

The book avails of a series of prominent specialists in the field, and advances an original three-fold set of explanations to deal with the phenomenon of populism.

— **Piero Ignazi**, *University of Bologna, Italy,  
and Sciences Po Paris, France*

This book provides a very much needed comparative analysis of the rise of the right, by emphasizing both global dynamics and regional specificities. As such, it offers a very promising new perspective, away from the specular mistakes of unilateral generalisations and mere localism. A must read for all those interested in unpacking the puzzle of the global resurgence of right-wing politics.

— **Chiara Bottici**, *The New School for Social Research, USA*

This is a novel contribution to the expanding literature on populism. The editors have put together a collection that is both historical and trans-national. The historical essays combined with the analyses of contemporary cases, particularly Latin America, show that populism is a global challenge that is not likely to disappear soon.

— **Mabel Berezin**, *Cornell University, USA*

While there is a growing academic and public interest in the rise of different forms of (radical) right-wing politics, there are almost no studies that address this topic from a cross-regional perspective. This book closes this research gap by analyzing cases of right-wing politics from Europe and the Americas. Therefore, this is a must read for all those who are interested in understanding the global resurgence of right-wing politics and its specificities at the regional level.

— **Cristóbal Rovira Kaltwasser**, *Universidad Diego  
Portales, Chile*



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# GLOBAL RESURGENCE OF THE RIGHT

This book provides a broad-ranging analysis of the global resurgence of right-wing forces in the twenty-first century.

These parties, organisations and social movements represent a break from right-wing forces in interwar political history in Europe and the United States, and the right-wing dictatorships in Latin America. The book reflects on the most appropriate conceptual categories to account for this phenomenon and whether terms such as populism, fascism, authoritarianism or conservatism can explain the new manifestations of the right. The book also explores this through a range of national case studies written by country specialists, focusing on Austria, Italy, Spain, Argentina, Brazil, Ecuador and the United States of America.

Providing a much-needed global perspective, this book will be of considerable interest to students and scholars of populism, fascism, right-wing extremism and conservatism.

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# GLOBAL RESURGENCE OF THE RIGHT

Conceptual and Regional  
Perspectives

*Edited by  
Gisela Pereyra Doval and  
Gastón Souroujon*

First published 2022  
by Routledge  
2 Park Square, Milton Park, Abingdon, Oxon OX14 4RN

and by Routledge  
605 Third Avenue, New York, NY 10158

*Routledge is an imprint of the Taylor & Francis Group, an informa business*

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*British Library Cataloguing-in-Publication Data*

A catalogue record for this book is available from the British Library

*Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data*

Names: Pereyra Doval, Gisela, editor. | Souroujon, Gastón, editor.

Title: Global resurgence of the right : conceptual and regional  
perspectives / edited by Gisela Pereyra Doval and Gastón Souroujon.

Description: Abingdon, Oxon; New York, NY : Routledge, 2021. |

Series: Routledge studies in fascism and the far right | Includes  
bibliographical references and index.

Identifiers: LCCN 2021004581 (print) | LCCN 2021004582 (ebook) |

ISBN 9780367569334 (hardback) | ISBN 9780367569341 (paperback) |

ISBN 9781003100423 (ebook)

Subjects: LCSH: Conservatism. | Populism. | Fascism | Right-wing  
extremists. | Conservatism—Case studies. | Populism—Case studies. |  
Fascism—Case studies. | Right-wing extremists—Case studies.

Classification: LCC JC573.G584 2021 (print) | LCC JC573 (ebook) |  
DDC 320.5—dc23

LC record available at <https://lcn.loc.gov/2021004581>

LC ebook record available at <https://lcn.loc.gov/2021004582>

ISBN: 978-0-367-56933-4 (hbk)

ISBN: 978-0-367-56934-1 (pbk)

ISBN: 978-1-003-10042-3 (ebk)

Typeset in Bembo  
by codeMantra

Gastón Souroujon dedicates this book to the memory of his Zeide Leon Fleischer, who suffered the consequences of the most terrible right wing and never showed rancour, only a silent and ironic sadness

Gisela Pereyra Doval dedicates this book to her kids, Augusto and Octavio, hoping they will never have to face such misfortune



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# ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

