

The FPÖ: protest party or governing party?

Annex

Poster: Haider as the “Robin Hood of politics”

Text: “This man stands in the way of the powerful”



Graphics: The electoral results of the FPÖ in the regions (national and regional and European elections)



Table: The appreciation of the position of the parties on a left-right axis (average values 1976-1996)

Average value	Green Party	SPÖ	LIF	ÖVP	FPÖ
1976	*	2,31	*	3,86	3,22
1985	*	2,34	*	3,82	3,37
1989	2,45	2,65	*	3,56	3,63
1992	2,40	2,52	*	3,51	3,80
1993	2,49	2,49	3,12	3,28	3,92
1994	2,41	2,59	3,01	3,29	3,82
1995	2,43	2,50	2,92	3,24	3,92
1996	2,26	2,37	2,86	3,37	4,02

1,00 = very left-wing; 5,00 = very right-wing

Table: Unemployment in Austria

Arbeitslosenquote = unemployment rate; Austrian rate: red, EU-calculation: orange

Vorgemerkte Arbeitslose : registered unemployed persons by the end of May

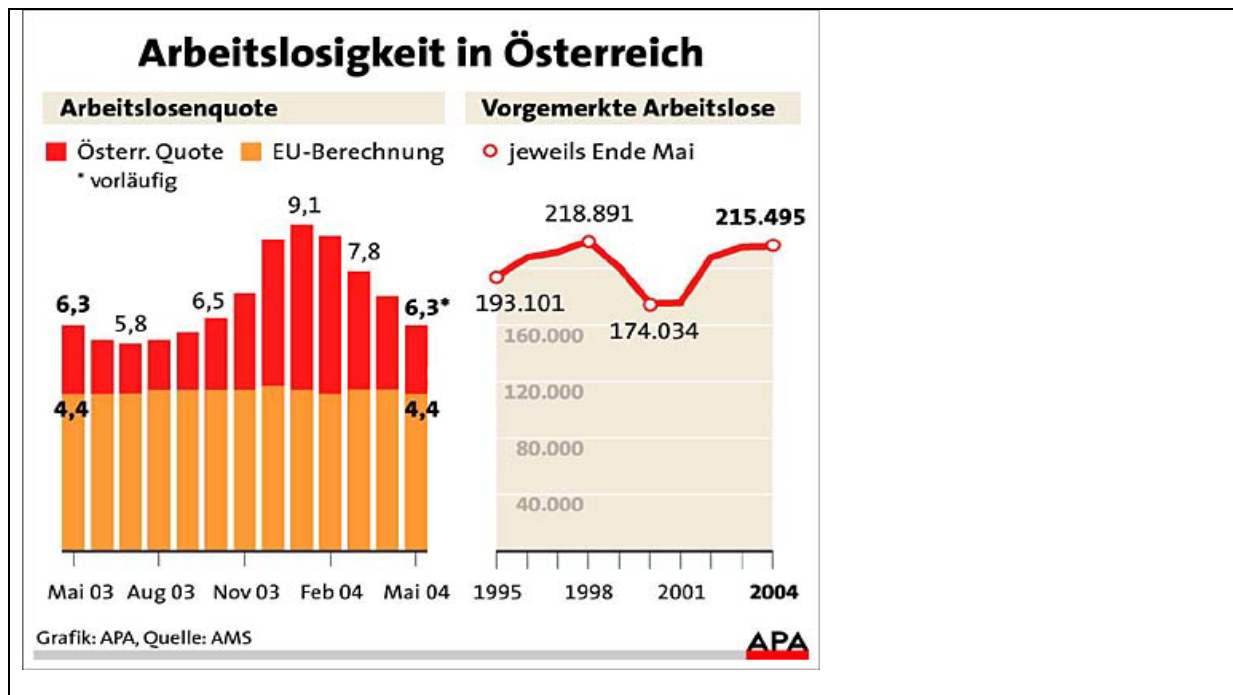


Table: Floating voters at the general elections

From loyal to floating vote – share of the vote at elections of the national parliament in %

Loyal vote = brown; floating vote = blue.

