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Evolution after the COVID of the invisibility of precarities (ECOVIP): Overview of an action research project to decipher the urban factory of invisibility

Abstract

Due to weak economies or ill-adapted public policies aggravated by the pandemic, official services dedicated to the unconditional reception and support of people in psychosocial distress in large urban areas are often put to the test.

Here is an overview of the approach of the action research "Evolution after COVid-19 of the Invisibility of Precarities" (ECOVIP) dedicated to this phenomenon, as along with its first steps showing preliminary results concerning the precarity of unemployed pre-old people in Lyon, France.

This participative research is based on workshops that bring together professionals from both the front-line psychosocial field and other fields such as employment or work, and in which they are offered a free expression of their lived situations of reception of precarious people.

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The first results provided by the scientific and transparent analysis of these exchanges show both a fairly precise understanding of the institutional decision leading to increasing invisibility, and the emergence of innovative professional resources capable of curbing it.

Keywords: precarity/precariousness, invisibility, unemployed, health crisis, social disaffiliation, psychosocial clinic, public policies,

JEL Classification Codes: I30, J60, O30

Abstrakt

Okres pandemii wyostrzył problem związany ze wspieraniem osób i grup wykluczonych (z różnych względów). Pogarszająca się sytuacja społeczno-gospodarcza i czas pandemii w sposób szczególny wpłynęły na trudną sytuację psychospołeczną wielu grup w obszarach miejskich (szczególnie dużych miast).

Prekaryzacja obejmuje różne grupy społeczne, jednak w sposób szczególny osoby bezrobotne w wieku przedemerytalnym (powyżej 50 roku życia) oraz osoby, które przechodzą na emeryturę (kończą aktywność zawodową). Czują się one niepewnie, a systemy wsparcia w ramach polityk publicznych są sektorowe i skierowane na rozwiązane poszczególnych problemów, a nie całościowe podejście. Nie są także dostosowane do kompleksowego wsparcia psychospołecznego. Artykuł odnosi się do badań w działaniu w ramach projektu "Evolution after COVid-19 of the Invisibility of Precarities" (ECOVIP). Analizuje studium przypadku – Lyonu we Francji. Na podstawie wyników trzech interdyscyplinarnych warsztatów jakie przeprowadzono w ramach projektu formułowane są pierwsze wnioski dla polityk miejskich, w tym konieczność podejścia holistycznego, a nie kategoryzowania poszczególnych rodzajów wsparcia.

Słowa kluczowe: niepewność/obciążenia ryzykami życiowymi, niewidzialność, bezrobotni, kryzys zdrowotny, brak przynależności społecznej, klinika psychospołeczna, polityka publiczna,

Kody klasyfikacji JEL: I30, J60, O30

Introduction

The overview of the action research presented below aims to understand the phenomena of precarities linked to the COVID-19 health crisis, with the observation of a major invisibility of the people concerned in the population aged 50 to 64 (pre-old).

Its implementation was motivated by numerous field observations by psychosocial organizations in Lyon, France, which have perceived the emergence of this population of pre-old people since the recent health crisis, a population very marked by precariousness and the risk of invisibility on the part of social organizations.

This work is part of a larger international context in which more than half of the world's population already lives in cities and in which megacities will eventually constitute the main mode of human habitation. According to United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO, 2019: 5): "Cities have always been centres of power, attractiveness and prosperity. But the frenetic urbanization of recent decades is jeopardizing their historical function as melting pots that integrate and absorb newcomers. As they become more populated, they become dehumanized. Violence, inequality, discrimination (…). Nevertheless, even as they are dehumanized, cities are reinventing themselves." This unbridled and dehumanizing urbanization goes hand in hand with the 'digitalization' of the world, which is just as unbridled and dehumanizing and whose repair is also strongly desired and in progress (Rialle et al., 2022). In these megacities, some have been more affected by the COVID-19 crisis than others (Banerjee, 2020).

The paper is structured in four sections. The first one, presents the field of investigation, along with a brief bibliography and a short description of the origins, design and implementation of the action research here described. The second section, presents the conceptual, methodological and procedural basis of the action research. The third section shows the status and the objectives currently achieved. The last section addresses the main points of the open questions raised by the action research and is followed by a short conclusion.