We would like to thank the prestigious collaborators who have supported this project, intellectuals with well-established careers, who have generously answered the call of two unknown colleagues from Argentina. Before long, their outstanding contributions will surely become indispensable readings for anyone who approaches this issue. We would also like to thank our colleagues at the National University of Rosario, especially at the Centre for Comparative Studies (CEC) of the Faculty of Political Science and International Relations, who have worked alongside us to bring this project to light, Cecilia Lesgart, Juan Lucca, Esteban Iglesias, Cintia Pinillos and Mariana Berdondini. We are grateful to Esteban Kaipl, Mónica Billoni, Jimena Garcia Puente, Fiorella Mancini, Emilio Ordoñez, Pedro Romero, Carla Morasso, María Elena Lorenzini, Lucia Vinuesa, Andrea Bolcatto, Sabrina Benedetto, Nahir Isaac, Cecilia Ginés, María Victoria Alvarez and Natalia Ceppi who have enriched our view with their comments. Special thanks go to the Argentine National Council for Scientific and Technical Research (CONICET) which funds our daily work allowing us to put food on the table. Finally, we would like to thank Craig Fowlie for his trust in the project.

Particularly, Gisela Pereyra Doval would like to thank her parents Martha (love you) and Ariel (miss you), family and Sebastián for looking after her. Gastón Souroujon would like to thank his parents and brother for their support and of course Evangelina for every day.



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# Introduction

## WHEN THE RIGHTS GO MARCHING IN

### An introduction

*Gisela Pereyra Doval and Gastón Souroujon*

Over the last few decades, social sciences in the Western world have been bewitched by a new subject of study: the right-wing. The novelty of this phenomenon must be placed in context since the left-right spatial distinction has been part of political reflection from its emergence in the French Revolution. We could refer to it as an old acquaintance that, in the past, used to call the attention of a small group of eccentrics and now is one of the most popular subjects in mainstream academia around the globe, inspiring extensive literature and countless seminars, forums and research centres. Without falling into the grip of statistical obsession—present, to a certain extent, in our fields of study—it is safe to say that the literature on the topic has enjoyed a superlative growth since the end of the twentieth century and, especially, throughout the twenty-first century. To the extent that keeping up-to-date with the readings has nearly become a Sisyphean task. The right-wing has been analysed from several fields of study and theoretical and methodological approaches, turning the bibliographic repertoire into a multi-layered map that includes case studies, comparative analyses, historical interpretations, conceptual developments and so forth.

Critical reflection on and obsession with this category—critical thinking always requires some degree of obsession—is intimately linked to different conjunctures in which right-wing political forces came to power and/or exerted a strong influence on society. In Western Europe and the United States, such resurgence had two major turning points. First, during the 1980s, two of the most important conservative parties, the Republican Party in the United States and the Conservative Party in the United Kingdom, underwent a metamorphosis of their ideological cores. This gave birth to what was known as the “New Right”,<sup>1</sup> by which the conservative tradition smoothed things over with a vein of the liberal tradition (Ignazi, 2003; Thompson, 2007) as they took the same side against

a common enemy who dressed like John Lennon and thought like John Keynes (Edgard, 1986). Ronald Reagan and Margaret Thatcher were the political leaders identified with this New Right. It challenged the post-war consensus (especially the Welfare State) and pushed the entire political spectrum to accept a new consensus, thus driving social democracy and centre-left forces to the right while concealing such movement under the euphemism *third way*.

The second turning point also has its origins in the mid-1980s, when the French *Front National*—at that time still commanded by the Le Pen family patriarch—obtained 10.9% of the votes in the European elections (Diamanti and Lazar, 2019, p. 39). However, it would not be until the first five years of the twentieth century—with the electoral increase of the parties characterised as radical right-wing (Norris, 2005), national populist (Eatwell and Godwin, 2018) and even neo-fascist forces (Karapın, 1998)—that right-wing politics is studied on a larger scale and the “far-right” political family not only arouses interest among historians concerned with interwar movements, but also begins to be analysed and classified with a view to revealing its heuristic potential to explain the present. This is how we found out that the far-right is a family like any other: heterogeneous and plural, that includes the extreme right, antidemocratic and racist movements and parties as well as those nostalgic for fascism on the one hand, and the radical right, populists, democratic illiberal and nativists movements and parties on the other (Bornschier, 2010; Mudde, 2019). The propagation and relative success of the radical right motivated extensive bibliographic production on the subject, which peaked in 2016 after the Brexit referendum in the United Kingdom and Donald Trump’s surprising election to the presidency of the United States (Betz and Johnson, 2006; Mudde, 2016, 2017; Eatwell and Goodwin, 2018; Pappa, 2019).

