CORRUPTION, THE DEFENCE AND SECURITY SECTOR, AND SEXUAL AND GENDER-BASED VIOLENCE

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INTRODUCTION

Corruption has gender dynamics that shape the forms, vulnerability to, experiences and impacts of corruption. In numerous contexts, defence and security personnel have been implicated in forms of corruption that are directly linked to sexual and gender-based violence (SGBV), including sexual forms of corruption such as sexual extortion, human trafficking-related corruption, and political interference, bribery, and extortion in justice processes for victims/survivors of gender-based violence. Forms of corruption related to the arms trade, human trafficking and borders can exacerbate gendered insecurities and contribute to climates prone to SGBV. This brief highlights the need for anti-corruption measures in the defence and security sector to incorporate a gender perspective and to connect anti-corruption to obligations to address SGBV. There are pre-existing tools that can be drawn on to promote anti-corruption measures that prevent and respond to gender dynamics of corruption, particularly gender mainstreaming and gender balance strategies. However, for their effectiveness they require adequate political will, awareness, resourcing and expertise.

GENDER AND ACCESS TO POWER

Policy, practitioner and research communities are increasingly interested in the evidence base on gender and corruption. Whereas early research in the 2000s tended to focus on sex difference in willingness to engage in or tolerate corruption[1], emerging research and policy guidance draws on more comprehensive and nuanced conceptions of gender that are attentive to the distribution of power in society. Gender constitutes a reflection of power relations in a society, and gender dynamics play a role in determining who has access to the kind of power that can be used for personal gain. Emerging research has brought new insights into the gendered impacts of corruption as well as forms and experiences of corruption.[2]

We are increasingly understanding how corruption is both facilitated by and exacerbates gender and other intersecting inequalities.[3] Gender roles in society produce different risks of exposure to different forms of corruption as well as different opportunities for engaging in corruption.[4] Patterns of discrimination and power imbalances across multiple axes can facilitate perpetration of and

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[1] Anand Swamy et al., 'Gender and Corruption', *Journal of Development Economics* 64, no. 1 (1 February 2001): 25–55; David Dollar, Raymond Fisman, and Roberta Gatti, 'Are Women Really the "Fairer" Sex? Corruption and Women in Government', *Journal of Economic Behavior & Organization* 46, no. 4 (1 December 2001): 423–29; Hung-En Sung, 'Fairer Sex or Fairer System? Gender and Corruption Revisited', *Social Forces* 82, no. 2 (2003): 703–23; Vivi Alatas et al., 'Gender, Culture, and Corruption: Insights from an Experimental Analysis', *Southern Economic Journal* 75, no. 3 (January 2009): 663–80.

[2] see for instance: Ortrun Merkle et al., 'Gender and Corruption: What Do We Know? A Discussion Paper' (Vienna: Organization for Security and Co-operation in Europe, 2021); Ina Kubbe and Ortrun Merkle, *Norms, Gender and Corruption: Understanding the Nexus* (Edward Elgar Publishing, 2022); Elin Bjarnegård et al., 'Sextortion: Corruption Shaped by Gender Norms', in *Norms, Gender and Corruption: Understanding the Nexus*, ed. Ina Kubbe and Ortrun Merkle (Cheltenham and Northampton: Edward Elgar Publishing, 2022), 252–67.

[3] Racheal Wanyana, 'The Gendered Dimensions of Corruption in Fragile and Conflict Affected Contexts' (U4 Anti-Corruption Helpdesk, 24 April 2023); Hazel Feigenblatt, 'Breaking the Silence around Sextortion: The Links between Power, Sex and Corruption' (Transparency International, 2020); Transparency International, 'Gender and Corruption', 2019; Ellie McDonald, Matthew Jenkins, and Jim Fitzgerald, 'Defying Exclusion: Stories and Insights on the Links between Discrimination and Corruption' (Transparency International and Equal Rights Trust, 6 July 2021); Peiffer Caryn, 'Corruption through a Gendered Lens: Asia and the Pacific' (Berlin: Transparency International, 22 November 2023).