Precarity and invisibility

Brief review of the literature

The literature review on the precarity of ageing people is abundant (Grenier et al., 2020, Standing, 2011). In the present study, a special focus is put on the problem of the invisibility of precarity by the public, private or associative bodies devoted to its consideration, based on a French experience. The notions of precariousness, precarity, invisibility and invisibilization have been the subject of analysis since the 2000's, with the aim of defining their contours. In this respect, the word "precarity" no longer has the vague meaning of "the state of being uncertain or likely to get worse" in the dictionary (Cambridge Dictionary, 2022). In 1987, the Economic, Social and Environmental

Council (ESEC) defined it in the following terms: "Precarity is the absence of one or more forms of security, particularly employment security… The resulting insecurity may be more or less extensive and have more or less serious and definitive consequences… It leads to extreme poverty when it affects several areas of life" (Wresinski, 1987: 6). This definition proves to be much more complex than one might suppose *a priori* when referring to the term "precarity" (Zaouche-Gaudron & Sanchou, 2005: 10).

The words precarity and precarities refer to a phenomenon also named precariat (van der Waal, 2019). Precarity is characterized by job insecurity or unemployment, social exclusion and poverty and the exposure to risk of suffering and losing social ties. A decade later, precarities in France are the subject of a highly developed analysis in the official report devoted to it by the French National Observatory of Poverty and Social Exclusion (ONPES, 2016). The plural, precarities, appears to be necessary. Though they have the same effects, precarities present extremely diverse forms. They arise in countless psychosocial, political, environmental, urban contexts: "Political, economic and environmental commentators increasingly use the terms "precarious," "precariousness" and "precarity" to identify the growing conditions of instability, risk and dislocation that are affecting human communities around the world, contributing to a popular literature on the unpredictable and uncontrollable forces of uncertainty" (Katz, 2020: 41).

It should be noted that the concepts of precarity and vulnerability of the older adults (Grenier et al., 2020) have rather vague contours, sometimes interchangeable according to the authors. Considering the link between precariousness and ageing, the focus of the study is on the notion of precarity as the deprivation of one or more resources that allow for an "ordinary" life, these resources being financial, of the order of social ties, or of cultural capital, or of access to digital technology. However, this global definition must be considered differently according to the issues of ageing, in which those of life course (such as family life, professional activity, place of residence, especially in so-called working-class neighborhoods) are highlighted. On the other hand, ageing does not occur at the same age for everyone. Now, the categories usually used by public authorities to manage their policies are very strict. For instance, young retirees: from the age of 62; fourth age: from the age of 75 (a marker of the onset of disabling pathologies); and oldest-old from the age of 80. For the sake of understanding precarities, it is necessary to move away from the overly constrained age categories.

Despite favorable institutional frameworks such as the "Opinion 128" of the French Consultative Ethics Committee for health and life sciences (CCNE; Comité Consultatif National d'Éthique pour les sciences de la vie et de la santé) (Rialle, 2019), the relationship to ageing has evolved very slowly: "Further exploration of

this situation leads to confirming the theory that there is a kind of collective denial of society's ageing and of our own ageing, a denial of what will be our own fate as we grow old, or even of our finitude. It reveals a latent form of ill-treatment of dependent old people, apparent in policies concerning them, but more generally socially and sometimes within families" (CCNE, 2018: 7). However, never before had been so precisely outlined a program for transforming practices, teachings, the culture of denial, vocabulary, and public and budgetary policies, capable of reintegrating old age into the heart of society.

