GOVERNANCE CAPACITY

What is it - other than economic and ecological aspects - that prompts people to stay in the Alps or to move to the Alps? How can we consolidate the governance capacity of individuals and communities?

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1. INTRODUCTION

1.1. SOCIAL AND DEMOGRAPHIC CHANGE IN THE ALPS

Most Alpine regions have experienced remarkable demographic, socio-economic and cultural changes throughout the last few decades. To a certain extent these processes correspond with general patterns of modernisation, globalisation, enhanced mobility, accessibility or new openings of tele- and mass-communication. Moreover, national, regional and local concerns such as policy measures, administration, legal system or tradition may also play an important part for the specific development in the regions. The most important features can be highlighted as follows:

- The Alpine population has increased during the last fifty years from 10.8 to 14.3 mio. (1950-2000) inhabitants. This rate of demographic increase (32%) is higher than that of all Alpine countries taken as a whole (26%). This is a good indication for the high attractiveness of the Alps as a living space.

- However, the demographic situation is very heterogeneous: almost half of the municipalities lost inhabitants between 1950 and 1980 (and more than 80% in Piemont, Frioul, Dauphiné, and in some areas of the Grisons and the Styrian and Lower Austrian Limestone Alps); more than 30% of the municipalities lost population between 1981 and 2000. During both periods we can also observe an increase of population in urban areas within the Alps and in the most accessible places and valleys.

- Big flows of immigration have dramatically changed local societies, especially in and near Alpine and Peri-Alpine cities, and in tourist regions. This sometimes brought about very innovative social and political dynamics, sometimes conflicts between social groups (especially in periurban areas and in big ski resorts).

- Huge out-migration produced marginalization and abandonment in some regions (Southern French Alps, Alpine Piemont) and a disequilibrium and distortion of the social structure to such an extent that one could not talk about “local societies” any more.

- During the same period most Alpine countries - federal or not - adopted decentralisation and administrative acts which gave new competencies or official frames to municipalities. The Swiss “Mountain Investment Act”, the Italian “Communita Montane” and the French “Loi d’Orientation sur l’Aménagement et de Developpement Durable des Territoires” et “Loi sur l’Intercommunalité” encouraged local people and municipalities to discuss and implement policies at a regional scale. Despite the lack of related mountain specific programmes in Austria both the “Mountain Farmers Special Programme” addressing solely mountain farmers and the programme for “Independent Regional Development” which puts its emphasis on regional development in general (not exclusively in mountain regions), prove to have a positive impact on the promotion of local governance.
1.2. OBJECTIVES

The question-team 2 (QT2) has been asked to work on a notion and to answer two questions:

- The first question is closely related to the notion of “governance capacity” and aims at giving to it a very operational dimension: “How can we consolidate the governance capacity of individuals and communities?”
- The second question is of a different kind: “What is it - other than economic and ecological aspects - that prompts people to stay in the Alps or to move to the Alps?”». This question mainly deals with the notion of local and regional attractiveness.

The aim of this report is:

- to propose a precise and operational definition of governance capacity in building a general understanding of the relations between social structures and dynamics on the one hand, and governance and modes of government on the other.
- to propose an analysis of the relation between governance capacity and the local and regional attractiveness
- to present the state of the art of the academic literature on these topics
- to identify local and regional initiatives which can be seen as “good practices” with regard to good governance criteria
- to provide knowledge and conclusions that can be taken into account in the protocol “Population and Culture” of the Alpine Convention

1.3. PRELIMINARY CONSIDERATIONS

1.3.1. The contextual nature of “good governance” and its meaning for “governance capacity”

The common definition for governance adopted by all the members of the “Future in the Alps” programme is: “rules, processes and behaviour that affect the way in which individuals and institutions, public and private, manage their common affairs, particularly as regards openness, participation, effectiveness and coherence” (glossary)

All the members of the “Future in the Alps” programme, following the “White Book EC”, agreed on the idea that “good governance (...) includes openness and transparency of decisions, public participation, responsibility and clear distribution of roles, effectiveness of decisions through subsidiariness, coherence”.

“Good governance capacity” – as it is unanimously understood by all who have worked on this report - refers to the capacity of a local or regional society (including enterprises, institutions, etc.) to adopt such items and modes of governance.

However one should keep in mind that the idea, if not the notion, of good governance:

- used to be very different in earlier times, especially in the 1970’s: for example the belief in good and fair authority was different in the 1970’s from nowadays. Simultaneously the paradigms that stood behind those concepts have also changed. At that time the French way of creating ski resorts in the Alps was considered as a good practice for enhancing economic value-added without regard to losses and damages to the environment, biodiversity, landscapes and the fabric of local society. Knowing that attitudes, approaches and social patterns are in a permanent flux, we have to take into account that
the criteria for good governance - let’s say in 2020 - will probably be quite different from the present ones.
- may still differ among individuals, social groups and various stakeholders. There is no political consensus within the Alps on what kind of governance and of government should be promoted. There may be, from place to place, very different perceptions of what is the appropriate way for governing and decision-making. This diversity cannot simply be explained by opposing people who are desirous to keep power and people who are lacking (economic, institutional) power. For various reasons (political culture for example), some people and even whole communities may be rather reluctant to participate in democratic bottom-up processes out of various reasons. In these cases, “good governance” as defined earlier should be treated as a model, but not as a norm to be introduced anywhere without regard to local conditions.
- is fairly independent from major concepts used during the 1960s to 1980s, especially local development. Growth and development can take place without “good governance”, even with a very authoritarian conception of power and decision-making. Authoritarian decision-making processes can also be fairly successful just in regard to hard economic facts, though authoritarian decisions lack sustainability which will become obvious when e.g. the key actors drop out suddenly.

**QT2 postulate 1:** Since good governance and governance capacity are always related to historic and cultural contexts, both of them have to be regarded in a dynamic way. In this sense, the first criteria for assessing governance capacity may be adaptability to changing economic, political, institutional contexts and social resilience.

**QT2 postulate 2:** Since the conception of politics may differ, even at a local level, between individuals and groups, a second criteria for assessing governance capacity may be the ability of a local society to collectively and democratically discuss what is good (or relevant) and what is not good (or not relevant) in a given context or for a specific process, and, for the best, to agree with a common conception on this.

### 1.3.2. Governance capacity and (more or less) related notions:
- attractiveness, social cohesion, social capital, common interest and goods, etc.

The notion - “Governance capacity” - is not a scientific concept by itself. There is no common scientific agreement on what is a social capacity (as long as this capacity is not performed in specific action). Thus, there is also no agreement about the criteria of such a capacity. Thus there is no common scientific understanding on the meaning of governance capacity, while local development and governance itself is well-defined.

For these reasons, QT2 decided to focus on three interrelated concepts - social cohesion, social capital and common interest – postulating that these concepts could provide a good insight about the state of governance capacity when analysing a local or regional society.

- **Social cohesion** is “the capacity of a society to ensure the welfare of all its members, minimising disparities and avoiding polarisation. A cohesive society is a mutually supportive community of free individuals pursuing these common goals by democratic means.” (Report on Social and Economic Cohesion, European Union). **Social capital** refers to “connections among individuals – social networks and the norms of reciprocity and trustworthiness that
arise from them” (Robert Putnam, 1993). This notion is major in our work because of its efficiency to express the ability of individuals to generate and to operate interrelations among them, and thus, to enhance social dynamics within local development projects. Common interest is one of the basic concepts on which the analysis of the political dimension of any society is grounded. A society, whatever local, regional or national, for its generation, needs to define what is common between its members and how this “commonality” can become a basis for its political functioning. Common interest refers to how this society thinks about itself for being fair and sustainable. Common goods are the specific items that deserve to be (at least partly) managed by public policies in order to sustain common interest.

**QT2 Postulate 3:** The ability of a society to agree on common interest and goods, to develop social capital and to work for social cohesion are the main conditions for getting a good governance capacity.

**QT2 Postulate 4:** A good practice in governance is a practice appropriate to define and work on the common interest of the local people and environment, open to individual responsibility and involvement in public affairs, able to create collective participation and transparent public debate.

Taking into account all these considerations, QT2 has treated the two initial questions in a very different way.

**«What is it - other than economic and ecological aspects - that prompts people to stay in the Alps or to move to the Alps?»**

This second question QT2 was asked to answer is very empirical and relevant, especially since immigration and out-migration flows, and severe depopulation in remote areas appear to be striking problems. Living conditions, the integration of the societies and the well-being of the individuals in the Alps depend on infrastructure facilities, public services, etc. However, it is not easy to relate such a question to “governance capacity” and governance generally speaking. As a matter of fact, some very attractive places with strong immigration flows (resorts, tourist regions, urban outskirts, etc.) may have a very poor social cohesion, very low feeling of common interest and governance at the same time. On the other hand some places indicate an important loss of population - above all young people - such as Valposchiavo (Switzerland) or Cause Méjean (Massif Central, France), and despite that develop intensive social relations and common projects. Thus, local and regional attractiveness in the Alps appears to be rather independent from “governance capacity”. As decided during the first “Future in the Alps” meeting, this question has to be treated in a sophisticated way, considering social conditions and impacts for a better understanding of governance capacity.

**«How can we consolidate the governance capacity of individuals and communities?»**

To answer this question, QT2 decided to rely on social science experiences for identifying what kind of social features and dynamics could lead to “good governance capacity”. Then local initiatives with a presumably high quality of governance have been analysed for verifying the theoretical background by these examples.

When analysing the social features and dynamics, QT2 has adopted a very analytic method (see section 2, below) focusing on a set of social issues which are supposed to be key-factors for social cohesion.
2. Working Programme and Method

2.1. ORGANISATION OF THE WORK OF QT2

1. Initial Workshop of the enlarged project team and QT2 in Chur (6 and 7 July 2005), agreement on the main objectives of the team and the steps of our programme, proposition of complementary factors for the analysis of the QT2.

2. Gathering of the scientific literature on the selected topics for each of the three main linguistic areas of the Alps: bibliography, expert interviews, consultation of Internet databases.

3. Writing of analytic abstracts for each publication in order to organize collective discussions on them

4. Progressive building of an analytic table (presentation below) which enabled us to have a clear idea about the topics taken into account by the various references and about the topics which deserved complementary research.

