UNIVERSITY OF GOTHENBURG

"We Paid and Then We Could Continue"

Corruption during the Migration Trajectory, the Experience of Afghan Migrants

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Abstract

It is a common argumentation that contemporary world is characterized by globalization and the dissolving of borders. Flows of information, goods and people are argued to be fundamental in this new world. However, it seems as these flows are not applicable for all. The rise of border policies in Europe, as a way of controlling international migration, has created a situation where states strive towards a strict control of those crossing the borders. These hindrances often force migrants to deal with illegal means in order to continue their journey. Corruption is argued to be a fundamental part of these means, and conceptualized by large international organisations as a great threat towards the maintaining of solid borders. Others argue that corruption could be seen as part of everyday life, and important for migrants when negotiating their illegal status towards states. The aim of this thesis, based upon semi-structured interviews, is to explore the role of corruption during the migration trajectory. Questions stated are how migrants organize their trajectory and with the help of which actors, how migrants experience corruption during their trajectory and what this might tell us about the role of corruption in migration more broadly. By exploring the interviewees' narratives this thesis could raise that corruption is a fundamental means throughout their journey. It creates possibilities to pass hindrances on their way, as well as negotiate their status towards actors who aim towards controlling them. Which consequently will raise their level of agency. Furthermore, corruption is part of the blurring of boarders, making the legal and illegal intertwined, enabling an expansion of the migration industry.

1. Introduction

The number of migrants across the globe are all-time-high. Due to wars, conflicts, prosecutions and political changes we are now witnessing one of the larges movements of migrants since the Second World War. The UN Refugee Agency, UNHCR, state that the number of forcibly displaced people reached 59.5 million by the end of 2014 (UNHCR 2015; The Guardian 2015). As migrants try to find their way from the place of origin towards perhaps an unknown destination country, they are most likely going to face several hindrances along the way. Although the contemporary world is characterized by globalization and the rise in flows of information, goods and not the least people, it seems as this freedom of movement is not applicable to all (Castles 2010, 1578; Jansen and Löfving 2007, 6). The rise of border policies in Europe, as a way of controlling international migration, has created a situation where states strive towards a strict control of those crossing the borders. The classic metaphor of "Fortress Europe" often connotes an unbreakable wall. However, the impenetrable hindrance is rather a dense jungle with several paths, filled with its own risks, costs and obstacles. These hindrances often force migrants to deal with illegal means in order to continue their journey (Jansen and Löfving 2007, 6; Khoskravi 2007, 322ff).

Migrants have often been framed as victims within these processes. However, researchers within migrant studies have emphasized the concept of agency, arguing that migrants should be seen as actors that negotiate their way forward. The ability to meet these obstacles through social networks, the capacity to meet the financial costs, handling the physical danger etc. are all vital and all in the end determine the outcome of their journey (Carling 2010, 26-32; Jansen and Löfving 2007, 6; Khoskravi 2007, 322ff). These aspects are conceptualised as the migration industry and emphasize that migrants interact with different actors and strategies in order to continue their journey. It changes our focus of inquiry towards trajectories, looking at what and how journeys are shaped (Spaan and Hillmann 2013, 66-68; Nyberg Sörensen and Gemmeltoft-Hansen 2013, 4-5).

Corruption plays a significant role within the field of migration. Corruption can, however, be understood in several different ways. Within official border politics and policies, corruption is defined as "the abuse of public power for private benefit" or "the misuse of entrusted power for private gain" and theorized as a failure in official principles (UNODC 2013, 13-14; UDOCD 2011, 5; Zhang and Pineda 2008, 46). Large international organizations such as the United Nations (UN) and the European Union (EU) relate corruption to human smuggling, trafficking

of people and other criminal acts and state that it undermines national and international efforts to combat illegal migration (UNODC 2013, 7-8; Zhang and Pineda 2008, 46; Gounev et al 2012a, 12) However, these notions tell us little of what implications corruption has for migrants and their journey.

Some researchers have argued for the need to highlight the constructional aspects of corruption, trying to broaden the understanding of the concept. The meanings which are given to corruption, according to them, are dependent upon local contexts, situations and interpretations (Gupta 1995, 388; Lindberg and Orjuela 2014, 724-725). This is an approach which emphasizes that corruption, if seen within its social and cultural context, could be understood as a common practice in everyday life (Madsen 2004, 179-180; Vigneswaran 2011, 203; Orjuela 2014, 756; Smith 2007, 5-6).

1.1 Aim and Research Questions

Based on the narratives of Afghan immigrants in Sweden, the purpose of this thesis is to explore the role of corruption during the migration trajectory. In order to do this we need to investigate the organisation and involvement of actors within the migration industry. The thesis asks the following questions:

1. How do migrants organize their trajectory and with the help of which actors?

2. What experience of corruption have migrants had during the migration trajectory?

3. What does this tell us about the role of corruption in migration more broadly?

1.2 Delimitation and Relevance to Global Studies

Studies of corruption in relation to migration have paid little attention to migrants themselves and the local context, and rather emphasised the global anti-corruption agenda. Therefore, this thesis would like to explore how corruption is understood by migrants during the migration trajectory. This will hopefully broaden the picture and shed new light upon the concept of corruption. It will further investigate the organisation and actors involved in their trajectory, an important part of the migration industry (for further discussion regarding the migration industry, please see section 2.1.3). By adding the experience of migrants to the conceptualisation of corruption, this study will relate local events and actors to a global level, in order to understanding the interconnectedness between the global and the local. It seemed as a relevant approach as thesis is written within the field of global studies, an academic discipline

concerning the intertwining of global and local economic, social and political events and processes (Campbell, MacKinnon and Stevens, 2010: 2-3).

Dealing with theoretical issues concerning migration and the perspective of migrants themselves there are a number of aspects which could be included. Issues such as the securitisation of migration and conceptualisation of illegality could be of interest. However, given the limited space and time of this inquiry this thesis choose to delimit to the theoretical issues related to corruption and the migration industry. Further, this thesis acknowledge the vast and important discussions on human trafficking in relation to migration, however, chooses to exclude these discussion in order to delimit the inquiry. Delimitations of this study is also elaborated in section 2.4 "Research Approach".

1.3 Background: Afghan Migration to Europe

As this thesis is based upon narratives of Afghan immigrants in Sweden, the following section will contain a brief background of Afghan migration trends.

Modern Afghan emigration has it origin from the Soviet invasion in 1979. A vast number of Afghans have since then crossed the borders. Afghan emigration has been shifting ever since the end of 1970´s. Going back and forth, with high levels of around 6 million Afghan refugees in the surrounding countries of Pakistan and Iran in 1990. The following years large flows returned, in order to shift again with the intervention of the international coalition led by the US in the beginning of the year 2000. Hope for peace made large amounts of refugees return in the years following the intervention. However, this repartition has dropped and in 2006 the area between Afghanistan and Pakistan hosted around 20 per cent of the world's total amount of refugees. Given this long lasting trend, migration has become part of everyday life for many Afghans and a large amount of the Afghan refugees have been born outside the country of origin (Monsutti 2008, 59; 60-61; Mougne 2010, 7).

Monsutti argues that these historical patterns of mobility shape the understanding of migration within the Afghan community. Consequently, the Afghan migration can no longer be seen as the stereotypic victim in an urgent need to flee under imposed threat, with a long-lasting willingness to return. The decision to migrate does not need to imply a traumatic event looked upon as destructive for the individual. Afghans migrate for several reasons, and migration is in many cases a way of life (Monsutti 2008, 59; Mougne 2010, 7).

The history of migration has fundamentally affected the social, cultural and economic life of numerous Afghans. Many Afghan migrants keep contact with their place of origin. These contacts are often based on remittances which has an important contribution to the Afghan community. These contacts are also vital to enable migration for other Afghans: acting as a guide to a future place of destination, as well as a contributing with necessary economic means (Monsutti 2008, 62; 64). The social network, to which Afghans often are connected, stretches not only to Pakistan and Iran but as far as Europe and Australia. It creates a safety net that links families, relatives and even neighbours (Monsutti 2006, 30; Leimsidor 2014, 140).

1.3.1 Migration Routes and Smuggling Networks

Life in Iran and Pakistan has in recent years become more difficult for Afghan immigrants, which has extended their migration trajectory to Europe. However, the European Union has at the same time applied stricter immigration policies, which consequently has created favourable conditions for smuggling networks to develop (Mougne 2010, 7). When discussing smuggling of people across the EU-border it is important to acknowledge the "Schengen Acquis". It has enabled internal border-crossings for the 26 member-states, but also created a common external border-control. This has moved the focus of border-controls to the countries guarding the external borders, creating an extra pressure upon these areas (Rusev 2013, 4).

Monsutti argues that for most Afghans formal border-crossings are almost impossible. Obtaining passports and other necessary documents has been hard for at least 25 years, which creates a situation where smuggling is the only way of crossing the borders. Some of the migrants have a personal contact with the smuggler, either as a family, relative or someone from the same village. The smuggler could also act as a credit for the journey, either being paid upon arrival to the destination by the migrant or the migrants' family or leading to an employer where the migrant may work off their debt (Monsutti 2006, 28-30). Smuggling networks are often vast and grounded in the local context, both in the place of origin and destination. Smuggling networks from Afghanistan to Greece are not done by large criminal networks strictly controlling every movement. They consist rather of small divided paths with several local smugglers based upon loose connections (Triandafyllidou and Maroukis 2012, 149).

2. Previous Research and Theoretical Framework

The following section will contain previous research and provide the theoretical framework. A study on previous research was conducted through a literature review. First, we will look into the theoretical discussion regarding migration, this will be followed by a section concerning

definitional discussions on corruption. Further, there will be a discussion on corruption and migration and the research approach for this study.

This literature review was constructed in close relation to the empirical material. Hence, concepts discussed further are delimited by their relevance for this study (Bryman 2012, 98).

2.1 Migration Theory

This thesis concerns the experiences and perspectives of migrants, and the thesis therefore draws upon theoretical perspectives in migration studies related to anthropological research. The following section will contain a brief discussion on the development of contemporary migration theory, it will further raise the importance of border studies within migration research, and lastly explore new theoretical aspects on the migration industry.

Within her work, *The Anthropology of Migration* (2013), Kathy Gardner highlights that research on migration has concerned a variety of issues, such as rural to urban migration, diasporas and ethnicity. Gardner argues that historically, studies on migration have been highly influenced by notions of "before" and "after". Migration scholars, and especially anthropological researchers, have focused their studies on the effects of migration on those who migrate. Migration became part of a larger theoretical discussion relating to modernization and issues that concerned scholars were, for example, how the rural man would change his ways when entering the urban life (Gardner 2013, 302ff).

Furthermore, migration studies have also been influenced by large structural theories, such as dependency and neo-classical theory. Dependency theory highlights that migration is part of a world systems of inequality. Hence, the "first world" is dependent upon cheap labour and resources from the "third world", and migration is thus an effect of the extraction of labour to industrial production sites in the "third world". Neo-classical perspectives on migration, on the other hand, depart from rational economic choices. Important concepts of "push-pull" raise the fact that migration is not only part of larger structural changes, but also combined by individual choices to enhance living standards and economic prosperity. Migrants' will to migrate is dependent upon conditions at the place of origin and place of destination, whilst the gains of migrating are placed in relation to the conditions where the individual is living at the moment (Gardner 2013, 302ff; Carlings 2010, 1569).

Gardner raises several critical aspects concerning these perspectives. First and foremost, she highlight that these theories depart from the notion that large structural patterns are key for

migrants choice and agency. Gardner argues that these perspectives tend to miss some vital aspects of "human agency". The choice to migrate is far more complex than the structural interpretation that the two pervious theories present. Gardner takes as example the need for female workers in manufacturing industries in Thailand, and argues that it spurred a pattern of migration. However, when departing in the narratives of the female workers the choice to migrate was not only due to the economic opportunity, but also the possibility for freedom and the development of new gender roles. Thus, when researchers connect locality to large global patterns a complex picture presents itself (Gardner 2013, 303f). Additionally, Stephen Castel argues that migration research in recent time has primarily concerned the perspectives of the receiving states, highly influenced by a "methodological nationalism". Castles emphasizes that migration research should look to the whole migration process as well as the migrants themselves (Castles 2010, 1569ff).