[4] Anne Marie Goetz, 'Political Cleaners: Women as the New Anti-Corruption Force?', *Development and Change* 38, no. 1 (2007): 87–105; Merkle et al., 'Gender and Corruption: What Do We Know? A Discussion Paper'.

vulnerability to corruption.[5] Gender inequality in access to decision making is broadly understood as a corruption risk, and the structure of power in society is a key component of understanding corruption dynamics.[6]

The impacts of corruption vary between different groups of women, men, girls, boys, and people of diverse sexual orientation, gender identity and expression, and sex characteristics (SOGIESC) due to differential access to power and resources.[7] In traditionally male dominated industries and spaces, men may be more exposed to corruption, while women are often more vulnerable to the adverse impacts of corruption due to their underrepresentation. Corruption is understood to disproportionately impact women due to its role in diverting funds from public services and social security systems. Due to gender roles often associated with caring responsibilities and women's disproportionate representation among the world's poor, they tend to need to access to these vital services more frequently than men.[8]

The relationship between corruption and gender inequality is also relevant to gender-based violence, particularly where defence and security sector corruption can enable conditions for the perpetration of sexual and gender-based violence. Gender-based violence is a concept used describe form of violence that are rooted in gender inequalities and include forms of sexual, physical, psychological, and economic harm perpetrated in public and in private.[9] Women and girls are disproportionately affected by sexual forms of gender-based violence, particularly during situations of armed conflict,[10] and people of diverse SOGIESC are particularly vulnerable to various forms of gender-based violence.[11] Men are also victims of sexual and other forms of gender-based violence, but gendered social expectations often mask their visibility.[12]

Protecting civilians from gender-based violence by military personnel is a key aspect of effective oversight of the defence and security sector. Measures to prevent and address gender-based violence, particularly violence against women, have also been a focus, to varying extents, in defence and security institutions. Yet corruption is rarely explicitly brought into this space. Defence and security institutions are increasingly expected to integrate gender perspectives as part of wider normative developments that largely draw from the Women, Peace and Security (WPS) Agenda. While the WPS agenda does not refer to corruption, its obligations incorporate expectations on states to prevent and respond to sexual and gender-based violence. The next section outlines a few areas relevant to defence and security sector corruption and gender-based violence.

[5] Ellie McDonald, Matthew Jenkins, and Jim Fitzgerald, 'Defying Exclusion: Stories and Insights on the Links between Discrimination and Corruption' (Transparency International and Equal Rights Trust, 6 July 2021).
[6] Ortrun Merkle, 'Mainstreaming Gender and Human Rights in Anti-Corruption Programming', U4 Helpdesk Answer (U4 Anti-Corruption Helpdesk, 20 July 2018); Caryn Peiffer, 'Corruption Through a Gendered Lens: Asia and the Pacific' (Transparency International, 2023).
[7] Merkle et al., 'Gender and Corruption: What Do We Know? A Discussion Paper'.
[8] Merkle et al., 'Gender and Corruption: What Do We Know? A Discussion Paper'.
[9] Janie Leatherman, Sexual Violence and Armed Conflict, War and Conflict in the Modern World (Cambridge: Polity, 2011).
[10] Fionnuala Ni Aolain, Dina Francesca Haynes, and Naomi Cahn, On the Frontlines: Gender, War, and the Post-Conflict Process (New York: Oxford University Press, 2011); Nadine Puechguirbal, 'The Cost of Ignoring Gender in Conflict and Post-Conflict Situations: A Feminist Perspective Scientific Article', Amsterdam Law Forum 4, no. 1 (2012): 4–19.
[11] Jamie J. Hagen, 'Queering Women, Peace and Security', International Affairs 92, no. 2 (2016): 313–32.
[12] Heleen Touquet and Philipp Schulz, 'Navigating Vulnerabilities and Masculinities: How Gendered Contexts Shape the Agency of Male Sexual Violence Survivors', Security Dialogue 52, no. 3 (2021): 213–30; Ali Bitenga Alexandre et al., 'A Man Never Cries: Barriers to Holistic Care for Male Survivors of Sexual Violence in Eastern DRC', Medicine, Conflict and Survival 38, no. 2 (3 April 2022): 116–39.

