Edited by Rosana Pinheiro-Machado
and Tatiana Vargas-Maia

The Rise of the Radical Right in the Global South

THE RISE OF THE RADICAL RIGHT IN THE GLOBAL SOUTH

The Rise of the Radical Right in the Global South is the first academic study—adopting an interdisciplinary and international perspective—to offer a comprehensive and groundbreaking framework for understanding the emergence and consolidation of different radical–right movements in Global South countries in the twenty-first century.

From deforestation and the anti-vaccine movement in Bolsonaro's Brazil to the massacre of religious minorities in Modi's India, the rise of the radical right in the Global South is in the news every day. Not long ago, some of these countries were globally celebrated as emerging economies that consolidated vibrant democracies. Nonetheless, they never overcame structural problems including economic inequality, social violence, cultural conservatism, and political authoritarianism. Featuring case studies from Brazil, India, the Philippines, and South Africa, and more generally from Africa and Latin America, this book analyses future scenarios and current alternatives to this political movement to the radical right. It proposes a shift of focus in examining such a trend, adopting a view from the Global South; conventional theoretical tools developed around the experience in Global North countries are not enough. The authors show that the radical right in the Global South should be analysed through specific lenses, considering national historical patterns of political and economic development and instability. They also warn that researching these countries may differ from contexts where democratic institutions are more reliable. This does not mean abandoning a transnational understanding of the radical right; rather, it calls for the opposite: the chapters examine how the radical right is invented, adapted, modified, and resisted in specific regions of the globe.

This volume will be of interest to all those researching the radical right and the politics of development and the Global South.

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INTRODUCTION

A new radical right in the global South?

Tatiana Vargas-Maia and Rosana Pinheiro-Machado

This book arose from the identification that we need fresher perspectives to explain the rise—or resurgence—of the radical right in countries from the global South. Recognized scholarship that responds to the recent populist and authoritarian wave makes little differentiation between global North and South specificities, relying primarily on analysis of the Euro-American parties and movements (i.e., Brown, Gordon, and Pensky, 2018; Eatwell and Goodwin, 2018; Hawley, 2017; Hermansson et al., 2020; Inglehart and Norris, 2016; Mondon and Winter, 2020; Mudde, 2017, 2019; Mudde and Kaltwasser, 2018). The result is a limited—yet universalizing—repertoire that focuses on processes that account for affluent countries' recession, the collapse of the welfare state, migration issues, impoverishment and resentment of the working class, de-democratization, and revolt against liberal democracy.

Nevertheless, the context of several countries in the global South is different. As Sud and Sanchez-Ancochea (forthcoming) conceptualized, the South is a territory of the postcolonial world, encompassing Asia, Africa, and Central and South America, marked by the perpetuation of economic and social inequalities. Southernness implies "a set of relationships premised on difference" in which "race as a primary marker. People of colour breach/ed the boundaries of the North as slaves, labour, migrants and refugees, with their southernness and difference more or less intact." Structurally, the South is also a periphery of the northern nations that maintain dominance over the financial flows and technological innovations. Nevertheless, the region is also a place for resistance and collective action against structural oppressions, generating solidarity across peripheral countries. We assume that the global South is not a single, homogenous entity, but a diverse and plural region of the world, displaying significant

disparities across regions. Consequently, both the radical right and its counter-insurgency occur at different paces and intensities.

Bearing these primary principles in mind, we must inquire about the social, economic, cultural, and political context in which the radical right (re) emerges—and a look at some emerging economies is revealing in this regard. When Narendra Modi (in 2014 India), Rodrigo Duterte (in 2016 Philippines), and Jair Bolsonaro (in 2018 Brazil) came to power, these countries were not collapsing in any previous form of a welfare state; the poor were leaving the poverty line, and authoritarianism was not a novelty, but rather the opposite: it was a great promise. India and the Philippines were continually maintaining high levels of economic growth. Although Brazil elected Bolsonaro amidst a recession, the resurgence of the radical right occurred alongside its peak of economic development (Rocha, 2018). These countries did not face the so-called refugee crisis, where immigrants would supposedly take the job opportunities of the population. Instead, they were dealing with its racialized "internal enemies".