5. Discussion (by mail and video-conferences on Internet) on our common analysis with the analytic table.

6. Identification of good practices examples.

7. Filling in of the “Future of the Alps” Internet websites and provision of a set of publications for teams 5 and 6.

8. Second Workshop in Bregenz (24 and 25 October 2005), discussion on the progress of the synthesis reports, presentation of good practice examples and exchange with the other QT’s

9. Writing of the report draft.

10. Third Workshop in Chur (7 and 8 March 2006), presentation and discussion of the final results of all QT’s.

11. Amendments of the report draft, writing of the final report

Global time schedule:

- Steps 1 to 4: July-September 2005
- Steps 4 to 8: September-October 2005
- Steps 9 to 11: October 2005 – April 2006

2.2. GLOBAL PRESENTATION OF THE ANALYTIC TABLE

As defined earlier, the analytic method adopted by QT2 required the building of a table – or a grid – which allowed us to discuss our individual understanding of the scientific issues of the topic, to agree on a common understanding of it and to present it to the other QTs. Thus, the shaping of the structure of the synthesis grid was an important methodological step of our collective work.

This tool is composed of:
- ten columns which refer to each analysis factor selected by the QT2:
  o social inclusion
  o gender
  o demographic evolution and attractiveness
  o modes of government and social structures
  o cultural identity
  o innovation and attitudes toward changes
  o external relations
  o infrastructure and services (including public services)
  o local economy
  o territorial features
- three main types of questions in our work:
  o What?: i.e. What are the social facts that we can combine for getting a good idea of governance capacity?
  o Why?: Why each of these factors might be important? What are the research questions that have been analysed?
  o How?: How important is each factor in governance capacity building? What do we know about this process?

Each interbreeding between each factor and each type of question suggests:
- diverse phenomena to explore (the “What” section);
- diverse specific questions to answer (the “Why” section).

Then, the analytic process consists in an integration of all the selected materials in the grid in order to see if the papers and good practice examples deliver elements or answers to the phenomenon and specific question quoted in the table. On the basis of these answers and elements some general statements (the “How” section) can be formulated.
### QT2 analytic working grid

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Social inclusion</th>
<th>Gender</th>
<th>Demographic evolution and attractiveness</th>
<th>Modes of government</th>
<th>Cultural identity</th>
<th>Innovation and Attitudes toward change</th>
<th>External Relations</th>
<th>Infrastructure and services (including public services)</th>
<th>Local economy</th>
<th>Territorial features</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>WHAT? Which are the social facts that we can combine for getting a good idea of governance capacity?</td>
<td>Social structure</td>
<td>Role of women in job market, in associations, cultural events, etc.</td>
<td>Population change (increase, decrease)</td>
<td>Cultural heritage</td>
<td>Perception of a given situation</td>
<td>Social impacts beyond local limits</td>
<td>Infrastructure and services locally available</td>
<td>Employment</td>
<td>Natural and physical environment</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Social welfare system</td>
<td>Qualities of places according to women</td>
<td>Population structure (age, gender, education, profession, ethnic, religious)</td>
<td>Authenticity</td>
<td>Optimistic and pessimistic views</td>
<td>Networks with outside</td>
<td>Range of public services</td>
<td>Job structure</td>
<td>Settlement structure (Localization of houses, hamlets, villages)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Social stratification and income inequalities</td>
<td>Migration attractiveness of the alpine places</td>
<td>Traditional patterns (agricultural heritage, land-ownership etc.)</td>
<td>Sense of place</td>
<td>Cultural patterns</td>
<td>Impact of in-comers and tourists</td>
<td>Internet technologies</td>
<td>Commuting</td>
<td>Accessibility</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Social capital</td>
<td>Legal initiatives, importance of local NGOs and pressure groups</td>
<td>Local initiatives, importance of local NGOs and pressure groups</td>
<td>Sense of belonging</td>
<td>Innovation capacity</td>
<td>Information Technology</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Neighborhood, local associations</td>
<td>Political and social participation</td>
<td>Political and administrative system</td>
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<td>Mass media</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Trust amongst people</td>
<td>Networks between enterprises, producers and consumers</td>
<td>Legislation</td>
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<td>Rootedness and connectedness with the region</td>
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### Key Concepts
- **Social inclusion**
- **Gender**
- **Demographic evolution and attractiveness**
- **Modes of government**
- **Cultural identity**
- **Innovation and Attitudes toward change**
- **External Relations**
- **Infrastructure and services (including public services)**
- **Local economy**
- **Territorial features**
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>WHY?</th>
<th>What are the research questions that have been analysed?</th>
<th>Social inclusion</th>
<th>Gender</th>
<th>Demographic evolution and attractiveness</th>
<th>Modes of government</th>
<th>Cultural identity</th>
<th>Innovation and Attitudes toward change</th>
<th>External Relations</th>
<th>Infrastructure and services (including public services)</th>
<th>Local economy</th>
<th>Territorial features</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>What is the impact of the traditional social structure?</td>
<td>What is the social importance of local services and infrastructure facilities?</td>
<td>How gendered is the local society?</td>
<td>What is the impact of the traditional social structure?</td>
<td>How attractive are the rural areas of the Alps?</td>
<td>How does the given political system affect governance capacity?</td>
<td>Is there a common local identity?</td>
<td>How open are local people to the outside?</td>
<td>What is the social importance of local services and infrastructure facilities?</td>
<td>What are the implications from the given territorial situation for social life?</td>
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<tr>
<td>By which means can social inclusion be achieved, social exclusion, rural poverty avoided?</td>
<td>How important are the out-migration flows?</td>
<td>Who takes initiatives?</td>
<td>Are there other kinds of (social) identity liable to compete with it?</td>
<td>Who are the key-actors?</td>
<td>How much local heritage reflects local identities?</td>
<td>How do people perceive these changes?</td>
<td>Are local people (and who) in close connection with the outside?</td>
<td>How important and socially effective are public services?</td>
<td>How are social relations influenced by the economic structure and the relations between enterprises?</td>
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<td>How to foster social capital?</td>
<td>Are the younger people more liable to leave?</td>
<td>How are these people seen in local societies?</td>
<td>How much are heritage and identities commoditified?</td>
<td>How do people see for the nearby future?</td>
<td>Do people share an optimistic or pessimistic view of what their collective future could be?</td>
<td>What perspectives do people have for the future?</td>
<td>Is brain drain an issue?</td>
<td>What is the role of public services?</td>
<td>Is the level of external dependency a factor of fragility? of emulation?</td>
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<td>How to avoid conflicts amongst local people?</td>
<td>Where do the new inhabitants come from?</td>
<td>How organized is the decision making process?</td>
<td>Are some of the cultural artefacts artificial for tourist purpose?</td>
<td>Do people share an optimistic or pessimistic view of what their collective future could be?</td>
<td>What is the social role of second home owners, emigrants, tourists, etc.?</td>
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<td>How to achieve women empowerment?</td>
<td>Is population density a factor of social cohesion?</td>
<td>How organized is the decision making process?</td>
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<tr>
<td>How gendered is the local society?</td>
<td>How important is the brain drain, knowledge exchange?</td>
<td>How organized is the decision making process?</td>
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<td>What is the women's contribution and power share (economic, cultural capital), access to resources?</td>
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<td>How the perception of local conditions of life by women influence their attitude (wedding, out-migration, family strategies)</td>
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<td>How to achieve women empowerment?</td>
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</table>
### Social inclusion

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>HOW?</th>
<th>General statements</th>
<th>Gender</th>
<th>Demographic evolution and attractiveness</th>
<th>Modes of government</th>
<th>Cultural identity</th>
<th>Innovation and Attitudes toward change</th>
<th>External Relations</th>
<th>Infrastructure and services (including public services)</th>
<th>Local economy</th>
<th>Territorial features</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>How important is every factor in governance capacity building?</td>
<td>How is it related to social, economic and cultural dynamics and innovation?</td>
<td>Expenses deriving from ungendered situation</td>
<td>The commercialisation (commoditification) of local identity may have long term negative effects on local social dynamics</td>
<td>Reasons and sources of internal change. Of external change. What kind of impacts and implications (see all other columns) to population structure (e.g. migration of skilled, young people, over-aging etc.), social cultural dynamics, social cohesion, economy and infrastructure</td>
<td>Too much openness may cause a depletion of the best local human resources</td>
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2.3. ENCOUNTERED PROBLEMS AND SOLUTIONS

To conclude on this methodological part of the report, the problems encountered and the solutions adopted to face them have to be underlined.

As for us, two major difficulties of our work deserve to be mentioned.

1. The “governance capacity” question has been quite hard to apprehend. We had difficulties to find and select the most relevant and interesting papers, that is to say a kind of literature which provides precise analysis on social dynamics based on case studies, and which also presents concrete initiatives.

Some resolutions have thus been commonly agreed:
- “Intense focusing” of the work on the targeted factors, and on analysis built on concrete case studies, on local experiences;
- Taking into consideration the date of publication and the place of the case study (Alpine or mountain regions as much as possible) to limit the documentary research;
- Frequent knowledge exchange and contact between the members of QT2;
- Frequent contact between members and gradual development of a common perception and strategy for the QT2 by discussing drafts and contributions.

It is worth mentioning that the geographical distance that disunites the QT2 could have been a problem for our collective work. But this handicap has been overcome thanks to frequent mail exchanges and web-conferences.

2. The role of good practice examples in the QT2’s argumentation. QT2 was asked to give a synthesis of the academic knowledge on governance, attractiveness and related social issues. Thus, it grounded its analysis on social theories and empirical material used by social scientists and validated by the scientific community. Besides, QT2 was asked to refer to good practice examples and mention them in its reports. However these examples have not been analysed by scientists so far and QT2 had neither enough time nor the means for making a scientific analysis of them. This means that these examples could be treated as parts of the academic knowledge on which this report was supposed to be built. They are used either as indications of social consciousness for existing problems, or as practical endeavours in coping with these problems. Thus, in the report, these examples have the status of fairly informal social indicators. Consequently, they should not be seen as examples to be followed whatever the local contexts are. QT2 did not use the „good practice“ notion in a moral or normative sense. None of the related examples should be seen as a recipe. For QT2, these examples deserve attention for what they reveal, for the results they may have, both in the scientific community and in NGO’s interested in sustainable development in the Alps.
3. Results

3.1. THEMATIC APPROACHES

The specific goal of this chapter is to highlight the most important issues that are relevant for the building of social cohesion and local/regional attractiveness. Each issue shall be discussed thoroughly in the following subchapters by referring to scientific literature and displaying the different approaches existing. The list of the issues does not claim to be complete and there is no weighing of the importance of each single issue. Anyhow, it may serve as an appropriate tool for the selection of good practice examples. This was the very method we used (see table of good practice examples, chapter 5.3).

