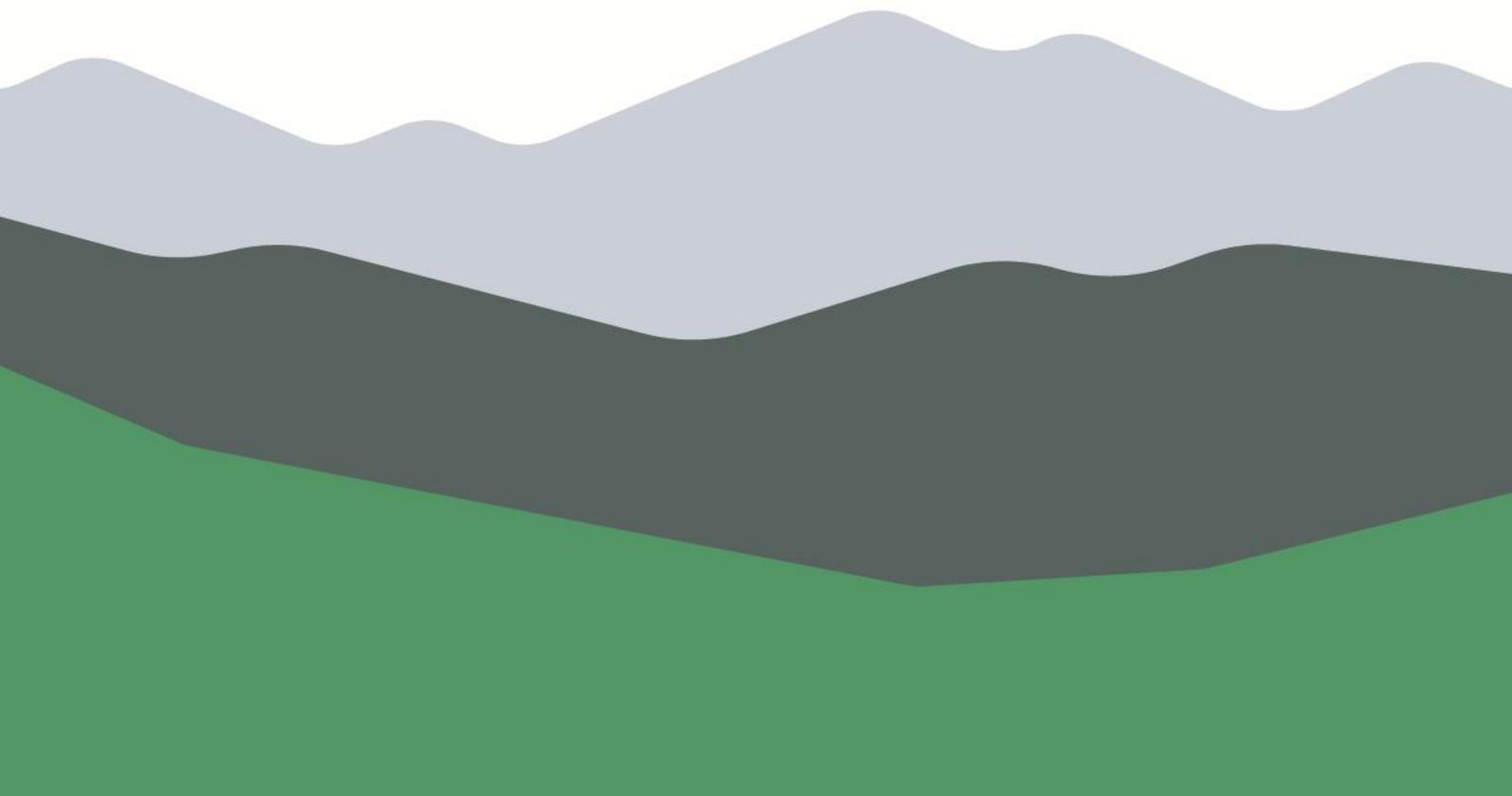# Mountain territories: testimonies about critical situations experienced and related emotions, identified obstacles and levers.

D.1.1.1 – Annex 1

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Contents

1   Introduction

The experience of la Fabrique des Transitions (PP13) has given rise to a strong conviction: **transition** is not an adjustment variable for existing public policies or a purely technical issue, but a more complex and systemic challenge, which calls for a change of model and imagination.

Thus, **leading the transition** requires a strong commitment, which involves a dream, a desire, the "shining star" that sets in motion. To continue the metaphor, there is also a need for "small white pebbles" that mark out the path to be followed, with small victories that maintain mobilisation.

Considering the need to radically change our systems of thought, our economic models, our institutions and our development trajectories, 'territories', in the sense of human communities woven from relationships, and thought of as multi-actor ecosystems, are key players in the transition to be led.

This is why it is crucial to take an interest in how the inhabitants of these territories (citizens, elected officials, local authority agents, social and economic **stakeholders** and State representatives) are being shaken up by climate disruption: how are they experiencing these upheavals? How are their functions being transformed at a time of transition? What are the challenges and obstacles they face and what levers can they use to act?

