Does corruption end in the safe heaven:
the voice of refugees in the destination country

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Abstract

Current research on corruption and migration analyzes corrupt practices from two perspectives: as a push factor for migrants to migrate from their country of origin, and as a tool that helps to facilitate their migration journey. In contrast to this approach, the present academic article focuses on migrants' own experiences in the destination country and seeks to explore whether migrants continue experiencing various forms of corrupt practices upon reaching destination countries with low levels of corruption. Using data obtained from qualitative analysis and semi-structured in-depth interviews with 25 forced and irregular migrants in Sweden, this paper critically evaluates the situation of interviewees and challenges the assumption that corrupt practices, in relation to migration, end in the destination country where corruption perception is low. With the help of the Swedish context analysis and actual experiences of forced and irregular migrants, this research highlights a number of useful learning features about what can be applied internationally in tackling corruption with regards to this group of migrants in other countries with a similar profile, known as popular destination countries.

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1. Introduction

The connection between corruption and migration has only recently started to attract attention of researchers and experts from the international community. Official reports and academic research of a limited character about potential connection between these two phenomens and, more precisely, the role of corruption in migration process, have shown that various forms of corruption occur on different stages of the migrants´ journey, and that the role of corruption varies for different groups of migrants.

For example, corruption in the country of origin can be one of the main driving factors for migration for those individuals who possess a high social capital, and therefore seek to immigrate to states with a meritocratic system, low levels of nepotism or better conditions for business (Dimant, Krieger and Meierrieks, 2013). At the same time, corruption can, on the other hand, play a facilitating role during different stages of the migration route for a group of forced, irregular and economic migrants who leave their country of origin with the aim of escaping poverty or long-drawn political and armed conflicts that negatively affect levels of personal security and freedom, and undermine democracy and human rights (UNODC, 2018). In these cases, corruption greases the wheels of the criminal networks of human smuggling that transport migrants in need from their country of origin to the country of destination (Europol, 2016).

Apart from the important factor of the lack of personal security caused by armed conflicts, additional factors such as low quality of governance and violation of citizens´ human rights play a significant role for a group of forced migrants in their decision to migrate (Merkle, Reinold and Siegel, 2017a, p.26). In fact, the quality of public institutions plays a triggering role in migration aspirations, as low institutional quality may have a significant negative impact on individuals´ lives in poor countries (Bergh, Mirkina and Nilsson, 2015). According to the UNDP report on human mobility, in a majority of cases, irrespective of the type of migrants´ group, individuals migrate to countries where the level of human development is higher than in their country of origin (Klugman, 2009). In addition, previous studies show that there is a connection between highly corrupt countries and a low level of human development in these countries (Paasche, 2016).

A high demand for emigration of forced and irregular migrants exceeded previously established and strictly regulated international borders' crossing procedures, and resulted in the biggest "refugee crisis" in European history. Civilians from affected areas used a number of alternative ways to help them reach European countries, which often meant crossing borders unnoticed or obtaining illicit documents for the facilitation of migration journies or receiving an opportunity to shorten waiting times for the processing of migration permission (UNODC, 2018, p.17). It would be impossible to perform such practices without the unlawful acts of public officials that occur on different stages of migrants´ journey, and the support of key facilitators – human smugglers, who follow their clients throughout the whole journey until the

moment when they reach their final destination (Ibid, 2018, p.51).

In many cases migrants' journey to Europe takes them to countries of entry e.g. Greece, Italy, Portugal and Spain, whose national economies have been negatively affected during the vulnerable times of one decade of austerity and the Eurozone crisis. However, due to their favorable geographical position and access points to the sea, these countries turn out to be a gateway for thousands of refugees and asylum seekers (Caporaso, 2017). The reality, however, showed that high rates of local unemployment in the countries of entry, scarce welfare provisions and differing national reception conditions for migrants became a limiting factor for newcomers, and reinforced the escalation of the secondary migration that caused a challenge for the European Union in its ambition to create more harmonized migration regulation in Europe (Brekke and Brochmann, 2014, p.145).

Sweden, one of the countries targeted for secondary migration, is often mentioned within the international context as a country that demonstrates a comprehensive approach to migrants´ reception and their integration has an advanced democratic state system with a high level of generalized trust, and a low level of corruption compared to other countries. Countries with a high level of generalized trust, which contributes to a better quality of domestic democracy, have better functioning state mechanisms, higher economic growth, and a better ability to solve challenges faced by collective action (Dinesen, 2013, p. 114). Taking these facts into consideration, Sweden became one of the countries that welcomed a high amount of migrants,

registering in 2014, 13% of all asylum applications within the European Union, in the context of the refugee crisis (Karageorgiou, 2016).

Often, in the countries affected by poverty and conflicts, where forced and irregular migrants originate from, corrupt practices are a daily occurrence and affect the poorest social groups by making them pay unofficial fees on a daily basis for accessing services that are otherwise available free of charge for all individuals in advanced democratic societies. Furthermore, these groups of migrants, in their countries of origin, may also suffer from the consequences of indirect corruption, for example when their children go to a school with low quality facilities due to the fact that resources allocated for the school´s renovation vanished because of corrupt practices (Graycar and Monaghan, 2015; Merkle, 2018). Reaching the country of final destination in Europe, that is often the country of secondary migration, forced and irregular migrants may have different experiences in their interactions with public organizations and authorities from their experiences in their countries of origin.

In fact, in the existing academic research, focused on the nexus between corruption and migration, the experiences of corruption by forced and irregular migrants in the country of destination are scarcely mentioned, and instead link to the observed tendency of the lack of generalized trust in state authorities, which dominates within this migrants' group, is highlighted (Merkle, Reinold and Siegel, 2018, p.4). There are studies that mainly focus on the context of the high-trust second destination countries, and its influence on the level of migrants' social trust over generations, or on the

interconnection between generalized trust and different levels of corruption across nations (Uslaner 2018; Rothstein, 2013). Other scholars take a different angle in their research, which indicate that migrants who live in the countries with a low level of corruption and a high quality of governance may transfer positive anti-corruption practices to those family members who are left behind in their country of origin, where the corruption level is high (Levitt, 1998 cited in Ivlevs and King, 2017, p.390). In addition, there are studies that attempt to examine the effects of migration on the destination country's corruption level, and to identify the channels that may facilitate the transfer of corruption with results that illustrate how migration from highly corrupt societies contributes to the development of corruption in the destination countries (Dimant, Krieger and Redlin, 2014, p.29).

Given these angles of research it is, however, not clear whether forced and irregular migrants, who come to high-trust destination countries with low levels of corruption, continue to experience corrupt practices. How do these migrants perceive corruption and do they trust in the state? This paper will present an explorative study, which seeks to challenge the assumption that migrants from highly corrupt countries stop experiencing corruption in destination countries with low levels of corruption.

Using the data obtained from in-depth, semi-structured interviews with 25 refugees, this paper intends to identify, through the prism of interplay between corruption and trust, whether the participants interviewed, continue to experience various forms of corrupt practices upon reaching the destination country. In addition, this research intends to

provide a critical evaluation of the situation of refugees in the country of destination based on their own experiences. Moreover, it will enumerate corrupt practices that refugees in Sweden may experience in different contexts. With the help of the analysis of the Swedish context, this paper will highlight a number of useful learning points about what can be applied internationally in tackling corruption in relation to refugees in other countries with a similar profile, known as popular destination countries. Finally, this paper will provide further insights into the challenges of interviewing such vulnerable group of population as refugees, and it will provide practical guidance to researchers based on these actual experiences.