SEXUAL AND GENDER-BASED VIOLENCE PERPETRATED BY DEFENCE AND SECURITY SECTOR PERSONNEL

Defence and security personnel have been directly implicated in corruption-related sexual and gender-based violence, including sexual forms of corruption and human trafficking.[13] Sexual corruption is often equated with the term sexual extortion, or sextortion, but it can be understood to include forms of sexual exploitation and abuse such as survival sex, sex to prevent detention, sexual extortion as a form of torture, and other forms that are relevant to gender-based violence programming and policies.[14] However, there is no clear agreement on definitions of various forms of sexual corruption.

Sexual Corruption: Abuse of entrusted authority to obtain a sexual favour in exchange for services or benefits connected to that entrusted authority.

Sexual extortion: Entrusted authority abuses their power through coercive measures to demand a sexual favour in exchange for services or benefits connected to that entrusted authority.

Survival sex: A form of sexual extortion in which an entrusted authority abuses power to obtain sexual favour in exchange for services or benefits needed for survival.

There are numerous documented cases of SGBV and sexual forms of corruption perpetrated by defence and security personnel. [15] To name a few, there is evidence of sexual extortion of sex workers by security forces in El Salvador[16] and Panama[17], and sexual extortion through exchange of sex for access to money, food and medicine were especially pronounced among internally displaced Somali women and girls.[18] In numerous missions peacekeeping troops have been evidenced as perpetrating rape, sexual assault, sexual exploitation—of which some forms such as survival sex amount to sexual extortion.[19] Monetary and sexual forms of extortion have also been used with threats of exposing a person's sexual orientation and gender identity (SOGI) publicly in Lebanon[20] and Kenya.[21]

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[13] Lisa Schirch, 'Handbook on Human Security: A Civil-Military-Police Curriculum' (The Hague: Alliance for Peacebuilding, GPPAC, Kroc Institute, March 2016), 240; see also: Human Rights Watch, 'The Power These Men Have Over Us: Sexual Exploitation and Abuse by African Union Forces in Somalia', 8 September 2014; Child Rights International Network, 'Sexual Violence by Peacekeepers against Children and Other Civilians', Advocacy Guide (Child Rights International Network, 2016); Sahla Aroussi, 'Rape Loot Pillage: The Political Economy of Sexual Violence in Armed Conflict', *International Affairs* 94, no. 1 (January 2018): 200–201; Maria Eriksson Baaz and Maria Stern, 'Why Do Soldiers Rape? Masculinity, Violence, and Sexuality in the Armed Forces in the Congo (DRC)', *International Studies Quarterly* 53, no. 2 (2009): 495–518.

[14] For definitions see: Elin Bjarnegård, Dolores Calvo, Åsa Eldén, and Silje Lundgren. "Sex instead of money: conceptualizing sexual corruption", *Governance* (2024), 1-19; Feigenblatt, 'Breaking the Silence around Sextortion', p.8; IAWJ, Stopping the Abuse of Power Through Sexual Exploitation: Naming, Shaming, and Ending Sextortion, (International Association of Women Judges, 2012); Cassandra Mudgway, 'Sexual Exploitation by UN Peacekeepers: The 'Survival Sex' Gap in International Human Rights Law', *The International Journal of Human Rights* 21, no.9 (2017): 1453-76.

[15] Lisa Schirch, 'Handbook on Human Security: A Civil-Military-Police Curriculum' (The Hague: Alliance for Peacebuilding, GPPAC, Kroc Institute, March 2016), 240; Human Rights Watch, 'The Power These Men Have Over Us: Sexual Exploitation and Abuse by African Union Forces in Somalia', 8 September 2014; Child Rights International Network, 'Sexual Violence by Peacekeepers against Children and Other Civilians', Advocacy Guide (Child Rights International Network, 2016); Sahla Aroussi, 'Rape Loot Pillage: The Political Economy of Sexual Violence in Armed Conflict', *International Affairs* 94, no. 1 (January 2018): 200–201; Maria Eriksson Baaz and Maria Stern, 'Why Do Soldiers Rape? Masculinity, Violence, and Sexuality in the Armed Forces in the Congo (DRC)', *International Studies Quarterly* 53, no. 2 (2009): 495–518.

[16] Seth Robbins, 'Extortion and Sexual Violence: Women's Unspoken Suffering', *InSight Crime* (blog), 26 April 2019.

