

Sub-relevant political landscapes in hegemonised transboundary waters [TBW] contexts and processes

J A (Tony) Allan, KCL & SOAS London

Discussant - A contribution of relevance to any analysis of hegemonic transboundary contestation and understanding outcomes

The purpose of this contribution is to highlight the different landscapes of engagement for the numerous actors in contention over transboundary waters. The concept of **Sub-Relevant Political Landscapes** is proposed to highlight the existence of the hidden entities that determine the nature and pace of TBW discursive processes. This concept suggests that *shadow state* players and their unresearchable roles determine outcomes and also any bi-lateral and multi-lateral agreements and legal arrangements that might emerge. Such processes are not straight-forward.

Who plays and who engages when? An approximation *DRAFT for development*

Who plays & engages?	Priorities	Operational behaviour	Comment
RELEVANT Transboundary Waters political landscapes			
<i>Shadow states</i> & the <i>Security Services</i> which serve them, Generally obsessed by securitisation.	Protecting <i>sovereignty</i> or <i>countering sovereignty</i>	Top secret and clandestine	These high level players participate in NBI-type activities via security services. Key donor facilitators can meet these players but only one-on-one. ---- Top shadow states determine <i>political will</i> & <i>the details of what [eg articles] gets agreed</i>
<i>Non-water riparian Departments of State</i> that privilege securitised approaches - eg <i>MFAs</i>	Protecting sovereignty	Semi-detached & controlled by the Shadow State.	These players are very aware of the priorities of the shadow state without being privy to its activities.
SUB-RELEVANT TBW political landscapes			
Multi-stakeholder technical officials in <i>riparian water resources & environmental departments of state</i> . PLUS key donors. [With <i>security service</i> people present with technical cover.]	Sovereignty OR Integrity OR Equity & combinations.	Hegemonic or counter-hegemonic. Chauvinism is predictive of the behaviour even of legal, economic & engineering professionals. Potentially constructive both discursively & substantively.	<i>Basin initiatives</i> and <i>Basin Commissions</i> are the <i>agreement-making, rule-making & organisational</i> outcomes. The tendency to establish <i>organisation</i> rather than negotiate <i>agreements, rules and allocation</i> reflects the absence of the shadow state from these activities.
Bottom-up - civil society and media initiatives and activism			
NGOs. Unions and Activists Public Opinion and the Media	Secure and safe water services - preferably free	Contribute to shaping public opinion	Rarely formally part of Transboundary waters affairs.

Some examples of transboundary contestation will to show that there are different contexts and types of engagement. It is concluded that 'leadership' in the form of leadership hegemony can take root in different levels of the political landscape. Also relevance can be discursively established.