

# Jörg Haider

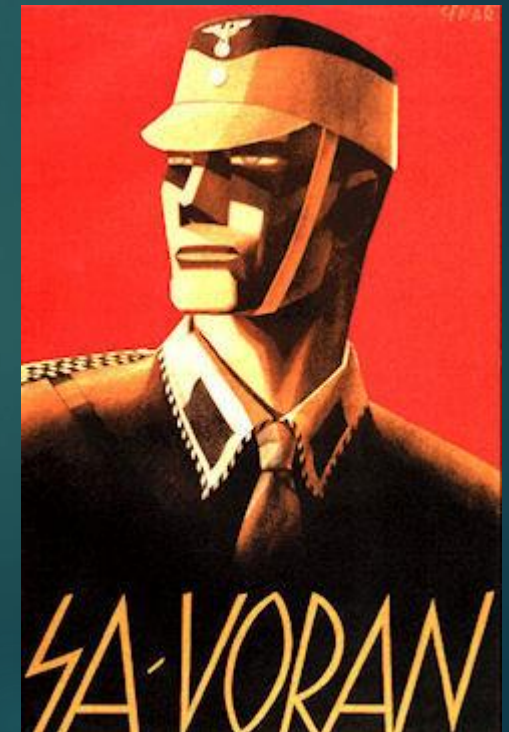
NICK NEUTEUFEL

Dieter Nagl, AFP/Getty Images



# Jörg's Parents

- ▶ Father, Robert, joined the Austrian Nazi Party (DNSAP) at 15
- ▶ Robert joined *die Sturmabteilung* (SA) paramilitary organization and did 2 years of military service in 1930s Germany
- ▶ Fought as a junior officer in *die Wehrmacht* during WWII
- ▶ Mother, Dorothea, was a leader in the BDM (Nazi Girls)
- ▶ *Minderbelastet* (lower-level Nazi classification)



# Early Life & *Burschenschaft*

From top of his class to right-wing student groups with questionable ideological stances (even today)

Constitutional law scholar



# Rise in the *FPÖ* (Freedom Party)

Leader of the youth movement, 1970-4

Party affairs manager of Carinthian  
FPÖ, 1976

Youngest MP at 29 years, 1979

1983 sees his rise to *Parteimeister* in  
Carinthia

1986—stuns Vice Chancellor Norbert  
Steger to win party leadership in all of  
Austria





# Time as *Laundeshauptmann* (Governor)

- ▶ **Haider:** ..someone who is capable of work, but is not willing to work; [not willing] to take up a related or similar or approximately similar job, should be given the sanction of being forced to take on a job by having his unemployment benefit reduced.
- ▶ **MP Hausenblas, Social Democrat (interrupting):** That amounts to forced work placement!
- ▶ **Haider:** I know: Now you're going to say that is forced labour! Forced labour, dear colleague...
- ▶ **MP Hausenblas:** We once had what you're calling for - in the Third Reich!
- ▶ **Dr Haider:** No, they didn't have that in the Third Reich, because in the Third Reich they had a proper employment policy, which not even your government in Vienna can manage to bring about. That has to be said.