As Bianchi and Melo point out in the opening text of this volume, the global North enumerates the features and measures that define Fascism, for example. Scholars have a hard time adapting these recipes to tick the boxes in the South. Therefore, the reappearance of the radical right in colonized and peripheral parts of the globe—marked by persistent authoritarianism, conservatism, precarity, and coloniality—cannot be explained by an undifferentiated theoretical framework that was originally developed from Euro-American-Western lenses. In an insightful decolonial critique of the academic discourse on the radical right, Masood and Nisar (2020) suggest that a comprehensive analysis of far-right populism must account for the heterogeneities of these movements across the global North and the global South.

Nevertheless, we do not suggest that the global North's experience should be dismissed. The 2008 global economic recession, the 2016 Brexit in the United Kingdom, and Donald Trump's election in the United States were pivotal events in generating contagious waves of authoritarianism worldwide and creating contextual incentives and opportunities for such movements. Global North countries exercise power over the South and continuously export extremist ideologies. In addition, digital social media, an interconnected global economy, transnational networks of power, and conspiracy theories are some of the elements that make the authoritarian populist wave global. The contributions of the book, therefore, do not refuse global perspectives but highlight the importance of investigating the historical, economic, social, political, and cultural singularities of the existence—whether prolonged or new—of the radical right in global South countries as part of such broader political wave.

Although the study of authoritarianism and populism in the global South has a long tradition, the scholarship on the new radical right took time to notice and encompass countries like Brazil and India as part of the same analytical phenomenon. The book *The Populist Radical Right, A Reader*, edited by Cas Mudde in 2017, is primarily regional because it focuses mainly on Europe but is perceived as

universal. The Bolsonaro phenomenon attracted global attention. However, the epistemological route of this process seems to be dominated by colonized forms of knowledge production that persist in Academia. Now, Brazil was incorporated in several projects on the new radical right as a case study from the South, and the same analytical tools are applied to it. Agreeing with Masood and Nisar (2020), we believe that this route should be turned upside down: some of the clues of the current global phenomenon arise precisely from the South's unfinished or hybrid modernity.

Although a vast body of literature has analysed the causes and the social conditions that led to the resurgence of populist rightists in southern countries, our understanding of the phenomenon remains narrow and fragmented because it lacks a framework that explores why several emerging democratic powers turned into—again—authoritarian politics. By focusing on southern experiences, we aim to recalibrate the lenses through which we understand the experience of colonized countries, expanding conceptual ranges and limits (more than denying them). The authors of this volume invert an analytical perspective to interrogate: What is *new* in the new right? (For example, what are the similarities and differences between Bolsonaro's or Duterte's authoritarian populism and the past dictatorship regimes?) What kind of lessons can the global North grasp from countries that have long been marked by expressions of extreme politics? We adopt the term *radical right* in the title of this book broadly to refer to a spectrum that encompasses political manifestations from the radical right to neofascism. These renewed forms of extremism and authoritarianism are combined with harsh neoliberal rationality amidst social precarity and manifested through new technologies that enhance—and mainstream—populism in the twenty-first century.

Towards the end of this book, the reader may conclude that the radical right is similar in North and South—and the main difference is eventually a matter of intensity and scale. In our view, it is precisely such intensity and scale that must be studied and contextualized within historical particularities. For example, Trump and Bolsonaro may express similar intolerable statements through the same social media channels, relying on identical dog-whistle tactics. However, the effects of equal hateful attitudes will be utterly different in countries that present uneven degrees of economic development and democratic consolidation of their institutions. Most scholars of the far-right exhaust the analysis of similarities among populist authoritarians, but it is equally important to pay more attention to the fact that a crusade against gender and sexual rights in the South will be much more visceral—and therefore harmful—than in the North. For these reasons, we believe that the contributions collected in this volume are unique to reflect on the causes and consequences of the radical right in southern countries.

On the pages to follow in this introduction, we compile key features that we consider central to account for the singularities of the South. We focus on (1) economic recession and political subjectivity; (2) the legacy of dictatorship

and strongmen, everyday police violence deriving from military ethos; (3) the nuances of nationalism in global South countries; and (4) religious, moral conservatism in non–secular democracies and their counterreactions.

