SECURING INTEGRITY, FOSTERING PEACE

Transparency International
Defence & Security Strategy 2024-2026

WORKING TOWARDS A WORLD WITHOUT CORRUPTION IN DEFENCE AND SECURITY

CONTENTS

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

Corruption in defence and security heightens conflict risks, wastes public resources, and exacerbates human insecurity. Events such as the collapse of the Afghan security forces and fall of Afghanistan, Russia's war in Ukraine, and a spate of coups across Africa, have brought these linkages into sharp relief, and shone a glaring light on the need for change.

Transparency International Defence & Security (TI-DS) is a leading centre of excellence and advocacy on these issues. Part of the global Transparency International (TI) Movement, we are working to bring corruption in defence and security out of the shadows. We champion transparency, and mobilise national and international action to build integrity and better security for all. Over 2024-2026, we will be bolder, focused, and impactful, on three key global themes:

Global theme 1:

Corruption as a threat to peace and security. Too often, anti-corruption is traded off against other security goals, instead of being incorporated into security goals and addressed with the same urgency. We will lead a global advocacy effort to establish a new international norm on corruption as a threat to peace and security, and incorporate anti-corruption measures into multilateral security sector reform frameworks. We will work to embed the Government Defence Integrity Index, the world's leading assessment of corruption risk in national defence institutions, produced by TI-DS, into a multilateral organisation, to expand its reach and impact.

Global theme 2:

Anti-corruption in defence and security national decision-making. Countries are failing to adequately consider corruption risks in defence and security decision-making. This includes countries which affect security outcomes in other countries, through their prominent roles in international military operations and arms exports. We will work with selected national governments to embed anti-corruption and the Government Defence Integrity Index into defence and security policies and practice, and integrate corruption controls into arms export frameworks.

Global theme 3:

Informed and active citizens driving integrity in defence and security. Defence is often seen as an 'exceptional' topic, exempt from the accountability principles and standards that are applied in other areas of government activity. This makes it hard to bring corruption in defence and security out of the shadows. In our role as a centre of excellence for the whole TI Movement, we will support campaigns led by national TI Chapters and civil society, to drive greater integrity in defence and security, and

press for improved access to defence information, as a key enabler of accountability. We will also campaign to generate public awareness and concern about the undue influence wielded by the defence industry on government decision-making, through behaviours such as political lobbying, campaign contributions, revolving doors, and think-tank financing.

Our strategy is designed to support the global aims of the Transparency International Movement. In particular, we will support Strategic Objective 1, **protect the public's resources**, by mitigating corruption, wastage, and diversion risks, improving the accountability of defence budgets, and strengthening the impact of the GDI as an evidence and advocacy tool. We will support Strategic Objective 3, **secure integrity in politics**, by exposing and mitigating undue influence by defence companies, and supporting national Chapters to expose corrupt behaviours. We will support Strategic Objective 6, **expand civic space for accountability**, by supporting civil society activism and access to defence information. We will support Strategic Objective 7, **build community leadership against corruption**, by establishing a new norm on corruption as a threat to peace and security, strengthening the influence of accountability and integrity values in public discourse.

We will also harness our expertise, networks, and resources to support Chapters to achieve results in other areas of defence and security sector accountability, in line with their national priorities.

The world faces a critical moment in the need to address corruption in defence and security, with great opportunity for change, and also risks of retrenchment. Over the next three years, TI-DS will consolidate our role as a global leader, making the case for change and shaping practical approaches, in line with our vision of a world without corruption in defence and security.

IMPACT

Advancing peace and stability by reducing corruption in defence and security

Understanding of corruption as a threat to peace and security cemented internationally

Global security benefited through selected countries better factoring corruption into defence, security, and arms trade decision-making

Informed and active citizens driving integrity in defence and security

OUTCOME

INTRODUCTION

Transparency International Defence & Security (TI-DS) is part of Transparency International, the world's leading anti-corruption Movement, comprised of 100 national Chapters and a Secretariat in Berlin. TI-DS is a global centre of excellence, evidence and advocacy dedicated to building integrity in the defence and security sector for the benefit of citizens, states, and the world. It is hosted by TI-UK and works with Chapters across the Movement.

Since its establishment, TI-DS has worked to bring anti-corruption firmly into the global defence and security agenda. We have established ourselves as a leader on these issues. A signature success has been the creation of the Government Defence Integrity Index (GDI), the world's leading assessment of corruption risk in national defence institutions. Over the duration of our most recent strategy, 2021-2023, we used the GDI to open doors to influence with defence institutions and to inform policy positions on topics including security sector reform (SSR), arms control, and private sector integrity. We have built strong networks for influence through our partnerships with Chapters and other civil society organisations, and through forming global and regional networks of TI Chapters advocating for integrity in defence and security.

We enter our next strategic phase well-positioned for impact. However, the breadth of the agenda, constraints on resources, and the rapidly evolving global defence and security context, mean that in order to achieve real change, we must focus our efforts.

This strategy defines our focus, specifies the results we will achieve, and guides activities for TI-DS over 2024-2026. In keeping with the long-term nature of our work, it also sets some goals which stretch to 2034. It builds on our 2021-2023 strategy, and responds to recommendations in the 2021 External Evaluation of TI-DS Programmatic Work 2015-2020. It was developed through a refresh process conducted in 2022-23, in which TI-DS considered changes in global context, consulted extensively across the TI Movement and with external stakeholders, and analysed our greatest opportunities for impact.

In this document, we first describe key contextual factors which will shape our opportunities for impact. We then set out our vision and mission within this context, our role as TI-DS and our operating model, our overarching strategy, and the results that we will achieve. We identify the problems that we will address, where we will achieve change, our priority global themes, activities, outcomes, and impact.