Both Gardner and Castles argue that a new theoretical approach to migration has emerged. Migration scholars have started to emphasise aspects of ethnicity and culture. New concepts such as adaptation and assimilation became the focus and migration research started to investigate the cultural changes within receiving communities. Consequently, researchers started to understand that migrants often lived lives that were highly influenced by both receiving and sending countries. The notion of gradual assimilation, where the first generation kept old ways and second and third generations would sooner or later start to adapt to the new context, was starting to be questioned. British migration scholars conceptualised a "hybridity of culture", and new aspects of networks, processes and "relationships across space" started to influence the analysis. Rather than departing from the notion of a divided world of sending and receiving where migrants are fixed to one locality, this new theoretical approach emphasised "the movement of people between places and the social process that binds them together". The new perspective takes on a "transnational" approach, hence, transnational migration concerned the participation in several societies. Social, economic and political issues in the sending communities were still important for migrants and migrants' lives "span national boundaries", which turn them into "transnational migrants" (Gardner 2013, 305ff; Glick Schiller, Basch and Blanc 1995, 48).

This new theoretical approach consequently affects ways which migration is studied. As mentioned previously, the focus on "before and after" became less relevant, and migration scholars started to do research on the interconnectedness between places and the de-territorialisation of practices. Gardner raises the importance of studying travel encounters,

following ideas and things across space and within networks. New important places to study are within journeys, departing from the experience of those making these. It will raise the complex compound of human agency which is central in migration (Gardner 2013, 312; Castles 2010, 1579).

However, although the theory of transnational migration helps us to challenge old notions of belonging and a divided social world to fixed places, Gardner argues that space is still highly influenced by political and ideological constraints. Notably, Jörgen Carling argues that even though we are living in a world characterized by movement, migration is still highly affected by control and conflicts over mobility. Thus, we are also living in an "age of involuntary mobility", where some are allowed to move and others are not (Gardner 2013, 310; Carling 2010, 5). Borders are one of these issues that are highly affected by, and often become a focal point for political exercise. The following section will elaborate more thoroughly on borders and their significance within migration studies.

2.1.1 Theorizing Borders

An important aspect within the theorization of migration is how migration is facilitated and controlled. Borders have become a focus for both state policies and intermediaries trying to facilitate border-crossing operations.

Many scholars argue that due to the development of globalization, borders and nation-state sovereignty have become less important. However, others have emphasised that these notions only apply to certain flows. Capital and technology have been important contributors to the development of the globalized world, and thus have no problem crossing borders. This is also applicable for some people, those who are viewed as "good" flows, such as tourists. However, for a large number of the world's population, borders are not as easy to cross as the promoters of globalization argue. For many, borders have instead become even more restrictive (Cunningham 2004, 331-332; Pickering and Weber 2013, 4; Wonders 2006, 63-66).

Nation-states have imposed stricter regulations, aiming to hinder undesirable individuals before they reach the geographical borders. This development has shifted immigration policies to become detached from the border itself, and focused upon individual bodies of those who are perceived as a threat, striving to identify persons before they even have started their journey (Pickering and Weber 2013, 4). Some scholars argue that borders are not only geographically defined but also socially constructed. These events have made several scholars theorize borders as "transversal". Through the notion of transversal borders scholars argue that nation-state and

non-state actors construct borders that are not bound to geographical places (Pickering and Weber 2013; Pickering 2004; Soguk and Whitehall 1999). Thus, the concept of transversality does not depart from nation-states as the central subject for the understanding of borders, but those who express an alternative transversal narrative. Consequently, transversality is concerned with the stories of migrants which challenges the state-centric notions of borders and sovereignty (Pickering 2004, 364).

Migrants help to construct and define the transversal borders by their mere appearances and their crossings. However, migrants are not the only ones constructing these transversal borders. Actors who engage to police borders are also part of these constructions, hence transversal borders are constructed by those who act to reinforce them, but also by those who violate or transcend the juridical borders (Pickering and Weber 2013, 2-3). These border performances are often done at places far from the physical border itself: airports, social workers who deny non-citizens access to support from the state, or raids at work places by border agents in the hunt for illegal immigrants are all part the performance of borders. The border agents are those who define on which body a border will be performed (Wonders 2006, 63-66).

The change in immigration policies towards bodies has also created a development which challenges the old notion of territory and borders being fixed and divided. They are rather flexible and changing in their structure. Nation borders are no longer drawn lines on a map, but rather "spaces of both legitimate and illegitimate behaviour which requires simultaneous performance of control and crisis that collapse boundaries, frontiers and borders into borderlands" (Pickering 2004, 363).

These developments have created an expansion of internal borders, making the domestic police force part of the immigration scheme. Issues such as the smuggling of people have become a focus, with police forces expanding areas in which they operate. This has also increased the relation between the police force and smugglers, going into what Pickering and Weber call a "symbiotic relationship", where the police and smugglers try to cope with each other's tactics. Police increase their activities and smuggling agents change their operations, which in the end poses a higher risk for those using their services. Moreover, the police force has also in some cases been given an increase of power to act upon immigration laws, which indicates an integration between immigration policies and the police force, expanding the borders internally (Pickering and Weber 2013, 10).

The theorizing of borders adds an in-depth understanding of the underlying processes which affects migrants' journeys. The following section will focus upon the importance of studying migrants' journeys, or trajectories.

2.1.2 Migration Trajectories

As seen in the previous theoretical discussion on migration, several scholars have emphasised the importance of departing from migrants and their journeys (Gardner 2013, 312; Castles 2010, 1579). Spaan and Hillmann raise the importance of analysing migration through "trajectories". This will make us turn our analytical understanding to what and how journeys are shaped, and relate the individual behaviour to structural patterns. The concept of trajectories highlights the dynamics between regulation and movement, and by studying trajectories scholars have illuminated that regulation is not fixed or objective but rather constructed and fluid. Regulations are thus defined simultaneously by state power and migrants.

Consequently, migration should not be seen as pre-determined but rather as a process where the migration trajectory is shaped by a number of conditions. In focus within this analytical lens is what practices are part of this shaping of trajectories. One example is "work-for-passage", which enables migrants to continue their journey by working for a certain amount of time. The employment could mean that migrants are not paid in cash, but through tickets to carriers taking them further in their trajectory (Spaan and Hillmann 2013, 66-68). Hence, in order to understand migration researchers have to follow the trajectories of the migrants and thus understand the complex compound of regulation, practices and relationships which shapes them. One important contribution to the understanding of what shapes migrants' trajectories are the involvement of different types of actors throughout their journeys, known as the migration industry, more thoroughly discussed in the following section.

2.1.3 The Migration Industry

As seen previously in this theoretical discussion, migration research is said to have been influenced by "methodological nationalism", focusing on the departure or receiver country. It has therefore been argued that research should rather refocus towards the migration trajectories and the various actors involved in contemporary cross-border mobility in order to understand what facilitates and controls migration. These actors are all part of what have been conceptualized as the "migration industry", which adverts to the increasing commercialization of migration services resulting both from the rising number of migrants and the increasingly restrictive border controls. The migration industry consists of a number of actors that offer a

variety of services, including: transportation, fraudulent papers, housing, and border controls (Nyberg Sörensen and Gemmeltoft-Hansen 2013, 4-5; Castles 2010, 1569f).

Hernández-León defines the migration industry "as the ensemble of entrepreneurs, firms and services which, chiefly motivated by financial gain, facilitates international mobility, settlement and adaptation, as well as communication and resource transfers of migrants and their families across borders" (Hernández-León 2013, 25). Hernández-León emphasises that studying the migration industry may expand our understanding of what kind of actors are part of the migration trajectory. He does this through the conceptualization of "strange bedfellows". The concept of strange bedfellows is drawn from the work of Aristide Zolberg, who argues that within American immigration politics new types of cooperation between actors who were otherwise not connected has emerged. Private profit-driven actors collaborate with other actors in order to facilitate the mobilisation of humans across borders. One example is the participation of religious actors that facilitates housing for migrants, which also serves as a recruitment base for smugglers. Furthermore, Hernández-León argues that migrants are not dependent upon certain actors in certain stages of the migration trajectory, but are in different need of various actors throughout the journey (Hernández-León 2013, 37-39).

Central to the conceptualization of the migration industry is how issues that have otherwise been seen as dichotomously could now be seen as interconnected. The migration industry consists of a variety of legal/illegal actors and formal/informal activities that accordingly link the facilitation and control of migration. As an example, a more restrictive border control affects the operation of migration and raises the profitability of human smuggling, which consequently makes these two processes interlinked (Nyberg Sörensen and Gemmeltoft-Hansen 2013, 4-5). In their theoretical reflection on the migration industry, Spaan and Hillmann argue that "the traversing of legal, socioeconomic and geographical boundaries is a central characteristic of MI [Migration Industry] activities and it involves the creation of spatial, socioeconomic, legal and moral spaces of liminality". Hence, the migration industry enables migrants to travel within spaces and across barriers which they otherwise could not (Spaan and Hilmann 2013, 65).

Scholars studying the migration industry have objected to the notion that the migration trajectory is a pre-planned process. Migrants use different methods and actors to guide themselves forward. Thus, migrants become agents of their own journey (Spaan and Hillmann 2013, 66). However, there is always a division of labour within the migration industry. Sometimes intermediaries, such as smugglers, control the entire part of the journey, and other times the labour could be divided among several actors. Migrants could use intermediaries when

crossing borders, whereas other parts are more based on migration capital, i.e. the knowledge from other migrants. This shows the interplay between personal networks and institutionalised actors within the migration industry (Spaan and Hillmann 2013, 75). Spaan and Hillmann further state that the intermediaries are often located in between the legal and illegal, which enables them to negotiate "the modus of visa, travel and employment arrangements". The migration industry challenges the notion of a clear distinction between what is part of the legal and illegal and thus is a process of "blurring of categories". Migrants are not fixed to one of these spheres but have the ability to influence them both through the migration industry (Spaan and Hillmann 2013, 80-81).

Furthermore, Spaan and Hillmann argue that even though there are aspects of exploitation throughout the migration process, it is important not to only look upon migrants as victims. Their relationships with their intermediaries are "the result of negotiation on conditions and price" (Spaan and Hillmann 2013, 75). Thus, the migration industry raises the aspect of agency and migrants' possibility to negotiate between different choices (Spaan and Hillmann, 2013, 71). Although migrants are often part of the informal/illegal sphere they are still able to affect their situation. Spaan and Hillman argue that "it remains possible to negotiate rights and opportunities outside the boundaries of sovereign nation-states and regulatory regimes" (Spaan and Hillmann, 2013, 71).

The migration industry is often correlated with illegal and illicit activities. However, studies of the migration industry raise the fact that there are a variety of both legal and illegal actors involved within these processes, and that one cannot understand the situation through a clear cut division between them both. As Spaan and Hillmann argue, "the fact that irregular practices are not confined to illegal recruiters, but often part and parcel of the business undertakings of regular recruiters, shows that the distinction between irregular and regular is blurred". Thus, there is a need for a holistic approach, challenging notions of what is good and bad within migration studies, as well as who is illegal and who is legal (Spaan and Hillmann, 2013, 81).

The following section will turn the attention towards corruption: conceptually and its interlinkage with migration.

2.2 Corruption: A Hard Defined Concept

This thesis has set out to explore the role of corruption throughout the migration trajectory. An important issue amongst academics studying corruption has been to define corruption in order to operationalise the concept and make it useful for research (Orjuela 2014; Rothstein 2014;

Underkauffler 2009). The complexities involved in defining corruption is, however, pointed out by Camilla Orjuela. She argues that using broad definitions, such as the "misuse of entrusted power for private gain", creates a risk of including a large number of practices which all need to be addressed in their specific way. Hence, this makes it hard to address these practices "under the same conceptual lens". Moreover, Orjuela explains that anthropological scholars argue for a definition on corruption that includes social, cultural and power structures. Challenging a clear-cut division of the private and public (Orjuela 2014, 756). With that in mind, this review has thus looked into the definitional discussion in several academic works, drawing from anthropological research, political sciences research as well as official documents from the United Nations in order to create an understanding of the corruption "landscape".