3.1.1. Demographic evolution and attractiveness

Immigration and out-migration flows have been very important since the mid-19th century: some remote areas or once industrialized have been highly depopulated in recent decades; tourist resorts and urban outskirts have experienced strong demographic increase since the mid-20th century (Bätzing, 2003; Revue de Géographie Alpine, 2001, Stockdale, 2004). One of the questions asked to QT2 was to determine if these migrations have influenced more or less the nature and the modes of governance and the decision-making process in the various alpine regions.

There are both push and pull factors involved for migration and all the processes are accelerated by overall socio-economic processes and temporal trends. Several factors can be discerned such as: industrialisation, establishment of national administration (schools, tax system, military service etc.), capitalisation and commoditisation of agriculture, trade and industries, improvement of road networks, development of recreation and tourist industries, introduction of telecommunication etc. This list is not complete and could be expanded to further items.

Whereas our question prompts us to apprehend the notion of attractiveness in a demographic point of view, we observed that the question of attractiveness is mainly treated through an economic point of view in the scientific literature we found. Despite their intense relationship, we would like to distinguish the following two approaches of attractiveness in this analysis.

**Territorial attractiveness: an economic point of view**

The attractiveness of local territories appears like a major stake for economic policy in first, and after for social policies. Thus, attractiveness or “territorial attractiveness” signifies the capacity of a local area (territory) to attract foreign and local investments. This notion relies on different advantages which influence the choice of installation and it refers to the “local development” issue.

Few remarks have to be mentioned about the emergence of this notion for local areas, and especially about an implicit notion, the notion of competition (competitiveness) between territories. Indeed, considering the attractiveness of local spaces implies that “local advantages” are no more “done” (dowers or gift), but have to be built. And processes of construction of local advantages install concurrency relations among local territories, like they were all fighting together in a sort of “market of territories”.

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Concurrency among territories is aimed at attracting strategic “inputs” – financial or human capitals - that are now very movable in their choice and installation.

But three major problems can be underlined:
- Local areas are not equal regarding the tools and means they are able to mobilize or to improve their own “seduction capital”
- Trying to answer the question of “who defines territorial attractiveness” reveals the major role of external actors (individual or collective stakeholders). So, regarding its outwards origins or motivations, how can we consider that local space attractiveness corresponds to endogenous project and identity?
- Rivalry between territories can lead to “unsustainable” ways of local management, for instance when, to “win” the game of attractiveness, a community accepts the installation of a firm, a resort, a set of housings, etc., without considering the social and environmental consequences and costs of the installation. Drawing a parallel with the notions of social and fiscal dumping that characterized hard competition between economic systems, does a conception of local space in terms of “attractiveness” preserve them from a “territorial dumping”? Local space would be no more a resource at disposal and ready to consume.

Here can thus be mentioned a kind of paradox in our research: can the notions of attractiveness, local governance and sustainable development (on which relies the “Future in the Alps” project) be thought at the same time?

A clear answer cannot be given easily and not immediately. Further long-term and in-depth research will be required.

By the way, the new policy for territorial attractiveness and the recent Strategic Council for France Attractiveness, created in 2004, both rely on an economical and industrial approach of territorial attractiveness (linked with innovation and research). Besides, local communities as well as entire states are very ambitious towards innovative sectors like IT, which are considered as an important factor for attractiveness, for example because it can enhance local development and employment in remote rural areas (AEIDL, 2000).

**Territorial attractiveness: a demographic and sociological point of view**

Though it is possible to correlate migration flows in the Alps with objective characteristics, it should not be forgotten that attractiveness is mainly a normative concept that strongly relies on personal attitudes and interests. How do people value the assets and amenities of a region (economic, socio-cultural, and environmental)? Who benefits from those local/Regional resources and who defines attractiveness? Therefore, attractiveness deserves to be treated as a useful concept for understanding the psychological factors, the cultural meanings of places, and the social issues as well.

In this manner, the notion of “monturbanisation” used by Allie (2005) in his PhD could be useful for our research as it underlined a global phenomenon: the influence of urban proximity and tourist frequentation on local dynamics and development in mountainous areas. Implemented in the French Regional Natural Parks of Vercors and Chartreuse, this notion also highlights the importance and the diversity of local actors, and on the ways how they “tinker” local development, using both material (i.e. local supports, infrastructures) and intellectual tools (i.e. sense of place, local belonging and social networks). By the way, this research also demonstrates that the definite installation of second-home residents (Perrot & La Soudière, 1998) or the installation of new incomers in mountainous regions is not only motivated by economic conditions or job opportunities (most of them work in town, down in the valley and commute). A better quality of life, the silence, the landscapes, etc. are presented as crucial factors by new residents.
Anyway, the attractiveness of places does not seem to be related to any specificity in governance nor governance capacity. As already mentioned earlier, many depopulated areas may be very socially active as well as inactive, and areas with strong immigration flows display very rich or poor (and sometimes poorer and poorer) social cohesion and innovative governance.

It does not mean that attractiveness and migration flows have no impact on social cohesion and governance. As a matter of fact, it has been shown resp. it is well known that:

- a strong personal attachment to places encourages local inhabitants to stay where they live, and facilitates the definition of collective identities, the identification of common goods and the implementation of public policies and actions (Sencébé, 2004; Farinelli, 2001) (see also 3.1.2)

- a high level of attractiveness of a place for people living elsewhere (tourists for example) or for incomers may also be a source of collective pride for local people living there, and can be a basis for collective actions and for local management, as a common vision and sense of place is built and shared (Perrot & La Soudière, 1998);

- however, strong local attractiveness can generate immigration flows, and social diversification which can provoke change in social relations in the place, making them richer and more liable for good governance. Such phenomena essentially occur in city outskirts, in rural spaces which are very dependant on a near urban area (Ferrao & Lopes, 2003), or with the arrival of urban incomers to the countryside that generates exchanges and communication between different cultures, i.e., potentially, collective actions and local governance. It thus generates a new vision on each culture and identity (Farinelli, 2001). Otherwise, Gerbaux and Marcelpoil (2003) have also demonstrated the importance of local involvement and openness to incomers for the improvement of good governance in ski-resorts.

Moreover, strong local attractiveness can create a competition on the land and housing ensuing high prices for both, which makes it more difficult for local people to stay. When the competition is fierce and the price very high, this can be a source of conflicts (Debarbieux, 2004). That is why improving rural spaces repopulation for example has to focus on the access to housing and land property (Farinelli, 2001):

- local communities have to preserve or create the supply of rent houses. Incomers, especially young couples, often do not have enough money to buy a house, as they arrive. It is thus necessary for local communities to spread the information about such housing possibilities to the outward world in order to maintain or to support their attractiveness.

- Community land associations can provide access to land property and prefer new installations better than enlarging existing farms. The “Centre National pour l’Aménagement des Structures et des Exploitations Agricoles” (CNASEA), with its local branches also facilitates such opportunities.

Territorial attractiveness does not thus only depend on external or local economic investments. It clearly depends on the whole “local productive system”, on the local environment as well as on the local social capital. For instance, brain drain is a phenomenon with important demographic consequences, but which is directly related to economic and sociological issues. It clearly demonstrates the complexity of territorial attractiveness and also the difficulty for people to find a way between local rootedness and professional choices.
Indeed, a recent survey conducted in Switzerland (Egger, Stalder, Wenger, 2003), shows that in spite of a lack of specific data, brain drain may concern more than 70% of high-qualified Swiss people. Important differences can be observed between the cantons: Valais and Uri are seriously affected while Nidwald canton succeeds at keeping its graduates because of interesting income tax rates (the lowest in Switzerland). Each year, the Grisons canton for example, loosees 13 mio. Swiss Francs due to this brain drain and thus can hardly maintain local services in depopulated areas. The main reason why high-qualified people leave depends on the lack of professional perspectives because of a lack of appropriate jobs (and also the difficulty to find a job for the spouse). Nevertheless, most of high-qualified people who left their region keep up a strong feeling of rootedness and 80% declare to probably come back if they could find an attractive job (84% of the 80%), with their wife or husband (56% of the 80%), with an “appropriate” income (50% of the 80%).

The will to leave but also to maintain a strong rootedness, or the will to live in the mountains while working in town in the valleys (as we have seen before), can be interpreted like spatial symptoms of schizophrenia that affects Alpine people, quartered between two kinds of attractiveness: an economic one, and a sociological one. But it also has to be mentioned that some people try to escape from this schizophrenia as they choose to stay in the valley where they have grown up because of a very strong rootedness, even if this choice implies employment difficulties (i.e. Chamonix valley, France) mainly for young people (Dax & Machold, 2003). Their local integration thus becomes very tricky when it globally appears that local systems of intervention (public and private) have a very poor conscience and knowledge about the problems and needs of young people in rural areas (Lafond, Mathieu, Staropoli, 2005).

To conclude on this essential but also very woolly notion, attractiveness of places mainly has to be related to its respective qualities (such as landscape, economic resources and social networks) and to its accessibility (from near-by cities, from major networks). The strongest increase in population occurred in places combining good accessibility (routes, highways, railways, public transports, telecommunications networks, etc. – most of them are common goods) and specific qualities liable to be converted in high-quality environments for residential use or in economic resources (Perrot & La Soudière, 1998 ; Sencébé 2004 ; Knafou, 1997 ; Ferraro & Lopes, 2003 ; Nutley & Thomas, 1995). Each strategy aimed at enhancing attractiveness can therefore not be confined to a set of generic financial supports, offered to any local or foreign investor. On the contrary, it has to build and to promote specific advantages for the territory, more in a co-operative sense than in a competitive one, even if it is subject to the globalisation context (Schnell, Scherer, Berwert, Bieger, Rütter, 2002). The idea of “co-competition” may express such a complex situation. Finally, the acceptance of attractiveness developed by the International Observatory on Regional Prospective seems much more liable to apprehend the diversity of factors concerned by this notion. Founded on a study realised for the French Atlantic region (CESR, 2001), this Observatory considers attractiveness as “the capacity to attract or to maintain activities, enterprises and populations”. Attractiveness so refers to a territorial problematic, suggesting movement, dynamic, and a recombination of territories’ endogenous development factors.

3.1.2. Cultural identity

It is very frequent to mention the strength or the weakness of collective identity amongst local Alpine societies when analysed by social scientists. As a matter of fact, collective identity is usually seen as an important factor for collective welfare (Quadrio Curzio, 2004): it is supposed to be of some help for resisting isolation, solitude and the growing anonymous modern way of life. Conversely the lack of collective identity is often seen as an indication for a very individualistic society or for a society weakened by strong external impacts.
According to this way of thinking, various publications have stressed the role of several factors as sources of cultural weakness, social disorganisation or anomy: strong immigration related to commuting, out-migration related to depopulation, and dramatic tourism development. It has been also said that tourism development could lead to the commoditification of local cultures and identities, through the trade of artefacts and cultural habits. It can even lead to the invention of non-existing “traditions” in order to meet the needs of the tourist industry: a staged authenticity just for commercial purposes (Högl, 1995; Preglau, 1982).