TI-DS is one part of the global TI Movement. We set out how our strategy aligns with Movement-wide goals, and how we will support TI's national Chapters to achieve results in line with their national priorities.

Corruption in defence and security has gendered impacts and dynamics. We outline how we have mainstreamed gender throughout our strategy to address these.

Lastly, we outline how we will resource and implement our strategy, and how we will monitor results, learn from experience, and adapt our approach to maintain relevance and impact.

CONTEXT:
A WORLD IN NEED OF SECURING INTEGRITY

Corruption and conflict are profoundly interconnected. Corruption has long been held to be a major consequence of conflict, as weakened institutions, ruptures in the social fabric, and the growth of illicit economies enable it to take root. This relationship also runs the other way. Corruption is a major cause and key driver of conflict. Corruption undermines state effectiveness, damages populations' conceptions of the legitimacy of governments, fuels war economies, and feeds the anger and disillusionment that threaten the social contract and the rule of law.

While the links between corruption and conflict have been extensively studied, less attention has been paid to the risks caused specifically by corruption in the defence and security sectors – despite the fact that weak governance and corruption are particularly dangerous when they affect the institutions that are specifically intended to provide defence and security. When institutions designed to maintain territorial integrity, protect civilians, and uphold the rule of law become captured or subordinate to private interests, peace and security are directly threatened. Corruption within defence and security also undermines the effectiveness, professionalisation, morale, and reputation of militaries and security providers, further increasing vulnerability to insecurity.

Since the publication of the 2021-2023 TI-DS strategy, world events have thrown these risks into sharp relief. The fall of Afghanistan, precipitated by the collapse of the Afghan security forces, hollowed out from within by corruption, tragically demonstrated the necessity of incorporating anti-corruption objectives into security goals, rather than viewing anti-corruption as an agenda which imposes trade-offs on the primary imperative of security. Russia's invasion of Ukraine highlighted this again, exemplified how corrupt authoritarian regimes threaten international peace and security, and demonstrated to the world the impact that corruption can have on military effectiveness.

The Russia-Ukraine conflict has also led to a surge in defence spending and arms transfers, alongside risks of a perceived need to relax anti-corruption controls to speed up and simplify arms transfers. This has opened new areas of risk, and placed transparency and civilian oversight of military expenditure, decision-making, and trade, especially defence industry influence over government decision-making, firmly on the agenda. The conflict has also accelerated discussion within the European Union on its role regarding defence and security.

Meanwhile, there is ongoing insecurity in the Sahel region, devastating conflict in Israel-Palestine, and a continuing trend of coups in Africa now encompassing Niger, Mali, Chad, Guinea, Sudan, Burkina Faso, and Gabon. These events further demonstrate the relationships between fragility, corruption and undemocratic rule, and the importance of democratic governance of defence and security institutions, with integrity at their core.

Broader global trends, including the fragmentation of global power, rapid technological change, the climate emergency, increasing inequality, and the growing role of corporations in relation to matters of public concern, also shape our opportunities and objectives. Within this dynamic and complex environment, there is a strong need for strategic clarity in order to focus and achieve impact on the core problems at the heart of corruption in defence and security.

VISION AND MISSION

Our vision is of **a world without corruption in defence and securit**y.

Our mission is **to bring corruption in defence and security out of the shadows. We champion transparency, and mobilise national and international action to build integrity and better security for all**.

TI-DS ROLE AND OPERATING MODEL

We fulfil our mission through three interconnected approaches:

- **We advance policy:** using research, evidence, and advocacy to drive the use and improvement of law, regulation, systems, and policy to deter and pursue corruption.
- **We improve practice:** driving the public and private sectors to change behaviours, attitudes, and stop corruption.
- **We promote change:** sharing knowledge, creating pressure and reducing opposition, mobilising, and supporting allies to tackle corruption.

As a global centre of excellence on integrity in defence and security, our greatest contribution is high up within change pathways: championing agendas, opening doors, convening partners and networks, channelling expertise, and supporting others to achieve impact at scale. Our global positioning also enables us to engage with national authorities in different ways, at times overcoming barriers faced by national civil society, or insulating Chapters from some of the risks of direct engagement in the highly sensitive space of defence and security.

While we hold significant expertise in-house, our ability to draw together and tap into external expertise greatly extends our reach. We also extend our reach through providing a thematic home for Chapter-based staff working on defence and security issues. We have one such arrangement in place now, with TI-US, and intend to expand this model over 2024-2026.

Conversely, we are not resourced or structured to operate at scale on national-level interventions, such as providing capacity-building support directly to national institutions. We will only support these activities under the leadership of national Chapters and where it is clear that our direct involvement yields significant returns in line with our global value-add.

As recognised in the localisation agenda within global development, national-level results are best led by national organisations, generating and channelling local demand for change, understanding and utilising local political economic dynamics. National and regional action is also essential to support results on a global scale, building demand from states and regional bodies upon international and multinational organisations. Consequently, all our results over 2024-2026 will to some extent be dependent on our partnership with Chapters. After presenting our strategy and results, we discuss our different modes of partnership with Chapters throughout implementation.

STRATEGY AND RESULTS

Our strategy articulates the impact we seek to have in the world: **advancing peace and stability by reducing corruption in defence and security**.

A key constraint to the advancement of this goal is insufficient buy-in, at international, national, and civic levels, to the necessity of prioritising anti-corruption in defence and security. We recognise that we need to achieve paradigmatic change, so that rather than anti-corruption being seen as something that can be deprioritised in the face of immediate security concerns, corruption is framed and acted on with the urgency of other security threats.

This recognition has driven an evolution in our strategy. Historically, a significant portion of TI-DS work has focused on achieving change through technical solutions, provided via direct guidance, expert assistance and capacity-building. In 2024-2026, we will shift more of our efforts to achieving the conditions, in international paradigms and public demand, which will drive broader change in approaches to addressing corruption in defence and security. We will then work with key decision-makers to implement specific solutions, guided by evidence, particularly the GDI.

