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VOLUME 25 ISSUE 4 VERSION 1.0



GLOBAL JOURNAL OF HUMAN-SOCIAL SCIENCE: F
POLITICAL SCIENCE



GLOBAL JOURNAL OF HUMAN-SOCIAL SCIENCE: F
POLITICAL SCIENCE

VOLUME 25 ISSUE 4 (VER. 1.0)

OPEN ASSOCIATION OF RESEARCH SOCIETY

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GLOBAL JOURNAL OF HUMAN-SOCIAL SCIENCE: F
POLITICAL SCIENCE
Volume 25 Issue 4 Version 1.0 Year 2025
Type: Double Blind Peer Reviewed International Research Journal
Publisher: Global Journals
Online ISSN: 2249-460X & Print ISSN: 0975-587X

The Art of Governing in Justus Lipsius' *Politica*: Methodological Analysis and Political Leader Training

By María Ángeles Robles

Abstract- This article analyses the introductory and supplementary texts (known as paratexts) in Justus Lipsius' edition of *Politica*, with the aim of better understanding how he organises his work and the ideas he proposes about the education and formation of a ruler. Specific biographical details about Lipsius, which are discussed in the article, play an important role in contextualising the text within its historical and intellectual background. The article also examines how he employs a writing technique known as cento (which consists of assembling quotations from other authors) as a key element in constructing his political argument. Particular attention is paid to the frequency and manner in which Lipsius incorporates excerpts from the Roman historian Tacitus, as well as how he sets out principles of good government through these paratexts. Ultimately, the article shows how these elements come together to provide an overall picture of Lipsius' political thought.

Keywords: *paratexts, justus lipsius, cento, ruler, political discourse.*

GJHSS-F Classification: LCC Code: JC153.L5



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Abstract- This article analyses the introductory and supplementary texts (known as paratexts) in Justus Lipsius' edition of *Politica*, with the aim of better understanding how he organises his work and the ideas he proposes about the education and formation of a ruler. Specific biographical details about Lipsius, which are discussed in the article, play an important role in contextualising the text within its historical and intellectual background. The article also examines how he employs a writing technique known as cento (which consists of assembling quotations from other authors) as a key element in constructing his political argument. Particular attention is paid to the frequency and manner in which Lipsius incorporates excerpts from the Roman historian Tacitus, as well as how he sets out principles of good government through these paratexts. Ultimately, the article shows how these elements come together to provide an overall picture of Lipsius' political thought.

Keywords: paratexts, justus lipsius, cento, ruler, political discourse.

I. INTRODUCTION

This work aims to examine the paratexts present in the edition of Justus Lipsius' *Politica*, with the purpose of highlighting how the author constructs his work and what theoretical principles he establishes in relation to the training of a ruler.

First, I will contextualise the *Politica* within its historical and editorial framework, focusing on specific biographical details that will shed light on his approach to literary work. Next, I will examine the cento methodology used in the construction of Lipsius' political discourse, a fundamental resource in his writing. Next, I will address the paratexts *De consilio et forma nostri operis*, *Monita quaedam sive Cautiones* and his *Notae*, where Lipsius offers clues about the development of his work. At this point, I will pay special attention to the role of Tacitus, as well as the systematic and functional incorporation of his fragments within Lipsius' text.

Subsequently, I will address the question of the formation of the ruler, based on the reflections that Lipsius sets out in his *Notae*. In a complementary line of inquiry, I will analyse the foundations of good

government according to the author, as presented in his first letter-prologue addressed to rulers, which addresses issues such as political power and public utility. Finally, I will comment on the excesses present in the political discourse of the prologue letter *De consilio et forma nostri operis*, thus concluding the overview of the paratextual elements that structure and guide Lipsius' work.

The treatise *Politica* is the ideal starting point for examining the evolution of Justus Lipsius' writing on government and the organisation of power. The treatise was so wide-ranging not only because of its content, but also because of its form. Lipsius organised quotations from ancient authors using concise definitions, summaries and marginal references, thus creating a coherent but flexible discussion of practical and relevant political issues of his time.

This treatise remains his main contribution to European political thought, particularly to the tradition of *raison d'état*. Some of its features are equally accessible and appealing to a modern audience. Many aspects of the *Politica* point to a work situated at the threshold of modernity; moreover, it is the product of a scholarly mind oriented towards an analysis of the laws of practical political behaviour and apparently free from confessional or doctrinal loyalties. Academic interest in the work was reinforced by its exceptional popularity among European political elites across confessional boundaries, as evidenced by the numerous editions and translations it underwent, as well as by concrete signs of its political influence.¹

II. HISTORICAL CONTEXT AND PUBLICATION OF THE *POLITICA*

Lipsius wrote in the context of the Revolt in the Netherlands and other similar conflicts that threatened to erupt in different other regions. Regarding his own era, he experienced a strong sense of chaos and constant insecurity. During the period in which he wrote the *Politica* (1586–1589), he was a professor of history and law (from 1578 to 1591) at the newly founded University of Leiden.² His work *De Constantia* also

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¹ (Braun, 2011, pp. 135–137).

² For biographical information on Lipsius, see: (Lipsius, 2000, p. 15).



appeared during this period of his stay in Holland.³ The birth of this university was inextricably linked to the Revolt, and its main objective was to train the country's future leaders. All students had to study at the Faculty of Arts before specialising in another discipline. Consequently, as a professor of Latin, Lipsius occupied a central position at the university. Thanks to his influence, many of his students adopted a "Tacitian" Latin style (much to the chagrin of later professors such as Scaliger), and Tacitism⁴ soon became important in the intellectual life of the young Dutch Republic. Lipsius' chair in Leiden was one of the main sources of the close connections between Tacitism,⁵ Leiden University and the Dutch Republic.⁶ Subsequently, the way in which Tacitus' work was received in Flanders, primarily through the interpretation of Justus Lipsius, constitutes the essential pillar for understanding its actual reception in the 17th century. The Tacitean model, which represents a true paradigm of political historiography, could only be reborn under the protection of a humanist as versatile as Lipsius and in an environment as open as 17th-century Amsterdam.⁷ Furthermore, our scholar was a central figure in the political Stoicism of his time, offering a structured and pragmatic response to a context marked by fratricidal conflicts among Christians, where theological arguments had lost their effectiveness and violence prevailed as a means of resolving disputes. Amid this spiritual and social crisis, the Neo-Stoicism he promoted presented itself as a rational approach to restoring both internal and collective order. Tacitism and Neo-Stoicism represent two sides of the same intellectual reaction to the early modern world's crisis: the former focused on the art of governing with prudence, while the latter emphasized the formation of a firm and virtuous character in the face of adversity.⁸ Through his closely related works *De Constantia* and *Politica*, he formulated a coherent ideology inspired by classical Roman sources. In it, he proposed a model of absolutist state, albeit with moderation, which clearly articulated the role of the bureaucracy, the army and sovereign authority. He also defended a theory that legitimised the power of the prince and regulated relations between the state and the Church.⁹ It is important to note that until 1576, when he graduated in law from Leuven, he not only devoted himself to

deepening his knowledge of Roman law but also came into direct contact with the thinking of the Spanish scholastic jurist-philosophers who formed part of the so-called School of Salamanca,¹⁰ such as Francisco de Vitoria, Domingo de Soto and Fernando Vázquez de Menchaca,¹¹ whose works had spread throughout the military occupation of the Dutch territories at the time, sources that served him admirably at a later stage in completing and substantiating his ideas on the rights of the monarch and those of the subject.¹²

It is worth noting a biographical detail that explains Lipsius' contact with Machiavelli's writings and his extensive knowledge of Tacitus. His decision to dedicate his first publication, *Variarum lectionum libri quattuor*, to Cardinal Granvela was crucial in establishing a connection that led to his appointment as the cardinal's Latin secretary. This important position granted him access to key libraries such as the Vatican, the Farnese, and the Sforza. The two years he spent in Granvela's service proved to be among the most productive of his life, allowing him to refine his Latin skills while also giving him the unique opportunity to study the original works of Tacitus, Seneca, Plautus, and Terence, as well as contemporary authors like Machiavelli and Guicciardini.¹³ This experience enriched both his philological expertise and his practical philosophical understanding, the latter reflecting the contemporary meaning of "politics," a term frequently used by him and his peers. Regarding his relationship with Machiavelli,¹⁴ or more specifically with ethical-political Machiavellianism, Justus Lipsius maintained an

¹⁰ (De Bom, Janssens, Van Houdt & Papy, 2010, p. 8).

¹¹ These thinkers belonged to the so-called School of Salamanca, an influential sixteenth-century intellectual movement that originated in Spain and was associated with the University of Salamanca. Their approach combined theology, law, and philosophy, employing the scholastic method based on Aristotelian logic and the systematic analysis of texts. The ideas they developed were foundational to the emergence of international law, the formulation of natural law theory, and the establishment of ethical principles governing political and economic power. (Belda Plans, 2023, pp. 395-398 and 401-402).

¹² (Mikunda Franco, 1990, p. 360).

¹³ Machiavelli expanded his theoretical foundations based on his experience in the secretariat of the second chancellery of the Republic of Florence (between 1498 and 1512) and also on the teachings of history, especially of Roman institutions, which he considered exemplary in many respects and which, according to him, could serve as a model for implementing reforms in Florence. Francesco Guicciardini, on the other hand, although he considers that the past cannot be extrapolated as an ideal model and total reference point for the Florentine republic, recognises that history can be relevant to the institutional order and organisation of a city and can teach procedures which, although insufficient if they are to be imitated as they are, can at least be inspiring for the present. (Fernández Muñoz, 2025, pp. 95-97).

¹⁴ Machiavelli seeks to demonstrate that politics constitutes an autonomous sphere, with its own rules, independent of other disciplines, including morality. According to his approach, both political thought and action must be oriented primarily towards the self-sufficiency of power and the preservation of the state's welfare. (Echandi Gurdián, 2008, p. 129).

³ (Mikunda Franco, 1990, p. 360).

⁴ Subsequently, the reception of Tacitus' work in Flanders (particularly through Justus Lipsius' interpretation) forms the fundamental basis for understanding its true impact in the seventeenth century. The Tacitean model, embodying a genuine paradigm of political historiography, could only be revitalized under the guidance of a versatile humanist like Lipsius and within the open intellectual climate of seventeenth-century Amsterdam. (Álvarez, 2010, p. 5).

⁵ (De Bom, Janssens, Van Houdt & Papy, 2010, p. 3).

⁶ (Waszink, 1997, p. 148).

⁷ (Álvarez, 2010, p. 5).

⁸ (De Bom, Janssens, Van Houdt & Papy, 2010, p. 4).

⁹ (Mikunda Franco, 1990, p. 364).

ambiguous stance. On one hand, he accepted some of Machiavelli's ideas partially; on the other, he rejected others, sometimes out of personal conviction and sometimes out of prudence.¹⁵ It is important to note that Machiavelli went so far as to justify methods such as poison or murder to gain and retain power. In contrast, Lipsius argued that any state lacking an ethical foundation was inevitably doomed to decline.

Justus Lipsius' work *Politicorum sive Civilis Doctrinae libri sex. Qui ad Principatum maxime spectant* was first published in Leiden in July 1589. However, in 1590 the Vatican included it in the *Index Librorum Prohibitorum* (Index of Prohibited Books), although Lipsius was not aware of this decision until 1593. Before he was notified, there had already been internal debates among the censors about whether it should really remain on that list. Between 1593 and 1595, he revised his work and modified the censored passages, while endeavouring to preserve the essence of the original text. The new revised edition was published in Antwerp in early 1596. This version was followed by subsequent editions in 1599, 1604, 1610, 1623 and 1637, all based on this corrected version, which continued to be republished throughout the 17th and 18th centuries.¹⁶ Specifically, I will refer to the revised edition of 1599, published in Antwerp by the publisher Christophe Plantin.

III. POETICS OF THE CENTO: A THEORETICAL AND CRITICAL REFLECTION

As Sagrario López Poza¹⁷ notes regarding Lipsius' *Politica*, some contemporary readers attempt to discern the author's authentic voice within its dense network of quotations, while others dismiss the work as merely a cento, a patchwork of borrowed texts lacking original authorship. However, as I will argue, such views fail to do justice to *Politica*.

I begin with Harald Braun's analysis, in which he argues that the work recalls the commonplace books familiar to readers of the time.¹⁸ Yet, *Politica* also distinguished itself from much of the conventional literature of its era by appealing to a more intellectually demanding audience.

The use of the cento form enabled a dynamic interplay between quotation and commentary. Unbound by rigid theological or legal-constitutional frameworks, *Politica* granted readers an unprecedented freedom to engage with and apply pagan political thought to their contemporary realities. Lipsius grounded his practical advice exclusively in classical sources, with a particular

emphasis on Tacitus. But the humanist scholar did not settle for a merely formal or philological study of these texts; rather, through philology, he moved toward philosophy, guided by a careful historical analysis.

As for the choice of the cento¹⁹ as a literary form, it is important to note that in the 16th century, students were encouraged by their teachers, following the detailed guidance of Erasmus,²⁰ Luis Vives,²¹ Justus Lipsius²² and others, to record in notebooks any material from their readings that might prove useful. This included profound sayings and maxims, witty remarks, proverbs, notable figures, cities, animals, plants, gems, tricky expressions and interpretive doubts.

This notebook of notes was usually called a *codex excerptorius* or personal portfolio. Still, astute printers soon realised that it could be good business to offer the best illustrative examples of text fragments, taken from many authors and the Holy Scriptures, organised by theme, which they published with metaphorical titles such as garden with many flowers (*polyanthea*, following Greek etymology, or *florilegium* if the Latin etymology was preferred). Writers, priests, teachers, students and, of course, poets and writers in general turned to this type of work when they had to produce their creations or a speech, sermon or essay, either in search of suggestions for the *inventio* or to find quotations with which to adorn their writing with erudition.²³ In this regard, the contributions of British researcher Ann Moss' work on books of commonplaces,²⁴ together with Jan Waszink's study,²⁵ offers crucial insights into understanding this work.

¹⁹ (Tucker, 2010, pp. 163–164).

²⁰ "Ratio colligendi exempla: addideris locos comunes siue sententias, iam quicquid usquam obuium erit, in ullis autoribus, praecipue si sit insignis, mox suo loco annotabis, siue erit fabula, siue apologus, siue exemplum, siue cassus novus, siue sententia, siue lepide aut alioqui mire dictum dictum, siue paraemia, siue metaphora, aut parabola. Atque ad eum modum pariter fiet, ut et altius insideant animo quae legeris et adsuescas uti lectionis opibus". (Erasmus, 1553, fols. 178v-179r).

²¹ "Itaque unusquisque puerorum habebit librum chartae vacuum, in partes aliquot divisum, ad ea accipienda, quae ex ore praeceptoris cadent, utique non viliora, quam gemma: in parte una reponet verba separata, et singula; in altera proprietates loquendi atque idiomata sermonis, vel usus quotidiani, vel rara, vel non omnibus nota, atque exposita in alia parte historias; in alia fabulas; in alia dicta, et sententias graves; in alia salsas et argutas; in alia proverbialia; in alia viros famosos ac nobiles; in alia urbes insignes; in alia animantes, stirpes, gemmas peregrinas; in alia locos auctorum difficiles explicatos; in alia, dubia nondum soluta". (Vives, 1785, p. 310).

²² "Tertius, Dictionis, quam diuido in duas partes, Phrasium et Verborum. Phrases quidem enotari velim, quaecumque insigniores aut nitidiores occurrent". (Lipsius, 1591, p. 22).

²³ (López Poza, 2016, pp. 8-10).

²⁴ (Moss, 1996, pp. vii-viii); (Moss, 1998, pp. 421-436). Both works suggest that Lipsius' use of books of commonplaces contributed to the development of his political ideas and to the broader intellectual culture of the time. By analysing the relationship between Lipsius' methods and his published work, the article sheds light on the role of practical knowledge management in shaping political thought in the Early Modern period.

¹⁵ Machiavelli and Lipsius wrote in very different historical and geographical contexts, so it would be incorrect to place them within the same ideological current. (Mikunda Franco, 1990, p. 365).

¹⁶ (López Poza, 2008, pp. 211-212).

¹⁷ (López Poza, 2008, pp. 217-218).

¹⁸ (Braun, 2011, pp. 135–137).

Moss explains that, for a 16th- or 17th-century reader familiar with humanist educational practices, reading Lipsius would not have seemed unusual. It was a work of *inventio* and *dispositio*, in which the author selects, organizes, and arranges material taken from other authors, following the methods typical of commonplace books. Typography plays a fundamental role in distinguishing his own words, set in roman type, from quotations, set in italics. In addition, the inner margins contain short sentences that summarise or guide interpretation without imposing a single reading, thus allowing for the coexistence of multiple perspectives. The outer margins record the exact sources of the quotations, providing a flexible and adaptive framework for the argument.

Waszink, on the other hand, examines how Lipsius adopted and transformed methods of reading and selecting classical texts, particularly those of Tacitus and Sallust, and argues that this methodology was applied deliberately and with a remarkable capacity for manipulation.

According to Waszink's analysis, Lipsius composed his work in two distinct stages. The first involved dealing with the abstract or theoretical content: identifying and arranging the key principles, ideas, and arguments he intended to present. These aspects correspond to what rhetorical theory refers to as *inventio* and *dispositio*. However, in the *Politica*, this stage was followed by a second and more extensive phase, namely the collection and organisation of the actual quotations through which Lipsius articulated his theory. In other words, it involved a second round of *inventio* and *dispositio*, this time applied not to abstract concepts but to the concrete material that constitutes the text itself.

Following Waszink, it seems unlikely that Lipsius would have had all this material memorised and readily available at the time of writing, especially considering the length of the *Politica* (around 400 pages in modern editions).²⁵ Although Lipsius appears to have quoted from memory in a significant number of cases, Waszink suggests that *Ms. Lips. 58, fascicle 2: Justi Lipsii Exemplorum et Consiliorum Liber Imitabilium Florilegium* was likely one of the commonplace book collections he used as a source for the *Politica*.²⁷

Waszink's perspective is certainly valuable. However, I would argue that additional factors should be considered when preparing his edition. The personal portfolio goes beyond the mere physical accumulation of texts; it is a mental construct in which the author's literary production is organised and developed, forming an integral part of the portfolio in its most abstract sense. The extensive body of data I present enables me

to support this claim in a solid and well-substantiated way.

With regard to the use of sources, it is important to remember that, at the time Lipsius was writing the *Politica*, he was serving as a professor of law and history at the University of Leiden. As such, his teaching responsibilities likely involved the preparation of instructional materials, which may have facilitated the process of gathering and organising the sources later used in the composition of the *Politica*.

Creative processes continually inform and reinforce one another across Lipsius's various editions, drawing on previously published works as sources. His remarkable ability to handle such material was honed through his prolific output. One notable example is his edition of *Somnium*, published in 1581. In this work, the use of sources is not limited to inserting quotations that merely showcase his well-known erudition. On the contrary, classical sources are often integrated directly into the discourse itself.

In many cases, this use of classical material takes the form of a technique that might be described as a "collage of quotations", where sources are juxtaposed in such a way that it appears the classical authors speak for themselves, without any interpretative mediation.²⁸ This centonic approach reached its height in the *Politica*, published in 1589. Earlier, in 1574, Lipsius had published his edition of Tacitus, where he demonstrated his skill in working with commonplace materials. In addition to his great talent for crafting speeches and presenting a wide range of commonplaces, I am reminded of the *oratio* he delivered before Archdukes Isabella Clara Eugenia and Albert in 1599. Lipsius gave the archdukes a master class on Seneca (*Sen. Cl. 1, 3*) at the University of Leuven on the duties and virtues of the prince, which he improvised. The text was published as *Dissertatiuncula apud Principes* in 1600, in Antwerp by Christophe Plantin.²⁹ Later, Lipsius would refer to his *Dissertatiuncula* speech in his notes to the edition of Seneca, published in 1605, where he describes what a prince should be like in the motto "*Excubare pro*" (*Sen. Cl. 1, 3*).³⁰

Also, about this method of using his own works as sources, it should be remembered that his work

²⁵ (Macías Villalobos, 2023, pp. 202-203).

²⁹ (Robles, 2025, pp. 5-6).

³⁰ "*Excubare pro.*] Plutarchus, *Ad Principem indoctum*[=*Moralia*]: *καὶ οὗτος ἐστὶν ὁ φόβος τοῦ ἄρχοντος φιλόφρονος καὶ οὐκ ἀγεννῆς, ὑπὲρ τῶν ἀρχομένων δεδιέναι μὴ λάθωσι βλαβέντες, / ὡς δὲ κύνες περὶ μῆλα δυνωρήσονται ἐν αἰλῇ, / θηρὸς ἀκούσαντες κρατερόφρονος. / οὐχ ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν ἀλλ' ὑπὲρ τῶν φυλαττομένων*[=*Plu. Ad Princ. ind. 781C*]. *Ille est benignus et generosus Principis metus, timere subditis ne laedantur ignaro ipso. Sicut canes in vestibulo sedulo excubant et laborant, cum feram trucem audierint, non pro se, sed pro ovibus, quas custodiunt. Plura in hanc sententiam ego, conventu et auditorio procerum hinc Lovanii, cum Principes N[omen] N[ominatum] Albertus et Isabella Austriaci imperium auspicarentur; et subito aptassem et dilatassem*". (Lipsius, 1605, p. 190).

²⁵ (Waszink, 1997, pp. 141-162).

²⁶ (Mikunda Franco, 1990, p. 361).

²⁷ (Waszink, 1997, pp. 144-145).

Monita et exempla politica, published in 1605 after his return to Leuven, was conceived as an illustration of Lipsius' political thought as set out in *Politica*.³¹ The *Monita* should be read in connection with his *Politica*, as Lipsius himself says in his letter to the reader that his *Monita* have been written to offer *lux* and *assertatio*³² to his *Politica*.³³

Further information regarding the development of his works can be found in the Leiden University Library, which preserves Lipsius' autograph work *De magistratibus veteris Populi Romani* with the call number: Hs BPL Lips. 31. If we compare the manuscript with the edition published in 1592, the manuscript has marginal notes that do not appear in his published work. In short, Lipsius demonstrates great erudition in his manuscript, which he himself filters into his edition.