The evolution of studies devoted to the Latin American right-wing also had two turning points pinned to specific conjunctures. The first one during the 1990s, as the local version of the New Right was embodied by democratically elected governments that implemented structural transformations inspired in the Washington Consensus (Menem in Argentina, Collor de Mello in Brazil, Fujimori in Peru and C.A. Pérez in Venezuela). The novelty of these experiences—much to the amazement of Latin American scholars—was that they refuted the hypotheses by which such political orientation was not possible in Latin America under a democratic government. In this context, neopopulism was the most influential category used to understand an unprecedented combination of popular support and neoliberal policies (Weyland, 1999; Armony, 2002; Mayorga, 2003; Souroujon, 2014).

The second turning point took place in the 2010s, when, after a period characterised by the so-called “new left” or “progressive” governments in several Latin American countries, the ideological pendulum of the region swung in the opposite direction, most notably, the victories of *Cambiamos* in Argentina, *Alianza País* in Ecuador, *Renovación Nacional* in Chile as well as the surprising extremism of Bolsonaro’s government in Brazil. This revival of right-wing expressions motivated multiple studies that sought to reflect on the phenomenon (Luna and Rovira Kaltwasser, 2011; Giordano, 2014). Thanks to these conjunctures, Latin

America incorporated a key element, which, from then on, became a main player in the political game: a democratic right-wing that respects the formal rules of democracy and is capable of creating alliances to access power. Latin American scholars are compelled to understand and conceptualise a new right that can no longer be reduced to dictatorial experiences or to small testimonial parties.

The extensive rediscovery of right-wing politics as subject of inquiry renews some questions that have occupied scholars for a long time: Which are the different schools of thought or theoretical-political traditions that make up the map of right-wing politics? What are the historical roots of these traditions and their fluctuations over time? Which canonical philosophers are essential in the pantheon of right-wing thought? What are the geography-specific forms taken by different right-wing traditions? (Rémond, 1971; Eatwell and O’Sullivan, 1989; Sirinelli, 1992; Sternhell, 2010). In addition, new questions arise in the light of the socio-political transformations of the twenty-first century: What are the consequences of the several right-wing turns and awakenings for Western liberal democratic governments? How is it that a large social segment that has historically constituted an electoral stronghold of centre-left ideology is now captivated by the new right-wing proposals? (Rosanvallon, 2011). How is it that—in some particular cases—the segments most adversely affected by right-wing policies are the ones that support these political forces the most? (Hochschild, 2006). All these are questions that do not admit dogmatic answers, such as “the right is always antidemocratic” or “popular segments are left-wingers by nature”—questions that demand an unusual effort, one that combines research, imagination, responsibility and empathy.

To comprehend the metamorphosis of the Western political game from a single variable is neither possible nor desirable. Nor is it convenient to reduce it to a set of casual or episodic phenomena. Every approach has its limits, and the magic of human phenomena lies in the fact that they admit multiple levels of interpretation and lenses of observation. This book is an attempt to combine a regional understanding of the renewed weight of right-wing political forces with an understanding of the specificities of each case. That is, to combine interpretations that take into account conjunctural factors with an analysis that delves into long-standing historical causes—an analysis preceded by a theoretical study of the categories inherited during the twentieth century in order to assess their heuristic capacity and their suitability to explain the twenty-first-century phenomena. Throughout the different chapters, readers will access a three-level reflection that, as lenses with different power, can answer a battery of questions that complement one another. We believe that this is the best way to provide them with a comprehensive view of the rise of the right in Western Europe and America.

- 1 The first is a conceptual theoretical level that serves a two-fold purpose. The first purpose is to account for this phenomenon from the heuristic value of some categories, intended for other temporal contexts: populism, fascism,

authoritarianism and so forth. The aim is to consider to what extent different conceptual languages from the tradition of social political discourse are useful to understand these new turns. This compels us to reconsider the most relevant theoretical perspectives that have addressed the topic, pointing out their shortcomings and advantages. The second purpose is to approach the transformations in the intellectual world that have come along with the rise of right-wing expressions by reviewing the most relevant theoretical constructs operating as switchman—in the sense of Weber—of this phenomenon.