This high-level approach is reflected in our three specific global focus themes. These were developed through an iterative process of problem definition, solution design, and consultation, guided by the following criteria:

- **Importance:** issues within the theme cause major and definable harm;
- **Clarity:** solutions to problems within the theme can be readily identified;
- **Internationalism:** the solutions lie at least partly in multilateral forums or national contexts where we have a credible pathway to exerting sufficient influence to achieve change, and this change would positively affect security outcomes in numerous other countries; and
- **Value-add:** our contribution under this theme is unique or differentiated from that of other actors.

We have been rigorous in narrowing our focus to arrive at a deliverable scope of work, excluding topics wherever there was insufficient evidence that they met our selection criteria. Our three global themes for 2024-2026 are:

- **Global theme 1:** Corruption as a threat to peace and security
- **Global theme 2:** Anti-corruption in defence and security national decision-making
- **Global theme 3:** Informed and active citizens driving integrity in defence and security

In each theme, we have defined the problem we will address and the target audience we will influence. We have identified concrete outcomes which we will deliver or contribute to, and the role TI-DS will play. Across our strategy, we have selected a spread of long-term, high ambition, and more immediate goals, operating at the different levels of international, national, and civic action.

Our strategy and key results are summarised in Figure 1, and our global themes are described thereafter.

IMPACT

Advancing peace and stability by reducing corruption in defence and security

PROBLEM

Understanding of corruption as a threat to peace and security not yet embedded internationally and translating into multilateral approaches

Countries with the potential to enact change which would positively affect security outcomes in other countries fail to adequately address corruption in defence and security

Defence exceptionalism; defence and security policy captured by vested interests; not enough transparency; not enough public awareness and concern

SOLUTION

Advocacy and evidence to bring this problem onto international and multinational agendas, and build impetus for normative change

Advocacy, evidence and tools to shape specific policies and practice, targeted at where we can achieve change and influence broader systems

National-level campaigning to generate awareness and concern, and shape public and policy-maker discourse

TARGET

International/ multinational organisations

Selected national governments

Citizens and civil society in selected countries

OUTCOMES

1. Understanding of corruption as a threat to peace and security embedded internationally

1.1 International norm on corruption as a threat to peace and security established at UN level within 10 years

1.2 UN and EU security sector reform (SSR) frameworks incorporate anti-corruption measures

1.3 Government Defence Integrity Index (GDI) embedded in a multilateral organisation

2. Global security benefited through selected countries better factoring corruption into defence, security, and arms trade decision-making

2.1 Three countries embed anti-corruption/ GDI in specific defence and security policies and practice

2.2 Corruption controls (drawing on GDI as an important dataset) integrated into arms exports frameworks, such as in the US, UK and EU Common Position, mitigating arms trade corruption and misuse in exporters, agents/enablers and importers

3. Informed and active citizens driving integrity in defence and security

3.1 Greater integrity in defence and security achieved through TI Chapters and civil society in 10 countries campaigning in line with national priorities

3.2 Greater civic accountability in 5 countries enabled through improved access to defence information

3.3 Increased public awareness and engagement in 3 countries on topics of defence company undue influence on defence and security policy

ROLE

Cross-cutting: we convene and support Chapters and civil society, conduct research and advocacy, act as a centre of excellence, and deliver the GDI

We champion this global agenda, run global and regional advocacy, campaigning and communications, conduct case study research

We conduct case study research, and advocate to national authorities in partnership with Chapters

We conduct investigative research, campaign to generate awareness and establish the problem, and manage grants and support to Chapters

Figure 1: TI-DS strategic summary and results

GLOBAL THEME 1:
CORRUPTION AS A THREAT TO PEACE AND SECURITY

Corruption creates and exacerbates security threats. However, understanding of corruption as a threat to peace and security in its own right is not yet embedded internationally, or translated into multilateral approaches. This often leads to anti-corruption goals being traded off against other security goals, instead of being incorporated into security goals and addressed with the same urgency.

Therefore, at the international level, we will lead a global advocacy campaign, targeted at multilateral policymakers, to deliver a paradigm shift to achieve **Outcome 1: Understanding of corruption as a threat to peace and security is cemented internationally.** This paradigm shift will enable and reinforce results across national and civic level outcomes 2 and 3.

Our ambition is encapsulated at the highest level in **Outcome 1.1: An international norm on corruption as a threat to peace and security is established at UN level within 10 years.**
This is an exciting goal which will see TI-DS building upon years of evidence and understanding developed worldwide, drawing together and mobilising stakeholders across civil society, national governments, and international and multinational organisations, and adding value to existing agendas by driving coordinated advocacy towards this goal at the highest levels. We will convene and join forces with others fighting to highlight the nexus between conflict, insecurity, and corruption, and we will ensure that corruption within the defence and security sectors is considered as an integral part of this agenda. We will conduct a global campaign connecting across the TI Movement to exert influence at national, regional, and international levels, to gradually build momentum for normative change, supported by evidence and advocacy products, engagement in international policy forums, and case studies on conflict and insecurity enabled by corruption in defence and security. By securing this norm enshrined at the UN level, we will set an expectation and roadmap for multinational organisations and governments around the world to address anti-corruption as an urgent and critical necessity for security and stability.

We will embed this paradigm shift in a direct, practical way in **Outcome 1.2: UN and EU security sector reform (SSR) frameworks incorporate anti-corruption measures**.
Historically, limited attention to anti-corruption in SSR processes has led to wasted effort and expenditure, and failure of reforms to deliver their intended outcomes. The EU SSR framework is under review now, and a UN review will follow. We will conduct advocacy with member states and committees, engage as experts in review

processes, and provide technical content to ensure that SSR framework text and implementation guidelines integrate stronger anti-corruption measures.