# Governorship II

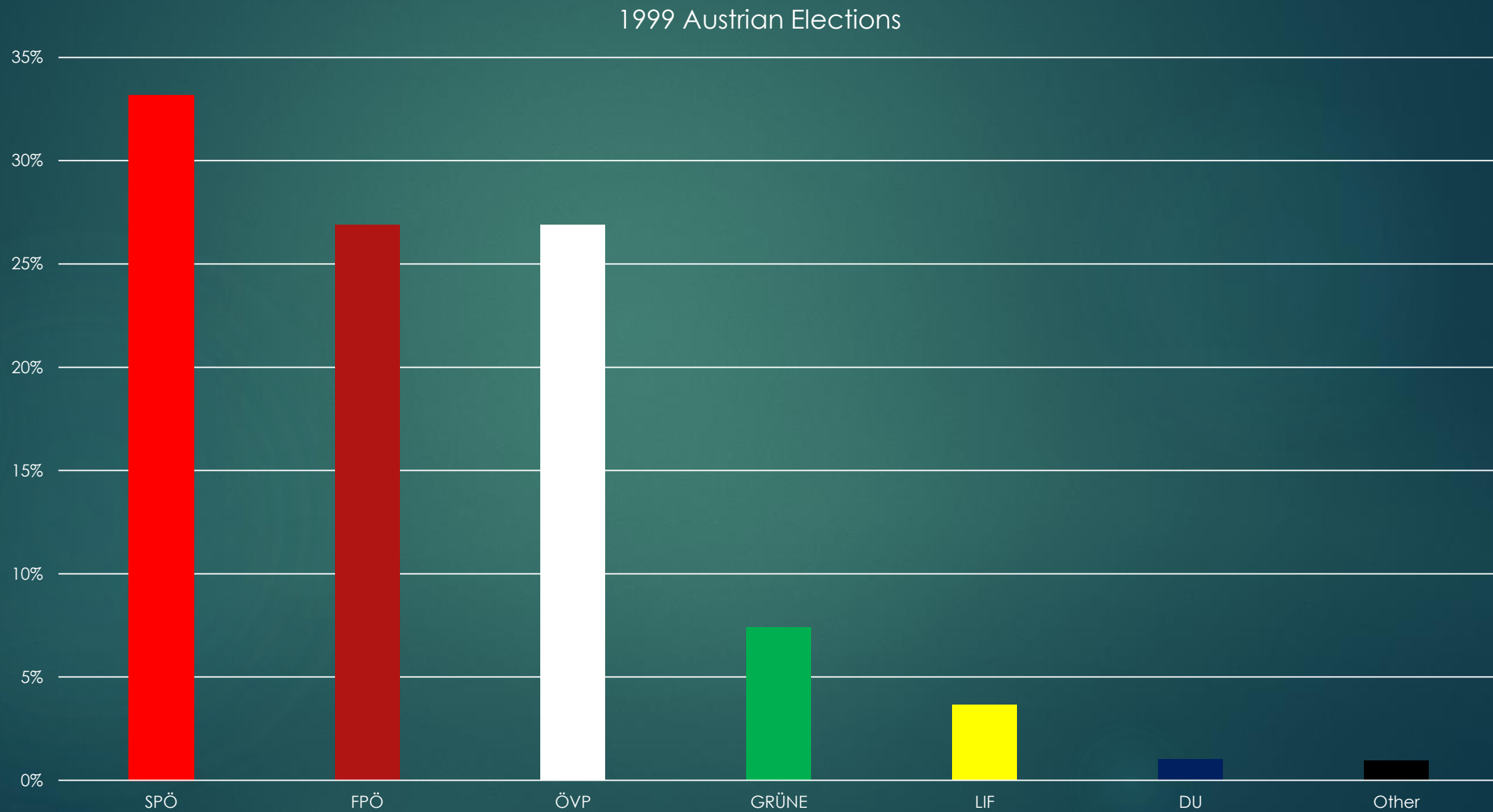
- ▶ "The social order of Islam is opposed to our Western values. Human rights and democracy are as incompatible with the Muslim religious doctrine as is the equality of women. In Islam, the individual and his free will count for nothing; faith and religious struggle – jihad, the holy war – for everything."

(Betz 2003)

# The Fall and Return of Haider

- ▶ From 1986 to 1999, FPÖ's vote share goes **from 5% to almost 27%**
  - ▶ +11 seat pick-up
- ▶ Economically *populist*, *Euroskeptic*, & *anti-immigration*

# 1999 Elections





# The New Government

- ▶ Under normal circumstances, he becomes chancellor, however controversy gifted chancellorship to ÖVP leader Wolfgang Schüssel and took on the Vice Chancellorship
- ▶ Led to E.U. diplomatic non-cooperation—for more than 9 months, E.U. leaders shunned diplomatic contact with members of the Austrian government until Haider stepped down
- ▶ His successor, Susanne Riess-Passer, resigned with a few other officials—led to new elections
- ▶ FPÖ loses 16 points—only gets 10.16% of the vote

# We'll start our own party!

- ▶ Haider and his sister, along with a few other FPÖ officials, found *Bündnis Zukunft Österreich* (BZÖ) in 2005
  - ▶ The Alliance for Austria's Future or Alliance for the Future of Austria
- ▶ 2006 general election—The Alliance 7 seats, FPÖ 21 (15% together)
- ▶ Snap 2008 election—they increase seat count to 34 and 21 (~28%)



# Death and Today

- ▶ Car crash in 2008
  - ▶ On his way to his mother's 90<sup>th</sup> birthday
- ▶ BZÖ is a non-factor today, holding seats in neither Parliamentary house nor the European Parliament
- ▶ In a new election this week, FPÖ just got 2<sup>nd</sup> (30.36%) in Oberösterreich. Exit polling had “immigration/migrants” as the second-most polled issue after general economy
  - ▶ (Kurier 2015)
- ▶ FPÖ campaigns on fences around Austria

# Theorizing Haider

de Vries and Edwards (2009) would expect right-wing Euroscepticism to mobilize based on Ideas of national sovereignty and identity.