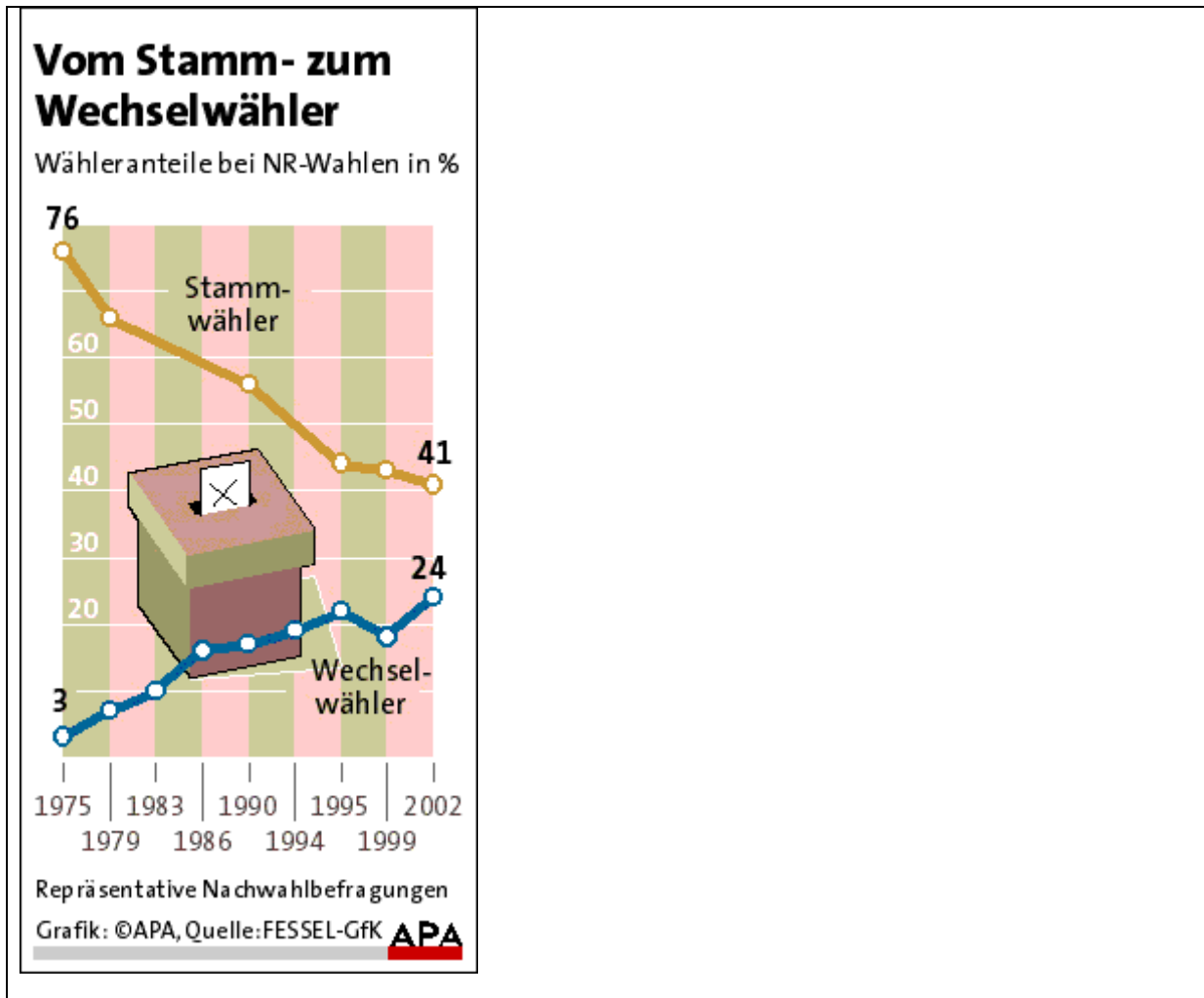


Table: The fields of competence of the FPÖ in power

What the FPÖ stands for - The 10 most important topics:

- 1.) reduction of nepotism
- 2.) limitation of personal liberty and freedom
- 3.) de-politicizing of public services
- 4.) crime reduction
- 5.) tax reduction
- 6.) (fight) against wasteful spending
- 7.) law and order
- 8.) more liberty for entrepreneurs
- 9.) liberty of the media
- 10.) efficiency-oriented society, meritocracy