Economic development and political subjectivity

Many scholars recognize the 2008 recession as one of the pivotal turning points in the emergence of the new right as a global phenomenon in the twenty-first century (for example, Eatwell and Goodwin, 2018; Kalb and Halmai, 2011; Mudde, 2019). The crisis did not inaugurate an era of impoverishment provoked by neoliberalism or invent authoritarian populism. Nevertheless, it certainly deepened these phenomena, constituting a window of opportunity to give voice to extremists who found a fertile ground to spread their ideology worldwide. Mouffe and Laclau's (2014; also Laclau 2005) influential analysis saw populism as means to reintroduce class conflict into the social fabric. From this perspective, the radical right opportunistically co-opted legitimate grievances and frustration of the working-class or impoverished sectors of populations through an anti-establishment narrative. Instead of radicalizing toward the left—which would be a logical reaction against corrupted political elites or the mainstream economic system—the ordinary voters revolted against the false promises of liberal democracy.

Paradoxically, the remedy against a global trend of neoliberal de-democratization—and its subsequent employment precariousness and discontentment—was to enhance the anti-democratic feeling and neoliberal rationality (Brown, 2018). The solution is to weaken the State and reinforce the role of individuals and the family in the reconstruction of the economy (Brown, 2018; Cooper, 2017). In this depoliticized context, the *politics of the enemy* becomes a norm, anchored on racism and moral conservatism that blame the vulnerable groups for the malaises. The year 2016 was paramount in these worldviews when British people voted for the Brexit, the US population voted for Donald Trump, and scholars evaluated the weight of the economy (hardship) and culture (prejudice) in the support for authoritarian populists (Fetzer, 2018; Smith and Hanley, 2018; Womick et al., 2019).

In this new context, a field of inquiry interrogates the political subjectivity of ordinary people who support the radical right. Among others, the reedition of Kimmel's (2018) *Angry White Man* is paradigmatic to define an ideal type of impoverished and enraged male voters who engage in what has been called "politics of resentment" (Bonikowski, 2017; Cramer, 2016). While resentment and the politics of the enemy, resolved around masculinity, is a global phenomenon observed from the UK to Brazil, a fundamental aspect that we must note from a southern perspective is to discern political and economic subjectivities in disparate contexts. The figure of an enraged white man is a crucial prototype for defining a pattern that recalls masculinity and racism in reactionary democracy (Mondon and Winter, 2020).

In this book, we do not let aside the overall argument around the recession, de-democratization, and reactionary subjectivity. Neoliberalism—the capture of the State by the financial logic that destroys welfare policies and expands itself into people's rationality—is a global trend, as well as the spread of extremist ideology. These facts are essential pillars to understanding the ground through which the radical right arises, but we hope to nuance this debate, paying attention to the existing complexity in differing contexts in countries that have experienced uneven development paths, which do not follow the same order of global North's steps. Several Euro-American hegemonic nations experienced certain phases of development, which cannot be replicated elsewhere because they are inherently linked to imperialism, wealth, and the grounds of liberal democracy. The problem is that the scholarly understanding of the rise of the radical right widely accepts—or even imposes—these steps as universal. This model assumes that a welfare state and an organized working class coexisted in post-World War II during processes of democratic consolidation. The deepening of neoliberalism and market rationality in the post-Thatcher-Reagan era would depoliticize constituencies, replacing "sociation by politics" with "sociation by consumption", emptying the political and democratic fabric (Streeck, 2012).

Obviously, these events are not absent in southern countries, but the order now is shuffled. We must bear in mind that, in the second half of the twentieth century, several countries were fighting for independence, facing civil wars or bloody dictatorships while capitalism continuously tried expanding markets, reaching minds and souls. Chile and India are exemplary cases where neoliberal and authoritarianism/far-right have long collaborated (Biebricher, 2020; Masood and Nisar, 2020). It is not wrong to affirm that deep democratization and de-democratization have occurred side-by-side in many nations. The same could be said about waves of economic growth, state shrinking, and neoliberalisation that have coincided with the expansion of welfare policies. Either social prosperity or hunger has coexisted with the rise of civil society and new forms of activism. It would be more accurate to say that citizens and consumers have arisen simultaneously than to assume that citizens have become consumers.

