DEPORTATION AS A TYPE OF MIGRATION: THEORETICAL JUSTIFICATION AND HISTORICAL BRIEF

ДЕПОРТАЦІЯ ЯК ВИД МІГРАЦІЇ: ТЕОРЕТИЧНЕ ОБГРУНТУВАННЯ ТА ІСТОРИЧНИЙ ОГЛЯД

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The paper assumes that deportation is one of the kinds of migration, particularly forced migration, e.g. refugees. The necessity of research arises as millions of people were affected by deportation last century and much more previously. Even nowadays, deportation still occurs. Nevertheless, it has little attention from publicity, specifically from political and scientific communities. Therefore, the paper aims to provide theoretical justification and reveal historical evidence to describe this practice, its purpose and scale, and its impact on deportees. We pursue that deportation has to receive more attention, especially from international organisations like the UN and IOM. Special bodies within this organisation have to be created to help victims of deportation, similar to refugees. The paper starts with building up the theoretical justification by analysis of definitions of "deportation" provided by other authors, its characteristics and peculiarities. Further, we continue with the comparison of deportation and other types of forced migration. Finally, we provide a definition of deportation. The second part of the paper reveals historical evidence of deportation from ancient history to modern times, including nowadays.

Keywords: deportation, migration, forced migration, types of migration.

У даній статті висувається припущення, що депортація є одним із видів міграції, зокрема вимушеної міграції, так як і біженці. Необхідність дослідження виникає, оскільки мільйони людей постраждали від депортації в минулому столітті та набагато більше раніше. Навіть у наш час депортація все ще відбувається. Депортація різко змінює демографічне становище окремих етносів та народів та, ймовірно, призвела до зникнення багатьох з них в минулому. Разом з тим, депортація має і чітку економічну мету, а саме одержання безкоштовної робочої сили, що спершу проявилося у рабовласництві, а пізніше трансформувалося у трудові табори радянського союзу та остарбайтерів у Німеччині. Окрім цього, місця призначення для депортованих обиралися і з метою заселення нових територій та освоєння природних ресурсів, як це відбувалося у російській імперії, а, згодом, і у Радянському союзі. Існують і протилежні випадки, коли депортація слугувала інструментом для створення "життєвого простору." Тим не менш, даній проблемі приділяється мало уваги з боку громадськості, зокрема з боку політичних і наукових спільнот. Тому, стаття має на меті надати теоретичне обґрунтування та навести історичні свідчення для опису депортації, її мети, масштабу та впливу на депортованих. Ми вважаємо, що проблемі депортація слід приділяти більше уваги, особливо з боку міжнародних організацій, таких як ООН і Міжнародна організація з міграції. Більше того, в межах таких організацій повинні бути створені спеціальні органи для допомоги жертвам депортації, оскільки останні знаходяться, можливо, у більш складному становищі, ніж, навіть, біженці. Стаття розпочинається з побудови теоретичного обґрунтування шляхом аналізу визначень поняття «депортація», наведених іншими авторами, її характе-

ристик та особливостей. Важливо відзначити, що трактування депортації авторами є доволі фрагментарним та зачіпає лише ті аспекти, що проявилися найбільше у кожному її епізоді. Далі ми проводимо порівняння депортації та інших видів вимушеної міграції. Врешті, ми наводимо власне узагальнююче визначення депортації. Друга частина статті розкриває історичні свідчення депортації від давньої історії до сучасності, в тому числі й сьогодення.

Ключові слова: депортація, міграція, вимушена міграція, види міграції.

Problem statement. Millions of people have suffered from deportation in the last century and many more before. Even nowadays, deportation still occurs. Deportation dramatically changes the demographic situation of certain ethnic groups and nations and probably led to the disappearance of many of them in the past. At the same time, deportation has a clear economic purpose, namely obtaining free labour, which first revealed itself in slavery. Later, it was transformed into the labour camps of the Soviet Union and Ostarbeiter in Germany. In addition, the deportees' destinations were chosen to settle new territories and develop natural resources, as happened in the Russian Empire and, later, in the Soviet Union. There are also opposite cases when deportation served as a tool to create "living space" to solve the economic problem of overpopulation.

Nevertheless, this problem receives little attention from the public, particularly from the political and scientific communities. Moreover, the interpretation of the deportation by the authors is quite fragmentary and describes only those aspects that revealed themselves the most in each of its episodes. International organisations like the UN and IOM also do not clearly distinguish deportation from, for example, refugees, despite, they are two completely different processes.