As mentioned in the introduction, according to psychosocial non-profit organizations in Lyon the impact of the COVID-19 health crisis on this already thorny situation has proven to be tangible for pre-old people: In this population and since the beginning of the pandemic, an increase of approximately 0.5% to 11% of the number of requests for psychological support have been noticed by Centre Psychanalytique de Consultations et de Traitement (CPCT) and Alynea (two institutional actors associated with the ECOVIP project). Even though the employment of older people has been a long-standing problem, few studies are currently focusing on the issue of these "young older" people whose living conditions have shifted to forms of precarity and invisibility during the COVID-19 crisis, a phenomenon continued after the lockdowns were lifted. The literature review brings out pleas for the social role of pre-old people during the crisis (Petretto & Pili, 2020). It highlights also intersectional analyses of the increased impact of the crisis on older minorities, particularly in the United States (Garcia et al., 2021). Other studies address the whole range of vulnerability structures in the ordeal of the health crisis, including lockdowns (Team & Manderson, 2020). However, this brief literature review did not reveal any studies that shed light on the effects and consequences of the pandemic in terms of the casualization of certain categories of aging workers. Thus, the study presented here takes on a particular meaning to fill this gap.

A French response: the ECOVIP action research

The ECOVIP action research was designed by the City of Lyon with the founding group consisting of L. Langer-Sautière, N. Borie and V. Rialle (2021) in order to understand the phenomenon of multiple forms of precarity linked to the still ongoing health crisis, as well as the observation of a tendency to the invisibilization of precarious people. This project includes, but is not limited to, the population of pre-old people.

The scientific basis of the action research is multidisciplinary, and the field data collection system is based on workshops that bring together numerous actors in the psychosocial field and offer them a space to speak freely. The participants are

invited to express in a simple and spontaneous way, in the form of a conversation (Cosnier & Kerbrat-Orecchioni, 1987), their perceptions and points of view on the proposed themes. The main idea here is not to take the verbal content of the workshops as the object of theoretical interpretations, but rather to make use of the skills of the researchers and practitioners brought together to shed light on the issues and allow the emergence of possible solutions.

Moreover, with regards with the theory of complexity (Byrne & Callaghan, 2013) the description of ECOVIP appears in itself an act of scientific research likely to provide important insights about the performative effect of the project. Generic epistemology (Schmid & Mambrini-Doudet, 2019) invites us to produce such insights in order to be more effective actors, non-profit organization and public organizations alike, through participative action research of the social and environmental future.

Population, materials and methods

Population

The action research concerns pre-old people, who have difficulties in employment, in reappropriating public space and in all aspects of social ties, and whose living conditions have severely deteriorated during the period of confinement due to the COVID-19 health crisis.

Materials

The material basis of the action research is mainly constituted by the audio and video recording equipment used during the workshops, to which is added the use of video-conferencing software that allows it. Such hardware (computer) and software (videoconference and re-listening and viewing) are indeed constitutive of the sociotechnical system included in the methods.

Methods

The socio-technical system

ECOVIP is a sociotechnical system (Akrich, 2006) in the sense of actor – network theory (Latour, 2005). First of all, it is innovative in its genesis and in the way it operates. In addition to the human actors (e.g. Tha City of Lyon, numerous psy-

chosocial non-profit organizations and work related chief of projects) present in the project, several actants (Akrich, 2006) are identified, such as the clinical vignettes (UFORCA & Miller, 2020; Veloski et al., 2005), life stories (Arentshorst, 2016; Rosan-vallon, 2021), data stories, the three constituting major methodological objects of the action research, also refered to as "narratives." The notion of network unfolds with a dynamic of enrolment, with the performative effect of the ECOVIP system, and with the theoretical and individual interpretative contributions of the project's founding group.

The conversation as a method

Initially developed in the United States to analyze linguistic exchanges, conversational analysis has spread to France as an approach capable of supporting the analysis of the double aspect of exchanges, the strictly verbal aspect (directly transcribable in writing) and the postural aspect linked to the oral (Wiggins, 2009). Thus, conversational analysis considers conversational interaction as the carrier of the ethnographic meaning of exchanges. In this perspective, the conversation allows for an equal positioning of each person during the workshops, thus supporting the interactions and increasing the richness of the analyses carried out by the group. Another process is also taking place: the legitimization of these analyses.

The three types of narratives and their mediating methodological objects

During the workshops, the conversations between participants are based on three methodological objects: clinical vignettes, life stories and data stories. These three types of narratives are considered to be actants, given that "We are therefore dealing with a descriptive concept capable of founding the empirical program of a description of a singular process" (Passeron, 2001). The actants are actually full-fledged actors in the situations of exchanges and workshops (Goffman, 1973). They are briefly presented below according to three informative contexts: 'Telling the clinic,' 'Telling the life,' and 'Telling the data.'