When the radical right constituencies' political subjectivity is portrayed in the literature, a decadent scenario of working-class frustration prevails, focusing on reactionary emotions, such as nostalgia, resentment, anger, and hate (see Pinheiro-Machado, Marins, Combinido, and Malini, this volume). However, as we argued elsewhere (Pinheiro-Machado and Vargas-Maia, 2017), nostalgic slogans like "make America great again" may not make sense in countries that have maintained around 50 per cent or more of their population in the informal economy and, therefore, a working-class identity has been mostly absent. If an idealized past of prosperity is a common feature in the fascist fantasies, an idealized future of prosperity is likely a more accurate idea to describe millions of people who were removed from poverty and encouraged to embody the individual ideal of entrepreneurship in emerging economies. While nostalgic feelings about military dictatorship persist in Latin America, the new populist right in

Brazil (although governed by the military) mobilizes individual and family aspirations towards the future, not rarely engaging the youth. In this way, what makes the emergence of the rise of the radical right so powerful and explosive in emerging economies from the global South is precisely this combination of a global trend of intensification of individualizing neoliberal and illiberal ideology with national manifestations of masses of workers' active (not reactive) emotions in contexts that lack the legacy of the warfare state and working-class identity.

Persistent authoritarianism and democratic backsliding

Studies regarding authoritarianism in the twenty-first century tend to be set against a recent background of democratic optimism, a scenario that seemed to indicate the dismantling of dictatorships in regions that were historically plagued by these regimes, accompanied by a weakening of anti-democratic parties and movements in established democracies (Bernhard and O'Neill, 2018). However, this sense of triumph did not last until the end of the second decade of the twenty-first century. Following the terrorist attacks of 2001, 2004, and 2005 (New York, Madrid, and London, respectively), as well as the economic crisis of 2008 (Castells 2018), a quick wave of attacks directed toward democratic institutions swept the world, granting space for right-wing populist parties ad movements to exert their appeal over fragilized populations.

In this context, the debates regarding the emergence and consolidation of a new radical right have coincided, as one might expect, with the discussions about democratic backsliding. In the global North, these seem to be co-constituting phenomena (Pappas, 2019; Przeworski, 2019; Runciman, 2018), predicated, as we have mentioned before, on the collapse of the welfare state, as well as the impoverishment and resentment of the working class. This argument, however, is lacking and insufficient when it comes to characterizing similar processes taking place in the global South, mostly because explanatory variables such as the demise of the welfare state are hardly found in this region of the globe— mainly because the welfare state itself has never properly taken roots in global South countries.

What we observe in the South is not necessarily a revival of authoritarian ideas and practices but actually the persistence and strengthening of these features. The legacy of authoritarian regimes in the global South is not only a recent heritage, with some of the democratization processes occurring in the late 1980s, as in the case of Brazil, but also an enduring feature of its political systems. To observe a persistent authoritarianism in global South countries is to recognize that most of this region went through a period of unconsolidated democratic rule, with the absence of effective state institutions such as impartial bureaucracies and police forces (Bellin, 2004; Bernhard and O'Neill, 2018).

This volume explores different access routes to explain the strengthening of fascist-like tendencies in global South countries. One crucial argument here that represents a clear cut from tendencies observed in the global North is the

history of civilian-military relations in global South countries. As Sanahuja, López Burian, and Vitelli explore in their article, this legacy imposes strong roots in the way governments are composed and the active participation of high-ranking armed forces officials in policy-making. Therefore, when dealing with the upsurge of anti-democratic movements in contemporary politics, it is necessary to differentiate the contexts in which these trends occur. For the Global South case, it means recognizing the constraints that these young democratic regimes still endure.

The nuances of nationalism for the radical right in the global South

The mainstream literature on the new right emphasizes ethnonationalism as one of the core elements of the radical right ideology, which provides new right movements with the central tenets of their political discourses (Bar-On, 2018; Minkenberg, 2000). According to this argument, an ethnically based conception of the nation grounds the radical right claim to societal homogeneity and national supremacy (Blank and Schmidt, 2003), which, in turn, instantiates some of their key mobilizing issues, such as the threats posed to cultural and national identity by the influx of immigrants, xenophobia, and racism, the centring of conspiracy theories around the presence of foreigners in the domestic territory (as well as the more common sense linkage between the presence of foreigners and problems of criminality and unemployment), as well as the disaggregating dangers of supporting multiculturalism.