Several scholars have addressed the definitional difficulties concerning corruption. Zhang and Pineda´s research (2008), which concerns the relation between trafficking and corruption, emphasizes that there are socio-cultural as well as historical aspects which influence views on corruption (Zhang and Pineda 2008, 45). The UN on the other hand uses a more narrow definition, stating that corruption concerns "the abuse of entrusted power for private gain" (UNODC 2013, 7). The UN acknowledges several different levels of corruption. Highlighting that corruption could be systematic and affecting a large part of the organisation, or it could be institutionalised, being an integrated part of the organisation and part of everyday practice. It could also be localized, delimited to one specific unit, or individualised, being just one individual taking advantage of their position. The UN defines corrupt acts as; bribery in the public and private sector, the trading of influence and abuse of functions (UNODC 2013, 7ff). They emphasise that corrupt acts often concern officials such as border guards, however, these acts could also be within the private sector, through employees within the transportations sector, security, fishing industry among others (UNODC 2013, 11).

Several authors have argued that corruption can also be understood as a discourse. As the concept carries a diversity of definitions and meanings it is necessary to critically analyse the usage of the concept: looking at how it is used, by whom and for what purpose. Hence, understanding corruption as a discourse raises the importance of power. Orjuela argues that "corruption is simultaneously enabled by power and reproduces power" (Orjuela 2014, 756; Gupta 1995, 376; Smith 2007, 9; De Maria 2010, 145-148).

One of the early studies treating corruption as a discourse was conducted by Akhil Gupta. His ethnographic study in India acknowledges that the Indian state is "discursively constituted" through the understanding of corruption among the population (Gupta 1995, 376). The

important contribution from Gupta is the understanding that corruption is used by people to understand their surroundings. How people construct corruption is dependent on social and cultural contexts. By constructing discourses of corruption people are able to define the state and their citizenship (Gupta 1995, 388-389).

Furthermore, the complexity of defining corruption is also dealt with by Laura Underkuffler in her work, *Defining Corruption: Implications for Action* (2009). She argues that although there are acts which countries all over the world treat as illegal – such as bribery – you could still state that "one man´s bribe may be another man´s gift". Underkuffler sets out to explore how corruption is conceptualised in academic and operational literature in order to understand how these findings could have an effect on how we deal with corruption (Underkuffler 2009, 27). She outlines some of the central issues addressed within corruption research and emphasises that there is a moral connotation embedded within the concept. Underkuffler argues that excluding this aspect makes any approach to corruption inadequate in its description of the concept. Corruption is thus conceptualised as not just a matter of individual violation, but a threat towards the whole societal moral foundation that it affects (Underkuffler 2009, 27; 35-38).

Including both the moral and discursive aspects of corruption makes us understand that the practical implications of corruption are highly affected and intertwined by our notions of the same (Orjuela 2014, 756; Underkuffler 2009, 42). Furthermore, De Maria argues that the definition of corruption has been homogenised through large international organisations as Transparency International and the World Bank. The rising interest in corruption as a hindrance for economic growth and development has made the issue a focal point for measurements and international interventions. Consequently, De Maria illuminates implicit power structures that are embedded within the corruption measurement and thus understands corruption as a discourse in which western notions of the third world are being produced (De Maria 2010, 145-148; De Maria 2008, 777-778).

Bo Rothstein on the other hand states that the definition of corruption must be of universal nature. Rothstein argues against a relativistic approach which would – according to him – look past the general experience all over the world of corruption being "morally wrong" (Rothstein 2014, 741). Furthermore, Rothstein argues that corruption must be placed in relation to "non-corruption". He argues that the definition of "non-corruption" is the situation where civil servants deliver public goods in an impartial way. He conceptualizes impartiality as an aspect within the conception of "quality of governments". Corruption is thus a matter of public

officials doing their duty towards the population (Rothstein 2014, 748). Rothstein thus makes a clear division between the public and the private when dealing with corruption, something which Smith, Blundo and de Sardan have objected to.

G. Blundo and O. de Sardan's work *Everyday Corruption and the State* (2006) and D. Smith's *A Culture of Corruption* (2007) are two ethnographic inquiries on the relation between corruption and societies in Africa, studying corruption through in-depth research. Both of these studies emphasise the importance of understanding corruption as an integrated part in social and cultural practices. Even though corruption on one level could be seen as illegitimate, the line between corrupt practices and non-corrupt practices is blurred, as well as the division between public and private. Instead, corruption must be understood within the local context (Blundo and de Sardan 2006, 21; Smith 2007, 18).

Smith´s ethnographical study on corruption conducted in Nigeria acknowledges the theoretical importance of studying corruption from the perspective of experience. Nigerian notions of corruption could according to Smith include acts ranging from governmental bribery to cheating in school, including a compound of moral aspects and social processes. Smith also acknowledges the discursive approach to corruption, arguing that corruption has become a way of expressing dissatisfaction (Smith 2007, 5-6).

Blundo and de Sardan raise important methodological aspects in relation to studying corruption, stating that research on corruption has often been conducted through quantitative measurements. Moreover, Blundo and de Sardan argue that although corruption sometimes is tolerated or widespread it is still illegal within the legislative and regulatory system and is condemned by vast social and political actors. Research on corruption thus concerns clandestine or concealed practices. Dealing with material that is difficult to access makes social research on corruption rather difficult. There is also the attempt to criminalize corruption and divorce it from everyday practice, whilst in reality it is often embedded within it (Blundo and de Sardan 2006, 8).

It is important to acknowledge the complexity when discussing corruption within scientific research. This review has revealed some of the central thoughts and concepts which will be included further in this study. First of all, it is important to acknowledge the methodological insights. Understanding the multidimensional aspects of corruption enables this thesis to approach the interviewees´ answers in a more open-ended way: trying to understand how they perceive and understand the role of corruption during the migration trajectory. Further, it is also

of importance to acknowledge the practical acts of corruption, events which take place between people on an everyday basis. Hence, this thesis will also include the official definition on corruption made by the UN. This enables this thesis to address specific acts and try to understand where corruption exists within migration processes. Bribery in the public and private sector, trading in influence and abuse of functions are important concepts in this aspect.

2.3 Corruption within the Migration Field

As discussed previously, studies on corruption and migration have often been addressed by large international organisations working with border control. These studies conceptualize corruption through anti-corruption policies, emphasizing the fight against corruption within institutions and among officials, as well as among organized crime (UNODC 2013; Gounev et al 2012a; Gounev et al 2012b). UNODC has acknowledged that corruption could facilitate the smuggling of migrants in areas of illegal border-crossings by land, sea and air, illegal stay of migrants and the production of fraudulent documents (UNODC 2013, 13-14). The level of corruption often determines the success of smuggling operations and corruption is also a major obstacle in prosecuting human smugglers (UNODC 2013, 3-4). UNODC uses the official definition on corruption stated by the United Nations Convention against Corruption (UNCAC) i.e. the abuse of entrusted power for private gain. As stated in the previous section, UNODC argues that corruption could be systematic or institutional in its nature. It could be systematic through affecting a whole border protection, law enforcement or justice system, or institutional where institutional practices have been influenced by a climate which tolerates corrupt acts. Corruption could also be localized to specific units or part of an agency or business, or individual for personal advantages and gains (UNODC 2013, 7-8).

Atanas Rusev argues that the tightening of border controls and restrictive labour markets creates a need for illegal entry and occupation for migrants. Hence, higher walls on the European border have consequently enabled a rise of involvement in organized crime, which also increases the risk of corruption among border guards (Rusev 2013, 5-6). Vigneswaran on the other hand, has conducted research regarding corruption, border policies and new forms of state territoriality and argues that states do not only act out security and migration policies at their external border, but at the internal border as well. In this way states are trying to control the inflow of irregular migrants through a rise in domestic control (Vigneswaran 2008, 785-786). Moreover, Vigneswaran emphasises that police corruption is systematic and part of the day to day encounter with migrants. By illuminating these patterns, Vigneswaran is able to illustrate that corruption does not have to be clandestine acts, but as "common" as physical and verbal abuse.

Approaching corruption as a systematic event highlights its importance in everyday contact with officials for certain groups, and in this case illicit migrants (Vigneswaran 2011, 203).

These notions are also developed by Morten Lynge Madsen. His study *Living for home: policing immortality among undocumented migrants in Johannesburg* (2004) discusses the practical implications that corruption might have for migrants. His research shows how undocumented migrants use different methods in order to stay invisible to the state, both through a moralising community which acts out policing among themselves, as well as through corrupt acts when getting arrested in the street. Madsen argues that corruption is an "institutional feature" of both arrest and detention of undocumented migrants in South Africa, and that migrants are exposed to irregular police practices on a daily basis. Migrants have to negotiate their invisibility on these encounters through "protecting money" which could be everything from a cold drink to bribery (Madsen 2004, 179-180). Corruption could thus enable illegal immigrants to negotiate their "invisibility" towards the state. It raises an agency-perspective which corruption might enable. Something which Jonathan Anjaria (2011) also argues.

Anjaria emphasizes the way corruption could enable agency for vulnerable groups. Anjaria´s research concerns street vendors in India, and their struggle for the right to sell products illegally on the street. By using corruption through bribing the police, these street sellers are able to continue with their business, and even promote certain right towards the state (Anjaria 2011, 60).

While the above studies have discussed the link between migration and corruption, these studies have approached this relationship either at an institutional level, approached through anti-corruption policies, or within immigration enforcement. Few have, however, approached corruption within the context of migration through the perspective of migrants themselves (but see Madsen 2004). Corruption within anthropological research has often been studied in relation to the culture it acts within. Addressing the meanings and understandings of everyday in relation to corrupt acts (Smith 2007, Blundo and de Sardan 2006). There are important theoretical insights to be drawn from these studies, and attempting to do this the following thesis will trace the experience of corruption during the migration trajectory: including journey and stay in transit as well as receiving countries.

2.4 Research Approach: Conceptualizing Corruption during the Migration Trajectory

Based on previous research, I would argue that corruption can be conceptualize into two fields. First, corruption could be seen as a problem amongst officials, drawing from the official definition stated by the UN; "the abuse of entrusted power for private gain". The UN has also acknowledged several concepts that are important in order to understand the practices of corruption. They delimit corruption as bribery in the public and private sector, the trading of influence and the abuse of functions. They highlight that corruption could concern officials as the police and border guards, as well as within the private sector such as the transportation sector and the security and fishing industries (UNODC 2013, 7-11). Furthermore, the UN acknowledges that corruption is a fundamental part of the smuggling of migrants, which could facilitate the smuggling of migrants in areas of illegal border-crossings by land, sea and air, illegal stay of migrants and production of fraudulent documents (UNODC 2013, 13-14).

Secondly, corruption could also be seen as part of everyday life. Within the second field the focus is upon the experience of corruption. We are allowed within the second field to broaden our definition of corruption, emphasize meanings and understandings of corruption. However, the second field is still highly dependent upon the first field. I would like to argue that these two fields must be seen as intertwined and most likely are affecting each other. Just as Rusev argues, a rise in border policies affects the means in which migrants try to pass the borders (Rusev 2013, 5-6). Consequently, behavior of border guards in relation to corruption could affect migrants and their trajectories. Drawing from both Vigneswaran and Madsen´s study helps us to understand that corruption is a common practice within the migration context, and is used as significant means to overcome difficulties and hindrances. Furthermore, Madsen also acknowledges the possibility to negotiate immigrants' invisibility through corruption (Vigneswaran 2011, 203; Madsen 2007, 179-180). As Orjuela among others argue, approaches to corruption has to include local context as well as social and cultural aspects (Orjuela 2014, 756). Acknowledging both these fields we are able to get a holistic understanding of corruption.

As we have seen in the theoretical discussions regarding migration, in order to understand the social processes included in migration we have to direct our focus towards the individuals who conduct these journeys. We have to look beyond the territorial limitations of the nation-state, and depart from a transnational perspective. Hence, it is necessary to trace the experience of corruption during the migration trajectory; including journey and stay in transit and receiving

countries. Important theoretical contribution is the construction of borders and the involvement of different actors in order to get further in the migration trajectory. These actors are an important contribution to the understanding of what facilitates and controls migration. The blurring of boundaries and intertwining of dichotomies of formal/informal and licit/illicit are important theoretical insights (Gardner 2013, 310; Pickering and Weber 2013, 4; Wonders 2006, 63-66; Spaan and Hillmann 2013, 66-68).