Telling the clinic

Regarding psychosocial clinic (Furtos, 2015), a fundamental question is: What can we pass on from what was heard? (Borie, 2021). True translators of a practice, such as the psychosocial clinic and the sociology of narratives and its hermeneutics, clinical vignettes (as well as life stories, presented below) constitute a type of intermediate

object between the extensively detailed individual cases and the categories resulting from a singular case classification. The clinical vignette constitutes the methodological means of evoking the clinical situation of a person. It differs from the presentation of a case in that it is neither the illustration of a singular case, nor the generalization of similar cases. "Built notably in the theoretical perspective of a sociology of identities (…), centered on the collection and analysis of biographical interviews (…), the approach called hermeneutics is also based, […], on the hypothesis of a co-production of sociological materials by sociologists and social subjects. The latter are also asked to become *authors* of their life stories – or practices – thus expressing "lived worlds" thanks to the interview relationship which must facilitate, as well as possible, this enterprise of co-construction of a "narrative identity"" (Dubar, 2007: 37).

In this logic, the clinical vignettes constitute a key methodological tool, empirical data and the very method of their elaboration is in itself a maieutic process. Starting with an individual situation, a case is first written down, which focuses on the one hand on the story of the person's situation, and on the other hand on what has made the transition, the rebound, the hook, in the work with the clinician. This writing is generally quite long and worked on, through multiple rewritings and by the discussion of these rewritings between peers. It is the final version of this writing, produced by these multiple operations of exchange, clarification, writing and rewriting, that constitutes the vignette. Thanks to this meticulous process, the vignette is in itself an object that can be grasped by all to shed light on the mechanisms at work, halfway between the particular case and a generic presentation of the difficulties of typical people or typical paths.

The case always teaches more than the theories that condense knowledge about a pathology. A vignette is a work of reduction of the case illustrating a theme and transmitting the inimitability of the case, it will echo for other cases. In psychoanalysis, the case is always fundamental (De Georges, 2001).

After this work of construction, the case can be approached under different aspects, in different themes. Freud reworked at length and reused for different concepts the cases presented in his work *Constructions in Analysis* (1927). Constructing a case is a work of writing and remains a training method for clinicians.

Telling the story

The life stories mobilized by P. Rosanvallon (2021) also go beyond the simple formal description of cases. According to Rosanvallon, inequalities taken in a statistical way have long corresponded to the reality lived and felt by individuals, especially in classes (e.g., working class, precarious, middle class). However, the notion

of social class has largely withered away with the end of a form of class struggle. For the last twenty years, individuals, in the sense of the actors of the sociology of translation, have been less identified with the categories provided by the measurement of inequalities, which have nevertheless increased considerably over the period. Actors recognize themselves in communities of experience, of emotions, notably resentment, and measure themselves in terms of inequalities by the yardstick of this community of resentment (Fayner, 2010). Being excluded from work in the latter part of one's working life, when the cognitive markers are those of a central function of work in order to situate oneself socially and establish one's social ties, leads to the emergence of a community of resentment that accepts this exclusion from work more or less well, but clearly suffers the consequences and the social disaffiliation that results from it.

Telling the data

The so-called cold quantitative data (statistical data) are the language of the master in the political sense. Statistics are tools for political power in the steering of policies, but do not make sense in themselves, as we saw in the previous paragraph.