- 2 The second level aims at interpreting the phenomenon from a regional perspective as to better understand the distinctive elements at a continental level: the singular aspects of the rise of the right in Western Europe and America, their similarities as well as their main differences. A historical reading is essential here as both cases are presented with the historical background of these turns, their political ancestors and structural causes at a regional level. This level introduces the guiding thread that connects several scattered episodes through space and time, which enables to go beyond the isolated and conjunctural circumstances of the rise of right-wing politics.
- 3 The third level delves into the specific experiences at the national level in both continents. Here, seven cases specifically are covered: Austria, Italy and Spain for Europe, Argentina, Brazil, the United States and Ecuador for America. The specialists who addressed these case studies endeavoured to elaborate on the particular features of the rise of right-wing forces in each context and were free to prioritise the explanatory variables and theoretical frameworks that, in their opinion, better accounted for their subject of study.

The reader of this publication will find a work that brings together a group of internationally renowned scholars—experts in the subject matter—who, from different corners of the world, try to answer the questions arisen from the suggested levels. As previously discussed, we have chosen not to constrain the different guests with a common methodological or epistemological criterion, given the complexity and pluricausal nature of the phenomenon.

In this way, we have relied on the knowledge of the specialists so that each of them may identify the main axes to understand this issue, based on a shared set of concerns. This complexity of viewpoints is reinforced by the multidisciplinary nature of the participants in this book—historians, political scientists, philosophers, internationalists and sociologists—who make it possible to address the many facets of the phenomenon.

We would like to thank the authors for their generosity and commitment. Not even the most optimistic among us could have imagined the favourable response of this renowned group of scholars to the challenge.

We believe that, in addition to the quality of our guests, when compared to the many works that have been published on the subject, this proposal offers another advantage: the chance to think about the rise of right-wing forces in



Western Europe and America pointing out their distinctive and shared elements and including in the analysis the paradigmatic case of the United States. This work is not limited to a particular region or country, thus avoiding the great problem, indicated by Roger Eatwell and Matthew Goodwin (2018), concerning the isolated nature of the contemporary debates on the rise of the rights. The reader will benefit from a comprehensive view of the phenomenon, which leads us to acknowledge that national cases do not constitute unique or model examples. As Machiavelli has taught us, in order to paint the valley, we must leave the valley. Perspective is achieved here by acknowledging in other parts of the world.

## Notes

- 1 Despite being contemporary phenomena, we must not confuse the New Right of the Anglo-Saxon world with the French *nouvelle droite* of Alain de Benoist.
- 1 A prominent recent example is Takis Pappas's study (2019) of Populism and Liberal Democracy, which refers to emotions—and here particularly resentment/ressentiment—as a core mechanism fuelling populist rhetoric.
- 2 An exemplary case is the upsurge in support among working-class voters for the *Front National* during Nicolas Sarkozy's tenure as president of the French Republic. As Nonna Mayer (2014, p. 284) has shown, Sarkozy's catering to the rich (particularly on taxes), his pension reform which hurt working-class people and particularly women and his apparent disdain for ordinary citizens (reflected in his infamous *casse-toi, pauvre*) provoked profound anger, fuelling support for the *Front National*.
- 3 A case in point is the AfD, a new party, which took only a few years to pose a serious challenge to Germany's established parties, particularly in the eastern part of the country. As Holger Lengfeld (2017) has shown, "typical modernization losers" were not significantly more likely to vote for the AfD than was everybody else. Support for the AfD came largely from individuals with average and/or higher incomes (see also Schwander and Manow, 2017).
- 4 This has increasingly happened, most recently in Denmark, with the social democrats largely adopting the anti-immigrant agenda of the *Dansk Folkeparti*—resulting in a drastic drop in electoral support for the latter (Özkırımlı, 2019)—and in Austria, where the centre-right *Österreichische Volkspartei* (ÖVP) followed a similar path (Heinisch, Werner and Habersack, 2019).
- 5 Richard Florida's widely cited empirical analysis of "the geography of bohemia" makes a similar point. Florida finds that "bohemians" (characterised as formerly marginalised eccentric and alternative types of individuals with a high level of "human capital" whose virtues make them particularly valuable in the new "knowledge economy" where creativity and innovation are highly appreciated) are "highly concentrated" in spaces which also have a high concentration of high-technology industry" (Florida, 2002, p. 67). What distinguishes "creative-class workers", or so Florida maintains, is that they "choose cities for their tolerant environments and diverse populations as well as good jobs"—such as San Francisco and Seattle (Eakin, 2002).
- 6 The paradigmatic case is Denmark, where, until recently, the *Dansk Folkeparti* (DF) was instrumental in advancing policies promoting "group-based" welfare rights (Ennser-Jedanastik, 2016) which, for all practical purposes, radicalised access to social rights (Arndt and Frølund Thomsen, 2019). In the process, the DF managed to effect one of the most restrictive immigration policies in Western Europe, which have served as a model for the radical right in other Scandinavian countries (Nordensvard and Ketola, 2015). In the case of Denmark, DF-inspired anti-immigrant measures include the notorious policy to force migrants and refugees to hand over assets exceeding a certain amount in cash to offset the costs of resettlement. Ironically enough, the policy turned out to be largely symbolic yet gained the radical populist right significant international notoriety while attracting imitators (*The New York Times*, 2016).