Although this points to a very important issue for Alpine societies, this way of thinking is not totally satisfactory at least out of two reasons:

- in different contexts, local identities have been seen very differently. Just thinking about Max Weber’s phrase of “City air makes one free” for the early modern times: local identities have sometimes been considered as a strong and impoverishing constraint for individuals while ideal modern societies were regarded as composed of modern, isolated and responsible, individuals.

- This contrast underlines the very ideological background of many statements about the role of collective identities in contemporary societies. The actual celebration of local identities in Alpine communities should be very much questioned for its nostalgic mood.

- Local identities happen to be promoted by a group of individuals without taking into account the presence of other groups and other kinds of identities. This kind of “symbolic violence” shows that identity can also be a social issue, a political tool.

However, the role of collective identities deserves to be taken into account in a very pragmatic way:

- Can collective identities help to define a common interest at a local level, to organize public participation, and to adopt public policies related to this common interest? As a matter of fact, plenty of studies suggest the importance of regional identities for endogenous development and collective action (Mülinghaus & Wältys 2001, Ray 2000). The “Rigodonaires Festival”, is a good example how to encourage social connectedness by creating social events, meeting sites for the people, fostering culture and local identities. Another relevant best practice example that should be mentioned here is "Network of multi-media libraries of Queyras" ("Réseau des bibliothèques multimédia du Queyras") which supports local population to participate in the development process of a proper local cultural identity (see best practice examples chapter 5.3.).

- Can tourists help local people to define themselves, to think about themselves and to organize themselves, when we consider that so-called local cultures are often not authentic but what tourists will expect and what can be best sold? This interpretation has been promoted at the scale of the Alps (Crettaz, 1993) and for specific places (Debarbieux, 2001). Tourism by itself is not responsible of a weakened identity which may result from specific modes of tourism development and from the low resilience level of local societies to any kind of external influence.

- How related are collective identities and local economic systems? Collective and local identities deserve to be analysed, not as pieces of folklore, but for their ability to influence the everyday life of people and their way of living. Consequently their relation with economic production should be taken into account. It has been proved that collective identity or community feeling can enhance the valorisation of local heritage (Sencébé, 2004) and be considered as economic resource by themselves especially when associated with trade marks and labels such as “Appellation d’Origine Contrôlée” AOC products (Barjolle & Thévenod-Mottet, 2002) and tourism (Johnsen, Umbach-Daniel, Schnell, 2003) (see also 3.1.5).
- How related are local identities and social relations? Local identities can be carried and experienced by all the individuals living in a place. But more frequently, they are built by only very few of them on various criteria (such as several generations of inhabitants within the family, land property). Then, many individuals and some groups are liable to be kept aside from the core local identity. This happened in Chamonix and Saint Gervais (Debarbieux, 2001; Knafou, 1997) during the 20th century and still is a major source of social and political conflict.

So it appears that local identity can be especially useful for governance capacity when: (1) it is not used as a tool for social exclusion, (2) when it is associated with economic development, (3) when it helps to define a common interest for actual public policies.

### 3.1.3. Territory

Territory can also be regarded as a geographic and as a social pattern. While geographical territory is referring to a regional, topographic entity social space is produced by the human beings interacting with each other. Space does not exist "a priori" but is continuously reproduced. The current state of space is a temporary product of the order of matter on the basis of action. Social space is built upon the relations of human beings, institutions and objects where human beings interact (Löw 2001).

Following a strong tradition of mid-20th century rural geography, it is always challenging to analyse the relation between social cohesion and territorial features. In terms of settlement, the conclusions of scientific researches highly vary. It has been said that the morphology of settlement - scattered houses or, on the contrary, clustered houses around the church - do not highly influence social relations. As shown by an example already mentioned, highly scattered settlements in very depopulated areas – frequently seen as a factor of isolation and individualism – do not prevent, and sometimes even encourage a very dense social life (Causse Méjean). But several investigations in Austria (Wiesinger, 1995; Wiesinger & Machold, 2001) proved the contrary. The findings suggest that there is sufficient willingness for mutual assistance in only half of the Austrian villages. This willingness is more linked to general traditional features and the settlement structure than to the actual spare time that people could afford. People from villages in the Hartberg district (Styria) where people live together in close settlements are more willing to participate in relief serves despite the fact that they just have little time because most of them commute during the week. On the other hand this willingness is very low in the Pongau region (Salzburg) although people would have much more time because the share of commuting economic active persons is rather small. Here people traditionally lived in scattered farmsteads in isolated places. One farmstead formed a social entity with the farmers’ family and the farm workers. After WW2 when farm workers had migrated to the industrial centres and the extended families had shrunk to mere core families, the social entities disentangled and hence social life also faded away. In places like that neighbourhood as such never existed since the farmers where scattered on the slopes alongside the valleys. Due to this traditional pattern people prefer rather to work in tourism than to assist each other. Taking into account these contradictory results, it would be wise to avoid any kind of determinism considering the relation between social cohesion and solidarity on one hand, and the settlement structure on the other. However, this pattern should be taken into account at a local or regional level according to the constraints to mobility and to the cultural meanings local people associate with.

More important than the settlement structure seems to be the **territorial cohesion**: this concept points out the importance of complementary of places for local people and the capacity of every place to be useful for the others. From this point of view, a local territory can be very heterogeneous and without cohesion: this may happen in regions where ski resorts have been built far away from traditional villages like in Saint Martin de Belleville (Matteudi, 1997; Gallely, 1997), or where hamlets have been
very much specialized in industry or transportation (Saint-Gervais (Knafou, 1997)) when the rest of
the territory is devoted to other activities. This kind of situation can lead to difficulties when local
people try to build a collective project at the municipal level (Gallety, 1997; Knafou, 1997). This
evolution is liable to happen when some activities are developed due to external initiatives which are
not sensitive to the structure of local territories and the collective values associated with places by

Then, it appears important for social cohesion at a local level to be built on some kind of territorial
cohesion, places (especially places for settlement) being strongly linked in functional, social and
symbolic meanings and networks. This is true for rural areas and for cities as well, probably more
important for cities where social inequalities are usually bigger.

3.1.4. Infrastructures and services

Infrastructures and services contribute to the quality of life of all members of a local society. They are
public goods that provide positive externalities to both producers and consumers.

Recent trends in the Alps and elsewhere in Europe have shown that:

- The density of public services and facilities is decreasing because of costs, and because of
depopulation in some remote areas (Varotto, Psenner, 2003; Cecchi & Micocci, 2004). But this
is also due to the change of general political patterns. Topics like maintaining social welfare or
safeguarding local supply with services are gradually losing weight against supporting
enhanced competitiveness. This is especially important for schools and post offices. The
Austrian initiative “Living space for young people” in Southern Carinthia which is inhabited
by two ethnic groups (German Austrians and Slovenes) and which has been selected as a best
practice example by QT2 displays the importance of new cultural and economic activities to
overcome the loss of local services and infrastructures. Furthermore, prejudices between the
ethnic groups are combated in order to facilitate a fruitful regional development and to open
up new perspectives for the local youth (see chapter 5.3.).

- This evolution introduces a territorial inequality since some people have to travel further than
others for reaching some of the public services. This factor has proved to be very important for
the attractiveness of places, especially for families with young children. That is why some
municipalities (like in Diois, Trièves or Queyras in France) have adopted initiatives for
keeping or even developing rural services (i.e. “Point Public Espace Rural Emploi Formation
in Aiguilles – Queyras massif, Hautes-Alpes”; “Maison de l’Emploi” in Bonneville – Haute
Savoie).

- Former public services are increasingly managed by private companies. The quality of service
can be equal; but when privatised, these services are not any more liable to be under “social
control”. Even with equal quality standard the accessibility to services may be restrained due
to profit interests of private operators. Access to services like post offices for instance may
thus be more difficult and unequal especially in mountainous areas. Owing to important
transports and functioning costs, lower densities, etc., sending mails could be more expensive
for inhabitants in the future, or some small offices will totally disappear (Mignotte, 2005).

- New networks and initiatives between local producers (farmers, trade and industries) and
local consumers could probably fill the gap of the vanishing traditional infrastructures. Thus,
more innovation is required. The barter circle Vorarlberg (“Tauschkreis Vorarlberg”) can be
regarded as such an innovative initiative. The project targets at to increase availability of
products and services on a local level as well as to support regional economy and the environment (see best practice examples chapter 5.3).

When talking about marginality and inequalities, a special reference should be made to the special role played by Information and Communication Technology ICT infrastructures. In today’s increasingly globalised world, access to the World Wide Web is of paramount importance for social, cultural and economic life. Alpine areas, in most cases, are characterized by low levels of ICT infrastructures, as providers (both public and private ones) generally do not find the provision of, e.g. high speed Internet access profitable enough. This situation denotes however a vicious circle, as marginalized area will become increasingly marginal as more central areas develop themselves. In some Alpine areas (e.g. Valposchiavo), however, ICT infrastructures have significantly contributed to reduce the perception of remoteness within the local population, with a consequent increase of self-confidence and social capital. Different French experiences can here be quoted (not treated as good practice examples):

- Program Vercors Connect (Isère):
  http://www.grenoble-isere.com/vercors-connect
  Composed of different projects and realisations (les Réseaux buissonniers, Le Lycée du Futur, La Formation continue, le Télétravail, Développer les services de proximité, le Téléspace-Vercors), this program also benefits from a Monitoring Commission which assess the impacts of ICT’s development in the Vercors Massif.

- Cybermassif: the ICT network of Massif Central (Lozère, Puy de Dôme, Allier, Haute-Loire)
  http://www.cybermassif.org/
  This is one of the most relevant experiences carried out in mountainous areas in France. This experience was presented during the International Year of Mountains in 2002 and aimed at implementing 12 resources centres in the Massif Central; 6 are already operative.

- Leader + “Vallées du Mercantour” (Alpes Maritimes)
  http://217.26.192.149/gal
  The Local Action Group which leads this programme focuses its action on the development of ICTs and new know-how, and tries to enhance the implementation of new technologies in mountainous areas. This Leader+ project is composed of several localised projects.

If in the past economic considerations would advice against the installation of ICT infrastructures in many Alpine regions, the diffusion of wireless technology has considerably lowered the related investments, paving the way for an increased connectivity for more remote areas.