The structure of the present study is designed in the following way: in the first section an overview of the definitions discussed such as trust, corruption, state and migrants will be provided. The second section will provide the review of existing literature on forced migration, corruption and trust, as well as the theoretical framework. In the third section, applied methodology will be described in a detailed way. In the fourth section, the analysis of the conducted interviews will be presented. The fifth section will present conclusion of this study.

2. Definitions in focus

2.1 Corruption and trust in state

The types of corruption and its scale vary broadly depending on counties' context. Johnston (2005, p.11) defines corruption as an *"...abuse of trust, generally one involving public power, for private benefit which*

often, but by no means always, comes in the form of money." Factors such as social and economic inequality can influence corruption typology in different parts of the world and expand the limits of its known definition. Corruption causes, among other negative factors, low effectivity of government, which consequently affects citizens' generalized trust, and creates an interconnected chain between economic inequality, low generalized trust, and further development of corruption (Uslaner 2006, p.2). In many societies in the world where the corruption level is high and it affects the poorer stratas of the population, the feeling that other individuals can be trusted is diminished (Uslaner 2006, p. 3). Corrupt state systems tend to reduce the salaries of public employees which as a consequence makes them look for additional sources of illicit income in the pockets of their clients (ibid.).

In fact, in many non-Western societies with a high economic and social inequality, acquired wealth is synonymic with dishonesty, illegal practices and corruption, whereas in Western countries wealth is perceived as a result of hard work (Rothstein and Uslaner, 2005, p. 55). For example, often, public services such as health care, social welfare benefits, education, judicial branch and police, in societies with a wide economic inequality gap and a wide disparity between the social classes, turn into goods for sale, when unofficial payments for medical service, bribes to police in exchange for avoiding paying a fine, or the „purchase" of school or university grades become the norm (Rothstein and Uslaner, 2005, p.56). This behavior enhances compelling opinions in society about public servants, who favor only those citizens who can pay illicit fees

for getting better and more effective services (ibid.). Those cases, when bribes allow ineligible citizens to receive benefits, are classified as "corruption with theft" (Shleifer and Vishny, 1993 cited in Rose-Ackerman, 2001, p.548).

Payments of any kind are considered to be corrupt if they are payed to public officials with the aim of either avoiding a certain cost or gaining a benefit, and undermine the trust of citizens in public actors (Rose-Ackerman, 2001, p.548). Officials in corrupt states may use their power as a monopoly while deciding on the amount of services to be provided to citizens (Rose-Ackerman, 2001, p.549). Corrupt officials, who exercise a monopoly on power, may consciously chose to provide fewer services than officially sanctioned or, on the contrary, provide more than officially sanctioned (ibid.).Through taking advantage of their monopolized power, corrupt officials can intentionally limit the amount of services, despite the lack of shortage, through an intended delay or a denial until bribes are paid (ibid.).In highly corrupt states corrupt officials are dishonest when it comes to representation of public interests, but, on the contrary, are trustworthy in relation to their relatives and friends, as these contacts help them not to be exposed for their corrupt activities (Rose-Ackerman, 2001, p. 547).

Corrupt practices, exercised by public officials, create the necessity for citizens to establish a big number of social contacts whom they can trust (Rothstien and Eek, 2009, p.89). Thus, through enlarged social networks, citizens in societies with high level of corruption may seek support and help in case of need, as they do not trust contact with public actors. Another

trajectory, which results from the lack of social trust, can lead to general mistrust in all people, where citizens may only develop so-called generalized trust with family or close friends which is the opposite of social trust, when individuals trust people, whom they do not know as well (ibid.). Examples of rule-based trust are relevant for this present study, as this framework of trust between state and citizens is applicable to the state organizations and migrants, who will be studied in this paper. The state organization can be trusted if it does not deviate from established mechanisms, where citizens will be treated equally (Rose-Ackerman 2001, p.540).In cases where people have one-sided trust in state institutions, when they believe that they are treated equally, they may extend this trust even to other agents whom they do not know (ibid.). Interpersonal trust, or trust between society's members, and institutional trust, or trust in state's political institutions, are linked with each other and both can be factors in corrupt activities (Kubbe 2013, p.4). In the context of this paper, these two types of trust will be analyzed in connection to the experiences of irregular and forced migrants in Sweden.

2.2 Migrants: who are they?

The decision to migrate often consists, not only of one factor, but of a combination of different factors, such as poor economic conditions in the country of origin, a lack of opportunities for education and work, corruption and nepotism, armed and political conflicts, or dangerous environmental conditions, among other factors. The profile of migrants that is chosen for the present paper focuses on individuals with a forced and irregular background, who have chosen various

European countries as their destination enabling them to escape from armed and political conflicts of long duration. In general, taking into consideration the motives for migration of other groups of migrants, the majority of individuals move with an aim to find a place to live "*in larger freedom from fear and poverty*" (UNODC, 2018, p.38).

Due to the escalation of the refugee crisis in Europe, there are countries which have become better known as sources of migration from certain ethnic backgrounds. Thus, in 2015 within the three largest migrants' flows that arrived in the EU along the three Mediterranean migrant smuggling routes, there were individuals with citizenship from the Syrian Arab Republic (48%), Afghanistan (20%) and Iraq (9%), among other groups (UNODC, 2018 p.34). A broad range of corrupt activities, starting with petty corruption practices in order to cross the border, to high scale corruption on the state level, have been recognized along almost all registered migration routes, and have played a role in supporting human smuggling (UNODC 2018, p.8.). Depending on the context of the country of origin, gender differences within migration flows also vary. Thus, the majority of migrants from Afghanistan are young men and unaccompanied minors, whereas the migrant profile from Syria mainly consists of families, and female migrants are prevalent mostly along parts of the South-East Asia routes (ibid.). 85% of smuggled migrants, who arrived in their country of entry into the EU, Greece, through the Eastern Mediterranean sea route, originate from the Syrian Arab Republic, Afghanistan, and few other Middle Eastern countries while those migrants who arrive via the Central Mediterranean route to Italy, originate

mostly from West Africa (UNODC, 2018, p.35). Those migrants who come from Afghanistan, represent a group of ethnic Hazaras, many of whom were born, or previously resided in, the Islamic Republic of Iran, and Pashtuns from the western and southwestern regions of Afghanistan (UNODC, 2018, p.34).The democracy in these countries is ranked very low due to a strongly authoritarian state regime (Economist Intelligence Unit, 2018). Traditional authoritarian states strive to take monopolistic control of the political environment in the country, where the parliament's role is usually minor or absent (Puddington, 2017).