Gains in fields of competence since 2001

- 1.) tax reduction
- 2.) reduction of nepotism
- 3.) care for tradition and local customs
- 4.) data protection
- 5.) interest of foreigners
- 6.) safe food
- 7.) protection of nature
- 8.) creation of jobs
- 9.) interest of unskilled workers
- 10.) equality of poor and rich

Losses in fields of competence since 2001

- 1.) law and order
- 2.) vocational training and education
- 3.) comprehensive school (up to the age of 14)
- 4.) theatre and opera
- 5.) interest of employees
- 6.) Efficiency-oriented society, meritocracy
- 7.) more liberty for entrepreneurs
- 8.) support of private schools and universities
- 9.) (fight) against wasteful spending
- 10.) increase of taxes

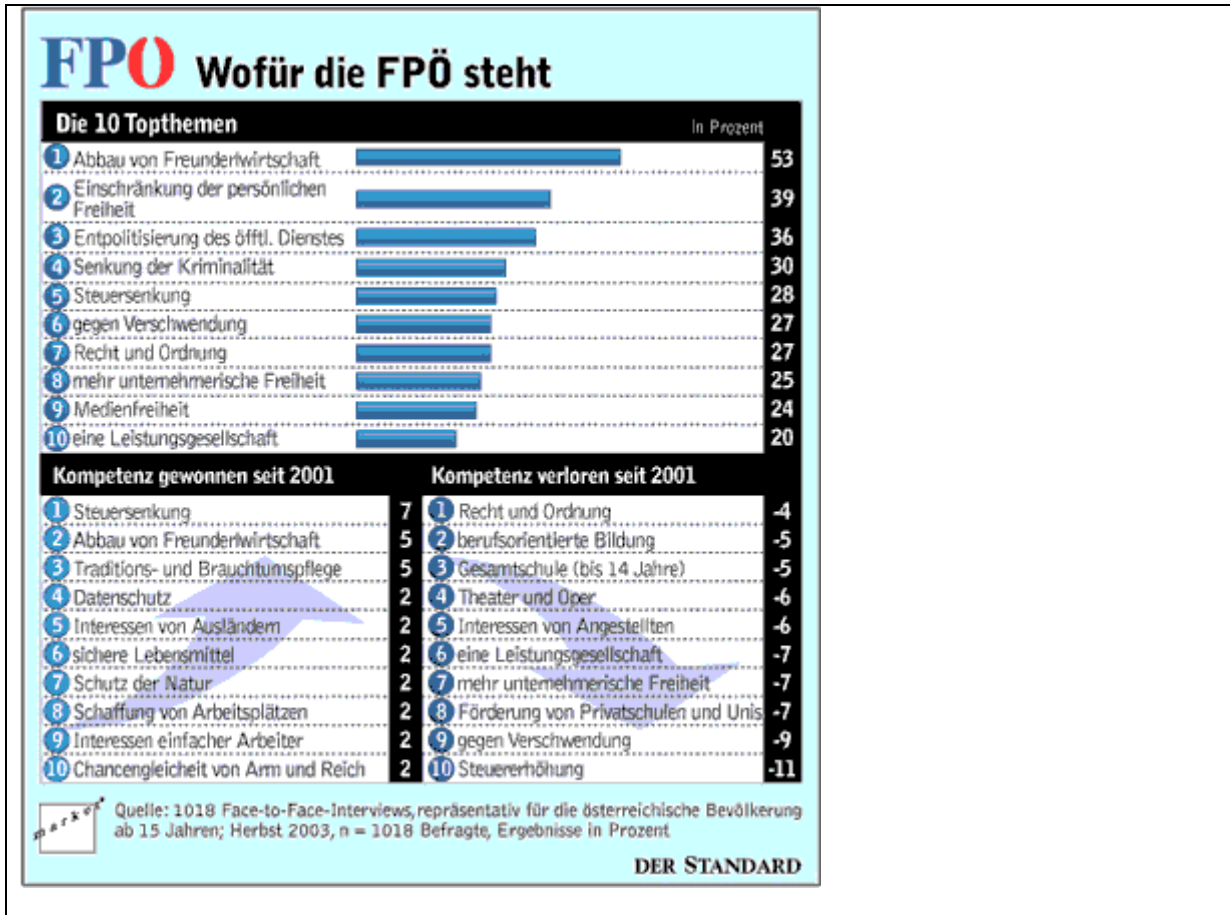


Table: Elections of the national parliament (Nationalrat) from 1986 to 1999 and of the European Parliament 1996 and 1999. Sociography of the FPÖ-preference (in %)