3. Method

This thesis, based on semi-structured interviews, concerns people's experience and meanings they give to corruption as a concept. Thus, influenced by anthropological research, this thesis will approach the concept of corruption from a critical standpoint and problematizing its usages in order to explore corruption and what role it might have for the situation and the local context. Hopefully, this will add on the critical analysis of how corruption is used and constructed (Bryman 2011, 341; Lindberg and Orjuela 2014, 724-725; Orjuela 2014, 753-745).

At the beginning of the thesis a research design was created, including preliminary research questions, theories and methods. It was used as a guide and basis for the study and helped to narrow the study down to a specific aim. Further, a literature review was conducted. Both Bryman and Creswell emphasise the importance of exploring the literature on the subject. It helps to position the study, illuminating important concepts and theories, as well as getting knowledge regarding relevant methods. Through the positioning of the study the researcher is able to understand what relevance the inquiry could give to the overall research on the subject. Furthermore, the literature review helps to link the stated research questions, results and discussion to the already existing literature, which will justify your credibility in your research (Bryman 2012, 98; Creswell 2014, 28). Conducting interviews concerning sensitive subjects could be troublesome for several reasons. However, in order to create a trustworthy atmosphere with the interviewees the literature review did also include research of important migration routes, places and countries. Acknowledging these places during the interview is a means to create a feeling of being understood, which is vital in qualitative research (Bryman 2012, 8; Creswell 2014, 28).

This thesis has an interpretative epistemological approach, and thus strives towards the meanings and understandings of the interviewees. Their contribution to the theory is central to the study hence it would be inappropriate to predetermine concepts and theories in order to

understand their answers. This study did rather let the process be intertwined, reading theory and concepts parallel with the data analysis (Bryman 2012, 110).

3.1 Qualitative Interviews

This thesis is based upon qualitative, semi-structured interviews with immigrants in Sweden originating from Afghanistan. The selection of Afghan immigrants was done due to their vast experience of migration, as seen in the section "Afghan Migration to Europe". Furthermore, Afghan migrants are one of the major groups which have migrated by land and through illegal border-crossings, which increases the possibility that they have been forced to meet several constraints, and most likely faced corruption on their way (Mehlmann 2011, 36, 40; Frontex 2014a, Frontex 2014b, 5). In order to understand the use of corruption at a local context and within migration trajectories it is necessary to explore the narratives of those who have experienced these events. Thus, the epistemological standpoint in this inquiry is based upon interpretation, striving towards an understanding of what meaning people give to their surroundings (Bryman 2011, 341).

A main concern regarding the methodology is the selection of interviewees. There could be difficulties getting hold of relevant persons, as well as finding those who would like to participate in an inquiry talking about migration and corruption. In order to find relevant persons I used my personal network within the Afghan community in Gothenburg, and they helped me further in my search for persons to interview. The personal trust between me and the gatekeepers enabled me to find those willing to participate in the inquiry.

The interviews were mainly conducted at one of the Pentecostal churches in Gothenburg. This was due to a personal connection between me and one of the responsible persons for a Persian group in the church. Conducting interviews in the church was favourable as it was a secure environment for the interviewees. However, it seemed as the interviewees had not always been informed prior to the interview occasion, but were rather asked spontaneously upon my arrival. In order to secure full consent the interview did not start until a direct approval from the interviewees themselves were given. The voluntary nature of the interview was emphasised, as well as the freedom to cancel upon any inconvenience. I also informed the interviewees thoroughly about the purpose of the study. Other interviews were conducted at a café of the interviewee's choice, as well as at one of the interviewees´ home.

This thesis used semi-structured interviews in order to get the understandings and perspectives of the interviewees. Doing semi-structured interviews entails several methodological aspects.

Compared to the unstructured interview guide, which often departs from just one question and some topics which the interviewee should elaborate on, semi-structured interviews employ a guide that includes themes and several questions the researcher would like the interviewee to address. Hence, semi-structured interviews could follow the question rather strict, which will generate some what of the same answers from the interviewees. However, there is also a great flexibility in the questions addressed, and the researcher could linger at one of the questions in order to follow some of the thoughts the interviewees have. Bryman argues that the emphasis must be on "what the interviewee views as important in explaining and understanding events, patterns, and forms of behaviour". Thus, even though there is a guide of questions, the main focus is upon how the interviewee understands the subject (Bryman 2012, 471; Kvale and Brinkmann 2009, 31).

Additionally, an interview guide was produced (see appendix 1). Kvale and Brinkmann emphasise the importance of thematising the interview guide prior to the interviews. This entails a theorizing and conceptualizing of the subject in focus, as well as gathering knowledge of the environment in which the interviews will be conducted. This will create a greater understanding of what the interviewees will bring up as important and how the local dynamics is constructed (Kvale and Brinkmann 2009, 108). I tried to conducted several visits to the interviewees prior to the interviews, in order to get familiar with the surroundings as well as introducing myself. Some of the interviewed immigrants was in a position of irregularity, which made sensitivity towards social conditions a crucial part of the inquiry. Additionally, a meeting with the interpreters was held in order to discuss the interview guide and give space for possible questions regarding the inquiry. The interview guide was also thematised based upon an imagined timeline of the interviewees´ journey. Trying to illuminate their migration trajectory towards Europe and circle some of the specific places which they came across. Addressing specific events during their journey could help to make them elaborate more thoroughly about corrupt actions they came across. Thus approaching their understandings and perceptions of these events.

As most of the interviewees did not speak Swedish the inquiry was dependent upon an interpreter. The interpreter was part of the community in the Pentecostal church and thus had a trustworthy relationship with several of the interviewees. However, you could question the bias in his position, being part of both the in-group of those interviewed, as well as being an intermediator for me as a researcher. In order to create a reliable relationship I clarified the importance of interpreting only what is said, and not making own assumption and conclusions.

If there seemed to be some misunderstandings throughout the interviews I asked the question again or asked the interviewees to elaborate more thoroughly their intended meaning. Two of the interviews were conducted in Swedish, whereas one with the support of a third person with knowledge in both languages.

The interviews were conducted with a sound-recorder – on the approval of the interviewees, and then transcribed in to written text. Transcription of interviews could include several issues of concern, and the process of going from a face-to-face interview to recorded sound and further to written text changes some of the nature of the interview. Bryman highlights the risk of errors when transcribing sound, and emphasising the importance of acknowledging these aspects in order to secure the quality of the interview (Bryman 2012, 486). Furthermore, Kvale and Brinkmann argue that transcription is part of the analysis and interpretation, thus making the method of transcription part of the overall approach to interpretation and analysis (Kvale and Brinkmann 2009, 177-181).

The process of transcription within this thesis was done accordingly; in order to keep the quality of the interview as high as possible the transcription was conducted close to the interviews. It enabled me to include emotions and expressions which could be of importance. The transcription was done in line with the formal way described in Kvale and Brinkman (2015), transcribing strict to written words, emphasising meanings rather than linguistic expressions, however, including verbatim if relevant for the analysis (Kvale and Brinkmann 2015, 204-210). This thesis is rather interested in meanings and not in linguistic expression, hence a formal written approach is a sound choice.

The material presented in this thesis is based upon narratives translated from Swedish into English. Hennink (2008) discusses that translating text implies a discussion of concepts, not only words. Thus, it is important to critical reflect upon different meanings when translating (Hennink 2008, 31). Moreover, Fersch (2013) argues that overcoming challenges included in translating text is to acknowledge ones biases and pre-understandings of the issues at hand. Rather than trying to exclude them from the inquiry you should include these aspect into the analysis. This will create an openness in the analysis of the text, which is vital when translating across different languages (Fersch 2013, 90). Thus, this thesis included a section were the role of the researcher is discussed. This enables a transparent approach to these issues. For further discussions, see section "The Role of the Researcher" below.

Additionally, maps were used during the interviews in order to create a better understanding of the migration trajectory. Through them were important places and events highlighted, and they made it easier for the interviewees to remember their journey. Maps were often an important means when elaborating different routes and discussing different ways of travel (see appendix 2).

3.1.1 Interviewees

The selection of interviewees was done through "targeted selection" described in Bryman, and was based upon their relevance for this study. However, in order to get in contact with as many respondents as the inquiry needed this thesis used a "snowball-selection", where the first relevant interviewee helped with further contacts (Bryman 2011, 435). This thesis included five interviewees, four men and one women. They were all in the range of 19-45 years old. Some had a residence permit in Sweden, whereas others awaited a decision on their asylum application or were in irregularity. A more thorough description of the interviewees will be presented in "Result and Analysis". This study tried to apply a broad understanding of what role corruption could have for migrants, and thus wanted to include a mixed variety of persons. However, due to the hardship of finding interviewees willing to participate it failed to get hold of an equal amount of women. Thus, this thesis acknowledges that the narrative of the interviewees is mainly based on the male experience of corruption and migration, and there is a lack of diversity based on gender. Furthermore, one could also discuss the number of participants included within this study. As stated previously, this thesis had some hardship to find persons willing to participate. However, those interviews that were conducted did deliver an in-depth understanding of the relevant concepts. Thus, I felt satisfied with the amount of material available. This will be further elaborated in the "Validity and Reliability" section.

3.1.2 Process of Analysis

After the interviews were accomplished, a period of analysis and theory writing was conducted. The reading of interviews was done simultaneously as the writing of analysis and theory, according to the process of inductive studies. Doing qualitative research often means dealing with rather dense material. It is therefore important to make a selection among the raw material produced from the interviews. According to Creswell, data analysis in qualitative research is often based upon "winnowing". The researcher focuses upon data which is of most relevance for the study (2014, 195). The selection will then be divided into different themes done through a "coding process". The coding process could consist of both pre-existing codes, acknowledged throughout the literature review and theory building, but also codes which appears when reading

through the material (Creswell 2014, 194-200). The coding process for this study was done through the conceptualization and theorization of migration and corruption. These findings addressed the collected material in the creation of codes and themes. Furthermore, codes and themes emerged from the analysis and interpretation of the data did also guide the final result (Bryman 2011, 340; Creswell 2014, 65).

Creswell (2014) highlights that during the interviews the researcher should critically reflect upon the answers and make interpretations. The analysis is thus not a separate event, but existing throughout the inquiry. Moreover, the analysis within this study followed the steps explained by Creswell. First and foremost, the material was read-through in order to get an overall sense of the material at hand. Thoughts and questions that emerged during the readings and transcriptions were noted in a document, which later on served as a foundation for the coding process. Then, a more extensive coding started, highlighting specific parts that were frequent throughout the interviews, and acknowledged by the conceptual and theoretical discussions. The process of illuminating codes and reading through the entire material was done several times. These codes were then placed within a document and analysed further. Additionally, codes were then organised and placed within themes. These themes served as a foundation for the result section as well as the theorizing made in the final section of the analysis (Creswell 2014, 194-200).

This thesis concerns the narratives of the interviewees. The epistemological approach could thus be drawn from a phenomenological perspective – emphasising experience and understandings. The researcher tries to stay open for different understandings and has an interest in the life world of the interviewees. Interaction is an important aspect within this thesis and the interviewees are not regarded as mare sources of information. Knowledge is not something which is collected but rather produced when two persons meet and interact. It then continues to be produced throughout the process of analysis (Kvale and Brinkmann 2009, 52-54). The researcher is not able to rely on a set of rules and principals through which you are able to get hold of the right knowledge, it is rather based on the skill of the interviewer to enable a good conversation between the two (Kvale and Brinkmann 2009, 82).

3.2 Role of the Researcher

Doing research on corruption entails several difficulties. Definitional and theoretical considerations regarding corruption as a concept has been one of the major concerns, however, one should not exclude other important aspects of this inquiry. One of these are the role of the

author which is of great importance within qualitative studies. As this inquiry concerns aspects of perception and understanding of concepts, several question could be asked when addressing the role of the author of this inquiry. What is the pre-understanding of corruption, in what context are the research dealing with this issues, what meanings do the researcher place upon the concept in focus etc. are all insight which must be included and highlighted throughout the writings (Creswell 2014, 177).