In unequal societies, the state resources are mainly available to wealthier social classes, while disadvantaged citizens may even have such a common right as their right to education, curtailed. When high inequality is present in a society, the elites can influence the political and legal institutional context in order to maximize their own profit, and establish social policies that will negatively affect other social classes (Uslaner and Rothstein 2016, p.229). Due to the limited access to education, disadvantaged citizens have no opportunities to acquire the necessary skills to find a better employment prospect, which traps them in a vicious circle, and forces them to depend on corrupt powers (ibid.). This type of relationship between citizens and the state consequently develops into a deeply rooted, distrusting attitude towards the actions of politicians, government officials or public agents. Due to the lack of recognition of gender equality, female citizens are often negatively affected first in such type of states.

Being aware of the frequent encounters of corrupt practices that migrants experience before they embark on their journies and during migration route to Europe, this paper will focus on the third stage of migrants' migration trajectory, that is the country of destination, and will shed more light on migrants' own experiences after their journey ends.

3. Previous studies

Since the focus on the link between corruption and migration has only recently gained more attention, previous theoretical framework and studies mainly focus either on corruption in relation to migration in the countries of migrants' origin, or on corruption that occurs along the migration route, associated with human smuggling and trafficking.

On the contrary, to the scarce research done on the link between corruption and migration, there are extensive, previous studies, conducted by a number of scholars that highlight the link between corruption and trust. These studies also hypothesize that migrants from less developed countries, where the trust is low, are negatively influenced by this when they arrive in highly trusting societies (Dinesen and Hooghe, 2010 p.719).

However, there are just a few studies that examine in depth, the situation of migrants that have recently arrived in their country of destination, with high levels of trust, and migrants' exposure to corruption in these countries. In addition, there are limited studies that explore whether migrants' trust in public actors changes in the new country, given the fact that exposure to corruption

tends to diminish compared to exposure in their country of origin.

However, there is research that focuses on the context of different welfare state models and discussion with regards to trust, the state, immigrants, and the trusting or mistrusting attitudes of the local population towards them. For example, Dinesen and Sønderskov (2012, p.276) elaborate on the effects of the universality of the Scandinavian welfare state on the trust levels of ethnic diversity within the state. Thus, on the one hand, a low level of income inequality in Scandinavian countries reinforces a positive reaction of the local population towards immigrants, and a higher trust in them, as they are seen as part of the community, which shares the same fate as the locals, due to the universal welfare system (ibid.). However, on the other hand, migrants can become more isolated in such societies due to the fact that the generous welfare benefits reduce the necessity of interaction with the local population, which can lead to the negative side effect of migration diminishing the local population's trust (Crepaz, 2008, p.57-58 cited in Dinesen and Sønderskov, 2012, p.276).

Presence of institutional trust in society leads to a higher tendency towards risk taking that is connected to a higher trust towards migrants (Halapuu, Paas and Tammary, 2013, p.5). The connection between trust in the state and its welfare model is explained by the high tax redistribution that finances the generous welfare system, as in the case of the Nordic countries (Scholz and Lubell, 1998 cited in Dinesen and Hooghe, 2010 p.699). In these countries it is highly important that individuals pay taxes, and a willingness to

pay taxes is dependant upon trust in other citizens, who are expected to do the same (ibid.). On the other hand, when groups within a country are discriminated against, they may think that others who discriminate against them do not share the same fate as them, which may make them concentrate on their own group, rather then look beyond this, to others who are different (Uslaner 2008, p.727). This phenomenon often occurs in migrants' countries of origins, as the biggest recent migrants' flows to Europe originate from countries characterized by combinations of such motivating factors as insecure political situations, poor economic conditions, undermined democracies and the violation of human rights, where many social and ethnic groups may be discriminated against. Dinesen and Hooghe (2010, p.720) differentiate between levels of trust in first and second generation migrants, and hypothesize that second generation migrants have a higher tendency to adapt to the levels of trust shown in society by natives in comparision with first generation migrants, and that migrants from low trusting cultures experience general difficulty in adapting to society where trust levels are high. Uslaner (2008, p.726) presents another perspective on the same problem, and hypothesizes that individuals who migrate from high trusting societies to low trusting societies do not lose their trust, and argues that high levels of trust are found in Protestant states, whereas Catholic nations tend to have significantly lower trust levels.

A low level of corruption is linked to a high level of trust, and those migrants who live in less corrupt destination countries can be more trusting (Uslaner 2018 p.213; Uslaner 2008 p.728). Results of an empirical,

quantitative study, focused on a measurement of generalized trust of migrants in Western Europe, showed that Scandinavian nations have the most trusting native citizens, and migrants who live in these countries are the most trusting too, compared to both natives and migrants in former authoritarian regimes such as Portugal and Greece (Dinesen and Hooghe, 2010, p.711). In addition, the study argues that first and second generation migrants, who migrated to high-trusting Scandinavian countries compared to those, who migrated to low-trusting southern European countries, tend to increase their trust in authorities with the time (Dinesen and Hooghe, 2010, p.719).

Another hypothesis presented, presumes that high quality state institutions, represented through institutional justness and trust, are linked to migrants' higher trust levels while living in high-trusting countries, compared to their countrymen who stayed behind in their country of origin (Dinesen, 2013 cited in Uslaner, 2018, p. 213). In support of this hypothesis, Rothstein and Stolle (2008) argue that during interactions with immigration authorities, civil servants and police in high-trusting societies, migrants will gradually develop higher trust in other people, which had previously been undermined by experiences of the state authorities. Countries that are characterized by impartial and confident legal system and high trust levels, for example, the Nordic countries and Germany (Uslaner 2008, p.737), belong to a category of secondary migration countries, which migrants often chose to migrate to after arrival in the countries of entry to the EU such as Greece, Italy or Spain.

In contrast to the generally trusted profile of public servants and police in the countries of secondary migration, migrants may experience corrupt practices from the same category of public agents in their country of entry. Studying trust in police in 16 European countries, Kääriäinen (2007 p. 414) presents a hypothesis that if general corruption is present in government, the public trust in police will decrease. Comparing countries with different types of regimes Kääriäinen (2007, p. 415) illustrates that authoritarian states and states with unequal societies have a deficit of public services with regards to security, which is linked to the citizens' lack of trust in state safety institutions.

Recent empirical studies on gendered experiences of corruption in the country of origin, transit route and the country of destination, illustrated that in Italy and Spain, migrants experience corrupt behavior from police officers and representatives of detention centers (Merkle, Reinhold and Siegel 2017b, p. 31). Examining the Italian case more closely, another recent study demonstrated that the migrant influx into Italy turned into a business that involveded corruption, related to governmental contracts and the administration of migrants' reception centers (Pianezzi and Grossi, 2018). These scenarios prove that countries of first and secondary migration have significant differences in their state's reception of migrants within a common European Asylum System which is illustrated in detail through the study on the situation of asylum seekers in Italy and Norway (Brekke and Brochmann, 2015).

The research on corruption, trust and migration is not limited to the academic sources reviewed above, however, the

present analysis of literature demonstrates that studies on corruption and migrants in the countries of destination, and in particular, in countries of secondary migration where corruption is perceived as low, require further, detailed research. The analysis of 25 interviews with refugees in Sweden in this paper will help realise this little studied phenomenon.

4. Research design and methodology

4.1 The choice of the method

The qualitative method of data collection and analysis hass been chosen as the most suitable for this study. The methodological triangulation data concept has been applied in this paper, which includes the collection of various types of data with the help of different data collection techniques, such as a review of academic literature in combination with open-ended, semi-structured, face-to-face interviews with appropriate interviewees using the chosen qualitative method (Gray, 2018, p.184). Triangulation in the qualitative research also lends more stability to the results and reliability to the research (ibid.).