The key tool which provides the evidence base across our advocacy efforts is the GDI. Highly valued by TI Chapters and wider civil society as well as national and global policymakers, investors, and the media, the GDI supports the TI Movement in establishing relationships and engaging directly with defence institutions, and will inform our focused effort in coming years to leverage anti-corruption in defence onto the agendas of key multilateral organisations.

Over 2024-2026, we will deliver consecutive waves of a new iteration of the GDI, with improvements including the addition of inclusivity indicators focused on gender. We will also work to ensure that the GDI is sustained and impactful over the long term, through **Outcome 1.3: GDI embedded in a multilateral organisation**.
By seeking to establish an institutional co-owner for the GDI, with an element of shared governance, we will enhance its reach and strengthen avenues for impact. One opportunity is NATO, where our engagement to date has generated significant interest and impact. We will continue to engage with NATO officials, participate in NATO's Building Integrity programme, and advocate for the integration of the GDI into NATO processes and decision-making. We will also scope opportunities for promoting GDI within other multilateral organisations.

TI-DS has the tools, relationships, and brand credibility to deliver these results. We have unique convening and signalling power, and are the best-positioned organisation worldwide to lead such a landmark effort as the UN-level paradigmatic shift. Other civil society organisations bring essential and impactful contributions, but none in this policy space have the brand, reach, and national-level foundation of the TI Movement. We have access to advocacy targets, and can draw on national expertise and evidence through the global network of Chapters. Supportive national governments and multilateral organisations will provide useful partners and entry-points. We are already participating in the review process of the EU's SSR framework, and have the evidence base and tools, including the GDI, to shape concrete and specific reforms.
We will utilise our existing participation in networks such as the United Nations Convention against Corruption (UNCAC) Coalition and the Transparency, Accountability and Participation (TAP) Network to enhance our reach.

Our role within this landscape will be to seize the moment and, with others, lead the global agenda, convene and support partners, act as a centre of excellence, conduct case study research, lead global and regional advocacy, campaigning and communications, and deliver the GDI as a core contribution to informing all the above.

GLOBAL THEME 2:
ANTI-CORRUPTION IN DEFENCE AND SECURITY DECISION-MAKING

Countries are failing to adequately address corruption in defence and security within their national decision-making. Importantly, this includes countries which significantly affect security outcomes in numerous other countries through their prominent roles in international military operations and as arms exporters.

We will deliver advocacy, evidence, and practical tools to influence and support selected countries' national governments to achieve **Outcome 2: Global security benefited through selected countries better factoring corruption into defence, security and arms trade decision-making**. This will deliver benefits in those countries themselves but also, importantly, internationally: 'downstream' with security cooperation partners, along the global arms supply chain, and in countries where outcomes are affected by these decisions.

In determining where best to focus our efforts, we have considered which countries have influence over outcomes elsewhere, where we have a reasonable prospect of achieving change, and where this effort is a shared priority for relevant national Chapters. We have provisionally identified the US, UK, and Germany as likely targets. Each is a major arms exporter, prominent in international military operations. In each country, TI-DS and national Chapters have already established entry points and a shared goal of achieving **Outcome 2.1: Three countries embed anti-corruption and the GDI in specific defence and security policies and practice**. We will continue to scope other possible targets, and will adapt throughout implementation depending on emerging opportunities.

Together with TI-US, TI-UK, and TI Germany, we have identified specific target policy and practice changes that we will seek to achieve under Outcome 2.1. In the US, we will focus initially on supporting implementation of the US Strategy on Countering Corruption by mitigating corruption risk in security assistance, and providing guidance on the inclusion of anti-corruption in military training. In the UK and Germany, we will focus on embedding anti-corruption in military operations at doctrine and strategy levels. We will work with Chapters to identify opportunities within each country's political economy landscape, provide materials, technical guidance and support, and conduct targeted advocacy to achieve these specific objectives.

Corruption within the arms trade drives conflict, enables diversion, and wastes vast public resources. Arms exporters at the top of the global supply chain have a responsibility to address both the risk of corruption in arms transfers and the risk of corruption in the defence sectors of importing countries. The GDI sheds light on these risks. We will work with national Chapters to achieve **Outcome 2.2: Corruption controls (drawing on the GDI as an important dataset) are integrated into arms export frameworks, such as in the US, UK, and EU Common Position, mitigating arms trade corruption and misuse in exporters, agents/enablers and importers**. We will develop legal and policy briefs, publish case study research on arms diversion and corruption risks, conduct targeted advocacy in partnership with Chapters, and provide policy implementation guidance to support good practice.

TI-DS is uniquely placed to deliver results under this theme. We have a strong existing portfolio of relevant research and advocacy, and a suite of good practice tools to support these outcomes. We have relationships with key government officials, and influence through Chapters, arms trade forums, and partner civil society organisations. The prominence of arms trade and diversion discussions in the context of Russia's war in Ukraine creates entry points and political pressure in support of reform. The EU Common Position on arms exports is due shortly for review, providing an excellent and time-limited opportunity for influence. Other civil society organisations are active on arms trade issues, but none have the expertise on corruption plus global reach held by TI-DS. Our role regarding this theme will be to convene partners, conduct case study and other research, act as a centre of excellence, and advocate to national authorities in partnership with Chapters.

GLOBAL THEME 3:
INFORMED AND ACTIVE CITIZENS DRIVING INTEGRITY IN DEFENCE AND SECURITY

Defence and security are often seen as 'exceptional' sectors not subject to the same standards of transparency or accountability to citizens that apply in other areas of government activity. This makes it hard to bring corruption in defence and security out of the shadows, and to generate public awareness and concern about the capture of defence and security policy by vested interests, and for civil society to be able to engage effectively on these issues.

