

Ce que le travail nous dit des élections étasuniennes

Hadrien Clouet

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DU TRAVAIL AU VOTE



Donald Trump



Joseph R. Biden Jr.

Do you work full-time for pay?

Yes

59% of voters

50

48

No

41%

41

58

Does anyone in your household belong to a labor union?

Yes

19% of voters

40

57

No

81%

48

51

DU TRAVAIL AU VOTE

- L'isolement laborieux des électeurs démocrates (47% n'ont aucun collègue proche qui vote Trump, contre 31% dans l'autre sens).
- Des expériences de crise inégales et concentrées sur les non-votants : 30% des infirmières décédées de Covid-19 étaient Philippines (pour 4% du total) (C. Ceniza Choy).
- Remise en cause des « professions établies » par Trump (cf. crise du Covid-19) les a éloignés du vote républicain.

LA FISCALITE CONTRE LE TRAVAIL ?

- Le rejet de la régulation par l'Etat : une question fiscale, religieuse et d'honneur (Hochschild 2018).

« Lee's biggest beef was taxes. They went to the wrong people—especially welfare beneficiaries who “lazed around days and partied at night” and government workers in cushy jobs. He knew liberal Democrats wanted him to care more about welfare recipients, but had his own more local—and personal—way of showing sympathy for the poor. Every Christmas, through Beau-Care, a Beauregard Parish nonprofit community agency, he and his wife, “Miss Bobby,” chose seven envelopes off a Christmas tree and provided a present for the child named on the enclosed card – not if it is for an adult).

Indeed, Lee and Miss Bobby were living on Social Security and finding it a very tight squeeze. Two events further occurred : In one, he got a part-time job to earn a little extra money, but worked more hours than federal rules allowed, got caught, and had to wait a year to get back on Social Security. Only help from their Mormon church and from Mike Tritico, himself poor, saw Lee through that year.

More enraging was a second event : “I made a date with a clerk in the local IRS office to collect a tax refund of a certain amount, and nothing about that meeting did I like,” Lee explains. “The gal wore a see-through blouse, to distract me. Then she asked me for every possible receipt, tallied the amount up wrong, and gave me less than I had coming. She cheated me. I needed that money, but I never cashed that check. » (p. 35-36)

DESTRUCTION DU TRAVAIL ET RÉSIGNATION

- Le rejet de la régulation par l'Etat : une question fiscale, religieuse et d'honneur (Hochschild 2018).

« “We noticed the eyes of the turtles had turned white. They would sit still on a log and never jump off to catch and eat something. They’d gone blind and starved to death.” Harold and Annette alternate speaking of various marine creatures with intimacy and resolute calm. “My dad found his cows, tipped over, lying down,” Harold continues. “My nephew used to raise hogs. But the hogs went to drink the bayou water and died. The health unit came down on my *nephew* for not keeping his hogs away from the bad water, but they *didn’t do nothing about the bad water.*” (...)

“My brother-in-law J.D. was the first. He came down with a brain tumor and died at forty- seven. Then my sister next door, Lily May, had breast cancer. My mom died of lung and bladder cancer. And others up the bayou: Edward May and Lambert both died with cancer. Julia and Wendell, live two miles from here, they got it. My sister grew up here but moved over to Houston River and she’s fighting cancer. And my other brother-in-law, he had prostate cancer that went in the bone.” (...)

But Republicans put God and family on their side and “we like that. The Scripture says Jesus wants us to be about his Father’s business,” Annette says. Their faith had guided them through a painful loss of family, friends, neighbors, frogs, turtles, and trees. Politics hadn’t helped, they felt, and the Bible surely had ». (p. 43-44)

L'HONNEUR DE L'EXPLOITATION

- Le rejet de la régulation par l'Etat : une question fiscale, religieuse et d'honneur (Hochschild 2018).

« “As an eight-year-old girl, I cleaned out the bathrooms, the boys and the girls, in back of the church. My parents would drop me off and pick me up later.” She kept that job as she grew older, but added another job at a Tastee Freez stand. After high school, “I put myself through McNeese working forty hours a week as a telephone operator. I worked 1:30 to 10:00 P.M. and 3:00 to 11:00 P.M. and 4:00 P.M. to 12:00 A.M. It was hard to work long hours and get up to go to school the next morning, hurrying to get your studying in between. I only had one weekend a month off, no summers. It was rough.” After that, she got a job in the company she works for still.

Janice is stoutly proud that, like her dad, she never “took a dime from the government. . . . For five years at the telephone company and forty-three years here . . . I never one time ever drew an unemployment check or got any government assistance,” she says, adding, “I did get a small student loan when I was going to college—back then the government didn’t just give it to you—and I paid every nickel of it back.” (p. 156-157)

LE RENVERSEMENT DU GENDER GAP

TABLE 1. *Gender Gap in the Early 1970s.*

Society	Men	Women	Gap
Italy	44	30	-14
Germany	60	47	-13
Britain	50	41	-9
Belgium	40	36	-6
France	54	49	-5
Netherlands	47	45	-2
USA	32	37	+5

Note: Percentage supporting parties of the left.