Researchers has acknowledge the notion of life-worlds as an important approach to understand how and what meaning humans give to their surroundings. By trying to define how I understand these concepts help to illustrate what my own life-world consists of and what contribution this gives to the inquiry (Kvale and Brinkmann 2009, 29-31). Approaching the inquiry from a white male perspective with a Swedish origin, being part of a context that has a understanding of the state as a reliable actor, being one of the least corruption countries in the world (Transparency International 2015), as well as growing up with a westernized understanding of society has several implication upon what corruption might consist of and what meanings could be given to corruption. It do also hold power dimensions, where I face individuals from an immigrant community. It is important to keep in mind the conceptual discussion regarding corruption done by Underkuffler:"there is a moral connotation embedded within the concept […] excluding this aspect makes any approach to corruption inadequate in its description of the concept" (Underkuffler 2009, 27; 35-38).

3.3 Ethical Considerations

Within qualitative interviews it is important to acknowledge the uneven power relation existing between the interviewer and the interviewee. Although the main focus is upon the conversation between them both, the interviewer still controls what is said and how it is written. It is the interviewer who introduces the themes and questions and chooses which questions to emphasise during the interview (Kvale and Brinkmann 2009, 3). Eliminating the asymmetrical power relation is not possible, however, it is important to acknowledge its existence and critically reflect upon its impact (Kvale and Brinkmann 2015, 38).

As this thesis is based upon material collected from narratives of irregular migrants it is important to protect the integrity of the respondents and to handle their statements with respect. Additionally, there is a need to acknowledge cross-cultural differences that may be present and what implications it may have.

This thesis explores areas that could be regarded as highly sensitive and could raise negative memories and experience, it is moreover important to underline that the interviews are entirely voluntarily. Furthermore, it is vital to seek the participants´ consent to record or take notes and guarantee confidentiality, in order to make the interviewees as comfortable as possible. Additional questions to consider are the environment in which the interviews are conducted and the power relation between the researcher and interviewees. The thesis will follow guidelines for research-ethical considerations stated by "Vetenskapsrådet" (Vetenskapsrådet 2014; Bryman 2011, 428; Creswell 2014, 92). Moreover, the research also acknowledges cultural differences in communication, understanding linguistic varieties as well as body language. There might be cultural practices which is vital for the trust and relationship between the interviewer and interviewees (Kvale and Brinkmann 2009, 144).

There are also some ethical considerations when dealing with the raw-material from the interviews. This thesis – as mentioned previously – could touch upon highly sensitive subjects, which also makes it relevant to acknowledge confidentiality procedures in order keep the persons involved secure. Hence, this thesis will conceal the identity of the interviewees throughout the inquiry, naming sound-files and transcripts with other codes in order to make them unrecognizable (Kvale and Brinkmann 2009, 187).

3.4 Validity and Reliability

In order to secure high quality within social research there are two central concepts that should be taken into consideration; validity and reliability. Validity and reliability have, however, often been related to quantitative research methods, and qualitative scholars have dismissed the need for such discussion on the ground of being influenced by positivistic understandings of science. Brinkmann and Kvale (2015) argue that validity and reliability should be reconceptualised in order to become relevant for qualitative research (Brinkmann and Kvale, 281). In qualitative research, validity is secured through ensuring that concepts and theories used within the study is relevant to the empirical material. Question one could ask is "are the arguments valid?" This thesis let the process of theory writing and conceptualization be intertwined with the analysis of the interviews. Departing from an inductive perspective, this thesis thus aims to let the answers from the interviewees have a central place in the understanding of the result, as well as the choice of concepts and theories (Bryman 2012, 290; Brinkmann and Kvale 2015, 281). Furthermore, validity is also secured through applying a transparent approach to the research methods chosen, something that should be discussed throughout the inquiry. Concequently, the method section of this thesis involved a close description of the different stages, from how the

interviews are conducted to what strategy are used when transcribing the interviews. It enables other to judge the validity of this study (Brinkmann and Kvale 2015, 282).

Reliability within qualitative research could be discussed through several different perspectives. One of these concerns generalization of the study. Where this thesis has chosen a qualitative research design there is always a debate regarding generalization. And you could criticize the contribution to the overall debate regarding corruption and anti-corruption measures. A quantitative approach would suit better if the purpose would be to understand wide patterns related to corruption and migration, e.g. relation between corruption levels and number of migrants from a specific area. However, this inquiry does not intend to explain general patterns, rather add to the theorization of corruption and migration. A qualitative research method seemed thus suitable. Furthermore, reliability also concerns the possibility for others to conduct the same study. As we can see in the previous sections, the process of this study have been described in detail, which enables other researchers to follow the procedure (Bryman 2012, 290; Creswell 2014, 203; Yin 2008, 45).

Additionally, the number of interviewees is also an aspect to take into consideration. As this thesis concerns qualitative research and in-depth interviews it rather aims towards the understanding of the life-world of the interviewees. It does not aim for, as mentioned previously, a generalisation of patterns, but rather the narratives of those subject for the issues at focus. Qualitative research is thus not concerned with the fulfilment of quantitative numbers, but rather if the answers given by the interviewees are rich enough to explain the phenomenon. The epistemological concern for this study is thus to produce knowledge regarding the social world of the interviewees, hence a smaller number of interviewees could fulfil the reliability (Brinkmann and Kvale 2015, 278f).

4. Results and Analysis

This section will first present the empirical material, coded through relevant themes acknowledged by previous research and theory building, but also according to themes emerged during the interviews. Following this more descriptive section, the migrants' answers will be analysed in relation to the theory and conceptualisation of corruption and migration. But first, a description of the interviewees.

4.1 Who Are The Respondents?

This thesis is based upon interviews with five Afghan migrants living in Sweden, four of them men and one woman. Their ages are between 19 and 45. Some have been granted asylum, however, some lived in an irregular situation, hiding from the Swedish authorities while waiting for a new opportunity to apply for asylum.

The first interviewee was only 15 years old when he migrated, and came to Sweden as an unaccompanied child. He was sent by his father, who made all of the arrangements prior to his departure. His experience of the migration trajectory was characterized by a feeling of vulnerability, and he expressed that he had little agency or ability to affect his situation. He was helped by smugglers throughout the entire journey, which was conducted through Iran and Turkey by bus, and then across the Aegean Sea to Greece. From there he did the final journey by truck, which took him through Europe with the final destination of Sweden. He was now, at the time of the interview, 19 years old.

The second interviewee is a 35-year-old male. Due to his conversion to Christianity he was forced to flee the country in order to avoid both the authorities as well as religious leaders. He was one of the only interviewees that had been able to conduct the major part of his journey by air, which also made it possible for him to avoid a lot of the hindrances that the other interviewees faced. He travelled from Afghanistan across the border to Pakistan, where he flew from Peshawar. He is still waiting for asylum in Sweden, with a wife and two children in Afghanistan.

The third interviewee is a 30-year-old man. His reason for migrating was the longing for a better life. He clearly stated that he was sick of his situation, especially with the relationship with his family's religion. He stated that his journey started several years prior to him leaving the country, when he found a Christian cross. From there he felt that he wanted to leave and start a new life. He was able to start his migration trajectory by the help from his cousin, which had a close collaboration with smugglers in Iran. They took him through Iran and Turkey and finally to Greece. He later on made his way from Greece by airplane to Denmark and finally to Sweden. He has asylum in Sweden and is currently working as a car mechanic.

The fourth interviewee is a male between 25-35 years old. He did not want to state the exact year during the interview. He was living in Iran when he decided to migrate for Europe. Due to some family conflicts he had to flee in a rather hurry. His mother made the initiating contacts with smugglers which arranged his departure. He travelled from Iran through Turkey to Greece

where he tried to continue his journey north by himself. However, after failing several times he got in contact with smugglers in Greece, who then helped him arrange passage out of Greece. He travelled underneath a bus for 30 hours until he finally arrived in Austria. From there he could go by legal means towards Sweden. He has been living in Sweden for 3 years, most of the time as irregular due to disapproved asylum application. His decision to migrate to Sweden was done on his friends´ recommendation.

The fifth and final interviewee is a woman, travelling with her husband and one child to Sweden. They made their way, with the help from smugglers, from Afghanistan to Iran where they stayed for some time in order to earn more money. Then they continued across the Iranian/Turkey border through Turkey where they ended up in Izmir. From there they got on a boat that took them to Italy, a horrifying journey that took several days. In Italy they were placed in detention camp for some days until they got the permission to go outside. They made their final journey to Sweden by public transportation. They got approved asylum the day prior to the interview.

4.2 Journeys to Europe: The Migration Trajectory

This section will depart from the migrants' stories on their migration trajectories. Influenced by studies on migration industry, this section will start off by explaining actors involved in facilitating their trajectory, and further how their journeys were organized. This will be followed by a section focusing especially upon the role of corruption during their migration trajectories.

4.2.1 Actors Involved in Their Trajectory

Most of the interviewees started their journey from Afghanistan, however, not knowing their exact destination. Often, Sweden became the goal of their trajectory when talking to other migrants, exchanging knowledge and strategies among each other. One interviewee explained: "We heard that Sweden was a good country when we were in the detentions camp". Several of the interviewees travelled through Iran, Turkey, Greece or Italy and then throughout Europe towards Sweden (see Appendix 2). The usage of smugglers were a recurring statement throughout the interviews. When asked about the possibility to travel without smugglers one of the interviewees answered: "it is not possible, I´ve never heard of an Afghan traveling to Europe without smugglers". Some interviewees expressed that they had bought the entire journey through smugglers. This made it possible for them to travel past several barriers without the need to engage personally with the authorities or other groups. Others had bought some parts

of their journey through smugglers while other parts were self-organised. One of the interviewees was sent by his farther, who paid the smuggler for the entire way from Afghanistan to Sweden. The interviewee argued that some buy parts of the trajectory while others pay for the entire trip. When he explained how his farther organized his journey he said:

> Some do as my father, you say that 'you will take my son the entire way' […] and they say 'ok, we will do like this and it will cost so and so much' and you accept it. It is like mail, your family hands you over like mail, and they will take you all the way.

This interviewee further explained that smugglers are often part of vast networks where different actors facilitate different stages of the journey: "It is not the same person taking you all the way, that is not how it is done but they give you to another, and then to another […] it is always new persons, they stay in contact with each other in some way". Another interviewee explained how he managed the first short part of the trajectory by himself, where the major part was conducted through a package deal including flight tickets and passport which enabled him to fly from Pakistan to Germany: "A smuggler came to me and I paid him 12 000 dollars and he arrange a German passport […] after that, the smuggler managed a flight from Peshawar to Dubai and later to Germany".

The personal network is an important aspect when finding smugglers, and often it is friends that recommend smugglers that migrants could contact. One interviewee explained how he through his friends found a smuggler he could trust with managing his journey: "When I was in Afghanistan and became a Christian I had contact with a lot of people in Afghanistan that could recommend other persons in Pakistan, and they were able to help me find a smuggler". Another one of the interviewees explained how his cousin was a vital contact for him when he would migrate: "my cousin recommended me to other smugglers […] the smugglers were friends with him." Furthermore, another interviewee explained "some friends to me recommended a smuggler to me".

Smuggling networks are often an integrated part of the local context and several of the interviewees expressed the interlinking contacts between smugglers and people within local community (also confirmed by Triandafyllidou and Maroukis 2012, 135). One of the interviewees explained how smugglers collaborated with a family living close to the Iranian/Turkey border. She stated that: "We travelled to a place close to the Turkish border, and there we could go to a place, it was a family, they worked with the smugglers, and the smugglers asked if they could hold us until there is a better opportunity to cross the border". Furthermore, another interviewee stated that his cousin helped smugglers to drive migrants to the bus-station,

and that he, prior to his departure, also was part of these operations: "My cousin is a smuggler in Iran, and I worked with him as a chauffeur, driving migrants to the bus terminal in Teheran, because my cousin worked with other smugglers".