On the occasion of a collective intelligence workshop as part of the "Avenir Montagne Ingénierie" support program conducted in January 2023 with 62 French mountain territories with the ANCT (Agence Nationale de Cohésion des Territoires), la Fabrique des Transitions gathered the testimonies of mountain territory actors (elected officials, agents of local authorities, associations and companies) on the critical situations they experience related to climate change, the emotions they arouse and the obstacles and levers for action identified by those actors.

The exercise aimed to illustrate concretely and locally the consequences of overstepping planetary limits, not by analysing in a technical and scientific manner the effects of the degradation of the major biogeochemical cycles, but by observing the way in which the **territorial actors, individually and collectively, experienced and perceived these disruptions.**

2 Critical situations, causes and consequences

A critical situation can be defined as the disappearance of a resource and/or of an asset (ecological, economic, social, etc.), which results in tensions, and sometimes jeopardises the continuation of the socio-economic model, and even the future of the territory.

The two most recurrent manifestations of critical situations are linked to the effects of climate disruption on the territory, more precisely the **tensions around water resources** and the **rise in temperatures**, both linked to other disruptions of the major biogeochemical cycles of the Earth system.

2.1 A shorter and more discontinuous snow period

In particular, the **lack of snow** in winter is a recurrent critical situation shared by mountain local actors, having a considerable negative impact on tourist flows.

In a context of strong dependence on snow-related winter tourism, these climatic phenomena call into question the local tourist economy and the financial equilibrium of the actors who depend on it. They also give rise to a collective awareness that leads to the beginnings of a reflection on an **alternative and diversified economic and tourist model** (e.g., emphasis on culture and heritage, development of activities that are not dependent on snow...).

Statements of workshop participants:

"The low snowfall delays the opening of the resorts and puts the staff out of work. It also leads elected officials and tourists to be more sensitive to non-skiing activities: cycle tourism, heritage, etc."

"The low snowfall led to low activity, service providers slowing down, a loss of contracts for seasonal workers... We were in low spirits. We had to think together and really implement a plan B. It was a wake-up call."

"The low snowfall caused stress and anxiety among those involved in tourism. There were fewer skiers on the slopes and therefore fewer economic benefits. We had to try to think more about diversification and raise awareness."

2.2   Drought

Another common critical situation that was strongly mentioned, linked to snow cover levels, is the **low level of lakes and rivers**.

In addition to the lengthening of low water periods in mountain rivers and the drying up of certain springs, the low water level in lakes, and in particular in dam lakes, has multiple consequences:

- Lower energy production capacity,
- Restrictions on water use,
- Risk to the drinking water supply of mountain areas and downstream areas, especially urban centres,
- Reduction in tourist flows and/or impossibility of practising certain activities (swimming, rafting, canyoning, hydrospeed, etc.)

This echoes situations of **water stress** and **drought**, which are among the most frequently mentioned critical situations. Summer drought, caused by **low rainfall** and **rising temperatures**, is a frequent occurrence, and with it the increased risk of **fire**.

This growing risk, which is a multi-faceted and global threat to territorial ecosystems, is mentioned by a majority of stakeholders. It has systemic consequences on forests and biodiversity, on tourism and on the territorial economic balance (e.g., sharp drop in tourist numbers, closure of mountain ranges), on pastoralism and agriculture (e.g., drop in agricultural production, drop in product quality), for which irrigation is becoming a problem. The water restrictions which are therefore imposed create major proven or latent conflicts of use: To what should be priority given? The supply of drinking water for the inhabitants, animal husbandry, crop irrigation, artificial snow production, hydroelectricity production, leisure activities, etc.? In addition to water shortages, the negative impacts of rising temperatures on water quality are also mentioned (water unfit for consumption or bathing, fish mortality, loss of biodiversity in rivers, etc.).

The lack of water can also lead to extreme situations and create real traumas, when, for example, certain mountain villages ran out of drinking water and had to bring it in by tanker trucks.

Statements of workshop participants:

"The three heat waves this summer had an impact on agriculture and forestry, especially with fires and gullying. This has led to torrential rains afterwards. And at the same time, it lengthened the tourist season: the All Saints' Day holidays were very busy."

"With the drought, the lakes were dried up and there were water restrictions for everyone: this affected the farmers."

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> *"For the first time, some springs dried up."*
>
> *"The waterless river aroused the curiosity of the inhabitants and an over-frequentation of its dried-up bed to the detriment of the environment. The transformed landscapes were amazing."*
>
> *"I have never experienced such low water levels in lakes and dams. This raises the question of energy production."*
>
> *"The drought brings energy and industrial risks for the hydraulic dams and the cooling of the nuclear power plants that our territory hosts and feeds."*
>
> *"Part of the territory had no more drinking water. And there were impacts on hydroelectricity production."*
>
> *"The problem of water storage generates controversy."*
>
> *"The search for coolness with heat waves also leads to population movements from cities to the mountains."*
>
> *"Global warming opens up new areas for mountaineering but also brings dangers, particularly the risk of collapses. Safety has to be rethought. And this entails major expenses."*

2.3 A growing awareness for the need to change the stances and models

Thus, these numerous critical situations caused by the disruption of the water cycle and the rise in average temperatures are profoundly modifying mountain ecosystems. They lead to constraints and roadblocks, but they also activate fundamental considerations on the growing need for changing actors' stances, for new initiatives and for new modes of governance.