We will enable and support national civil society to achieve **Outcome 3: Informed and active citizens driving integrity in defence and security**. By expanding civic space, engagement, and pressure for accountability, we will empower activism across our three themes, positively reinforcing the international and national level results achieved under Outcomes 1 and 2.

Reforms designed, owned, and delivered nationally are more impactful and sustainable, and so we see our role in supporting Chapters to achieve results as intrinsic to our identity, and essential to achieving lasting change. The supportive function TI-DS performs across and beyond the TI Movement is encapsulated in **Outcome 3.1: Greater integrity in defence and security achieved through TI Chapters and civil society in ten countries campaigning in line with national priorities**.

Our support will include acting as a centre of excellence for the TI Movement, and coordinating global and regional TI Chapter Defence Networks. Through these networks, we will generate and sustain momentum on TI Chapters' engagement on corruption in defence and security, connect engagement for mutually reinforcing impact at the national, regional, and international levels, facilitate information sharing and peer learning, and support bottom-up change by equipping and connecting civil society actors with innovative advocacy strategies, tools, and approaches. We will deliver a practical advocacy toolkit and 'what works' guides, research on what enables effective civil society action in this space, targeted mentoring and training to Chapters where appropriate, and support for national-level campaigning and communications. Our activities in this, and other results under this theme, will include a focus on youth as a key audience, to generate and harness the powerful voices of the future in demand for change.

Access to information on defence and security is essential to enable civilian oversight, civil society engagement, accountability, and mitigation of corruption risk in these sectors. We address this prerequisite under **Outcome 3.2: Greater civic accountability in five countries enabled through improved access to defence information**. We will work with Chapters to identify contexts and opportunities for improving access to information, focused on building adherence to the *Tshwane Principles on National Security and the Right to Information*. We will undertake legal and policy reviews, produce case studies on access to information, policy guidance on access standards, and toolkits for practitioners on access provisions and advocacy strategies.

Defence companies exert significant influence, largely invisible to the public, on government decision-making on defence, security, and foreign policy. through political lobbying, campaign contributions, revolving doors (between industry and government), and think-tank financing. Defence companies exercise varying standards of transparency and accountability in these activities, depending on factors including their values and leadership. Encouraging positive behaviour is critical, but the incentives which typically influence the private sector, including customer preference and shareholder pressure, have limited effect in the defence sector. We need to build these incentives through public pressure.

The capture of public policy by vested interests with the vast resources of the defence industry at their command is a topic of clear and significant public interest, but there is currently insufficient awareness of this problem – and its effects – to generate the required public pressure in support of change. Our major public communications campaign over 2024-2026 will focus on the undue influence exerted by defence companies, as reflected in **Outcome 3.3: Increased public awareness and engagement in three countries on topics of defence company undue influence on defence and security policy**.

We will form civil society networks focused on defence company undue influence in target countries, selected in line with our existing entry points and assessment of opportunities. We will cultivate partnerships with investigative journalists to help highlight these issues, and partner with Chapters and civil society to deliver in-depth case study research on specific events of undue influence. We will work with civil society, journalists, and media organisations to conduct public campaigns through briefs, media outreach and communications.

Where appropriate, we will support Chapters in advocating to national governments, so that increased public awareness and demand can be translated into concrete changes to policy and practice.

There is comparatively little civil society action in these spaces, although clear entry points exist. Our role within this theme will be to enable results with and through Chapters, by convening partners, conducting investigative research, providing advocacy and campaigning support, and delivering public campaigns on undue influence. We will also identify and secure funding opportunities to achieve wider Chapter goals aligned with our strategy, connect Chapter priorities to funding opportunities and manage sub-grants to Chapters where it is appropriate and useful for us to do so.

ENSURING A CLEAR FOCUS

Achieving focus necessitates difficult decisions to determine what we will not do. We will deprioritise the following topics, in relation to which we anticipate only supporting the work of others if circumstances require it and there is a clear case for our engagement:

- **Anti-corruption in post-conflict reconstruction.** Although this is a high profile and topical issue, it is a crowded space, with impactful work led by others. It would take considerable effort to establish a distinctive TI-DS contribution, and it is not clear what this would be.

- **Strategic corruption/corruption as statecraft.** This is a high-profile topic which clearly intersects with defence and security, and in which TI-DS has established track record. Other organisations, however, have now picked up the agenda, and it is not clear what a distinctive TI-DS focus would be. The TI Secretariat leads for the Movement on addressing strategic corruption, and we will continue to support their activities.

- **Non-traditional threats to peace and security (e.g. climate change, migration, infectious diseases).** These agendas are potentially open-ended, and they are typically subject to specialist civil society engagement. This work is best advanced by organisations with specific expertise on these threats.

- **New weapons systems, cyber security, inhumane weapons, artificial intelligence, other emerging and novel technologies.** These are rapidly developing agendas, in which we do not hold competitive advantage. We assess that engaging in these areas would not be an effective use of our resources.

- **Police and civilian security.** This is closely connected with defence and security integrity, and of importance and interest to many Chapters. However, TI-DS has no history of engagement on civilian security, and pivoting to do so now would represent a major scope increase which would dilute the focus of our work and be less aligned to our comparative advantage.

- **Broader defence governance (beyond anti-corruption).** Engagement on defence governance beyond anti-corruption is not sufficiently aligned to our mission and vision, and other organisations already lead this wider agenda.

