Who Are the Corbynites, and What Do They Believe?

Glen O'Hara

Professor of Modern and Contemporary History

Oxford Brookes University

Email: glen.ohara@brookes.ac.uk

Web: http://publicpolicypast.blogspot.co.uk/

Twitter: @gsoh31



Tom Watson urges Jeremy Corbyn to tackle 'Trotskyist entryism'

LIVE Reshuffle: Lewis is new Tory chairman

③ 2 minutes agoBoris Johnson heads back to Foreign Office

() 11 August 2016

f 😏 🔗 🗹 < Share



Top Stories

Reshuffle: Lewis is new Tory chairman

Theresa May is meeting ministers in No 10 as she makes changes to her cabinet lineup.

O 7 hours ago

'I'm not finished' - Murray after surgery

③ 2 hours ago

The biggest moments from the Golden Globes

③ 8 hours ago

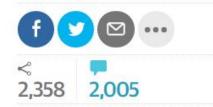
Youthquake' behind Labour election General election 2017 Surge divides generations

Authoritative Ipsos Mori figures suggest biggest age gap between parties since 1970s as over-55s swing behind Conservatives

Young voters, class and turnout: how Britain voted in 2017

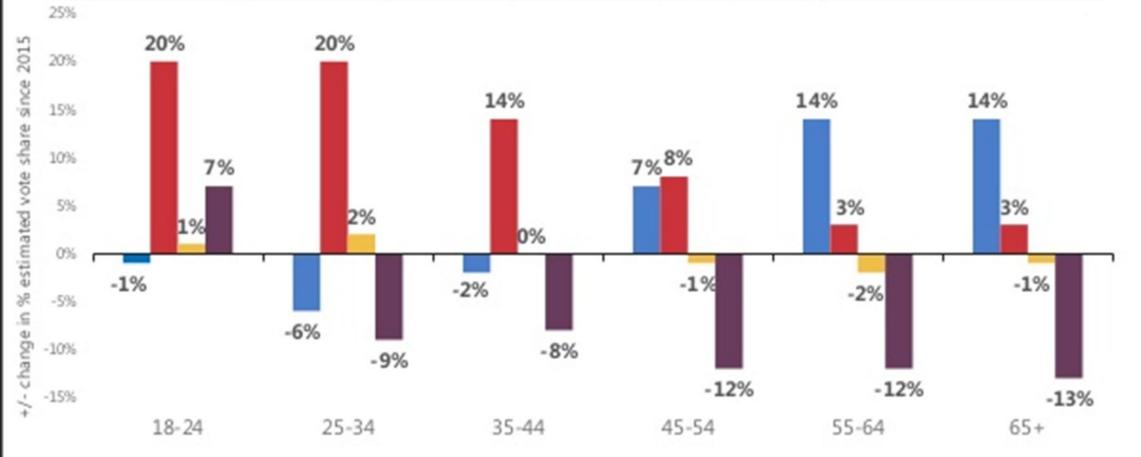
Alan Travis Home affairs editor and Caelainn Barr

Tue 20 Jun '17 00.01 BST





Change since 2015 by age: there was a swing to Labour among under 44s, and a swing to the Conservatives among over 55s