> Statements of workshop participants:
>
> *"The drought generates usage conflicts: between fire protection and the storage of drinking water in the use of cisterns, between irrigation and the maintenance of low water levels... It also raises the question of territorial solidarity between the watershed area and the downstream area. This made us aware of the fact that we had to think about access to water points in the mountains. And to change our attitude towards the State: we can now put forward solutions that were completely unheard of before."*
>
> *"The summer drought forced us to increase the frequency and volume of water releases upstream, but we do not have the possibility of optimising them because of the price of electricity. This situation has revived the inter-territorial governance bodies on water management."*
>
> *"The problem of water resources and the supply of certain villages has led to discussions on a new scale and a decompartmentalization."*
>
> *"The closing of certain massifs during the summer period due to the risk of fire has led to over-frequentation of other sites and has obliged us to rework the closing orders by involving the elected representatives more closely."*
>
> *"The water source flow depends on rainfall, a situation that we do not control and which generates stress.*

Professional activities have been regulated but the overall quantity of water used has not changed. We have met several times to discuss the situation: a dialogue has been created and solutions have been considered."

"The lack of water has forced us to install water tanks at high altitudes to water livestock, leading to additional costs for farmers but also to considerations about how to use water."

"The drought is causing health problems in our forests with the development of bark beetles. It also generates goodwill and vigilance among the inhabitants: the population is involved, for example, in the cleaning of the irrigation canals."

"The permanent inhabitants and the public players have become aware of the issues related to water. There is still information and infrastructure work to be done for others."

"The drought has had very visible effects and the public has become aware of the issue: I dare to hope that they waste less! And it's doing the water harvesting business well! Ideas are germinating to recover wastewater…".

"We now have droughts even in winter - and heatwaves in summer. This has consequences for water quality with the development of cyanobacteria and for uses with restrictions. And yet there is no awareness, individuals will limit their consumption only if they are obliged to."

2.4   Rising energy prices

More marginally, but mentioned by several territories, the rise in energy prices is also described as a critical situation. Indeed, the increase in this expense unbalances the budgets of local authorities, weakening their investment capacity, and challenges the opening and maintenance of certain tourism infrastructures (e.g., ski resorts).

This increase in the price of energy has also effects that are considered rather positive by the actors: awareness of the strong dependence on energy, of the need for sobriety and efficiency, questioning of certain activities that use too much energy, etc.

Statements of workshop participants:

"The energy crisis and the increase in bills are putting a strain on the budgets of local authorities, businesses and households who are applying for state aid. There are supply difficulties through the SDE. This makes us aware of our dependence and we have set up numerous energy saving actions. We also want to develop the production of renewable energy on our territory."

"The cost of energy could call into question energy-intensive activities. This leads to efforts in terms of consumption."

"Rising energy costs are causing economic difficulties but are also leading to greater efficiency."

"The energy issue raises confrontations of interests and requires a democratic debate for better management."

"The price of energy has an impact on the municipal budget."

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2.5   Loss of biodiversity

Similarly, many critical situations such as the **loss of biodiversity** in the mountains are mentioned, with the disappearance of forest stands, the fragmentation of biotopes or the high mortality of bees. This loss is partly caused by rising temperatures, droughts and fires, as mentioned above. The problem of bark beetles in forests is also widely quoted as a cause of the decline of many trees, and as a dangerous factor in forests.

Statements of workshop participants:

"The forest stands are disappearing. This changes a landscape that was part of our identity. It will take time to see a new, more resilient forest. At the same time, it was a man-made forest, vulnerable, with little diversity."

"The presence of bark beetles in the forests is forcing us to cut down trees and prohibit hiking because of the risk of falls. How can we stop this slaughter?"

"Drought and bark beetles are making the forest wither: we have to make massive safety cuts and there are tree falls."

"Torrential rains and water releases are causing increased turbidity in the rivers and high fish mortality."

"There is a problem of diversity and fragmentation of the biotope, including bee mortality. This leads to a decrease in pollination and a decrease in production for beekeepers and farmers, as it also has impacts on fodder production."

"The bear is disappearing."

2.6   Too many tourists at the same places

The **excessive tourist attendance** is also identified as a critical situation by several actors, particularly the concentration of visitors on a small number of sites or the multiplication of unauthorised campsites. Although being a good sign in terms of tourist attractiveness, they pose numerous problems such as the saturation of car parks, car traffic jams, the widening of paths, inappropriate behaviour, conflicts of use, anger of the locals, etc.

Statements of workshop participants:

"There are traffic jams on the way down from the ski resorts. This has a negative impact on air quality. It is a waste of time for the inhabitants, who have difficulties in accessing the area."

"The overcrowding of the road access leads to conflicts of use, with an increase in the number of accidents and difficulties of access for the locals. This affects their acceptance of tourists. At the same time, economic activity is increasing.