IV. DESIGNING THE *POLITICA*: THE INTELLECTUAL ARCHITECTURE OF LIPSIUS

Next, I will examine the paratexts *De consilio et forma nostri operis*, *Monita quaedam sive Cautiones* (listed below), and *Notae*, the latter of which are appended at the end of the discourse. I will start by discussing the recommendations the Flemish scholar offers to the reader under the title *De consilio et forma nostri operis*:

Cum venia igitur nos quoque hac scribimus: praesertim alio quodam et nouo plane modo. Nam inopinatum quoddam stili genus instituimus: in quo vere possim dicere, omnia nostra esse, et nihil. Cum enim inuentio tota et ordo a nobis sint, verba tamen et sententias varie acquisivimus a scriptoribus priscis. Idque maxime ab Historicis: hoc est, ut ego censeo, a fonte ipso Prudentia Civilis. Nec huc ambitio nos aut novitatis ventus impulit (ingenue id testor) sed tuus fructus. Quid utilius potui, quam tot sententias in unum conducere; pulchras, acres, et, ita me Salus amet, ad Salutem natas generis humani? Nam quod ego eadem dicerem: ecquando mihi eadem vis aut fides? Ut in uno aliquo telo aut gladio multum interest, a qua manu veniat: sic in sententia, ut penetret, valde facit robustae alicuius et receptae auctoritatis pondus. Atqui ea veretibus adest [=Suet. Cal. 53, 2]. Nec vero nudas aut sparsas sententias dedimus, ne disfluerent, et esset, quod dicitur, Arena sine calce: sed eas aut inter se haud indecenter vinximus, aut interdum velut caemento quodam commisimus nostrorum verborum. Ad summam, ut Phrygiones e variis coloris filo unum

*aliquod aulaeum formant: sic nos e mille aliquot particulis uniforme hoc et cohaerens corpus. Quod ipsum figuris etiam et vario sermonis ductu ornare ausus sum: ut non colorem solum, sed quasi spiritum et vitam. Hoc totum quam arduum, in ardua ista a materie, mihi fuerit, frustra dixerim apud non expertum.*³⁴

In the text above, the Flemish author acknowledges that he has developed a distinctive and innovative style in his work, one that may seem unusual or unexpected to his readers. The document presents a programmatic reflection on the structure and purpose of his treatise. In it, he explains how he conceived, organized, and composed his political work, introducing what he himself describes as a "new genre of style": "*Nam inopinatum quoddam stili genus instituimus: in quo vere possim dicere, operis. omnia nostra esse, et nihil. Cum enim inuentio tota et ordo a nobis sint, verba tamen et sententias varie acquisivimus a scriptoribus priscis*".³⁵

One can discern the possible influence of the *speculum principum* ("mirror for princes"),³⁶ an ancient literary genre that can be understood as a manual of instruction, combining historical lessons and narrative fiction with a moral or doctrinal purpose.³⁷

The clarity with which Lipsius explains his procedure reveals his intention to legitimise a particular form of writing which, while not entirely original in content, is original in structure and purpose. Lipsius begins the text with a statement of modesty and novelty: "*Cum venia igitur nos quoque hac scribimus: praesertim alio quodam et nouo plane modo*".³⁸ He is writing, yes, like others before him, but in a different and completely new style. He defines this form of composition as "*inopinatum quoddam stili genus*"³⁹ ("an unexpected style"), and characterises it as a synthesis between the familiar and the unfamiliar: "*omnia nostra esse, et nihil*"⁴⁰ ("everything is ours and nothing is"). This apparent contradiction reveals the core of Lipsius' method, which is the creation of a new work from existing materials. The scholar clarifies that although the invention, meaning the selection of themes, and the structure of the work are entirely his own, the sentences and expressions that comprise it have been drawn from ancient authors such as Tacitus, Seneca, and Sallust. Nevertheless, he claims authorship in having carefully selected, connected, and organized these elements into a coherent whole to produce an effective discourse. At the same time, he

³¹ Marijke Janssens considers the *Monita* to be part of the tradition of the *speculum principum*, characterised by its didactic nature and practical application with ethical and political implications, as already indicated in relation to his work *Politica*. (De Bom, Janssens, Van Houdt & Papy, 2010, pp. 6 and 11).

³² "*Est scilicet eadem divisio, et ordo, qui in Politica nostris fuit: quorum luci aut assertioni haec scribuntur*". (Lipsius, 1605, fol. *3v).

³³ (De Bom, Janssens, Van Houdt & Papy, 2010, p. 9).

³⁴ (Lipsius, 1599, fol. *B1v-2r).

³⁵ (Lipsius, 1599, fol. *B1v).

³⁶ (López Poza, 2008, p. 225).

³⁷ Compendiums on the art of governing during the Baroque period, unlike those from the Renaissance, employ the concepts of "justice" and "truth" primarily in a political rather than a moral sense. (Álvarez, 2010, p. 12).

³⁸ (Lipsius, 1599, fol. *B1v).

³⁹ (Lipsius, 1599, fol. *B1v).

⁴⁰ (Lipsius, 1599, fol. *B1v).

explicitly distances himself from any pursuit of empty originality or innovation for its own sake: "*Nec huc ambitio nos aut novitatis ventus impulit [...] sed tuus fructus*".⁴¹ The motive behind his undertaking is the reader's benefit: to offer them a compendium of practical wisdom oriented towards the common good, "in the service of the health of the human race" ("*ad salutem natus generis humani*").⁴² "Furthermore, he emphasises that the same ideas he could express on his own would not have the same effectiveness: "*ecquando mihi eadem vis aut fides?*".⁴³ The authority of the ancients is indispensable for reaching the reader's mind. Like a sword whose effectiveness depends on the hand that wields it ("*gladio multum interest, a qua manu veniat*"),⁴⁴ a sentence gains strength when it comes from a recognized and respected source. One of the most significant aspects of this paratext is the attention that the humanist devotes to the formal organisation of the content. He has not collected "bare or scattered" ("*nudas aut sparsas*") sentences,⁴⁵ which would result in a disjointed text, an "arena without lime", a metaphor taken from Suetonius (Suet. *Cal.* 53.2), but has instead brought them together in a dignified manner and, where necessary, bound them together with "a kind of cement" made from his own words. Ultimately, the aim is not to accumulate maxims but to construct a coherent body of thought, an organic whole that derives its meaning from its structure and becomes more than the mere sum of its parts. This idea is vividly illustrated in the most visual moment of the text, where the author compares his work to a tapestry woven by Phrygian craftsmen, "*the Phrygiones*",⁴⁶ a richly coloured fabric, or "*aulaeum*", in which threads of many hues come together to form a single, unified image.⁴⁷ This metaphor very clearly expresses the idea of structured composition, in which the diversity of sources and voices is integrated into a single work, with a defined form and internal harmony: "*e mille aliquot particulis uniforme hoc et cohaerens corpus*".⁴⁸ Lipsius has not only compiled and organised his work, but also embellished it, endowing it with style, rhetorical figures and linguistic variations so that the reader perceives not only the content, but also "the colour, spirit and life" ("*non colorem solum, sed quasi spiritum et vitam*"),⁴⁹ that is, he wants to give the work a soul, so that it is not only beautiful, but also alive, animated, practical, and formative.

It is a perfect example of humanist rhetoric serving moral and political teaching. The author

concludes by emphasising the difficulty of his undertaking, which is to transform diverse and ancient materials into a coherent, beautiful and functional whole; he values his work as an arduous task, even more so because of the subject matter (politics), and such difficulty can only be understood by those who have attempted something similar. The humanist, in his *Monita ad lectorem*, also seeks to guide the timeless recipient of the treatise toward a proper reading of the volume. At the same time, he acknowledges that certain passages may present difficulties. While reaffirming his fidelity to the original text and noting that he was not at liberty to modify it, he provides auxiliary resources such as commentary and explanatory notes to aid the reader's understanding. This approach is a clear reflection of his humanistic and pedagogical outlook: "*Tu simul, Lector, instruendus, ut magis ex tuo meoque usu me legas [...] Ego quid facerem? ponere illa talia, lex mei operis iussit, mutare aut addere, religio non permisit. Tamen huic rei subsidia haec cape*".⁵⁰ In the same vein of providing guidelines for accessing his work, in the section of his *Notae*, which appears at the end of the discourse in the 1599 edition, in his first scholia,⁵¹ the author compares the first part of each of the books that make up the treatise to a common vestibule ("*commune προαύλιον*"), using the Greek word "*προαύλιον*" to emphasise the idea of an entrance or preparation space. This "vestibule" does not belong to a single form of government, but serves any political system. Moreover, this section includes precepts or rules that broadly govern all aspects of civil life, extending beyond the specific concerns of the principality or particular forms of government. This suggests that the discourse engages not only with distinct political matters but also with overarching principles that shape the conduct and organization of society as a whole: "*Tamen librorum prior pars velut commune προαύλιον ad quamque Rempública est: et passim praecepta ad omnem civilem vitam*".⁵² The scholar then explains in his "*Notae*" how he built the structure of the discourse. Although he borrowed stones and beams from others, the overall construction and design of the building are entirely his own, comparable to an architect who gathers materials from many sources to create a unique work: "*Lapides et ligna ab aliis accipio: aedificii tamen exstructio et forma, tota nostra. Architectus ego sum, sed materiam varie undique conduxi*".⁵³ Continuing with the metaphor of construction, the humanist adds that he has used two fundamental pillars on which to structure his work: *virtus* and *prudencia*. According to Lipsius, these are

⁴¹ (Lipsius, 1599, fol. *B1v).

⁴² (Lipsius, 1599, fol. *B1v).

⁴³ (Lipsius, 1599, fol. *B1v).

⁴⁴ (Lipsius, 1599, fol. *B1v).

⁴⁵ (Lipsius, 1599, fol. *B1v).

⁴⁶ (Lipsius, 1599, fol. *B1v).

⁴⁷ (Lipsius, 1599, fol. *B1v).

⁴⁸ (Lipsius, 1599, fol. *B1v).

⁴⁹ (Lipsius, 1599, fol. *B1v).

⁵⁰ The section *Monita quaedam, siue Cautiones*. (Lipsius, 1599, fol. *B2r).

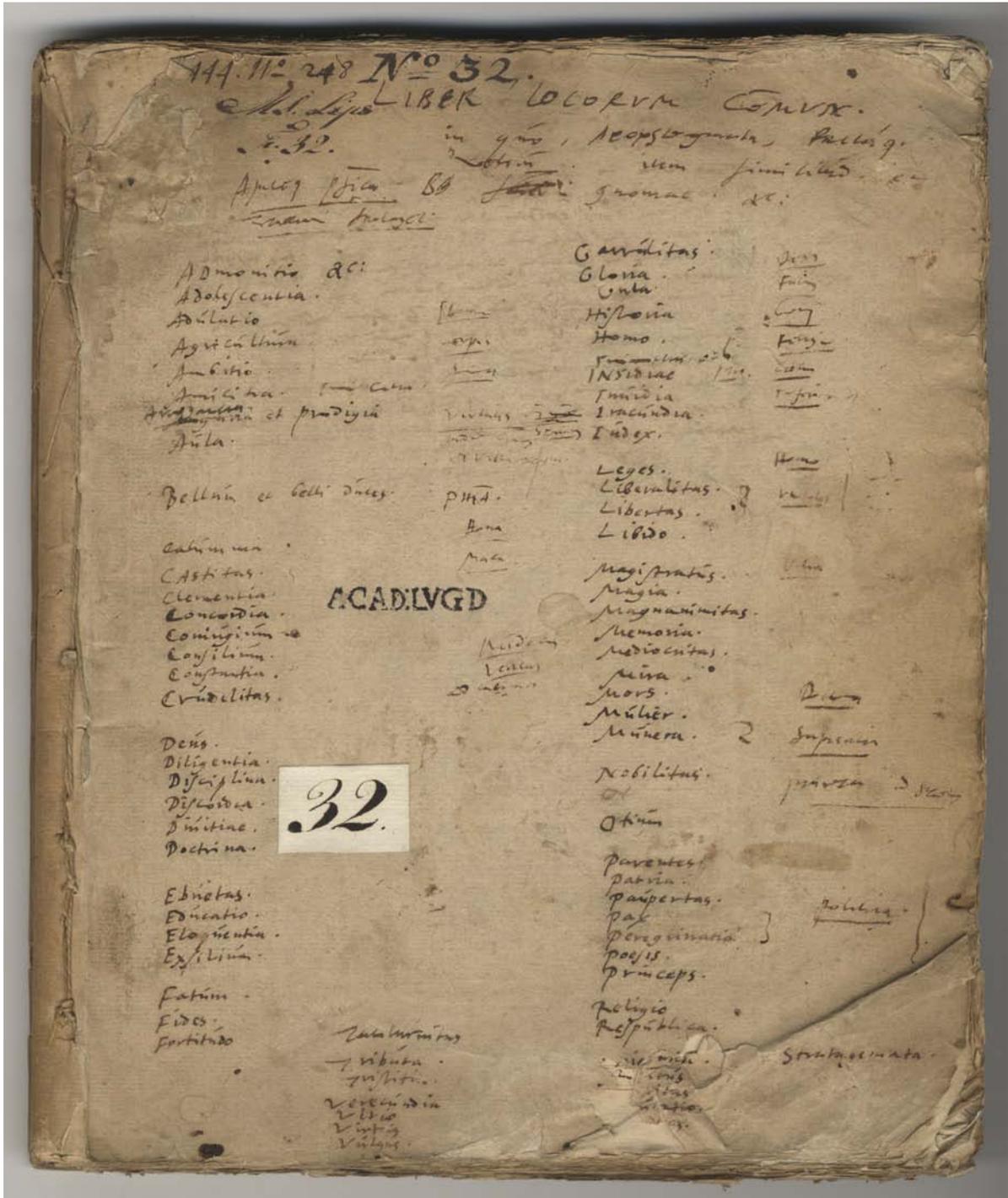
⁵¹ "*Tamen librorum prior pars velut commune προαύλιον ad quamque Rempública est: et passim praecepta ad omnem civilem vitam*". (Lipsius, 1599, *Notae* p. 7)

⁵² (Lipsius, 1599, *Notae* p. 7).

⁵³ (Lipsius, 1599, *Notae* p. 7).

indispensable for the stability of the state. By adopting the cento as his literary form, Lipsius was able to convey his ideas with deliberate ambiguity when addressing controversial issues, likely using this approach as a protective strategy against potential misunderstandings or negative reactions.⁵⁴ An example of the aforementioned personal notebook can be found in Leiden under the reference number *Lipsius No. 32* (*olim*

Manus. Lips. No. 248) fol. *Justi Lipsii Liber Librorum communium, apothegmata ex ordine alaphabetico autographa*. Ms. Lips. 32 is a general notebook of commonplaces, carefully organised in advance: a selection of keywords and topics (*libertas, Patria, Pax, Princeps et Pricipatus, Respublica, leges, libertas et servitus*, etc.).



⁵⁴ (Braun, 2011, pp. 135-137).

V. TACITUS AS A PRIVILEGED SOURCE IN LIPSIUS' POLITICA

In his work *Politica*, Lipsius weaves together a mosaic of quotations from Tacitus and other classical authors, seamlessly integrating them with commentary that situates these excerpts within his own discourse. In the *Auctorum Syllabus* section of the treatise, he highlights Tacitus as the most significant contributor to his work, surpassing all others. According to Lipsius, this is due to Tacitus' prudence and his unparalleled wealth of maxims: "*Plus unus ille nobis contulit, quam ceteri omnes. Causa in prudentia viri est, et quia creberrimus sententiis*".⁵⁵

It is important to recall that in 1574 he edited Tacitus, a publication that instantly propelled him to fame across Europe (both Catholic and Protestant) as a distinguished man of letters and a humanist of the highest caliber. Evidence of his impact lies in the remarkable fact that no other edition of the Roman historian's works was published thereafter.⁵⁶

Tacitus would be the means by which, from then on, he would no longer attempt to present historical events from a purely speculative point of view, but would seek to reflect the pragmatic or practical aspect. It could be suggested that Lipsius promoted the use of the *Annals* due to the positive influence he hoped the work would have on the contemporary political climate.

In response to the violent and turbulent conditions of their era, they favored Tacitus over Cicero as a guide in political matters, since for them Justice, Freedom, and Glory were no longer the ultimate aims of politics, and Peace had become the paramount goal.

They viewed a strong monarch capable of pacifying the warring factions as the only way to escape chaos. Such a monarch was permitted only in times of necessity to override moral or constitutional norms, provided that this served the common good with peace as the ultimate priority. For this reason, they regarded the traditional criticisms of Tacitus, particularly those targeting the amoral *exempla* in his work, such as accounts of the excessive use of power, as secondary concerns.

The Roman historian shows how imperial power really works; throughout his texts, there are allusions to intrigue, betrayal, control of public discourse and the use of fear. Tacitus became a guide for those seeking to understand, navigate, or survive the inner workings of power, offering a model of political analysis that was compatible with the principles of absolute monarchy.

Naturally, for our Belgian scholar and his contemporaries, who saw many crucial similarities between the period described in the *Annals* and their

own era,⁵⁷ the Roman past provided abundant observations that could be used in the service of the state and public life⁵⁸ ("*similitudo et imago plurima temporum nostrorum*").⁵⁹

VI. THE EDUCATION OF THE PRINCE: LANGUAGE, POLITICS AND HISTORY FOR THE CULTIVATION OF PRUDENCE

In the section of his *Notae*,⁶⁰ Lipsius clearly articulates his position on language teaching within the framework of his humanist and political thought. He maintains that only those languages most commonly spoken among a nation's subjects or neighboring peoples should be learned. The goal, therefore, is not the accumulation of linguistic knowledge for the sake of display, but for practical and political utility.

Lipsius distances himself from examples such as that of King Mithridates, who boasted of knowing all the languages of his domains. For him, this is nothing more than rhetorical excess, a display that is more pompous than helpful. In contrast, he approvingly cites the example of ancient Roman leaders who had little command of languages beyond Latin and Greek, since these two languages were widely spoken and understood across much of the known world. This emphasis on linguistic practicality is particularly significant in an era when vernacular languages were rapidly gaining prominence as symbols of national identity and political power.⁶¹ In this context, Lipsius makes a strong case for learning Latin, especially for the prince. Not so much to speak it fluently, although that would be useful if necessary, but above all to be able to read it. Furthermore, he warns that translations do not always capture the force, tone or character of the original. Therefore, direct access to Latin remains essential. However, Lipsius does not propose rigid or overloaded learning. On the contrary, he insists that Latin can be learned relatively easily, provided that one has a sensible teacher who knows how to avoid unnecessary rules or grammatical mazes. A few basic rules are sufficient and, above all, reading, as it is through reading that true mastery is acquired. He adds that this language (Latin) should be learned even more so because it continues to function, even in his time, as a common link that unites Europe through the exchange

⁵⁷ (Waszink, 1997, p. 148).

⁵⁸ (Antón Martínez, 2000, pp. 288-289).

⁵⁹ "*Nec utiles omnes nobis pari gradu. ea, ut censeo, maxime, in qua similitudo et imago plurima temporum nostrorum. Ut in pictura faciem praeuifam facilius agnoscimus: sic in historia noti moris exempla. Cuius generis si ulla est fuitque, inter Graecos aut Latinos: eam esse Cornelii Taciti Historiam adfirmate apud vos dico, Ordines Illustres*". (Lipsius, 1585, fol. *2r).

⁶⁰ (Lipsius, 1599, p. 20).

⁶¹ Luis Gil was aware that throughout Europe, vernacular languages were attempting to become instruments of culture. (Gil Fernández, 1997, p. 59).

⁵⁵ (Lipsius, 1599, p. 19).

⁵⁶ (Mikunda Franco, 1990, pp. 358-361).

of letters and language. Our humanist mentions that he knew several princes who, in their maturity, decided to study Latin when they discovered its usefulness, which they had overlooked or neglected in their youth. But his argument does not stop there; he goes further and establishes a direct relationship between the cultivation of Latin, reading, and the acquisition of prudence, that political virtue par excellence. This prudence, he says, is achieved mainly through two paths: politics and history. The first offers precepts, the second examples, and it is from the combination of both that a truly prudent and superior mind will draw its nourishment, for the benefit it will obtain, both for itself and for those it governs, will be extraordinary:

*De Linguis censeo, non nisi eas discendas, quarum apud subditos aut vicinos crebrior usus. Mithridates hic se iactauerit, qui omnes suarum ditionum: superfluum est, et pompa magis, quam usus. Romanos illos proceres, vix lego alias calluisse a Latina et Graeca: et sufficiebant, quia sparsae et communes fere per terrarum orbem. Noster Latinam inter omnes discat, catenus ut leuiter (si opus) in sermone uti possit, sed maxime ad legendum. Qua Disciplina melior, non comprehensa hoc sermone? Nec versiones vim illam aut indolem semper habent. Addiscenda est, et facile potest, si Praeceptor adsit iudicio probus, qui non circumducat per varia et superuacua praecepta. Pauca haec, et lectio, in breui eam dabunt. Addiscenda autem eo magis, quia etiam nunc quasi commune vinculum est, quod Europam inter se commerciis litterarum et sermonis iungit. Scio viros Principes in grandiori iam aetate, cum usum viderent, assumpsisse, spretam aut neglectam male in iuuentute. Sed pergo. Ad Prudentiam palam faciunt Politica, et Historiae, quas dixeris eorum fontem. Quod illa praeceptis complexa sunt, hae praeuerunt exemplis: et prudens aliqua meliorque mens hauriet semper ex istis. Haec propria et peculiaris lectio ac palaestra Principum: se atque otium hic exerceant incredibili suo et alieno fructu. Sed in quibus auctoribus aut libris? de Historicis iam diximus: de Politicis, nemo mihi ante Aristotelem.*⁶²

VII. FOUNDATIONS OF GOOD GOVERNMENT IN JUSTUS LIPSIUS: POLITICAL POWER AND PUBLIC UTILITY

The first letter-proem serves as a solemn dedication and warning addressed to emperors, kings and princes, the natural recipients of his reflections on the art of governing. Furthermore, it fulfils the dual function of rhetorical dedication and doctrinal declaration. First, Lipsius opens with a solemn statement that frames the role of the ruler: "*Amplum et*

illustre vestrum munus est, quod sustinetis".⁶³ "Great and illustrious is the office you hold". The use of the adjectives "*amplum*" and "*illustre*" is not accidental; the ruler is presented as a central figure in political life.

The author then further elevates the value of the office by asking a rhetorical question in an exalted tone: "*Quid maius inter homines, quam unum praeesse pluribus; leges et iussa ponere, maria, terras, pacem, bella moderari?*".⁶⁴ "What is greater among men than one who rules many, who imposes laws and orders, who regulates the seas, the lands, peace and war?". This formulation places the exercise of power as the supreme function in human life. To govern is to shape society, impose order, maintain peace or decide on war. Lipsius draws here on the legacy of Roman thought, particularly that of Seneca and Tacitus, and aligns himself with the classical ideal of the *princeps* as arbiter of collective destiny.

However, his praise is neither absolute nor naive. He introduces a fundamental nuance by declaring that this dignity seems "almost divine": "*Divinitas quaedam videtur haec dignitas: et est profecto, si salutariter atque ex usu publico administratur*".⁶⁵ "This dignity seems almost divine, and indeed it is, if it is exercised for the public good and in a healthy manner". Here, the central thesis of Lipsius' political thought is stated: power is only truly dignified if it is exercised rationally, usefully and for the common good ("*ex usu publico*"). The ruler should not be guided by caprice or self-interest, but by an ethic of service, in line with the Stoic ideals of reason and public virtue.

The next step in the argument is a warning: "*Sed hoc quam arduum sit, tum ratio docet, tum exempla*".⁶⁶ Lipsius points out that, although noble, the task of governing is extremely difficult. He appeals to both *ratio* and *exempla* ("historical experience").

Lipsius develops the theme of "*ratio*" in his work *De Constantia*. He defines it as an "excellent power of understanding and judging".⁶⁷ Furthermore, our scholar believes that "*ratio*" leads to the conviction that everything that happens is ultimately just.⁶⁸ In this treatise, he establishes a difference between "*opinio*" and "*ratio*". The former is by its nature mutable, fragile and superficial, whereas "*ratio*" is based on firm judgement and right reason ("*iudicio et recta ratione*"): "*Constantiam hic appello rectum et immotum animi robor, non elati externis aut fortuitis, non depressi robor,*

⁶³ (Lipsius, 1599, fol. A2r).

⁶⁴ (Lipsius, 1599, fol. A2r).

⁶⁵ (Lipsius, 1599, fol. A2r).

⁶⁶ (Lipsius, 1599, fol. A2r).

⁶⁷ (Pozuelo Calero, 2020, 289).