Analysis of recent research and publications. There is quite a little research dedicated to the problem of deportation in the form we analyse in this paper. Most authors describe this process from a historical point of view, like R. Friedman [13], J. Madden [27], S. Patterson [32], J. Fontaine [11], O. Srivastava [37], T. Nelson [30], J. Wright [43], M. Favereau [10], D. Eltis and D. Richardson [9], A. Voughan [40], A. Moses [29], A. Johnston [23] and others. Some authors like K. Korostelina [24], G. Lambardi and P. Palacios [26], P. Holquist [19], M. Gelb [15], D. Stola [35], E. Newman and J. Selm [31], N. Bugai [4], and G. Grinchenko [17], when providing historical evidence, also define deportation and revealed particular peculiarities of this practice. Only F. Zastavnyi [44] and O. Becker [3] provide economic

consequences of deportation, although diluting deportation among other types of forced migration.

Identification of previously unresolved parts of the overall problem. Deportation, despite it affected million before and still affecting at least hundreds of thousands, has no clear definition. Moreover, some tend to consider deportees as refugees. Nevertheless, deportation differs from other types of migration, and its analysis, research, and search for a solution have to be performed separately. This requires building up a theoretical background and proper justification.

Formulation of the objectives of the article (task setting). The paper aims to provide theoretical justification and reveal historical evidence to define deportation as a type of migration, particularly forced migration. We pursue that deportation has to receive more attention, especially from international organisations like the UN and IOM. Special bodies within this organisation have to be created to help victims of deportation, similar to refugees.

Presentation of the main research material. There are two at least two forms of deportation. One refers to the reaction of a state to illegal migration or crimes made by non-citizens. Other refers to the practice of forced displacement of particular individuals or groups of people based on ethnical, religious, political, economic, or other reasons. The first form is relatively modern, more widespread, and has significant attention from media, politicians and scientists. In contrast, the second is usually used to describe the expulsion of Jews by Nazis, small ethnicities by Soviets or natives during the colonisation of North America or Australia, etc.

Therefore, we need to determine the difference between these forms and clearly define the one we particularly analyse.

An official website of the US government [39] defines deportation as "the formal removal of a foreign national from the US for violating an immigration law." The Cambridge Dictionary [5] provides another description, "an action of forcing someone to leave a country, especially

someone who has no legal right to be there or who has broken the law."

Most common papers on this kind of deportation are studies of US deportation policy, its legal and moral objectives and consequences for deportees' mental and physical health and social life, welfare etc. [2; 6; 7; 41]. Summarising findings, the "modern" deportation can be defined as i) a process of removing from a country ii) a non-citizen, iii) who violated immigration law and/or committed a crime. Another kind of deportation is less frequent nowadays; however, it still occurs

H. Drotbohm [8] defines deportation as "a practice of forced removal of unwanted individuals or groups of people from a given territory" used during history for "dividing the insiders from outsiders, the wanted from the unwanted, the deserving from undeserving".

The author also distinguishes this form of deportation from the modern one described above. Another evidence of the "removal of unwanted individuals" comes from Colombia, where some insurgents and gorillas removed locals aiming for more profitable use of deportees' land [26]. Newman & Selm [30] do not use the term "deportation"; however, they separately use the terms "refugee" and "forced displacement". The fundamental difference is that refugees move because of danger to their life, and forced displacement is performed by authority. Deportees are displaced regardless of their decision. In other words, refugees have a kind of option to run or to stay and probably die, while deportees usually have no choice at all [35].

In this context, it is essential to highlight that deportees are an object of migration as they are moved, while other migrants act as subjects as they are moving.

