

**Negotiated Access:**  
Humanitarian engagement with  
Armed Non State Actors

**Max P. Glaser**

# Two stages

- Harvard University - KSG Carr Center for Human Rights Policy: **Negotiated access - Humanitarian engagement with ANSA**
- HPN-ODI – **Humanitarian engagement with ANSA – the parameters of negotiated access**

# The origins fo the project

- Accumulated Qs
- Collapsed & failed states
- Safety & security
- Protection problems
- Human Rights & IHL
- Initial Research Qs
- How do you decide when to leave?
- How do you get in?
- How to talk to armed actors?
- With who to talk?

## More fundamental Qs

- What does ‘negotiation’ actually mean?
- What *is* negotiated in exchange for access?
- Is it *bartering* (of positions / services) or
- *Persuasion* (marketing of IHL principles)?

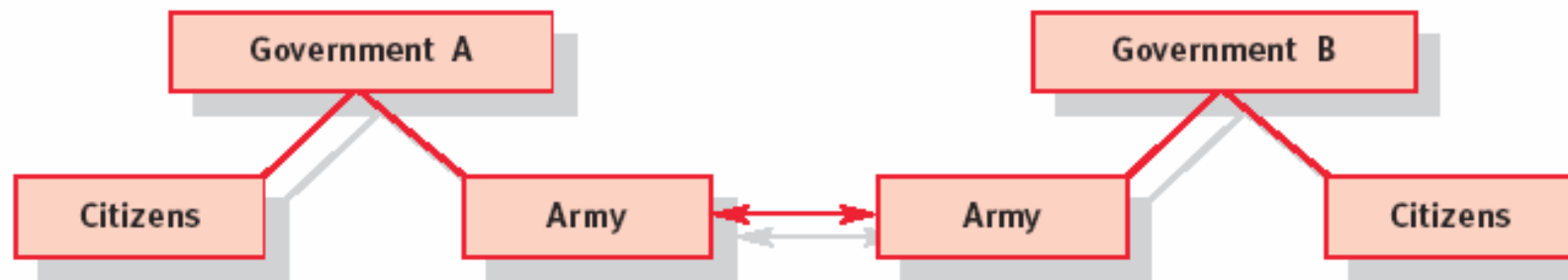
# Two main issues

- **Who are the ANSA:** What are their aims? How are they organized and **how are they configured in conflict?**
- **Who are the civilians:** (Why) do they cooperate /collaborate with ANSA? (How) can they influence ANSA (behavior? **How are they configured in conflict?**

