the 1980s to the reception of refugees from Chile during the previous decade, arguing that new integration programmes would be easier to justify to the public, as they have seen the success of the integration of the Chileans.
120. Kaukko et al. "Tasapainoilua, tilan antamista" [Balancing, Giving Space].
121. Kaukko, Kolme tapaa [Three Ways]; Zetterqvist Nelson, and Sköld, "Från samhällets barn" [From Society's Children].
122. Hummelstedt, "Refugees Here."
123. Alisaari, Kaukko, Heikkola, "Joys of teaching."

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