The choice of the qualitative method allows, for this chosen study, a close interaction with the studied phenomenon of the nexus between corruption and migration and a deeper understanding of this phenomenon from the inside, through the study real life examples, such as through the experiences of forced and irregular migrants in the country of destination. The presence of this phenomenon, but not its frequency, which is a distinctive feature of the qualitative research method, will be studied during the

analysis of the collected empirical data in this paper.

4.2 The choice of the case

The case of refugees who arrived in Sweden after 2011 has been chosen for this qualitative academic study. More specifically, this study focuses on forced and irregular migrants who came to Sweden to seek asylum in the aftermath of the Syrian armed conflict and political repression resulting from the Arab Spring movement. Migrants, who belong to this specific group, in many cases originate from countries weakened by systematic corruption and a lack of trust in public authorities. Upon arrival in the country of destination, often as a consequence of secondary migration within the European Union, migrants' experiences of interaction with the state may change as the result of the strong presence of the rule of law, intolerance towards corruption and a high regard for human rights. Owing to these characteristics, Sweden was selected as the choice of country for this academic study as it will not only provide a good contrast but, will increase the scope of analysis with migrants' own experiences of differinge state models.

4.3 Sampling process

The approach of using more than one sampling technique was applied in this study. Thus, due to the overall sensitivity of the topic studied, challenges to access and interviewing relevant participants in the study, as well as the general vulnerability of a population with a refugee background, the snowball sampling approach was applied with the aim of gaining access to

participants with a relevant profile for this study (Gray, 2018, p.220).

In order to find respondents with a refugee background who arrived in Sweden after 2011 to seek asylum, three locators of study participants were chosen; one from an educational center and two from integration meeting points in Sweden. These three locators of study participants were chosen due to their professional knowledge in the field of work with migrants, and familiarity with participants' experiences relevant to this academic study. Prior to this study, they were provided with detailed information about the study in order to be able to inform potential participants about the purpose of this academic research, to be based on their voluntary participation. These locators also acted as gatekeepers to the municipal educational center and the two integration meeting points, which granted access to conduct the present study. Alongside this, snowball sampling was used in contacting participants with relevant refugee backgrounds outside these three organizations, who were informed about the study by a subject previously identified by the author of this study. These participants identified other individuals who had come to the country of destination as unaccompanied minors. They were approached individually and had differing profiles when it came to migration status – several of them had already been processed, whilst others got their applications rejected.

In order to identify potential participants of migrant background with the experience of being refugees who came to Sweden after 2011 to seek asylum, a sampling criterion was applied in the present study. This type of sampling helped to identify individuals who met the specific, pre-determined criterion of being migrants who came to Sweden from certain countries such as Syria, Afghanistan, and Iraq, among others. Moreover, the sampling criterion helped to identify common tendencies within the group, which were observed through interviewing participants who shared the same gender or social background. In addition, this criterion was also helpful in singling out those participants who have lived in Sweden for a minimum of 2 years, and, therefore possess a conversational level of Swedish, have collected a certain amount of experience of contact with state and non-state actors, the employment market, medical care system, and through education. Nevertheless, there were a number of participants who experienced difficulties in expressing themselves in Swedish or English, and therefore were provided with an interpreter of Arabic, Somali or Persian at the interview venue.

When potential interviewees from Afghanistan, Iraq, Palestine, Syria, among other countries, were informed by their respective locators about the purpose of, and participation in, the study, there were 26 individuals who expressed interest in voluntary participation. Spreading information through the larger group of potential interviewees allowed the study to reach a relatively even man-to-woman ration, which helped in observing the differences in migrants' experiences depending on gender.

4.4 Interview and questions

Due to the broadness of ethnic backgrounds of interviewees in this study, the importance of correct language usage,

authentic attitude, high accuracy and affinity with the subject, became vital elements for the conduct of culturally responsive interviewing (Gray 2018, p.395). Prior to face-to-face interviews, it was important for the author of this study to become familiar with the typical, basic terms in Arabic, Somali and Persian, relevant for this study, as well as unacceptable gestures and expressions that could be seen as offensive in certain cultures. Furthermore, the awareness of cultural differences in relation to gender roles became crucial during the interviewing process in order to avoid biased judgement, which might occur when the author of the study interviewed participants of opposite gender.

Face-to-face interviews consisted of 10 main, open questions and 4 additional questions. General demographic questions that indicated age group, level of education, amount of time of living in Sweden, and current occupation allowed the author to collect participants' characteristics important for the analysis of their experiences.

The application of the phenomenological paradigm in this qualitative study, meaning research through the participants' personal experiences, enables this article to focus on two variables: the independent variable of *exposure to corruption in daily life,* and the dependent variable of *trust in public authorities* (Gray 2018, p.25*)*. The formulation of open-ended interview questions was designed to focus on these two variables, and divided in three parts in order to examine migrants' perception of the quality of public services provided to them in Sweden, their trust in public actors, and integrity. Primarily, questions were

focused on migrants' experiences in the country of destination, but an opportunity was provided for interviewees to draw a line of comparison between what they may have faced prior to their arrival in their country of destination. It is relevant to note that many of the interviewees spent time in an intermediary country before they came to Sweden, and therefore experiences from their country of origin and intermediary country were generalized sometimes. The questionnaire and classification of interviewees can be found in the Appendix to this study.

4.5 Ethical considerations

Complete anonymity became a vital element of the present academic study and its sampling procedure due to the vulnerability of participants that were the focus of this study. Moreover, the specific characteristic of some participants such as post-traumatic stress disorder, connected to the individuals'´ previous experiences, was taken into account to ensure complete anonymity for the study's participants. For this reason, the locators of study participants were a crucial point of contact in facilitating communication between the participants and the author of this study.

Information about conditions for participation in the interview was distributed to each participant, and additional explanation was given prior to each interview. Furthermore, each participant was provided with a unique participant number and was encouraged to use this number as a reference in case contact with the interviewer, post interview was needed, which could be done through the respective locator. It helped to ensure complete the anonymity of the participant.

In addition, no personal data such as name, place of residence, or country of origin was collected, which ensured there was no possibility of linking participants with the collected empirical data. Several interviewees, however, mentioned their country of origin unintentionally during the interview but this information was not included in the analysis due to ethical considerations.

4.6 Data collection and analysis

This study takes into consideration the limited character of the previous research on the link between corruption and migration with the focus on the country of destination, and the relation between migrants' trust in the state and perceptions of corruption in the destination country.The analysis in this study relies primarily on results collected in Sweden from 25 face-to-face interviews with 11 female and 14 male interviewees between 25-28 September 2018, combined with analysis of scientific articles and relevant literature on the interplay between corruption, quality of government and trust. 2 interviews out of 25 are considered incomplete as they were terminated by interviewees during the course of conversation.

There were 12 interviewees who gave permission to be recorded on an electronic device, and therefore 12 interviews were recorded and transcribed. Notes were taken for 11 interviews, as 11 interviewees expressed their wish not to be recorded. All interviews were anonymized and throughout the present study all participants are referred as Interviewees.