Figure 1. Prescription Map for Antidiabetic Drugs
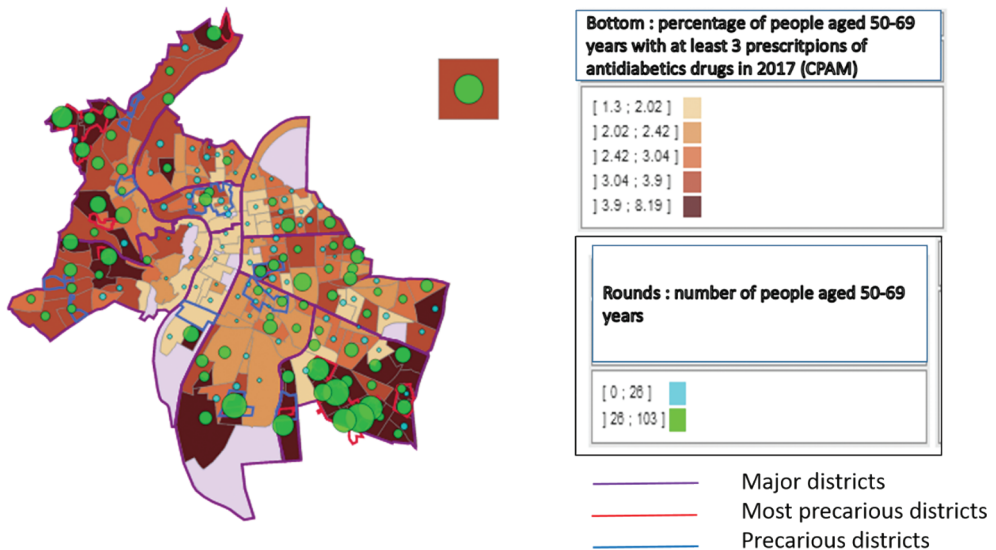
Source: Langer-Sautière (2022) on the basis of a dataset transmitted by the Caisse Primaire d'Assurance Maladie (CPAM) dated 2017. The CPAM is a public French institution which monitors every care given to French people. The map was realized by Ville de Lyon on behalf on all authors.

This is why we put the data into a narrative, by proposing them as vignettes of mapped data brought to the conversation to be discussed, notably on the categories that are used, with the possibility of modifying them via the mapping resource platform. The example of diabetes (Figure 1) is in this sense very evocative for the participants, who recognize the marked territorial dimension of the phenomenon, closely linked to situations of precariousness.

The choice of the tool allows us to move beyond the raw numbers of the data to discuss the territorial dimension of the situation of pre-old people. It also allows for a discussion on the limits of the validity of the indicator and of the age range mobilized and imposed by the data provider. The map makes it possible to discuss with the participants the urban dimension of the phenomenon observed, based on an indicator that is itself debatable. It puts all the participants on the same level of exchange, without requiring any expertise on the data.

Results

The research results are at three levels: The understanding of the phenomenon and its communicability, the effects of societal changes induced or amplified by the crisis, and finally, the conditions necessary for the action research work to be effective in terms of public policy.

ECOVIP empirical data shows the extent to which unemployment, disability and even temporary work mark the end of these "careers," where retirement is no longer a time for moving from a professional activity to other ways of life. Pre-old people find themselves out of balance, and at risk of invisibilization, often leading to psychosocial suffering, a state frequently accompanied by psychological and/or physical problems that prevent these persons from returning to work.

The exchanges during the three workshops allowed to observe the complex phenomenon of a shift into multiple forms of precarity followed by the entry into the category of the "invisible" among people of this age group. This central issue owes a large part of its complexity to an intercurrent phenomenon which is that of a certain institutional weakness in understanding and elaborating adapted responses (in terms of physical and moral support, and access to rights). In other words, several observations are the keystone of this action research.

On the one hand, the observation, in this population, of moments of family and/or professional rupture which result in tilts in "holes of precarities" from which the persons can only with difficulty get out, in particular when a latent psychic fragility or resulting from the event of rupture arises to complicate the picture. Another

observation drawn from the empirical data, no doubt accentuated by the pandemic, is that working conditions or access to work for pre-old people are becoming more difficult, and that the reduction, or even the total disappearance, of the social link linked to work tends to make these people invisible at the end of their careers.