If provided with appropriate ICT infrastructure levels, a virtuous circle may be established, whose outcomes could also include an increase of the attractiveness of Alpine areas not only for local inhabitants but also for people living in urban areas. On the basis of the conclusions of a European study (AEIDL, 2000), it can be underlined that ICT can:

- strengthen traditional activities (agriculture, forestry, fishing, mining), the associated productions (agro-alimentary, wood supply chain, craft industry, etc.), and also tourism;
- operate new opportunities provided by the development of a network society. Local private firms as public organisations can now develop new professional orientations, thanks, for example, to telecommuting;
- facilitate nearby services, even in very remote rural areas, thanks to an easier access, a larger range of services and a better effectiveness;
generate networks of socio-economics actors.

It must be noted, however, that the supply of ICT infrastructures alone cannot be considered enough to initiate a virtual circle of accessibility for Alpine regions. The specific limits and myths of ICT have to be taken into account and the local implementation of this technology must be adapted to each urban and rural local context. The demand for the related services has to be stimulated through the provision of education to enable the local population to use them to improve their quality of life. The initiative “Polo Poschiavo” (see best practice examples chapter 5.3.) is a good example that copes with this demand. It is a competence centre for continuous education and support for development projects with an established reputation at the cantonal and national levels in Switzerland. The project focuses on e-learning and blended learning. In that field the centre offers the general public access to new technologies and thus helps improve the competitive position of the region as a whole. Another important best practice example selected by QT2 and relevant in this context (see chapter 5.3.) concerns “Ambientetrentino.it”, an Internet portal for sustainable development in Trentino/Italy and “www.ilbermina.ch” in Val Poschiavo/Switzerland. “www.ilbermina.ch” applies electronic communication as a means for promoting economic, social and cultural regional projects.

3.1.5. Local economy

Although this topic was not considered as central at the beginning of our work, it gradually took more and more place in our readings and analyses. Indeed, as it is underlined in paragraph 3.1.1., migrations and attractiveness are closely dependent on the local economic context and employment potentialities.

Many articles deal with the topic of local economy in regard to the notion of endogenous development (Lindsay, Greig, McQuaid, 2005). First of all, it is thus clear by analysing all the material we selected (articles and good practice examples), that economic strategies which are nowadays promoted for Alpine regions’ development (urban and rural areas) have to grow up from the local level according to authors and project holders. If this seems obvious, it nevertheless deserves to be mentioned, especially for countries like France, which is marked by a redistributive attitude in territorial planning towards financial and technical supports which most of them are still deriving from the national level (even if the regional level holds more and more importance). By the way, European subsidies, in agriculture for instance, also proceed of a similar attitude in a sense. This topic is directly referred to the question of modes of government and administration context (paragraph 3.1.9.).

The importance of the local level tends to insist on the notion of endogenous development (Mülinghaus & Wält, 2001). In rural and mountainous regions, the choices of development are mainly focused on tourism, agriculture and especially organic farming (Haid 2005). Local farmers develop home-made products (“fromages fermiers”), getting more added-value than in industrial processing, and to trade mainly through direct marketing. This “local re-localisation” (Barjolle & Thevenod-Mottet, 2002) results from the will expressed by several farmers to produce “less but better”, sometimes combining cheese production and rural tourism for getting a year-round income. Local initiatives indeed often tend to integrate different sectors as agriculture and tourism, like in Schamserberg (Grisons Canton) (Mülinghaus & Wält, 2001).

Local economic strategies based on quality represent an important stake for mountainous regions (Lacroix, Mollard, Pecqueur, 2000). They rely on the valorisation of local heritage, and hence, on local history and identity. It is also expected that the local integrated economies they may produce or keep up, generate a positive image, in order to attract commuters who would work in the surrounding of big cities (i.e. for Ümäsch - Appenzell canton) (Mülinghaus & Wält, 2001). The project “Il ricambio generazionale quale strumento di rilancio dei pascoli montani” in Belluno/Italy which aims at
maintaining and transfer traditional knowledge on animal husbandry on fallsows is a good example for how to sustain cultural heritage and promote local economy. Elderly farmers with plenty of experience are involved in this programme. The attractiveness for this kind of work will be fostered, common identity strengthened and an integrated vision of the territory that is aware of its traditions and peculiarities can be achieved (see chapter 5.3.).

Even though these economic options provides higher added value for local products and could enhance tourism, labelling does not automatically generate local development, nor is a guarantee to maintain traditional farming. Usually this strategy does not generate many jobs nor long term employment, but mostly seasonal jobs, except for vineyards regions which seem to be completely pulled up by the wine trade and industry. Nevertheless, extensive and qualitative agricultural productions maintain specific landscapes and contribute to build cultural identities, frequently and successfully through commoditization. But the economical effects of such a label strongly depend on the actor’s involvement and their ability to combine global market context and local needs and initiatives. Rural development processes are complex. The concept of multifunctionality refers to the functional relationships and specific reconfigurations in the use of resources such as land, labour, knowledge and nature. The need to link the dimensions of agricultural and rural change demands a multidisciplinary, holistic approach to analysis and conceptualization (Knickel & Renting 2000).

Employment and formation are strongly tied with this topic of labelling and cross-sectored local economies. Between 1980 and 1995, European rural regions have gone through a strong employment increase in services (mainly community services, wholesale and retail trade, restaurants and hotels), when employment was declining in the agricultural and industrial sector. If agricultural jobs could be kept through specific economic strategies (quality supply chain), keeping industrial jobs and workers in rural regions is a big issue especially in current economic trends. The dynamics of the labour market face to different constraints and the problem of adequacy of qualification to the proposed jobs is one of the keys of local employment in rural areas, i.e. for the attractiveness of these regions. Indeed, with the growing importance of non-material resources in the dynamics of development today, more emphasis has to be put on constructed resources like skills, know-how, qualifications, but also methods of doing and acting. Because of the permanent evolution of needs and knowledge, local regions thus have to enter in a continuous learning economic process (Maillat & Kébir, 1998) if they want to improve the territorial production system.

Different authors have focused their researches on employment development in French rural areas (Bertrand & Roux, 1999) or on entrepreneurship in rural areas. According to Ferrao and Lopes (2003) attractiveness and vitality of rural communities mainly depend on urban proximity and specifically on demographic dynamics. Indeed, rural communities with a good entrepreneurship also present positive demographic dynamics because of nearby urban centres. Urban proximity generates interdependence between these two factors. Due to this phenomenon there is an important risk that rural-urban areas are becoming stronger and stronger, while marginal rural areas are becoming weaker and weaker. The French programme “To re-knot the link between town and countryside in the Alps” (“Renouer le lien ville/campagne dans les Alpes”) demonstrates an interesting model of how to renew the link between towns and the countryside in the Alps through connecting urban consumers and rural farmers by contracts in suburban and sub-mountain regions (see best practice examples chapter 5.3.).

A scheme established by Hilal (2004) based on an urban-rural gradient also reveals the importance of the distance to urban centres and evaluates the potential accessibility to jobs in French municipalities. While they concentrate employment, urban centres generate an attraction field that affects both peri-urban and rural areas. Furthermore, a dense and very interesting issue of the French review “Espace, populations, sociétés” provides deeper analysis on “repopulation and rural mobility”, based on
several case studies (Espace, Populations, Sociétés, 2000). The figure below provides a brief synthesis of the interactions between local economy, urban proximity and demographic evolution.

Local economy, urban proximity and demographic evolution: a close interdependence

- Rural communities → Urban proximity → Entrepreneurship, job increase

Positive demography

In general, three fundamental criteria could be stressed for every procedure which tends to improve entrepreneurship, local economy, and rural development in general:

- Level of qualification of entrepreneurs: areas characterised by a weak capacity to attract financial outputs and by a weak inter-regional mobility can hardly benefit from knowledge transfers between firms. In this case, most of the initiatives concern activities which do not impose complex knowledge or know-how (restoration, small trade for example).

- Local and family rooting: a too strong local rooting can induce lock-in effects towards any evolutions or changes. If local rooting is essential to promote a local identity, it must be completed by an outward attitude. Moreover, the role of the family is very important in rural entrepreneurship dynamics. But it can also prevent any innovative behaviour when local social capital is forsaken.

- Development of local market: in areas where local demand is important and sectored, enterprises are much more diversified and stronger relations between them can be observed (co-operation, complementarities, co-ordination), so they can easily invest on national and international markets. Such strategies are impossible to reach in areas where local demand is limited because of a poorer population, a weaker level of qualification and a weaker entrepreneurship tradition.

Finally, it seems that the possibility of slowing down the process of “desertification” of the countryside could rely on the combination of governmental action with the one of local actors. By the way, national employment policies have an important impact on the level of employment in rural areas, but there is strong evidence that, generally speaking, employment and local enterprises are more viable when the initiative is taken by the local level. National support measures have little impact if they are not sustained by local demand (Bertrand & Roux, 1999).

The capacities of local stakeholders (policymakers, entrepreneurs, workers) to innovate, face risks, formulate strategies and identify the needs and priorities of the region appear to be major determinants for the improvement of local governance and local development. Moreover, these capacities appear to be facilitated by the size and the strength of internal and external social networks of each stakeholder. So, this underlines the importance of “mixed-strategies”, based on relations tied between different economic activities, between different types of actors (inhabitants, incomers, “strangers”, etc.) and territories (rural, urban, peri-urban), between different level of territorial planning etc., that is to say a view of local economy which plays an important role to social structures and social capital. Governance capacity relies on the local capacity to escape exclusive sector-based approaches, to combine various scales and levels (local, regional, global) of perception and action, and to adopt a very collective way of building a territorial project.
The literature and projects (good practice examples) we analysed are more or less directly influenced by economic concepts that were born in the end of the 1970’s and beginning of the 1980’s in order to express and understand new spatial distributions of activities. Industrial districts, local productive systems, innovative “milieux” reveal the emergence of a new paradigm: the territory, and aim at the explanation of “territorialised productive organisations” (Courlet, 1999; Maillat, 1996).

3.1.6. External relations

Local Alpine communities, even those in very remote and isolated regions, cannot be considered as closed entities. They are connected with the outside world and therefore underlie plenty of external impacts. Permanent and temporal migration is one of the most important features. Due to the lack of suitable local workplaces more and more people - particularly the better skilled - are forced to search for work outside their region. Daily and weekly commuting is a wide-spread phenomenon in Alpine regions which requires a good road network. Commuting can be considered both as an asset and a constraint (Dax & Machold, 2003; Shucksmith, 2004). It permits people to acquire sufficient income for their livelihood in the region to maintain local associations, cultural heritage and the landscape. On the other hand it also brings about individual distress, increased traffic flow and environmental damage. The Italian-French Interreg IIIA programme “The Pedlars’ House (“La Maison des Colporteurs”) intends to foster cross border mobility and common identity of young people living alongside the frontier between Savoie and Piémont. The new skills and capabilities gained by this cultural exchange should also improve the individual perspectives for employment of the Alpine youth (see best practice examples chapter 5.3.).

