



TERMS OF REFERENCE

Research Consultant to Develop a Model Law on Political Campaign Financing for Africa

1. Background and Context

The African Union Advisory Board Against Corruption (AUABC) is the organ mandated under Article 22 of the African Union Convention on Preventing and Combating Corruption (AUCPCC) to promote and encourage the adoption of measures and actions by State Parties to prevent, detect, punish, and eradicate corruption and related offences in Africa. Among its core functions is the development of model laws and normative frameworks to support Member States in harmonizing national legislation with continental anti-corruption standards.

Article 10 of the AUCPCC, on the Funding of Political Parties, obliges each State Party to adopt legislative and other measures to (a) proscribe the use of funds acquired through illegal and corrupt practices to finance political parties, and (b) incorporate the principle of transparency into the funding of political parties. Forty-nine of the African Union's fifty-five (55) Member States have ratified the AUCPCC, giving Article 10 broad continental reach. However, implementation has been uneven, and many State Parties have yet to translate this obligation into comprehensive national legislation. This gap has been identified by the AUABC as one of the principal entry points for corruption, illicit financial flows, and state capture on the continent.

The financing of political parties and election campaigns remains one of the most significant, yet inadequately regulated, entry points for corruption, undue influence, and illicit financial flows on the continent. Opaque funding sources, unregulated campaign expenditure, and weak disclosure and enforcement mechanisms undermine the integrity of electoral processes, drive declining voter turnout, distort political competition, and erode public trust in democratic institutions. Article 10 of the AUCPCC, together with the African Charter on Democracy, Elections and Governance (ACDEG), calls on State Parties to adopt measures that promote transparency in the funding of political parties and election campaigns.

These continental commitments are reinforced at the global level by the United Nations Convention against Corruption (UNCAC), whose Article 7(3) requires State Parties to consider appropriate legislative and administrative measures to enhance transparency in the funding of candidatures for elected public office and political parties. This obligation was substantially strengthened by resolution 11/7, 'Preventing and combating corruption through enhancing transparency in the funding of political parties, candidatures for elected public office and electoral campaigns', adopted by consensus at the Eleventh Session of the Conference of the States Parties to UNCAC (CoSP11) in Doha in December 2025. The resolution 11/7 is the first UNCAC resolution dedicated to political finance and sets out a comprehensive set of commitments on disclosure and reporting, safeguards against illicit and foreign funding, state neutrality and the misuse of state resources, and the independence of oversight and enforcement bodies.

AUABC has been progressively building its program of work on political party financing, including through regional consultations with Member States and partners. Building on this momentum, and in order to help translate the standards set out in UNCAC resolution 11/7 into a continental instrument that Member States can readily domesticate, AUABC seeks to engage a qualified individual consultant to ultimately work under the supervision of a Special Working Group established by the African Union Commission on International Law to help develop a Model Law on Political Party Financing Transparency.

The African Union Commission on International Law (AUCIL) is an independent advisory organ established in 2009 by the African Union. Based in Addis Ababa, Ethiopia, it leads the codification, progressive development, treaty assistance and revisions, conduct of legal research and studies, and dissemination of international and AU law across the continent.

2. Objectives of the Assignment

2.1 Overall Objective

To develop a comprehensive, evidence-based Model Law on Political Party Financing Transparency that provides AU Member States with a harmonized legal and regulatory framework for the disclosure, monitoring, and enforcement of political party and campaign finance rules, giving practical effect to Article 10 of the AUCPCC and consistent with ACDEG, UNCAC (including Article 7(3) and resolution 11/7), and other relevant continental and international instruments.

2.2 Specific Objectives

1. Review and analyze existing continental and international legal instruments, standards, and guidelines relevant to political party financing and campaign finance regulation, with particular reference to Article 10 of the AUCPCC (Funding of Political Parties), Article 7(3) of UNCAC, and the commitments set out in UNCAC resolution 11/7 on transparency in the funding of political parties, candidatures, and electoral campaigns.
2. Conduct a comparative assessment of national legal and regulatory frameworks on political financing and implementation in practice across a representative sample of AU Member States, identifying good practices, gaps, and common challenges.
3. Identify and analyze corruption risks and vulnerabilities associated with political party and campaign financing, including illicit financial flows, foreign funding, and undisclosed in-kind support.
4. Draft a Model Law on Political Financing Transparency, including provisions on disclosure obligations, funding sources and limits, expenditure ceilings, oversight and enforcement mechanisms, sanctions, and the role of election management and anti-corruption bodies.
5. Facilitate stakeholder consultations with Member States, election management bodies, political parties, civil society, think tanks, private sector, and development partners, to validate and refine the draft Model Law.
6. Prepare a concise implementation and adaptation guidance note to support Member States in domesticating the Model Law.

3. Scope of Work / Duties and Responsibilities

Under the overall supervision of the AUCIL Special Working Group, the Consultant shall:

- Undertake a desk review of the AUCPCC (in particular Article 10 on the Funding of Political Parties), ACDEG, UNCAC (Article 7(3) and resolution 11/7), relevant AU policy frameworks, and comparable model laws or guidelines from other regions (e.g. Council of Europe/GRECO, OAS, NDI, International IDEA, Commonwealth, IFES).
- Conduct a comparative legal analysis of political financing frameworks and their implementation in practice in a sample of AU Member States, in consultation with AUABC Secretariat on country selection.
- Prepare an inception report setting out the proposed methodology, analytical framework, workplan, and annotated outline of the Model Law.
- Draft a Zero Draft of the Model Law, accompanied by explanatory notes/commentary on key provisions.
- Present the draft Model Law to AUABC and the African Union Commission on International Law designated (Special Working Group) for feedback
- Support AUABC in organizing and facilitating five (5) validation workshops (virtual or in-person) with Member State experts and stakeholders.
- Incorporate feedback from the validation process, from AUABC and ultimately from AUCIL (designated team Special Working Group) to produce a Revised Draft.
- Prepare a final, print-ready Model Law together with a short implementation/adaptation guidance note for Member States.