- 1 Translated by Alejandro Caffa, Body of Translators, National University of Rosario.
- 2 As Leda Paulani (2019) explains,

The term *Industry 4.0* refers to the combination of at least four new elements derived from technological development, elements already present in an embryonic state by the third industrial revolution (that of semiconductors, computers, electronics, information and communication technologies and the internet). These elements are: artificial intelligence, cloud computing, the internet of things and robotics. According to SCHWAB (2016), the term *Industry 4.0* was first used at the Hannover Industrial Fair in Germany, in 2011.

- 3 See João Bernardo (2001), Jessé de Souza (2010), Guy Standing (2013).

- 1 Translated by Alfonsina Giménez and Sara Loose, Body of Translators, National University of Rosario.

- 2 Illiberal democracy, a popular concept in recent years, opens one of many debates around populism. Those who advocate its use observe that populism is still a type of democracy (understood as a regular mechanism for the selection of leaders), but one that denies the normative aspects of liberalism: society is made up of a plurality of interests and sectors; minority expressions must be respected; and the principle of political restraint must prevail. Being an illiberal democracy, populism combines respect for the democratic game with a type of adversarial, majority politics that conceives of a society divided in two (Pappa, 2019). It is democratic because it believes that the demos should command, but illiberal because it considers that there should be no institutions or rights dampening people's voice (Mounk, 2019). Other scholars argue that "illiberal democracy" is a euphemism used by regimes that claim to be democratic, but actually deny democracy. Values such as freedom of speech, freedom of association (Müller, 2017) and the principles of isegoria and isonomy—classical concepts reintroduced in modernity by liberalism (Urbinatti, 2008)—are constitutive of twenty-first-century democracy.
- 3 The relationship between national popular movements and working classes, in general, and the reason why workers feel appealed to Peronism and/or Varguism and/or communism, anarchism or socialism, in particular, poses a question that transcends workers' support for populism in dependent peripheral countries, which would be the question posed by more traditional dependency theory studies.
- 4 Most contemporary authors from core countries recognise the need to distinguish between populism and fascism. However, in many texts, the conceptual limits are dissolved: fascism becomes an extreme type of populism (Urbinatti, 2008; Vieten and Poynting, 2016; Ostiguy, 2017) or populism becomes one of the attributes of fascism (Müller, 2017).
- 5 In this type of populism, the liberal component does not refer to the constitutional advancement of civil rights or the protection of individual rights from the State. It denotes privatisation policies, market liberalisation and anti-State demands. Some scholars would call them neoliberal experiences because they entail public policies that oppose those of "classical populism": decentralisation of State pensions and protections, labour flexibility, union and party demobilisation. Others would regard Salinas de Gortari's Mexico social liberalism or Menem's Argentine popular market economy as conservative modernisation (Gibson, 2011).
- 6 Another argument on how the types of mobilisation have changed relates to the patronage of some populist policies, which supposes an asymmetric but rational relationship of exchange of votes for favours and resources.
- 7 In Argentina, for example, Carlos Menem plays at being and/or mimics famous TV celebrities in order to narrow the widening gap between the political class and the people.

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