Nonetheless, this framework for understanding the role of nationalism in new right movements through an emphasis on racial purity and supremacy is not necessarily a universalizable explanation. The myth of ethnically homogeneous nations finds more traction within the global North, especially in Europe, rather than in other regions of the globe. As several authors have pointed out, the pathway to nationhood is not always organic as ethnic conceptions of the nation may imply, and such a variety of paths result in different expressions of nationalism across the globe (Aminzade, 2013; Brubaker, 1992; Ferguson, 2006). Although both racial supremacy and patriarchy are two common features of the fascist-like radical right, an analysis of colonized countries should consider the more complex entanglement of race, gender, and class features and how these social markers of difference interact with each other in order to compose national narratives. Therefore, where more traditional renditions of nationalism may highlight dynamics of national belonging, with particular attention to those who are excluded from such dynamics (i.e., immigrants), nationalistic discourses in the global South emphasize cultural themes (such as religion) as well as a need for global recognition (Balta, 2021).

Moreso, nationalism, as an ideology, operates both at the domestic and international levels. Therefore, to better understand how nationalistic discoursed of the new right vary from the global North to the global South, besides considering

domestic variables (such as those listed before), it is essential to consider the positionality of nations within the international system. Countries situated in the global South face different sets of social, political, and economic challenges in the global arena, and therefore it is fair to expect the new right movements in global South countries to weaponize such issues in a different way than those observed in Europe or North America. This is especially relevant for issues regarding economic nationalism: nationalists in the global North seem to eagerly espouse protectionist measures, while those in the global South cannot afford isolationist propositions.

For example, in the cases of both India and Brazil, a religious subtext has flourished within the nationalistic discourse in these countries, supported by the strengthening of a particular mix of authoritarianism, conservatism, and religious fundamentalism. If in India we see a resurgence of Hindu nationalism (as Roy highlights in his article for this volume), in Brazil, we observe a consolidation of the neopentecostal rhetoric associated with an anti-corruption agenda. This explosive mix has managed to unite different segments of the Brazilian population around a promise for the nation's moral and material reconstruction. In this volume, we seek to consider how specific contexts shape and inform the varieties of nationalism observed in the global South during the first decades of the twenty-first century and, in turn, how new right movements in these countries appropriate, develop and weaponize such discourses.

Conservatism and its reactions

In 1999, Amartya Sen wrote a well-known article entitled "Democracy as a universal value". The self-explanatory title anticipates an argument that saw democracy as a global trend, placing India as an exemplary case of the biggest democratic country in the world. Two decades later, when Namenda Modi was already in power, Sen revisited some of his considerations and concluded that Indian politics had overlooked a commitment to secular democracy.[1] India is not an isolated case but part of a hybrid reality of democracies in the process of consolidation where religion has played a central role in politics, forming what Cowan (2021) has recently coined as "moral majorities". Fundamentalism has been the backbone of the national political agenda under Modi's and Bolsonaro's macro and micro agenda and political mobilization, interfering in all levels of everyday governmentality and policy-making.

A rampant moral paternal crusade that evades and corrodes politics is a contemporary phenomenon of the radical right in the global South, mobilizing religious leaderships and doctrines in new ways. In the Philippines, where Catholicism is a significant force, sexual rights are deeply hindered by the influence of the Vatican in politics. Although Duterte is in conflict with the Vatican, it is also known that the church values, anchored in anti-drugs moral discourse, benefitted him, constituting a core emblem of his administration. In the end, the relationship between the State and the church remains stable and robust (Batalla and

Baring, 2019; Cornelio and Lasco, 2020). Brazil, in its turn, has historically been a pivotal country in the exportation of the "Christian right", fomenting religious thinkers, leaders, and activists who influence the rest of the world (Cowan, 2021). At present, anti-gender campaigns centred around counteracting "gender ideology" in Brazil are a good example in which Christian fundamentalism is pervasive from Bolsonaro's speeches to social media propaganda to city-level schooling legislation (see Teixeira and Bulgarelli, this volume).