- **The Defence Companies Index (DCI).** Developing and producing the DCI proved valuable to TI-DS as a mechanism for establishing relationships with defence companies. These relationships have not, however, delivered demonstrable impact in terms of advancing TI-DS objectives – in part because of the limited public discourse on defence company integrity and lack of associated pressure from customers or investors to shape incentives highlighted above. Rather than continuing the DCI, therefore, we will adopt a two-pronged approach to private sector engagement. We will encourage defence companies to participate in TI-UK's Corporate Anti-Corruption Benchmark, and offer an additional module specific to the defence sector. We will also push governments to influence defence company integrity through our work on undue influence under Outcome 3.3 and our support to Chapter-led results in this area under Outcome 3.1.

We will also keep these exclusions under review throughout implementation. If the tractability of a topic improves, or the context changes such that improved impact and strategic alignment are evident, we will consider bringing that topic within our global strategy.

TI-DS WITHIN THE TI MOVEMENT

DELIVERING THE STRATEGIC OBJECTIVES OF THE TI MOVEMENT

TI-DS is one part of a worldwide Movement. Our strategy has been designed to help deliver the TI Movement global strategy 2021-30, Holding Power to Account, which defines seven strategic objectives, encompassing 15 high-level, Movement-wide outcomes. Most specifically, we will support four *Holding Power to Account* strategic objectives and associated outcomes:

Holding Power to Account	TI-DS contribution
***Strategic Objective 1*: Protect the public's resources.** ***Outcomes*:** **1.1: Maximum openness, transparency and responsiveness in public contracting** **1.2: More effective prevention and exposure of public sector bribery, theft and abuse of power**	• We will mitigate the risks of diversion and wastage of public resources through corrupt procurement and arms transfers (Outcomes 1.2, 2.2) • We will support improved defence budget accountability and transparency (Outcome 1.2) • We will work with international organisations to embed and expand the influence of the GDI as an evidence and advocacy tool (Outcome 1.3) • We will support the effectiveness of public investments in crisis response through ensuring that anti-corruption goals are embedded into international military support (Outcome 2.1) • We will support and expand civil society action ensuring public spending on defence and security is protected (Outcome 3.1) • We will support improved access to information, enabling greater transparency and oversight over use of public resources (Outcome 3.2) • We will tackle favouritism in public resource allocation by exposing undue influence of the private sector over government (Outcome 3.3)

Holding Power to Account	TI-DS contribution
Strategic Objective 3: Secure integrity in politics. ***Outcomes***: 3.1: Removal of undue influence from elections and political appointments 3.2: Greater transparency, accountability and equity in influence over public decision-making	• We will support Chapters to expose corrupt political behaviours in line with national priorities (Outcome 3.1) • We will expose and mitigate the undue influence exerted by defence companies over public policy (Outcome 3.3)
Strategic Objective 6: Expand civic space for accountability. ***Outcomes***: 6.1: Enhanced freedom and security for activists, whistleblowers and journalists to challenge abuse of power 6.2: Increased channels for people to demand results for the common good	• We will support civil society engagement on corruption in defence and security in line with Chapter priorities (Outcome 3.1) • We will support improved access to defence and security information for activists (Outcome 3.2) • We will enable citizen awareness and engagement on defence company undue influence (Outcome 3.3)
Strategic Objective 7: Build community leadership against corruption. ***Relevant outcome***: 7.1: Strengthened public discourse based on deeper understanding and acceptance of accountability values	• We will establish a new norm on corruption as a threat to peace and security, strengthening the influence of accountability and integrity values in public discourse at national, regional, and international levels (Outcome 1.1)

Figure 2: Alignment to Movement outcomes

PARTNERSHIP WITH CHAPTERS ON GLOBAL THEMES

Our partnerships with TI Chapters are critical to achieving results across our global themes. We are committed to supporting impactful national and local level delivery through building equal partnerships, based on shared vision, purpose, and values, and through co-creation of programmatic interventions based on nationally led context analyses and mutual responsibility for delivery.

All national-level activity by TI-DS is conducted in close coordination with Chapters. We draw upon Chapter priorities, evidence and direction to shape our regional and global activities, and we facilitate space for Chapter voices to be heard within international forums.

More specifically, under our first global theme, TI-DS will partner with Chapters to generate momentum at national and regional levels to support international outcomes. Under our second global theme, TI-DS will develop specific policy goals in partnership with Chapters in selected countries, and provide evidence, policy and advocacy support to Chapters engaging with national authorities. Under our third global theme, TI-DS will support Chapter priorities, as well as delivering a communications campaign on undue influence. Meanwhile, our global and regional Chapter Defence networks will enable peer exchange, sharing of information, and collaboration on regional or thematic issues, and will be key channels for our engagement with Chapters as we continue to increase engagement and build closer partnerships with Chapters. A snapshot of these different modes of partnership delivery is outlined in Figure 3 below.

OUTCOMES

1. Understanding of corruption as a threat to peace and security cemented internationally

1.1 International norm on corruption as a threat to peace and security established at UN level within 10 years

> With TI-DS support, Chapters conduct national and regional advocacy to build momentum towards an international norm

1.2 UN and EU security sector reform (SSR) frameworks incorporate anti-corruption measures

> With TI-DS support, Chapters conduct advocacy to national and regional authorities to influence UN and EU SSR pathways

1.3 Government Defence Integrity Index (GDI) embedded in a multilateral organisation

> Relevant Chapters and TI-DS work together to influence target multilateral

2. Global security benefited through selected countries better factoring corruption into defence, security, and arms trade decision-making

2.1 Three countries embed anti-corruption/GDI in specific defence and security policies and practice

2.2 Corruption controls (drawing on GDI as an important dataset) integrated into arms exports frameworks, such as in the US, UK and EU Common Position, mitigating arms trade corruption and misuse in exporters, agents/enablers and importers

> With TI-DS support, Chapters engage with national authorities in US, UK, EU to embed anti-corruption and GDI into policies and practices