⁶⁸ Neo-Stoicism was characterised, as we know, by a notable contempt for the common people, that is, those ordinary men, without moral or intellectual excellence, who follow the given opinion, unthinkingly, and do not exercise judgement ("*iudicium*") or right reason ("*recta ratio*"), which is always independent, solid and leads to truth and goodness. (Ándrés Ferrer, 2013, p. 120).

⁶² (Lipsius, 1599, p. 20).

non elati externis aut fortuitis, non dedepressi robur dixi; et intellego firmitudinem insitam animo, non ab Opinione, sed a iudicio et recta Ratione".⁶⁹ "Here I call constancy the strength of mind that is upright and unshakeable, not strength exalted by external or fortuitous causes, nor depressed strength; I did not say strength exalted by external or fortuitous causes, nor depressed strength; and I understand the firmness that is inherent in the mind, not derived from opinion, but from judgement and right reason".

Returning to the text of the *Politica*, the passage culminates in a powerful rhetorical image, the metaphor⁷⁰ of the "single head" that must contain many, alluding to the challenge of order in the face of human chaos.⁷¹ The "*multitudo inquieta*" represents the people, unstable by nature, who require firm and rational authority. In short, rather than flattering princes, Lipsius exhorts them, reminding them that their mission is to govern with justice and prudence, not for privilege, but for the common good:

*Amplum et illustre vestrum munus est, quod sustinetis. Quid maius inter homines, quam unum praeesse pluribus; leges et iussa ponere, maria, terras, pacem, bella moderari? Divinitas quaedam videtur haec dignitas: et est profecto, si salutariter atque ex usu publico administretur. Sed hoc quam arduum sit, tum ratio docet, tum exempla. Illam si inspicimus, quantae molis est, ab uno capite tot capita coerceri, et universam illam multitudinem inquietam.*⁷²

The letter ends with a reference to words attributed to Alfonso V of Aragón, also known as Alfonso I the Magnanimous (1394-1458).⁷³ Lipsius says that when the king was asked who he considered to be the best advisors, he replied: "the dead", referring, of course, to books and other works of this kind, which do not flatter, do not hide anything and offer the pure truth without artifice: "*Alphonsus olim, eximius ille regum, interrogatus, Qui essent optimi consilii? Mortui, respondit. libros scilicet et haec talia monumenta intelligens, qui nihil blandientes, nihil celantes, puram meramque*"⁷⁴ *propinant veritatem*".⁷⁵

⁶⁹ (Lipsius, 1616, p. 8).

⁷⁰ "*Illam si inspicimus, quantae molis est, ab uno capite tot capita coerceri, et universam illam multitudinem inquietam*". (1599, fol. A2r). "If we observe it closely, how much effort it takes for a single head to contain so many others and to govern that whole restless multitude!".

⁷¹ Lewis says: "the legal personality of the group must necessarily have been placed where medieval thinkers placed it: in the ruler, who alone could give any sort of unity to an otherwise amorphous and discordant mass of individuals". (Lewis, 1938, p. 858).

⁷² (Lipsius, 1599, fol. A2r).

⁷³ (Lipsius, 1599, fol A3v).

⁷⁴ The expression *puram meramque* reinforces the idea of total purity and sincerity, meaning "without flattery" or "concealment".

⁷⁵ (Lipsius, 1599, fol A3v).

VIII. *Καιρός*, TRADITION AND IGNORANCE: A CRITIQUE OF THE EXCESSES OF POLITICAL DISCOURSE

The following letter-proem *De Consilio et Forma Nostrae Operis* has already been discussed in part in the section dealing with Lipsius' contributions to the development of his *Politics*. The following section of this document will be devoted to a critical analysis of the excesses characteristic of political discourse.

The author opens the passage by saying that ancient treatise writers wrote "*de Republica universa et communitate*", that is, "about the republic as a whole and in general terms". In contrast to them, he claims to have chosen a specific part of this vast field of study ("*magnus ager*"), specifically the principality ("*Principatum*") as the particular object of analysis. This agricultural image, of classical heritage, reinforces the idea of careful, deliberate and situated work, far removed from general models. The author thus positions himself as a cultivator of a specific plot within the political terrain, suggesting both methodological modesty and a desire for precision: "*Sed hi tamen de Republica universa et communitate scripserunt: ego velut partem aliquam magni huius agri colendam mihi sumpsi, PRINCIPATVM*".⁷⁶

He then refers to ancient models, described as "*prisci aut barbari ritus*" ("ancient or barbaric rites"), which, he claims, do not fully conform ("*haud usquequaque convenienter*") to the demands of the present. He asserts that the ancient can retain value, but only if it is filtered through judgment and historical adaptation. In the same vein, he questions those who "*nuper aut here id tentaverunt*", that is, modern people who have attempted, perhaps enthusiastically but without prudence, to revive or replicate these models. It is said of them that "*non me tenent aut terrent*" ("they neither persuade nor intimidate me"), which amounts to intellectual disavowal: "*Addo, quod in priscis aut barbaris illis ritibus, haud usquequaque conuenienter ad hoc aevum. Nam qui nuper aut here id tentaverunt, non me tenent aut terrent. In quos, si vere loquendum est, Cleobuli illud vetus conveniant: 'Αμουσία τὸ πλέον μέρος ἐν βροτοῖσιν/λόγων τε πλήθος ἀλλ' ὁ καιρὸς ἀρκέσει. φρόνει τι κερδόν' μὴ μάταιος ἄχαρις γενέσθαι*" [= D.L. 1, 91 (Cleobulus)]. *Inscitia in plerisque, et sermonum multitudo*".⁷⁸

This critical gesture culminates in the invocation of a maxim by Cleobulus, taken from Diogenes Laertius: "*Ἀμουσία τὸ πλέον μέρος ἐν βροτοῖσιν / λόγων τε πλήθος, ἀλλ' ὁ καιρὸς ἀρκέσει. / φρόνει τι κερδόν, μὴ μάταιος ἄχαρις γενέσθαι*". (D.L. 1, 91) (Cleobulus).⁷⁹ "Lack of education

⁷⁶ (Lipsius, 1599, fol.*B1r).

⁷⁷ (Bergk, 1878, p. 271).

⁷⁸ (Lipsius, 1599, fol.*B1r).

⁷⁹ (Bergk, 1878, p. 271).

is what abounds most among men; there is a multitude of words, but the right moment is enough. Think of something useful, do not be vain or insipid". The sentence reinforces the criticism of grandiloquent but empty words, of eloquence without knowledge, of speeches that overflow in form but lack substance and opportunity ("καιρός").

Later, in a similar vein, Aristotle in his *Rhetoric* emphasizes that rhetorical effectiveness depends not only on the quality of the content but also on the mastery of the concept of *καιρός* ("the right moment"). A strong argument, if delivered at the wrong time, may fail to persuade. Conversely, a brilliant rhetorical device can lose its impact if it is not attuned to the context, the audience, or the emotional climate of the moment: "τὸ δ' εὐκαιρῶς ἢ μὴ εὐκαιρῶς χρῆσθαι κοινὸν ἀπάντων τῶν εἰδῶν ἔστιν". (Arist. *Rhe.* 1408b).⁸⁰ Later, along the same lines, the Greek philosopher from Stagira, in his *Rhetoric*, underscores that rhetorical effectiveness relies not only on the strength of the content but also on the speaker's mastery of *kairos*, the opportune moment. A well-crafted argument may fail if presented at the wrong time, just as a brilliant rhetorical device can lose its force if it is not adapted to the specific context, the audience, or the emotional atmosphere of the situation.

In light of the above, Lipsius concludes his argument with a Latin phrase that summarises his judgement: "*inscitia in plerisque, et sermonum multitudo*" ("ignorance in the majority, and an excess of words"). This conclusion reveals not only a deficiency in practical knowledge but also a crisis of rhetorical judgment: there is abundant speech, yet it lacks meaning and fails to suit the moment. In such a context, political thought becomes hollow, reduced to mere rhetorical spectacle or a vacuous repetition of conventional formulas.

IX. CONCLUSIONS

The analysis of Justus Lipsius' *Politica* reveals a work deeply structured around the formation of the politician, in which prudence is established as an essential virtue for the exercise of power. Far from being a merely theoretical treatise, Lipsius proposes a model of government based on public utility, the stability of the state and the control of passions, all in line with his adherence to neo-Stoicism.

From a methodological point of view, the work responds to a poetics of cento, through which fragments of classical authors, with Tacitus as the central figure, are integrated in a systematic and functional manner. This technique not only reinforces Lipsius' discourse, but also gives it authority by anchoring his thinking in the Roman tradition.

On the other hand, Tacitus, due to his wealth of maxims and his lucid view of power, occupies a privileged place in Lipsius's argumentative apparatus. His constant presence in *Politica* confirms a political reading that transcends historiography and seeks to shape the judgement of the ruler.

Likewise, the work incorporates an implicit critique of the excesses of contemporary political discourse, emphasising the importance of the term *καιρός* ("the opportune moment") and practical intelligence as counterweights to ignorance and improvisation in government. Finally, the study of the *Politica* cannot be separated from its editorial and historical context. The multiple editions, together with its European reception, demonstrate the lasting influence of Lipsius's thought on modern political theory, especially with regard to the articulation between power, morality and *raison d'état*. In short, Lipsius' *Politica* allows us to understand not only the construction of an ideal of government in times of crisis, but also the discursive mechanisms through which late humanism reworks the classical tradition to respond to the political urgencies of nascent modernity.

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GLOBAL JOURNAL OF HUMAN-SOCIAL SCIENCE: F
POLITICAL SCIENCE
Volume 25 Issue 4 Version 1.0 Year 2025
Type: Double Blind Peer Reviewed International Research Journal
Publisher: Global Journals
Online ISSN: 2249-460X & Print ISSN: 0975-587X

Reimagining Laal Ded: Mysticism, Peace, and Women's Agency in Kashmir

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Abstract- The traditional manner of theorising peace diplomacy has generally been a very androcentric practice. Theoretical paradigms that privilege state sovereignty, strategic rationality and militarised performance, and are products of masculinised processes have always been central to imagining the cartography of peace diplomacy. Feminist epistemological interventions in the spaces of International Relations (IR) and decolonial scholarship expose how these existing androcentric frameworks silence the vernacular epistemologies of reconciliation which are grounded in affect, ethics and spirituality. This paper re-reads Laal Ded (*Lalleshwari*), the fourteenth-century Kashmiri mystic-philosopher, as an early practitioner of what may be termed affective diplomacy—a mode of peace-making that operates through moral suasion, empathy, and relational ethics. Situated at the confluence of Shaivite and Sufi thought, Laal Ded's *vakhs*¹ constitute a non-hegemonic discourse of coexistence that continues to animate women's peace initiatives in contemporary, militarised Kashmir.

Keywords: *affective diplomacy, feminist international relations, decolonial epistemology, mysticism and peacebuilding, laal ded (lalleshwari), Kashmir.*

GJHSS-F Classification: LCC Code: JZ1307



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Reimagining Laal Ded: Mysticism, Peace, and Women's Agency in Kashmir

Samprikta Chatterjee ^α & Prof. Manoj Mishra ^ο

Abstract—The traditional manner of theorising peace diplomacy has generally been a very androcentric practice. Theoretical paradigms that privilege state sovereignty, strategic rationality and militarised performance, and are products of masculinised processes have always been central to imagining the cartography of peace diplomacy. Feminist epistemological interventions in the spaces of International Relations (IR) and decolonial scholarship expose how these existing androcentric frameworks silence the vernacular epistemologies of reconciliation which are grounded in affect, ethics and spirituality. This paper re-reads Laal Ded (*Lalleshwari*), the fourteenth-century Kashmiri mystic-philosopher, as an early practitioner of what may be termed affective diplomacy—a mode of peace-making that operates through moral suasion, empathy, and relational ethics. Situated at the confluence of Shaivite and Sufi thought, Laal Ded's *vakhs*¹ constitute a non-hegemonic discourse of coexistence that continues to animate women's peace initiatives in contemporary, militarised Kashmir.

This paper draws upon feminist IR (Tickner 1992; Enloe 2014), decolonial epistemology (Mignolo 2011; de Sousa Santos 2014), and phenomenologies of mysticism (Irigaray 2001; Braidotti 2011), to argue that Laal Ded's philosophy innately performs an epistemic disobedience to both patriarchy and the colonial knowledge production. Laal Ded's re-conceptualisation of truth as an embodied awareness anticipates the decolonial frameworks of conflict transformation that privileges care over coercion. This analysis demonstrates that her legacy endures not just as cultural memory but as an operative philosophy guiding women in their attempts at vernacular peacebuilding across contemporary Kashmir. Acknowledging Laal Ded as a theorist of peace expands the geography of diplomatic thought beyond the confines of State and State defined boundaries and reiterates the relevance of the feminine, mystical and local as the legitimate terrains of international ethics.

Keywords: *affective diplomacy, feminist international relations, decolonial epistemology, mysticism and peacebuilding, laal ded (lalleshwari), Kashmir.*

I. INTRODUCTION

Within the overarching linguistics of international relations, peace is navigated through summits, cease fires and treaties which are rituals of

control that are enacted mostly by men in suits. The discipline's foundational metaphors—balance, containment, deterrence—emanate from a worldview that naturalises hierarchy and mastery. Feminist IR scholarship has long argued that this performative rationality effaces the affective and ethical labour that sustains genuine peace (Cohn 2013; Enloe 2014). As J. Ann Tickner (1992) observes, international politics is built on a gendered dichotomy between protector and protected: a “patriarchal security epistemology” that renders empathy suspect and care apolitical.

Kashmir is the counter to this established narrative. Across centuries of conquest, colonisation, and militarisation, the region has simultaneously cultivated a dense tradition of spiritual humanism. Its cultural texture—woven from the dialogic interpenetration of Shaivism and Sufism—produced an ethos of syncretic coexistence that resisted both religious exclusivism and political absolutism. At the heart of this ethos stands Laal Ded (Lalleshwari, 1320–1392 CE), whose poetic aphorisms (*vakhs*) destabilised the ritual orthodoxies of her time and articulated a mysticism grounded in self-knowledge (*svātma-pratibhā*), compassion (*dayā*), and justice.

This paper argues that Laal Ded's mysticism constitutes an early articulation of vernacular peace diplomacy: a culturally embedded negotiation of harmony through the transformation of consciousness. Her philosophy anticipates the feminist insight that peace is not the cessation of violence but the cultivation of relational ethics. The paper proceeds in four segments. First, it delineates the gendered architecture of diplomacy and its epistemic exclusions. Second, it situates Laal Ded within the Shaivite-Sufi milieu of medieval Kashmir, interpreting her *vakhs* as acts of epistemic resistance. Third, it traces a feminine genealogy of peace that links mystic ethics to feminist diplomacy. Finally, it examines how her philosophical legacy continues to inform women's peace activism and cultural diplomacy in contemporary Kashmir.

The significance of this intervention lies in its refusal to separate the mystical from the political. Reading Laal Ded through feminist and decolonial frameworks reveals an indigenous epistemology of peace that destabilises both the militarisation of Kashmir and the masculinisation of global diplomacy. Her thought enables a conceptual move from diplomacy as

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¹ Meaning speech in Kashmiri language.

strategy to diplomacy as praxis of relation—a mode of being-with that privileges empathy over enforcement.

II. THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK: FEMINIST IR, DECOLONIAL EPISTEMOLOGY, AND MYSTICAL PHENOMENOLOGY

1. Feminist International Relations

Feminist IR emerged as a critique of the positivist and state-centric assumptions that structure classical IR. Scholars such as Tickner (1992), Enloe (2014), and Cohn (2013) demonstrate that the discipline's claim to objectivity rests upon what Carol Cohn calls the "sanitised abstraction" of militarised masculinity. Feminist approaches re-centre embodiment, emotion, and everyday practice, revealing diplomacy as a gendered performance rather than a neutral instrument. The narratives advance an ethic of care (Gilligan 1982; Ruddick 1989) that redefines rationality through relational responsibility. This paradigm shifting optic enables the recovery of women's contributions to peace not as auxiliary but as constitutive of international ethics. Within this framework, Laal Ded's mysticism can be theorised as a proto-feminist diplomacy—a negotiation of peace through affective intelligence and moral persuasion.

2. Decolonial Epistemology

Postcolonial and decolonial theorists expose how modern knowledge systems perpetuate colonial hierarchies. Mignolo (2011) and de Sousa Santos (2014) describe the persistence of "abyssal thinking," a cognitive mapping that privileges Euro-Atlantic rationality while relegating other epistemes to the periphery. The project of epistemic disobedience demands recognition of plural ways of knowing—the ecology of knowledges. Reading Laal Ded within this frame positions her mysticism as a subaltern epistemology that contests both Brahmanical patriarchy and later colonial knowledge regimes. Her insistence that divinity resides within each subject undermines the hierarchical metaphysics underpinning both colonial knowledge systems and patriarchy.

3. Mystical Phenomenology

Philosophical feminism, particularly in the work of Luce Irigaray (2001) and Rosi Braidotti (2011), reconceives spirituality as a phenomenology of embodied becoming. Irigaray's ethics of sexual difference and Braidotti's nomadic subject foreground relational ontology and continual transformation—principles central to Laal Ded's vakhs. Her mysticism articulates what might be called a phenomenology of peace, wherein self-realisation entails dissolving the dualism between self and other. Such mystical phenomenology converges with feminist IR's critique of abstraction and decoloniality's insistence on plural ontologies.

Together, these frameworks construct a tri-axial lens through which Laal Ded's thought can be apprehended as feminist, decolonial, and philosophical—a pluriversal epistemology of peace.

Section I: The Gendered Terrain of Peace Diplomacy

The discipline of International Relations was institutionalised after World War I around the Westphalian state and its masculinist ethos of sovereignty and protection. Even ostensibly cooperative paradigms, such as liberal institutionalism, reproduce what Christine Sylvester (2013) terms the "gendered performances of dominance." Diplomacy thus emerges as a language of mastery, one that defines security through exclusion and peace through control.

Feminist IR dismantles this architecture by exposing how its supposedly neutral categories—sovereignty, security, interest—are gendered technologies of power. Cohn (2013) demonstrates that nuclear strategy itself is inscribed in a phallic vocabulary of potency and penetration. Enloe (2014) observes that diplomacy is sustained by "the sturdy architecture of masculinised respectability," in which women appear as symbols of the nation, not as agents within it. The result is an epistemic violence that delegitimises affect, spirituality, and emotion as sources of political knowledge.

To counter this exclusion, feminist peace research foregrounds relational epistemologies that treat care and interdependence as forms of rationality (Ruddick 1989; Gilligan 1982). Rather than romanticising women as natural peacemakers, it analyses the everyday micro-practices through which women sustain community amidst conflict. Yet, even global policy frameworks such as the United Nations Security Council's Resolution 1325 (2000) often instrumentalise women as implementation tools rather than epistemic subjects. Diplomatic knowledge remains andro-centric, privileging strategic calculus over ethical relation.

In South Asia, notions of peace historically derived from religious pluralism and cultural dialogue. Ashis Nandy (2001) identifies an indigenous "dialogical civility" that mediates difference through ethical hospitality rather than juridical compromise. Colonial modernity, however, re-encoded patriarchy within diplomatic institutions, marginalising vernacular moralities of coexistence. Postcolonial nationalism largely perpetuated this gendered hierarchy, equating peace with sovereignty and silencing subaltern voices—especially those of women in conflict zones such as Kashmir.

Kashmiri women have nonetheless enacted diplomacy in affective and cultural registers—hosting inter-community dialogues, preserving memory, and mediating trauma. Their work exemplifies what Aggestam and True (2020) call "everyday diplomacy," a non-institutional practice rooted in empathy and

listening. Situating Laal Ded in this context is not antiquarian romanticism but a theoretical re-centering of epistemic authority. Her vakhs prefigure these feminine negotiations by offering a hermeneutic of coexistence that transcends sectarian and political binaries.

Laal Ded's mysticism performs what Rosi Braidotti (2011) calls an ethics of becoming—a refusal to fix identity within closed categories. Through self-interrogation and compassion, she generates an ontology of peace grounded in vulnerability and relationality. This diplomacy of consciousness redefines peace from a geopolitical outcome to an epistemic disposition. Reading her through feminist IR exposes diplomacy's hidden metaphysical commitments and opens space for plural, embodied, and gender-aware conceptions of reconciliation.

Section II: Laal Ded's Mysticism as Epistemic Resistance

To reduce Laal Ded to a figure of devotional piety is to miss the radical political ontology that animates her work. Born in the fourteenth century at Pandrethan near Srinagar, she lived through a period of profound epistemic rupture: the waning of Shaivite dynastic rule, the consolidation of Sultanate authority, and the intensification of patriarchal orthodoxy. Her decision to renounce domestic life and wander as a naked seeker constituted what Butler (2004) would call a performative resignification—a bodily act that dislodged the gendered semiotics of shame. As Hoskote (2011) remarks, "her nakedness was armour." In discarding both garment and social role, Laal Ded transformed vulnerability into sovereignty.

Her vakhs—concise, aphoristic verses in Kashmiri—function as a dual discourse of revelation and resistance. A celebrated verse asks:

*The idol is stone, the temple is stone,
Above all the mind is stone;
What do you worship, O foolish priest?*

Here, devotion becomes epistemological critique. By locating divinity in the self's reflective consciousness rather than in ritual architecture, Laal Ded displaces sacerdotal mediation. The gesture parallels what Mohanty (2003) terms epistemic self-authorization—the reclamation of knowledge from institutions that render women passive recipients. In this relocation of the sacred from structure to subjectivity, she performs a decolonial act *avant la lettre*: the re-centering of indigenous, embodied ways of knowing against both Brahmanical hierarchy and the rationalist abstraction that would later underpin colonial modernity.

The porous metaphors of her language—light, breath, water—enable a shared semioticism between Shaivite non-dualism (*advaita*) and Sufi monism (*wahdat al-wujūd*). Scholars have read this as Kashmir's first interreligious phenomenology (Raina 2019). The vakhs thus instantiate what Mignolo (2011) calls border

thinking: a mode of cognition born at the interstices of civilizational grammars. By articulating truth through multiplicity, Laal Ded embodies the pluriversal epistemology that de Sousa Santos (2014) opposes to the abyssal dualisms of Western modernity.

Her mystical discourse also subverts the masculine epistemology of conquest. Instead of mastering reality, she dissolves the subject-object divide through contemplative intimacy. Such immanent relationality undermines what Galtung (1969) later theorised as structural violence—the social architecture that naturalises domination. If all beings participate in one consciousness, coercion becomes metaphysical heresy. In this sense, Laal Ded's mysticism constitutes a theology of peace before the term existed.

From a feminist standpoint, her self-narration operates as a proto-auto-ethnography. Her body becomes both an archive and a method. Spivak's (1988) notion of strategic essentialism helps explain the paradox of her speech: she adopts the idiom of devotion only to exceed its limits. By speaking in the vernacular, she authorises subaltern women as epistemic agents; by performing ascetic withdrawal, she enacts political dissent. Her vakhs are thus counter-texts to the patriarchal script of obedience.

Transmission amplified this resistance. Her words circulated not through canonical manuscripts but through the oral repertoires of women—singers, spinners, grandmothers—who became what Stoler (2009) might call an affective archive. Through them, Laal Ded's epistemology was domesticated yet radicalised: theology as lullaby, philosophy as everyday counsel. This feminisation of knowledge production ensured its survival precisely because it escaped institutional capture. Her peace diplomacy unfolded not in courts or monasteries but in the ethical sensibility of households.