Improved road network is also a prerequisite for the development of tourist industries. Tourism is an important resource for employment and the local economy but has also a strong impact on local social-cultural life and the behavioural patterns of the local dwellers. There are numerous studies displaying the impact of mass tourism on a rural community and family life (Preglau, 1982; Galley, 1983; Knafou, 1997; Debarbieux & Gerbaux, 2000; Verbole, 2000; Mühlinghaus & Wälti, 2001). Högl (1995) pointed out the change of the behaviour patterns incited by tourism in Vorarlberg. The findings suggest that evidently in intensive tourist regions economic considerations are presiding over all other social, cultural and environmental issues. Restaurants close outside the tourist seasons so there are only few places where local people can be amongst themselves. As a matter of fact local cultural heritage and social capital weakens. There is just little time for the family and friends. It is the children that suffer most under these circumstances.

Also new ideas and new ways of thinking enter the regions when local people gradually adopt the attitudes of tourists and other incomers. This can be assessed as a process of modernisation but also as a loss of authentic culture depending on the individual point of view. Ray (1998 and 2000) developed scenarios for better understanding the interfaces of local and extra-local relationships, internal coherence and solidarity. While most tourists only stay for a very limited period, the impact of permanent incomers and weekend and second house owners on local communities might be even more crucial. Burnett (1998) highlights the impact of incomers on local identities. One particular focus from this Scottish study is on how incomers and local identities are constructed and mediated by development agencies and academic analyses. It is suggested that the rural incomer is represented as a contradiction of ‘good’ and ‘evil’ with respect to rural development processes. This paradox of income identity and representation is examined. Second home owners and temporal residents who are often not socially rooted in the region (born and brought up elsewhere), may nevertheless play an important role as ambassadors for the region (Perrot & La Soudière, 1998). There are plenty of examples when incomers promote innovations and rural development in remote regions, i.e. in the Diois (Southern Alps, France) where some incomers finally make the choice to stay and due to their
personal and professional networks, become key-actors for the local development of organic farming (Sencébé, 2004). The third group of incomers consists of those who have been reared and brought up in the region and then went outside (especially to urban areas) for work or education and finally come back when they retire or to meet again with their roots to enjoy a more “natural way of life”. In some regions these people also play a considerable role for the economic and socio-cultural fabric of local communities (Sencébé, 2004). The observations of local initiatives in two Swiss’s villages (Mülinghaus & Wälty, 2001) have shown that often a single person, typically a returnee, assumes leadership. In a sense, people who know “the outside” by personal experience are predisposed to feel, to apprehend the global tendencies, the external factors which particularly influence local communities’ future and local attractiveness. Incomers are thus important in creating social networks beyond the local level.

External impacts not only occur by means of people but also by technological progress and tele- and mass communication. Giddens (1990) argues that nowadays in the times of ‘reflexive modernity’ time and space become more and more separated from each other. These space-time separations produce disembedding of traditional forms of relationships, as standard and abstract dimensions of space and time come to order and rationalise activities in the place of local contexts. Examples include the use of a timetable to co-ordinate going on a journey by car and plane. Such organisations also clearly involve reflexive accounts of past activities. Disembedding both lifts out social relations from local contexts of interaction, and restructures them across indefinite spans of time and space. To be present becomes less important than to be just connected in terms of knowing about what is going on in the real world and being personally absent.

From a different perspective, it has been argued that in order to obtain the full benefits of ICTs in the development of external relations, new forms of education are required. Schürch (2002) reports findings from an innovative educational approach that blends e-learning with physical interaction among participants of new technologies trainings. Socialization process boosts participant motivation to learn, and in this way it is possible to go beyond the high drop out rates of traditional e-learning initiatives. Schürch (2002) proposes that the creation of a new typology of training professionals, experts in blended learning, may help peripheral regions to become learning regions.

Finally, the external relationship should not be only regarded as an exchange between rural regions and big conurbations (Brankovic, 2005). The role of regional nodes as represented in small towns as ‘sub-poles’ in rural economic development (Courtney & Errington, 2003) is often underestimated. Small and medium sized local towns provide infrastructures and services for the local rural communities but they also exert various effects in the field of culture and social networks. There is much evidence that minor Alpine towns enjoy a growing importance of the global network function (Perlik, 2001).

### 3.1.7. Gender aspect

This chapter poses the questions of how gendered is a local society, about the specific role of women in a sociological approach and power distribution between men and women in economic, social and cultural affairs. Can women participate equally in decision making processes and do they have the same access to resources like men? Furthermore does the perception of local living conditions by women influence their attitudes e.g. with regard to wedding, out-migration and family strategies? Sometimes women perceive things differently than men. Does this affect the strategies and goals of a local community and how is this related to social, economic and cultural dynamics and innovation?

Regional policies are always an expression and a result of power-related processes in society and thus are closely linked to the issue of equality between women and men (Brandth & Haugen, 1997; Oedl-Wieser, 2005). Spatial structures are socially constructed and therefore they reflect the social, economic
and political relations of a society and hence the gender relations inherent in this society. The imbalances in the distribution of resources and access opportunities imply very different challenges for different social groups. These groups enjoy highly different potential for participating in the shaping or modification of space. Those who have access to greater resources—traditionally men—are in charge of the physical shaping of space in keeping with their needs, requirements and wishes.

However, those who hold power in society not only determine the material-physical appointments of space, but also the discourses that define the usability, accessibility, availability and symbolism of space. In this sense, a gender-based hierarchisation is inherent in spatial structures. The institutionalised patterns in most Alpine regions likewise tend to favour male perspectives. Compared to men, women dispose of restricted opportunities to take an active part in the shaping of local policy. Amongst the actors, there still exists great scepticism regarding the possibility and necessity of linking a type of gender policy aimed at greater equality between women and men to a form of regional policy primarily interested in initiating and safeguarding socio-economic processes of innovation at the regional level (Oedl-Wieser, 2005; Derkzen & Bock, 2005).

Some further remarks:

- Women hold an important role in the job market, in associations, cultural events, etc. Their role is often underestimated.
- Gendered policies and empowerment of rural women supports government capacity to a very great extent. Exclusion of women from decision making not only causes expenses but also constrains the potentials of a local society.
- Creation of appropriate conditions and infrastructure (e.g. children day camps, nurseries) for a better economic, political and social integration of women. This issue is well tackled in the project “creation of structure and services for childhood” in Bourg d’Oisans (see best practice examples chapter 5.3.) which provides professional day care outside school for children aged between three to 12 years. The creation of new jobs through this initiatives also allows families to live and work in their place, to participate in local and cultural dynamics (i.e. associations), and to express their real demand for services.

3.1.8. Modes of government and administration, local initiatives and the social context

During the last couple of years the analysis of the governance of policy processes became an increasingly important focus. Numerous observations and experiences affected this development (Ohler, Polt, Rammer, Schindler, 2004).

First of all new information system orientated approaches target at a closer and more successful relationship between the players at different levels (local population, stakeholders, supra-local and national decision makers) and the necessity of the formulation and implementation of coherent policy instruments.

Secondly the implementation of new technologies and innovations such as those due to telecommunication provoke a more complex system both in terms of horizontal and vertical policy matters. The spread of new technologies opens up new perspectives for an improved political participation in a civic society. Moreover an increasing number of players are involved that do not often stand in a priori clearly defined relationship to each other and that are sometimes opponents. The design of policy processes should have the ability to manage this enhanced complexity. ‘Governance capacity building’ and ‘good governance’ thus became popular catchwords frequently.
used. Kofi Annan, Secretary General of the United Nations, argued recently that ‘good governance is perhaps the single most important factor in eradicating poverty and promoting development’ (UN Habitat Debate, March 2004).

a) Political cultures and traditions in local government

The Alps belong to several countries and regions, each one having specific political and administrative cultures. These cultures determine local modes of government and methods in the implementation of public policies which appear to be various. This context influences the governance capacity of local societies, more or less used to taking initiatives on their own territories.

In France, there is a quite long tradition of authoritarian and monopolistic way of governing. The national administration has been very much directive in implementing policies in forest management (late 19th century), hydropower plant construction, farming and tourist development (especially in the 1960s’ and 1970s’). Municipalities and behind them, local societies, had little room for initiative in these fields (Galléty, 1983). This is especially true where local development processes were quite amorphous. In Haute-Savoie, where there has been a strong tradition in tourism development since the 19th century, the French State has been less intrusive; but there, local municipalities got used to be authoritarian by themselves, limiting the initiative capacity of individuals and local enterprises (Debarbieux, 2001). For these reasons local societies in the French Alps have developed a fairly low level of governance, especially in ski resorts (Gerbaux & Marcelpoil, 2003). Italian Alps, especially in its western section, present similar cases.

The situation is quite different in Switzerland and Austria since political cultures and public policies have been more open to participation and involvement of local individuals. Switzerland is well-known for its tradition of “votations” and legal initiatives at the federal, cantonal and municipal level. Voters are used to taking part in major decisions including development issues. In Austria, the federal system has given an important room for local initiatives and has allowed a regional differentiation in the building of public policies. Besides that the concept of Independent Regional Development (IRD) was already implemented in 1983 by the establishment of the Austrian Association for Independent Regional Development (ÖAR), a platform based on an alliance of regional consultants and regional associations. IRD aims at fostering regional identity, the increase of regional added-value, multipurpose and stable economic structures and compatibility between economic, cultural and environmental characteristics of the region. The ÖAR intended as a self-governed bottom-up board was nonetheless promoted, funded and commissioned top-down by the national government (Federal Chancellery) in order to establish efficient regional consultancy structures (Dax & Hebertshuber, 2002). The Austrian IRD already displayed many similarities to later European Union rural development programmes and community initiatives such as LEADER and INTERREG. Another important issue is that the initiatives for tourist development were in most cases taken by the local farmers and landowners and not by companies from outside. Tyrol, for example, has been promoting a close connection between agriculture and tourism through financial encouragements for small hotels and tourist rooms in farms. South Tyrol adopted similar measures in Italy.

