



AFRICAN FORUM AND NETWORK
ON DEBT AND DEVELOPMENT

Terms of Reference

Development of the AFRODAD Strategic Plan (2026-2030)

1. GENERAL INFORMATION

Project/Program Title: Development of AFRODAD Strategic Plan 2026-2030

Post Title: Consultant, Development of AFRODAD Strategic Plan

Duration: 60 days over 4 months (with the possibility of an extension)

Expected Start Date: 1st April 2026

2. ABOUT AFRODAD

The [African Forum and Network on Debt and Development \(AFRODAD\)](#) is a Pan-African civil society organisation established in 1996 to advocate for debt cancellation and addressing debt related issues in Africa. [Our vision](#) is “A Prosperous Africa based on equitable and sustainable development”; and [our mission](#) is “To contribute to Africa’s inclusive economic growth and sustainable development through influencing policy change on debt management and development finance anchored on a rights-based approach”. Over the past 30 years, AFRODAD has built expertise on public debt management issues and its intersectionality with domestic resource mobilisation, and international public and private finance in Sub-Saharan Africa as well as legal analysis and advocacy on debt during the just ending strategic period. AFRODAD has continued to be concerned that African economies do not become highly indebted and in debt distress. Its work focuses on influencing African governments and institutions to adopt accountable and transparent public debt management policies and practices for sustainable development and eradication of poverty while also advocating for greater regional coordination among African countries towards debt management and global financial architecture reforms. For the last 5 years marking the current strategic periods, the African debt landscape has changed significantly with multiple crises and new and emerging issues that warrant AFRODAD to review its strategic Plan 2021-2025 and to realign its focus in view of shifting debt landscape as it looks into the next Strategic Period, 2026-2030.

3. OVERALL CONTEXT: 2021 – 2025

3.1. Policy Context:

The [Strategic Plan 2021–2025](#) was conceived at a moment of profound uncertainty and structural vulnerability for the African continent. The period followed the post-[Heavily Indebted Poor Countries Initiative and Multilateral Debt Relief Initiative](#) era, during which many African countries had benefited from substantial debt cancellation and a temporary easing of fiscal pressures. However, the gains of that period gradually eroded, and by the onset of the strategic planning process the continent was entering a second wave of debt distress. Even before the [COVID-19 pandemic](#), Africa was facing mounting fiscal vulnerabilities and structural weaknesses in domestic resource mobilisation. The pandemic did not initiate the crisis but [dramatically accelerated](#) it, exposing and deepening pre-existing fragilities in debt sustainability and development finance.

The new debt landscape was far more complex than that which characterised earlier crises. An increasing share of public debt was now composed of commercial bonds traded on international capital markets, shifting countries away from concessional financing toward more expensive and volatile borrowing. At the same time, the creditor landscape had changed fundamentally. Financing from traditional Paris Club creditors had declined significantly, increasingly taking the form of grants or debt relief rather than new loans. In contrast, non-Paris Club bilateral creditors—including China, Saudi Arabia and India—had grown in prominence, while private creditors and Eurobond holders became central actors in sovereign financing. This diversification of creditors introduced coordination challenges, complicated restructuring processes, and heightened the risks of protracted and costly debt workouts in the absence of a comprehensive global sovereign debt resolution mechanism.



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The [COVID-19 pandemic and associated lockdowns](#) triggered both a health emergency and the continent's first economic recession in nearly three decades. Economic contraction in Sub-Saharan Africa, declining commodity prices, disruptions to trade, falling remittances, and capital flight combined to erode fiscal space. [Governments were compelled to increase borrowing](#) to finance health responses, social protection measures, and economic stimulus, even as revenues collapsed. Per capita incomes declined sharply, extreme poverty increased, and public financing needs surged dramatically. The crisis revealed how non-economic shocks could rapidly translate into financial and sovereign debt crises, intensifying pressures on already constrained public budgets.

These developments unfolded in a context of deep structural challenges. Despite abundant natural resources, many African countries continued to experience a [resource paradox](#) marked by persistent poverty, weak infrastructure, and limited domestic savings. [Illicit financial flows](#), harmful tax practices, profit shifting, and weaknesses in public financial management undermined domestic resource mobilisation. Heavy reliance on unpredictable and diminishing Official Development Assistance further constrained fiscal sovereignty and long-term planning. Weak revenue bases, high inflation, currency mismatches, and governance challenges compounded debt vulnerabilities, while inefficient or poorly selected debt-financed investments limited growth returns necessary to ensure sustainability.