Others expressed how they bought parts of their journey from smugglers, while other parts were conducted by public transportation. One interviewee explained how they travelled with smugglers from Herat (Afghanistan) to Zahedan (Iran) through Teheran and to a city near the Armenian border. However, when they continued their journey they used regular busses from the Armenia border to Tabriz (Iran) in order for them to negotiate a new contract with smugglers that would help them cross the Iranian/Turkey border and travel further towards Istanbul. This illustrates how migrants use a variety of actors, both formal such as public transportation, and informal such as smugglers. Furthermore, it also shows how the usage of smugglers are not only delimited to the crossing borders, but also when travel within countries, as Turkey in this example. Being able to choose between different trajectories could illuminate a certain amount of agency, being able to negotiate their way forwards (for similar findings see Hernández-León 2013, 37-39; Spaan and Hillmann 2013, 66-75).

The interviewees argued that they had the possibility to negotiate their migration trajectory, and often through the engagement of several different actors throughout the migration trajectory. There are places were the re-negotiation of the trajectory is more common, such as Peshawar (Pakistan), Teheran (Iran), Urmia (Iran), Van (Turkey), Istanbul (Turkey), and Athens (Greece) (see Appendix 2). Sometime the interviewees agreed on one part of the journey with one intermediator, often at places where they needed to cross hinders, whereas other parts were easier and could be conducted by regular transportation. Several interviewees expressed that they negotiated a deal with smugglers prior to the Iran/Turkey border, often in Urmia, which included passage across the external border, and further through Turkey with the final destination of Istanbul. In Istanbul they were able to make a new deal with smugglers. One interviewee stated that:

> When I came to Urmia I stayed one night, and then the smugglers told me that we would pass the border to Turkey […] after the border we arrived to Gavar were we stayed for two nights, and after that we travel by car to Van […] in Van the smugglers bought bus tickets and Iranian passport to Istanbul, the smugglers did not go with us but they told us that if we would like to go further from Istanbul we should call a specific person.

Furthermore, another of the interviewees stated:

> I meet the smugglers in Urmia […] when I came to Van I travelled further by taxi near the Syrian border […] and when I arrived in Istanbul at a friend he helped me to find another smuggler and they would take me from Istanbul to Greece.

Private actors were also a part of the organization of the migration trajectory. Several of the interviewees spoke of the involvement of truck drivers during their journey. One of the interviewees explained how the smugglers drove him to a place in Greece were he got into one of the trucks departing for northern Europe. He changed trucks after two days and made the final journey to Sweden with the new lorry. This testifies to that smugglers use actors within the private transportation sector to handle some of the migration process (also confirmed by Hernández-León 2013, 37-39). Other private actors that could be part of the facilitation of smuggling are airline personnel. One of the interviewees was able to, through his smugglers, acquire a German passport and airplane tickets to Germany. When he later on would pass the security guards it seemed as the smugglers collaborated with them, as shown in this excerpt from the interview:

(Question) "The smuggler was with you at the airport?"

(Answer) "Yes he was"

(Q) "What did he do there?"

(A) "The smuggler knows a lot of people, and he knew the one who controlled the border".

Taxi drivers were also mentioned as actors during the migration trajectory, and one interviewee explained how taxi drivers helped him to avoid several police controls:

> If I would go by bus to Urmia then I had to show my permit and the bus-driver would not allow that because they would say that there is police controls on the road […] that's why I travelled with taxi, because they don't control the taxis.

Another interviewee discussed the necessity to get help from private actors through smugglers in order to get further in his migration trajectory. He tried to go to Patras and from there jump into one of the trucks, however, after two weeks of failed attempts made him return to Athens and seek out a smuggler. They later on provided him with a hidden place in a bus towards Austria. When asked why he did not organize the journey between Greece and Austria himself he explained: "I don't know if the police might take me, I don't know what to do or what route to take to Austria, the smugglers knows that better". Hence, although the interviewees expressed an ambiguous relationship to the smugglers, they still felt a dependence to them. And one of the interviewee expressed that the most distressing moments during his journey was when he did not have a smuggler helping him, always fearing for the police to arrest him whilst he was trying to find his way forward.

The usage of buses was raised through several interviews, sometimes the smugglers collaborate with bus-drivers, and other times they only use the transportation system. One interviewee explained:

> Then we travelled with bus through Turkey […] and when we travelled the smugglers placed us in-between Turkish people, we were 30 people in the beginning but in one bus it was only me and my husband and two other guys.

Some of the interviewees mentioned the risk of engaging with actors apart from smugglers. And it seemed as the usage of smuggling networks could act as a safety strategy, which consequently made migrants feel less vulnerable of dealing with the risks associated with their journey. The interviewees, for example, raised how migrants risk being exploited by fellow travellers. One of the interviewees explained that after the smugglers had taken him to the agreed destination – the Greek coast – he had to plan his journey by himself. However, due to the lack of financial resources he had to trust an Afghan he met in Alexandropoulos, borrowing money for a bus ticket. Upon arrival at Athens he was forced to pay four times as much under threat of a gun. He further stated that these events were common:

> Yes, there are many standing at the border, shouting at people and telling them that 'we are from the same country' and then they pay tickets for people and take them to their home and threatens them and forces them to give them money.

This was confirmed by another interviewee who stated:

> The problems started when we arrived in Athens […] there came some Afghans and asked if I had somewhere to sleep and I answered that I did not have any place to stay or anything to eat so they took me to their home and there they took a pistol and said that I had to pay them 300 euro.

What this illustrates is that notions of smuggling networks as merely causing vulnerability during their journeys needs to be further problematized. As does notions of some actors as "good" or "bad", formal or informal, licit or illicit during the migration trajectory (Also discussed in Hernández-León 2013, 37-39 and Spaan and Hillmann, 2013, 81).

4.2.2 The Organization of the Trajectory

As seen in the previous section, the organisation of the trajectory could be done by migrants themselves or, as is often the case, through smugglers. The smuggling operations were described as organized in different ways and as often involving a number of different actors. As seen previously, smugglers often use private actors such as bus or truck drivers. Several of the interviewees stated that after passing the Iranian/Turkey border by pic-up trucks the smugglers bought bus-tickets and placed the group of smuggling migrants in a number of

different buses. These buses were often part of the public transportation system, however, sometimes the smugglers hired their own buses. One interviewee explained how he travelled most of his journey with mini-buses provided by smugglers. They transferred him between different places and passed different hindrance: "and then we travelled by car, private cars, we were eight persons, all were Afghans, and they drove us to a place nearby the Turkish border were we stayed for two nights."

The involvement of private actors shows the complex intertwining of actors that smugglers use in order to organize migrants' journey. One of the interviewees had been working as a taxi driver for his cousin, who was involved in smuggling activities: "my cousin is a smuggler in Iran, and I worked with him as a chauffeur, driving migrants to the bus terminal in Teheran, because my cousin worked with other smugglers". As mentioned previously, this statement shows how the smuggling networks are an integrated part of the local society, often based upon close relationships, as well as that smugglers are using private actors for their services. This might alter the common notion that smugglers are *one* organised group. Another interviewee explained how different groups were involved in different parts of his journey, he stated: "from Teheran to Urmia it was Afghans, from Urmia to Turkey it was Kurdish and in Turkey it was Turkish".

Furthermore, one of the interviewees explained how the interaction between migrants and smugglers are conducted. She explained that:

> Smugglers never come themselves and talk to you but it is always a contact to them that comes and asks, so if you arrive at a train station someone will come and ask 'are you Ahmed' and then you tell them 'yes', and they will take you to a new place with new persons who asks if you are Ahmed and they will take you further.

The migrants expressed a specific need for services provided within the migration industry when passing borders. This included both the facilitation of transportation, fraudulent papers, such as passports, the bribery of border guards and accommodation (also described in Hernández-León 2013, 25). One interviewee explained that they went close to the Turkish border where they stayed with a family that collaborated with the smugglers. She explained that the reason for their stay was because of a more proper time to pass the border. Upon arrival to the border the smuggler talked to the border guard. The smuggler then bribed the border guard which enabled them to go through the forest, whereas the smugglers drove the pic-up across. She explained:

> When we travelled on the road to the border towards Turkey the smuggler paid the police in order to pass the border control […] He paid the police to be able to drive the car over the border control and then he told us that we had to walk through the forest, the police saw us but we could go anyway. Even if the smugglers get a lot of money they also have to pay the police.

The crossing of external borders was organized through several methods. The interviewees mentioned going by trucks, by foot, by boat and even by horses. One of the places where the interviewees talked of border crossings were between the Iran/Turkish border. They often had to travel close to the border, in order to make the final journey by foot. Several witness of harsh conditions and cold weather. One of the interviewees explained:

> From Teheran we travelled to somewhere close to the border were we stayed for two nights, then we drove for two hours to a small village were we had to wait for two nights, then they picked us up with a truck and drove us until the truck couldn't go further, then we had to walk. We walked between 00.00 and 06.00 in the morning.

Another one explained how they walked through snow and had to travel by horse: "the night after they picked us up with horses […] the road were full of ice and I had to escort the horse at some parts. We started walking at the border by 21.00 and arrived at Van by 09.00."

Smugglers or other intermediaries are not only used when passing the official border between two countries, but also when passing specific areas and road-controls within countries. These areas do not always have to be controlled by officials, but also by religious groups, as the Taliban in the borderland between Afghanistan and Pakistan. Thus, the services provided from the migration industry seems to help migrants stay invisible to several actors. One of the interviewees explained that because of his past in the Afghani army and his conversion to Christianity he had to pay a large amount to the smugglers in order to avoid both the officials as well as religious leaders. The smugglers held him hidden for some time and then took him past Taliban-controlled area and cross the border between Afghanistan and Pakistan.

Furthermore, several of the interviewees also mentioned how they by the help of smugglers could pass internal border controls. As Afghan migrants are only permitted to travel within certain areas in Iran the smuggling organisation is vital for them in order to conduct their journey through the country. One interviewee explains: "If you are an Afghan living in Iran you've got an residence permit only for the area you are living at […] that´s why I didn't go by bus, because going with the bus requires a permit to move around that's why I paid to go with the taxi all the way".

Several of the interviewees argued that choices made during their journey is depend on the amount of money that migrants are able to provide. One of the interviewees stated that going as a migrant from Afghanistan and Iran you often got two choices, either go by boat to Italy or through Greece. Whereas the journey across the sea too Italy it is the cheapest. Another interviewee stated that: "there are many roads, but it depends on how much you can pay". Furthermore, one interviewee argued that the level of payment was one of the reasons that enabled him to cross several borders. Because he had the sufficient funds he was able to entail a German passport and passing the border guards with the help of smugglers. He argued that:

> The smuggler said that if you would pay 5000 dollars or 3000 dollars you could go by boat and you don't know where you will arrive and many have died. If you pay 12 000, then I could fix a good flight to Dubai and further to Germany.

He stated that it was the same when he passed the Afghani/Pakistan border, where he had to choose between two kind of routes, one which was shorter but passed the official border crossing, and one which was longer and had to go over the mountains. The negotiation of prices is also something which was raised during the interviews, and one interviewee stated that: "the smuggler said 5000 and then I said 'I´m sorry, I don't have 5000, perhaps 4000 is ok?' and they said 'ok'". This clearly shows how migrants negotiate their conditions and how this also influences their actual journey (see also Spaan and Hillmann 2013, 75).

Traveling without smugglers often implies that migrants have to organize their journey in small parts in order to avoid police controls and authorities. One interviewee stated that the first part of his journey was self-organized, were he had to go from city to city and sometimes with car and sometimes with bus. "I didn't go directly to Pakistan, but I had to go between one station to another station. There are a lot of people controlling the road between Afghanistan and Pakistan […] I travelled with car to one city, and then by bus to another." The hardship of travelling without the help of smugglers were also raised during one of the other interviews. Where the interviewees stated that after being without help of smugglers for two weeks, in which he during that time made several attempts to travel to northern Europe but failed, he was able to get in contact with smugglers again. They assisted him by paying a bus-driver which took him to Austria.