[17] Tristan Clavel, 'Panama's Sex Workers Easy Prey for Extortionist Cops', *InSight Crime* (blog), 29 April 2019,.

[18] Human Rights Watch, '"The Power These Men Have Over Us"'.

[19] *Ibid.*

[20] Henri Myrttinen, Lana Khattab, and Charbel Maydaa, '"Trust No One, Beware of Everyone": Vulnerabilities of LGBTI Refugees in Lebanon', in *A Gendered Approach to the Syrian Refugee Crisis*, ed. Jane Freedman, Zeynep Kivilcim, and Nurcan Özgür Baklacıoğlu (London: Routledge, 2017), 61–76.

[21] Sarah K. Chynoweth et al., 'Characteristics and Impacts of Sexual Violence Against Men and Boys in Conflict and Displacement: A Multicountry Exploratory Study', *Journal of Interpersonal Violence* 37, no. 9–10 (1 May 2022): NP7470–7501.

Corruption-related sexual and gender-based violence undermines prevention, responses to, services for, and accountability to survivors. Victims and survivors of violence at the hands of defence and security actors can face threats and retaliation and corruption in judicial processes. More widely political interference, bribery and extortion are forms of judicial corruption that can affect judicial processes.[22] Impunity of perpetrators of sexual and gender-based violence is also more likely in environments prone to corruption.[23] Indeed, as reported in Burundi and DRC, corruption more generally among the security forces may lead them ignoring sexual violence.[24] Widespread corruption is even connected to impunity of state security forces for rape in some cases.[25]

Defence and security actors can also increase the likelihood of sexual forms of corruption, particularly in conflict-affected contexts where there are gross gendered socio-economic inequalities and poor integrity systems to prevent and respond to sexual misconduct and other forms of misconduct and legal violations. There is some evidence of the relationship between other forms of misconduct, including corruption, and sexual misconduct by defence and security personnel affiliated with UN peacekeeping missions. The team sent to address allegations of sexual exploitation and abuse in the UN Mission in DRC in 2005 found that other forms of misconduct, including corruption, seemed to also occur alongside sexual exploitation and abuse.[26] Some forms of sexual exploitation and abuse can also be understood as sexual extortion.[27] Impunity for peacekeepers who perpetrated sexual exploitation and abuse, weak governance in law enforcement and the judiciary and diversion of state resources to military efforts can all serve as incubators for sexual exploitation and abuse[28], including sexual extortion.[29] Criminal networks, including human trafficking networks, tend to thrive in predatory economies facilitating such exploitation, abuse and extortion.

Human trafficking is one form of illicit activity that is a major contributor to resources used in illicit financial flows (IFFs),[30] and it often relies on a degree of corruption among defence and security sector personnel. Corruption among police is a key risk for human trafficking,[31] but armed forces and military officials have also been implicated.[32] Police and armed forces personnel have been involved in procuring documentation for trafficked victims, collaborating with traffickers to return victims, providing protection for traffickers and businesses selling sexual services from victims as trafficking, serving as customers, and actively trafficking victims.[33] In Thailand, civilian and military officials sold Rohingya asylum seekers into labour trafficking, colluded with traffickers, obstructed justice processes for victims, and participated in child sex trafficking.[34]

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[22] Hebert, Sian. "Judicial Corruption and Gender", K4D Helpdesk Report. Institute of Development Studies.
[23] Schirch, 'Handbook on Human Security', 240.
[24] Eirin Mobekk, 'Gender, Women and Security Sector Reform', *International Peacekeeping* 17, no. 2 (1 April 2010): 278–91.
[25] Yakin Ertürk, 'The Political Economy of Peace Processes and the Women, Peace and Security Agenda', *Conflict, Security & Development* 20, no. 4 (3 July 2020): 419–39.
[26] Nici Dahrendorf, 'Lessons Learned Study: Addressing Sexual Exploitation and Abuse in MONUC' (United Nations, March 2006).
[27] Jasmine-Kim Westendorf, 'A PROBLEM of RULES: Sexual Exploitation and UN Legitimacy', *International Studies Quarterly* 67, no. 3 (1 September 2023): 1–13.
[28] Bonnie Kovatch, 'Sexual Exploitation and Abuse in UN Peacekeeping Missions: A Case Study of MONUC and MONUSCO', *The Journal of the Middle East and Africa* 7, no. 2 (2 April 2016): 157–74.
[29] Feigenblatt, 'Breaking the Silence around Sextortion'.
[30] Grondona, Ponte, and Enriquez, 'Illicit Financial Flows Undermining Gender Justice'.
[31] Philip Gounev and Tihomir Bezlov, 'Examining the Links between Organised Crime and Corruption', *Trends in Organized Crime* 13, no. 4 (1 December 2010): 326–59; UNODC, 'The Role of Corruption in Trafficking in Persons', Issue Paper (Vienna: United Nations Office on Drug and Crime, 2011).
[32] OECD, *Trafficking in Persons and Corruption: Breaking the Chain*, OECD Public Governance Reviews (Paris: OECD Publishing, 2016).
[33] OECD, 36.
[34] US Department of State, 'Trafficking in Persons Report 2015', 2015, 331.