Categories	NR86	NR90	NR94	NR95	EU96	EU99
Male	12	20	28	27	32	29
* professionally active	13	20	28	30	35	28
* retired	11	22	29	23	31	31
Female	7	12	17	16	25	20
* professionally active	7	13	17	20	33	18
* housewife	8	11	17	14	13	23
* retired	5	12	19	10	17	23
below 30 years old	12	18	25	29	21	38
30-44 years	11	15	22	24	35	24
45-59 years	6	15	22	10	30	23
60 years or more	8	16	22	15	22	23
farmer	5	9	15	18	26	
self-employed/professional	15	21	30	28		
public and state employee	9	14	14	17		
employee	13	16	22	22	30*	23**
worker	10	21	29	34	50	36
retired person	8	16	24	16		
apprentice	9	8	18	15		
compulsory public school	6	14	21	18	26	21
vocational school	11	19	26	27	37	29
school leaving certificate/university	11	13	19	16	17	20

Sources : Fessel+GfK. * Employees and public/state employees together: NR95 = 20% ; Exit Poll 1999 ; EU99, Employees and public/state employees together.

Table: Elections of the national parliament (Nationalrat) (1999). Profile of the electorate (in %)

Categories	SPÖ	ÖVP	FPÖ	GR	LIF
Male	31	26	32	5	3
* professionally active	30	26	33	5	3
* not professionally active	10	25	34	14	10
* retired	41	27	28	1	1
Female	35	27	21	9	4
* professionally active	32	26	22	12	5
* housewife	33	24	22	10	3
* retired	45	32	19	2	1
Age groups					
- less than 30 years	25	17	35	13	4
30-44 years	32	23	29	8	4
45-59 years	35	32	21	5	4
60-69 years	39	35	21	1	2
70 years and over	39	31	25	2	0
Professions					
self-employed/professional	10	41	33	7	8
public and state employee	33	30	20	12	3
employee	36	23	22	10	5
Qualified worker, foreman, master, captain	31	13	48	3	1
Skilled and unskilled worker	40	10	45	1	1
farmer	1	87	10	2	0
retired person	43	30	24	1	1
housewife	33	26	25	6	2
apprentice	21	18	23	20	10

Source : Fessel-GfK, Exit Poll (1999)

Table: National parliament (Nationalrat). Development of party-preferences of employees (*white collar*) and workers (*blue collar*) (in %)

	White collar					Blue collar				
	SPÖ	ÖVP	FPÖ	GR	LIF	SPÖ	ÖVP	FPÖ	GR	LIF
1986	40	36	13	7		57	26	10	4	
1990	38	27	16	7		52	21	21	2	
1994	29	25	22	12	11	47	15	29	4	2
1995	32	28	22	7	8	41	13	34	3	4
1999	36	23	22	10	5	35	12	47	2	1
changes 1986-1999	-4	-13	+9	+3	-6	-22	-14	+37	-2	-1

Source : Fessel-GfK, Exit Poll (1999)

Table: Party preference of workers (1956-1999) (in %)

	SPÖ	ÖVP	FPÖ
1956	60	27	3
1979	63	29	4
1990	53	22	21
1995	41	13	34
1999	35	12	47
changes 1956-1999	-25	-15	+44

Source : Fessel-GfK, Exit Poll (1999)

Table: National parliament (Nationalrat). Development of party-preferences of (professionally active) women and young people (18-25 years) (in %)

	Women					Young people				
	SPÖ	ÖVP	FPÖ	GR	LIF	SPÖ	ÖVP	FPÖ	GR	LIF
1986	46	37	7	7		39	33	12	11	
1990	40	34	13	6		35	24	18	9	
1994	32	27	17	12	9	31	19	25	12	11

