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REFUSAL OF THE VACCINE AMONG CARERS DURING PANDEMIA COVID 19

Communication d'Ivan Sainsaulieu, professeur de sociologie,
universités de Lille (titulaire) et de Lausanne (invité)
membre du CLERSE (UMR 8011), du LACCUS et de l'Institut Universitaire de France
Responsable de l'ANR CSP

BACKGROUND AND HYPOTHESES OF THE RESEARCH REFUVAX

- Funding from MESHS (Lille) for Emerging projects
 - In partnership with *Sud santé* (french union inside public hospitals)
- Questioning the refusal of both class and carers
 - refusal was inversely proportional to hierarchy
 - There was a sharp contrast between doctors and paramedics (or carers)
 - Why both and each?
- Hypothesis of pockets of resistance, as a protesting sociability
 - Not far from the myth of Social Networking Unified Strength (I must confess!)

A SENSITIVE FIELD

- Qualitative socio-geographical cluster survey (37 interviews)
 - 6 sociogeographic clusters (Paris East South So. Est West Indies Swiss area) : 5 interviews in Paris (Sud headquarter), 9 in Besançon UHC, 10 in Hyeres and Chambéry HC, 11 in West Indies UHC FDF / PAP, 2 in CHUV
- Sensitive field: twice my sociologist partner left!
 - Too far: difficulty of finding people to interview (I lost West of France...)
 - Too close: difficulty of criticizing people you know (in West Indies)
- Does entering via the trade union create a bias?
 - Yes and no: it is a left union but a representative one among health carers
 - No unions have 2 bases: TU members and corporate environment (IS 2008)

FRAGMENTATION OF COLLECTIVES

- Rejection by homogeneous pockets was largely a fantasy because the collectives concerned are fragmented
 - Divided families: refusal reduced to couple inside tiny popular families
 - Divided hospital care departments: refusers lived tensions at work even if a majority of carers were hesitant at first (according to refusing carers)
 - Divided unions: understanding it was the goal of Sud Santé in the project
 - Low initial politicisation: carers refusal is neather activist, neither antivax neither antipass (even if closer to antipass than antivax)
- It looked more like an ethical individual revolt

SOCIAL DISTANCE BETWEEN DOCTORS AND CARERS

- The carer comes from below and the doctor from above
 - « This doctor says hello »: a common expression indicating the doctor's daily obligation to reduce social distance
- The « doctor passes »... the carer remains (other common expression)
 - In others words carer is always under pression and closer to patients
- The doctor changes his mind... The carer has to follow
 - A carer in a polyhandicap hospital was upset about doctors' disagrees
- The carer is getting old... The doctor gets even younger!
 - From Salvador Santiago to La Pitié Paris, medical careers go from public to private:
 « one in ten of my psychiatrist friends stayed in the public sector » said a psychiatr.

A REAL INDIVIDUAL ARGUMENTATION AMONG CARERS

Strong values

- Concern about the consequences for others (not libertarian individualism)
- Concern about patients consentment (rules posted everywhere in hospitals)
- Profesionalism better than vaccine: feeling that qualifications and experience set aside, replaced by a vaccine

Medical arguments

- No religious neither ideological argues to reject the vaccine
- A preference for conventional vaccines
 - And fear for body consequences of a « false », « chimical » and « profitable» vaccine
- A reasonable doubt facing a variability of medical truth: ex. chloroquine was used against covid until march 2021 in swiss CHUV and Raoult was a model
 - Six months before you are in, six months later you are out of medical argue

HYBRID DELUSION AND CONSPIRACY

- Mix of delusion (bad discourse) and kairos (good action)
 - The Sahara sand wind more frequent in the caribbean islands came from « deliberate abuse of authority » said an agent on strike in Pointe à Pitre hospital
 - But he had an active, attentive, proactive presence within the strike committee
- Mix of conspirancy, postcolonial truths and social pressure to conform
 - In a discussion in a restaurant with a carer and two trade unionists, they more or less all shared the idea of a global genocide starting in China (full of people): the vaccine anti covid was invented to limit the world population
 - The same discussion was based on post-colonial truths like the french deny of Chlordecone as the last ex of social and racial differentiation in the West Indies
 - Conformism: as he evocates a medical truth the carer was reminded par unionists of natural medicine invented by slaves... and banned from sale during the pandemic

« GALLIC VILLAGES » IN THE WEST INDIES!

- A metropolitan spot in Hyères: « at the beginning, 500 out of 600 of us refused the vaccine » said a carer organised in Sud Santé.
 - correlated with an popular hospital, with high number of care assistants
- « Villaj résistanz » in Martinique and its equivalent in Guadeloupe: superlatives strikes
 - Duration and intensity: one year strikes with every day presence of the committee strike at the entrance of CHU (average of 50 carers)
 - Creativity and intensity: each of the two 'villages' had built places to sleep, eat, meet, hold support galas, a free radio station here and an ecologist garden there, yoga courses, psychological or legal support, conferences, all-night guards, banners, committees, mobile teams to go holding meetings...
 - correlated with high level of precarity in West Indies hospitals, strong anticolonial culture and strong financial solidarity

COST OF REFUSAL BEFORE CARERS REINSTATEMENT

- Even in these superlatives strikes, refusers lived loneliness
 - Community disagreements: they went on demonstrationS called by independantist unions without being in favor of independance
 - Experience of family discords, economic precarity, even suicides in France
- Objective and subjective denial of their professional identity
 - Individual capacity: suspension means « no skills any longer »
 - Administrative status: suspension is a juridic no man's land involving no more rights attached to the public service status and even social rights.
 - Main result: no social indemnities for unemployment

Conclusion CONTRASTING PROFESSIONAL CONFIDENCE

- Professional environments are subject to contrasting social constraints
 - Hospital carers and workers under pressure to improve productivity and make savings – correlated with modest diplomas and social origins
 - Less pressure from the authorities on doctors higher diplomas & origins
- Same doubt and professional obligation to be informed, but different <u>scales</u> of professional cognition and confidence
 - Medical specialists are called upon to comment on what is widely published in their epistemic community. *Doubt becomes positive* if becoming more objective, in a socio-political affinity with the political authorities.
 - Carers need to know what's going on in their particular environment: which patients, care, habits, colleagues. Facing an unusual vaccine with social, medical and political distrust... doubt becomes negative.

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