> ## Case Study: Corruption, conflict and SGBV in northeast Nigeria
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> A study by the Global Network of Women Peacebuilders on gender and corruption in the context of the Boko Haram insurgency in Northeast Nigeria highlights how gendered forms and impacts of corruption have fuelled corruption associated with armed conflict and have contributed to a rise in gender-based violence in Internally Displaced Persons (IDP) camps.[35] The perpetrators of corruption in this case include Boko Haram, camp and community elders, other IDPs, humanitarian workers and military and police personnel. Corruption, structural gendered attitudes, and limited access to basic goods and services have exacerbated human rights violations. The camps suffered from a rise of sexual exploitation and abuse (SEA), including the exchange of sex for access to food or services, including shelter and employment, firewood or water. Extorting sex was reported as the most common form of corruption, and in many cases, perpetrators failed to follow through on their promises to victims.[36]
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> Police corruption has also led to the dismissal of cases involving human rights violations against women and children, particularly where the perpetrator was well known.[37] Camp officials have also accepted bribes from human traffickers, and girls are especially vulnerable to prostitution and human trafficking in this context. The conditions of gender, corruption, and conflict in this study demonstrate how corruption can cultivate environments for conflict and insecurity to thrive. Further, the study finds that, in addition to a lack of attention to anticorruption and sexual misconduct, the exclusion of women from decision-making in all aspects of the IDP camps and distribution of humanitarian aid exacerbated women's insecurities. This case study illuminates how a range of complex factors linked to gender inequality, conflict and corruption intersect. Critically, military and police personnel were complicit in corruption linked to SGBV.

Borders are key areas of corruption risks supporting illicit networks, especially in conflict-affected contexts. Migrants, displaced people, and refugees face different sets of corruption risks and often face multiple forms of discrimination, including those based on gender and other overlapping identity factors.[38] Migration can be driven by conflict and political violence, and corrupt officials, security forces, and organised crime groups can increase risks of exploitation and trafficking of migrants[39], particularly internally displaced people. Sexual bribes and sexual extortion can adversely affect migrant and displaced women and girls.[40] At the US-Mexico border, Human Rights Watch has reported that LGBT asylum seekers are especially at risk of extortion, rape, and other forms of violence by government officials, soldiers and criminal groups en route to or at immigration checkpoints in Mexico.[41] Rural women engaging in informal cross border trade are at especially high risk of vulnerability to illicit networks and corruption in crossing borders.[42]

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[35] Patricia Donli, 'Intersections between Corruption, Human Rights and Women, Peace and Security: Nigeria Case Study' (Global Network of Women Peacebuilders, October 2020).
[36] Donli, 18.
[37] Donli.
[38] Merkle et al., 'Gender and Corruption: What Do We Know? A Discussion Paper'.
[39] Sasha Jesperson, 'Conflict and Migration: From Consensual Movement to Exploitation', *Stability: International Journal of Security and Development* 8, no. 1 (11 July 2019): 4.
[40] See: Merkle et al 2017, United Nations Refugee Agency, United Nations Population Fund, & Women's Refugee Commission. (2016). Initial Assessment Report: Protection Risks for Women and Girls in the European Refugee and Migrant Crisis; Zimmermann, C., McAlpine, A., & Kiss, L. (2016). Safer labour migration and community based prevention of exploitation: The state of the evidence for programming; Sabrina White, Sara Bandali, and Monica Kirya, 'Feminist Policy in Ukraine's Recovery and Post-Conflict Reconstruction: A Gender Perspective in Anti-Corruption Efforts' (U4 Anti-Corruption Resource Centre, 11 December 2023).
[41] Human Rights Watch, 'US: LGBT Asylum Seekers in Danger at the Border', 31 May 2022,
[42] Ortrun Merkle, Juilia Reinold and Melissa Siegel, 'Shaping the Migration Journey-the Role of Corruption and Gender', in *Migration, Remittances, and Sustainable Development in Africa, eds. Maty Konte and Linguère Mously Mbaye* (London: Routledge, 2020).