Ontologically, her doctrine of non-duality (*advaita*) refuses the binary logic on which both patriarchy and empire depend. To recognise divinity in all beings is to dismantle the epistemic infrastructure of enmity. Her ethics of compassion (*dayā*) and insight (*pratibhā*) propose peace as inner equilibrium radiating outward—a formulation that resonates with Lederach's (2005) concept of the moral imagination. Diplomacy here becomes the cultivation of perception, not the management of power.

Laal Ded's acts of renunciation thus acquire theoretical weight as a politics of the flesh (Irigaray 2001): an embodied critique that re-inscribes the feminine body as a site of epistemic production. Her mysticism is not quietist withdrawal but an ontological insurrection that unlearns domination. It is through such epistemic resistance that she inaugurates a vernacular modernity in which knowledge, ethics, and peace are co-extensive.

Section III: The Feminine Genealogy of Peace Diplomacy

Locating Laal Ded within a broader feminine genealogy illuminates how women's mystical praxis across centuries has constituted a subterranean tradition of diplomacy. From Rābi'a al-Basrī in eighth-century Basra to Mirabai in sixteenth-century Rajasthan, women mystics articulated political subjectivities through affective spirituality. Leela Gandhi (2006) describes these formations as affective communities—ethical networks bound by empathy rather than ideology. Their politics unfolded in gestures of care, forgiveness, and listening; what Gilligan (1982) called an ethic of care long before IR theorised relationality.

This genealogy destabilises the modernist fiction that diplomacy originates in the nation-state. It demonstrates that long before embassies and protocols, inter-community negotiation occurred through vernacular cosmologies. Rābi'a's refusal to love God out of fear redefined piety as non-coercive relation; Mirabai's defiance of royal authority through song converted devotion into resistance. In Kashmir, Laal Ded's dialogue with Nund Rishi—who called her his spiritual mother—transmitted this feminine ethic into the region's composite culture, bridging Shaivite and Sufi lineages. Their exchange performs what Braidotti (2011) would describe as a nomadic ethics: subjectivity as relational movement rather than fixed identity.

Within feminist IR, such practices can be theorised as affective diplomacy—the management of relational energies that sustain community across difference (Aggestam & True 2020). Sara Ruddick's (1989) idea of maternal thinking and Sylvester's (2013) empathetic security provide analytic tools for this reading. Care, empathy, and attentiveness constitute a rationality alternative to coercive negotiation. Laal Ded's mysticism embodies precisely this alternative rationality: her self-discipline and compassion become instruments of political transformation.

Decolonial theory further situates this genealogy within the ecology of knowledges (Santos 2014). By foregrounding emotion and embodiment, these women performed an epistemic insurgency against both patriarchy and colonial modernity. Their spirituality was neither purely religious nor secular but transcendently immanent—a mode of being that unsettled the dichotomy central to Western metaphysics. This hybridity anticipates contemporary decolonial calls for pluriversal politics, where multiple ontologies coexist without hierarchy.

For Kashmir, this genealogy carries specific resonance. The valley's historical identity as a meeting ground of traditions has repeatedly been threatened by geopolitical instrumentalisation. Women's mysticism preserved an alternative sovereignty grounded in moral authority. Even under colonial and postcolonial militarisation, Kashmiri women continued to mediate conflict through cultural practice: oral storytelling,

healing rituals, inter-community hospitality. Such acts constitute what Enloe (2014) terms the hidden labour of peace—forms of diplomacy that remain invisible to statist historiography yet indispensable to social survival.

In theoretical terms, this genealogy reframes agency itself. Rather than equating agency with resistance in the oppositional sense, Mahmood (2005) urges recognition of pious agency—the capacity to act within disciplinary traditions through ethical cultivation. Laal Ded's ascetic practice exemplifies this: her withdrawal is neither submission nor rebellion but re-subjectivation through self-knowledge. This reading complicates the liberal feminist assumption that autonomy must manifest as defiance; it situates freedom within relational interdependence.

Such re-conceptualisation enables a feminist-decolonial theory of diplomacy that values receptivity as much as assertion. Where conventional diplomacy prizes eloquence, affective diplomacy values listening as praxis. Laal Ded's silence—her pauses between verses, her non-reactive stance toward mockery—functions as an aural politics of attention. This resonates with Irigaray's (2001) claim that genuine dialogue requires an interval, a breath, in which the other may appear. Her mysticism thus provides not only metaphor but method: diplomacy as disciplined listening.

The feminine genealogy of peace also exposes the historiographical erasure enacted by colonial modernity. British orientalists, eager to codify religions into discrete systems, re-classified syncretic saints along sectarian lines. In this process, women's mystics were written out of canonical narratives (Kumar 2012). The recovery of Laal Ded therefore functions as a decolonial historiographical act—what Santos (2014) calls rearguard epistemology, the reclamation of suppressed knowledges from the underside of modernity.

Furthermore, the affective rationality embodied in these mystics challenges the foundational premises of IR. If sovereignty is predicated on separateness, their ontology of interbeing destabilises the very idea of borders. Their diplomacy operates through transversality rather than territoriality—an ethics of relation that contemporary feminist theorists see as essential to global peacebuilding (Tickner & True 2018). By tracing this lineage, we unearth an archive of international thought that is both pre-modern and post-statist.

In Laal Ded's case, the political import of her mysticism lies in its capacity to render compassion a form of governance. Her verses train affect; they legislate without law. Through poetic repetition, communities internalise an ethics of empathy that functions as soft regulation. This is diplomacy at the level of subject formation—a governance of the soul rather than the border. Such a conception reframes

peace not as an event but as a processual ontology sustained through cultural practice.

Finally, this genealogy reveals that women's spiritual labour has long constituted the unacknowledged infrastructure of peace. In the Kashmiri context, this labour persists in women's collectives that employ storytelling, song, and inter-faith dialogue as tools of reconciliation. By connecting these contemporary initiatives to Laal Ded's philosophical inheritance, we see continuity between mystic ethics and modern activism. The mystic's language of love, humility, and compassion becomes the grammar through which women negotiate survival in a militarised landscape.

Section IV: Contemporary Resonances: Laal Ded in Militarized Kashmir

Invoking Laal Ded today is an act of epistemic recovery. In a valley partitioned by checkpoints and competing nationalisms, her language of unity offers what Lederach (2005) calls the moral imagination of the possible—a capacity to envision human connection amid structural estrangement. Her vakhs, recited in households and classrooms alike, circulate as affective technologies that sustain communal resilience. They operate as what Stoler (2009) terms an affective archive: a living repository through which ethical memory exceeds institutional historiography.

Kashmiri poets such as Naseem Shafaie and Rafiq Masoodi draw on Laal Ded's aphorisms to narrate the psychic dissonance of militarized life. Their verse translates mystic vocabulary—light, breath, silence—into idioms of survival. Visual artists reinterpret her naked asceticism as a metaphor for exposure and truth, reclaiming vulnerability as strength. In protests and social-media movements, fragments of her vakhs appear on banners: moral citations that confer legitimacy without violence. The endurance of her language across political divides demonstrates what Mignolo (2011) calls pluriversal ethics: the coexistence of multiple truths within a shared moral horizon.

Women peacebuilders explicitly anchor their praxis in this inheritance. Collectives such as Athwaas, Kashmir Women's Collective, and Ehsaas Trust use her idiom of compassion to mediate inter-community dialogues. Their initiatives exemplify feminist diplomacy's micro-infrastructures of relation (Aggestam & True 2020). Workshops on trauma healing open with her vakhs; reconciliation meetings quote her lines on humility and patience. Such gestures enact what Enloe (2014) calls the politics of the everyday—a diplomacy that unfolds in kitchens and courtyards rather than conference halls. The slow temporality of listening, central to Laal Ded's ethics, becomes a methodological principle for these women.

These practices also illustrate how feminist IR's categories of embodied agency and affective

governance (Sylvester 2013) manifest in local contexts. Peacebuilding here is not a linear project of resolution but a recursive process of care. Through ritual, story, and song, women reproduce a counter-hegemonic order that privileges empathy over enforcement. This resonates with Butler's (2004) concept of precarious life: vulnerability as the foundation of ethical relation. Laal Ded's philosophy, by sanctifying vulnerability, provides Kashmiri women with an ontological justification for non-violence.

Decolonial analysis further reveals how these affective practices resist the epistemic enclosure of the conflict narrative. State and media discourses frame Kashmir through binary logics—terrorism vs. security, separatism vs. nationalism—whereas women's initiatives invoke Laal Ded to articulate a third space of belonging grounded in mutual recognition. Such border thinking (Mignolo 2011) destabilises the coloniality of both the Indian and Pakistani imaginaries of Kashmir. Her mysticism thus becomes a language of subaltern diplomacy that speaks simultaneously to God and the government, to neighbour and stranger.

The persistence of her philosophy in domestic contexts—mothers soothing children during curfew with her verses, teachers using her lines to explain tolerance—exemplifies vernacular peace education. It suggests that diplomacy's most enduring institutions are emotional, not bureaucratic. As Santos (2014) argues, "there is no global social justice without global cognitive justice." The continued vitality of Laal Ded's ethics within Kashmiri lifeworlds restores such cognitive justice by validating the region's indigenous knowledge systems as legitimate political reason.

At the transnational level, her figure has acquired renewed relevance in India–Pakistan cultural dialogues. Cross-border peace networks cite her as a shared ancestor of moral imagination, invoking her vakhs in interfaith gatherings from Lahore to Delhi. Her appeal lies precisely in her refusal of fixed identity; she belongs everywhere because she claimed nothing. This cosmopolitan anonymity prefigures what Braidotti (2011) calls nomadic subjectivity—a form of belonging through motion rather than territory. In a geopolitical landscape obsessed with borders, Laal Ded models spiritual mobility as a counter-diplomatic practice.

Revisiting Laal Ded within contemporary Kashmir thus discloses two intertwined insights. First, that mysticism can function as soft infrastructure for peace, producing ethical dispositions that outlive formal negotiations. Second, that feminist, decolonial, and mystical epistemologies converge in their critique of mastery. By recasting peace as relational ontology rather than political outcome, these frameworks collectively unlearn the masculinist impulse to dominate. Laal Ded's ongoing influence demonstrates that diplomacy need not speak the language of the state to

be effective; it may whisper through poetry, ritual, and compassion.

III. CONCLUSION

Re-imagining Laal Ded through feminist IR, decolonial epistemology, and mystical phenomenology re-configures diplomacy itself. Across centuries, her vakhs have enacted what Mignolo (2011) calls epistemic disobedience: a refusal to let meaning be monopolised by institutional power. She transforms peace from juridical accord into existential practice—an ethics of relation grounded in awareness and empathy. In this re-articulation, diplomacy becomes less a negotiation of interests than a continuous re-calibration of intersubjective balance.

By integrating feminist IR's critique of patriarchal rationality with decolonial theory's insistence on epistemic plurality, we recognise Laal Ded as both philosopher and practitioner of what Santos (2014) names the ecology of knowledges. Her thought dissolves the Euro-Atlantic boundary between reason and affect, secular and sacred, politics and mysticism. Within this pluriversal horizon, peace is not the silence of guns but the resonance of mutual recognition.

In militarised Kashmir, where the state regulates visibility and speech, Laal Ded's continued circulation constitutes a counter. Her ethics of compassion has become a grammar for women's diplomacy that survives outside formal channels. These women translate her metaphysics into praxis—through caregiving, storytelling, and community mediation—demonstrating that mysticism can operate as political technology. Their work materialises Butler's (2004) claim that vulnerability is not antithetical to agency but its very condition. Through them, Laal Ded's ancient insight—to know oneself is to disarm violence—achieves renewed political resonance.

Acknowledging Laal Ded within global peace theory expands IR's conceptual geography. It provincialises Eurocentric paradigms and foregrounds South Asia's vernacular philosophies as sites of diplomatic innovation. Her mysticism reveals that sustainable peace demands not power's choreography but consciousness's transformation. In the age of militarised nationalism, her lesson endures: that the most radical diplomacy may begin with empathy's smallest gesture.

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GLOBAL JOURNAL OF HUMAN-SOCIAL SCIENCE: F
POLITICAL SCIENCE
Volume 25 Issue 4 Version 1.0 Year 2025
Type: Double Blind Peer Reviewed International Research Journal
Publisher: Global Journals
Online ISSN: 2249-460X & Print ISSN: 0975-587X

The Ambiguity in Terminology use of Asylum and Refuge in the Latin American and Caribbean Region

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Abstract- It seems that humans migrating from one place to another is an increasing phenomenon nowadays. Particularly, there are those who migrate involuntarily within the region or to other continents due to widespread and systematic violence as in Central American countries, or the acute crisis in countries of the region, such as Venezuela and Nicaragua, which are currently facing serious internal crisis.

Another factor that contributes to migration is climate change, among others; however, the most serious reason nowadays is the armed conflict in Syria, which has resulted in more than five million international refugees.

We are now living a human tragedy that exceeds the magnitude of the wars from the past. This has resulted in the frequent use of legal terms for international protection in the region, such as asylum and refuge. They are both used indistinctly, often in a vague and even confusing way, especially in the Latin American and Caribbean region.

In fact, we see that in Latin America and the Caribbean (depending on the country or regional regulation) both terms are inaccurately used in internal legislations, sometimes referred to as synonyms.

GJHSS-F Classification: LCC Code: KGC366



THE AMBIGUITY IN TERMINOLOGY USE OF ASYLUM AND REFUGE IN THE LATIN AMERICAN AND CARIBBEAN REGION

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RESEARCH | DIVERSITY | ETHICS

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The Ambiguity in Terminology use of Asylum and Refuge in the Latin American and Caribbean Region

Catalina Magallanes ^α & Kelly Jaimes ^ο

Abstract- It seems that humans migrating from one place to another is an increasing phenomenon nowadays. Particularly, there are those who migrate involuntarily within the region or to other continents due to widespread and systematic violence as in Central American countries, or the acute crisis in countries of the region, such as Venezuela and Nicaragua, which are currently facing serious internal crisis.

Another factor that contributes to migration is climate change, among others; however, the most serious reason nowadays is the armed conflict in Syria, which has resulted in more than five million international refugees.

We are now living a human tragedy that exceeds the magnitude of the wars from the past. This has resulted in the frequent use of legal terms for international protection in the region, such as asylum and refuge. They are both used indistinctly, often in a vague and even confusing way, especially in the Latin American and Caribbean region.

In fact, we see that in Latin America and the Caribbean (depending on the country or regional regulation) both terms are inaccurately used in internal legislations, sometimes referred to as synonyms. Such indistinct use is incorrect, as we will try to demonstrate in this work. Finally, as a conclusion, we will detail our proposals for terminology unification and differentiation of both legal protection concepts.

For that matter, we have analyzed different Latin American regulations and regional legislations, such as the Brazil Plan of Action, and have stressed their inaccuracies. Furthermore, we have introduced two Advisory Opinions (AO) of the Inter-American Court of Human Rights. First, we have AO-21/14, which is the case of Pacheco Tineo family vs. the Plurinational State of Bolivia, dated November 25, 2013, about an alleged inaccuracy committed by two organisms while trying to define asylum when it was a refuge case. Second, we have AO-28/18 upon the request of the Republic of Ecuador, where the Inter-American Court of Human Rights tried to conceptualize and differentiate both terms through an inclusive and enlightening classification of each of them.

I. INTRODUCTION

The international community is currently living a human tragedy of a huge magnitude, which has resulted in the frequent use of the words asylum and refuge by legal organisms for international protection. Both terms are used in an indistinct, often

vague, and even confusing way, particularly in the Latin American and Caribbean region.

In Latin America and the Caribbean (depending on the country or regional regulation) both terms are used inaccurately in internal legislations, sometimes as synonyms. Such indistinct use is incorrect, as we will try to demonstrate in this work.

The analysis looks into different regulations of Latin American countries and regional legislations, such as the Brazil Plan of Action, highlighting its inaccuracies. This article also discusses the verdict of the Inter-American Court of Human Rights regarding the case of Pacheco Tineo family vs. the Plurinational State of Bolivia, dated November 25, 2013, about an alleged inaccuracy committed by two organisms while trying to define asylum when it was a refuge case.

The aim of this work is to draw the attention of the region's legal community, since this indistinct use is a concerning matter that shows lack of training or awareness when drafting legislations.

This misuse of both legal terms endangers the rights of people in need of international protection and reveals the lack of interest or seriousness in the treatment of these issues. It is not possible to refer to a refugee with the word asylee, and you cannot use asylum as a synonym for refuge, at least not in Latin America. Subsequently, we will clarify the differences between them by reviewing a number of international, national and regional legislations, in order to highlight its inaccuracies.

Finally, we will present two proposals at regional level for the correct treatment of both legal terms.

II. ASYLUM

As an introduction, we will explain the origins and definition of the word asylum, which dates back to the Greek word *Asylum* (1700 BC) and subsequently into the Latin word *Asylom*¹ that became popular in the newly emerging and emblematic city of Rome at the time.

Asylum is a legal concept, which means, according to ancient scriptures: "what cannot be taken, in the sense of an inviolable place that provides

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¹ Cabanellas de Torres, 2008.

protection to a person who is untouchable, and shall now be considered as a sacred subject.”

Its religious origin defines it as a divine place that may not be violated by external aggression.

Even if we look into its most remote origins, we see that it is a concept that originated “in the brotherly love for the neighbor, coming from a religious mandate.” Its beginnings were purely religious and its first steps were oriented to protect the neighbor in Israel.

Besides “asylum”, the words used in its most remote origins were “to provide refuge,” “cities of refuge,” “to provide cover,” and “shelter.” All shared the same sense or meaning: solidarity between human beings.

History tells us that Hebrew peoples created the term. It is said that Yahweh (God) ordered Moses to create cities of refuge for the persecuted and for those who had committed not intentional murder. They would be refugees until their cases were taken to the Council, who would decide their fate.

Those who could receive asylum throughout the six “Hebrew cities of refuge” were Israelites and the foreigners who came across them.

According to the ancient scriptures of Joshua, the first Hebrew cities of refuge were Kedesh, Shechem, Kirjath-arba (Hebron), Bezer, Ramot, and Golan Heights. The terms asylum and refuge were used throughout these six cities.

Hebrews used to consider that people who deserved refuge were the unfairly persecuted. However, the fact of being persecuted is sufficient foundation in Greece nowadays.

In Greece, asylum becomes a wide resource, as guilt is out of consideration, and refuge is granted to all those who flee (without having to provide foundation), including slaves who fled from their masters, fugitives, heretics, etc.

The hosting was extended and transferred to local shrines, which were altars, tombs of the heroes, sacred mountains and its surroundings, and certain cities, among others. *“Danaus... may he come in peace or in arms, with angry and cruel intentions, it is best that we protect ourselves on this hill consecrated by the gods of the city. An altar is worth more than a fortress: it is a shield that nobody can trespass...”*²

Some of the most well-known places at that time were Minerva and Pales in Athens, Diana in Ephesus, Apollo at Miletus, among others. These cities were considered sacred, and the gods would punish people who profaned them.

Asylum is then institutionalized and the word began to prevail over ‘refuge,’ ‘cover,’ and ‘shelter’ (used by Hebrews), as ‘asylum’ became more popular.

The Romans inherited the term ‘asylum’ from the Greeks and they developed it by establishing restrictions, conceptualizing it, and giving it legal value with both political and temporary nature.

In principle, the term was used to attract the necessary workforce to contribute the growth of the new city of Rome... *“a city-sanctuary was opened, called the Temple of the God Asileo, where they welcomed and protected everyone, they would hand back none, nor the servant to his master, nor to the debtor to the creditor, nor the murderer to the hands of the judge,”* explains Plutarco. Once the need for city growth was fulfilled, asylum was seriously restricted³.

It was in the age of Constantine, the first Christian Emperor, when asylum became universal and strengthened by its religious nature, unlike the Greeks, who considered asylum had superstitious origins and a large religious hint.

In the Middle Ages asylum became a merciful source, i.e., protection for divine mercy.

In the 14th century, religious asylum starts to lose strength and its humanitarian nature became more popular, a theory that not only holds the State accountable for providing protection but also encourages it to enforce a normative regulation.

History then showed us the first steps of regulatory intentions in the treaties of Westphalia in 1648, Münster and Piricos, which marked another chapter for asylum and refuge. Different regulations took place afterwards, including the Convention on Asylum (Havana, 1928⁴), the Convention on Political Asylum (Montevideo, 1933)⁵ and several treaties on asylum in Latin America that defined diplomatic and territorial asylum.

Asylum in Europe gained strength during clashes between the ecclesiastical and civil power. The term asylum transcended until the French Revolution, a historical moment in which it was incorporated to the Constitution of 1791. The caption reads as follows: *“asylum is granted to foreigners who have been expelled from their homeland by reason of freedom...”* Since then, Europe incorporated political asylum, meaning protection to the victims of political persecution, something widely developed in Latin America, leading to terminological confusion in the region.

Since its inception, the purpose of asylum, like refuge, was to provide protection. However, its evolution in Latin America has stated and specified that both

² Aeschylus, the suppliants, quoted by Serrano, Fernando, Political Asylum in Mexico, op. cit. p. 23. Aeschylus (Greece h.525 - 0406 BC) Greek playwright, founder of Greek tragedy, born in Eleusis, near Athens, he unveils Greek mythology and its heroes on his works. +The Suppliants were written around 400 BC.

³ The right to asylum became more legal, serious and restricted. Judiciary Encyclopedia OMEGA, 1976.

⁴ http://www.oas.org/es/sla/ddi/tratados_multilaterales_interamericanos_A-37_asilo_politico.asp

⁵ http://www.oas.org/es/sla/ddi/tratados_multilaterales_interamericanos_A-37_asilo_politico.asp

terms are not synonyms. The only thing they have in common is protecting someone who is being persecuted. In spite of that, some legal texts use both concepts as synonyms, such as the Brazil Action Plan.

III. REFUGE

It is a universal legal form, both conventional and non-political. Its aim is to protect the life or health of a person through the principle of *non-refoulement* (non-refoulement to the country that pursues them or endangers their life or integrity).

Its most remote origins come from Jean Henry Dunant's book '*A Memory of Solferino*,' a narration about the memories of the battle of Solferino (June 24, 1859) that left thousands of deaths and wounded. This situation resulted in the creation of the Red Cross. The book proposed a regulation in order to neutralize the conflict and provide protection and assistance to the victims of the war, as well as the medical staff. Those were the first steps to establish a legislation that later would be a part of the regulations on victim protection, relief organizations, and assistance agencies.

Then, the tragedies of the Second World War forced the international community to organize meetings in order to consider the protection of the victims. It is then when the Geneva Convention of 1951 is created, which internationally regulates the form of refuge.

It was established that refuge applied for those pursuing international protection, such as victims of events that are usually linked to violent situations and human or natural disasters. The foundation of the application shall be persecution or any of the causes listed in the Geneva Convention on the Status of Refugees of 1951 and its New York Protocol of 1967⁶, which was further developed in Latin America by the Cartagena Declaration on Refugees⁷ of 1984, providing greater protection in the region.

The reason of persecution may be religious, racial, nationality-related, for being member of a particular social group, etc., and their rates are set forth in the Convention⁸ on the Status of Refugees and its Protocol⁹.

