

UTKU B. DEMİR

TITLE

### 0.1 *Mirroring representative claims and its surrogative expansion in non-electoral movements: Zapatistas and Rojava Resistance*

What is your essay question?

How do non-electoral movements, especially armed ones like the Zapatistas and the Rojava resistance, generate their representative claims aiming for a surrogate representation of some communities on global scale, and what lessons do they offer for democratic theory and practice?

Why do you think this question is important or interesting?

Activist groups generate representative claims in different forms. The armed militant groups often are formed around a representative claim, in case of Zapatistas for example Saward (Saward 2010, p. 13) associates their struggle to make the reflect the voices of indigenous people of Chiapas as *mirroring claim*. However, both Saward and Tormey (Simon Tormey and Tormey 2006) do not reflect on the claims Zapatistas are making for the global issues, struggles, other communities. In the case of Zapatistas, they claim to be the voice of all the oppressed, marginalised communities around the world (see Marcos' letter and Zapatistas support on other struggles around the world), in the case of Rojava the emphasis on women's, LGBT rights, and intersectionality was especially prominent within the contrast against the surrounding forces. On top of the symbolic claims, Rojava's claims also found some direct references in other international movements (e.g. jin jiyen azadi slogan in Persian movement against islamic regime). While these forces claim to represent a specific communities' values, they are also simultaneously claim representing global causes as well, I aim to analyse the nature and effects of such claims on both fronts.

How do you define the representation conceptions you are engaging with? Saward's formulation of the representative claims to identify the claims among both movements, and Mansbridge concept of surrogative representation to discuss, if and in what this concept can also contain non-electoral representative claims.

What argument do you want to make? Their mirroring representative claims is forming a constituency among their local communities through the global values, and struggles the organisations aim to be in solidarity to. This constructivist approach, however, allow other global communities to form movements around their claims.

What examples, evidence or data do you want to use to support your argument? I'll mostly refer to the resources about the actions of those movements

Do you have any specific things you are struggling with or where

you would like advice by your peers?



## *Bibliography*

Saward, Michael (May 2010). *The Representative Claim*. Oxford University Press. ISBN: 978-0-19-957938-9. DOI: [10 . 1093 / acprof :  
oso/9780199579389.001.0001](https://doi.org/10.1093/acprof:oso/9780199579389.001.0001). (Visited on 04/23/2024).

Simon Tormey and Simon Tormey (Jan. 2006). "'Not in My Name': Deleuze, Zapatismo and the Critique of Representation". In: *Parliamentary Affairs* 59.1, pp. 138–154. DOI: [10.1093/pa/gsj001](https://doi.org/10.1093/pa/gsj001).