It is especially interesting when discussing issues of conservatism, reactionarism, and the religious influence in contemporary global South democracies, to highlight that both Brazil and India share the fact that while electoral rights were showing healthy democratic results in emerging economic phases, the influence of religious sectarianism and "conservatism from below" (Hatzkidi and Dullo, 2021) in politics has never diminished but kept operating backstage. In the twenty-first century, the reboot of Hindu nationalism has effectively operated a fundamental shift in India's political culture. This reorientation emphasizes religious belonging (in this case, affiliation to Hinduism) as a critical factor for participation in the country's political life (George, 2016). Since 2014, Modi has been weaponizing Hindu religious references as a way to oppose and marginalize the muslin population in India, framing them as "foreign conquerors" that became, throughout Indian history, internal enemies (see Roy in this volume).

All these facts are not new, let alone exclusive to the global South, as the Vatican or evangelical organizations, for example, have notoriously acted through transnational networks from the Philippines to Poland to the United States to attack gender and sexual rights (see Baden and Goetz, 1998; Cowan, 2016). In addition, the "cultural backlash" against liberal values is a phenomenon firmly anchored in consolidated democracies that now fosters cultural divides (Inglehart and Norris, 2016). The novelty, therefore, is how fundamentalist forces became mainstream and hegemonic in macro politics, mediatic discourse, and everyday life. Again, the issue of intensity is crucial to our argument: sectarian religious politics will find a more fertile ground to disintegrate democracy in countries when secularism is still an unfinished project. The consequences of cultural wars, and the interference of religion in politics in countries where democratic and civil rights are fragile, result in normalized forms of religious persecution and criminalization against civil society.

The strengthening of conservatism and religious fundamentalism, however irresistible they might seem at the beginning of the twenty-first century, is not a single or fatal movement in the global South. Instead, these reactionary forces are resisted by expressive waves of social movements and mass protests that emerged in the global South, especially in Latin America. In particular, feminist demonstrations in defense of sexual rights have been booming and achieving significant success in a traditionally regressive scenario (Htun, 2003). The decriminalization of abortion in Argentine (2020), followed by Mexico (2021) and Colombia (2022) are expressions of persistent mass mobilizations that have succeeded not only in their demands that directly clashes with core conservative

principles but also—and more importantly—in capturing youth's subjectivity and, therefore, revitalizing hope throughout the continent and worldwide.

A note on the book confection

Finally, we would like to add a note about producing knowledge on/from the global South. Several authors had to delay their submissions while editing this volume under a global pandemic because their beloved ones were dying without receiving proper medical care in countries like Brazil and India. This book was conceived amidst suffering, loss, and uncertainty that reflected the consequences of being governed by populist denialists in countries where the poor did not have a grave to be buried. An author, who had produced an original and brilliant piece on gender under Modi's administration, requested to withdraw the chapter because of the risk that it would pose to his/her family, considering the escalating political violence in India. After two years of intense work, this was a drastic attitude for an early-career student who was deeply involved in this publication. We would like to express our respect, gratitude and best wishes to this author.

The confection of the book is paradigmatic of what we are arguing here: the radical right's narratives and practices may be equally manifested worldwide, but their consequences are differently applied to bodies in less developed and less democratic parts of the world. This is not a novelty for researchers from the global South who have been violated in several ways. For example, they are harassed in the classroom and on social media, have their research visas denied, are investigated and arrested by national authorities, and, finally, are humiliated and bullied by far-right supporters. Such brutal human rights violations have been normalized as civil rights are ignored. This book reflects the malaise and tension of situated scholars who write on the rise of the global South as they are impacted by it.

The structure of the book

The various contributions to this book examine the phenomenon of the emergence and consolidation of different radical right movements in Global South countries in the twenty-first century, as well as future scenarios and current alternatives to this political movement. As such, they explore five key issues: 1) the development of fascist movements in (and from) the global South; 2) comparative case studies that seek to establish similarities and differences among the experiences in countries such as Brazil, India, the Philippines, and Uruguay; 3) the notion of an Online Populism; 4) the emergence and development of anti-rights movements; and finally 5) resistance initiatives that attempt to counteract the consolidation of radical right movements in the global South.