# Trinitarian warfare

Figure 2

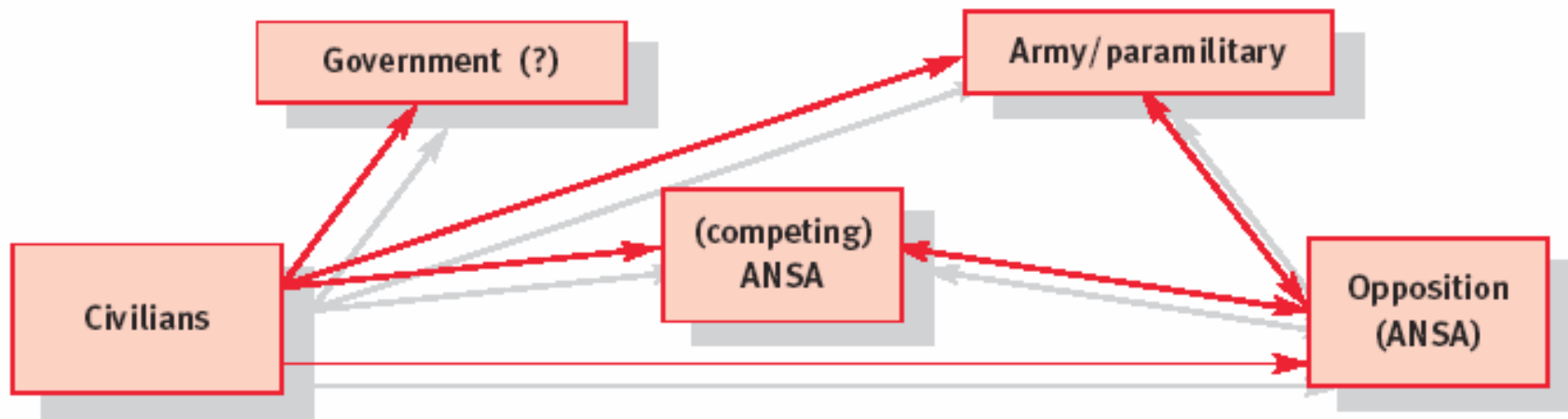
Trinitarian warfare



# Non-Trinitarian Warfare

Figure 3

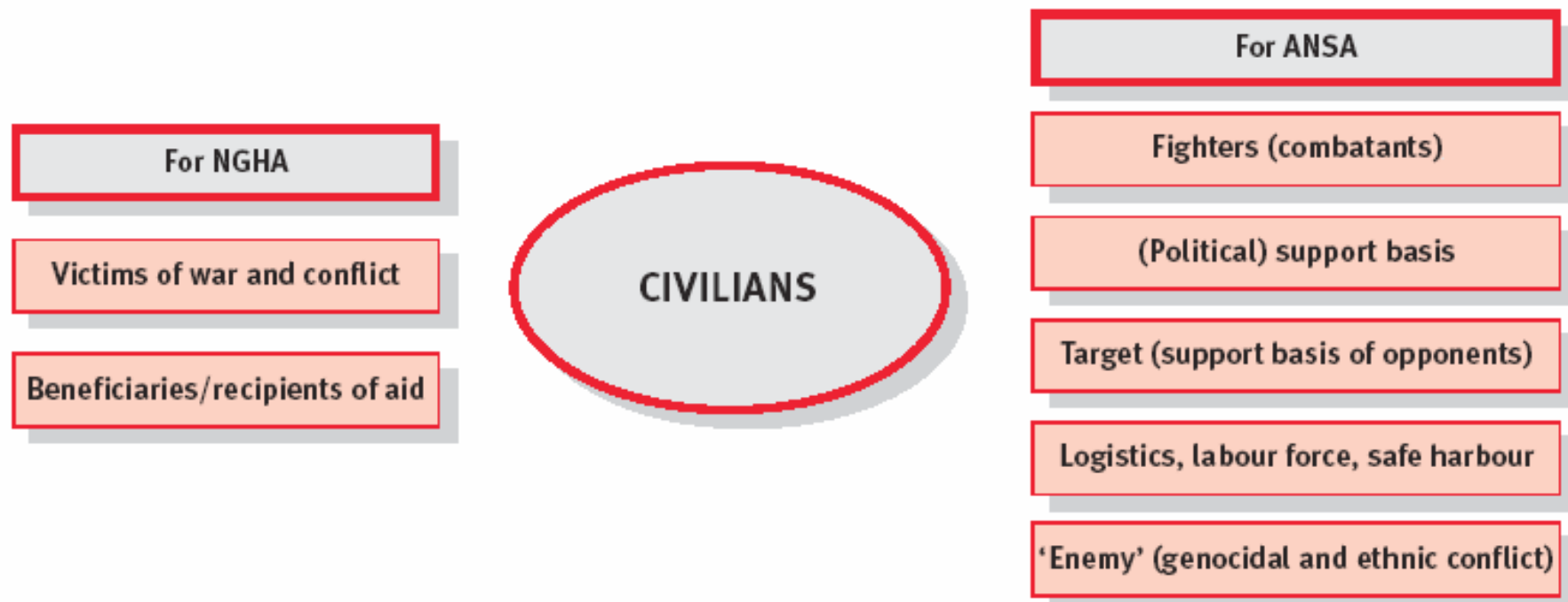
Non-trinitarian warfare



# Configuration of civilians

**Figure 1**

The function of civilians in conflict



# ANSA classification

	Dependency on civilians	In-out group dynamics
Protective	Hi dependency and protective to civilians	The broader the civil constituency – the more receptive
Competitive	Vying over control of territory / influence over civilians	Strong sensitivity to in-out groups dynamics
Antagonistic	Support one group against another group of civilians	Extremely strong in-group dynamics
Sectarian	Independent	Diffused in-group dynamics.