Lastly, there is a well-established link between the arms trade, especially arms diversions, and perpetration of sexual and gender-based violence.[43] The spread of weapons can reinforce gender inequalities, including by contributing to increases in gender-based violence, strengthening patronage networks conducive to corruption, and contribute to the spread of illicit finance, organised crime, and gender-based violence linked to human trafficking. Corruption in the defence and security sector can also contribute to a rise in terrorism, which can also lead to proliferation of illicit weapons, trafficking and gender-based violence.[44] The explicit recognition of the relationship between the arms trade and gender-based violence in Article 7(4) of the Arms Trade Treat (ATT) is also significant, where preventing illicit arms trade is connected directly to preventing gender-based violence.[45] There have been some issues, however, in implementing the GBV provisions of the treaty on the part of member states. The ATT does not include a framework for export assessment under Article 7(4), such as clear obligations and oversight of states[46], and it does not include provisions on addressing corruption.

ANTI-CORRUPTION STRATEGIES

Viewing gender equality as a core component of anti-corruption expands the focus from compliance and individuals to institutional reform and building integrity.[47] Combining gender equality and anti-corruption as joint concerns offers opportunities to build evidence on best and promising practices.[48] The next section provides a brief snapshot of promising strategies for pursuing this. Applying a gender-perspective to anti-corruption measures offers two key insights relevant to strengthening integrity and accountability in the defence and security sector. First, it highlights the role of power relations in assessing corruption risks. Secondly, it offers a set of strategies for redressing power imbalances that contribute to corruption. These broadly fall under two categories: gender balance and gender mainstreaming. However, the legal and normative context of gender relations and power structures can heavily influence the effectiveness of gender strategies. Further, the status of prevention and response to gender-based violence can particularly undermine the effectiveness of integrating a gender perspective into anti-corruption measures.

Gender balance

Most existing good and promising practices on gender and anti-corruption focus on prevention of corruption and increasing representation of women in decision-making. Women are particularly underrepresented in decision making in defence and security. In 2022 women made up 12% of cabinet ministers working on defence[49], in 2023 women made up an estimated 12.6% of military personnel worldwide (with wide regional variations).[50] The effectiveness of women's representation is generally grounded in an understanding that fairer and more equitable societies and environments

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[43] Vanessa Farr, Henri Myrttinen, and Albrecht Schnabel, eds., *Sexed Pistols: The Gendered Impacts of Small Arms and Light Weapons* (Tokyo; New York: United Nations University Press, 2009); Jessica Sutton, 'Gender-Based Violence and the Arms Trade Treaty: Article 7(4) under Fire', *New Zealand Journal of Public and International Law* 18, no. 1 (2020): 49–104.

[44] Daniel Auer and Daniel Meierrieks, 'Merchants of Death: Arms Imports and Terrorism', *European Economic Review* 137 (1 August 2021): 103813.

[45] Ray Acheson, 'Gender-Based Violence and the Arms Trade', *Global Responsibility to Protect* 12, no. 2 (8 May 2020): 139–55; Ray Acheson, 'Starting Somewhere: The Arms Trade Treaty, Human Rights and Gender Based Violence', *Human Rights Defender* 22, no. 2 (2013): 17–19.

[46] Sutton, 'Gender-Based Violence and the Arms Trade Treaty'.

[47] UNODC, 76; Transparency International, 'Gender and Corruption: Relevant G20 Commitments', 2019.