"The volume of waste is increasing, causing management difficulties for the municipality: the cost of collecting household waste is increasing and local consumption is decreasing, as tourists bring their products.

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> *Nevertheless, tourism in the mountains is becoming cleaner: there is less environmental pollution."*
>
> *"Some mountain roads are overcrowded, causing widening of paths and parking difficulties that annoy tourists. At the same time, this is a sign of good attractiveness."*
>
> *"Over-frequentation and wild camping in natural sites lead to anger from locals and conflicts of use with farmers: it has impacts on pastures. Some behaviours are inappropriate in the mountains."*

2.7   Lack of housing, closure of local shops.

A grouping of critical situations linked to the supply of housing and services can also be observed. Some territories are facing the closure of collective accommodation (retirement, closure following the difficulties of the Covid period), persistent difficulties in housing for inhabitants and seasonal workers (structural difficulties, accentuated by the increase in visitor numbers observed after Covid), and the closure of local shops (the fall in purchasing power, particularly linked to the increase in fuel and energy prices, is penalising local food shops).

> Statements of workshop participants:
>
> *"Locals have difficulties in finding housing: rents and land prices are increasing, even if this has also allowed the renovation of housing, especially thermal rehabilitation creating energy savings."*
>
> *"The ageing of tourism actors is leading to the closure of accommodation."*
>
> *"Due to the closure of hotels in the valleys this winter, there was no more accommodation available for tourists and for workers who had to go out of the valley for accommodation."*
>
> *"The development of attractiveness after Covid allowed the renovation of the abandoned hotel stock. But this has amplified the difficulties of housing for seasonal workers."*
>
> *"The price of energy creates supply problems for local traders. It also creates an incentive to consume locally."*
>
> *"Rising energy prices are driving consumers to supermarkets to reduce food costs and this is causing local shops to close."*

2.8   Other critical situations

Other critical situations, less shared but nevertheless mentioned by several territories, have also to be highlighted:

- Firstly, the presence of **predators** (bear, wolf) causes tense situations in some areas, particularly for the activity of farmers and especially during grazing period.

- Secondly, more localised, but no less critical for the territories concerned, **geological events** were mentioned. This is the case of landslides, ground movements and collapses, which cause significant material damage and population displacement.
- Furthermore, the critical situation of the reception of Ukrainian refugees as well as the increase in waste were also mentioned.

Statements of workshop participants:

"The presence of predators (wolves or bears depending on the area) is a risk for farmers and for tourists who try to get close to them. Tourists are also bitten by dogs and this creates conflicts. The situation is tense, even if it generates a certain attractiveness."

"The development of the wolf leads to damage on the mountain pastures and the concern of the breeders for their herds, despite the accompanying measures."

"The collapse at "Pas de l'Ours" cut off road access to two villages for 20 months. There were no victims but it cost 28 million euros in work and we lost two tourist seasons. At the same time, it generated contracts for local public works companies and strengthened solidarity for supplies, school, etc."

"Land movements imply relocating certain populations who refuse to do so, because of their attachment to their land and their fear of losing their freedom."

"We need to review the democratic methods in France. Rather than stigmatisation, single-mindedness and conflict, we need to encourage citizen engagement."

"The reception of Ukrainian refugees has strengthened solidarity but it is also a situation that settles over time and has costs."

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3   Emotions

3.1   Fear and anxiety.

Faced with the numerous critical situations mentioned by the territorial actors, it is a feeling of **fear** and **concern** that dominates, faced with natural elements that disappear, with changes that appear very quickly, to such an extent that they are sometimes experienced as a **shock**, with **stupefaction**. These emotions are expressed through a range of words and nuances that reveal both a sharing of similar affects but also the expression of singular feelings, specific to each person. The concepts of eco-anxiety and solastalgia[1] were widely expressed.

Statements of workshop participants:

"The phenomena announced are coming true, with temperatures never seen before. It's worrying, the predictions are coming true."

"It's a shock, the crises are multiplying. We are in a phase of mourning, even if we are not all at the same stage between elected representatives, socio-professionals…"

"The "épisodes cévenols" (mediterranean weather event with thunderstorms, strong winds and very heavy rains) scare me. We have to be resilient and manage the waterways to cope with the big floods."

"It is the disappearance of natural elements that we thought were immutable. The change is rapid. How do we react, adapt? It's scary. It scares me."

"I'm worried about the behaviour of secondary residents: access to land and property is difficult. It's a cultural problem."

"Among the breeders, there is anger and pain in relation to the wolves. The public authorities are not doing the right thing, they feel they are misunderstood."

"I am worried about the communities of municipalities. But my concern is mostly individualistic."

"There is a risk of individualisation, of withdrawal, of difficulty in accepting the constraints linked to others."

"With the floods, the lines of major rivers may be redrawn. We will have to adapt."

"Are we able to keep up with the speed of change?"

"The lack of water scares us."

"What actions are possible for future generations? This is worrying."

"We are afraid of losing our natural resources."