3. Informed and active citizens driving integrity in defence and security

3.1 Greater integrity in defence and security achieved through TI Chapters and civil society in 10 countries campaigning in line with national priorities

> Chapters and TI-DS work together to identify tractable campaign topics based on national and international priorities, and design campaigns to be led by Chapters design and lead campaigns, with ongoing TI-DS support

3.2 Greater civic accountability in 5 countries enabled through improved access to defence information

> Chapters and TI-DS work together to identify opportunities and methods to pursue improved access to information, led by Chapters with ongoing TI-DS support

3.3 Increased public awareness and engagement in 3 countries on topics of defence company undue influence on defence and security policy

> With TI-DS support, Chapters conduct public awareness-raising activities on topics of defence company undue influence, and advocate to national authorities for improved regulatory and policy change

Figure 3: TI-DS strategic summary and results – partnership with Chapters on global themes

CHAPTER-LED RESULTS BEYOND OUR GLOBAL THEMES

Chapters, rightly, have their own priorities and goals for impact within defence and security, distinct from those of TI-DS. Through the development of this strategy, Chapters have indicated interest in a range of topics which align closely with our global themes. These provide excellent opportunities for collaboration and mutual support between Chapter leadership at national levels and our global efforts.

Some additional areas of Chapter interest go beyond our global themes. Where possible, we will support Chapters to achieve these results, reflected within our strategy under Outcome 3.1. Where TI-DS sees opportunities for national-level results in line with our global strategy, we will engage with Chapters to discuss options and ascertain interest. Where Chapters approach TI-DS with an area of interest, we will assess our ability to provide support based on need, opportunity, feasibility, geopolitical significance, strategic alignment, likelihood of impact and sustainability, and ability to find funds. Indicative Chapter-led results areas are set out in Figure 4, for the purposes of illustration and to support our engagement with funders, rather than as a fixed or exhaustive set of topics.

Indicative Chapter-led topics	Indicative Chapter-led outcomes
Corruption links to peace and security	• Risks of corruption in sectors other than defence and security, which enables or drives conflict, reduced • Reduced conflict risks
Democratic security/countering militarisation	• Democratic governance of defence and security sectors is strengthened • Risk of defence and security institutions interfering in democratic processes is reduced
Parliamentary oversight of defence and security institutions	• Parliaments adopt stronger protocols for oversight of corruption risk in defence and security institutions • Increased citizen expectation of civilian role in mitigating corruption risk in defence and security
Civilian/military relations	• Stronger structures and processes for engagement between civilian and military bodies • Strengthened relations between citizens and defence actors
Transparency and accountability of defence budgets	• Democratic processes opening defence budgets to public scrutiny are strengthened • Defence budget wastage and diversion is reduced
Integrity and transparency of defence and security sector involvement in natural resource industries	• Defence and security sector involvement in natural resource industries is transparent and subject to anti-corruption rules • Ownership and management of natural resources in the public interest is improved
Defence and security sector involvement in illicit financial flows	• Detection, investigation and prosecution of defence and security sector personnel involved in facilitating, enabling, or benefiting from illicit financial flows is increased • Illicit financial flows are reduced, mitigating corruption and benefiting public budgets
Defence and security sector role in organised crime	• Detection, investigation and prosecution of defence and security sector personnel involved in serious organised crime is increased • Organised crime linked to corruption is reduced
Use of offsets within arms trade deals	• Transparency over the use of offsets in arms trade deals is increased • Corruption risks arising from offsets are mitigated
Accountability and integrity of military-owned businesses	• Ownership and management of military-owned businesses is transparent and in accordance with anti-corruption principles • Corruption risks associated with military-owned businesses are mitigated
Defence companies (private sector integrity)	• Increased transparency and stronger corruption risk mitigations in compliance systems within companies • Defence companies demonstrate improved integrity practices
Behaviour and regulation of private military and security companies (PMSCs)	• Activities of PMSCs are subject to transparency and integrity controls in line with standards for public institutions • Corruption and integrity risks associated with PMSCs are mitigated
International military and peace-keeping operations	• Anti-corruption norms and standards within international military and peace-keeping operations are strengthened • Corruption risks associated with international military and peace-keeping operations are mitigated

Figure 4: Indicative Chapter-led results areas

The added value that TI-DS brings when working in partnership with Chapters comes through our convening power, our provision of global research to support national advocacy, and our ability to engage regionally and transnationally, connect Chapters with global policy processes and amplify Chapter voices in global forums, insulate Chapters from risks in some contexts, connect Chapter priorities with funding opportunities, and act as grant manager reducing overheads for multi-country work. Figure 5 provides a snapshot example of the pathways along which TI-DS and Chapter activities might combine to deliver Chapter-led results.

IMPACT

Advancing peace and stability by reducing corruption in defence and security

TI-DS GLOBAL OUTCOME

3. Informed and active citizens driving integrity in defence and security

3.1 Greater integrity in defence and security achieved through TI Chapters and civil society in 10 countries campaigning in line with national priorities

INDICATIVE CHAPTER OUTCOMES

- Corruption links to peace and security
- Democratic security/countering militarisation
- Parliamentary oversight of defence and security institutions
- Civilian/military relations
- Transparency and accountability of defence budgets

- Integrity and transparency of defence and security sector involvement in natural resource industries
- Defence and security sector involvement in illicit financial flows
- Defence and security sector role in organised crime

- Use of offsets within arms trade deals
- Accountability and integrity of military-owned businesses
- Defence companies (private sector integrity)
- Behaviour and regulation of private military and security companies (PMSCs)
- International military and peace-keeping operations

INDICATIVE RESULTS PATHWAYS

Chapter-led
TI-DS-led
Co-delivered

Training supports local authorities to exercise better practices

Guidance materials set out global best practice

National advocacy creates momentum for reform

TI-DS engagement in sensitive defence and security space provides risk mitigations for Chapters