5. Results

This section will focus on the findings collected with the help of 25 in-depth, semi-structured interviews with 11 females and 14 males with refugee backgrounds in Sweden, and its analysis.

Asylum seekers from the Syrian Arab Republic have been the most common migrants in Sweden since 2012. In 2015, 51 338 Syrian citizens applied for asylum in Sweden out of a total of 162 877 asylum applications (Migrationsinfo, 2018). After Syrian migrants, citizens from Afghanistan, Iraq, Somalia, Eritrea and migrants without papers, head the list of the most common asylum seekers in Sweden (ibid.).

All migrants who participated in this qualitative academic study arrived in Sweden after 2011 and have resided in the country a minimum 2 years. According to an establishment reform ("etableringsreformen") introduced on December 1st, 2010, all individuals between the ages of 20-64 with refugee status and those in need of protection, together with their relatives, have a right to participate in a specific establishment program that aims to support them in their way to work or studies in Sweden (Migrationsinfo, 2018). The Swedish labor authority was given the responsibility of establishing an individual plan for eligible participants in collaboration with municipalities, organizations, companies and relevant authorities in order to ease the individual's entry into the labor market (ibid.). On January 1st, 2018, the regulation of the previous reform was updated with the aim of making the establishment process for migrants similar to that of other job seekers in the country,

and to emphasize the newcomer's own responsibility for adaptation to the labor market (ibid.). According to the new reform update, applicable from 2018, newcomers between the ages of 18-19 should firstly complete high school education before participation in labor programs (ibid.). During the data analysis process, attention will be paid to the collection of observations and statements about trust and corruption from 25 interviews. Therefore, a topic-connected comparison approach on a group of specific issues will be applied in the data analysis (Flick 2014, p.237).

Perceptions of trust and corruption vary among those interviewees who arrived in their country of destination on their own or together with family members. Those migrants who arrived alone have demonstrated more activity in the labor market and in the context of social integration, which has helped them to be more outspoken. Additionally, it was observed that an understanding of trust and corruption is subject to change, depending on the respondent's educational background, work experience, age, gender and social class. Thus, male interviewees who graduated from college or university in their home country, or in Sweden, and were under age of 40, demonstrated greater interest in providing answers to all questions. Female interviewees and participants with unaccompanied minors' background generally expressed very cautious attitudes when talking about corruption and trust. Furthermore, the current migration status of interviewees was a determining factor in how freely they could express their opinions on the issues discussed. In spite of these observed limitations, there were clear tendencies noticed, in terms of trust in the state,

among migrants in their country of destination, and their experiences of corrupt practices, which will be discussed in three steps below.

5.1 Quality of provided services

In order to map out migrants' experiences and how they perceive the quality of services provided to them by the public sector in Sweden, it is necessary to identify how much interaction with the state sector migrants have had since they arrived in their country of destination. The most common places where interaction between migrants and the state occurs are municipal and social services, language schools, migration, social security and labor authorities, the tax office, health centers, and day nurseries. For older interviewees, one of the main obstacles in their contact with the public sector was the Swedish language, which meant that their children, with better language skills, became a link between their parents and organizations, or alternatively they used interpreters' services (Interviewees 3, 21). Due to traditional gender roles and categorization of everyday tasks on a typically male or female basis, in many countries of migrants' origin, women's contacts are often limited only to interaction with day nurseries or health services related to child care, whereas men manage contacts with other institutions. This framework of dividing up tasks according to gender roles is applied by many families, even in the context of new country, which explains the prevailing tendency for the women interviewed to have had rather limited contact with the public sector, compared to men (Interviewee 19).

Low Swedish language skills were identified by many interviewees as a significant barrier in their interaction with state organizations. Furthermore, it was reported by some interviewees that a foreign accent and the need of a native Swedish speaker's presence, who might accompany them when contacting authorities, could make a visible difference, and influence the quality of services a migrant gets: „*… if I compare myself with someone who cannot speak language then I am privileged...But when I compare myself, for example, with a colleague who speaks Swedish without accent – then the quality of services is considerably lower.*" (Interviewees 4,5,6,16). A few other interviewees linked the fact of being non-natives with difficulties in contact with medical services and applying for jobs, where one, for instance, should exaggerate a problem in order to receive medical help or to be a native to be employed or invited for a job interview (Interviewees 12, 15, 23).

The presence of high levels of bureaucracy was pointed out as being contradictory in migrants' perception of the quality of services. It was linked to the general tendency of a distrustful attitude towards bureaucratic institutions in the countries of migrants' origin and intermediary countries, and it was seen as something negative when rules and laws were systematically not obeyed, compared to Sweden where "*everything goes like a clock*" (Interviewee 10). However, many interviewees stated that this new framework where they need to wait long time in queues, to call to make an appointment, where there is a lack of social relationships, a need to book time for services on-line in advance, and a requirement to preserve strict punctuality when visiting medical care services or

authorities, is perceived as an obstacle, and that their perception of the host system differed, prior arrival to Sweden (Interviewees 11,13,15,16,19,22). The presence of the so-called "*vitamin wow*" effect, or "*wasta*" in Arabic, that is well-known in many Middle Eastern countries, which implies a type of corruption whereby a person can acquire something through contacts or can simply apply nepotism to get through, was mentioned in one interview. This type of corruption is crucial in interactions with a bureaucratic machine that is generally, negatively perceived by migrants in their country of origin. It explains migrants' disappointment after arrival to the country of destination (Interviewee 5). Broad social networks and "vitamin wow" ease access to public services, and help reduce long waiting times when migrants apply for services back home.

At the same time, modernity and the digitalization of the public administration system in Sweden which allows the applicant to manage their own inquiries with different authorities, on-line from home, and interact with public authorities virtually, seemed to several interviewees very positive. In addition, it was linked with the equal treatment of all individuals in Sweden and with limited chances for corruption (Interviewees 6, 9, 14, 20). One interviewee stated: „*Here in Sweden everyone is treated equally. There is no difference between prime minister and a normal person...But in other countries or in my country there is a difference because those who work in authorities do not treat people equally. If a doctor or a normal person came for a visit to this place, they treat doctor first, or better...*" (Interviewee 7). Abuse of power in exchange for public

services or receiving priority in treatment due to higher social status in the country of origin was repeatedly recognized in migrants' despairing statements when *„In my country you need to pay everywhere...they recognize from legitimation document that this person is rich, it means something in my country*." (Interviewee 14).

Differences in treatment and services provided to different social classes in migrants' countries of origin, systemic corruption, and discrimination by public servants that cause disadvantage and exclude poorer citizens, continuously dominated many interviewees' responses: *„...if you can bribe staff who works, you can get on, or if you know somebody who has a power it will also work. But for those who does not have money or do not know anybody powerful...so they have difficulties and cannot get through. It has generally to do with power and money, relatives who have power...Or a group one belongs to...*" (Interviewee 8).

Apart from dissatisfaction with the lack of medical care and housing which leads to long waiting times, the language barrier, cultural differences, and the inability to speed up the time of authorities take to grant decisions, the majority of participants in this study recognized generally the equal and qualitative level of treatment and services provided by the public sector in Sweden.