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[1] „A form of homesickness experienced when one has not moved, but one's environment has changed",
https://en.wiktionary.org/wiki/solastalgia#:~:text=Coined%20by%20Australian%20philosopher%20and,algia%20(%E2%80%9Cpain%E2%80%9D

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> *"I'm worried, we have to change our ways of doing things."*
>
> *"We're taking it in the face, it's staggering."*
>
> *"Floods risk isolating villages."*
>
> *"The changes scare me."*
>
> *"The old economic models worry me."*
>
> *"We are surprised, we are not used to such a dense drought."*
>
> *"It's terrifying! It is chilling..."*

3.2 Anger

Also, many mention a strong feeling of **anger**, with even **forms of hostility** and animosity towards certain populations or categories of actors (towards the State or those who finance infrastructures that reproduce the same model, from the local population towards tourists).

> Statements of workshop participants:
>
> *"There is animosity from the local population towards tourists and their impacts: over-frequentation, waste, environment, cars..."*
>
> *"There are different sensitivities, inappropriate behaviours and above all a lot of ignorance about good practices, behaviours adapted to natural environments. I wonder a lot: people continue to do as if nothing had happened and set up projects that no longer make sense by mobilising public funds. Things could have been anticipated! Today, we are financing projects that will strengthen the problem, for economic reasons..."*
>
> *"It's the ostrich policy!*
>
> *"There are disrespectful behaviours that can come from both tourists and locals!*
>
> *"The water releases have angered the fishermen!"*
>
> *"There is an awareness that should have happened and is not happening, actions that are not happening!"*
>
> *"It's a water war! There are tensions both between the population and the farmers and between neighbouring farmers!"*
>
> *"It is us in the mountains who manage the water and pay for it! The beneficiaries in the plains only benefit from it!"*
>
> *"It is a catastrophe for biodiversity! In three generations there will be no more wildlife! This must push us to act!"*
>
> *"We could have acted much earlier..."*
>
> *"Grrr, I'm fed up!"*
>
> *"New audiences have come in for expediency. The department next door didn't react in the same way, it created*

an injustice."

3.3 Sadness, helplessness and denial

Alongside these affects, two opposite reactions emerged from the discussions. Some people see in these rapid changes a form of **fatality** and feel **powerless**, helpless, lacking the power to act to deal with what is happening on their territory.

Statements of workshop participants:

"I feel helpless and frustrated when faced with situations that can't be helped..."

"The snow will come eventually! That's how it is... If you don't work, there's nothing you can do about it."

"That's the way it is."

"There's nothing we can do at the moment, we're helpless and sad."

"I have the feeling that it's going to be hard to do, that it's going to be insurmountable."

"It's a situation we can't do anything about. And that resignation can turn into resentment."

"There is a lack of anticipation. We are taking the wall head on!"

"What can we do? It affects our economies. Will we manage to adapt? How are we going to do it? The observation is shared, but in concrete terms, how can we do otherwise?"

"There is fatalism about the lack of snow. And denial too: it's not a problem of snow but a problem of management. This depresses, demobilises and blocks us from the future."

"We are helpless, defeatist. Without snow it's not the same, the passion is diminishing. It questions the meaning of our activities and lowers our motivation."

"We are discouraged, our missions have lost their meaning.

"It is difficult to accept situations with such strong impacts."

"We are not involved enough, it is sad.

"This lack of power to act makes us suffer.

"It is staggering and therefore paralysing."

3.4 Hope

On the other hand, those situations produce **hope** and **desire** to be able to change things at last and to do things better, in other ways. The awareness imposed by these events and critical situations is then experienced as an "***unhealthy satisfaction***", which is quite paradoxical, as it gives rise to both unpleasant

emotions such as anxiety, but also a drive towards a positive dynamic. Here too, the conference was able to shed light on the role of emotions, and the associated sense of empowerment or helplessness, in engaging in actions that require transformative change.

Statements of workshop participants:

"I am satisfied to see that we are getting somewhere by working together. There is a DNA of solidarity in the mountains which means that we will find solutions. There is a high level of commitment at the local level, it doesn't take much to get people moving. This is the incredible strength of the collective."

"Among the socio-professionals, we have finally found a trigger to work together: consultation dynamics have been launched. We can work together, although we still need to find out how."

"It's an opportunity for emulation, for setting the territory in motion around a future project. We have to find something that attracts us to change."

"We need to re-mobilise, bring together the living forces and diversify the activities so as not to make the same mistakes again."

"We are becoming aware that we cannot continue as we are, that we have to change things."

"It's a revival. There are also more tourists following the Covid. And it expands the season, for some activities it's an economic revival. There is potential."

"I have faith in engineering and creativity. This awareness will help mobilise."

"Visitors have integrated that there are other seasons, other activities. The ski resorts have started thinking about this."

"I'm keen to see the '4 seasons' model emerging. I'm excited about the idea of creating!"

"This situation creates a social link: there are more exchanges with tourists."

"Finally, we are becoming aware!"

"It motivates me to act."

"The dynamic is positive."

"It forces people to become aware."

"It makes me willing to do things!"

"The snow has fallen! What a relief!"

"We have become aware that snow is not automatic."