At the same time, the continent faced heightened pressure to finance ambitious development commitments. Bridging Africa's Agenda 2063 with the UN's SDG Agenda 2030 required substantial and sustained financial resources, aligned with national development plans and continental frameworks such as the African Continental Free Trade Area. Yet the available global initiatives, including the [Debt Service Suspension Initiative, the G20 Common Framework, and Special Drawing Rights](#) allocations—proved limited in scope and insufficiently inclusive, particularly in their treatment of private creditors and middle-income countries. Credit rating agency downgrades further constrained access to affordable finance, raising concerns about fairness and systemic bias in global financial governance.

Thus, the Strategic Plan 2021–2025 was developed at a defining moment: a convergence of a renewed debt crisis, a global pandemic-induced recession, a rapidly evolving creditor architecture, and widening financing gaps for sustainable development. It was within this complex and dynamic environment—characterised by shrinking fiscal space, rising poverty, structural financing weaknesses, and urgent continental and global development commitments—that AFRODAD positioned its strategic response, seeking to influence debt governance, promote sustainable financing solutions, and strengthen African agency within the global financial architecture.

3.2. Strategic Plan 2021 – 2025:

AFRODAD's [Strategic Plan 2021–2025](#) built on a strategic model that retained the organisation's longstanding [Vision](#) of “a prosperous Africa based on equitable and sustainable development” and its [Mission](#) “to contribute to Africa's inclusive economic growth and sustainable development through influencing policy change on debt management and development finance anchored on [rights-based approaches](#).” The strategic model is explicitly grounded in a rights-based approach, operationalised through rigorous research and political economy analysis, communication for impact, partnerships and networking, capacity building, and targeted policy influencing. Its [theory of change](#) situates interventions across national, regional, continental and global levels, guided by a Pan-African foundation and a deliberate focus on shaping policy reform through evidence, alliances and citizen engagement.

The strategic model that informed [AFRODAD Strategic Plan 2021-25](#) was largely informed by the policy context described earlier. The first strategic priority on this basis, focused on Sustainable Sovereign Debt, seeks to strengthen the global debt architecture to promote responsible lending and accountable borrowing. Under this strategic objective, , AFRODAD advances reform in [sovereign debt management](#) by contributing to the



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development and implementation of sustainable debt policies and practices, enhancing government transparency and accountability in public borrowing, advocating for a fair and transparent international sovereign debt restructuring mechanism, and influencing effective domestic public resource mobilisation. Key intended outcomes included adoption of the African Borrowing Charter as a continental blueprint for civil society engagement, reform of sovereign debt restructuring to ensure participation of private and commercial creditors with fair arbitration, development of a model debt and loan contract incorporating sovereign safeguarding clauses, and enhanced debt transparency through public registers of creditors.

Complementing the work under Sustainable debt management was the strategic focus area on [Domestic Resource Mobilisation](#). This area aims at promoting transparent, accountable and efficient systems for raising domestic revenues, strengthening mineral resource governance, advocating fair taxation, and curbing illicit financial flows. This includes advancing implementation of the [Mbeki Panel recommendations on Illicit Financial Flows \(IFFs\)](#), promoting domestication of the African Mining Vision and Mineral Governance Framework, integrating debt burden into inequality analysis of tax systems, and developing tracking tools for natural resource collateralization and resource-backed loans.

The strategy further addresses [International Private and Public Finance](#) by influencing the quality, transparency and development effectiveness of international finance flows, strengthening public oversight of PPPs and bilateral investment arrangements, enhancing government capacity to engage emerging finance sources, and promoting public registers of international financial instruments. [Legal Advocacy and Analysis](#) on Debt complements these efforts by providing legal perspectives to debt reform, supporting legal reforms in debt contraction processes, strengthening citizen use of legal instruments, and advancing continental templates, a Common African Position on Debt, and improved negotiation strategies for debtor countries.

The second strategic priority to [Democratise the Debt Discourse](#) aimed to deepen the nexus between debt and broader economic justice issues. It humanises debt debates by foregrounding social equity, gender perspectives and inequality indicators in debt analysis, while linking debt finance to Africa's structural transformation agenda. Through debt audits of trade, climate and natural resource regimes and mainstreaming debt concerns into wider political and economic discourse, AFRODAD seeks to ensure that debt is central to conversations on development and transformation rather than treated as a narrow technical issue.

The third priority focuses on [Movement Building and Mobilisation](#) through collective action. AFRODAD seeks to rejuvenate and sustain an African citizen movement on debt and development by strengthening the voice of civil society organisations, citizens, parliamentarians and journalists, while positioning itself as a key continental knowledge hub. Campaigns, communication strategies and capacity building initiatives underpin this agenda, reinforcing the Pan-African ethos that anchors the institution.