On the other hand, the regular failure of the reception and care of people in precarity in their process of access to rights and care, especially psychological, is observed in governemental and non-governemental institutions. An accumulation of unresolved problems leads to the suffering of psycho-social workers, who are faced with a growing number of difficulties such as insecurity at work, accelerated digital dematerialization, or the current division of tasks in specialized social care. The managerial restructuring leads to a reduction of their room for maneuver and causes failure of the actions of psychosocial workers, further cutting up the care, often reducing them to an observation of the situation and to a referral, preventing "going towards," multiplying the ruptures. It is true that social professionals are "acting in resistance" by circumventing these restrictions. For about 5 years now, the care pathways have been defined and the people categorized. Each symptom has its own care, each precarious situation its own social solution. All referrals have a "towards" purpose. Towards housing, towards employment, towards care. They are not opposed to each other but have to be articulated without replacing each other. The consequence of referrals is already perceptible, psychologists receive people who are lost, who don't know why they have arrived in a particular institution and who are unable to express their uneasiness or even their suffering. The flourishing of the referring internet platforms tends to limit human intervention in favor of a robotization of the response. This evolution, in order to contain the calls, deviates from and is even often in contradiction with the singular reception of social or psychological suffering. The consequences are a loss of focus or a renunciation to pursue a personal approach, producing invisibilization.

ECOVIP data makes it possible to problematize these findings and to produce knowledge all along, through exploration. The multidisciplinary effort allows the problematization and legitimizes the above-mentioned findings. The invitation is a facilitation of exchanges and a sharing of findings but also of experiences. It is when we talk about experiences that people can formulate the complexity of a situation, of a phenomenon, and in so doing, produce new knowledge. ECOVIP forces its participants to find a logic of identification and to identify solutions already invented in the field. Only experience allows to accept that solutions always have a limit, which is in contradiction with the principle of creating "answer for all" responses.

Finally, there is the importance of the dimension of political interpellation. Indeed, politics must set itself the goal of advocating for modalities, for places that

once again fulfill this function of "making place," "making asylum," and "welcoming function." Although the current challenge is first and foremost to maintain what exists, the period can also be propitious for making political demands to governemental organizations for other practices. The political questioning that has already taken place has often disappointed the groups of professionals who initiated it, due to their weak operational scope and a feeling of disinterest in the feedback. Nevertheless, it seems imperative to continue digging into this thread and there may be room for progress, for example, types of support, discourse, and communication.

The starting point of this action research is the inefficiency of multiple synthesis reports, notes or summaries for elected officials, within municipal teams in charge of social issues of precarity and invisibility. This observation is all the more worrying because the social issues concerned are urgent in nature, because these documents are written by competent project managers who are experienced in this type of production, and because each of them has cost many hours of work paid for by public funds. The observation of inefficiency is not new, but it seems to be increasing and, moreover, it leads to a second observation: the invisibility is no longer only that of precarious people, it also characterizes the very content of the briefing notes. We can thus risk the hypothesis that invisibility is present at two levels: firstly, that of the people concerned, i.e. those whose trace is lost through the administrative channels due to their inadequacies; secondly, that of the analysts, i.e. the people mandated by the public authorities to establish the facts (meet the populations concerned), collect the data, analyze them and propose argued solutions (Dewey, 1927).

This feeds the reflection on the inefficiency of the democratic chain of ascent. It can be formulated as follows: regarding the problem of invisibilization, its causes and possible solutions, how can we produce documents that can be performative, that is to say, that lead to the taking into account, to the placing on the agenda, by "the political" of the reality of the problems, the analyses and the proposed solutions in the production of multiple forms of discourse?

In fact, this deterioration of the end of the working period has affected the life paths of the pre-old to the point of producing, within the reception structures, a new cause in its own right of demand for psychosocial assistance, for which it is necessary to prepare both on the clinical side and in terms of coordination with the entire reception network.

Discussion

From precarities to social disaffiliation

Since 2020, the terms used in ECOVIP have evolved from the notion of precarities, to the issue of invisibilization and then to social disaffiliation, as is shown in the empirical data. The analysis of the pre-old people allows for a better understanding of a process of social disaffiliation. These terms do not replace each other chronologically, but their evolution reflects the complexity of the phenomenon at work. Vulnerability, for example, which took precedence a few years ago, has not been able to replace the term precarity, which has been extended to a public that was not previously identified as precarious. Precarity (Faurie et al., 2008) spreads in all environments, which is particularly noticeable with the pre-old people. ECOVIP's observation is that only the structures or professionals practicing "asylum" escape this production of invisibility.