"There is mutual support and progress among the locals, whether they are elected or residents."

"It's stimulating. The changes are complicated but the awareness is strong."

"This awareness changes behaviour and encourages solidarity."

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4   Obstacles and levers

The actors of the territories present agree that the critical situations mentioned, and the context of climate change more generally, call for **necessary changes that are both plural, global and local**. The notions of change and **adaptation of territories** are omnipresent. The **need** for these changes thus seems to be consensual, witnessing a **shared awareness** of the different actors and a desire to move away from the existing model.

4.1   Global changes

In the case of the involved mountain territories, this involves, more concretely, a desire for **ambitious general changes** that cannot be achieved without changes in behaviour, mentalities, and our ways of thinking and acting: getting out of abundance and excess, building a real transition strategy, re-founding the territory's project, giving up what we have known, thinking about new economic models, getting out of existing models, rediscovering a sense of common interest, rethinking the link between man and nature, being more frugal, developing renewable energies, relearning how to live with uncertainty, preparing for unforeseen events, etc.

> Statements of workshop participants:
>
> *"We have to give up what we have known in order to invent what comes next: continuing to develop according to the same economic model will not work, we have to diversify."*
>
> *"Faced with our short-term vision, which is too focused on the economy, we must systematically ask ourselves the question of long-term impacts by mobilising experts to provide insights if necessary."*
>
> *"We need to think about new economic models to get away from the mono-activity of snow and no longer consider that resources are infinite."*
>
> *"We need to review the links between man and nature, change our way of functioning, our way of using nature for our own purposes. We must be more frugal in our way of being."*
>
> *"We must invent a model that is more adapted to climate change and therefore more sober, wiser, within the limits of resources."*
>
> *"We must change our way of thinking and acting, invent a new model, not reproduce the methods of the past, including among elected officials."*
>
> *"We must develop renewable energies and rely on technology."*
>
> *"We must look for more sustainable models."*
>
> *"We must get out of consumption and learn to live again! We need to get out of excess, waste, lack of communication... We are playing sorcerer's apprentice!"*

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> *"We must return to common sense, learn to live and save again."*
>
> *"We need to change the model: stop the 'all-snow' approach and the expectation of economic benefits from white gold."*
>
> *"We need to write a new vision of the mountain, through stories that take into account all its components: it existed before skiing and will continue to exist."*
>
> *"We need to get away from the rhetoric about the economic model of ski resorts: they also create deficits. The real results of ski resorts are not always put forward. We need a neutral diagnosis."*
>
> *"We need to shed light on the situation in a factual manner, with new content and knowledge such as the regenerative or symbiotic economy. There are no standardised solutions because they would create new competition between territories: we need to rethink new trajectories from our territory."*
>
> *"We must review our place in the ecosystem, be prepared for hazards, cultivate the culture of uncertainty: other collapses are to come, we must be humble and vigilant, anticipate or acquire monitoring tools.*
>
> *"Change our economic model and our society based on consumption. Be humble in the face of nature."*

4.2   Specific changes

This also involves **changes that are more related to the specific territorial characteristics**, but which are no less important and ambitious: diversifying tourist activities, proposing mobility solutions adapted to the influx of tourists, adapting water management, adapting pastoralism, adapting tourist flows, inventing new stories about the economic model of ski resorts, developing activities that are not dependent on snow.

> Statements of workshop participants:
>
> *"We need to help local associations to develop other outdoor activities, to bring in new activities because the local workforce is no longer enough at this stage."*
>
> *"We need to develop more respectful activities, so-called 'soft' activities."*
>
> *"We need to put in place methodologies to avoid making the same mistakes: for example, proposing mobility solutions that are better adapted to large crowds and have less impact on the environment."*
>
> *"Faced with the problems posed by dogs protecting flocks, it is necessary to promote awareness, exchange and education and to set up night watchmen and surveillance equipment."*
>
> *"Faced with the risk of fires, we are re-settling goat and sheep breeders near hamlets and villages."*
>
> *"How can we finance exemplary actions that provide leverage? The local levers are undersized in relation to the situation and sometimes ineffective in the face of change."*
>
> *"We need to modify the paths to limit the risks and protect biodiversity. And do it in cooperation with the hiking clubs because it will impact them."*
>
> *"The role of eco-guards or eco-guides is crucial in education and awareness raising, especially for tourists."*

> *"We need to review water management between upstream and downstream, as well as pastoralism and tourist flows."*
>
> *"We need to carry out resilience diagnoses in the territories, which take into account the risks but also the history of the territory, to put it into perspective."*
>
> *"We must never forget where we come from, keep in mind what the territory has been."*
>
> The changes mentioned are presented as **far-reaching** and **urgent**.

4.3   Towards better cooperation between actors and territory

To initiate these changes and adaptations, the actors very often evoke **the strength and necessity of the collective**, of collective intelligence. They therefore advocate the introduction or strengthening of "*federated, cooperative and/or integrated modes of governance*", organised around different forms of **cooperation**.

On the one hand, many mention cooperation with other territories. They advocate the need for cooperation between municipalities, to move from the very local to working in communities of municipalities and/or countries. Also, the support of the municipal level by the regions and departments is mentioned.