The fourth priority, [Institutional Development and Sustainability](#), aims to build a robust, agile and resilient organisation. This includes enhancing institutional operations through dynamic, high-quality and innovative systems, progressing toward fully automated operations and implementing a dispersion model, increasing staff diversity to reflect Pan-African identity, and establishing offices in additional regions. AFRODAD also prioritises expanding its continental footprint by formalising partnerships with African CSOs and strengthening collaboration with regional and continental bodies. Institutional sustainability and governance efforts focus on reinforcing Pan-African identity, diversifying long-term and flexible funding sources, strengthening partnerships across national and global levels, and ensuring diverse and representative Board leadership.

Collectively, these priorities shaped AFRODAD's institutional architecture for 2021–2025, with [a Secretariat](#) led by the Executive Director under [Board oversight](#), supported by a [senior management](#) layer of departmental managers, officers and assistant officers aligned to the organisation's strategic pillars.

3.3. The Changing Strategic and Operational Context

The post-HIPC period leading up to the development of [AFRODAD Strategy 2021-2025](#) was followed by another heavy borrowing cycle, driven and aggravated by a combination of internal vulnerabilities and external shocks. Countries that had previously benefited from debt relief have re-entered high levels of indebtedness driven by among other factors an unfair global financial architecture, tightening fiscal space, climate vulnerabilities, the economic and social fallout of the COVID-19 pandemic, escalating climate-related shocks, geopolitical tensions, and volatility in the global economy. These overlapping crises significantly constrained [domestic resource mobilisation](#), increased reliance on external financing, and deepened debt vulnerabilities across Africa.

The problem has worsened in recent years. The global covid-19 pandemic coupled with the Ukraine war, led to a further increase in African indebtedness as countries tried to address these multiple shocks through increased borrowing. Rising commodity prices, especially due to fuel and food price increases, widened account balances in sub-Saharan Africa. In parallel, many African countries sought debt relief under the [Debt Service Suspension Initiative](#), the [G-20 Common Framework](#) and other avenues. At the same time, global financial conditions have deteriorated and borrowing costs have become expensive for African governments at same time, Official development assistance and concessional lending have decreased.

Recent years have seen various international efforts to address the ongoing global sovereign debt crisis, exemplified by the creation of the [Global Sovereign Debt Roundtable \(GSDR\) in 2022](#), which brings together creditors, debtors, and international financial institutions. Further steps included the 2025 release of a comprehensive playbook by the IMF and World Bank to guide countries through the complex process of debt restructuring. Despite these high-profile initiatives and calls for outright debt cancellation, from an African perspective, these attempts have yet to yield significant tangible results. In May 2025, the African Union at the Inaugural [AU Debt conference issued the Lome Declaration](#) on debt, pushing for reforms of the G20 common framework ensuring a faster relief and strong methodologies for comparability of treatment.

Between 2021 and 2025, the operational context for civil society organisations (CSOs) in both the Global North and Global South has shifted significantly due to changes in geopolitics, funding structures, political developments, and the broader development finance landscape. In the Global North, intensifying geopolitical competition—particularly among major powers—has increasingly shaped development cooperation priorities, aligning aid and development finance more closely with strategic, security, and economic interests. This has narrowed the space for transformative reform in global financing negotiations, including [Financing for Development \(FFD\) processes](#), as governments prioritise stability and national interest over structural changes in the global financial architecture. Political polarisation and growing regulatory scrutiny of non-profit organisations have also affected civic space and engagements, while funding has become more scarce, results-driven, and compliance-heavy. While strategic philanthropy continues to play a prominent role, it is increasingly scarce and operates within tighter performance metrics and outcome expectations.

In the Global South, CSOs have operated within a context of fiscal distress, rising debt burdens, democratic backsliding in some countries, and shifting international partnerships. Many governments have diversified alliances beyond traditional Western donors, engaging emerging powers and regional blocs, which has reshaped policy dialogue spaces. However, civic space has remained fragile in several contexts due to political instability and restrictive regulations. [Funding for Southern CSOs has become increasingly uncertain](#), with reduced institutional grants, growing dependence on Northern intermediaries, and delayed disbursements. While localisation agendas have rhetorically promoted direct funding to Southern actors, structural inequalities in risk management, compliance requirements, and access to global platforms persist.