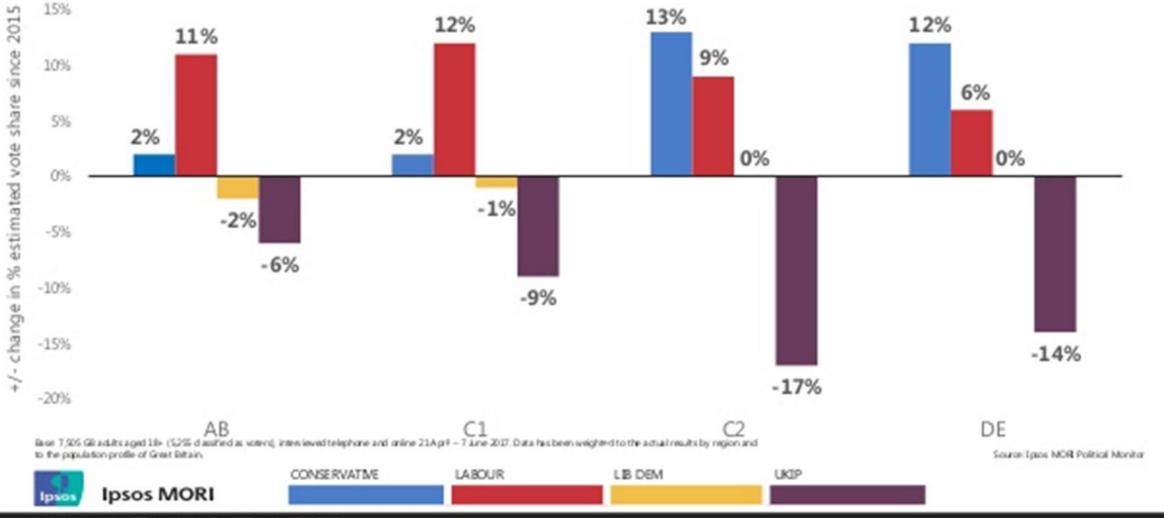


Base 7,505 GB adults aged 18+ (5,255 d assified as solend), interviewed telephone and online 21A pril – 7 June 2017. Data has been weighted to the actual results by region and to the population profile of Great Bittain.

		CONSERVATIVE	LABOUR	LIB DEM	UKIP
Ipsos	Ipsos MORI				

Source: I paos MOR Political Monitor

Since 2015, swing to Labour among ABC1s. Among C2DEs, Conservative vote share up even more than Labour, UKIP down substantially



ie ar fler na brei na brá 🛛 fler 2023 g rear al rómíast - Spran 🖬 200 máint abri.

1

The long arc of the great sorting: blue collar C2DEs go Tory, and white collar AB1s move to Labour

Vote by socio-economic grade

Based of a survey of 52,615 GB adults about their vote in the 2017 general election

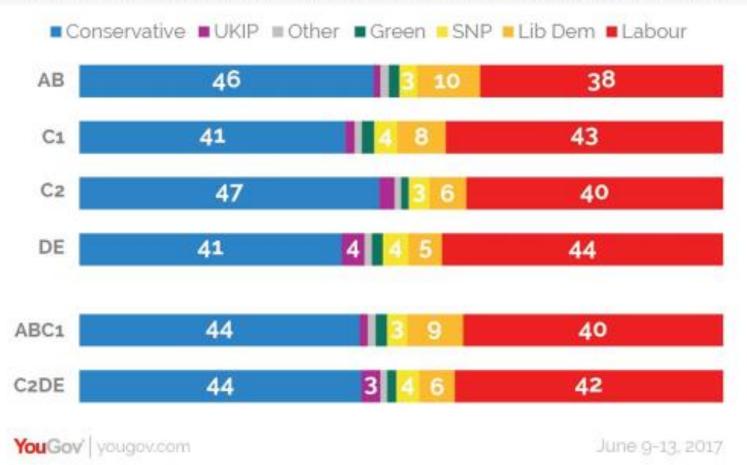


Table 1: 2015 Labour members and Labour supporting non-members: demographics and ideology

Average Age	51	52
Male/Female split	62/38	50/50
Percentage of graduates	56	30
Percentage in ABC1 group	70	52
Mean left (0) – right (10) placement	2.4	3.0

Members Lab-supporting non-members

Source: Tim Bale/ *Labour List*

Table 1. Age related demographics

	Percentage of members in each age range			
18-24	5	4	6	5
25-34	9	12	14	11
35-44	10	12	17	13
45-54	16	15	16	16
55-64	17	27	18	23
65-74	29	25	24	25
75+	15	4	6	7
	Con	Lab	LD	SNP
Average age	57	53	52	54
	Con	Lab	LD	SNP

The Independent's leaked evidence from Hornsey and Wood Green

The leaked figures provide a snapshot of the membership surge that followed Jeremy Corbyn's election as Labour leader in 2015. Contrary to the impression often given that his supporters are young, only 15 per cent of members in Hornsey and Wood Green are under the age of 27.

The party's members are concentrated in the middle-class wards of the constituency. One ward, Stroud Green, has 662 members, which is about 6 per cent of the entire 16+ population of the area. The wards with the smallest memberships are the working-class wards of Woodside, Noel Park and Bounds Green, and the wealthiest ward, Highgate.