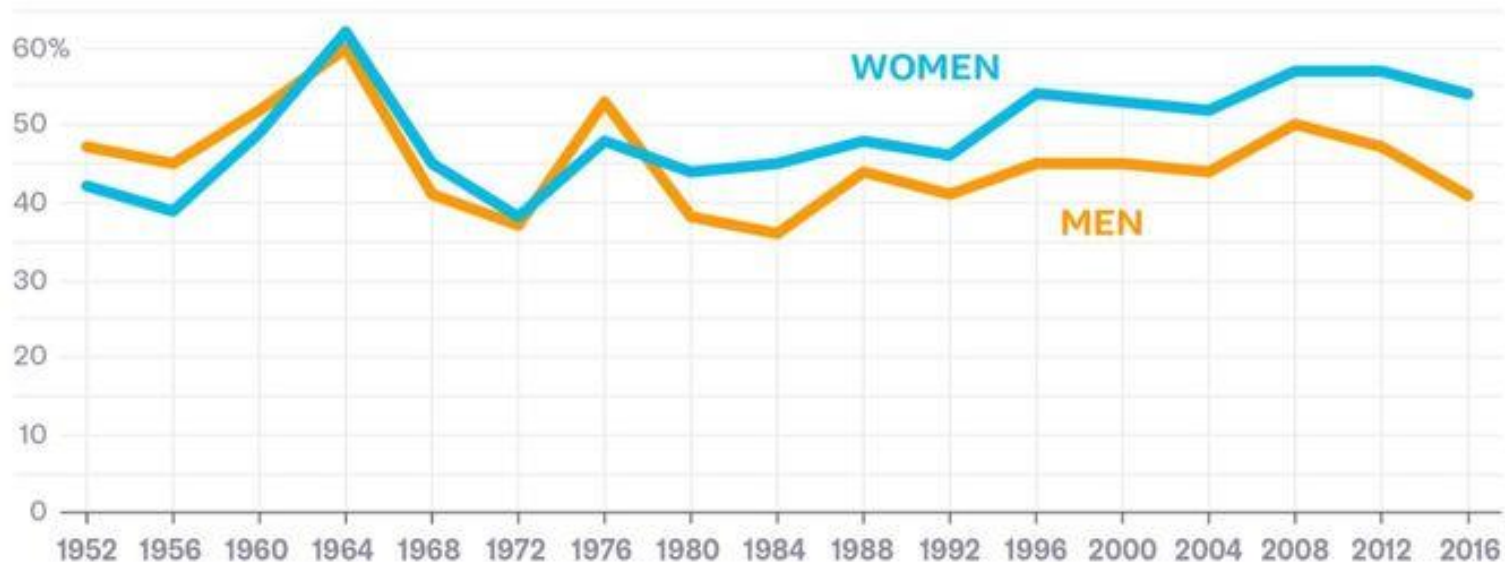
Source: Inglehart, *The Silent Revolution*, 1977: 228.

L'Eglise, l'inactivité, le salariat dans des territoires non-syndiqués.

LE RENVERSEMENT DU GENDER GAP

Gender Gap in U.S. Presidential Elections

Percentage voting for the Democratic presidential candidate in each election



Sources: Gallup Polls (1952-2012);
Edison Research for the National Election Pool (preliminary 2016)

BloombergQuickTake

**La remise en cause de leur position dans le monde du travail
+ dépendance accrue pour leur existence de cette position.**

LE TRAVAIL DU VOTE

- Avant la présidentielle, les « **Caucus** ». Plusieurs heures de discussion + piétiner dans une pièce pour emporter le caucus local aux couleurs de son/sa candidat.e.
- Donne une exposition médiatique... à celui qui remporte l'Etat rural et blanc de l'Iowa.