> Statements of workshop participants:
>
> *"We need to consult with all the institutional actors, at local and regional level, as well as with civil society, associations, private actors and in particular services and businesses."*
>
> *"We need to change the scale: from local to the communities of municipalities or the Pays. This requires a willingness to share with institutions on the part of elected representatives."*
>
> *"The PETR project must be recast. It is an opportunity to include the transition in all the actions and to be at the service of the inter-municipalities."*
>
> *"We must work in cooperation with the other territories, there is a dialogue to be built."*
>
> *"The PETR is a scale that works well."*
>
> *"To get out of the existing models, we need to adopt the local level as the scale of activation and change, while being careful about withdrawal. We must think on the scale of the massifs."*
>
> *"The link between local governance and the State is important to find good governance according to the subjects and places."*
>
> *"The people 'from Paris' are too far from the territories, we need to listen more to local elected representatives."*
>
> *"We need to move away from an individualistic attitude towards a joint territorial project."*
>
> *"Thinking in terms of the territory makes it possible to arbitrate, particularly on future developments."*

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On the other hand, it is above all a cooperation between the populations and all the actors of the territories to collectively lead the necessary changes that is evoked. The actors interviewed advocate, almost in unison, a change that will come through **a greater cooperation between the actors in the territorie**s and through a reconstruction of local, **participatory democracy**, with greater involvement of the inhabitants. They call for the reestablishment of links and the co-construction of solutions adapted to each territory, in particular through "*multi-actor project groups*" and consultations with all actors.

Statements of workshop participants:

"We need to act locally by experimenting and innovating to get people on board. The mayor can be a facilitator. We need to deal with this together, to cross the views, to make links with researchers for example."

"We need to rebuild links, break down divides and co-construct solutions adapted to each territory that meet the local and primary needs of the populations, for example by devoting a share of the operating budgets or State financial contributions to territorial animation. The local authorities are trained in this."

"We need a real transition strategy and to know what we are putting behind it, as well as a strong political commitment to adapt as well as possible and avoid picking up the pieces, relying on collective intelligence, scientific data, and tourist awareness."

"Collective and participatory modes of governance must be established, working on trust by informing, gathering, sharing."

"We need to set up consultation bodies to share the issues and seek the best compromises because today everyone defends their own interests, there is a lack of understanding by the different parties of the problems of others."

"We need to develop participatory democracy, awareness-raising meetings, but also show concrete results that contradict preconceived ideas."

"We need to set up multi-stakeholder project groups (socio-professionals, elected representatives, agents, etc.), and rely on the field expertise of local stakeholders and citizens, etc. Local consultation bodies provide added value."

"We need to engage in partnership work with more solidarity in order to create toolboxes."

"We need greater involvement and mobilisation of inhabitants, elected representatives... Sharing information to avoid feelings of exclusion and misunderstanding."

"We need to create development councils, without elected representatives but with representatives of socio-professionals and associations, to consult them and hear their needs."

"We must include consultation, even if it makes decision-making take longer."

"We need to break down barriers, particularly between elected representatives, socio-professionals and residents, to encourage collective intelligence and boldness. We need spaces for sharing and exchange, especially face-to-face."

"We need to talk to each other: people should not be subjected to decisions but should be actors. The approach must be shared and participatory."

"The use of mediators can help to calm tensions and allow everyone to express themselves. It is the role of the

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> *elected representative to allow this dialogue, to animate the territory."*
>
> *"It is necessary to co-construct with all the actors at all levels."*
>
> *"We need to strengthen meeting spaces, find common reference points, educate."*
>
> *"We must experiment and support those who do, share experiences, whether they are successful or not, to learn from them."*
>
> *"We need to think together rather than continue to suffer events. We must put an end to the 'every man for himself' mentality and encourage consultation and listening."*

4.4   Recovering a sense of common interest

In addition, many actors advocate communication, education and mediation in support of local authorities to organise the involvement of as many people as possible (population, civil society, associations, etc.), which is the basis for raising people's awareness and acquiring new knowledge and skills. This desire for cooperation, education and local democracy shows the importance of **human beings** in bringing about the necessary changes ("*investing in people*").

> Statements of workshop participants:
>
> *"We must put people back at the heart of the system and no longer the economy."*
>
> *"We must put an end to abundance, to the every man for himself, to the defence of particular interests, by raising the awareness of resource users, by developing solidarity and new skills."*
>
> *"We need to rely on technicians, but also on sociologists, architectural firms, etc."*
>
> *"We must learn to work together with a common goal: we can no longer function for our own interest, we must rediscover a sense of common interest, through conviviality, solidarity."*

4.5   Obstacles

Although they are mentioned as levers for implementing the necessary changes, these elements also appear as **weaknesses** in the territories concerned. Thus, it emerged from the group discussions that this dimension of cooperation and even citizen participation is complex and difficult to deal with, **as it requires time, resources and expertise** (training) that local authorities and other players do not always have.