Table 3. Inveterate joiners? The top five other organizations that UK party members belong to

	Pe	rcentage of each party	/'s members who belo	ing
National Trust	27	22	34	10
Trade Union	5	32	11	15
naro	5	10	9	6
English Heritage	10	8	12	1
Saga	6	2	З	2
	1000	Lab	LD	SNP

Table 2. Region related demographics

Ξ.

London	12	12	15	1
Rest of South	42	34	45	2
Midlands/Wales	18	21	16	1
North	17	29	18	1
Scotland	10	5	6	96
	Con	Lab	LD	SNP

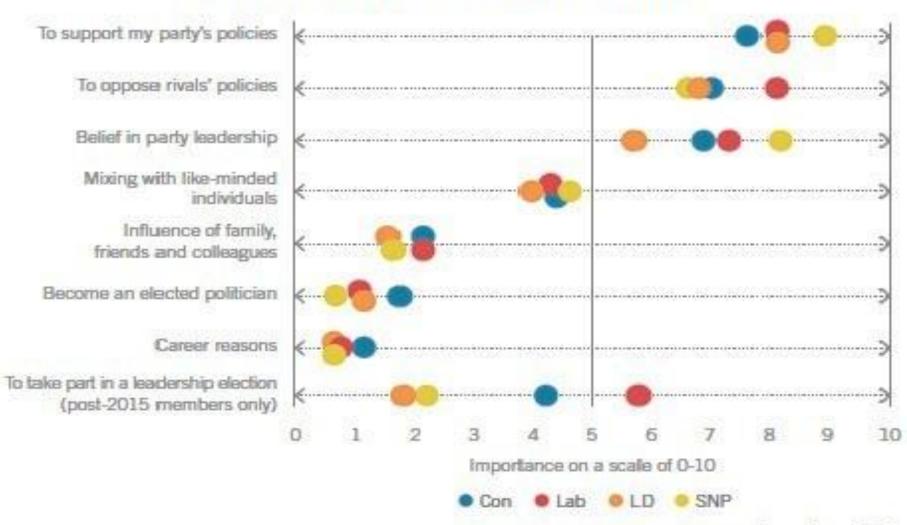


Figure 9. Why did party members join up in the first place?

Figure 18. Are members more or less active?

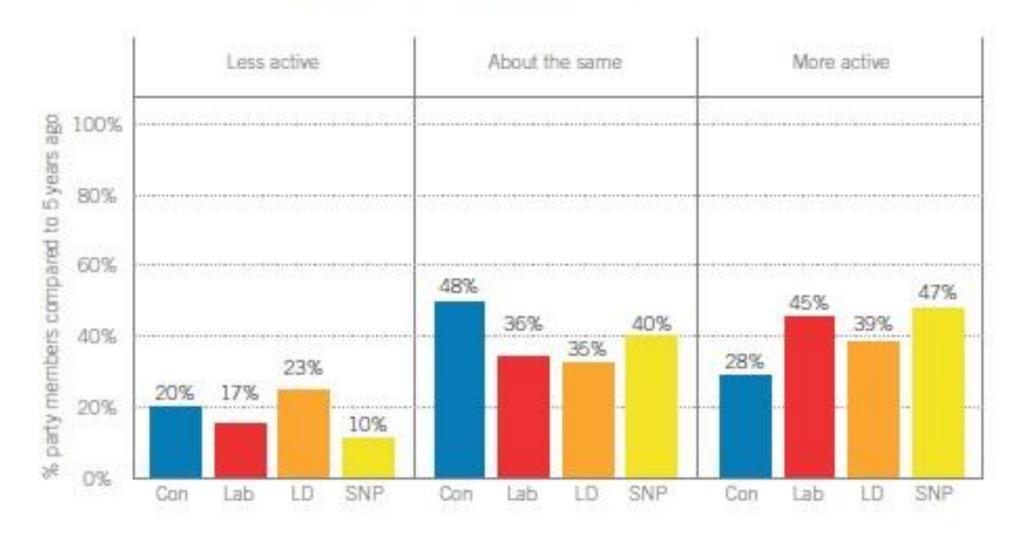
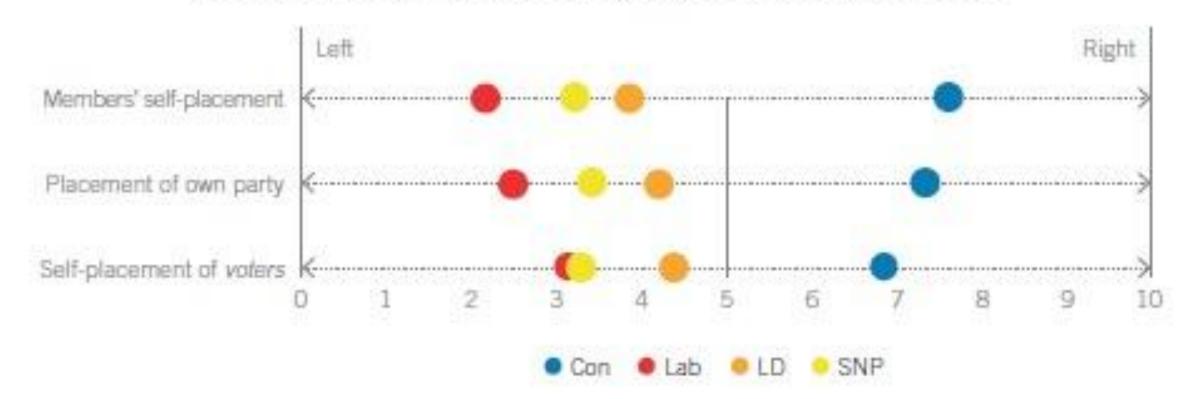