Migrants also use other strategies in order to keep their level of agency throughout the migration trajectory. One of these is the system of payment is called hawala. Several of the interviewees explained how they used hawala to avoid being deceived. One of the interviewees explains how he tried migrating from Greece to Sweden with the help of several smugglers: "I meet four other

smugglers that year, and on three of them tried to fool me […] I used the hawala-system so I never paid." Another interviewee explained that when they travelled between Zabol to Teheran they used the same system:

> We gave the money to a contact, and said that when we call from Teheran then you may pay the money. You could say it is like a bank […] so when we arrived at Teheran we called him and told him 'we are here, you can give the money'. That's why they never left us, because we had contact with the bank all the time.

4.3 The Role of Corruption during Their Trajectory

This section will highlight statements of corruption raised during the interviews. As mentioned in the research approach, this thesis both departs in the UNs official definition on corruption, as well as the broader definition emphasising the impact of corruption for migrants themselves. The UN defines corruption as bribery in the public and private sphere, trading in influence and the abuse of functions. It involves public officials as well as actors within the private sector. They acknowledge that corruption facilitates illegal border-crossings by land, sea and air, the illegal stay of migrants and the production of fraudulent papers. The usage of corruption is a common practise among smugglers according to the UN (UNODC 2013, 11; Gounev et al 2012a; Gounev et al 2012b).

4.3.1 Crossing External Borders

During the previous section the need of smuggling services was raised when crossing both external and internal borders. Several of the interviewees testified of corruption being a fundamental means for the enabling of their border-crossings. It could be through the providing of fraudulent papers, bribing of border guards or facilitating transportation through bribing a bus-driver or boat captain.

The bribing of border guards was mentioned when passing the official border between Iran and Turkey. One of the interviewees stated that their smugglers held them close to the Iran/Turkey border until the time were right. When they came to the border the smugglers bribed the border guard which enabled them to go across the border through the wood whilst the smuggler drove through the official border-crossings. Thus, corruption enabled them to cross "unnoticed" through the woods while the border guard looked the other way:

> When we travelled on the road to the border towards Turkey the smuggler paid the police in order to pass the border control […] He paid the police to be able to drive the car over the border control and then he told us that we had to walk through the forest, the police saw us but we could go anyway.

Corruption has also been used when crossing external borders through the involvement of airline personnel. One interviewee explained how he made a packaged deal with smugglers in Peshawar, Pakistan, which enabled him to travel by air from Pakistan through Dubai and further to Germany. This was possible due to the substantial amount he paid to the smugglers through which he was able to get hold of a German passport. The interviewee also explained that the smuggler helped him get pass the border control at the airport in Pakistan: "the smuggler was with me at the airport and when I came in to the transit area he returned […] the smugglers know many people, they know the people controlling the border". Thus, corruption of fraudulent papers and collaboration with private actors is apparent in his statement.

According to the UN actors within the private sector could be involved in smuggling operation through corrupt means as bribery or other benefits (UNODC 2013, 11). And several of the interviewees expressed how the payment to actors within the transportations sector enabled them to cross the border. One of the interviewees explained how he could by the help of public transportation travel from Greece to Austria. Furthermore, He stated that the bus-driver most likely got the majority of smuggling fee. "If I paid 3700 dollars to the smugglers, then they paid perhaps 2000 to the bus-driver". Thus, the bus-driver could use their position as a carrier across international borders. According to Nyberg Sörensen and Gemmeltoft-Hansen is the expansion of the migration industry due to the involvement of different actors whom commercialize services involved in the migration trajectory (2013, 4-5). Based upon the previous statement, it seems that corruption is a fundamental part of the facilitation of contacts within the migration industry. Other private actors involved through corruption when crossing external border are captains taking their boats across international seas. One of the interviewees explained how their smugglers took them to the Turkish costal-line were they would go to Italy. "We were waiting on a boat by the sea […] we were about 65 persons travelling with that boat […] we travelled to Italy". Hence, the captains on the boat used their position to get paid in order to transport migrants across international waters.

According to the UN can corruption be related to the production, issuing and using of fraudulent papers (see UNODC 2013, 14). These are often used as means for both border-crossings and illegal stay in a country. The usage of fraudulent papers were apparent throughout the interviewees' migration trajectory. And fraudulent papers are often given to the migrants prior to border-controls. Several of the interviewees explained how the usage of Iranian passports enabled them to travel through Iran and into Turkey. One interviewee explained when crossing the first border between Afghanistan and Iran the smugglers provided him with the necessary

documents for his further travels. He explained that: "we came to somewhere in south Iran, and from there they had managed some papers […] papers that you needed if something would happen, we got passports, it were Iranian passports".

Another interviewee explained the rigorous work that his smugglers put into when creating a fake German passport: "after three month a smuggler came to me and took me to a studio were they took a picture of me and they made a passport". Another interviewee explained the importance of fraudulent papers when his smuggler tried to put him on a flight from Athens towards Sweden. His fake passport did not work the first times he tried, but after he got a new one he was able to go through. Sometime fraudulent papers were combined with bribes in order to work. One interviewee explained: "sometimes the police comes and takes money and let you stay". Thus, the provision of fraudulent papers is an important means for migrants throughout their trajectory.

4.3.2 Crossing Internal Borders

Several of the interviewees explained how countries that they passed had applied internal border-controls. These controls were often enforced by the public police, and constituted a great hindrance for illicit migrants. The interviewees raised several methods in order to cross internal border-controls, several which had close linkage to corruption. The interviewees mentioned the usage of bribery through both public and private actors and the usage of fraudulent papers such as passports. Corruption is often provided through a third party, and migrants seldom engage themselves in corrupt act, but are dependent on the facilitation of others. As we will see in the following section, migrants pay their intermediator, a smuggler or other actors within the private sector, in order for them to provide the necessary services.

According to the interviewees are Afghan migrants, when living in Iran, only permitted to travel within the specific areas where they live. Thus, they are dependent on illicit means in order to travel outside these areas. Several of the interviewees expressed how they or their smuggler paid taxi-drivers in order to get past the internal borders, and it seemed as they were an integrated part of the smuggling operation. One stated that: "If you are an Afghan living in Iran you've got an residence permit only for the area you are living at […] that´s why I didn't go by bus, because going with the bus requires a permit to move around that's why I paid to go with the taxi all the way".

The usage of taxi-drivers are not only when to avoid the police-controls, but also managing to get across when facing them. The services that these taxi-drivers provided were transportation,

but also bribery when facing officials. One of the interviewees travelled by taxi across Turkey and was able to avoid larger police controls, however, when going past minor controls the taxi-driver was able to bribe the officials and continue their journey. He explained: "when I arrived to Van I travelled with taxi to Istanbul past the Syrian border, because there are police-checkpoints on the largest road to Istanbul and they check every car". When discussing why he could not go pass the larger police controls he explained that: "the smugglers said that 'on the road there is a police station that we've got big problems with'". However, when facing the officials at another police-checkpoint they were able to get pass due to the close collaboration with the officials: "no problems, the smugglers worked with them, they knew each other". This is also confirmed by another interviewee, notable in the following conversation:

(Question) "How did you go from Teheran to Urmia?"

(Answer) "By taxi"

(Q) Why didn't you go with bus or any other way?"

(A) "If you go by bus, there is a lot of police check-points on the road and I only had a residence permit for Teheran because of my Afghan origin".

Furthermore, he later in the interview explained how the usage of corruption is an incorporated way of dealing with the Iranian police: "in Iran you are able to pay the police if there is any problems". Thus, the facilitation of corruption and transportation is part of the services provided by taxi-drivers, and enables migrant to conduct their journey.

The usage of fraudulent papers was also frequently raised during the interviews, often provided by smugglers. One of the interviewees explained how the smugglers provided him with the necessary documents during his trajectory: "they had managed some papers […] papers that we needed if something would happen, we got passports, Iranian passports". Another interviewee explained how they were provided with bus-tickets and passports upon arrival in Turkey: "the smugglers bought bus-tickets to us and I travelled with an Iranian passport from Van to Istanbul". And another one explained: "the smugglers, they gave us passports […] but it was not real passports, it was Turkish passports".

The usage of fraudulent papers when facing the police force were apparent through several of the interviews. One interviewee explained that "you don't need a visa to pass through Turkey with a Iranian passport […] we passed three police controls on our way from Van to Istanbul, and they stopped us and looked at our passports and let us pass". And sometimes it seemed as

if the police were aware that the documents were fake, but did not make any notice of it: "we were stopped by the police on our way to the Syrian border and they checked our passport, they took it and then give it back and we could continue, no problems, the smugglers worked with them". Thus, the combination of fraudulent papers and bribery constituted the corrupt act in order to pass controls, as could be seen in the previous statement. Hence, corrupt acts are often combined and fundamental in order for migrants to get to their anticipated destination.

The usage of corruption through private actors is acknowledged by the UN, and it seems as it is a frequent act among bus-drivers (UNODC 2013, 11). As seen in the previous section, some of the interviewees explained how they travelled by bus throughout Iran and Turkey. They were often given fake passports and spread out among the other fellow passengers. One of the interviewee explained when travelling with bus through Iran and Turkey how they observed the bus-driver paying the police: "in Iran we saw that they paid the police several times, however, in Turkey we only saw it once". She further explained the interlinked system of bribery which was facilitated through the usage of private actors. Their migration trajectory across Turkey involved the passing if several police controls she stated that "those who drive the buses pays some of the fees to the police, so if we pay 5000 then they pay 1000 to the police". Hence, corruption throughout the migration trajectory could be facilitated through a third party, i.e. by proxy, as we have seen in the previous statement.

Thus, by using corruption through private actors enables smugglers to avoid large police controls or transfer people without a permit within countries. Hence, there is some space of manoeuvre for the migrants by getting involved with corruption through private actors.

Corruption was also mentioned when migrants had to deal directly with the police, but not to the same extent as through private actors and smugglers. One of the interviewees stated that corruption often was part of the means for travelling within both Iran and Turkey. She stated that she and her husband had to bribe the police when he travelled throughout Iran: "two times it happened when we travelled, we stayed in the car and we paid and then we could continue". Additionally, she stated that corruption could be part of an institutional feature for Afghans when traveling through Iran, she explained that: "You could give every month or every year. We knew one Afghan family in Iran that bought food twice a week to one police. Another family had to pay a lot of money to the police." One of the interviewees explained how he had to pay the police for a bus-ticket from the Turkish coast to Istanbul because of the overcrowded detention centre: "the police said that they wanted 50 euro in order to buy a bus-ticket from the

border to Istanbul". Later on he explained that the bus-ticket most likely did not cost 50 euro, but that the police took some extra.

4.4 The Blurring of Boundaries, Crossing of Borders and the Question of Agency

As seen in the previous section, corruption is fundamental for migrants when crossing external and internal border. By approaching these events from the experience and perspective of migrants we are able to understand the effects of these services. The following section will elaborate further on the theoretical aspects of these finding.

4.4.1 Corruption and the Blurring of Boundaries

First and foremost, I would like to discuss the relation between corruption and the blurring of boundaries. Scholars studying the migration industry question the notion of a division between illegal and legal actors, and they argue that migrants are through the participation in the migration industry able to influence both the illegal and legal sphere. Spaan and Hillmann (2013) argue that there are a variety of actors and services which are commoditized through the migration industry, which creates an intertwining of concepts and issues which otherwise are in dichotomy. Thus, traditional dichotomies as formal and informal should rather be seen as interlinked, affecting each other (Spaan and Hilllmaan 2013, 65).

Additionally, Vigneswaran (2011) and Madsen (2004) argue that corruption should not be seen as a hidden act but as an integrated part of the practices which migrants perform and making them able to negotiate their status towards the state. As seen in the previous section, migrants use corruption in order to cross internal and external borders. Spaan and Hillman (2013) argue that "the traversing of legal, socioeconomic and geographical boundaries is a central characteristic of MI [Migration Industry] activities and it involves the creation of spatial, socioeconomic, legal and moral spaces of liminality". Thus, corruption makes it possible for migrants to, despite their illegal status, travel and stay invisible to the state (see also Madsen 2004, 179-180). Corruption is situated in-between these spheres and helps create the space fundamental for both migrants and for activities of the migration industry. So, we cannot understand corruption isolated to either the formal or the informal, the official or the unofficial, the public or the private but as practices and activities part of the space of liminality.