[48] Naomi Hossain, Celestine Nyamu Musembi, and Jessica Hughes, 'Corruption, Accountability and Gender: Understanding the Connections', Primers in Gender and Democratic Governance (UNDP and UNIFEM, 2010); Merkle, 'Mainstreaming Gender and Human Rights in Anti-Corruption Programming'; UNODC, 'Guidance Note for UNODC Staff: Gender Mainstreaming in the Work of UNODC' (United Nations, June 2013).

[49] UN Women, 'Women in Politics: 2023', 2023.

[50] Pauline Massart and Florence Ferrando, 'Promoting the Role of Women in Security and Counterterrorism: Guidelines for the Criminal Justice Response to Terrorism' (Brussels: WIIS, 2023), 8.

are less likely to experience corruption.[51] Yet women are not necessarily less inclined to engage in corruption but may face higher costs for or less opportunities to engage in corruption.[52] Further, women's participation in male-dominated spheres does not necessarily mean that their increased presence correlates to sufficient influencing or decision-making power.

Increased representation of women in the defence and security sector is also an increasingly popular strategy for building trust and accountability, and it has produced positive results in some contexts. In Yemen, an elite all-female counter-terrorism unit was praised by the deputy chief of mission at the US embassy in Sanaa for being a favourite security institution to work with because there was no corruption.[53] Peru's policewomen were also lauded as a 'secret weapon against cop corruption' in the capital city of Lima.[54] It is difficult to evaluate their effectiveness on corruption levels, but, according to a 2012 survey, public perceptions of corruption among female police officers (19%) were significantly lower than for male officers (66%).[55] This strategy has been used by other Latin American countries, but some suggest that improving the effectiveness of female police as an anticorruption strategy also relies on addressing administrative corruption and gender discrimination of female police.[56]

Increasing representation of women without addressing attitudes to women in the defence and security sector can reinforce women's marginalisation.[57] For these reasons, 'just add women and stir' approaches to anti-corruption that focus on promoting more equal ratios of men and women in certain roles are not sufficient and tend to reinforce harmful gender stereotypes.[58] Gender balance strategies offer a fuller way of approaching the inclusion and representation of women and underrepresented groups as a means of promoting anti-corruption. For instance, improvements in gender equality and an increase in female peacekeepers has been connected to positive responses to sexual exploitation and abuse.[59] The More Women in Peacekeeping (MOWIP) methodology offers a particularly useful framework for evaluating constraints to gender balance with respect to representation of women in the defence and security sector.[60] Gender balance is also about more widely ensuring that women's and underrepresented group's views are incorporated in defence and security-related decision making.

Gender mainstreaming

Integrating gender mainstreaming into state anti-corruption policies, plans, programmes and activities is increasing advanced as an integral aspect of anti-corruption measures.[61] It has also been recommended by some international organisations, including UNODC, APEC and the Group of States Against Corruption (GRECO).[62] Gender mainstreaming is key to understanding security

[51] Justin Esarey and Gina Chirillo, '"Fairer Sex" or Purity Myth? Corruption, Gender, and Institutional Context', *Politics & Gender* 9, no. 4 (December 2013): 361–89.

[52] UNODC, Gender and corruption in Nigeria (December 2020).

[53] Ginny Hill, 'Yemeni Women Sign up to Fight Terror', *BBC News*, 2 April 2007.

[54] Simon Tegel, 'Peru's Secret Weapon against Cop Corruption: Policewomen', *The World*, 7 June 2014, sec. Business Economics and Jobs.

[55] Proetica, 'VII Encuesta Nacional Sobre Percepciones de La Corrupción En El Perú 2012', 2012, 82–83.

[56] Sabrina Karim, 'Madame Officer', *Americas Quarterly* (blog), 9 August 2011.

[57] Gordon.

[58] UNODC, Mainstreaming gender in corruption projects/programmes: briefing note for UNODC staff (December 2020); UNODC, 'The Time Is Now: Addressing the Gender Dimensions of Corruption' (Vienna: United Nations, 2020).

[59] Sabrina Karim and Kyle Beardsley, 'Explaining Sexual Exploitation and Abuse in Peacekeeping Missions: The Role of Female Peacekeepers and Gender Equality in Contributing Countries', *Journal of Peace Research* 53, no. 1 (1 January 2016): 100–115.