Figure 2. Ideology: where do UK party members place themselves and their parties on the, left-right spectrum - and how do they compare to their parties' voters?



For Corbyn supporters, 'electability' was not the initial point

How Corbyn's supporters are different

1130 Jeremy Corbyn supporters eligible to vote in the Labour leadership election, plus 4554 current or potential Labour voters

	Current Labour voters			
s	Corbyn upporters	Firm Labour	Weak Labour	Potential Labour
Are very/fairly left-wing	81%	40%	25%	15%
Admire Tony Benn more than Tony Blair	83%	40%	25%	27%
Say Corbyn would make a better Prime Minister than Osborne	96%	43%	31%	32%
Agree: "For most goods and services, competition is a good thing"	20%	38%	42%	58%
Agree: "For most goods and services, competition does more harm than good"	71%	45%	33%	25%
Say government should do far more to help the poor, by taxing everyone else	67%	38%	26%	19%
Support the abolition of private schools	65%	42%	31%	25%
Support the abolition of the monarchy	65%	34%	29%	22%

Which two or three, if any, of the following do you think are			
the qualities most needed in the next Labour leader?		Corbyn supporters	Smith supporters
Is in touch with the concerns of ordinary people	55	65	40
Provides an effective opposition to the Conservative party	48	42	58
Unites the Labour party	32	27	38
Understands what it takes to win an election	28	11	55
Is a strong leader	24	19	30
Takes on powerful interests	21	31	6
Moves the party to the left	19	30	2