The links between precarity and poverty are recurrent, the two terms often being used in an undifferentiated way by the authors. There is a difference between recognizing oneself as precarious according to sociological criteria and "feeling precarious." If the complexity of defining precarity and recognizing the precarious is real, several guidelines can nevertheless be identified. The most salient one, without doubt, refers to the need to approach precarity in terms of "process" and no longer "state." It is necessary to rely on a multidimensional approach to precarity; it is also necessary to take into account the subjective dimension of people in a precarious situation, in order to go beyond "a purely statistical and categorical count;" and it is necessary not to isolate precarious people from the social system in which they are embedded.

Also perceptible is the fact that precarity is defined "in hollow" and "in the absence of." Finally, the notions of fragility and instability attached to the primary definition of precarity are detectable and have repercussions in several areas of existence.

In terms of social disaffiliation linked to the urban environment, the public space has become a space to be re-tamed, generating anxiety, fear and sometimes triggering a syndrome nicknamed "cabin syndrome," to describe the withdrawal into one's own home, induced by the crisis, but not overcome when the lockdowns were lifted.

There is therefore a cluster of indicators describing the disintegration of the social link in all or part of its initial components: professional, place of residence, family and friendship links, which the authors describe as social disaffiliation. This corresponds to forms of precarities that are experienced but not necessarily objective, to invisibilization and to a process of loss of connection due to the health crisis.

Performativity of the socio-technical system

As mentioned in the methods section, ECOVIP is a socio-technical system, including humans and actants as well. An actant, according to Passeron (2001: 25), is "a descriptive concept capable of founding the empirical program of a description of a singular process – in this case, the syntagmatic thread of discourse in the unfolding of speech – a program that closely articulates the semantic interactions between the structure of a system and the choices of its users, as well as between all the operations that are possible in the syntax of the system."

The successive conclusions of ECOVIP draw their legitimacy from the socio-technical system of action research (Akrich, 2006) by relying on actors and stakeholders who make the exchanges and conclusions drawn from them performative. The approach called hermeneutics in the sense of C. Dubar (2007) determines the framework of use of the research axes mobilized and founds the legitimacy of the teachings produced by ECOVIP.

ECOVIP also stands in opposition to the traditional methods used in work groups, webinars and other approaches to the same types of subjects. The classic methods, either of presentation of studies via PowerPoints, or of brainstorming and ideation, as practised in a design thinking process, constitute the participants as recipients of a pre-existing knowledge, whereas ECOVIP is conceived to build this knowledge together. This is how the classic postures of systematically accumulating the same observations and the same obstacles are overcome, particularly with regard to the question of resources and working conditions in the psychosocial sector.

Conclusion

Thanks to the technique of action-research based on free speaking structured workshops, as well as to the methods used (e.g., sociology of translation, psychosocial clinic, mapped data brought to discussion), this first year of the ECOVIP project has provided important results. Indeed, the three workshops that have been conducted turned out to be the scene of a co-production of meaning for the participants, permitting them to overcome a sense of overwhelming difficulties regarding the fight against precarity and invisibility. The hypothesis of a phenomenon of social disaffiliation accompanied by a new psychosocial suffering for the pre-old, particularly those living in working-class neighborhoods, was confirmed by the conversations. Finally, the use of the three types of narratives (vignettes, life stories and data stories) allowed for a collective elaboration of findings confirming the initial hypotheses

of pre-old social disaffiliation, and for the design of several innovations of practices to respond to the growing problem of precarity and invisibility, and to the needs for transformation of public policies.

Author Contributions

All authors listed have made a substantial, direct, and intellectual contribution to the work and approved it for publication.

Conflict of Interest

All authors declare that the research was conducted in the absence of any commercial or financial relationships that could be construed as a potential conflict of interest.

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Ethics Statement

The authors certifies that the research published in the text was carried out in accordance with the research ethics of the affiliated institutions (Ville de Lyon, CPCT, and Université Grenoble Alpes). The participants provided their written informed consent to participate in this study.

Research Data Availability Statement

The raw data supporting the conclusions of this paper will be made available by the authors, without undue reservation.

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