LE TRAVAIL DU VOTE

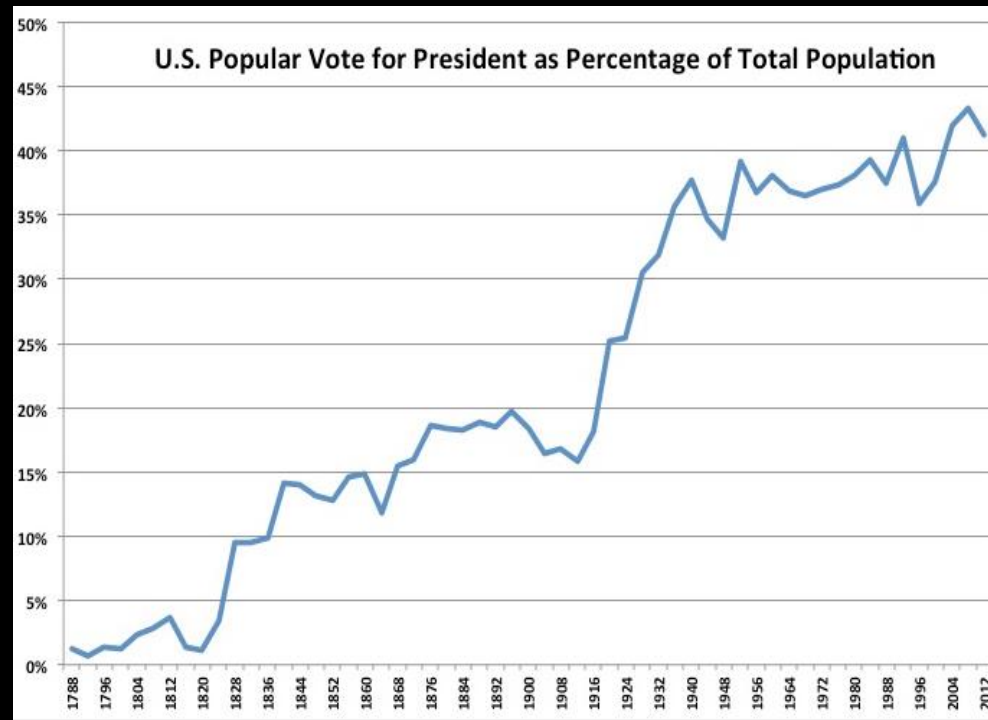
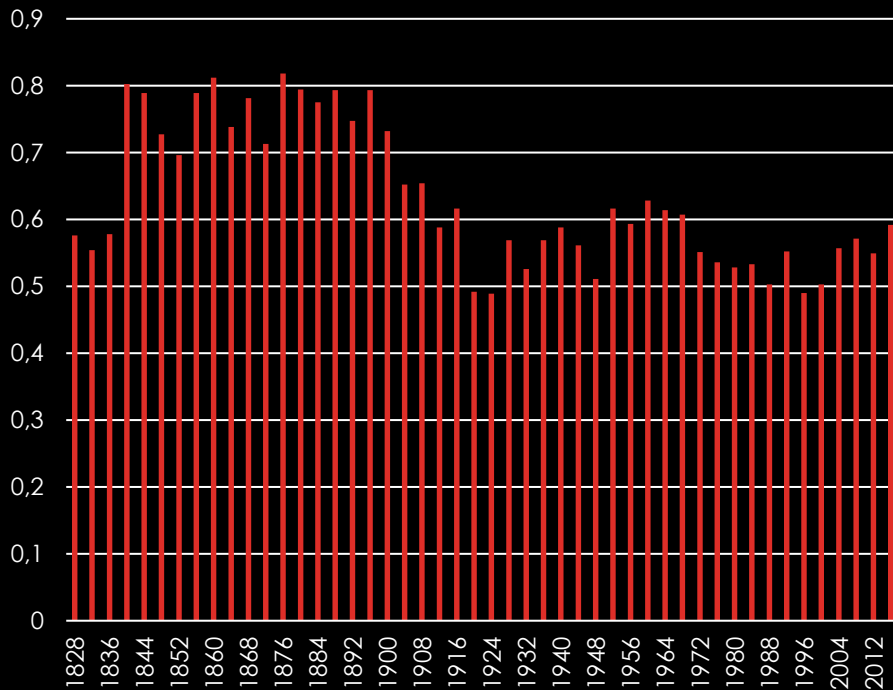
- Supprime toute participation des groupes marginaux, sans le temps et les ressources de participer physiquement : parents sans garde d'enfant, employés aux horaires atypiques, personnes handicapées... (Michael Rosino, 2020).
 - Victoire de Buttigieg sur Sanders dans l'Iowa, malgré les préférences des électeurs.



LE TRAVAIL DU VOTE

- **Héritage d'institutions triplement censitaires : grands électeurs + abstention massive** (vote le mardi) + **infrastructure défailante** (12h d'attente pour des travailleurs sans congé en Géorgie).
- Représente de - en - les électeurs... mais de + en + la population.

% du corps électoral exprimé



LE TRAVAIL DU VOTE

- « Voters suppression » pour contourner le Voting Right Act de 1965 – un vrai travail de discrimination, très complexe :
 - Indiana : carte d'identité requiert photo, nom, non-expirée depuis plus de 4 ans et émission par l'Etat d'Indiana.
 - Texas : droit de vote avec port d'arme... mais pas carte étudiante + 542 bureaux fermés dans les quartiers afro-américains et universitaires (1 bureau pour 4000 à l'université, 1 pour 500 dans les résidences pavillonnaires voisines).
 - 100 000 radiations des personnes qui ont déménagé au Wisconsin.
 - Floride : privation de droit de vote pour les individus libres qui n'ont pas acquitté amende ou dette judiciaire (750 000 concernés... et 400 000 voix d'écart Trump-Biden).

LE TRAVAIL DU VOTE

- **91 millions de votes avant le jour J** : le Covid-19 a paradoxalement démocratisé l'élection !