1995	35	26	20	7	8	30	18	29	10	9
1999	32	26	22	12	5	25	17	35	13	4
changes 1986-1999	-14	-11	+15	+5	-4	-14	-16	+23	+2	-7

Source : Fessel-GfK, Exit Poll (1999)

Table: National parliament (Nationalrat). Development of party-preferences of voters organized in trade unions

In %	SPÖ	ÖVP	FPÖ	GR	LIF
1990	62	19	11	4	
1994	50	19	19	7	5
1995	55	16	18	3	4
1999	49	19	21	6	2

Source : Fessel-GfK, Exit Poll (1999)

Table: National parliament (Nationalrat). Reasons to elect FPÖ (1999) (in % of the FPÖ electorate)

	FPÖ electorate	Loyal FPÖ voters	Floating FPÖ voters
* because the FPÖ mercilessly uncovers grievances and scandals	65	68	65
* because the FPÖ brings fresh air into politics and triggers changes	63	65	62
* because the FPÖ represents my interests best or else traditionally	48	55	37
* because the FPÖ pleads strongly against immigration	47	52	39
* because of the personality of Jörg Haider	40	45	33
* in order to punish both great coalition partners	36	30	49

More than one answer possible

Source : Fessel-GfK, Exit Polls (1999).

Table: The decline of the FPÖ at regional elections in the regions (Bundesländer)