These contrasting political habits in France, Switzerland and Austria have had consequences on the initiatives in building local and regional networks. In France, the local representatives are used to keeping close contacts with regional and, if possible, national administration and politicians; but, contrary to their Swiss and Austrian counterparts, they are not very efficient in horizontal networking (local co-operation, long-distance networking). For example, very few French municipalities belong to Alliance in the Alps; very few proposals have been submitted to the various contests set up by CIPRA.
At the level of Alpine societies themselves, traditional social structures and processes are more or less liable to promote local initiatives and participation. Local societies are structured and organized in very different ways throughout the Alps. This has been pointed out for long by anthropologists and sociologists. Some authors have proved the influence of these social organizations on decision making and local development. For example, the system of legacy transmission (with a strong advantage for the elder son or, on the contrary, with an equal distribution of legacy among brothers and sisters) has induced very contrasted modes of tourist development in Savoie (Matteudi, 1997), the first one (which is the rule in Beaufortain for example) being much more prone to arouse economic initiatives and social diversity. This system of legacy transmission which is dominant in the German-speaking part of the Alps may be more favourable for governance capacity than the system dominant in the French and Italian speaking part of the Alps.

Last but not least, the capacity of a few families to keep most of local power through property and municipalities is another feature of many Alpine societies. In Valais, the bourgeoisie system which gives more power in local decisions to a minority of inhabitants and families has not been favourable to wide participation of the society as a whole in tourism development and collective management of local territories. In the French département of Haute-Savoie, most of the tourist infrastructures and seats at local governments are in the hands of a few which think themselves as the depository of local identity (Knafo, 1997; Debarbieux & Gerbaux, 2000).

b) Existing tools for participation and governance improvement

Though traditions in local government and governance are very different in the Alps, there has been an increasing demand for decentralisation, local participation and co-operation action in most of the regions during the last thirty years. Which tools are commonly employed by initiators to involve population and stakeholders?

The techniques available for citizen participation in regional development can be categorized through their effectiveness in achieving certain participatory objectives. More precisely, it is possible to distinguish between:

- participation techniques based on administrative objectives, whose goal is to improve citizen trust and confidence in the government (Information exchange: drop-in centers, public hearings, large and small group public meetings, focus group interviews, telecommunications techniques; educational and support building: advisory groups and task forces, technical and professional advice, petitions, workshops and seminars, expert paneling, formal and professional training);

- techniques to meet citizens' objectives, which are a way for governments to respond better to the citizens' values and give them real decision making power (decision making supplements: direct confrontation, litigation, role and game playing; representational input (active process): votes, referenda and plebiscites, partnership, delegated power, citizen control; representational input (passive process): nominal group technique (NGT), Delphi process, citizen survey).

The administrative techniques refer to a “top down” approach to decision making, while the techniques to meet citizens’ objectives refer to a “bottom up” approach to decision making, and are those mostly linked to good governance. Of course, the best participation programmes strike a balance between administrative and citizen expectations for participation.

Encouraging citizens to participate in planning will always be a difficult task. Two conditions are required:
• **the opening of power distribution channels** – There are two kinds of barriers that affect power distribution. One type is associated with the **power-holder** who will resist distributing this power unless they feel they will get something in return. Investors/developers should be provided with incentives conditioned to the respect of specific citizen participation requirements, particular when public money is spent on the development project. The other type is associated to the **have-nots**: the barriers include, first, inadequacies in the citizens’ political and socioeconomic infrastructure and knowledge base; and second, difficulties in organizing representative and accountable citizen’s groups because of the distrust that many citizens feel nowadays towards their governments. A possible solution is to appoint a person in the local government whose sole responsibility would be to make information regarding planning decisions more easily accessible to citizens.

• **Legitimizing the issues** – In order for the development programme to be legitimized, it must be incorporated into the community planning structure. Measures need to be taken to encourage direct citizen involvement in tourism planning (Johnsen, Umbach-Daniel, Schnell, 2003). Evaluation of participation programmes is critical to their survivals. Many failures of citizen participation programmes in western democracies can be directly attributed to the absence of an adequate evaluative framework. (Marien & Pizam, 1997).

The German project “Kempodium” (Allgäuer Zentrum für Eigenversorgung)” is an excellent example of how to better involve local people in decision making processes (see best practice examples chapter 5.3.). Kempodium is an innovative community platform that promotes the civil society, social networks, and a culture of trust, mutual support and social communication. People should be encouraged to meaningful activities and opportunities for political and civic participation.

**3.1.9. Innovation and attitudes towards change**

Things are often perceived differently according to different standpoints and interests. There is very often a big gap between the attitude of local population and from people outside. In a functional sense social action is subject to a concrete situation or interest. This issue has already been raised by Parsons (1937) theoretical work on the structure of social action.

Rural areas, even remote rural areas, are in a permanently on-going change. Those changes may have internal and external reasons. Anyhow, global trends do not stop before the boundaries of those regions. Mobility and electronic mass communication facilitate exchange. Nevertheless that does not mean homogenisation. Local flavours are still alert and sometimes in crass contradiction to the overall understanding and policies. There are many conflicts arising between local people and national policies e.g. in the field of nature protection (when e.g. local people perceive natural resources mainly as an economic asset without considering protection aspects), economic development (when the goals formulated by the local people are in contradiction to national development schemes) etc.

Rural areas like all other territorial entities have to be considered as dynamic systems. They have always been in a process of change and they will also change in future. The matter is how people perceive these changes. There is plenty of policy considerations involved also when regarding governance capacity.

Some remarks:

- Potential conflicts might arise from the different attitudes between local population and overall policies. Anyhow, local population may not be defined as a homogenous feature. Their
point of view might be also quite heterogeneous and ambiguous according to the different local groups. But as a matter of fact we can observe many territorial conflicts.

- An optimistic or pessimistic view of what their collective future could be has a mobilising or respectively paralysing effect.
- Bottom-up approaches and the fostering of local governance could balance different attitudes.
- The innovation capacity is correlated with the ability to implement good governance schemes.

3.2. INTERRELATIONSHIP BETWEEN THE ISSUES

During our thematic analysis, many connections appeared amongst the criteria we have selected and defined to apprehend the question of “governance capacity”. We wanted to explain these interactions in order to underline the importance of a dynamic understanding of our question. By the way, we chose to display these interactions through the graphical model of a solar system.

The “Governance capacity” system is symbolized by different planets, turning around their “sun”, that is to say the “Social cohesion” star. Indeed, social cohesion can be considered as the crucial factor to enhance governance capacity in local Alpine societies. It provides good conditions and a propitious context for achieving secondary objectives. Social cohesion seems to be the most relevant node for all the other criteria.

Different orbits can be drawn around the “sun of social cohesion”. Each orbit and planet exerts a certain influence on each other but some of these interactions deserve to be mentioned above all.

The “Governance capacity system”

A. Cultural identity
B. Territory
C. Infrastructure and services
D. Local economy
E. External relations
F. Social Structures
G. Gender
H. Modes of government
I. Innovation towards changes
J. Demographic evolution – attractiveness
X. “the sun”: Social cohesion
Geo-cultural orbit (brown circle)
Cultural identity is closely linked to social cohesion while it refers to social inclusion by enhancing social (also cultural and political) capital and while it is depending on external relations (i.e. through tourism and the global culture it may bring). Territorial features (landscapes, types of settlements and housings, etc.) also indicate a strong relatedness to social cohesion (connectedness, trust, participation in local associations) and cultural identity.
By the way territorial cohesion provides complementarities between places, and between people living and working in these places, because it implies that a local society defines its common interests and its common goods (i.e. places of high interest, local tradition, heritage, landscape, public services, quality of environment, etc.).

Economical and technical orbit (purple circle)
First of all social cohesion is strongly interdependent with the local economy. A sufficient provision with jobs also for skilled persons is a precondition for sufficient income and social integration. Moreover, local infrastructure facilities and services are required to combat social exclusion and rural poverty (Wiesinger, 2000). As a matter of fact, infrastructure decline does not affect all people in the same way. Particularly people without driving licence and/or owning private cars depend on the provision of local infrastructure. Low wage earners, elderly and handicapped, women and in particular women that bring up their children alone are mainly affected. Depopulation and economic decline are the principle driving forces next to general political paradigms that incite the cut down of infrastructure. Co-operation, local initiatives and networks could act as a remedy against this development.
Accessibility, that is to say the quality and density of infrastructures is also closely linked to external relations (tourism, commuting, trade and industrial development), which are facilitated by improved traffic networks.

Societal orbit (green circle)
Social structures and gender aspects also play an important role regarding social cohesion. Local associations cannot be maintained with a shrinking population number. The contribution of women for the maintenance of social capital and a sustainable regional development should also be acknowledged. Age and gender distribution are also important regarding social integration. Many communities in remote areas are shaken by over-aging and/or out-migration of women. Moreover, there are also external effects like the impact of urban incomers and of tourism on the fabric of local social life.
Gender aspects are also closely linked to local economy in terms of the share of women in the economic active population and their professional positions. Some Alpine regions show a drastic decline in the number of women by out-migration. Such a topic also suggests that new political decisions and processes have to be reached and implemented. Thus demographic and political aspects are also very important.

Political orbit (blue circle) and demographical (population) orbit (red circle)
These orbits are the most cross-sectored, that’s why they cut all the other orbits and thus may clash planets. The consequences could be rather positive or negative.
Indeed demography and attractiveness interact with each criterion and may strongly influence local economy and infrastructures for instance: change in population structure implies special needs and requirement of services (e.g. over-aging, influx of retired persons from town: care services for elderly people etc.) (Fischer, 2005).
Demographic changes are also important for the capacity of policy participation and innovation. Vast over-aging, the lack of young people and women is a rather de-motivating and demobilising feature for governance capacity. Administrational features are in a straight line linked to governance capacity. The modes of government and the way how local societies take hold of these are crucial for the definition of the governance strategies they will be able to construct. Local societies thus have to face changes and evolution, especially demographic and economic crisis and to promote innovative attitudes. Such behaviours can create opportunities for sustainable development and governance in Alpine regions.

After having illustrated some attracting and repelling forces between the orbits and planets of the governance capacity solar system we shall leave this system and turn our attention to the galaxy. The “governance capacity system” can be thought in connection with the other Project questions. We can imagine each other question as a proper solar system of the galaxy “Future in the Alps”. The interactions between these solar systems depend on the gravity force that different planets may exert between themselves but there are also plenty of similarities between planets of different solar systems (questions). For instance, we could imagine that our economic and technical orbit may interact with the “regional added value” system of Question 1, because of atmospheric similarities amongst our “local economy planet” and the planets of their system. Finally, the Future in the Alps program and all questions it is composed of, constitute a new theoretical and practical cosmos!
4. Interrelationship between Questions

4.1. RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN QUESTION 2 AND QUESTION 1

The following considerations had been developed during the Second Project Workshop in Bregenz in a discussion between members of QT2 and QT1 (Regional Value Added).