The first part of the book, dedicated to analyses of the expressions of Fascism in the global South, is composed of three different articles. In "Fascism: A view from the South", Bianchi and Bezerra de Melo conduct a rigorous analysis of

the literature tracing conceptual discussion regarding Fascism, presenting the tensions that a view from the South imposes on a concept of generic Fascism and emphasizing the importance of a closer analysis of this ideological movement's manifestations on capitalism's periphery. In the chapter "India's fascist democracy", Roy documents the key political and policy practices of Narendra Modi's rule in India to reflect on alternative formulations that have been deployed to describe the ascendance of the right-wing Bharatiya Janata Party in the country. Finally, in "Left, right, left: Moving beyond the binary to think Fascism in Africa", van der Westhuizen examines the case of Fascism in Africa, urging us to move beyond ideological binarism in our consideration of authoritarianism in the Global South.

The second section of the book, dedicated to comparative case studies, encompasses three different texts that seek to identify similarities and differences in the experiences of new right-wing movements in the global South. The first text of this section, authored by Pinheiro-Machado, Martins, Combinido, and Malini, seeks to comprehend the rise of the extremists in the Global South from the perspective of emerging economies' singularities and their development contradictions, arguing that the understanding of the rise of the radical right should take into account the specific junctures and development contradictions of emerging economies from the global South, such as rapid economic growth, slight social mobility, and harsh labour precariousness. In their article, "Populist foreign policies in the global South: comparing the far-right identity-set between Brazil and India", Mongelli, Guimarães, Silva and Mello analyse how far-right populists design their foreign policy identity-set in the global South. In "The rise of the new far right in Latin America: crisis of globalization, authoritarian path dependence and civilian-military relations", Sanahuja, López Burian, and Vitelli highlight how Latin America's authoritarian legacy, as well as its experiences with military governments, condition and shape the new right in this region.

The third part of the book focuses on the development of Online Populisms, specifically exploring the cases of Duterte's and Modi's governments in the Philippines and India, respectively. In "Populism and media in Duterte's Philippines", Talamayan and Pertierra explain the national historical dynamics that have led to Duterte's success as an authoritarian populist in the digital age. The authors provide two examples of media's role in expanded forms of populism and authoritarianism in the twenty-first century: the closure of the leading television station ABS-CBN and the legal battles faced by news website Rappler and its founder journalist Maria Ressa. The second chapter in this section, "Political mobilization in an era of 'post-truth politics': disinformation and the Hindu right in India (1980s–2010s)", by Amogh Sharma, explores the elements that have enabled the radical right, especially the Hindu nationalist movement, to disproportionately benefit from media technology, and disinformation campaigns have been its ability (and determination) to deftly conceal the elaborate infrastructure through which it produces and distributes its propaganda.

The fourth section of the book explores anti-right movements, focusing on gender in Brazil. In "Gender and sexuality (still) in dispute: effects of the spread

of 'gender ideology' in Brazil", Teixiera and Bulgarelli present and explore the composition of the discourse and the political structure that articulates the anti-gender and education agendas in Brazil.

This volume's fifth and final section examines neoliberalism and projects that offer resistance against new right-wing movements. Roque, in "Denialism as government: trust and truth in a post-neoliberal era", advances two points: first, that denialism is a tool with which the far-right governs a crisis of trust that already existed; second, that neoliberal forms of government have nurtured this crisis of trust, that is, by the apolitical tones with which decisions have been disguised as choices derived from technical tools. In "Archives of neo-fascism: charting student historical debt in a Neoliberal University in South Africa", Kisubi Mbasalaki investigates the "Rhodes Must Fall" and the "Fees Must Fall" movements within the South-African student movement, analysing how these movements expose the collusion of a neoliberal university with (colonial/apartheid) archive of neofascism, and whether the neoliberal university can be decolonized. Last, Gago and Giorgi, in "Notes on the expressive forms of the new rights: a dispute over the subjectivity of the majorities", suggest that a dynamic between hyper-individual affirmation and discursive and affective intensification is what is combined in the forms of reactive transgression that populate the landscape of these new rights and is what differentiates them from previous forms of conservatism and even prior forms of Fascism.

Note

1 *New Yorker Magazine*, 06/10/2019. www.newyorker.com/news/the-new-yorker-interview/amartya-sens-hopes-and-fears-for-indian-democracy

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