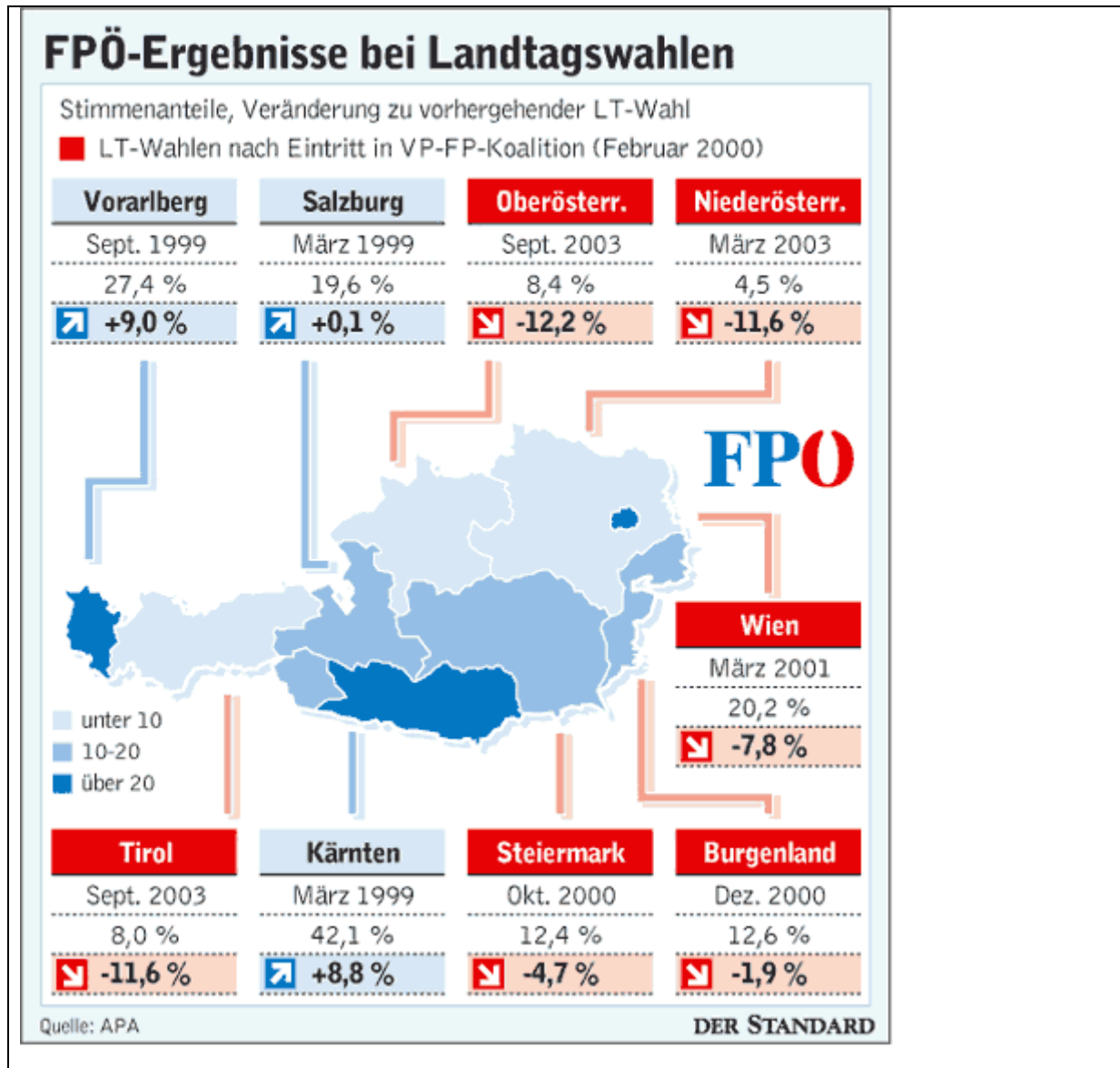


Table: National parliament (Nationalrat)
Results of the parties running at the elections in November 2002

	2002		1999		Changes	
	N	%	N	%	N	%
registered voters	5 912 509		5 838 373		+74 136	+1,3
actual voters	4 759 006	80,5	4 695 225	80,4	+63 781	+0,1
SPÖ	1 729 929	36,9	1 532 448	33,2	+197 481	+3,7
ÖVP	1 981 657	42,3	1 243 672	26,9	+737 985	+15,4
FPÖ	475 926	10,2	1 244 087	26,9	-768 161	-16,7
Green Party	420 322	9,0	342 260	7,4	+78 062	+1,6
LIF	45 447	1,0	168 612	3,6	-123 165	-2,6
various	34 828	0,7	22 016	0,5	+12 812	+0,3

Table: National parliament (Nationalrat). Changes within the electorates (2002) (in %)

	SPÖ	ÖVP	FPÖ	GR
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age groups				
- 30 years	+4	+16	-21	+7
30-44 years	+3	+19	-18	+1
45-59 years	+7	+14	-11	+1
60 years or more	+3	+16	-15	0

Table: National parliament (Nationalrat). Changes within the electorates according to profession (2002)

	SPÖ	ÖVP	FPÖ	GR
self-employed/professional	+6	+17	-17	0
public and state employee	+6	+11	-13	0
Employee	+1	+14	-11	+2
worker	+6	+22	-31	+1
farmer	+2	+8	-9	-1
retired person	0	+16	-17	+1
housewife	+11	+12	-14	+2

Table: National parliament (Nationalrat). Development of the party preference of employees (*White Collar*) and workers (*Blue Collar*) (in %)

	White Collar					Blue Collar				
	SPÖ	ÖVP	FPÖ	GR	LIF	SPÖ	ÖVP	FPÖ	GR	LIF
1986	40	36	13	7		57	26	10	4	
1990	38	27	16	7		52	21	21	2	
1994	29	25	22	12	11	47	15	29	4	2
1995	32	28	22	7	8	41	13	34	3	4
1999	36	23	22	10	5	35	12	47	2	1
2002	37	37	11	12		41	34	16	3	

Source : Fessel-GfK, Exit Poll 2002

Table: The elections for the chambers of professional representation (FA= FPÖ-list)