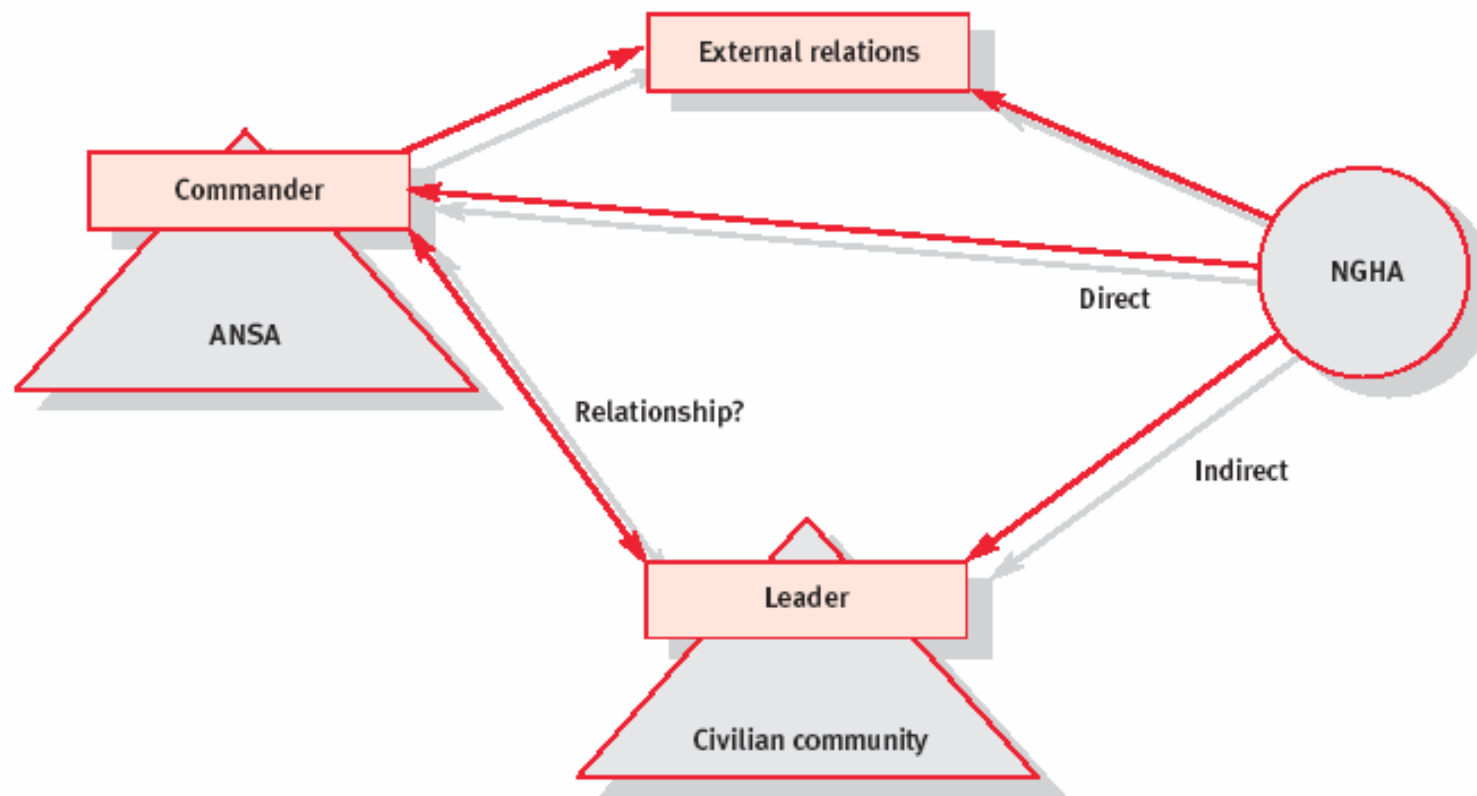
# Risk /benefit analysis

	Risks	Benefits
<b>Protective</b>	Accusations by states incumbent g'ments Neutrality/impartiality	Access to aid Influence behavior
<b>Competitive</b>	Accusations from competing ANSA Retaliation & threats	Access to aid Protection Influence behavior?
<b>Antagonistic</b>	Abuse of aid (means) neutrality / impartiality Undue legitimacy	Access to aid (limited) protection Access to dialogue?
<b>Sectarian</b>	Accusations g'ments, severe security risks Undue legitimacy	Access to aid?

# Interlocutor position

Figure 4

Choice of interlocutor: direct and indirect contacts



# Challenge to negotiated access

Structure	Loose (Lo- discipline)	Clear (Hi-discipline)
Objectives		
Narrow (Self-interested)	<b>Most challenging</b>	Moderate
Broad (e.g.Social/land reforms)	Moderate	<b>Least challenging</b>

# Unwarranted / Unacceptable situations

- ANSA in weak and defensive position, unable to guarantee access conditions
- Highly competitive and abusive ANSA
- Extremely antagonistic – genocidal ANSA
- Sectarian – extreme and total spoilers

# Global War on Terror

- **New concepts** – “with us or against us“ (or “us against them”)
- **New actors** – Transnational ‘total spoilers’
- **New tactics** – Individual (sleeper) cells
- **‘New’ Methods** – indiscriminate terror
- **Values & Ideologies** – Political Islam vs. Christianity

# New types

(See: Jessica Stern – Terror in the Name of God)

- **The traditional organization:** Terrorist armies & Commander-cadre organizations
- **The ultimate organization:** Networks, Franchises, Freelancers
  - ‘Virtual’ and Leaderless networks
  - Sleeper cells
  - Lone wolfers (avengers)

# Consequences...

- **Fragmented audience** – limited possibility to ‘persuasion’ or ‘bartering’ terms
- **Need for specialist knowledge: (Islam)** – context, meaning and relation to society

But: differentiate between Islam and radical political Islam!

- **Accept hi risks** – casualties, kidnapping, assassinations

# Thank you!

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