Across both contexts, the development finance agenda has evolved. Climate finance, digital transitions, and crisis-response mechanisms have gained prominence, sometimes overshadowing long-standing structural



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issues such as sovereign debt restructuring, tax justice, and global financial governance reform. CSOs have become more technically sophisticated and digitally engaged, but this has also led to heavier administrative burdens and a shift toward project-based, short-term interventions rather than long-term transformative programming. Organisationally, many CSOs have adapted by forming alliances, consolidating networks, and integrating cross-cutting narratives linking debt, climate, inequality, and governance. Overall, the period reflects a transition from post-pandemic recovery optimism to a constrained and politically complex environment in which civil society must navigate shrinking fiscal space, hardened geopolitical interests, and heightened competition for influence and resources.

4. OBJECTIVE & SCOPE OF THE CONSULTANCY

4.1. Objectives

The primary objective of this consultancy is to conduct a comprehensive review of AFRODAD's 2021–2025 Strategy in light of the significantly shifted global debt, development finance, and civil society operational landscape. The review will assess the continued relevance, effectiveness, coherence, and impact of the strategy within the evolving geopolitical, fiscal, and institutional context, and generate strategic recommendations to inform the development of AFRODAD's next strategic framework. The consultancy will ensure that the new strategy is responsive to the deepening sovereign debt crisis, global financial architecture reform debates, shrinking civic space, and funding sustainability challenges affecting African civil society.

4.2. Scope of the consultancy

- A contextual analysis of contextual shifts in global and African political economy, including debt dynamics, global financial reforms, geopolitical tensions, and development finance trends between 2021–2025.
- An assessment of strategic model and program priorities - AFRODAD's strategic positioning, programmatic focus, advocacy influence, partnerships, operational model, and funding sustainability under the current strategy.
- A review of organisational performance, including governance, MEAL systems, visibility, alliance-building, and resource mobilisation effectiveness.
- Identification of strategic gaps, missed opportunities, and areas requiring repositioning in light of emerging global and regional realities.
- Development of strategic options and priorities to guide AFRODAD's next five-year strategy

The process shall proceed in 3 major phases

- Phase I: Inception & Macro-Situational Analysis
- Phase II: Inclusive Stakeholder Consultations
- Phase III: Drafting & Framework Development

5. METHODOLOGY

The methodology of the strategic plan 2026-2030 development process shall adopt a multipronged approach that ensures the principles of reflection, consultation, and participation. It shall include:

Review and reflections on the 2021-2025 strategic period and desk reviews: This shall cover an in-depth desk review of the previous strategic plan and strategic documents, annual reports, mid-term reviews and project implementation reports, donor reports, annual reports and other periodic reports over the last five years - among many other organisational documents.



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Internal key informant/stakeholder interviews and consultations: This shall be held with AFRODAD Board members, Secretariat staff, partners, donors, and selected stakeholders. The aim will be to seek to build internal consensus on the rationale, scope of work, tools to be used and the stakeholders to be consulted to inform the development of the strategic plan

External key informant/stakeholder interviews and consultations: shall include amongst others funding partners, collaborating CSOs at continental, global, and regional levels

This approach will provide a way of planning the next five years through the lens of:

- i. looking at past success and challenges; and
- ii. exploring the complexity of the myriads of problems and challenges to AFRODAD's work at the global, continental, and national levels and how to navigate them

Furthermore, the foresight approach will enable calculated probabilities on critical issues that will affect AFRODAD in the next decade while offering possible insights in identifying opportunities and risks and designing strategic solutions around them.

6. KEY DELIVERABLES

- i. An inception report detailing the refined methodology, workplan, timeline, stakeholder mapping and analytical framework
- ii. A comprehensive Strategy Review Report including findings, lessons learned, and forward-looking recommendations
- iii. A presentation of key findings and strategic options to the Board and Secretariat
- iv. A draft strategic framework outline (2026–2030 or as determined) incorporating priority focus areas, implementation logic, and resource considerations

7. CONSULTANT PROFILE & QUALIFICATIONS

- Experience: Minimum 10 years in strategic planning for regional/international NGOs.
- Technical Depth: Proven expertise in macroeconomics, public debt management, and International Financial Architecture
- Sustainability Expertise: Demonstrated experience in developing resource mobilisation strategies for CSOs in a changing donor landscape
- Regional Knowledge: Deep familiarity with African Union processes and the African Borrowing Charter
- Language: Fluency in English; proficiency in French or Portuguese is highly desirable

8. APPLICATION PROCESS

Application shall include:

- Technical Proposal expressing contextual understanding, methodology and approach
- Curriculum vitae of the Consultant / Team
- Financial Proposal (Daily rates and reimbursables)
- Examples of similar strategic plans developed for Pan-African networks and with references for verification
- All expressions of interest to be submitted to procurement@afrodad.org; on or before 15th March 2026, 1600hrs (East African Time) with subject line “**Development of AFRODAD Strategic Plan 2026-2030**”