

Terms of Reference - Consultancy

Support in developing a campaign concept focused on defending international rule of law.

1. Background

[The Elders](#) are an independent group of global leaders working for peace, justice, human rights and a sustainable planet. They are supported by a secretariat team based in London.

The international rule of law, defined as the body of legal norms regulating relations among states, is under severe strain due to rising geopolitical competition and coercive state conduct, selective compliance with international legal obligations, the apparent lapsing of the prohibition on the use of force, and the declining authority and effectiveness of multilateral institutions, including the United Nations – particularly the Security Council.

The Elders are developing an advocacy campaign aimed at influencing policymakers, as the primary target audience, to recommit to the international rule of law. The campaign will also seek to mobilize global public support around shared values of legality, accountability, and peaceful dispute resolution.

To support the development of the campaign, The Elders seek a consultant with strong expertise in international law, foreign policy, and advocacy strategy.

2. Purpose of the Consultancy

The primary purpose of the consultancy is to provide analytical, strategic, and drafting support for the initial design of the campaign to defend the international rule of law, with particular attention to policymaker engagement and public-facing narratives.

The campaign is envisaged to run from the second half of 2026 to the first half of 2027. It is possible that this short-term design consultancy will lead to further work to support the campaign's implementation.

3. Deliverables

Provide up to 10-15 days of consultancy advisory support on production of the deliverables set out below over the period 15 March – 20 April 2026, working closely with The Elders' Secretariat team.

Deliverables:

- Draft a policy brief (approx. 3–5 pages) that:
 - Consult with leading experts and assesses current threats to the international rule of law.
 - explains why the erosion of legal constraints on state behaviour undermines global stability and national interests.

- clearly defines the international rule of law and distinguishes it from specific areas such as international human rights law, international humanitarian law and international criminal law.
- Outline how state practice is changing in relation to international law on the use of force and the global implications of this.
- Contribute to the drafting of the campaign concept and proposal to Elders, including:
 - campaign objectives and rationale, including areas of potential policy traction for having impact and where Elders have best added value.
 - options for strategic framing and narrative approaches.
 - guidance on mapping priority target audiences and partners.
- Help develop concrete policy recommendations and calls to action, including specific steps that policymakers and other stakeholders can take to strengthen compliance with international law.

4. Reporting, Ways of Working and Invoicing

- The consultant will report to the Director of Communications and work closely with the Comms and Programmes teams.
- The consultant is expected to participate in meetings as agreed. The consultant is otherwise to be available to provide advice by phone, Teams or email.
- Attending meetings on behalf of The Elders Secretariat and undertaking desk-based research may also be required.
- The consultant will invoice The Elders Secretariat, listing the activities carried out and the number of hours/days used for each.
- Regular coordination meetings (virtual) will be held.

5. How to apply

Interested candidates should submit to karim.lebhour@theelders.org a brief proposal outlining approach and relevant experience and a CV, and include:

- Two relevant writing samples (policy or advocacy-focused).
- Financial proposal (daily rate and total estimated cost).

Deadline for submission is 10 March 2026.