As an example, one interviewee stated that his cousin owned a taxi company, which also conducted smuggling services. As he decided to migrate he paid his cousin for the services of

transportation, but also in order to pass different police controls. His journey was conducted in between the legal and the illegal, the formal and informal. He paid the taxi to drive him to a destination, but also to get hold of an illicit passport and to bribe the police. Corruption is a fundamental tool in the facilitation of these services and thus, corruption becomes an important aspect for his possibility to migrate. The distinction of legal and illegal in his payment is hard to trace whilst it both includes the service of transportation as well as bribery.

Furthermore, notions of clear dichotomies becomes challenged within the migration industry, and so also the understanding of who is good and who is bad. Migrants are often understood as victims, exploited by large smuggling organisations, however, it seems as smugglers in some cases rather acts as protection. As an example, one of the interviewees explained how he was exploited by fellow afghan migrants upon his arrival in Greece. Consequently, the lack of help from smugglers made him more vulnerable, and he needed to trust other actors. Thus the space created within the migration industry also challenges notions of good and bad.

The migrants who travel to Europe strive for the invisibility towards several actors, such as the official border guards or police. As seen previously, corruption is a fundamental means for migrants to pass these actors. As they are placed within the illicit, informal, illegal sphere but must travel past areas marked by formal and legal control they have to negotiate their position. Corruption becomes their shifting signifier, the means which enables them to travel further. The space of liminality, conceptualised by Spaan and Hillman (2013), helps migrants interact with different actors which otherwise would be impossible due to their status as illegal. Corruption is fundamental in creating this space and thus has a great impact upon migrants' everyday life within the migration industry. Hence, corruption could not only be perceived as something that only concerns public officials. As several scholars have argued, corruption could not be understood separated from social and cultural contexts (Orjuela 2014; Blundo and de Sardan 2006; Smith 2007).

4.4.2 Corruption and Borders

As mentioned in the result section, corruption is fundamental in order for migrants to cross external and internal border. According to Spaan and Hillman (2013) an important aspect to the development of a migration industry is the interplay between border controls and migrants' need to cross the external official borders. However, I would also like to redirect some of its focus to the importance of internal borders. Following the theories of transversal borders Pickering and Weber (2013) argue that borders are no longer limited to specific areas, but

reaches beyond and within countries. Border are constructed through an interplay between actors who performs restrictive border controls and those who would like to cross them. Hence, borders become part of people who are defined as "illegal". Wonders (2006) discusses that the construction of borders are often performed by state agents upon certain persons who are defined as "illegal", hence, borders are refocused upon bodies. Borders becomes flexible and fluid and are no longer defined lines but becomes spaces of legitimate and illegitimate behaviour.

Throughout the interviews it becomes apparent that migrants "carry" the border with them. As the interviewees travelled within countries, far from the official borders, they still faced official border policies. Their mere appearance made officials to perform borders, trying to apply restrictive policies and hinder their way forward. As we have seen throughout the empirical section, places within countries are often highly "bordered". However, the interviewees also express strategies in order to avoid these borders. Sometimes they were able to avoid them, going around or waiting for some time, while other times they could negotiate their way past, through the engagement in corruption.

Here I would like to add the conceptual work by Morten Madsen (2004). He argues that irregular migrants in Johannesburg were able to negotiate their invisibility towards the state through corruption. I would argue that corruption plays a similar role for the interviewees within this thesis. Corruption, through the creation of the space of liminality, keeps them invisible towards the performed borders, the transversal borders, which enables them to travel under the radar of the many actors on their way. Migrants use smugglers and other methods in several areas throughout their trajectory, and you could argue that corruption helped migrants to cross both official border, as well as transversal borders. Several of the interviewees express that they were provided illicit documents as fake visa and passport in order to travel both throughout countries as well as across the borders. The official borders were in one sense only one of many hindrances on their way towards Europe.

One of the interviewees stated that the collaboration with the police was vital for his possibility to travel towards Istanbul. As he explained how they were stopped by the police on their way to the Syrian border and got their passports checked. Their passport were obviously fraudulent however, the police gave it back and they could continue. Apparently the smugglers worked with the police which could enable them free passage. Throughout the interviews, migrants are dependent on the usage of corrupt services in order to both pass border. Invisibility, I would

argue, is constructed just as they engage in corruption. This space enables the crossings of many borders, external as internal.

Consequently, this enables them to cross external, as well as internal borders. Hence, in order to avoid transversal borders migrants need to become "invisible" for the official authorities, such as the border police or domestic police. Corruption is, I would argue, that means fundamental in shaping their trajectory and enabling them the level of agency necessary to conduct their journeys.

4.4.3 Corruption and Agency

Finally, I would like to discuss one of the impacts that corruption could have for migrants; raising their level of agency. Scholars studying the migration industry have highlighted that the migration trajectory should not be seen as a pre-planned process where migrants are agentless victims, but rather able to influence their journey in a number of ways (Spaan and Hillmann 2013, 66). Additionally, Madsen (2004) and Anjaria (2011) argue that corruption is a fundamental aspect when negotiate status and illegality towards the state. These issues were also raised throughout the empirical section. Migrants are able to influence the level of payment, as well as paths which they travel, they were also able to negotiate their status in a number of ways. One of the interviewees stated that he was able to negotiate his status as an illegal migrant when travelling towards Europe. Through fraudulent papers and bribery he could get "indivisible" towards the official border guards. For him, corruption meant that he could travel by air pass borders. Thus, corruption enabled for him to negotiate his illegality and to become "legal" for a short while whilst he conducted his journey, giving him an amount of agency.

Studies of the migration industry have shown that migrants' trajectories are shaped by a number of different factors. I would like to argue that the level of corruption also affects the number of possibilities that migrants have. Comparing two of the interviewees´ narratives illuminates the differences. The second interviewee was, for example, able to migrate through the use of airplanes due to the obtaining of a highly advanced passport and flight ticket to Germany. The fifth interviewee, on the other hand, migrated by car, bus and by foot through Iran, Turkey, Italy and finally throughout Europe. Both of them discusses the level of payment as a key aspect in their choice of migration route. The second interviewee explained how his smuggler told him that a lower payment – around 3000-5000 dollars - would give him a trip to Europe by boat, and that he could not ensure him that he would arrive safely, however, if he would pay 12 000 dollars instead he would be able to manage a flight from Pakistan to Germany. The fifth

interviewee also discusses the same issue, but from another perspective. She stated that when you travel from Afghanistan or Iran towards Europe there are two roads, one road through Italy by boat and another through Greece. However, the road through Greece coasted a lot more which made them choose the cheaper way, the boat to Italy. The interviewee that was able to get on board the airplane, due to the fraudulent papers, made it possible for him to get across the airline staff in Pakistan, hence he did not have to face a lot of hardship and risk. I would argue that higher costs also included a higher level of corruption, which could mean a safer journey for migrants. A higher level of security and controls towards corruption from officials could thus create a more unsafe trajectory. Consequently, corruption has an impact upon how migration routes are constructed, which also in the end has an impact upon the individual migration trajectory.

As seen throughout the interviews, migrants often strive to avoid the encounter with officials. However, they are also in a need of engaging within actors which are able to encounter officials. As scholars studying the migration industry argue, there are several intermediaries which are placed in between the illicit and licit. They are therefore able to "negotiating the modus of visa, travel and employment arrangements" (Spaan and Hillmann 2013, 80-81). These migrants are through corruption able to both affect the possibility to travel, but also stay invisible for the authorities. As seen in the empirical section, several migrants were able to pass police control, border guards and other hinders when they paid for the relevant services. Their main focus is to continue their journey, and they often use smugglers or other intermediaries to facilitate the necessary means. Corruption is thus mediated through these actors.

5. Conclusion and Future Research

The purpose of this study was to explore the role of corruption during the migration trajectory by Afghan immigrants in Sweden. Research questions set out to be answered were how migrants express their migration trajectory being organized and with the help of which actors, what experience of corruption migrants have had during their migration trajectory, as well as what this could tell us about the role of corruption in migration more broadly. As shown in the result section, as well as within the analysis, migrants experience corruption throughout their migration trajectory. Corruption is fundamental in their trajectory and is part of the shaping of their journey. It is often facilitated through intermediaries, such as smugglers or taxi-drivers. Hence, corruption is part of the construction of space which enables illegal and legal actors to cooperate, characteristic for the migration industry. As discussed in the analysis, corruption is

a significant means for migrants to pass borders, both external as well as internal. Corruption thus becomes significant for their level of agency, and enables them to negotiate their legal status towards the authorities. Corruption is thus perceived as a necessary part of their trajectory. Furthermore, corruption is also part of the negotiation of illegality, as migrants often are subject to the performance of internal borders, they are also in a need to avoid these performances. As argued in the analysis, corruption is part of the creation of the space of liminality, which enables them to become invisible for official authorities.

Furthermore, results in this thesis have also raised the complexity that defines the migration industry. Actors within the migration industry are often intertwined, and there is no clear distinction between the formal and informal. We have to problematize the way actors are defined as "good" or "bad", and so could also the usage of corruption. By using a qualitative method, exploring the narratives of migrants, a complex picture appeared. It showed that we cannot understand their journey as a pre-planned event, nor understand migrants' role as mere victims. Instead, they influence their trajectory as they travel, and they are able to negotiate their possibilities as they go along. Corruption becomes a vital aspect of these issues, as seen in the discussions within the analysis.

This thesis has mainly concerned the experience and narratives of migrants. And their stories have given us an insight into how corruption effects their migration trajectory. However, smugglers have been raised as a vital actor within their migration trajectory. Smugglers are often in contact with the officials, and thus also an important actor of the facilitation of corruption. Therefore, I would argue that future research on these issues should concern the narratives of people working with smuggling activities. Their understanding of corruption and their role within the migration industry would be of most interest. Furthermore, there is a constant need to explore and raise the narratives of migrants themselves. There are stories to be told from the perspectives of those which these issues concern. Thus, I would argue that the subject which this thesis have concern could be explored further.

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Appendix

Appendix 1: Interview Guide

Themes

<u>Place of Origin</u>

Name, age, gender?

Region, Family, ethnicity, tribe, birth place?

Socio-economic background? Fathers work? Good income?

Moved around?

Patterns of migration within the family?

<u>Departure</u>

Reasons for leaving home?

Own decision, family decision, and circumstances?

Did you know the destination prior to the departure?

How did you choose your destination?

How did you know anything of the destination?

Did you know anyone living at the place of destination?

Have you migrated before?

Starting from? Helped by who?

Migrated alone?

<u>Organization</u>

(Interesting aspects: using of family contacts, Hawala, transnational ties etc. Usage of Hawala and transnational payment in corruption?)

How did you organize your journey?

Did someone organize the journey for you?

How did you get involved with them?

How did you pay for your migration?

To who did you pay?

For what did you pay?

Did you know how much it costs to migrate?

Did you pay prior to your departure? If yes, did you pay yourself or someone else?

How could you affect the journey prior to the departure? Several options of migration routes etc?

What practical issues did you have to get prior to you journey?

- Documents, pass, visa?

Journey

Could you describe your journey?

How did you travel? Alone or in group?

What countries did you pass?

How did you pass the borders?

- What happen?
- Who were helping?
- Did you have to use corruption?

What places did you pass?

- How did you pass these places?
- What was happening during you were passing them?
- How long did you stay in these places?
- What was happening at these places?
- Who were you meeting?
- Did you face any corruption?

How much could you control during your journey?

Was your route changed during you journey? How did it change?

How could you affect the choice of destination during the migration?

Did you use smugglers?

- How did you use smugglers?
- Did you meet several different smugglers?
- Did you change smuggler?
- Why did you change and how?

How did you know these smugglers?

Did you do any of the payment during the journey?

How did you do payment during your journey?

Could you control how much to pay them? How?

Did someone else help you with the payment during the journey?

What problems did you face during your journey?

What was the most difficult parts of the journey?

How did you solve these problems?

What relation did you have to the persons assisting you during the journey?

How did you learn about migration during your journey?

What contact did you have with your family during your journey?

(Transnational ties, corruption in Afghanistan enabling them for further travel)

How long did you journey take?

Concluding

How much corruption were involved in your journey?

Did you have to pay bribers?

Did you have to pay for documents?

Did you have to do something in order to continue you journey?

Questions from the interviewees?

Appendix 2: Maps