Despite admitting the fact that the establishment reform comprises a wide range of government efforts for migrants between 20-64 years of age, and could facilitate their integration socially and into the labor market more effectively, many

interviewees over 40 were pessimistic. They were trapped in limbo due to inability to apply their skills from their country of origin, which could not meet the high and challenging standards required by the Swedish labor market. One interviewee referred gloomy to own situation: "*They do not trust. They trust only their own education system here. If you come young – you can learn…They do not accept foreign education system, which is the problem. But for that reason people cannot compete.*" (Interviewee 9).

5.2 Corruption's different faces

It was recurrently observed during interviews that after arrival to their destination country several migrants did not want to contact state organizations in Sweden due to their experiences of a dysfunctional state system in their country of origin as "*everything there is upside down*" as one interviewee described it, and some even stated that they feared to do so (Interviewees 3, 9, 12, 20). These interviewees belonged to an age group that included individuals over 40 years old, who therefore had had more life experience and had witnessed prolonged and dramatic armed and political conflicts that had impacted negatively their lives. It had resulted in the development of an embedded mistrust in the functions and role of public authorities in their country of origin. The strong presence of the rule of law, rules and regulations in their country of destination made several migrants change their mind about how public administration works when "*… if I follow laws and regulations so I will simply receive what I have a right for.*" (Interviewee 11).

Interviews with younger participants, both female and male, confirmed that if, after their first contact with the public authorities in Sweden, they dared to initiate further contact with public actors by themselves, their trust grew gradually, and they felt more secure in doing so (Interviewees 6, 7, 8, 11, 14, 23). One young interviewee shared their thoughts when comparing their country of origin and their country of destination " …*they (authorities) do not look at common people…They always look at people who have work, who are better off and so on, but otherwise no. I have never gone there because I know…But here in Sweden I can go alone, I can get information and all things. There (country of origin) you become insecure; you do not know what can happen. Other people need to wait or pay under the table in order to get help, but here in Sweden it is opposite.*" (Interviewee 7). In support of these findings, Dinesen and Hooghe (2010, p.722) argue that when migrants in trusting societies come into contact with public servants, they gradually start to develop higher trust in others.

The phrase "payment under the table" was often repeated in interviews in connection to contact with the public sector in migrants' countries of origin, and indicated that this way of interaction takes place frequently and is a part of daily life "*when you cannot move without a bribe…it reached the ugliest.*" (Interviewees 6, 9, 25). Interviewees continued to confirm that for obtaining signatures, proceeding in the queue to meet a doctor, requesting documents and administrative services back home they were asked directly or indirectly to pay a certain amount of money. "*We were there in authority and we needed to order passport and then they said that it disappeared. The whole family received their passports but not me. And then, where*

did it disappear? It was late, we needed to get it, we thought just to put money there in paper and then simply it was found…" (Interviewee 13).

Nevertheless, not all interviewees identified illicit payments for public services as corruption, and were generally unaware about cases of corruption in their country of origin and in Sweden, as well as what the word "corruption" implies. Female migrants with an illiterate or low educational background noted that it is common in their country of origin to support doctors with gifts or additional payments as this profession is highly respected in the social hierarchy. Such support is seen as a help in a difficult economic situation but not a bribe, and if you give ''extra'' help to a doctor then you will get "extra" help in return (Interviewees 2, 3). This lack of education puts the situation of women in their country of origin at risk and makes their position in patriarchal societies particularly vulnerable, as they have limited control over their own lives and a lack access to accurate information.

A general lack of knowledge and low awareness of human rights can turn women into victims, who can be taken advantage of by those who are corrupt, more frequently than men as "*men get more resources as women, have access to education, it is better to be a man in my native country*", one female interviewee confirmed. Gender inequality and limited female participation in society explains why some of the female migrants mentioned throughout the interviews that they were not in contact with authorities in their country of origin, as it is a male prerogative, or tried to avoid it due to complicated laws that recur, even in Sweden, and that they were unaware of the

presence of corruption in their country of origin and in Sweden (Interviewees 2, 10, 14, 19). It is worth noting that several female interviewees confirmed that they used to give presents for services provided for free in their country of origin, which underlines their vulnerable position in society, where they are required to demonstrate additional gratitude for services they have a right to. Thus, after being granted a good grade they might bring the teacher flowers, make up, accessories or clothes as a sign of gratitude and appreciation, and some of them mentioned that they try to show their gratitude even in Sweden by bringing presents for teachers (Interviewees 2, 7, 14, 19, 21).

Interviews further revealed that a *quid pro quo* approach, when favor is exchanged for favor, is a common practice in the migrants' country of origin, which also requires the necessity of an enlarged social network, where an individual can ask for a favor or help in case of need. As previously mentioned in the section, *Definitions in focus*, large social networks are a vital component for citizens' survival and the navigation of corrupt states where they lack trust in public actors and try, instead, to find solutions within their social circle. In support of this phenomenon, several interviewees in this study reported that both in their country of origin, and in Sweden, they prefer firstly, to turn to their friends rather than to contact public organizations, and complained about the lack of social relations in Sweden, where"*everybody is equal, he does not need other person to get from him anything*" (Interviewee 20), compared to their country of origin (Interviewees 10, 13, 19). As mentioned in the section, *Previous studies*,

in states with generous welfare provisions migrants' social circles tend to shrink, as it does in Sweden, compared to their country of origin, as these advanced states provide the necessary support, which migrants otherwise used to seek within their social networks back home.

Fluency in the Swedish language was reported by almost all interviewees as crucial for contact with the public sector. Whereas for older interviewees who lacked previous education, and especially for older female participants with illiterate backgrounds, the Swedish language remained an obstacle, some of younger interviewees saw language skills as a tool that helped them build mutual trust with Swedish state. One interviewee provided an interesting perspective on trust and ethnic belonging, and highlighted similarities between Somalian and Swedish cultures which have their own language, religion, and geographical territory. These factors create trust between individuals, trust within a clan, trust for a whole ethnicity and "*Swedes have the same, which means that if you speak Swedish without accent and live in country-you will be trusted…*" (Interviewee 5). However, the same respondent suggested that, on one hand, trust between ethnic citizens may lead to the occurrence of corruption when relations and contacts come into play. This type of corruption, on the other hand, cannot be directly linked to newcomers because they simply lack this long history of developing relations with someone native, which later, could potentially result in corruption (Interviewee 5). As Uslaner (2008, p.728) argues the close connection to people who are similar to each other might strengthen the bands within a specific social or ethnic

group, which makes an individual trust those who differ from him or her, less.

The way corruption is understood in different countries, differs depending on the cultural context. It may explain the fact that for most interviewees the word "corruption" was ultimately linked to bribes, based most likely, on previous experiences in their country of origin. That is why empirical findings derived from studying multiple migrants' experiences demonstrated that most migrants have never experienced such a scenario in their country of destination, where they were directly or indirectly approached by a worker from the public sector with an offer to exchange services for presents or money.