Nevertheless, probably the most significant body of research has emerged around the recent history of deportation organised by the Soviets and Nazis. Bugai [4] reveals that during the 30s–50s of the 20th century, deportation in USSR affected around 60 national minorities who were forcibly displaced by the state power bodies for political reasons. GULAG, a special state department, was created and officially financed for this purpose and existed during 1931–1948 years. People were deported to special camps in the Far East or Siberia and were used for extremely hard work. Overall it covered millions of people with no precise number even today. Korostelina [24], researching the deportation of Crimean Tatars by the Soviets, points out that "deportation is a categorical violence against certain groups based on social categories as ethnic, religious, regional, national, gender, age, etc." Korostelina also admits that numerous legal processes took place to justify deportation. Other ethnic minorities deported by the Soviets were Koreans (around 190 000 persons) and Chines (around 9000 persons) [15]. Ukrainians who had their own state within USSR and were not the ethnic minority were also deported with an estimated number of 7–11 million people or around 16–25% of the population and up to 40% among all deportees in the USSR [44]. It consequently led to the formation of a diaspora, as most deportees were not allowed to return. Holquist [19], describing Grand Terror (which with a high share included deportation), states that despite extreme violence, it was a planned practice with defined functions and purposes. Holquist lists suppression of opposition, defending regime, and resources (human) management among them. Moreover, the author defines this practice as a technic with its elements, structure (including legal), resources, purpose, and scientific and ideological justification.

Researches on deportation made by The Third Reich are not as widespread as Soviet Deportation as they are overshadowed by even more horrific acts of genocide. However, the practice of deportation in The Third Reich hit around 8.4 million people, mainly from East Europe, who was called Ostarbeiters [17]. It had two main purposes: the first, gaining free labour for industry and agriculture and the second, creating the "living space" for German settlements on occupied territories. Unlike Jews or Roma, deportees from East Europe, mainly from Ukraine, Belarus and Russia, were not segregated by Nazi ideology for physical extermination but were not attributed to Aryans. Therefore, due to the ideology, they had to serve Aryans. That was an ideological justification. That process also had its responsible deportments and state financing, and its "work" was systematically organised [42].

Summing up the above, we define deportation as i) organised practice of ii) forced displacement iii) of certain individuals or groups of people based on ethnic, race, political and religious grounds iv) performed by a state power body v) with political and/or economic purpose vi) ideologically and/or scientifically justified.

Besides the right to choose where to live, other basic human rights (in modern understanding) are extremely violated during deportation. Many deportees die during transportation and after

arriving because of poor living conditions, heavy labour exploitations, the absolute absence of any medical care, famine and violence by supervisors.

Meanwhile, deportation is not recognised as a migration, although it has much in common with forced types of migration and corresponds with the definition of migration by The International Organization for Migration [21], which defines it as "the movement of a person or a group of persons, either across an international border, or within a State. It is a population movement, encompassing any kind of movement of people, whatever its length, composition and causes; it includes migration of refugees, displaced persons, economic migrants, and persons moving for other purposes, including family reunification".

In "The World Migration Report 2000" [20], the IOM provides a classification of migration for voluntary (labour migration, international students, family reunification) and forced migration (refugees, asylum seekers and internally displaced persons (IDPs)). The UNCHR [37], in its "Global Trends Report: Forced Displacement in 2021", also refers to refugees, asylum seekers and internally displaced persons as forcibly displaced.

According to the 1951 Refugee Convention [36] refugee is "someone who is unable or unwilling to return to their country of origin owing to a well-founded fear of being persecuted for reasons of race, religion, nationality, membership of a particular social group, or political opinion". The same is fair for internally displaced persons except for crossing the international borders, as well as for asylum seekers with the exception that "asylum seeker" is a status of refugee before its legal recognition by authorities.

As one can notice, deportees have much in common with refugees. However, there is a difference. While refugees or IDPs have albeit a dangerous and dramatic option to stay, deportees do not have this option. While refugees and IDPs flee from danger on their own, deportees are moved by someone. While refugees and IDPs have limited options where to run, deportees do not have this option at all. While refugees, in many cases, can start building a new life, deportees stay under authority control, might be used for heavy work and live in camps.

Further, we provide a historical brief of deportation with an analysis based on the theoretical ground outlined above. Also, we provide evidence of deportation in modern history and nowadays.

The process of deportation has a long history starting thousands of years ago. In the early beginning, it was usually made to enslave people, when thousands of conquered people were displaced far from home and used for hard work as slaves. It continued for quite a long period; however, the criteria for who could be enslaved were changing. The colonisation of North America and, later, Australia revealed a new purpose, making the assimilation of locals easier. Some locals ran from danger by themselves, and some were forcibly displaced. Russian Empire used a similar approach against small ethnicities in the Caucasus, which nowadays has led to the conflict in Nagorno-Karabakh. The same is true for Central Asia countries such as Tajikistan and Kyrgyzstan. During the 20th century, deportation became a systematic practice mainly of Soviet and Nazi regimes with legislation, official state bodies and procedures and financing. It led to the displacement of tens of millions of people.