> Statements of workshop participants:
>
> *"'Soft' project developments are expensive and it is difficult to get the public to accept them."*

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"Fear of change and particular interests are obstacles."

"There are reactions of withdrawal, defence of particular interests, difficulties in understanding the points of view of others."

"Sharing and delegating power is difficult, in addition to issues of time and financial viability."

"Possession of power creates oversized egos."

"There is a political blockage: they are not necessarily ready to change the business model, to accept that we need to change direction."

"How do we prioritise our actions? We can't fund everything; negotiation is not easy.

"Beware of 'wish lists', it takes time."

"We lack the means, time and energy for consultation."

"It is difficult to wipe the slate clean! Previous conflicts come back."

"It's always the same people and we are quite powerless to go after the non-participants."

"Money, fear, withdrawal, change of habits… These are the brakes."

"The lack of financial means, whatever the theme, is omnipresent."

"Disinformation on the Internet radicalises positions. There is no dialogue possible."

"These are very divisive issues and we have lost the habit of democratic dialogue."

"People don't have enough confidence in elected representatives and there are oppositions."

"With the urgency, we don't take the time to step back and co-construct. We put on band-aids."

"It is the secondary residents who take over local democracy."

"There is no neutral entity that takes charge of the general interest, nor tools for managing the common. We lack common perspectives, unifying tools, a common vocabulary…"

"The fear of failure is very present, especially among elected officials, in relation to financial investments. How do we proceed if we make a mistake and invest a lot of money?"

"Project timeframes does not correspond to the timeframe of the elected representatives' mandates."

"Small projects are less easy to finance than large ones, whereas we should be looking for quality rather than quantity."
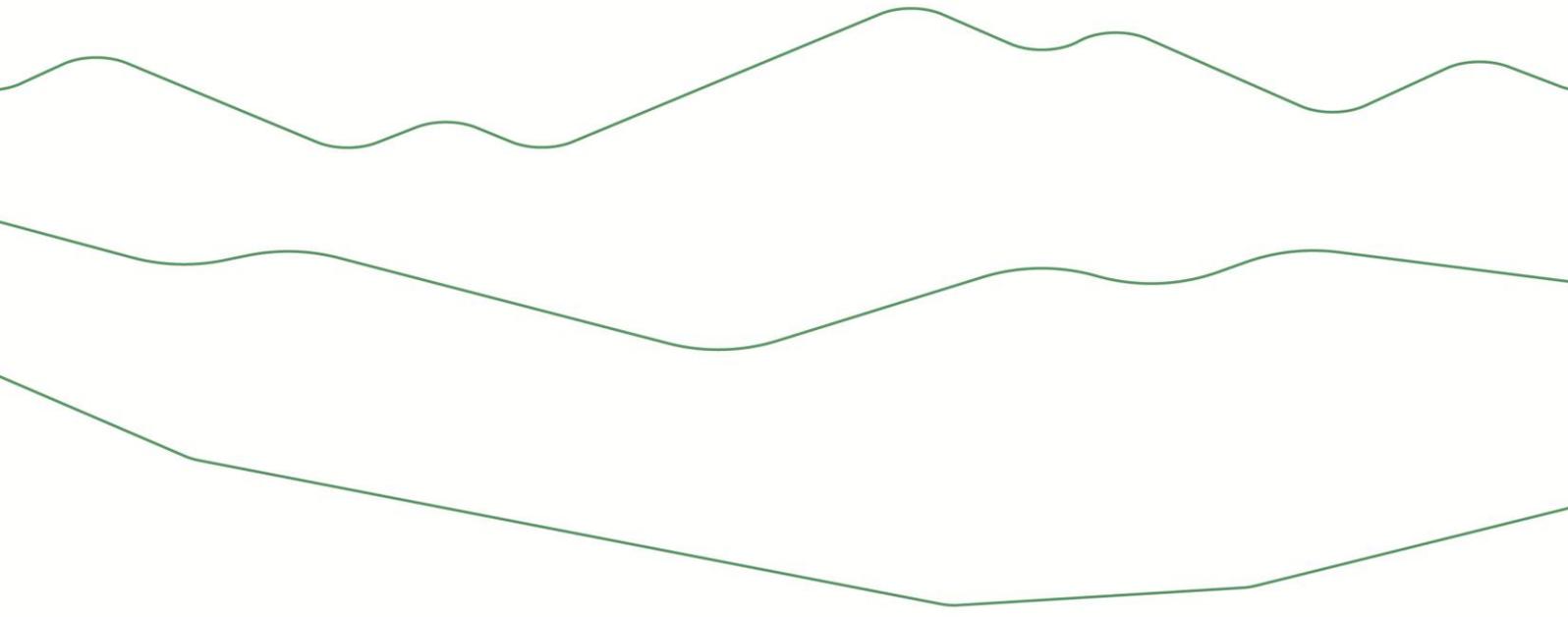
"Budgets are not sustainable over the long term."

"There is a difficulty in seeing positive points in the projected situation."

"We don't know what the alternative proposals are."

"It is difficult to change to another model when you are making a profit."

"The law sometimes blocks the necessary changes: some state services have a dogmatic vision and block projects."

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