⁶ <http://www.acnur.org/el-acnur/historia-del-acnur/la-convenccion-de-1951>

⁷ <http://www.acnur.org>

⁸ "Article 1. Definition of the term "refugee". For the purposes of this Convention, the term "refugee" shall apply to any person: 1) who has been considered as a refugee under the Arrangements of May 12, 1926 and June 30, 1928, or the Conventions of October 28, 1933 and February 10, 1938; or under the Protocol of September 14, 1939 or the Constitution of the International Refugee Organization.

The decisions of non-eligibility taken by the International Refugee Organization during its activity period shall not prevent the recognition of refugee status to persons who fulfil the conditions established in paragraph 2 of this section.

(2) who, as a result of events occurring before January 1, 1951 and owing to well-founded fears of being persecuted for reasons of race, religion, nationality, membership of a particular social group, or political opinion, is outside the country of their nationality and is not

The basis of persecution is what prevents the return without assessing the request, and it is sufficient for granting temporary refuge as long as it is effectively founded and until the case is resolved.

Although each State regulates the process of granting refuge, according to their own criteria and the Geneva Convention on the Status of Refugees of 1951 and its New York Protocol, the Latin American and Caribbean region lacks uniformity in meeting the minimum requirements. That includes the time of submission of the application since the arrival to the country, the time to appeal the decision, and the agencies in charge of the application or appeal. It is possible to see that in countries like Costa Rica¹⁰, Colombia¹¹, Brasil¹² and Argentina¹³. They possess different times to settle applications and resources, as well as the different organizations in charge of deciding upon applications, except for the UNHCR which assists all countries.

For instance, while Argentina may grant a temporary residence to the refugee, it is permanent in Costa Rica and Brazil (see legislation attached in the footer of this section).

able to or, because of such fears, does not want to benefit from protection of such country; or, because of not having the nationality and finding himself, as a result of such events, outside the country where they previously had their habitual residence, is not able to or, because of such fears, is unwilling to return to it. For people with more than one nationality, 'in the country of their nationality' shall refer to any of the countries they possess nationality of; and a person shall not be considered lacking protection from the country of their nationality that, without a valid reason related to their founded fears, has not played host to the protection of any of the countries they possess nationality of."

⁹ Protocol on the Statute of Refugees: signed in New York in 1967: The States Parties to the Protocol, Considering that the Geneva Convention on the Status of Refugees on July 28, 1951 (hereinafter referred to as the Convention) covers only those who have become refugees as a result of events occurring before January 1, 1951, Considering that new refugee situations have arisen since the Convention was adopted and that the refugees concerned may therefore not fall within the scope of the Convention, Considering that it is desirable that equal status should be enjoyed by all refugees covered by the definition in the Convention irrespective of the dateline January 1, 1951, agree as follows: Article 1 General provisions 1. The States Parties to the Protocol undertake to apply Articles 2 to 34 of the Convention to refugees as hereinafter defined. 2. For the purpose of the present Protocol, the term "refugee" shall, except as it appears on paragraph 3 of this article, mean any person within the definition of Article 1 of the Convention. "As a result of events occurring before January 1, 1951 and..." and the words "...as a result of such events," in article 1 A (2) were omitted. 3. The Protocol shall be applied by the States Parties hereto without any geographic limitation, unless there are existing declarations made by States Parties to the Convention in accordance with article 1 B (1) (a) of the Convention, shall, unless extended under article 1 B (2) thereof, apply also under the this Protocol.

¹⁰ <http://www.migracion.go.cr/institucion/leyes%20migratorias/reglamentos/Reglamento%20Refugio.pdf>

¹¹ <http://www.acnur.org/t3/fileadmin/Documentos/BDL/2014/9437.pdf>

¹² http://legislacao.planalto.gov.br/legisla/legislacao.nsf/Viw_Identificacao/lei%209.474-1997?OpenDocument

¹³ <http://www.acnur.org/t3/fileadmin/Documentos/BDL/2006/4658.pdf>

The regional will is manifested in Brazil Action Plan¹⁴, a tool that intends to reach uniformity in basic criteria regarding the requirements for establishing refugee status and international protection procedures, as well as humanitarian assistance with long-term solutions and promote the resettlement and the guarantee of safe return.

IV. LATIN AMERICA AND THE CARIBBEAN

Latin America is the region that has developed political asylum the most, particularly diplomatic asylum, due to historical events that has linked it to political persecution. There are two types of asylum in this context: territorial asylum and diplomatic asylum. Asylum in current national regulations (depending on the country) can be differentiated from refuge; however, it can also be used as a tool of international protection, like a synonym for refuge.

In Latin America, the legal concept of asylum comes from the Montevideo Treaty on International Penal Law of 1889, signed by Argentina, Bolivia, Paraguay, Peru and Uruguay, which has a specific chapter on the topic. Subsequently, the Havana Convention on Asylum of 1928 took place, signed by Brazil, Colombia, Costa Rica, Cuba, Ecuador, El Salvador, Guatemala, Haiti, Honduras, Mexico, Nicaragua, Panama, and Paraguay.

Five years later, the Montevideo Convention on Political Asylum and Refuge (1933) included some changes to the previous Havana Convention of 1928.

In 1939, Paraguay and Uruguay signed the Montevideo Treaty on Political Asylum and Refuge.

The most important convention and point of reference on asylum is the Caracas Convention of 1954. It defined the rights and obligations on diplomatic asylum for the States parties, and it is known as the Convention on Diplomatic Asylum.

Initially, the States parties were Brazil, Costa Rica, Ecuador, El Salvador, Guatemala, Haiti, Honduras, Mexico, Panama, Paraguay, Peru, Uruguay, and Venezuela.

We should not forget that asylum started to gain popularity in Latin America at a turbulent time in which dictatorships were spreading on a large part of the territory. Therefore, its political name gained strength due to its relationship with ideological persecutions of that time.

This is the context in which diplomatic and territorial asylum assume greater importance. The diplomatic asylum case with the biggest historical importance in Latin America and the one that confirms its name is the case of doctor Hector Campora who requested asylum in the Embassy of Mexico in Buenos Aires.

Even though the case was surpassed by the asylum of the Australian Julian Assange in the Embassy of Ecuador in London (that took more than four years), the case was one of the longest in the history of the region. The person spent three years at the Embassy of Mexico in Argentina's capital.

Doctor Campora was sent to Mexico through the authorization of a safe-conduct by Argentina. Years after, he passed away in 1980 in the city of Cuernavaca.

As noted previously, Latin America recognizes two modes of asylum: diplomatic asylum and territorial asylum.

Territorial asylum is when protection is provided within the territory of the country where protection was requested. Thus, the case of doctor Campora turned into a territorial asylum when arriving in Mexico.

On one hand, *territorial asylum* is granted by the authorities of the country where protection is requested and the person then travels to such country. This mode can be mistaken for refuge, as it has sometimes being called territorial asylum (the Law of Human Mobility of Ecuador highlights the difference between territorial asylum and diplomatic asylum, view link¹⁵).

On the other hand, *diplomatic asylum* is requested solely and exclusively before the diplomatic legations, at the Embassy, consulate or consular office of the country which calls for protection. It also applies for protection in military ships or aircrafts, which are inviolable places found inside the place of the flight or danger.

Currently, as aforementioned, we have an interesting and worthy-of-analysis case, which is the case of the Australian Julian Assange. He is currently in the Embassy of Ecuador in London, where diplomatic asylum was granted on June 19 2012 up to 2018. The power to move to Ecuador was refused, as well as the *laissez-passer* by the British Government (since Europe does not recognize this type of protection).

The authorities of Ecuador then requested the safe-conduct to immediately move him to Ecuadorian territory. Their foundation was the excess time, as prolonged closure accelerates the deterioration of the person's health and puts his life at risk.

Even though the United Nations Working Group on Arbitrary Detention requested the British and the Swedish States to "put an end to the deprivation of liberty" of the founder of WikiLeaks, in a legally binding

¹⁵ <http://www.refworld.org/pdfid/58a41f864.pdf> Article 95.- Diplomatic Asylum. Diplomatic asylum is the power of the Ecuadorian State through the highest authority of Foreign Affairs to grant international protection or shelter in their diplomatic missions or consular offices, the foreigner whose life, liberty or integrity is in danger because of political persecution, generated in their State of origin or any other State. Article 96.- Territorial Asylum. Territorial asylum is the power of the Ecuadorian State to grant protection or shelter in the national territory to the foreigner whose life, liberty or physical integrity is in imminent danger because of political persecution generated in his country of origin or any other State.

¹⁴ <http://www.acnur.org/cartagena30/declaracion-y-plan-de-accion-de-brasil/>

ruling¹⁶. This decision is not in accordance with London and Stockholm regulations, as they do not recognize the asylum and allege the rating is incorrect since Julian Assange breached a common conviction of the British State.

There are two sides regarding the subject. One qualifies political asylum as correct and the other one does not. Eventually, time will determine what will happen with this legally interesting discussion.

As the use of the legal terms 'asylum' and 'refuge' is often vague and confusing in the regulations of the different Latin American countries, we will then try to show this lack of uniformity and accuracy, as well as the synonym treatment both terms get.

1. *In Ecuador*, the new legislation on human mobility states the following in the chapter under the heading of International Protection: *it is a State's duty that has the aim of guaranteeing the applicants' rights for protection are as equal as Ecuadorians', and those recognized as refugees, asylees or stateless persons are considered to be subjects of international protection.* The text shows evidence of the distinction of three different figures, yet it does not clarify the difference.

In the 2008 National Constitution of Ecuador, Article 41 establishes that *the rights of asylum and refuge are recognized in accordance with the law and international human rights instruments. The person in condition of getting asylee or refugee status shall have special protection guaranteeing the full exercise of their rights.*

The State shall respect and guarantee the principle of non-refoulement, as well as humanitarian and legal emergency assistance. Exceptionally, when circumstances require it, the State will recognize a collective refugee status in accordance with the law.

We see that Ecuador's laws, both in its Constitution and national legislation, treat asylum and refuge differently.

Its legislation specifies who can be a beneficiary of international protection in Article 117:

1. People recognized as refugees.
2. People recognized as asylees.
3. People recognized as refugees or asylees.

Article 119 of Human Mobility Law showed a defined perspective regarding the fact that there are two different terms for international protection, and that *the Ecuadorian State recognizes the right to asylum and refuge.*

The legislation provides a clear definition and categorization of asylum, by specifying that it shall be granted in case of emergency and for the time needed

to get the asylum outside of that country, *in order to protect that person's life, liberty and integrity.*

The law also establishes two modes of asylum: active and passive diplomatic asylum.

- a. *Active diplomatic asylum* is the one that is granted in diplomatic headquarters.
- b. *Passive diplomatic asylum* is the assistance provided by the Ecuadorian State by facilitating a safe-conduct to the State that provided protection to an asylee at diplomatic headquarters, in Ecuador's territory.

When referring to refuge, there is a definition and steps on how to ask for protection and the details of the acknowledgment process.

The Ecuadorian legislation makes it very clear that refuge and asylum are two different instruments for international protection; however, it does not mention the characteristics of the potential beneficiaries of this protection.

As we keep analyzing unclear or inaccurate treatment of both terms/legal figures, let us see how the Ecuadorian State has another inappropriate use for both terms. In Ecuador's fact sheets on the procedure for the determination of the refugee status published on the State's official website¹⁷, if we see in section a) *Registry of applications... asylum seeker...* we will find another setback.

2. *Uruguay* accurately determines in a separate legislation the right to refuge under Law 18.076, called Right to Refuge and Refugees, establishing the State's obligation to provide this protection to applicants.

For this country, refuge is an obligation in terms of protection by the State. However, asylum is a right of the State and is therefore discretionary; the State is not obliged to provide it¹⁸.

3. *Argentina* treats refuge as a main figure and specifies asylum is included in it, even though, historically, asylum has always come first due to its consolidation (since the times of dictatorship until democracy) in 1983 with the Presidency of Raul Alfonsin.

Refuge is regulated under the General Law 26.165¹⁹, known as General Law of Refugee Recognition and Protection, which was sanctioned on November 8, 2006.

¹⁷ http://www.acnur.org/t3/fileadmin/Documentos/RefugiadosAmericas/Ecuador/2012/Procedimiento_para_la_determinacion_de_la_condicion_de_refugiado_en_Ecuador.pdf?view=1

¹⁸ http://www.oas.org/es/sla/ddi/tratados_multilaterales_interamericanos_A-46_asilo_diplomatico.asp Article II Every State has the right of providing asylum, yet it is not obliged to provide it or to explain its denial.

¹⁹ <http://www.acnur.org/t3/fileadmin/Documentos/BDL/2006/4658.pdf>

¹⁶ <http://www.laprensa.com.ni/2016/02/05/internacionales/1981409-onu-falla-a-favor-de-julian-assange>

The regulation refers to the principles ratified by the Convention on the Status of Refugees of 1951 and its New York Protocol of 1967. It clearly details the principles of protection to the refugee, the one of non-refoulement, which is the most beneficial to the person and their family, as well as all the countries that have ratified the above-mentioned Convention.

Article 7 reads as follows, with regard to the refugee: "the applicant for asylum is *included in this term*" (an inaccuracy to take into account).

Then we see how the legislator treats both terms as equal, knowing that the refugee application prevails over the asylum request. The law puts it like this: *Article 14. The filing of an application for recognition of refugee status shall have suspensive effect on the operation of a decision, authorizing the extradition of asylum seekers until the refugee status procedure has been completed by a firm resolution.*

It is here when we see the Argentinian legislator creating confusion again, since he separates these two forms of international protection. He specifies the conditions to benefit from refugee protection and leaves asylum opened to others possibilities, as nothing has been said in this regard; and after specifying in Article 7 that asylum is included in refuge.

A part of the doctrine holds that *external or territorial asylum is similar to political refuge*²⁰.

After highlighting the inaccuracies, we see that it is essential that national and regional legislations explain the differences between both terms, or at least indicate in detail if they work as synonyms or not, as in the case of the Ecuadorian legislation that specifies each of the figures and makes it clear that asylum and refuge are not the same.

4. *Brazil's legislation* has a broad concept of refuge, although foreign policy supports political asylum. Article 4 of the Federal Constitution reads: Regarding international affairs, the Federative Republic of Brazil is governed by granting political asylum.

It regulates refuge under Refugee Act No. 9474/97 and maintains the guidelines established at the Geneva Convention on Refugee Status of 1951 and its New York Protocol of 1967.

The application can be submitted before any immigration authority, even though they have created a body responsible for the management of refugee applications: the National Commission for Refugees (CONARE), which works with the Ministry of Justice, and has Caritas as a civil society representative. Brazil stands out in the region for its management of tripartite participation in asylum requests.

Since its creation, the agency has managed requests until the decision for approval or denial is made. The UNHCR is an auxiliary organism allowed to make suggestions to streamline the procedures.

5. *Chile*, through Law 20.430/10 and its regulation, Decree 837/10, lays down provisions on refugees' protection. This law is devoted to refuge applicants who are in the country.

We find that specifying the fact of *being in the country* is an interesting issue. It means that the foreigner fleeing from any type of persecution set forth by the Convention can first access the State and the bureaucratic management.

Like other countries in the region, Chile pursues the principles established in the Geneva Convention of 1951 and its Protocol.

As a remarkable principle, the country introduces the principle of the best interests of the child, specified in law regulations and the status of a stateless person in order to apply for refuge. However, Chile has not ratified the conventions related to the stateless.

6. *Peru*, through Legislative Decree of migration No. 1236, launched on September 26, 2015 and within the same legislative body that establishes in chapter II that *asylum and refuge (article 46.1) are legal forms granted by the Peruvian State for legal protection of persons in need of protection.*

Article 46.2. Specifies that *asylum and refuge* are applicable in immigration matters, the provisions contained in the rules or international instruments which Peru is a party, and special regulations in force.

Article 50. Establishes the following: "Duty of protection. the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and the Ministry of Internal Affairs should take the necessary protective measures to ensure the safety of asylum and refuge seekers in national territory, in accordance with special regulations in force".

This legislation defines both terms as legal statutes, and says they shall be applied according to provisions of the international standards to which Peru is party. We see that the terms are not synonymous, as the law is clear in that aspect. The country speaks of them as two different forms, but does not clarify the difference, like most of the aforementioned legislations.

Also is important to mention that with the migration of Venezuelan citizens to Peru, the State introduce the Figure of PTP, a provisional permission that allowed the Venezuelan citizens, that enter to Peru before October 31st of 2018 in a regular way, to work and stay in Peru for a year.

7. *Dominican Republic* recognizes the right of asylum in its Constitution... (Article 46.2) "Everyone has the right to apply for asylum in the country, in the event of persecution for political reasons. Those who have asylee status enjoy protection, which guarantees the

²⁰ Rizzo Romano, *International Public Law*, p. 508.

full exercise of their rights, in accordance with the agreements, norms and international instruments signed and ratified by Dominican Republic. Political crimes, terrorism, crimes against humanity, administrative corruption and transnational crimes are not considered.

Even though Dominican Republic does not include refuge or asylum seekers in its immigration law, its Decree 2330 of September 10, 1984 names CONARE as responsible for the processes of refuge applications.

8. *Venezuela* makes a clear distinction of both terms in its Constitution... "(the country) *recognizes and guarantees the right of asylum and refuge.*" As we can see, the terms are mentioned separately, which makes it clear that they are not synonymous.
9. In its Constitution, *Paraguay* recognizes the right of *diplomatic* and *territorial asylum* to anyone being persecuted for *political reasons or offences, or offences related to those reasons*, as well as for their opinions or beliefs.

This country, like Ecuador, treats asylum separately and classifies its modes: territorial and diplomatic.

Article 25 of Migration Law 978/96 regulates the quality of temporary residency to refugees and asylees, a status given by the National Commission for Refugees (CONARE) in accordance with the agreements and international treaties.

Article 27. States that political asylees and refugees are governed by agreements and treaties signed by the Republic and relevant legislation.

The General Law on Refugees 1938 assures attention at all times for refugee and asylum claimants, like Uruguay.

V. INTER-AMERICAN COURT OF HUMAN RIGHTS: INACCURACIES IN THE USE OF THE WORDS ASYLUM AND REFUGE IN THE CASE PACHECO TINEO FAMILY VS. THE PLURINATIONAL STATE OF BOLIVIA

The inaccurate use within the region also reached the Inter-American Court of Human Rights, which was seen in the judgment of the case Pacheco Tineo family vs. the Plurinational State of Bolivia in 2013. International protection was denied to the family by the State of Bolivia, and the Court used the terms 'asylum' and 'refuge' indistinctly, so both words could be either seen as synonyms or different, yet without a clear approach²¹. *The Court noted that, under the terms of Article 22.8 of the Convention, the Inter-American system acknowledges the right of foreigners, and not only of asylum or refuge seekers, to improper non-refoulement*

²¹ <http://www.corteidh.or.cr/docs/casos/articulos/resumen_272_esp.pdf>.

when their life, integrity and/or freedom (including other related forms of law) are at risk.

We can see that, although the Court clarifies that refuge is the guarantee of non-refoulement, other countries may refer to asylum and refuge separately by using the disjunctive conjunction "or".

In this paragraph the Court committed a serious inaccuracy or error, since it includes asylum within the principle of *non-refoulement*, when it is not, according with the Conventions of Havana²², Montevideo²³ and Caracas²⁴. It is the State who qualifies the nature of the crime and the prosecution, as stated in *Article IV. of the Convention of Caracas of 1954: In order to grant asylum, it is the State responsibility to qualify the nature of the crime or the foundation of persecution*²⁵. This was a mistake made by the Court since these people qualified for refuge, and therefore the principle of non-refoulement, which is real protection, given that asylum is a right of the State and the person can be put at risk.

For the case of other Latin American countries, they usually link asylum to political persecution. Asylum is a right of the State, thus the State is not obliged to provide it (Caracas Convention of 1954, Article II).

The State has full discretion regarding its decision, so is not linked to the principle of non-refoulement, which is typical in refuge cases.

As we have mentioned before, refuge is a right for people and the State is then obliged to provide protection, in accordance with the Geneva Convention of 1951 and its New York Protocol, as long as the applicant meets the conditions for refuge.

In terms of treating or defining the elements of the principle of non-refoulement as a cornerstone of international protection for *refugees* or *asylees* and people requesting *asylum*, the Convention not only failed in qualifying or defining refuge, but also used both terms interchangeably and created a feeling of both words being synonyms. This puts at risk unprotected people in need of being protected by refuge.

At some point, the Court stated that the family was protected by a *specific mode of asylum*, in accordance with Article 22.1 of the Convention of 1951 and Article 33.1 of the Protocol of 1967. The Court then made another mistake, *as the word refuge is used throughout the Convention.*

After that, we saw that the "asylum procedure" was mentioned and then "if the *refugee status* is not recognized..." The right to seek and receive asylum was

²² http://www.oas.org/es/sla/ddi/tratados_multilaterales_interamericanos_A-37_asilo_politico.asp

²³ http://www.oas.org/es/sla/ddi/tratados_multilaterales_interamericanos_A-37_asilo_politico.asp

²⁴ Convention on Diplomatic Asylum, Caracas 1954, Article II. Every State has the right to provide asylum, yet it is not obliged to provide it or explain its denial. http://www.oas.org/es/sla/ddi/tratados_multilaterales_interamericanos_A-46_asilo_diplomatico.asp

²⁵ http://www.oas.org/es/sla/ddi/tratados_multilaterales_interamericanos_A-46_asilo_diplomatico.asp

established in Article 22.7 of the American Convention, along with Articles 8 and 25 of the same Convention about the applicant for refuge has the right to be heard by the State and receive the appropriate guarantees throughout the process.

In this case, we see how the Court uses the terms asylum and refuge indistinctly, leading to confusion. One legal figure is mentioned and then another one. At the end, the Court did not specify neither of them, so we could say the Court considers both terms to be synonymous.

In our opinion, they are not synonyms, particularly in the Latin American and Caribbean region.

VI. ADVISORY OPINION AO-25 DATED MAY 30 2018 OF THE INTER-AMERICAN COURT OF HUMAN RIGHTS: DIFFERENCES BETWEEN DIPLOMATIC ASYLUM, TERRITORIAL ASYLUM AND REFUGE

In July 2018, the Court decided to reopen the conversation through the AO-25 dated May 30, 2018 requested by the Republic of Ecuador. The country requested the clarification for asylum and its recognition as a human right in the system Inter-American protection. The Court attempted to define diplomatic asylum, territorial asylum and refugee status, conducting a brief analysis of them. On this issue, we can highlight the following observations:

The Court states that once the Council of the Organization of American States adopted a disposition which stated that the right of asylum was a "legal principle in the Americas" within international conventions and was included as a fundamental right in the American Declaration²⁶.

That is how the Inter-American Court sees asylum, remembering it is called "the Latin American tradition of asylum²⁷." That is intimately linked to the clause of non-extradition for political offences or reasons, which is the scope of this protection, as an element to fight impunity²⁸ in criminal matters, and it is only used in the Latin American region, and the States subject to these regional agreements are free to decide if they provide protection or not. They are not forced to

specify the reason for its denial, in accordance with their sovereignty.

Furthermore, the Court²⁹ highlighted that the countries of the region that agree that diplomatic asylum is not a human right, but a State's prerogative.

On one hand, we can see the different criteria used by some countries of the region, such as Argentina, Belize and Bolivia. They consider that is not a State's right or obligation to grant diplomatic asylum, as it is a prerogative of the State to maintain its sovereignty. However, they do recognize the act of seeking asylum as an individual human right.

On the other hand, the Republic of Ecuador considers asylum to be a human right: "seeking asylum is a right, to receive it is a prerogative of the State in question and, not to return the refugee or asylee is an international erga omnes legal obligation." This is the perspective held by the Court in its conclusion.