One of the most ancient deportations in history, although discursive, is Jewish slavery in Egypt, which ended with an Exodus around the 13th century B.C. with approximately 600 000 males leaving Egypt [13]. We understand that 3 thousand years probably distorted the numbers and the reality; however, it is one of the first pieces of evidence of i) organised forced displacement of ii) group of people based on their ethnicity iii) performed by the state for iv) economic purpose.

Relatively more accurate evidence comes from Roman Empire, where slavery was a norm. During its history, the number of enslaved people, of course, was changing. In the 1st century, only in Rome, the approximate number of enslaved people was 300,000–350,00 out of the 900,000–950,000 of the total population of Rome [27]. Madden also assumes that approximately 16.6–20% of the population of the Roman Empire were enslaved people in the 1st century. According to the author, " War prisoners " were the primary source of slaves, at least during specific periods, as well as members of failed rebellions, e.g. Jewish revolt in 132–135 years led to enslaving 100,000 Jews, who were sent out of their homeland. This example shows another then economic purpose of deportation, the calming vulnerability on conquered territories by i) forced displacement of ii) individuals or certain groups of people based on ethnicity or political views iii) performed by the state.

The practice of deportation had not changed much since ancient times but acquired new

criteria for who could be enslaved. As most countries on the European continent became Christian and Muslim in the Middle East, the conquerors could enslave people, but not people of their religion [32]. Of course, not all conquerors followed this rule, and not all were religious. Also, the slave trade became popular in Europe in the Early Medieval [11]. However, not only in Europe but also in India [34] or Japan [30]. And probably the most continuous example is the Trans-Saharan slave trade, which existed for more than a thousand years, approximately from the middle of the 7th century until the century [43]. Another example is slavery markets organised by the Golden Horde, the successors of Mongols in Crimea, who enslaved people usually from East Europe [10]. At that time, forced displacement became a result of a particular, quite widespread professional activity aimed at making a profit. However, while Trans-Saharan slavery became a new business, the Golden Horde slave markets remained the result of the conquest. Nevertheless, as previously, the deportation was organised by hard power; however, at that time, it was made not only by a state but by "business" as well. Also, the restriction of who could be enslaved appeared in accordance with the religion.

The modern era brought the slave trade to a new level when it became multi-continental. Approximately 12.5 million slaves were displaced from Africa to America [9]. However, this historical period brought back the political aims of displacement, mainly as the easiest way of assimilation and/or creating the "living space" and/or "calming social vulnerability". Forced displacement of the native population in North America [40] and Australia [29] are examples of this purpose. Not only the native population of North America was deported. Acadians, the France natives who settled in Canada, were displaced by the British during 1755–1764 years as a result of the Seven Years' War [23]. Some of the Acadians supported France, and British governance decided to deport all the local population. As a result, 11400 Acadians were deported, and nearly 5400 died during the deportation. Multiple directions for destination were chosen to a) settle Acadians separately in small groups in small proportion to the population in the destinations to b) make it easier to assimilate and c) undermine the possibility of vulnerability.

The 19th century reshaped the purpose of deportation as slavery stopped being a factor of economic success, perhaps because of industrialisation and increasing labour productivity. Meanwhile, the political purpose took a new breath and deportation became a tool for solving imperial tasks, mainly a) for calming vulnerable regions with mono-ethnic (or mono-nation as we analyse the 19th century) populations and b) for colonisation of new uninhabited territories. One example is the 20,000 deportees from Caucuses to Siberia in 1830 in the Russian Empire. Another example is the Germanisation policy, which led to the expulsion of 26,000 Jews and Poles from Prussia [35]. Jaksa [22] considers deportations of that period as a part of genocide, particularly of Caucasian Muslims with up to 1.5 million of victims in the middle of 19th century. Meanwhile, the Ottoman Empire took those refugees as it wanted to dilute the Christian population, which perhaps ended with the genocide of the Armenian nation with deportation as a part of that [12].

Finally, the most dramatic part of recent history, the first half of the 20th century, raised deportation to probably its highest level. As was previously mentioned, this practice acquired official state bodies, instructions, financing and justification.

