

The New Radical Right and Dissatisfaction with Democracy: Latin America in Comparative Perspective

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Traditional representative institutions are undeniably in crisis in many countries around the world. Despite a lack of consensus as to whether the crisis is irreversible or even exceptional, this global reversal of progress toward greater democratization has given rise to somewhat alarmist interpretations of the institutional disfunctions of regimes in which elites no longer act to guarantee basic democratic norms (Levitsky and Ziblatt 2018) or too much economic power is concentrated in their hands (Crayling 2017). The inability of political systems to channel demands and offer concrete solutions to problems of social concern, together with the expansion of critical citizens, has contributed to a radicalization of electorates. The far right has succeeded in "capturing social non-conformism in favor of different anti-progressive political escapes" (Stefanoni 2021, 9). This phenomenon tends to sharpen the perception of a crisis of democracy. The present article explores that perception, the global pattern of the far right, and the reideologization of the political debate.

The Radical Right as a Symptom of the Crisis of Democracy

The crisis of democracy is evident in questionings of the status quo given sharpened perceptions of social inequality; an unprecedented decline of electoral participation; rising distrust of institutions and governing politicians; and electors' willingness to mortgage democratic ideals when they collide with pressing issues such as order and security, the increasing cost of living, or immigration. Even in Finland, one of the world's most advanced democracies, citizens have become willing to trade liberal

democratic principles for progress on objectives of more immediate public interest (Saikkonen and Christensen 2022). In Europe generally, the weakening of democracy that has been perceived since the 1980s appears inseparable from the decline of social democratic models (Bandau 2021). In a context of slowing economic growth, social democratic parties have increasingly embraced fiscal orthodoxy and structural reforms.

This weakening of democracy is also fed by the new technological revolution, which has contributed to deregulation of political relations. Immediate access to information encourages individualism and makes citizens feel less need for intermediation. To an ever-increasing extent, the relation between citizens and the state has come to resemble a commercial transaction, weakening the essence of deliberation. Meanwhile, digital media has magnified the visibility of candidates who are in open conflict with liberal democracy.

Although there is a tendency to overestimate the electoral effect of disinformation through social networks (Dungherr and Schroeder 2021), Donald Trump's victory in 2016 set off alarm bells. Three things reinforced pessimism about the future of democracy: the fact that his election occurred in the very cradle of modern democracy; the coincidence with Britain's Brexit vote; and the electoral resurgence of what could be called a "radical" Right that undermines liberal democracy's principles but also, unlike the "extreme" right which « rejects the essence of democracy, that is, popular sovereignty and majority rule» (Mudde 2019, 7). As a sign of the growing normalization of those parties, in the

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Table of Contents Right And Democracy In Latin America

1. Understanding the eBook Right And Democracy In Latin America
 - The Rise of Digital Reading Right And Democracy In Latin America
 - Advantages of eBooks Over Traditional Books
2. Identifying Right And Democracy In Latin America
 - Exploring Different Genres
 - Considering Fiction vs. Non-Fiction
 - Determining Your Reading Goals
3. Choosing the Right eBook Platform
 - Popular eBook Platforms
 - Features to Look for in a Right And Democracy In Latin America
 - User-Friendly Interface
4. Exploring eBook Recommendations from Right And Democracy In Latin America
 - Personalized Recommendations
 - Right And Democracy In Latin America User Reviews and Ratings

- Right And Democracy In Latin America and Bestseller Lists
- 5. Accessing Right And Democracy In Latin America Free and Paid eBooks
 - Right And Democracy In Latin America Public Domain eBooks
 - Right And Democracy In Latin America eBook Subscription Services
 - Right And Democracy In Latin America Budget-Friendly Options
- 6. Navigating Right And Democracy In Latin America eBook Formats
 - ePub, PDF, MOBI, and More
 - Right And Democracy In Latin America Compatibility with Devices
 - Right And Democracy In Latin America Enhanced eBook Features
- 7. Enhancing Your Reading Experience
 - Adjustable Fonts and Text Sizes of Right And Democracy In Latin America
 - Highlighting and Note-Taking Right And Democracy In Latin America
 - Interactive Elements Right And Democracy In Latin America
- 8. Staying Engaged with Right And Democracy In Latin America
 - Joining Online Reading Communities
 - Participating in Virtual Book Clubs
 - Following Authors and Publishers Right And Democracy In Latin America
- 9. Balancing eBooks and Physical Books Right And Democracy In Latin America
 - Benefits of a Digital Library
 - Creating a Diverse Reading Collection Right And Democracy In Latin America
- 10. Overcoming Reading Challenges
 - Dealing with Digital Eye Strain
 - Minimizing Distractions
 - Managing Screen Time
- 11. Cultivating a Reading Routine Right And Democracy In Latin America
 - Setting Reading Goals Right And Democracy In Latin America
 - Carving Out Dedicated Reading Time
- 12. Sourcing Reliable Information of Right And Democracy In Latin America
 - Fact-Checking eBook Content of Right And Democracy In Latin America
 - Distinguishing Credible Sources

13. Promoting Lifelong Learning
 - Utilizing eBooks for Skill Development
 - Exploring Educational eBooks
14. Embracing eBook Trends
 - Integration of Multimedia Elements
 - Interactive and Gamified eBooks

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