Not all of the States members of the Inter-American system govern diplomatic asylum; some of them refer to it through conventions³⁰.

The Court Manifested the Following in Par. 110: "Even though refugee status, territorial asylum and diplomatic asylum are forms of protection for individuals who suffer persecution, each of them operates in different circumstances and has different legal connotations in international and national law, thus they are not analogous.

This means that specific conventions or domestic laws govern each legal scenario, as they establish a list of rights and duties of protection seekers according to several modes.

We see how they are seen as non-equal scenarios as each of them is governed by different regulations, with different connotations. We highlight the phrase "different modes".

In the analysis of diplomatic and territorial asylum, the Court³¹ concluded that according to Article

²⁶ Par. 108 Advisory Opinion AO-25 of the Inter-American Court of Human Rights

³⁰ Eight OAS members draw distinctions for diplomatic asylum and territorial asylum in their legislations: Brazil, Costa Rica, Ecuador, Paraguay, Peru, Mexico, Dominican Republic and Venezuela. These nations particularly regulate diplomatic asylum, either by an express regulation or by referral to the Convention on Diplomatic Asylum of 1954. Dominican Republic specifically refers to the Convention on Political Asylum of 1933. Although this country does not have a clear regulation regarding what steps to follow to process diplomatic asylum requests, there is the quoted referral to the Convention of 1933. It is important to mention that Dominican Republic is also part of the Convention on Diplomatic Asylum of 1954.

³¹ AO-25 of Inter-American Court of Human Rights, par. 154. The Court considers the express intention of not including diplomatic asylum within the scope of the Inter-American system of human rights could be based on will expressed in the procedure framework (*supra* par. 108) of seeing diplomatic asylum as a State right, or as a state prerogative in order to keep its discretionary power regarding its acceptance or denial in concrete situations.

²⁶ See OAS, Files, vol. 3, No. 2, 1951, p. 119, quoted in the Report of the General Secretary of the United Nations to the General Assembly on *Diplomatic Asylum*, September 22, 1975, Part II, par. 74.

²⁷ See *Pacheco Tineo Family Vs. Bolivia*, *supra*, par. 137, and Advisory Opinion AO-21/14, *supra*, par. 74.

²⁸ See *Goiburú et al. Vs. Paraguay. Merits, reparations, and costs. Verdict*, September 22, 2006. C-Series No. 153, par. 132; *Mapiiripan Massacre Vs. Colombia. Verdict accomplishment supervision*. Inter-American Court of Human Rights Decision, July 8, 2009, recital 40, and *mutatis mutandi, Wong Ho Wing Vs. Peru. Preliminar Exception, Merits, Reparations and Costs. Verdict*, June 30, 2015. C-Series C No. 297, par. 119.

22.7 of the American Declaration of Human Rights and Article XXVIII of the American Convention on Human Rights, people are entitled to request and receive territorial asylum. However, they did not mention diplomatic asylum. Thus the Court concluded that territorial asylum is a fundamental or human right protected by the Declaration and the Convention in question, yet diplomatic asylum is a sovereign right of the States members of the Inter-American system and it is not a human right, as it is not a right of the individual, but a decision that fully depends on the will of the State host. In fact, it is a regional tradition³² subject to interstate agreements and national regulations that has not been updated and are still governed by the initial conventions from several decades ago.

The Court also stated that diplomatic asylum, territorial asylum and refuge are three different forms of protection, based on the several international instruments that regulate them, although all of them are subject to the principle of non-refoulement³³ as it is a *erga omnes* right.

The Court concluded the advisory opinion with the following perspective on territorial asylum and diplomatic asylum: diplomatic asylum is not protected by the American Declaration of the Rights and Duties of Man, neither by the American Convention on Human Rights. Thus they are regulated in accordance with inter-State conventions and domestic rules.

To sum up the Court's position, we highlight the fact that the Court considers the principle of non-refoulement as a common element among the three forms of protection, which are different legal categories to protect the persecuted who have their integrity or life at risk. In contrast, diplomatic asylum must always have the foundation of being politically pursued.

³² AO-25, par. 156. In conclusion, the Court states diplomatic asylum is not ruled under Article 22.7 of the American Convention, nor Article XXVII of the Declaration of Argentina. The right to request and get asylum is considered, in the framework of the Inter-American system, as the human right of requesting international protection and receiving it in foreign territory. This also applies for getting a refugee status according to the relevant instruments established by the United Nations or the national legislation. For territorial asylum, it depends on the plethora of Inter-American conventions on the subject.

³³ AO-25, par.188. The Court also acknowledges that Article 22.8 of the Convention does not establish geographic boundaries, which precedes the general criteria of jurisdiction (i.e. it has a wide application range). Subsequently, in terms of implementing the principle of non-refoulement in the Convention and Declaration framework, it is relevant for us to establish territorial or personal jurisdiction, *de jure* or *de facto*. In sum, the Court considers that the protection aspect against refoulement is not restricted to the person located in State territory. This is because it also gives other States an extra-territorial obligation, as long as authorities exercise their functions or effective control on such people. That is something that can happen in some situations due to its own nature, when they are in another's State territory with the State's consent.

VII. STATEMENT OF BRAZIL AND BRAZIL ACTION PLAN³⁴: INACCURATE AND CONFUSING USE OF ASYLUM AND REFUGE

In line with the inaccurate or ambiguous use of the terms "asylum" and "refuge," we can briefly analyze the situation at regional level with Brazil Action Plan and Brazil Declaration. Both have used the terms synonymously or indistinctly: "We recognize that the specific characteristics and contexts of the Caribbean require a place for dialogue with the aim of adopting a subregional strategy for the progressive development of asylum systems."

We can clearly see the vague use of "asylum" and "refuge" in *Brazil Declaration*, sometimes refer to as synonyms: "We emphasize the importance of establishing a balance between the legitimate security concerns of States and the needs of protection of refuge and asylum seekers (...) tripartite mechanisms among the country of origin, the host country and the UNHCR, and considering the participation of the refugees as a good regional practice."

We see how they mix the terms and separate them in some cases, and some sections refer to asylum when it is actually refuge.

The following inaccuracies regarding the ambiguous use of both terms can be seen in *Brazil Action Plan*:

"The strengthening of national bodies for the determination of *refugee* status... and the greater engagement of *asylum* authorities (...) the on-time identification of *asylum* seekers and other persons with protection needs..."

The plan has a program called *quality asylum*, and one of its priorities is... "to detect gaps in the normative framework and procedures for the determination of *refugee status* since the submission of the request until the final decision (...) extend the definition of *refugee* (...) and to strengthen national systems for the determination of *refugee status*."

"The right of *asylum* seekers to obtain a properly informed decision in writing."

"The development of protocols or procedures (...) to *asylum* or *refuge* seekers."

At this point, we can clearly notice the separation of each term. This leads the reader to think they are, in fact, not synonymous. Then, the text covers their next goal: "*Voluntary repatriation* support in *quality asylum* systems (...) to get *asylum* and *refuge* seekers population profiles (...) to help *asylum* and *refuge* seekers (...) b) to actively continue the binational cooperation between host countries and the country of origin of *asylees* and *refugees*."

³⁴ <http://www.acnur.org/cartagena30/declaracion-y-plan-de-accion-de-brasil/>

We could continue analyzing the Brazil Plan of Action and find many other examples; however, we would like to keep the article brief.

VIII. CONSIDERATIONS

It is possible to say that even though Latin America treats asylum and refuge as two forms of international protection that share the same goal, they have different origins, causes of protection, procedure and legislation.

Asylum has clearly political origin in the region, as the context gave rise to diplomatic asylum, which became popular around the 1950s due to dictatorships that were spreading in the region at that time.

Asylum is a *right*³⁵ granted by the State. Therefore, it is not obliged to provide the required protection, and it may remain silent regarding its decision.

On the other hand, refuge has its origin in the Geneva Convention and is clearly related to conflicts of war, armed conflict, internal or external violence and other types of attacks or persecution the person is involved in.

Refuge is a human right, thus the State is *obliged* to study the refuge application and provide protection if the case fits the regulations of the Geneva Convention and its Protocol. This obligation starts when the State ratifies the Convention, as protection denial is linked to specific assumptions that exempt it, and are detailed in the Geneva Convention. We need to remember protection is strongly related to the principle of non-refoulement.

IX. SOME MAJOR DIFFERENCES

Asylum can *only* be granted in embassies, diplomatic legations, warships, aircraft or military camps³⁶. The application for asylum is studied and granted by a diplomatic agent or the aircraft or boat commander.

Refuge it is not granted in diplomatic missions, as it must be requested on borders and the administration offices of the country where it is requested. According to each country, refuge is processed and authorized by officials nominated by the State. The Ministry of Foreign Affairs is usually the one in charge.

Asylum: It is granted for political reasons or offences related to them. It starts as diplomatic asylum and then becomes territorial when the asylee is transferred to the State guard. It must be done quickly so the person can be immediately moved to the territory of the country of protection.

Refuge is granted to persecuted people for several³⁷ reasons, as long as they demonstrate founded fear of having their integrity, health or life at risk. There are plenty of reasons, as more cases were added with the Cartagena Declaration of 1984.

Refuge must be requested at border checkpoints or specific administration offices of the country offering protection. The person then gets a refugee status, even though they can get an indefinite status in some countries of the region. The majority of national legislations clearly specify the places for submitting the application and clarify that you cannot apply in diplomatic missions.

The approach used to identify inaccurate or ambiguous terminological use of asylum and refuge can also be applied to the Treaty of Montevideo of 1933. Article 11 says... "*Refuge* is granted in the territory of the High Contracting Parties..." even though its title refers to asylum and political refuge. The Treaty then refers to asylum, except for Article 11 that exclusively mentions *refuge*, and does not mix the terms. This leaves a halo of terminological confusion.

X. CONCLUSION: SUGGESTIONS AT REGIONAL LEVEL

a) *Differentiation Theory*

The region should set forth both legal concepts in order to establish the differences between them and promote a common use of both legal concepts and their accurate representation.

Thus, the countries of the region should establish the origin of each legal term, enact an accurate definition, determine the administrative procedure and requirements for each of them, and the causes for the need of protection. Furthermore, establishing the administrative body in charge of the request, the period of time given for protection, and the effects and benefits of protection.

The *differentiation theory* could work for Ecuador, Paraguay, Peru, Dominican Republic, Uruguay, and Venezuela, which are nations that show clear differences between both terms in their immigration legislation or Constitution.

b) *Unification Theory*

Our second proposal would be to adopt the European approach where asylum leads to the refugee status. In this case, both terms are put together: asylum is then understood as a concept that leads to refuge or vice versa, and diplomatic and territorial asylum are specified as particular types of refuge.

The *unification theory* could work for international instruments that treat both terms as synonyms, such as the Convention on Asylum of 1928 in Havana, the Convention on Asylum and Refuge of 1930

³⁵ Article 2, Convention on Diplomatic Asylum, Caracas 1954.

³⁶ Article 2, Treaty on Political Asylum and Refuge (Montevideo, 1933).

³⁷ Geneva Convention of 1951 and its New York Protocol of 1957.

in Montevideo, Brazil Declaration and Plan of Action, the Inter-American Court, and Argentina. Nonetheless, we could include some other countries that were not part of the analysis due to economic reasons.

After stating the differences and similarities between them, we could say that asylum and refuge are, in fact, different by the nature of persecution and the powers of the host state taking the request. We should also take into account that asylum offers the right to make a decision where the State does not require you to explain your situation, regardless the nature of the offence. Nevertheless, in the case of refuge, the state is obliged to receive the request while the decision of providing protection is being discussed, and to state a reasonable cause of denial, if applicable.

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GLOBAL JOURNAL OF HUMAN-SOCIAL SCIENCE: F
POLITICAL SCIENCE
Volume 25 Issue 4 Version 1.0 Year 2025
Type: Double Blind Peer Reviewed International Research Journal
Publisher: Global Journals
Online ISSN: 2249-460X & Print ISSN: 0975-587X

Short Methods Note: Operationalising Agency and Uncertainty in a Peace and Conflict Studies Research Project – Sri Lanka

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Introduction- Researching questions of peace with justice, within environments that restrain researcher agency, and which evoke uncertainty, requires the adoption of long-term perspectives and a good dose of patience. From the restrictions placed upon the researcher by external institutional structures to the relationships established between researcher and participants during data collection, agency and uncertainty remain factors in post-positivist scientific projects. Critical and contemplative analysis of the data, and importantly of the structures, within which knowledge is acquired as well as a preparedness for processual adjustments over time, help to underpin research trajectories. In my own experience, these factors demand not only a cautious restraint, by way of the researcher's own framing of process, but elevated commitments to the principle of 'do no harm', the recognition of the positionality between researcher and participants, the acknowledgement and mitigation of bias and action to promote researcher and participant agency. Researchers themselves should acknowledge the limits by which their methodologies are constrained; and how, by modifying methods and observing limits, transparency and accountability are enhanced, participation and subjectivity substantiated, and bias and harm mitigated.

GJHSS-F Classification: LCC Code:JZ5584



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Dr. Scott Robert Hearnden

I. INTRODUCTION

Researching questions of peace with justice, within environments that restrain researcher agency, and which evoke uncertainty, requires the adoption of long-term perspectives and a good dose of patience. From the restrictions placed upon the researcher by external institutional structures to the relationships established between researcher and participants during data collection, agency and uncertainty remain factors in post-positivist scientific projects. Critical and contemplative analysis of the data, and importantly of the structures, within which knowledge is acquired as well as a preparedness for processual adjustments over time, help to underpin research trajectories. In my own experience, these factors demand not only a cautious restraint, by way of the researcher's own framing of process, but elevated commitments to the principle of 'do no harm', the recognition of the positionality between researcher and participants, the acknowledgement and mitigation of bias and action to promote researcher and participant agency. Researchers themselves should acknowledge the limits by which their methodologies are constrained; and how, by modifying methods and observing limits, transparency and accountability are enhanced, participation and subjectivity substantiated, and bias and harm mitigated.

The research I conducted in the difficult social and political environment that was Sri Lanka was to excavate the unseen conflicts beneath the carapace of popular discourse. It was here in this more hidden world I delved, where marginalisation of people translated into invisibility and for whom agency and uncertainty was at a premium. Such a research agenda demanded commitments to both interrogative and temporal parameters that complimented the environment under investigation with a view to executing the research agenda to a satisfactory conclusion. As a cross-disciplinary scholarship, peace and conflict studies opens itself to new and creative opportunities for the application of methods. Overarched by intersectionality, my research sought to bridge the existentialism of the mid- 20th century, and its emphasis on individual

freedoms, with the inter-relational role between the individual's own subjectivities, desires and purpose, and the inherent impositions and constraints of the social and political structures surrounding them. Such an approach enabled a multi-dimensional understanding of both identities and subjectivities. Consistent with critical and phenomenological approaches, I constructed my methods through an inductive lens, deconstructing the process into specific considerations of: safety of participants, researcher positionality, and bias. Addressing these parameters, in my research experience, helped to elevate agency and mitigate uncertainty. I discuss these issues in both papers noted in the Reference list and I review them again below in short summary.

II. OPERATIONALISING AGENCY AND UNCERTAINTY

a) *Safety & Doing No Harm*

Researchers should adhere to a principle of doing-no-harm to participants or else unwittingly expose the research to processes and methods that are 'exploitative' [Cannella and Lincoln, 2009, 55, 57]. For reasons of participant safety and harm mitigation, as well as related ethical conditionalities imposed by the research institution, interviews were largely conducted remotely, often across large geographical distances. Participant identities were concealed. During many interviews, both participants and I were in different countries outside of Sri Lanka. We employed alternative telecommunication facilities, with sometimes uncertain degrees of connectivity across different time zones. Accordingly, planning, efficacy and efficiency were necessary. Needless to say, the agency of the participants, and myself, were often challenged elevating uncertainty.

I had originally intended to ensure access to non-English (Sinhala and Tamil) speaking people, with an expectation of engaging translators. However, I was not only unable to satisfy myself that a secure environment of information flow was possible, but that without participants' own sense of security assured, the information they might be willing to share could be unconsciously biased, distorted or even incomplete. Breakdowns in privacy in a small city under military rule,

such as Colombo was, in which many people's identities were easily known or traceable, and in which trust had been severely eroded, was not conducive to achieving a sufficient level of security. I could not ensure that participants' identities or their stories were sufficiently secure in country.

b) *Positionality*

I developed an understanding of my position in the context of both the research overall and, in particular, the participants. 'Positionality is critical in the relationship between inequalities, power, and the production of knowledge' and I was conscious that my presence, and my status - as understood by those being interviewed - could impact upon both the interview process and the data gleaned. [Mary Romero, 2018, 54] I understood therefore that the interviews and analysis of data were affected by my 'position' in relation to the 'others'. They were also influenced by the continuum of past 'interaction' with some of the communities from which certain participants came. My relational history to some of the participants and the knowledge I acquired whilst interacting with them helped strengthen how I contextualised my interpretations of knowledge. I realised that my own history helped to enhance the intersubjectivity between me and the participants and was conscious that the information obtained from those with whom I shared a pre-existing relationship strengthened the acquisition and interpretation of knowledge. On this basis, and as I have previously argued elsewhere, this aspect of my methods borrowed from circumstances which I felt as comparable to formal interactionist settings which scholars such as Roger Smith has argued, provide 'the prospect of being able to identify, record and analyse the behaviour of individuals and groups in 'natural' settings.' [Roger Smith, 2009, 114] Norman Denzin also supports the notion that 'interactionism best fits the empirical nature of the social world,' and thus is conducive to more meaningful interpretations of interviews. [Norman K Denzin, 2009, 5].

As I chose to interpret and analyse each participant's experience using an Interpretive Phenomenological approach (IPA), I also was conscious that the impacts were reciprocal. Such reciprocity meant that any interpretations I made about participants' experiences may also be affected by the interviewee's own positionality, with regard to me. [Jonathon A Smith et al., 2009, 34-37, 41] Accordingly, I tried to modify my approach informed by the warnings of scholars such as Romero who states, 'Social science has a long tradition of studying the powerless and normalising unequal relationships between the researcher and the participant.' [Romero, 2018, 55] The principal issue arises in how 'the other' is situated, understood, interpreted and represented in circumstances in which a researcher does not share the same 'axis of oppression

but rather have race, class, and gender privilege.' [Romero, 55].

c) *Bias*

A normative peace with justice framework acknowledges certain inherent biases which should also inform the methods selected. A suite of methods should complement the substantive multi-disciplinary scholarship found in the peace and conflict studies academy and support participants' own agencies by seeking to mitigate the very same biases that frustrate people's social and political participation beyond the research. They should enable reflection and, for example, look favourably upon concepts of democracy and rights-based approaches, paralleling similar biases in favour of collective 'participation', such as that discussed by the scholar of strong democracy Benjamin R. Barber. Similarly, Hilary Cottam asserts the need for 'participatory' approaches in resolving 'the big global challenges of our time' [COTTAM, 2010, 50, 50-55]. In aiming to give effect to these emancipatory visions, the methods are underpinned, as Roger Smith posits, 'by principles of rights, participation and social justice' [Smith, 2009, 12]. Participants from marginalised communities in Sri Lanka, including people who identified with sexual minority and gender diverse communities, with Tamil, Sinhala and youth communities, as well as other marginalised communities were afforded a voice in this research.

d) *Agency – Researcher and Participants*

Whilst researching the agency of marginalised communities in Sri Lanka, I became conscious of, and was confronted by, the limitations of my own agency. Common structural barriers which frustrated access to peace with justice, the illiberal exercise of democratic and human rights-based entitlements and the limited or absent space for advocacy, reached beyond the experiences of ordinary Sri Lankan citizens but impacted upon others. As I grew to learn, the structural restrictions imposed upon local people could impinge my own agency as a researcher. Curiously, and ironically, these barriers, whilst on one hand seemed unhelpful, in fact, provoked me to confront, with greater clarity, both their suffocating impact and, concomitantly, contextual subtleties. I learnt that a nebulous labyrinth of potentialities existed. Some led to other corridors of opportunity, such as collegial advice from academics in equally if not more difficult circumstances, but most, were structurally finite dead-ends. Yet, these corridors, whether opened or closed, needed some form of navigation to understand them. Thus, they too became a part of the research project.

In my article concerning agency [Hearnden, 2023, 31-39] I discussed my frustrated experiences with several institutions in Sri Lanka including: civil society organisations, the University of Colombo, the Sri Lankan Ministries of Higher Education, Official

Languages and Social Integration, and Defence as well as the United Nations Country Team. I was able to compare these experiences with my earlier experiences, including the creation and execution of a major international conference, which helped to provide context for the research project. My direct involvement was in partnership with a regional non-governmental organisation, with several local civil society groups, state actors and UN partners. It created an open, democratic, rights-based space for regional cross-sectoral dialogue amongst them including politicians and policy makers, civil society (local and international) stakeholders, advocates who identified as belonging to domestic and international marginalised communities, media, academia and other representatives from the multi-lateral sphere.

III. CONCLUSION

My own experiences in Sri Lanka, demonstrated that ordinary Sri Lankans sought to realise their democratic entitlements and exercise those entitlements in a rights-based environment. Within a peace with justice framework, such as was provided through the conferencing exercise, dialogue based participatory engagement sought to achieve progressive outcomes. Contemporaneously, outside the relative safety of the conference space: conflict and violence (direct and structural) persisted; democratic entitlement and rights-based frameworks were absent; and people's agencies were challenged. In such a climate, and beneath the carapace of popular discourse less visible, latent or invisible conflicts persisted. (Hearnden, *Social Alternatives*, 2023, 31-9)

To unearth these 'other' conflicts, I embarked on a research project that revealed the structural barriers that most profoundly impacted upon marginalised people's purposive desires to advocate for justice and to fulfil their self-determinative existences as human beings.

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Cyber Diplomacy in Africa: The Role of the African Union in Shaping Regional and Global Cyber Norm

By Saron Obia Messembe & Gabriel Cyrille Ngujoi

Abstract- Cyberspace has rapidly emerged as a critical arena for international diplomacy, requiring the necessity for diplomats to redefine and adapt foreign-policy relations practices and strategies. With the rise of cyber threats, including hacking, cyber-warfare, and cyber-attacks, the growing need of cyber diplomacy has become particularly urgent. The African Union has taken important steps to integrate cyber issues into its broader diplomatic agenda, positioning itself as a key actor and player in regional and global cyber governance. This article thus analyses the African Unions' (AU) role in shaping the continent's cyber diplomacy, and its narrative grounded in the English School's distinction between international society and world society. It focuses on its efforts to create regional norms, and also collaborate with other international bodies. The paper globally argues that cyber diplomacy sits, not only, at the intersection of these two social orders, but the AU, together with Regional Economic Communities (RECs) and national institutions must institutionalize diplomatic capacities to translate continental norms into operational resilience. Building on normative analysis and empirical evidence, the paper tries to define cyber diplomacy and distinguishes it from e diplomacy; traces the institutional emergence of cyber diplomacy in AU processes and selected member states; maps gaps between AU instruments (Malabo Convention, AU digital/ data agendas) and national practice; and proposes an operational AU cyber diplomacy agenda.