The treaty of Neuilly (1919) and Ankara (1925) framed the idea of voluntary exchange of population, and Bulgaria received 53,000 people, and around 95,000 Turks and 30,000 Greeks left Bulgaria [28]. The Soviet collectivisation reached over 1.8 million deported to GULAG camps in 1930–1931 and up to 3 million before 1941, including other "unreliable elements" [16]. The main purpose, the opposition suppression, was combined with the economic one, i.e. mining, forest gathering, and building the Trans-Siberian railroad. The overall estimated number of deported could even reach 20 million as the process actively continued after the war till Stalin's death [44]. It is important to understand that the grandchildren of those deportees form a part of the population of Siberia and the Far East nowadays. Moreover, such countries as Ukraine got a terrible demographic hit, especially after two world wars and a Great Famine between them. Smaller nations and ethnicities were either diluted or destroyed on Russian waste territories. That processes have a direct impact on former USSR countries today. The only authority that almost reached that scale was the Nazis, who deported around 1.7 million Poles (excluding Jews) after 1939 [35] and around 8.4 million from USSR territories [17]. However, the Nazi's "Germanisation" plan required up to 50 million to be "resettled" [35].

The post-war world also faced many cases of deportation until nowadays, however much smaller. The Kaliningrad oblast' (region) with the capital in Kaliningrad (former Konigsberg) was ethnically transformed after WW2 when 102,494 men out of around 129,000 were deported during 1945–1947, and the russian population was settled instead [14]. The Chines deportation from Malaya Federation during 1948–1955 covered up to 30,000 people [18]. Although it had a political purpose and was made in a rough manner, it was somewhat similar to the form of deportation widespread nowadays as deportees were repatriated to China. More recent and much larger deportation was made in South Africa during apartheid between 1960 and 1980. Around 3.5 million were forcibly relocated to fit the policy of segregated settlement justified by ideology [1]. A recent genocide of Bosnian Muslims also included deportation, but mainly of women, children and older men, while men of military age were usually killed. As a result, the share of Bosnian Muslims in the population of the city of Prijedor fell from 44% in 1991 to 5% in 1995 [25].

Nowadays, the world probably faces another act of genocide [33] and deportation as its tool in the Russian-Ukrainian war. Yet, it has to be proven by more evidence, but for this moment is known that from 900,000 to 1.6 million Ukrainians were deported to Russia, according to Antony Blinken, a US secretary of state [38]. The main destinations for deportees are in the Russian Far East and Siberia, similar to deportations in the first half of the 20th century. Meanwhile, in August 2021, the Russian Defence Minister pointed out that "around 3–5 new cities with a population of at least 300,000 have to be built in Siberia" [45].

Conclusion. Deportation has two forms. The first form, more known nowadays, refers to removing from a country a non-citizen who violated immigration law and/or committed a crime. In this paper, we analyse the second form of deportation, which refers to the organised practice of forced displacement of certain individuals or groups of people based on ethnic, race, political and religious grounds performed by a state power body with political and/or economic purpose ideologically and/or scientifically justified.

The main difference between deportation and other types of forced migration is that deportees are literally displaced by force with absolutely no choice of where to move and how, while refugees have such options though extremely limited. In other words, unlike other types of migration, deportees are objects of migration, not subjects.

Although it is not a systematic process, it nevertheless occurs during world history quite frequently and even nowadays and hits millions of people.

During history, it served basically two purposes, political and economic. Political has not changed a lot, and its main targets are calming vulnerable territories, assimilation, and ethnic cleansing. The economic purpose has remained the same at its core but changed in performance. From the very beginning of history till probably its modern stage, deportees usually became slaves. During modern history, enslaved people were transformed into prisoners in labour camps, e.g. in Nazi Germany or the Soviet Union. Also, deportees were used as settlers to colonise Siberia and the Far East. Nevertheless, they still were mainly used as a free labour force for hard work in dangerous environments.

Finally, we do not pursue the word "deportation" to be exclusively used to describe the form of forced displacement analysed in this paper as it already has a clear widespread meaning. Nevertheless, we pursue that deportation has to receive more attention from the political and scientific community as, unfortunately, this practice still exists nowadays and affects millions of people. First of all, special bodies within the UN and IOM have to be created to investigate evidence of deportation separately from other types of forced migration, like refugees. Secondly, special bodies have to be created to help victims of deportation, as they are probably in even greater danger than refugees.

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