4. Methodology and Approach

The Consultant is expected to propose a rigorous and participatory methodology combining desk-based legal and policy research, comparative analysis, and structured stakeholder consultations. The final methodology, to be agreed with AUABC and AUCIL during the inception phase, should include, at a minimum:

- A structured review of primary legal texts and secondary literature including the TI sponsored Baseline Assessment as well as Stakeholder Mapping
- Key informant interviews and/or written surveys with selected Member State institutions (electoral management bodies, anti-corruption agencies, political parties, civil society and international organizations working on the thematic area).
- Benchmarking against recognized international good practice standards, including the commitments set out in UNCAC resolution 11/7.
- A validation workshop to test the draft Model Law with a broader group of stakeholders before finalization.

5. Deliverables and Indicative Timeline

No.	Deliverable	Description	Timeline
1	Inception Report	Methodology, workplan, annotated outline of the Model Law, and list of comparator countries	End of Week 2
2	Comparative Analysis Report	Comparative review of national frameworks and continental/international standards, including risk analysis	End of Week 5
3	Zero Draft Model Law	First full draft of the Model Law with explanatory commentary	End of Week 8
4	Validation Workshop Report	Facilitation support and summary report of stakeholder consultation/validation workshop	End of Week 11
5	Revised Draft Model Law	Draft incorporating feedback from validation process	End of Week 13
6	Final Model Law and Guidance Note	Print-ready Model Law and short Member State implementation/adaptation guidance note	End of Week 16

6. Duration and Duty Station

The assignment is expected to take place over a period of sixteen (16) weeks from the date of contract signature. The Consultant will work remotely (home-based) but should be available to travel to Arusha, Tanzania and/or up to two AU regions for stakeholder consultations and the validation workshop, subject to AUABC's approval and budget availability.

7. Reporting Arrangements

The Consultant shall work under the guidance of the Special Working Group of AUCIL and report to the AUABC through the Executive Secretary. All deliverables shall be submitted in electronic format (Word/PDF) and shall be reviewed by AUABC before acceptance. AUABC reserves the right to request revisions to any deliverable that does not meet the required quality standards.

8. Qualifications and Experience

8.1 Education

- An advanced university degree (Master's degree or equivalent) in Law, Political Science, Governance, Public Policy, or a related field. A PhD will be an added advantage.

8.2 Experience

- A minimum of ten (10) years of progressively responsible professional experience in legislative drafting, governance, electoral law, or anti-corruption policy.
- Demonstrated experience drafting model laws, legislation, or comparable normative/policy instruments for governments or intergovernmental organizations.
- Substantive knowledge of political party and campaign finance regulation, electoral governance, and/or anti-corruption frameworks.
- Prior experience working with the African Union, regional economic communities, or other intergovernmental/multilateral institutions is an advantage.
- Familiarity with the AUCPCC, ACDEG, and comparable international instruments on political finance transparency.

8.3 Skills and Competencies

- Excellent legal drafting and analytical writing skills.
- Strong facilitation and stakeholder engagement skills.
- Ability to work independently, deliver on tight timelines, and manage competing priorities.
- Fluency in any working language of the African Union; working knowledge of both is an added advantage.

9. Evaluation Criteria

Applications will be evaluated based on a combined technical and financial scoring methodology, with technical criteria weighted as follows:

No.	Criteria	Weight	Max. Score
1	Relevance of academic qualifications	15%	15
2	Relevant professional experience in legislative drafting and governance/anti-corruption work	35%	35
3	Demonstrated experience with political finance, electoral, or related regulatory frameworks	25%	25
4	Quality of proposed methodology and workplan	15%	15
5	Relevant regional/continental (AU) experience	10%	10
	Total	100%	100

A minimum technical score of 70 points is required for a proposal to be considered for financial evaluation. The overall combined score will typically be weighted 70% technical and 30% financial, in line with AUABC's standard procurement procedures.

10. Payment Schedule

No.	Milestone	% of Fee	Linked Deliverable
1	Upon submission and approval of the Inception Report	15%	Deliverable 1
2	Upon submission and approval of the Comparative Analysis Report and Zero Draft Model Law	35%	Deliverables 2 & 3
3	Upon facilitation of the validation workshop and submission of the Revised Draft	25%	Deliverables 4 & 5
4	Upon submission and approval of the Final Model Law and Guidance Note	25%	Deliverable 6

All payments are subject to satisfactory review and written approval of the corresponding deliverable(s) by AUABC Secretariat, and to withholding tax and other statutory deductions as applicable.

11. Ownership, Confidentiality, and Ethics

- All materials, drafts, data, and outputs produced under this assignment shall remain the sole property of the African Union Advisory Board Against Corruption.
- The Consultant shall treat all information obtained during the assignment as confidential and shall not disclose it to third parties without prior written consent from AUABC.

- The Consultant shall carry out the assignment with the highest standards of professional and ethical conduct, avoiding any conflict of interest.

12. Submission Requirements

Interested and qualified individual consultants should submit the following:

- A technical proposal outlining understanding of the assignment, proposed methodology, and workplan (maximum 5 pages).
- A curriculum vitae highlighting relevant qualifications and experience.
- A financial proposal indicating the consultant's daily/total fee, in the requested currency.
- Contact details of at least three (3) professional references.
- Sample(s) of previous legal drafting or model law work, where available.
- All applications must be sent to j.ahuno@cddgh.org by **Monday, October 19 2026**.