Keywords: *diplomacy, hacking, cybersecurity, cyber-diplomacy, foreign policy.*

GJHSS-F Classification: *LCC Code: JZ1308, JZ1318*



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Cyber Diplomacy in Africa: The Role of the African Union in Shaping Regional and Global Cyber Norm

Saron Obia Messemebe ^α & Gabriel Cyrille Nguijoi ^σ

Abstract- Cyberspace has rapidly emerged as a critical arena for international diplomacy, requiring the necessity for diplomats to redefine and adapt foreign-policy relations practices and strategies. With the rise of cyber threats, including hacking, cyber-warfare, and cyber-attacks, the growing need of cyber diplomacy has become particularly urgent. The African Union has taken important steps to integrate cyber issues into its broader diplomatic agenda, positioning itself as a key actor and player in regional and global cyber governance. This article thus analyses the African Unions' (AU) role in shaping the continent's cyber diplomacy, and its narrative grounded in the English School's distinction between international society and world society. It focuses on its efforts to create regional norms, and also collaborate with other international bodies. The paper globally argues that cyber diplomacy sits, not only, at the intersection of these two social orders, but the AU, together with Regional Economic Communities (RECs) and national institutions must institutionalize diplomatic capacities to translate continental norms into operational resilience. Building on normative analysis and empirical evidence, the paper tries to define cyber diplomacy and distinguishes it from e diplomacy; traces the institutional emergence of cyber diplomacy in AU processes and selected member states; maps gaps between AU instruments (Malabo Convention, AU digital/ data agendas) and national practice; and proposes an operational AU cyber diplomacy agenda.

Keywords: diplomacy, hacking, cybersecurity, cyber-diplomacy, foreign policy.

I. INTRODUCTION

Cyberspace has rapidly emerged as one of the recent year's critical frontlines in international relations, carrying along both exceptional opportunities and risks. The rise of cyber threats such as hacking, cyber-attacks, and cyber-warfare, urge mainstream diplomatic strategies and practices to adapt in order to address these growing challenges. As Africa reinforces its digital and technological infrastructures,

the need for a coherent cyber diplomatic framework becomes more pressing than ever, especially the AU, and its pillars, (regional institutions).

The role of diplomacy in cyberspace is much less prominent in the media than stories of cyber incidents. In 2015, US and China reached a cyber security deal, one of the most contentious issue in their bilateral relations. For years, both parties accused each other of network infiltration and accessing confidential information from companies and government agencies. The US had accused China of compromising a number of weapon systems, such as the F-35 and the PAC3 missile (Meyers, 2015).

In 2014, five Chinese hackers were indicted by the Department of Justice over hacking into a number of high-profile companies, such as the United States Steel Corporation (Segal, 2016). Meanwhile, China has often ink or voice counter-claims of being a victim of US intrusions (Singer and Friedman, 2014, p. 189). The agreement struck between President Barack Obama and President Xi Jinping foresees cooperation and mutual assistance in investigations on cybercrime, while both sides committed to restrain from cyber-enabled economic espionage. A monitoring mechanism was established to ensure the proper implementation of this agreement, and a hotline was created to deal with the escalation of issues in cyberspace (White House, 2015).

African diplomats must rethink the cybersecurity directives of the different states. In 2023, *the African Union (AU) internet connectivity was compromised by BlackCat Group (also known as ALPHV)*, though the consequences were mitigated by Interpol and partners.

IN 2012, A Forum Code Security "*hacker known as direxer, exploited a Web vulnerability and took down 103 government of Kenya websites overnight sitting unfixed programming errors in code*". Meanwhile, in 2015 the popular Indonesian hackers from Gantenger's Crew hacked and defaced the President of Kenya's site (LTN, 2015). The defaced webpage revealed digital footprints on the hacked Kenyan President site. They replaced the page with one of their own. The reason behind the hack was expose to the authorities their expertise and mastery of the 'game', as reported by Hack Read reports.

This article aims at discussing the role of diplomats and diplomacy in addressing cyber issues,

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following the changing dynamics in the International Relations (IR) literature. More specifically, it seeks to reconfigure the African Union narrative on emerging trends and how they adapted to a new policy domain. This comes at a time in which diplomacy is changing in terms of its practices (with the progressive adaptation to new technologies), but also in terms of the areas it covers and actors it deals with (Hocking et al., 2012). Cyber-diplomacy can simply be seen as the latest instalment, albeit a particularly important one, in what is the progressively changing role of diplomacy in the digital age.

The framing on the evolution of cyber-diplomacy will adopt an English School perspective. While diplomacy has often been treated as a mere "constant" (Sending et al., 2015, p. 3) by International Relations scholars, more interested in analysing the origins of power politics and the evolution of warfare. The English School globally distinguishes between 'international society,' focused on 'states relations', and 'world society,' which ranges from non-state actors to broader global issues. By situating this paper at the intersection of these two conceptual approaches, we gain insight into the evolving role of the AU as it navigates the complexities of digital governance.

Whereas the former "is about the institutionalization of mutual interest and identity among states and puts creation and maintenance of shared norms, rules and institutions at the Centre of IR theory" (Buzan, 2014: p.12), the latter "takes individuals, non-state organizations and ultimately the global population as a whole as the focus of global social identities and arrangements and puts transcendence of the state system at the Centre of IR theory" (Buzan, 2014, p. 13). Taking this school of thought as the starting point for our analysis, this paper argues that cyber-diplomacy sits at the intersection between these two societies.

Although both international society and world society are contested concepts around which much has been written, it is not the purpose of this article to engage in theoretical considerations about the ontological and normative basis of both. Ian Clark's summative assessment in which he takes the world society to refer to the "non-state social world that takes a transnational form, and is distinct from the society of states" will be adopted (Clark, 2007, p. 22). For our discussion, it is mostly important to understand international society and world society as analytical concepts that are simultaneously present in international relations. The piece will explore the concept of cyber-diplomacy and how it differs from concepts: digital diplomacy, e-diplomacy, as well as how this brave new world is being interpreted by those on the ground, the first generation of cyber-diplomats.

II. DEFINING CYBER DIPLOMACY

Cyber diplomacy is different from e-diplomacy, and includes negotiating international frameworks for digital governance, cybersecurity, and internet freedom. In Africa, this practice requires addressing both state-centric concerns, including national security, and global issues, such as cybercrime, internet governance, and the digital divide.

Andre Barrihna and Thomas Renard (2017) consider diplomacy as the attempt to adjust conflicting interests by negotiation and compromise, as for the English School, at the core of international politics; it is a central institution in the definition and maintenance of international society (Hall, 2006; Neumann, 2002, 2003; Watson, 1982). Hedley Bull has a different narrative, as he perceives diplomacy is "*a custodian of the idea of international society, with a stake in preserving and strengthening it*" (2002[1977], p. 176). According to him, there are five main functions to the diplomatic practice: to facilitate communication in world politics, to negotiate agreements, to gather intelligence and information from other countries, to avoid or minimise "friction in international relations" (2002[1977], p. 165) and, finally, to symbolise the existence of a society of states.

There are emerging narratives in international relations and diplomacy which are contrary to that Hedley Bull. Diplomacy narrative has changed from a selected group of fellows, particularly white men elegantly discussing and negotiating the main issues in international politics in cocktail parties and at official receptions (Andre Barrihna and Thomas Renard, 2017, P.4). It is not even just about relations between states. It now has to take into account "wider relationships and dialogues, involving such entities as regional and international organizations - be they intergovernmental (IGOs) or non-governmental (NGOs) -multinational firms, sub-national actors, advocacy networks, and influential individuals" (Jönsson and Langhorne, 2004, p. vii). There are, entrepreneurs such as AppsTech by Cameroonian, Rebecca Enonchong, that are reconfiguring states, national and international tech organizations cyber landscape.

Cyber-diplomacy can be defined as diplomacy in the cyber domain or, in other words, the use of diplomatic resources and the performance of diplomatic functions to secure national interests with regard to the cyberspace. Such interests are generally identified in national cyberspace or cybersecurity strategies, which often include references to the diplomatic agenda. Predominant issues on the cyber-diplomacy agenda include cybersecurity, cybercrime, confidence-building, internet freedom and internet governance.

Cyber-diplomacy is therefore conducted in all or in part by diplomats, meeting in bilateral formats or in multilateral fora (such as in the UN). Beyond the traditional remit of diplomacy, diplomats also interact

with various non-state actors, such as leaders of internet companies (such as Facebook or Google), technology entrepreneurs or civil society organisations. Diplomacy can also involve empowering oppressed voices in other countries through technology (Owen, 2015). While this sets quite a broad reach of activities, it does allow us to firmly situate cyber-diplomacy as an international society institution, even when interacting with world society actors. We exclude from our definition the more technical interactions between line ministries (such as justice, telecoms or economy) or official agencies (such as Computer Emergency Response Teams) from different countries, when diplomats are not involved. This is important as it helps differentiate purely diplomatic activities from those that take place between government departments and agencies of different countries, interactions that in many cases predated diplomatic ones as we further explain below, but whose primary concern is to address technical rather than political issues. We recognize that there is a certain 'grey area' where some of these activities may complement or combine themselves. This 'grey area' leads in practice to some tensions between national stakeholders on issues of competence and representation. However, that observation is not fundamentally unlike what is observed in other policy areas, such as the environment or trade.

There is a tendency to conflate two very different ideas: the use of digital tools by diplomats and foreign ministries, and the diplomacy of cyberspace. Following our definition, this article focuses exclusively on the latter, whereas the former fits within what could be labelled as 'e-diplomacy'. Also called 'digital diplomacy', it refers to the use of new technologies and social media by diplomats, in the context of their traditional activities, including for consular purposes (Hocking and Melissen, 2015; Sandre, 2015; Seib, 2016). According to Tom Fletcher, e-diplomacy was officially born on 4 February 1994 when the then Swedish prime minister Carl Bildt sent the first diplomatic email to US President Bill Clinton congratulating him for lifting the embargo against Vietnam (2016, p. 28). Much of the debate on new diplomacy has been based on this growing reliance on technology for the fulfilment of diplomatic duties (Copeland, 2015, p. 453). Related to it, some see in the necessary adaptation to these technologies (and rationale behind them) the key factor in guaranteeing the predominance of state power in an increasingly networked world (Hocking and Melissen, 2015; Owen, 2015).

Cyber-diplomacy is a relatively new concept. The term had been used before, but essentially to describe 'e-diplomacy' activities. In a 2002 book entitled *Cyber diplomacy: managing foreign policy in the twenty first century*, for instance, several scholars reflected already on the impact of the internet and new

technologies on the objectives, tools and structures of diplomacy (Potter, 2002). The term has also been used to describe the evolution of public diplomacy activities in the digital age (Kleiner, 2008). These early studies focused mostly on the broader digital transformation, but they did not address the diplomatic processes necessary to deal with the emerging international aspects of cyber issues.

New narrative of cyber-diplomacy is slowly emerging, contrary to lack of literature during the past decade. Discourse mostly focused on foreign policy dimension of the cyber agenda, before policy-orientation studies emerge on the case for cyber-diplomacy. One of the earliest such studies, published in 2010 by the East West Institute, expressed this new interest in clear terms:

Because of high levels of cross-border connectivity in the cyber world, new approaches for cybersecurity must factor in the international dimension. Thus, instead of exclusively focusing on cyber defense or cyber war, it is also important to begin to develop cyber diplomacy. Few governments have even thought about the diplomatic dimension of cybersecurity, and they certainly haven't developed diplomatic strategies commensurate with the threat (Gady and Austin 2010, p.1).

There is a reconfiguration of diplomatic practices in order to adapt to new trends, challenging the gap between practice and theory. The different regional and international blocs of researchers have inked numerous articles on cyber policies, on relations between certain countries and on specific aspects of international relations in cyberspace. There is no standard definition or concept of cyber-diplomacy, however, African countries need to rethink how diplomats and foreign offices are taking charge of these relatively new issues. More clarity on the definition and purposes of cyber-diplomacy would be useful to those who practice it, whereas the literature on diplomacy and international politics may benefit from hindsight from a new policy domain.

III. AFRICAN CYBER-DIPLOMACY: WHY AND WHEN

When considering the emergence of cyber-diplomacy, it is important to first understand the underlying logic of cooperation in this policy domain. Cyberspace cumulates a number of characteristics that frame diplomatic engagement among stakeholders. To begin with, it is a global domain connecting nations and citizens worldwide in a variety of manners, generating interactions and frictions between them. Furthermore, cyberspace is usually considered as a "global common", defined as a "resource domain to which all nations have legal access" (Buck, 1998, p. 6). Cyberspace is then comparable to other global commons such as the high seas, airspace and outer space. This requires minimum rules and regulations, in order to ensure access to all and avoid conflict, which

can only result from diplomatic negotiations. Those international society principles clash with cyberspace's contested nature in which its major powers promote competing visions, interests and values for the cyberspace. With emerging actors some of the relevant characteristics of this realm, which are but not limited to: attribution of cyberattacks and intrusions, hindering trust among stakeholders; the advantage of offense over defence security are gradually mitigated, though global vulnerabilities are still high because of the proliferation of new software. However, there is a challenge at the international realm, the reliability of states on deterrence by retaliation when it comes to cyberspace, even if attribution and deterrence are possible (van der Meer, 2016; Nye 2017). All these characteristics make both international cyber relations and the governance of the cyberspace extremely complex and fragile, but at the same time make diplomacy all the more necessary, particularly with regard (but not limited) to confidence-building mechanisms and the development of international norms and values.

In World Order, Henry Kissinger gives perhaps the clearest reasoning underpinning the rise of cyber-diplomacy, emphasizing that the absence of dialogue and diplomacy would be detrimental to the cyberspace, but also to the broader world order:

The road to a world order may be long and uncertain, but no meaningful progress can be made if one of the most pervasive elements of international life is excluded from serious dialogue. (...) Absent some articulation of limits and agreement on mutual rules of restraint, a crisis situation is likely to arise, even unintentionally; the very concept of international order may be subject to mounting strains (Kissinger, 2014, pp. 345-6).

The logic of diplomacy in cyberspace is indisputable and yet its practice is very new. This is not due to a sudden change in the above-mentioned characteristics, but rather to the evolution of the governing structures of the cyberspace over time. In the early days, internet was essentially unregulated and its governance largely informal. The main stakeholders were not states, but engineers; it was firmly situated within the realm of world society. Over time, governments became more involved and the cyberspace more regulated. International meetings multiplied, giving way to a plethora of new fora on cyber issues where government technical experts from various line ministries convened to discuss a range of cyber issues, from network security to online criminality. Some of these meetings became structured such as *the Oliver Tambo Declaration adopted by the Conference of African Ministers in charge of Information and Communication Technologies held in Johannesburg, South Africa on 5 November 2009; the Addis Ababa Declaration adopted on 22 June 2012 on the Harmonization of Cyber Legislation in Africa and the Malabo Convention of the African Union*. However, institutionalization of these

meetings, align with the paradigm shift of cyber agenda or culture which "politicized struggles", ignited the narrative of cyber diplomacy (Deibert, 2015).

African countries are not exempted from the 'game' of the twenty-first century, that of developing comprehensive cybersecurity strategies, as the cyberspace and infrastructures reveal to be strategic assets and could be vulnerable. Before then, states Cybersecurity Strategy mainly focused on the national dimension, such as developing cyber capabilities, improving government coordination, and strengthening cooperation with the private sector. However, the international dimension of cyber issues was taken in to consideration, in order to vitalize cooperation with international partners. Being member states to the UN, Sub Saharan countries are engaging in cyber issues, particularly cyber-security and opportunities for diplomatic engagement. African Union member states can easily draw inspiration from the UN Group of Governmental Experts (UN GGE) meetings, which expressed willingness for the first time in 2010 to work together to reduce the threat resulting from cyber-attacks, and to work towards a set of voluntary norms of responsible State behaviour in the cyberspace. An initiative proposed by Russia in 2011 during a UN General Assembly Resolution (66/24) (Meyer, 2015, pp. 55-58).

Cyber-diplomacy began in the US, based on publication of the US International Strategy for Cyberspace in 2011, which focus entirely on the international aspects of cyber issues. The strategy identifies a number of priorities (economy, network protection, law enforcement, military, internet governance, international development, and internet freedom), while relying on three pillars to pursue these objectives: diplomacy, defence and development (3Ds). The strategy is explicit on the use of diplomatic tools and resources in pursuit of cyber-related agenda. The US strategy led to the creation of the position of the Office of the Coordinator for Cyber Issues within the US State Department, while the Coordinator Christopher Painter became de facto the world's first cyber-diplomat. The office for cyber issues was assigned five key tasks (US State Department website, 2017):

- Coordinating the Department's global diplomatic engagement on cyber issues.
- Serving as the Department's liaison to the White House and federal departments and agencies on these issues.
- Advising the Secretary and Deputy Secretaries on cyber issues and engagements.
- Acting as liaison to public and private sector entities on cyber issues.
- Coordinating the work of regional and functional bureaus within the Department engaged in these areas.

Some Sub Saharan African countries are changing the dynamics, by adopting cybersecurity strategies addressing the international ramifications of cyber issues, and even stand-alone international strategies. However, the African Union is gradually reconfiguring cyber-diplomacy as the European Union's member states adopted Council Conclusions on Cyber Diplomacy in 2015 – the first time in which the term 'cyber diplomacy' was used in an official government document.

One of the main reasons for the institutional emergence of Cyber-Diplomacy was that too many departments and desks were dealing simultaneously with cyber issues, without coordination and overarching direction. More so, the creation of a focal point within the ministries of foreign affairs (MFA) was perceived as a manner to avoid fragmented reporting from the embassies abroad on cyber-related matters, and therefore to gain a more comprehensive view of the cyber developments and dynamics. AU members can explore the two main approaches to institutional streamlining in MFAs: either the creation of a new department centralizing all cyber-related activities, similarly to other thematic departments; or the establishment of a coordination unit, based on the principle that cyber issues are cross-cutting. It will be essential for African states to validate the principle that cyber issues are cross-cutting in order to develop a better framework and secure the cyberspace.

The emerging trends appeals for proper restructuring of the cybersecurity narrative of African states and the notion of cyber-diplomacy. The cyberspace is a new war yard, which cyber-diplomats have to redefine the traditional narrative of diplomacy, including maintaining peace and building mutual confidence between stakeholders, in a completely new environment, that is the digital space.

IV. CONCLUSION

The Rise of Cyber-Diplomats in Africa

There has been a paradigm shift in activities of cyber-diplomacy between international and world societies. More importantly, in the manner in which the operate, with concepts, technologies and practices, that more often than not were defined within the realm of cyber-diplomacy.

According Barry Buzan (2014, p. 165-166), the past decades have been marked with an emergent level of interaction between international society and world society as "People everywhere now understand that they are embedded in a single global economy (like it or not), and up to a point that they are also embedded in a single global culture and a single global environment (again, like it or not)." Although, "[t]here isn't a ready-made cosmopolitan alternative to the states-system", Buzan believes "there is increasing interplay and in some ways merger between the different pluralisms in

the interstate and world society domains" (2015, p. 166). Indeed, many of the norms that regulate and give legitimacy to international society developed from world society (Clark, 2007, p. 13).

Cyberspace activities have mostly been conducted following a world society rationale best captured by the so-called multi-stakeholder model governing the internet, although states are now trying to come to terms with the importance of the field by incorporating it into the international society realm. All this, without excluding the realist international system, the sphere in which states co-exist and interact without a concern for shared values or norms. Whereas cases such as the *May 2015 when some renowned Indonesian hackers from Gantenger's Crew hacked and defaced the President of Kenya's site* evidence that state activity in cyberspace must not be limited normative law, reason cyber-diplomacy is redefining different tendencies in order to ensure a peaceful co-existence, defined by clear rules and principles: from a system of interactive units to a society of states. In that regard, cyber-diplomacy is to cyberspace what diplomacy is to international relations: a fundamental pillar of international society. Worth noting that the preamble of the African Union (AU) Convention on Cyber Security and Personal Data Protection highlights *the Principle of the African Information Society Initiative (AISi) and the Regional Action Plan on the Knowledge Economy (ARAPKE)*.

Unlike other areas of international life, cyberspace is constituted by a rather incipient set of binding normative arrangements and Africa states are gradually adapting to this realm. For instance, armed forces around the world are developing their own cyber capabilities, there are no "*parallel diplomatic processes to develop the agreed parameters for such operations*" (Meyer, 2012, p. 16), much is yet to be done to change the dynamics.

Conventions and national law have been promulgated to regulate the cyberspace, which had until then isolated the narrative of diplomacy. In 2013, the Head of the EU external cyber coordination revealed that 'there are very few nations where national cyber coordination is efficient and the state is able to speak with one voice in all international fora' (Tiirmaa-Klaar, 2013, p. 516). This appeals for a new wave of cyber-diplomats to engage in bilaterally and multilaterally discourse worldwide.

This paper argues that the structuring of cyber diplomacy is essential to Africa's engagement in global digital governance. For the AU to be a leading actor in this space, it must prioritize institutionalizing cyber diplomacy, fostering regional cooperation, and building capacity at the national level. Through these measures, Africa can contribute meaningfully to shaping the future of global cyber diplomacy.

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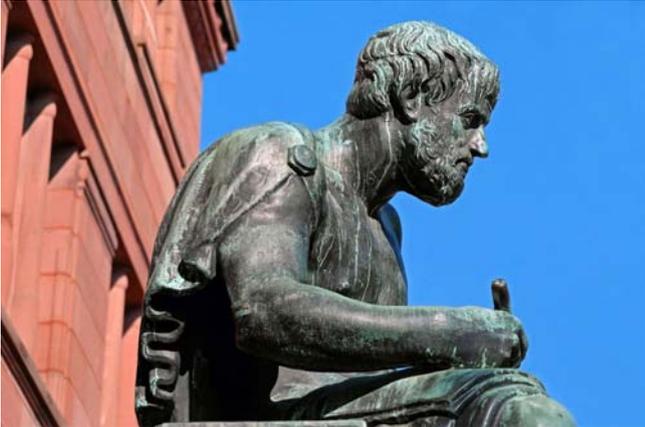
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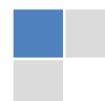
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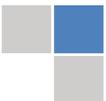
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Authors can submit papers and articles in an acceptable file format: MS Word (doc, docx), LaTeX (.tex, .zip or .rar including all of your files), Adobe PDF (.pdf), rich text format (.rtf), simple text document (.txt), Open Document Text (.odt), and Apple Pages (.pages). Our professional layout editors will format the entire paper according to our official guidelines. This is one of the highlights of publishing with Global Journals—authors should not be concerned about the formatting of their paper. Global Journals accepts articles and manuscripts in every major language, be it Spanish, Chinese, Japanese, Portuguese, Russian, French, German, Dutch, Italian, Greek, or any other national language, but the title, subtitle, and abstract should be in English. This will facilitate indexing and the pre-peer review process.

The following is the official style and template developed for publication of a research paper. Authors are not required to follow this style during the submission of the paper. It is just for reference purposes.



Manuscript Style Instruction (Optional)

- Microsoft Word Document Setting Instructions.
- Font type of all text should be Swis721 Lt BT.
- Page size: 8.27" x 11", left margin: 0.65, right margin: 0.65, bottom margin: 0.75.
- Paper title should be in one column of font size 24.
- Author name in font size of 11 in one column.
- Abstract: font size 9 with the word "Abstract" in bold italics.
- Main text: font size 10 with two justified columns.
- Two columns with equal column width of 3.38 and spacing of 0.2.
- First character must be three lines drop-capped.
- The paragraph before spacing of 1 pt and after of 0 pt.
- Line spacing of 1 pt.
- Large images must be in one column.
- The names of first main headings (Heading 1) must be in Roman font, capital letters, and font size of 10.
- The names of second main headings (Heading 2) must not include numbers and must be in italics with a font size of 10.