5.3 Corruption typology in the destination country

After encountering recurring problems with finding accommodation, many interviewees identified situations where they or their friends became victims of corrupt practices in Sweden. One interviewee witnessed, through work with migrants from the same background, that in order to get accommodation many migrants are invited to unofficially pay double, which allows them to progress up the waiting lists, and to avoid waiting in a long commonal queue for accommodation, caused by the limited housing available for rent (Interviewee 8). Thus, a shortage of housing resulted in the operation of "assistants" or "connectors", who receive illicit commissions for linking a potential tenant in need with an owner of a house who can provide accommodation, without waiting in a virtual queue, according to the experience of another interviewee.

Being hard to detect and confirm officially, this extortion continues to flourish, as victimized migrants rarely report it due to the urgency of finding housing, and uncertainty in whether reporting it may affect their situation in the country. Moreover, due to a biased attitude with regards to migrants' countries of origin, many newcomers may be approached by unserious "assistants", who are familiar with the situation with regards to corruption in the migrants' countries of origin, and are aware of the fact that they will hesitate to report these practices. The fact that migrants get used to corruption prior reaching their destination country affects their generalized trust, and makes them particularly vulnerable to corruption as they expect it upon reaching the destination country. As a result, extortion was not seen as something serious enough to report to police, as one interviewee who experienced a similar situation with finding accomodation, mentioned. In the big city there was a case with a private company where "*somebody who worked within IT sector helped certain people to progress in their queue for accommodation…It was made in such a way that some people got additional points in order to move faster in [virtual] housing queue.*" (Interviewee 5). These experiences of extortion create, not only a challenge in migrants' integration process, but impede building up trust in both state and non-state actors in their new home.

Whereas most interviewees mentioned petty corruption in their country of origin, related to the facilitation of obtaining driving licenses, and avoiding paying official fines for driving violations, only one interviewee in this study mentioned a situation of being indirectly approached by

a teacher who made hints about receiving something additional after the interviewee passed a driving test in their country of destination.

Certain cultural patterns were observed in interviews with several newcomers. Thus, it was reported in several interviews that the social allowance that refugees receive during their studying period is not enough to make a sufficient living, which pushes them to look for additional income through illegal employment, as several interviewees confirmed doing themselves or knowing people that do so in their social circle. Some interviewees specified that they needed additional income to help their families who stayed behind in their country of origin, which forced them to take jobs on the black market, or to save money allocated by social services for housing, through living at friend's apartment, which was justified by one interviewee as *"when you do something legal that is illegal"*.

Throughout the interviews, it became apparent that an individual's migration status and previous educational background determined differences in perspective and openness with regards to expressioning opinions on corrupt and illicit activities in the country of destination. *"Yes, I think this happens here. Foreigners, the asylum seekers, they are glad to pay extra for getting a home, apartment, they are willing because they bring their experience from their land and they think that this system can be corrupted in the same way. They think, but even actually they do not know the system, they do not know the rules and regulations, they guess only. They try. For instance I witnessed there are people who work for [   ] for a month with black job… They go and they work there underground,*

because they think they do not like to pay tax, this is what they bring from their background." (Interviewee 9). The same interviewee stressed that education was a fundamental factor and a prerequisite for identifying and understanding what the state and corruption mean: *"I met most of the people are coming here, they are not educated in their country. Most of them they did not even complete the 12th grade… You do not expect from these people talking about public service, public system, they do not even know the terminology."*

Those asylum seekers who are prevented from working legally due to the rejection of asylum applications will typically accept jobs on the black market in order to survive and maintain an undetected profile in their country of destination (Interviewee 5). The Stockholm Action Plan document that covered the time period of 2010-2014, was introduced with the aim of highlighting the importance of strengthening the joint forces of EU member states in fighting illegal employment, and action with regards to the removal and return of migrants and was one of the EU Action Plans for the improvement of migration regulations (Boswell and Geddes, 2011, p. 53). However, this intention to strengthen measures needs an update and a new form after a disproportionate influx of migrants in 2015.

Interviews with 25 refugees disclosed that the understanding of corruption tends to be inconsistent. It was evident during interviews that factors such as educational and social background, and gender can define migrants' perception of corrupt practices. Nevertheless, migrants' experiences allowed the classification of the typology of corruption in the destination

country into three different patterns with specific characteristics: extortion and victimizing the situation of migrants (e.g. housing market corruption), the transfer of certain cultural patterns by migrants after arrival in the destination country (e.g. black labor market activity), and remaining illegally in the country of destination due to the rejection of a migration application.

5.4 Integrity: doing the right thing right

Trust in police forces is connected to citizens' individual experiences based on contacts or help acquired from representatives of this institution. States with generous welfare provisions generate lower social inequality and, consequently, lower levels of crime that inequality usually causes (Kääriäinen 2007, p.411). In democratic states, the police have to earn legitimacy from the people by the way they act, as public trust is of importance for the police as an institution, and the trust of the general public plays a central role in the effectiveness of their work (Kääriäinen 2007, p. 410).

How confident were interviewees in reporting corrupt behavior or wrongdoing in the cases they witnessed in Sweden, compared to their country of origin? Findings from 25 interviews illustrated four different scenarios. Firstly, the majority of interviewees confirmed that they trust the police in Sweden and would report wrongdoing in the case of witnessing it, whereas, in their country of origin they would refrain from doing so. Police in their country of origin were recurrently described in many interviews as "untrustworthy", "deceptive", "unfair" and even "dangerous"

(Interviewees 3, 12, 13, 14, 18, 21). Reporting to police could have consequences for the personal security of migrants and their families, and could cause problems, even posing a risk to life, which according to one migrant, makes you "*decide by yourself whether something is good or bad*" before reporting it (Interviewees 4, 7, 8, 10). Worries and anxiety about the consequences that contact with police can bring, pushed people to turn a blind eye to wrongdoing and corruption, irrespective of societal context, as they chose to remain silent for the sake of own and family's security.

Some interviewees who had experienced armed conflicts in their countries of origin referred to memories from the past that made them feel uncomfortable when talking about the police and their childhood experiences. Overall, trust in the police was linked to trust in other public organizations, and, it was pointed out by many migrants that their state systems were not trustworthy. A young interviewee reported that "*Here in Sweden people always say the truth, especially in authorities, they do not lie to people, they always say the truth. But in my home country it is different, may be you do not trust them, sometimes they find wrong information and give it to you, suddenly you get to know that it was not correct, it was not true…*" (Interviewee 8). Due to an embedded lack of trust, and, sometimes fear in reporting problems to the police, seeking advice and help from a closed circle of friends or family was identified as highly important in those situations when police intervention was needed. The same reaction sometimes recurs, even in Sweden, for several interviewees (Interviewees 2, 3, 8, 15, 21).

A second perspective was illustrated by several other migrants who participated in this study. They indicated that they do not fear contacting the police if they consider it necessary either in their country of origin or in Sweden (Interviewees 6, 7, 9, 16, 22). Police in their country of origin were perceived by these migrants as being slow, whereas police in their country of destination were described as not always tough enough and kind, as, for some violations the perpetrator gets a fine or just few days detention, whereas consequences for the same violation in the country of origin may be much harsher. These interviewees referred to situations that happened after their arrival in Sweden, when they witnessed attempted burglary or robbery and contacted the police at once, as they were convinced that it should not be ignored. Reporting misconduct and corrupt behavior was considered by these interviewees as important in both cultural settings (Interviewees 9, 20).