[60] Sabrina Karim, 'MOWIP Methodology: Measuring Opportunities for Women in Peace Operations' (DCAF, October 2020).

[61] Merkle et al., 'Gender and Corruption: What Do We Know? A Discussion Paper'; Merkle, 'Mainstreaming Gender and Human Rights in Anti-Corruption Programming'; SIDA, 'Brief: Gender and Corruption', Gender Tool Box (Sundbyberg: The Swedish International Development Cooperation Agency, 2015).

[62] APEC, 'Bridging the Gender Gap: Gender Mainstreaming and Women Empowerment as a Game Changer in Anti-Corruption Initiatives', November 2020, 5; UNODC, 'Mainstreaming Gender in Corruption Projects/Programmes', Briefing note for UNODC Staff (Vienna: United Nations, 2020); APEC Anti-Corruption Working Group, 'Gender Mainstreaming and Mentoring in APEC Anti-

concerns and corruption risks and experiences faced by different groups of women, men, girls, boys, and people of diverse SOGIESC. It also entails a wide set of tools and expertise that can also enhance local ownership, delivery of security and justice, and oversight and accountability of the defence and security sector.[63]

Some organisations are applying gender equality and social inclusion (GESI) analysis to understand patterns, impacts, perceptions and good practices in anti-corruption work. This includes work in Armenia,[64] DRC,[65] and Nigeria.[66] Gender analysis can also help support corruption risk assessments, for instance to identify illicit financial flows emanating from human trafficking. This information may be easiest to identify at the level of victims and survivors, which makes those working with victims key partners in tackling human trafficking and illicit finance.[67] Victims and survivors may also be able to identify corrupt officials, including from the security sector, who facilitate human trafficking.[68] Working with key partners who support victims, for instance through complaints mechanisms, can also help identify other forms of corruption implicating the defence and security sector, including sexual extortion, judiciary corruption linked to these sectors.[69]

More widely, better communications between communities, civil society and defence and security personnel is one strategy for improving gender-sensitivity and responsiveness in anti-corruption interventions. For instance, in eastern DRC, a project called Tushiriki Wote (Let's All Participate) focused on improving the lives of women cross-border traders, who, among other issues, were subject to extortion by official and unofficial authorities. The five-year collaborative project improved community dialogue with security actors, border officials, and wider institutions.[70] Yet where consultations and engagement with communities are poorly designed and lack gender-sensitivity, community engagement can reinforce gender and other inequalities.[71] Adequately resourced gender mainstreaming approaches to anti-corruption are essential.

There is no standard blueprint for addressing the gender dimensions of corruption.[72] Integrating gender into anti-corruption measures is a fairly new area of work, and more data is needed on what works. However, gender balance and gender mainstreaming strategies that acknowledge and seek to address the range of gendered and intersectional power relations at the root of corruption offer much promise in more effectively promoting anti-corruption and tackling corruption's role in perpetuating gender-based violence.

Corruption Agencies' (Auckland: APEC, December 2021); Group of States Against Corruption, 'Anti-Corruption Trends, Challenges and Good Practices in Europe & the United States of America', 20th General Activity Report (Council of Europe, 2019).

[63] Megan Bastick et al., eds., *Gender & security sector reform toolkit* (Geneva: DCAF, 2008); Callum Watson, 'Tool 3 Gender and Security Toolkit - Defence and Gender' (OSCE: Organization for Security and Co-operation in Europe, 14 February 2020).

[64] Shushanik Khurshudyan et al., 'Armenia Integrity Project Gender Equality and Social Inclusion Analysis', Prepared for the United States Agency for International Development (USAID) Armenia Integrity Project (Rockville, MD: EnCompass LLC, 2022).

[65] DFID, 'Gender Equality and Social Inclusion (GESI) Mainstreaming in DFID's Private Sector Development Programme in DRC: A Description of the Programme's Approach and Lessons Learnt', September 2019,.

[66] MacArthur Foundation, 'Incorporating Gender Equity and Social Inclusion (GESI) into On Nigeria's Anticorruption Work', March 2023.

[67] FATF-APG, 'Financial Flows from Human Trafficking'.

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