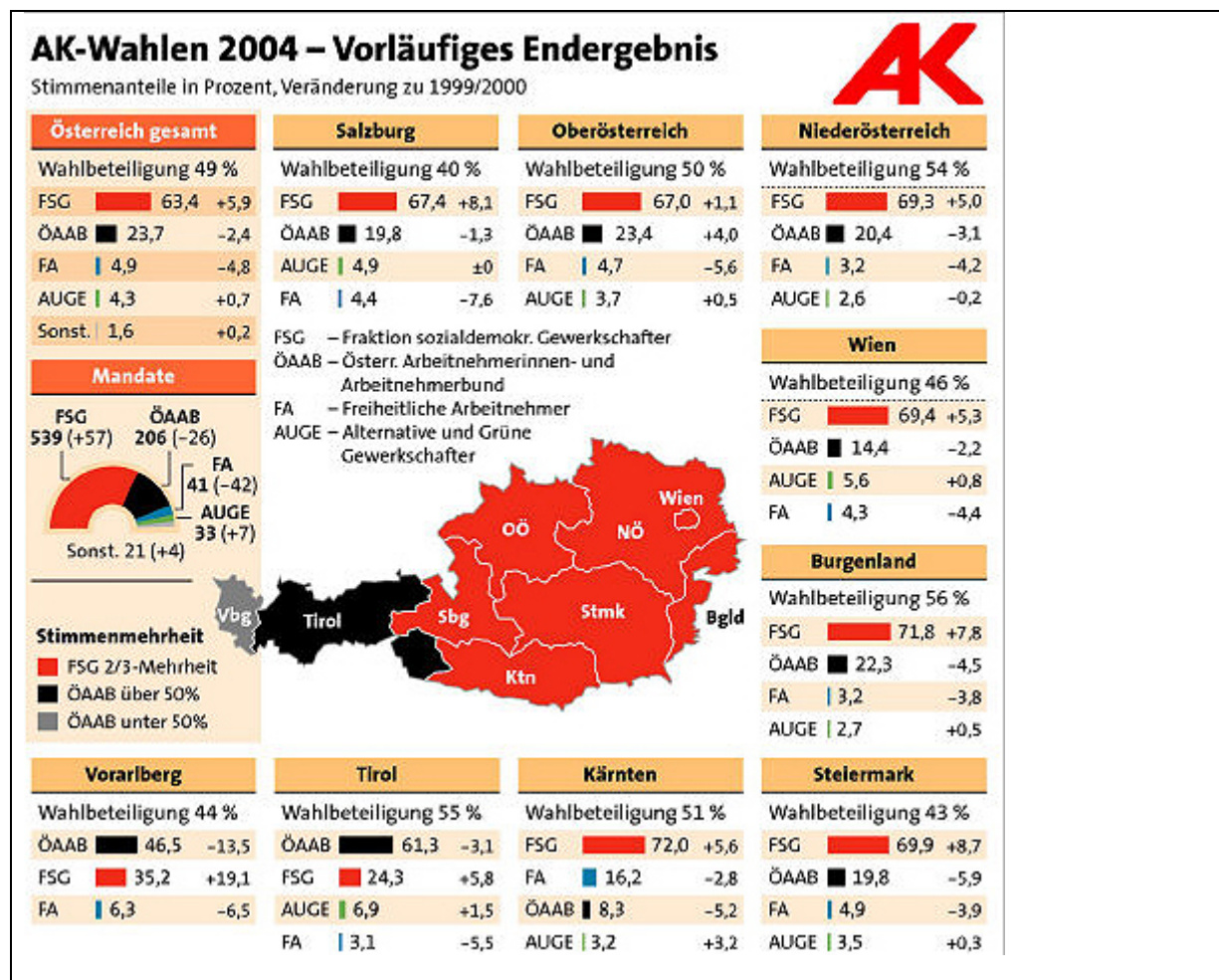


Table: Elections of the regional parliament (Landtag) of Carinthia in 1999 and 2004

	Landtag 2004			Difference			Landtag 1999		
registered voters		425 304						420 344	
actual voters	78,63%	334 431		-1,87%	-3 963		80,50%	338 394	
Parties	%	Votes	El. Memb. of gov.	%	Votes	-	%	Votes	-
FPÖ	42,43	139 479	3	0,37	-299	-	42,06	139 778	3
SPÖ	38,43	126 325	3	5,56	17 097	-	32,87	109 228	2
ÖVP	11,64	38 256	1	-9,11	-30 684	-	20,75	68 940	2
GRÜNE	6,70	22 053	-	6,70	22 053	-	0,00	0	-

Patrick MOREAU

Stephanstr. 8
D-04103 Leipzig
Privat: (00493412155915)
Mail: molfr51@gmx.net