Haider's political life was based on opposing the EU because of immigration and building on an Austrian/pan-German national identity.

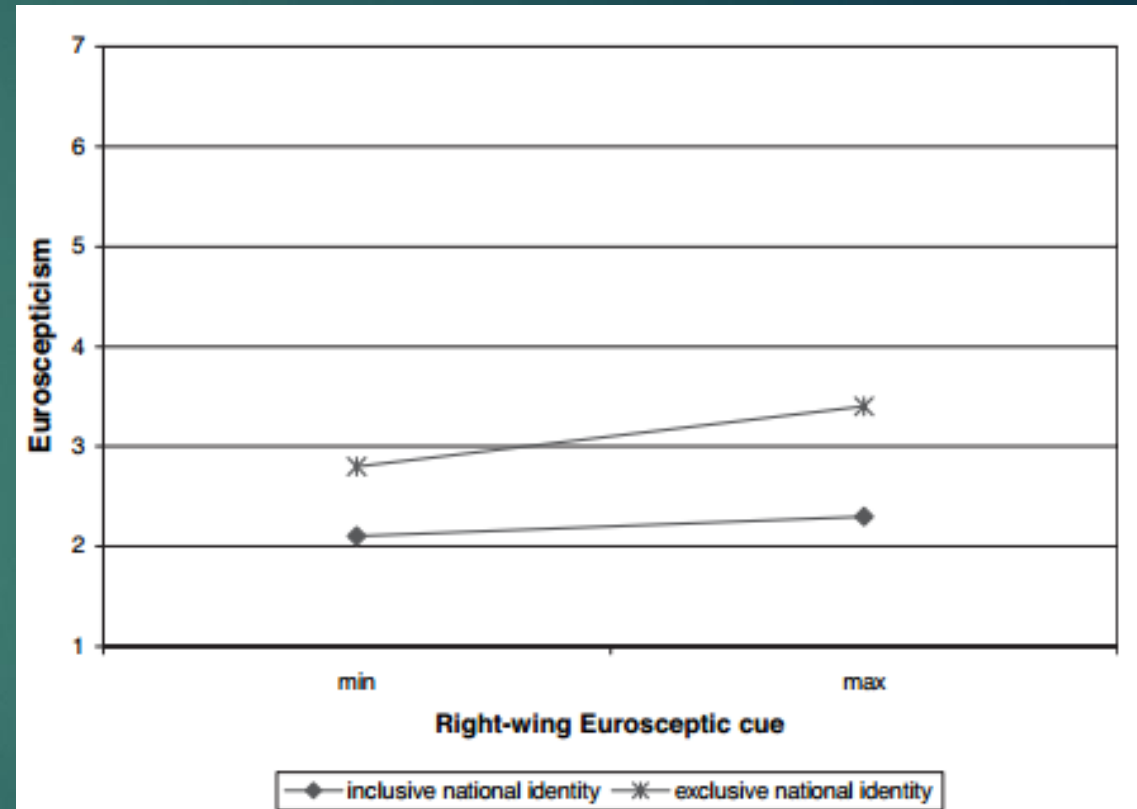


Figure 1. Cueing effect of right-wing Eurosceptic parties on national identity

# Understanding Haider historically

- ▶ 1999 exit polls (Plasser, Ulram, and Sommer 1999)
  - ▶ HUGE gender gap—FPÖ won 32% of mens' votes, only 21% of womens'
  - ▶ Under 30 voted 35% (most of any age group)
    - ▶ Blow to Euro-optimism?
  - ▶ Most cited reasons for voting for Freedom:
    - ▶ "Fight against misgovernment and mismanagement" 65%
    - ▶ "Promote change more generally" 63%
    - ▶ Immigration policy 47%
    - ▶ "Sanction members of the grand coalition" 36%
- ▶ Falkner (2001) argues 1999 was a strike against the grand coalition



# Accommodating FPÖ

- ▶ Falkner (2001):
  - ▶ “Another frequent concern was that the grand coalition government managed to keep the FPÖ out of government (many considered that it was too right-wing, populist, and unstable in its positions), but only at the price of adapting its actual policies to FPÖ views.”
  - ▶ “Out of fear of losing votes, political statements by the FPÖ were often hardly commented on by the grand coalition parties. They tried to keep contested topics such as migration and Eastern enlargement of the EU out of the public debate, instead of facing the challenge of winning the citizens’ agreement against populist attitudes. “

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