National and international case studies highlight risks caused by defence sector corruption

Model rules support domestic advocacy for reform

National-level advocacy and communications incentivises states to press for regional and international reform

National communications campaigns generate public demand for reform

Management of Chapter networks identifies opportunities for alignment

GDI data demonstrates corruption risk areas in national defence and security institutions

Alternative pathway

Policy briefs on best anti corruption practice support national advocacy

Normative change at international and multinational levels sets incentive and roadmap for national change

Case studies on defence and security institution, and private sector behaviours draw attention to the need for stronger controls

Political economy analysis identifies opportunities and channels of influence to achieve national results
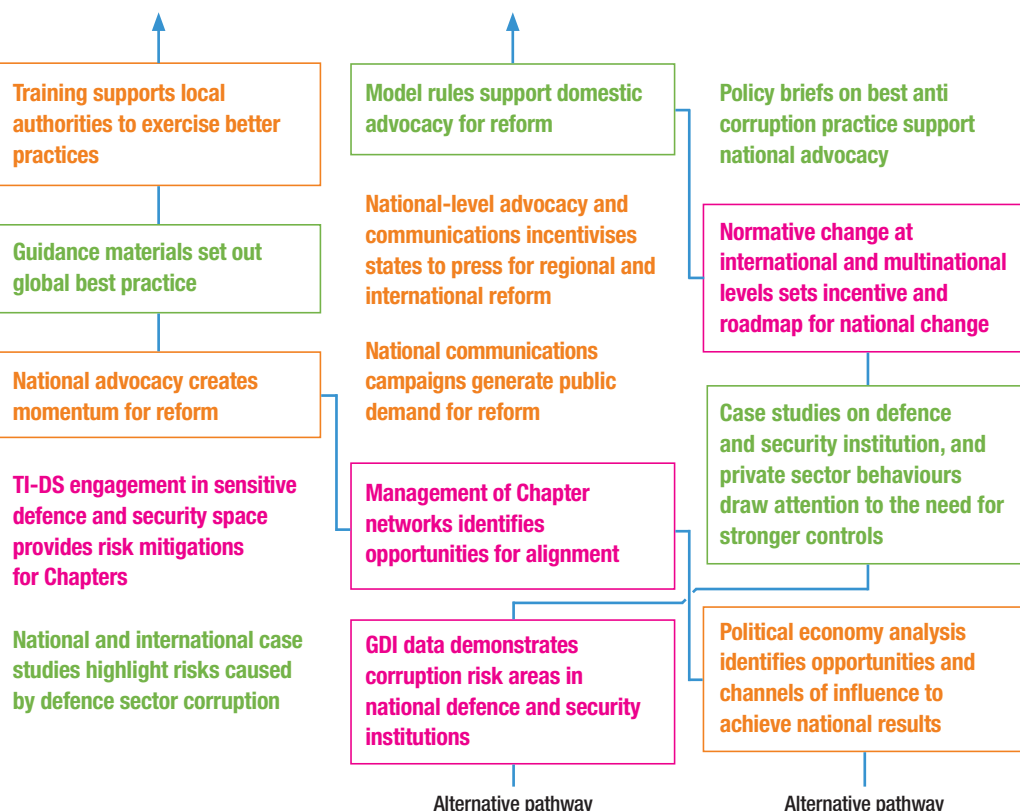
Alternative pathway

Figure 5: Indicative Chapter-led results pathways

We recognise that some Chapters will choose not to engage with TI-DS, either due to lack of interest or capacity, or because of security concerns and the sensitivity of the agenda.

We will provide support where feasible to reduce risks, while the ultimate decision on engagement will rest with Chapters.

GENDER

Corruption in defence and security has gendered dynamics that produce different impacts, experiences, perceptions, risks, and forms of corruption for diverse groups of women, men, girls, boys, and sexual and gender minorities.

The gender dynamics of corruption exacerbate inequalities and undermine the integrity and accountability of the defence and security sector. In line with the TI-DS Gender Mainstreaming Strategy, we will continue to integrate gender across our three themes, rather than specifying stand-alone gender outcomes. In developing our strategy, we have undertaken a gender mainstreaming review, and throughout implementation we will ensure that our research, advocacy and programming work, and our monitoring and evaluation approach, adequately respond to the gender dynamics of corruption in defence and security.

RESOURCING AND IMPLEMENTATION

Strategic success requires strong implementation. To enable this, we have defined a set of outputs, planned in detail over 2024 and at a high level to 2026, which will deliver our intended outcomes. These will be translated into annual work plans, with clear accountability, timeframes, and resource inputs, and used as a tool for regular progress review.

The outputs identified represent an ambitious scope of work, requiring significant resources to deliver. Commencing implementation is possible within our current resources. As we build up pace, we are likely to need additional resources to maintain the full scope of activity. In preparing the strategy, we have considered avenues for further funding. During implementation, we will proactively present our goals and specific results to potential funders, in order to leverage additional funds for work both at a TI-DS level and (via grants managed by TI-DS) Chapter level.

MONITORING, EVALUATION, LEARNING, AND ADAPTATION

We must be able to measure our results. We have identified specific indicators for our impact and for each outcome. As we commence implementation, we will establish benchmarks for these indicators, and a regular schedule of monitoring. Results will be periodically evaluated and reviewed.

To remain relevant and impactful, we expect to adapt as the global defence and security landscape changes. We will hold internal strategy implementation learning sessions on a six-monthly basis, and complete full reflection exercises annually. If necessary, we will adapt our goals and plans to fit new realities. At the end of the 2024-2026 strategic period, we will evaluate our results and learn from our experience. This learning will in turn shape the development of our next strategy.

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