Thirdly, the real motives behind acting in a corrupt manner may depend on the state and social context. This study observed that living for several years in a highly-trusting society, like the Swedish one, does not prevent migrants from having divergent attitudes with regards to corruption. It does not mean that all interviewees would change their behavior if they were to go back to their country of origin. Where societal context tolerates corruption on a daily basis, and where corruption is a facilitating tool in contacts with public actors in order to receive services and help, it is not given sufficient significance, due to weakness or lack of legal punishment. Two interviewees in this study expressed despair when they recalled the public administration system back home, and

acknowledged that they would be ready to pay a bribe in their country of origin if it would help them gain access to services or speed up access to services, as they know that system"*does not function*" and "*it does not play any role*", whereas in Sweden they would report about this as they know that here, they do not need to pay (Interviewees 18, 22). You and Kaghram (2005, cited in Kääriäinen, 2007, p.414) illustrates that when people face inequality in their daily life, it decreases their confidence in institutional legitimacy, which leads to a higher tolerance of corruption.

The fourth perspective revealed that it is not seen as a problem to pay illicit fees, irrespective of the country, if requested to do so, in exchange for services needed. Only one of interviewees reported that for obtaining a driving license he could imagine paying "extra" straight after arrival in the country of destination, in the same way as happened in his country of origin, but that after having lived in Sweden for three years he would not do it in this way any longer.

6. Conclusion

Differences in how migrants are welcomed, welfare provision, perspectives on integration and geographical position have divided many EU states into countries of entry and countries of secondary migration. The migration influx, known in Europe as a refugee crisis, brought disproportionate flows of irregular and forced migrants to second destination countries which became attractive due to their comparative prosperity, universal policies, better opportunities for integration, well-functioning state systems, and lower levels of corruption.

The connection between corruption and migration has started to attract the attention of researchers and practitioners from the international community only recently, particularly in the aftermath of the refugee crisis in Europe. Existing studies highlight corruption as a driving force behind the decision to migrate from the country of origin, or as a tool to ease the migratory journey. However, migrants' experiences of corruption after their journey ends, in their country of destination, are scarcely mentioned in the existing research. This explorative academic study has attempted to evaluate the situation of 25 refugees in Sweden and their opinions on corruption, and trust, based on their own experience. It has identified that many participants interviewed continue to experience various forms of corruption upon reaching their destination country where corruption is perceived to be low. Despite the limitations experienced in this study, due to the sensitivity of the topic, and, general challenges with regards to access and interviewing refugees, this paper highlighted three specific, different patterns in the typology of corruption, related to migrants in the destination country.

With the help of analysis of the Swedish context, this paper provides several useful learning points, both for Sweden, and for other countries with a similar profile, known as popular second destination countries. Firstly, it is important for countries receiving migrants to emphasize, through the support and encouragement of refugees, how they can report corruption, through safe methods of communication, adapted to their needs. Secondly, revelant information on the identification of corrupt practices should be added to social orientation courses for migrants in destination countries. Thirdly, the development and implementation of specific and proportionate control mechanisms is important in tackling corruption in connection to migrants with regards to the labor and housing markets.

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Appendix 1

Questionnaire for semi-structured open-ended interviews with migrants in Sweden
Date: 25-28 September 2018

Demographic questions/Introductory questions:
1. Age range (category 18-23; 24-30; 31-39; 40+)
2. Education level (self-described)
3. Skilled manual labor skills?
4. How long time have you lived in Sweden?
5. What is your occupation in general in Sweden (learning Swedish, part-time working, student, other….)?
6. Have you come to Sweden alone or with family (e.g. young children and/ or wife)?

Open – ended questions:
- **Quality**

1. How much interaction with public authorities have you had during your time being in Sweden and with what type of authorities have you had the most contact since you came to Sweden?

2. What do you think about the quality of services provided to you in Sweden by public actors? (e.g. You get what was promised to you by public actors / compared to other refugees / immigrants in general / Swedes).

3. Are your expectations for services in Sweden met? (e.g You got what you deserved/ was promised by public authorities in a reasonable manner/ timely fashion: "e.g. *services were provided on time*"). How it is in your country?

- **Trust**

4. Doyou now (more) willingly/ voluntarily get in contact / or engage with public authorities in general (compared to the time when you have first arrived to Sweden)?

5. How was it in your country/ in the countries where you have been? What is the difference?

6. Have you felt pressured by public authority figure in Sweden to bring a '*gift*' (or something "*extra*" or *strange*) for services rendered (e.g. pressure from doctors, teachers, nurses, public servants …)? If so, what would the gift have been? Is it different in your country or countries where you've been to?

7. Have you ever felt as if public actors in Sweden ask you for something [bribe] in exchange for a favor \ guaranteed service (e.g. to get faster housing, to obtain driving license, to receive welfare benefits)?

8. Have you heard from your friends \ social circle that they were asked by public actors in Sweden to do *something strange* in order to receive guaranteed service?

- **Integrity**

9. Would you report a public servant if he/she asks you for a bribe/ or report wrongdoing that you have observed to the police in Sweden? (e.g. kidnapping a child). How much doubt/ fear would you experience for doing that?

10. Would you help out Swedish police if they ask you in a friendly and polite manner for some information (that is not related to you or your family/ country/ friends or acquaintances)?

Alternative questions:

1. Based on your opinion, are the personal and general trust in public actors, different in your country and in Sweden?
2. Have you experienced obstacles with regards to your integration process and contact with public actors in Sweden? If so, how did you overcome it?
3. What is your "everyday" understanding of the word "corruption"?
4. Do you think migrants may face the necessity of breaking the rules in order to survive in Sweden? (e.g take/ accept illegal jobs, pay unofficial fees to get housing)?

Appendix 2

Table 1. *Participants' classification table*

Interviewee	Age range	Gender	Year of arrival to Sweden	Education level	Present occupation in Sweden
1	31-39	female	2012	None	study Swedish
2	40+	female	2014	9 years of school	study Swedish
3	40+	female	2013	secondary school	study Swedish
4	18-23	male	2015	secondary school	secondary school
5	31-39	male	2012	Master's degree	employed
6	31-39	male	2011	Bachelor's degree	employed
7	18-23	female	2013	secondary school	employed and student
8	24-30	male	2011	3 years university	employed
9	40+	male	2012	Bachelor's degree	study Swedish
10	24-30	female	2014	7 years of school	study Swedish
11	24-30	female	2015	7 years of school	study Swedish
12	40+	male	2015	secondary school	study Swedish
13	24-30	female	2014	undergraduate degree	study complementary subjects and Swedish
14	24-30	female	2010	9 years of school	study complementary subjects and Swedish
15	18-23	male	2016	9 years of school	study Swedish
16	40+	male	2012	secondary school	employed
17	40+	male	2014	undergraduate degree	employed
18	18-23	male	2015	9 years of school	secondary school
19	31-39	female	2014	undergraduate degree	study complementary subjects and Swedish
20	40+	male	2014	secondary school	employed and study Swedish
21	40+	female	2015	None	employed and study Swedish
22	18-23	female	2015	secondary school	secondary school
23	18-23	male	2015	9 years of school	employed and secondary school
24	18-23	male	2015	11 years of school	secondary school
25	18-23	male	2015	12 years of school	secondary school