Structure and Format of Manuscript

The recommended size of an original research paper is under 15,000 words and review papers under 7,000 words. Research articles should be less than 10,000 words. Research papers are usually longer than review papers. Review papers are reports of significant research (typically less than 7,000 words, including tables, figures, and references)

A research paper must include:

- a) A title which should be relevant to the theme of the paper.
- b) A summary, known as an abstract (less than 150 words), containing the major results and conclusions.
- c) Up to 10 keywords that precisely identify the paper's subject, purpose, and focus.
- d) An introduction, giving fundamental background objectives.
- e) Resources and techniques with sufficient complete experimental details (wherever possible by reference) to permit repetition, sources of information must be given, and numerical methods must be specified by reference.
- f) Results which should be presented concisely by well-designed tables and figures.
- g) Suitable statistical data should also be given.
- h) All data must have been gathered with attention to numerical detail in the planning stage.

Design has been recognized to be essential to experiments for a considerable time, and the editor has decided that any paper that appears not to have adequate numerical treatments of the data will be returned unrefereed.

- i) Discussion should cover implications and consequences and not just recapitulate the results; conclusions should also be summarized.
- j) There should be brief acknowledgments.
- k) There ought to be references in the conventional format. Global Journals recommends APA format.

Authors should carefully consider the preparation of papers to ensure that they communicate effectively. Papers are much more likely to be accepted if they are carefully designed and laid out, contain few or no errors, are summarizing, and follow instructions. They will also be published with much fewer delays than those that require much technical and editorial correction.

The Editorial Board reserves the right to make literary corrections and suggestions to improve brevity.



FORMAT STRUCTURE

It is necessary that authors take care in submitting a manuscript that is written in simple language and adheres to published guidelines.

All manuscripts submitted to Global Journals should include:

Title

The title page must carry an informative title that reflects the content, a running title (less than 45 characters together with spaces), names of the authors and co-authors, and the place(s) where the work was carried out.

Author details

The full postal address of any related author(s) must be specified.

Abstract

The abstract is the foundation of the research paper. It should be clear and concise and must contain the objective of the paper and inferences drawn. It is advised to not include big mathematical equations or complicated jargon.

Many researchers searching for information online will use search engines such as Google, Yahoo or others. By optimizing your paper for search engines, you will amplify the chance of someone finding it. In turn, this will make it more likely to be viewed and cited in further works. Global Journals has compiled these guidelines to facilitate you to maximize the web-friendliness of the most public part of your paper.

Keywords

A major lynchpin of research work for the writing of research papers is the keyword search, which one will employ to find both library and internet resources. Up to eleven keywords or very brief phrases have to be given to help data retrieval, mining, and indexing.

One must be persistent and creative in using keywords. An effective keyword search requires a strategy: planning of a list of possible keywords and phrases to try.

Choice of the main keywords is the first tool of writing a research paper. Research paper writing is an art. Keyword search should be as strategic as possible.

One should start brainstorming lists of potential keywords before even beginning searching. Think about the most important concepts related to research work. Ask, "What words would a source have to include to be truly valuable in a research paper?" Then consider synonyms for the important words.

It may take the discovery of only one important paper to steer in the right keyword direction because, in most databases, the keywords under which a research paper is abstracted are listed with the paper.

Numerical Methods

Numerical methods used should be transparent and, where appropriate, supported by references.

Abbreviations

Authors must list all the abbreviations used in the paper at the end of the paper or in a separate table before using them.

Formulas and equations

Authors are advised to submit any mathematical equation using either MathJax, KaTeX, or LaTeX, or in a very high-quality image.

Tables, Figures, and Figure Legends

Tables: Tables should be cautiously designed, uncrowned, and include only essential data. Each must have an Arabic number, e.g., Table 4, a self-explanatory caption, and be on a separate sheet. Authors must submit tables in an editable format and not as images. References to these tables (if any) must be mentioned accurately.



Figures

Figures are supposed to be submitted as separate files. Always include a citation in the text for each figure using Arabic numbers, e.g., Fig. 4. Artwork must be submitted online in vector electronic form or by emailing it.

PREPARATION OF ELETRONIC FIGURES FOR PUBLICATION

Although low-quality images are sufficient for review purposes, print publication requires high-quality images to prevent the final product being blurred or fuzzy. Submit (possibly by e-mail) EPS (line art) or TIFF (halftone/ photographs) files only. MS PowerPoint and Word Graphics are unsuitable for printed pictures. Avoid using pixel-oriented software. Scans (TIFF only) should have a resolution of at least 350 dpi (halftone) or 700 to 1100 dpi (line drawings). Please give the data for figures in black and white or submit a Color Work Agreement form. EPS files must be saved with fonts embedded (and with a TIFF preview, if possible).

For scanned images, the scanning resolution at final image size ought to be as follows to ensure good reproduction: line art: >650 dpi; halftones (including gel photographs): >350 dpi; figures containing both halftone and line images: >650 dpi.

Color charges: Authors are advised to pay the full cost for the reproduction of their color artwork. Hence, please note that if there is color artwork in your manuscript when it is accepted for publication, we would require you to complete and return a Color Work Agreement form before your paper can be published. Also, you can email your editor to remove the color fee after acceptance of the paper.

TIPS FOR WRITING A GOOD QUALITY SOCIAL SCIENCE RESEARCH PAPER

Techniques for writing a good quality homan social science research paper:

1. Choosing the topic: In most cases, the topic is selected by the interests of the author, but it can also be suggested by the guides. You can have several topics, and then judge which you are most comfortable with. This may be done by asking several questions of yourself, like "Will I be able to carry out a search in this area? Will I find all necessary resources to accomplish the search? Will I be able to find all information in this field area?" If the answer to this type of question is "yes," then you ought to choose that topic. In most cases, you may have to conduct surveys and visit several places. Also, you might have to do a lot of work to find all the rises and falls of the various data on that subject. Sometimes, detailed information plays a vital role, instead of short information. Evaluators are human: The first thing to remember is that evaluators are also human beings. They are not only meant for rejecting a paper. They are here to evaluate your paper. So present your best aspect.

2. Think like evaluators: If you are in confusion or getting demotivated because your paper may not be accepted by the evaluators, then think, and try to evaluate your paper like an evaluator. Try to understand what an evaluator wants in your research paper, and you will automatically have your answer. Make blueprints of paper: The outline is the plan or framework that will help you to arrange your thoughts. It will make your paper logical. But remember that all points of your outline must be related to the topic you have chosen.

3. Ask your guides: If you are having any difficulty with your research, then do not hesitate to share your difficulty with your guide (if you have one). They will surely help you out and resolve your doubts. If you can't clarify what exactly you require for your work, then ask your supervisor to help you with an alternative. He or she might also provide you with a list of essential readings.

4. Use of computer is recommended: As you are doing research in the field of homan social science then this point is quite obvious. Use right software: Always use good quality software packages. If you are not capable of judging good software, then you can lose the quality of your paper unknowingly. There are various programs available to help you which you can get through the internet.

5. Use the internet for help: An excellent start for your paper is using Google. It is a wondrous search engine, where you can have your doubts resolved. You may also read some answers for the frequent question of how to write your research paper or find a model research paper. You can download books from the internet. If you have all the required books, place importance on reading, selecting, and analyzing the specified information. Then sketch out your research paper. Use big pictures: You may use encyclopedias like Wikipedia to get pictures with the best resolution. At Global Journals, you should strictly follow [here](#).



6. Bookmarks are useful: When you read any book or magazine, you generally use bookmarks, right? It is a good habit which helps to not lose your continuity. You should always use bookmarks while searching on the internet also, which will make your search easier.

7. Revise what you wrote: When you write anything, always read it, summarize it, and then finalize it.

8. Make every effort: Make every effort to mention what you are going to write in your paper. That means always have a good start. Try to mention everything in the introduction—what is the need for a particular research paper. Polish your work with good writing skills and always give an evaluator what he wants. Make backups: When you are going to do any important thing like making a research paper, you should always have backup copies of it either on your computer or on paper. This protects you from losing any portion of your important data.

9. Produce good diagrams of your own: Always try to include good charts or diagrams in your paper to improve quality. Using several unnecessary diagrams will degrade the quality of your paper by creating a hodgepodge. So always try to include diagrams which were made by you to improve the readability of your paper. Use of direct quotes: When you do research relevant to literature, history, or current affairs, then use of quotes becomes essential, but if the study is relevant to science, use of quotes is not preferable.

10. Use proper verb tense: Use proper verb tenses in your paper. Use past tense to present those events that have happened. Use present tense to indicate events that are going on. Use future tense to indicate events that will happen in the future. Use of wrong tenses will confuse the evaluator. Avoid sentences that are incomplete.

11. Pick a good study spot: Always try to pick a spot for your research which is quiet. Not every spot is good for studying.

12. Know what you know: Always try to know what you know by making objectives, otherwise you will be confused and unable to achieve your target.

13. Use good grammar: Always use good grammar and words that will have a positive impact on the evaluator; use of good vocabulary does not mean using tough words which the evaluator has to find in a dictionary. Do not fragment sentences. Eliminate one-word sentences. Do not ever use a big word when a smaller one would suffice.

Verbs have to be in agreement with their subjects. In a research paper, do not start sentences with conjunctions or finish them with prepositions. When writing formally, it is advisable to never split an infinitive because someone will (wrongly) complain. Avoid clichés like a disease. Always shun irritating alliteration. Use language which is simple and straightforward. Put together a neat summary.

14. Arrangement of information: Each section of the main body should start with an opening sentence, and there should be a changeover at the end of the section. Give only valid and powerful arguments for your topic. You may also maintain your arguments with records.

15. Never start at the last minute: Always allow enough time for research work. Leaving everything to the last minute will degrade your paper and spoil your work.

16. Multitasking in research is not good: Doing several things at the same time is a bad habit in the case of research activity. Research is an area where everything has a particular time slot. Divide your research work into parts, and do a particular part in a particular time slot.

17. Never copy others' work: Never copy others' work and give it your name because if the evaluator has seen it anywhere, you will be in trouble. Take proper rest and food: No matter how many hours you spend on your research activity, if you are not taking care of your health, then all your efforts will have been in vain. For quality research, take proper rest and food.

18. Go to seminars: Attend seminars if the topic is relevant to your research area. Utilize all your resources. Refresh your mind after intervals: Try to give your mind a rest by listening to soft music or sleeping in intervals. This will also improve your memory. Acquire colleagues: Always try to acquire colleagues. No matter how sharp you are, if you acquire colleagues, they can give you ideas which will be helpful to your research.

19. Think technically: Always think technically. If anything happens, search for its reasons, benefits, and demerits. Think and then print: When you go to print your paper, check that tables are not split, headings are not detached from their descriptions, and page sequence is maintained.



20. Adding unnecessary information: Do not add unnecessary information like "I have used MS Excel to draw graphs." Irrelevant and inappropriate material is superfluous. Foreign terminology and phrases are not apropos. One should never take a broad view. Analogy is like feathers on a snake. Use words properly, regardless of how others use them. Remove quotations. Puns are for kids, not grunt readers. Never oversimplify: When adding material to your research paper, never go for oversimplification; this will definitely irritate the evaluator. Be specific. Never use rhythmic redundancies. Contractions shouldn't be used in a research paper. Comparisons are as terrible as clichés. Give up ampersands, abbreviations, and so on. Remove commas that are not necessary. Parenthetical words should be between brackets or commas. Understatement is always the best way to put forward earth-shaking thoughts. Give a detailed literary review.

21. Report concluded results: Use concluded results. From raw data, filter the results, and then conclude your studies based on measurements and observations taken. An appropriate number of decimal places should be used. Parenthetical remarks are prohibited here. Proofread carefully at the final stage. At the end, give an outline to your arguments. Spot perspectives of further study of the subject. Justify your conclusion at the bottom sufficiently, which will probably include examples.

22. Upon conclusion: Once you have concluded your research, the next most important step is to present your findings. Presentation is extremely important as it is the definite medium through which your research is going to be in print for the rest of the crowd. Care should be taken to categorize your thoughts well and present them in a logical and neat manner. A good quality research paper format is essential because it serves to highlight your research paper and bring to light all necessary aspects of your research.

INFORMAL GUIDELINES OF RESEARCH PAPER WRITING

Key points to remember:

- Submit all work in its final form.
- Write your paper in the form which is presented in the guidelines using the template.
- Please note the criteria peer reviewers will use for grading the final paper.

Final points:

One purpose of organizing a research paper is to let people interpret your efforts selectively. The journal requires the following sections, submitted in the order listed, with each section starting on a new page:

The introduction: This will be compiled from reference matter and reflect the design processes or outline of basis that directed you to make a study. As you carry out the process of study, the method and process section will be constructed like that. The results segment will show related statistics in nearly sequential order and direct reviewers to similar intellectual paths throughout the data that you gathered to carry out your study.

The discussion section:

This will provide understanding of the data and projections as to the implications of the results. The use of good quality references throughout the paper will give the effort trustworthiness by representing an alertness to prior workings.

Writing a research paper is not an easy job, no matter how trouble-free the actual research or concept. Practice, excellent preparation, and controlled record-keeping are the only means to make straightforward progression.

General style:

Specific editorial column necessities for compliance of a manuscript will always take over from directions in these general guidelines.

To make a paper clear: Adhere to recommended page limits.



Mistakes to avoid:

- Insertion of a title at the foot of a page with subsequent text on the next page.
- Separating a table, chart, or figure—confine each to a single page.
- Submitting a manuscript with pages out of sequence.
- In every section of your document, use standard writing style, including articles ("a" and "the").
- Keep paying attention to the topic of the paper.
- Use paragraphs to split each significant point (excluding the abstract).
- Align the primary line of each section.
- Present your points in sound order.
- Use present tense to report well-accepted matters.
- Use past tense to describe specific results.
- Do not use familiar wording; don't address the reviewer directly. Don't use slang or superlatives.
- Avoid use of extra pictures—include only those figures essential to presenting results.

Title page:

Choose a revealing title. It should be short and include the name(s) and address(es) of all authors. It should not have acronyms or abbreviations or exceed two printed lines.

Abstract: This summary should be two hundred words or less. It should clearly and briefly explain the key findings reported in the manuscript and must have precise statistics. It should not have acronyms or abbreviations. It should be logical in itself. Do not cite references at this point.

An abstract is a brief, distinct paragraph summary of finished work or work in development. In a minute or less, a reviewer can be taught the foundation behind the study, common approaches to the problem, relevant results, and significant conclusions or new questions.

Write your summary when your paper is completed because how can you write the summary of anything which is not yet written? Wealth of terminology is very essential in abstract. Use comprehensive sentences, and do not sacrifice readability for brevity; you can maintain it succinctly by phrasing sentences so that they provide more than a lone rationale. The author can at this moment go straight to shortening the outcome. Sum up the study with the subsequent elements in any summary. Try to limit the initial two items to no more than one line each.

Reason for writing the article—theory, overall issue, purpose.

- Fundamental goal.
- To-the-point depiction of the research.
- Consequences, including definite statistics—if the consequences are quantitative in nature, account for this; results of any numerical analysis should be reported. Significant conclusions or questions that emerge from the research.

Approach:

- Single section and succinct.
- An outline of the job done is always written in past tense.
- Concentrate on shortening results—limit background information to a verdict or two.
- Exact spelling, clarity of sentences and phrases, and appropriate reporting of quantities (proper units, important statistics) are just as significant in an abstract as they are anywhere else.

Introduction:

The introduction should "introduce" the manuscript. The reviewer should be presented with sufficient background information to be capable of comprehending and calculating the purpose of your study without having to refer to other works. The basis for the study should be offered. Give the most important references, but avoid making a comprehensive appraisal of the topic. Describe the problem visibly. If the problem is not acknowledged in a logical, reasonable way, the reviewer will give no attention to your results. Speak in common terms about techniques used to explain the problem, if needed, but do not present any particulars about the protocols here.



The following approach can create a valuable beginning:

- Explain the value (significance) of the study.
- Defend the model—why did you employ this particular system or method? What is its compensation? Remark upon its appropriateness from an abstract point of view as well as pointing out sensible reasons for using it.
- Present a justification. State your particular theory(-ies) or aim(s), and describe the logic that led you to choose them.
- Briefly explain the study's tentative purpose and how it meets the declared objectives.

Approach:

Use past tense except for when referring to recognized facts. After all, the manuscript will be submitted after the entire job is done. Sort out your thoughts; manufacture one key point for every section. If you make the four points listed above, you will need at least four paragraphs. Present surrounding information only when it is necessary to support a situation. The reviewer does not desire to read everything you know about a topic. Shape the theory specifically—do not take a broad view.

As always, give awareness to spelling, simplicity, and correctness of sentences and phrases.

Procedures (methods and materials):

This part is supposed to be the easiest to carve if you have good skills. A soundly written procedures segment allows a capable scientist to replicate your results. Present precise information about your supplies. The suppliers and clarity of reagents can be helpful bits of information. Present methods in sequential order, but linked methodologies can be grouped as a segment. Be concise when relating the protocols. Attempt to give the least amount of information that would permit another capable scientist to replicate your outcome, but be cautious that vital information is integrated. The use of subheadings is suggested and ought to be synchronized with the results section.

When a technique is used that has been well-described in another section, mention the specific item describing the way, but draw the basic principle while stating the situation. The purpose is to show all particular resources and broad procedures so that another person may use some or all of the methods in one more study or referee the scientific value of your work. It is not to be a step-by-step report of the whole thing you did, nor is a methods section a set of orders.

Materials:

Materials may be reported in part of a section or else they may be recognized along with your measures.

Methods:

- Report the method and not the particulars of each process that engaged the same methodology.
- Describe the method entirely.
- To be succinct, present methods under headings dedicated to specific dealings or groups of measures.
- Simplify—detail how procedures were completed, not how they were performed on a particular day.
- If well-known procedures were used, account for the procedure by name, possibly with a reference, and that's all.

Approach:

It is embarrassing to use vigorous voice when documenting methods without using first person, which would focus the reviewer's interest on the researcher rather than the job. As a result, when writing up the methods, most authors use third person passive voice.

Use standard style in this and every other part of the paper—avoid familiar lists, and use full sentences.

What to keep away from:

- Resources and methods are not a set of information.
- Skip all descriptive information and surroundings—save it for the argument.
- Leave out information that is immaterial to a third party.



Results:

The principle of a results segment is to present and demonstrate your conclusion. Create this part as entirely objective details of the outcome, and save all understanding for the discussion.

The page length of this segment is set by the sum and types of data to be reported. Use statistics and tables, if suitable, to present consequences most efficiently.

You must clearly differentiate material which would usually be incorporated in a study editorial from any unprocessed data or additional appendix matter that would not be available. In fact, such matters should not be submitted at all except if requested by the instructor.

Content:

- Sum up your conclusions in text and demonstrate them, if suitable, with figures and tables.
- In the manuscript, explain each of your consequences, and point the reader to remarks that are most appropriate.
- Present a background, such as by describing the question that was addressed by creation of an exacting study.
- Explain results of control experiments and give remarks that are not accessible in a prescribed figure or table, if appropriate.
- Examine your data, then prepare the analyzed (transformed) data in the form of a figure (graph), table, or manuscript.

What to stay away from:

- Do not discuss or infer your outcome, report surrounding information, or try to explain anything.
- Do not include raw data or intermediate calculations in a research manuscript.
- Do not present similar data more than once.
- A manuscript should complement any figures or tables, not duplicate information.
- Never confuse figures with tables—there is a difference.

Approach:

As always, use past tense when you submit your results, and put the whole thing in a reasonable order.

Put figures and tables, appropriately numbered, in order at the end of the report.

If you desire, you may place your figures and tables properly within the text of your results section.

Figures and tables:

If you put figures and tables at the end of some details, make certain that they are visibly distinguished from any attached appendix materials, such as raw facts. Whatever the position, each table must be titled, numbered one after the other, and include a heading. All figures and tables must be divided from the text.

Discussion:

The discussion is expected to be the trickiest segment to write. A lot of papers submitted to the journal are discarded based on problems with the discussion. There is no rule for how long an argument should be.

Position your understanding of the outcome visibly to lead the reviewer through your conclusions, and then finish the paper with a summing up of the implications of the study. The purpose here is to offer an understanding of your results and support all of your conclusions, using facts from your research and generally accepted information, if suitable. The implication of results should be fully described.

Infer your data in the conversation in suitable depth. This means that when you clarify an observable fact, you must explain mechanisms that may account for the observation. If your results vary from your prospect, make clear why that may have happened. If your results agree, then explain the theory that the proof supported. It is never suitable to just state that the data approved the prospect, and let it drop at that. Make a decision as to whether each premise is supported or discarded or if you cannot make a conclusion with assurance. Do not just dismiss a study or part of a study as "uncertain."



Research papers are not acknowledged if the work is imperfect. Draw what conclusions you can based upon the results that you have, and take care of the study as a finished work.

- You may propose future guidelines, such as how an experiment might be personalized to accomplish a new idea.
- Give details of all of your remarks as much as possible, focusing on mechanisms.
- Make a decision as to whether the tentative design sufficiently addressed the theory and whether or not it was correctly restricted. Try to present substitute explanations if they are sensible alternatives.
- One piece of research will not counter an overall question, so maintain the large picture in mind. Where do you go next? The best studies unlock new avenues of study. What questions remain?
- Recommendations for detailed papers will offer supplementary suggestions.

Approach:

When you refer to information, differentiate data generated by your own studies from other available information. Present work done by specific persons (including you) in past tense.

Describe generally acknowledged facts and main beliefs in present tense.

THE ADMINISTRATION RULES

Administration Rules to Be Strictly Followed before Submitting Your Research Paper to Global Journals Inc.

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CRITERION FOR GRADING A RESEARCH PAPER (COMPILATION)
BY GLOBAL JOURNALS

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Topics	Grades		
	A-B	C-D	E-F
<i>Abstract</i>	Clear and concise with appropriate content, Correct format. 200 words or below	Unclear summary and no specific data, Incorrect form Above 200 words	No specific data with ambiguous information Above 250 words
<i>Introduction</i>	Containing all background details with clear goal and appropriate details, flow specification, no grammar and spelling mistake, well organized sentence and paragraph, reference cited	Unclear and confusing data, appropriate format, grammar and spelling errors with unorganized matter	Out of place depth and content, hazy format
<i>Methods and Procedures</i>	Clear and to the point with well arranged paragraph, precision and accuracy of facts and figures, well organized subheads	Difficult to comprehend with embarrassed text, too much explanation but completed	Incorrect and unorganized structure with hazy meaning
<i>Result</i>	Well organized, Clear and specific, Correct units with precision, correct data, well structuring of paragraph, no grammar and spelling mistake	Complete and embarrassed text, difficult to comprehend	Irregular format with wrong facts and figures
<i>Discussion</i>	Well organized, meaningful specification, sound conclusion, logical and concise explanation, highly structured paragraph reference cited	Wordy, unclear conclusion, spurious	Conclusion is not cited, unorganized, difficult to comprehend
<i>References</i>	Complete and correct format, well organized	Beside the point, Incomplete	Wrong format and structuring



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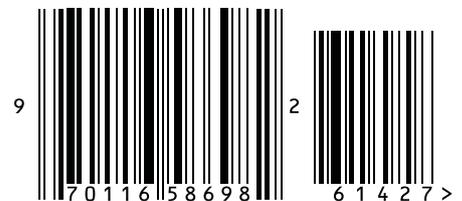


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ISSN 975587

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