Source: Election Data/ YouGov, March 2017

Figure 3. Party members' views on economic issues

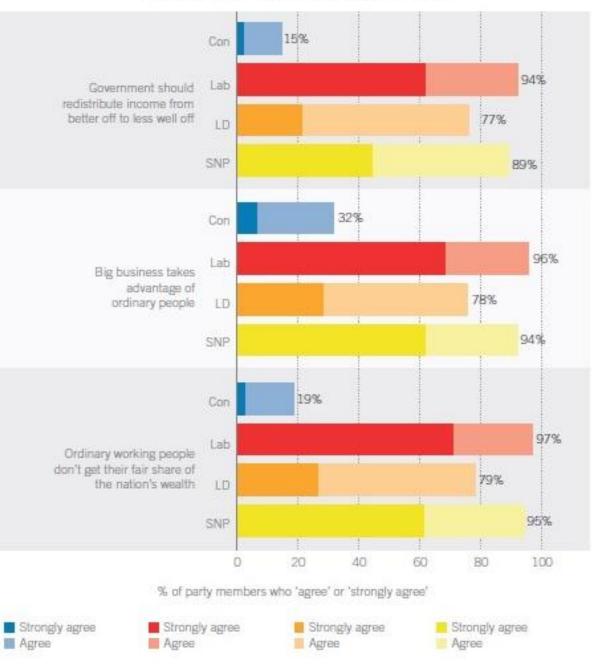
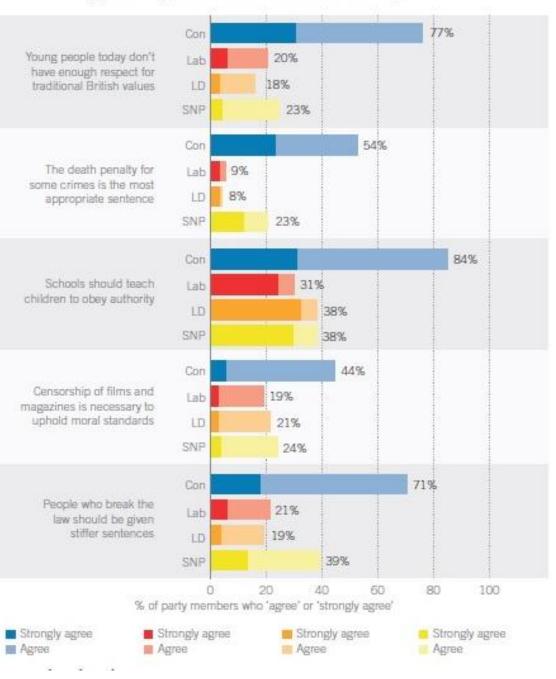
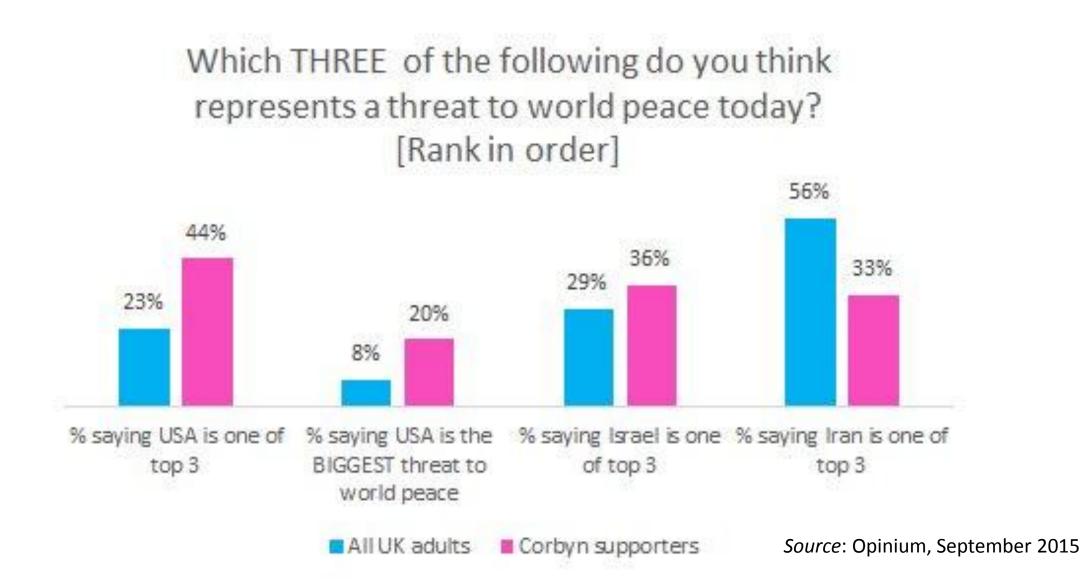


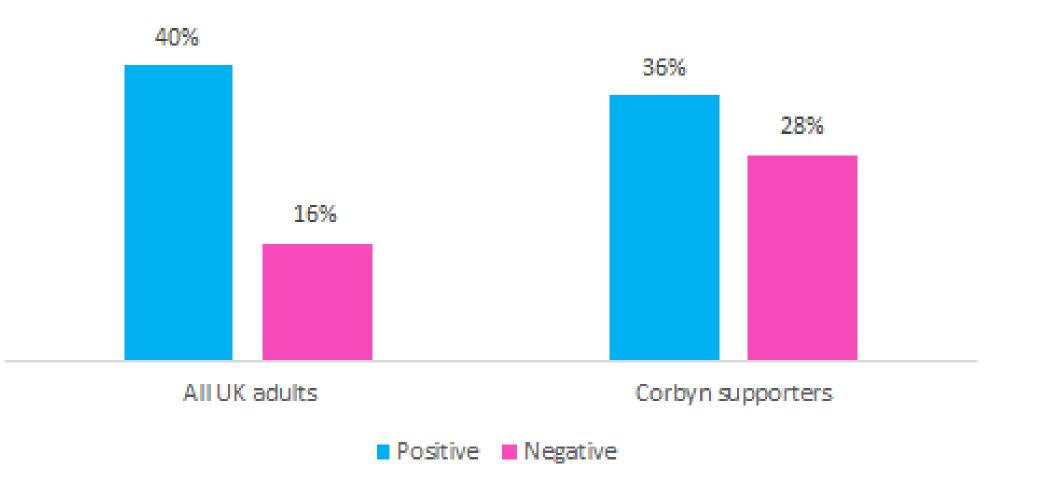
Figure 4. Party members' views on social and moral questions



Corbyn supporters hold different foreign policy views to most voters



How would you sum up your feelings about the United States?



Source: Opinium, September 2015

Declaring for purity: The Guardian's readers

If it makes Labour less likely to win then so be it. What is the point of Labour if not to stand up for ordinary working people, whether they are currently in work, sick, disabled or on the scrapheap? There has to be an alternative to pandering to the market. Jeremy offers hope for the future, the promise of a fightback, of resistance to the markets: people and the planet before profit. If it makes Labour less likely to win then so be it. What is the point of winning just to implement Tory-lite policies? Surveys show a majority of English voters support nationalisation of the railways and the energy companies. They want the NHS to remain in public ownership. Abolition of [student] tuition fees is popular (ask Nick Clegg). Neoliberal unrestrained capitalism has had its day, it is bankrupt and people are fed up having to pay for it. It is destroying our planet, our communities, our services, our children's futures. Someone has to start to fight back and only Jeremy is willing to do it. The other three are careerist politicians.



Charles Wells, 48, Liverpool, finance manager

Despair at Labour's chances: The Guardian's readers

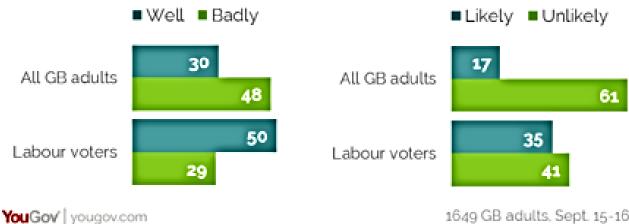
'They're all likely to lose us the next election but at least Corbyn will do it with some principles. don't subscribe to the narrative that Blair was a terrible prime minister or that his reforms were traitorous to Labour's ideals, but I do not believe that Miliband dragged the party as far left as many would have us believe. The "centrist" candidates, such as Kendall, will drag us further right than Blair, into territory I am deeply uncomfortable occupying. Corbyn will drag the party left so that the next attempt to move towards the centre will at least reflect a more genuine centre'.

Rebecca, 31, Cardiff, administrative worker in further education

Expectations for Jeremy Corbyn

Do you think Jeremy Corbyn will do well or badly as leader of the Labour party? (%)

If he remains leader, do you think it is likely or unlikely that Labour will win the next general election? (%)



1649 GB adults, Sept. 15-16 201

• 'The bigger picture suggests that it will not be easy to dislodge Labour MPs in large numbers. Many have been developing survival strategies. "Get organised" is the advice of one Labour MP who has successfully prevented a hard left takeover of her local party. Canny MPs have been careful to build relations with the new members who have surged into Labour since Mr Corbyn became leader. There is a distinction to be made between the ideologists and the idealists. The ambition of an older generation of hard left activists to take out moderate Labour MPs is often not shared by younger members who love Mr Corbyn, but don't identify with the hard left and aren't attracted by its ugly factionalism'. - Andrew Rawnsley, 'The latest victory for Corbynites creates a conqueror's dilemma', The Observer, 7 January 2018



Conclusions: research agendas

- From the 'youthquake' to the 'middle age tremor'
- From Millennial fury to Gen X angst
- From Trotskyite entryism to latent progressivism
- The frustration of the salariat
- Universalist public services' role in an era of complexity
- Inter-generational concern
- The 'surplus of the educated'
- Corbynism's populist language and style
- The influence of policy entrepreneurship retailing 'neoliberalism'