The core subject of Question 1 is essentially connected with the issues discussed in the “Local economy” paragraph (3.1.5.) of this report, but is related also with “Infrastructures and services” (3.1.4.) and “External relations” (3.1.6.).

QT1 and QT2 addressed their core subjects from different perspectives, the former mostly dealt with economics while the latter mostly emphasised on social affairs. Yet, the two perspectives are complementary because of the very well-known relationships between social and economic capital. During the discussion with QT1, the need to adopt a comprehensive look at local economic development and regional value added became evident: a too strict focus on economic indicators could in effect be misleading.

A general principle is that the accumulation of social capital fosters the accumulation of economic capital, and vice versa. Both social cohesion and connection to external social networks are beneficial to regional value added. If local enterprises co-operate, share common visions and are involved in local projects, forms of collective actions are made possible and the whole region improves its competencies and competitiveness. Aiming at this, basic infrastructures and services must be present and updated. Moreover, in our globalized world, openness to the outside world is of paramount importance for both individuals and enterprises. By linking to external networks, the opportunities to increase regional value added are maximized.

In regions with strong social cohesion, a common cultural identity is likely to emerge: this fosters attractiveness and sustainable economic development.

4.2. RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN QUESTION 2 AND QUESTION 3

There has been no exchange between QT2 and QT3 during the Bregenz workshop; and the two presentations made by both QT’s have expressed a very different point of view. However, QT2 has the feeling that the issue of nature conservation and protected area is potentially highly related to its topic, for the following reasons:

- Natural features and landscapes are part of local territories; they are important elements which have to be taken into account in the evaluation and promotion of territorial cohesion.

- Social utilization of natural areas is very various, generally based on very different “cultures of nature”. This is an important factor for understanding the relation between different social groups.

- Protected areas have generally been initiated by external stakeholders, sometimes with the assistance of fairly isolated people in the corresponding local societies. For this reason, they have been expressing a conception of nature which is neither endogenous, nor widely accepted by local people. The concepts have been defined according to the idea of regional or
national common goods and applied to local natural features that may have other cultural meanings for local people. In many cases, as in France, the people hired for work in these protected areas are highly trained and come from very different regions, thus also differ to a certain extent from local people.

- Protected areas are generally a major source of attraction for tourists. Alpine regions and places are often associated, from the outside, with some of their most outstanding natural features. Thus, local identity which includes all these features is influenced by tourists. Since endogenous and exogenous identities are interdependent, local societies are also influenced by exogenous patterns in the building and transformation of self-image.

- The economic output of protected areas which is underlined by most of the protected areas’ managers, can boost the local economy and become part of a comprehensive economic system including tourism, agriculture, environmental education, etc.

The issue of integration of natural features and conservation policies in good governance practices at a local level partly relies on the capacity of local societies to incorporate these features, exogenous visions and existing institutions in their own vision of their territory. But “to incorporate” does not mean the simple acceptance of the existing institutions and users. It means mutual adaptation of local cultures and societies on the one hand, and external visions, utilization and initiatives on the other hand. This could lead to:

- training of local people and park managers for a better understanding of respective cultures
- encouraging the employment of local people in park administrations
- promoting traditional environmental knowledge and contribution of traditional practices in nature management, etc.

The improvement of local governance capacity could be a crucial issue because it represents some of the more general and complex problems encountered by Alpine societies.

### 4.3. RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN QUESTION 2 AND QUESTION 4

The following considerations have been drawn from an intensive discussion between members of QT2 (Goverance capacity) and QT4 (Leisure, tourism and commuter mobility) at the workshop in Bregenz.

The core subject of Question 4 is basically connected with three thematic issues in Question 2: “infrastructure and services”, “external relations” and “local economy”. Mobility implies the existence of regional infrastructure in terms of transport facilities and the organisation of transport in terms of schedules, ticket prices and covering of the costs involved. Local accessibility depends on topographic patterns (isolation, remoteness, distances, natural hazards etc.) and public and individual mobility patterns (public transport system, private car ownership).

Accessibility and mobility are crucial issues which basically enable people in remote and isolated places to become economically and socially linked with the outside world and to partake in the amenities of a modern affluent society (Nutley & Thomas, 1995). But this statement has to be somewhat disputed. There is an overall consensus that improved transport networks facilitate economic development but high accessibility does not necessarily mean that the social disparities within the local population are narrowed automatically. The revenues may flow outside the region or at local level only a limited number of persons and enterprises may benefit from economic
development incited by improved accessibility. As an example, a negative impact of high accessibility and mobilisation is that people more and more buy their daily goods in shopping malls outside their region. Social stratification, land ownership, local resources and political issues play an important role when assessing the impact of accessibility and mobility. Moreover we can also observe a contradiction between the advantages of increased accessibility in terms of socio-economic development and environmental damage caused by traffic emissions.

The maintenance of transport systems requires a huge financial effort and political will from the public. Transport - above all commuting - relies strongly on the price of gasoline. A main goal is to create public awareness for soft mobility (environmentally friendly vehicles, bicycles etc.), promote self organisation (car sharing) and integrated mobility concepts for reducing traffic and emissions.

4.4. RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN QUESTION 2 AND QUESTION 5/ QUESTION 6

Both Question 5 and Question 6 concern cross-cut issues. Question 5 deals with new forms of decision making whereas Question 6 focuses on the impact of policies and instruments and their contribution to sustainable development and knowledge management as well as how could different actors make better use of their abilities. When regarding those issues both Question 5 and Question 6 appear to be closely interconnected with Question 2. At the workshop in Bregenz it became obvious that it is hard task to detect concrete boundaries between those three questions. Thus as long as the borders between those questions are not definite and as long as the specific issues of the questions involved are not wholly decided it seems to be futile to talk about interrelationship.
5. Conclusion: statements and recommendations

5.1. STATEMENTS

The QT2 came about that a local society is liable to maintain and increase its “governance capacity”:

- when individuals share a common definition of what is the common interest, when there is strong social cohesion (complementarities between individuals and groups, balanced social stratification, feeling of solidarity),
- when the local society and economy is various enough for allowing individuals to develop a wide range of (social and economic) roles and actions liable to facilitate the building of collective welfare,
- when individuals have acquired a strong social capital (individual and collective resources generated by the relation networks implemented by every member of the local society).

Social cohesion thus might be the most important feature and also goal that contributes to social security, social stability and the attractiveness of a region. Social cohesion can only be achieved by social integration. Thus, a highly developed social welfare system involving all local inhabitants must be seen as a prerequisite against social conflicts, social exclusion and rural poverty. Social stratification in terms of power distribution, decision making and income inequalities are also decisive components that impact the local political system. Local governance capacity can only be incited in a democratically organized society. There is a comprehensive literature on the importance of social capital (Coleman 1988, Putnam 1993, Shucksmith 2000). It is generally seen as the driving force behind social relations and can be generated by a wide variety of different social interactions and institutions. It represents connections among individuals – social networks and the norms of reciprocity and trustworthiness that arise from them. Social capital, which is also referred to ‘the features of social organisations, such as networks and trust, that facilitate co-ordination and co-operation for mutual benefit’, ‘civic virtue’ and ‘community’, ‘makes us smarter, healthier, richer, and better able to govern a just and stable democracy.’ Like other forms of capital, social capital is inherently productive, enabling people to achieve goals that would otherwise be impossible to realise on their own. But there are also plenty of critics on this concept. To address local people to better develop their ‘civicness’ goes frequently hand in hand with the cut down of public infrastructure and services or a general withdrawal of the state. Thus there must be a proper hard ware in terms of adequate local structures so that the soft ware ‘social capital’ can be effective (Wiesinger, Vihinen, Tapio-Bistrom, 2005).

Social cohesion implies:
- a balanced social stratification
- proper instruments and means to tackle with different interests and conflicts
- participatory decision making processes
- involvement of all groups of local society (young and elderly people, women)
- tolerance towards social and ethnic minorities and all those that do not want to fit into the prevailing norms and values.
According to the analyses undertaken in the previous chapter 3, QT2 developed the following nine statements which are more or less related to the thematic columns of the analytic working grid (see chapter 2.2.):

**Statement 1:** Social attractiveness of Alpine places mainly depends on job availability in the place or nearby (when commuting is possible), on the quality of environment and on the quality of local infrastructures and services. But while attractiveness can explain most of migration trends, it does not explain the capacity of local people to develop good governance practises.

**Statement 2:** Local cultural identity is a major factor for governance capacity, since inhabitants, when sharing common values and visions, can more easily agree on projects and actions. However, for being an effective resource for collective action, local identity should not be the “property” of a minority (i.e. old local families), should be open to incomers and meaningful by itself, even when commoditified for tourists.

**Statement 3:** Territorial cohesion can support social cohesion and governance capacity. Whatever settlement structures are, it is important for local societies to develop a comprehensive perception of the local territory, individual places being articulated in a coherent structure, meaningful for all inhabitants.

**Statement 4:** The more local societies are open to the outside-world and the more local individuals are connected to social networks including non-local individuals, the better are social resources liable to be invested in local development and governance.

**Statement 5:** Gender equity and women participation are a major factor in the building of fair and dynamic local societies. The creation of favourable conditions for the economic, political and socio-cultural inclusion of women (property and land ownership, employment, membership in local associations and councils) fosters the potential of the whole region since women comprise more or less half of the total population.

**Statement 6:** Regardless to the diverse political and administrative cultures within the Alpine regions, it seems to be important that the various modes of government match with the expectations and wishes of the individuals by permitting bottom-up processes and democratic participation. A major issue for local societies is to find their own way in matching these expectations with the institutional framework of their respective area (region, nation).

**Statement 7:** Infrastructures and services are subject to global trends that may enhance competition amongst places. Local communities have to cope with the challenges involved with the privatisation of public services and hence develop local initiatives and innovative ways for maintaining these services. This is also crucial for maintaining the number of inhabitants. ICT can be considered as an interesting tool for the improvement of local development, especially when they’re associated with other public services or activities.

**Statement 8:** Whatever the dynamics of local economies are, the most important issue for governance capacity is the capacity of local enterprises to co-operate, to share common visions on the future of the place, to be willing to be involved in local projects and to enter a continuous learning process in order to improve individual competencies.

**Statement 9:** Awareness by local people on the specific assets and amenities but also on the constraints and limitations of their region facilitate co-operation, the implementation of projects and common actions. A realistic attitude on what their collective future could be purports a mobilising impact.
5.2. RECOMMENDATIONS

QT2 suggests following eight recommendations appropriate to safeguard or improve local social cohesion and governance capacity:

**Recommendation 1:** Local Alpine societies should improve the quality of recognition of its social diversity and give space to the expression of particular cultures, interests and expectations, especially to those which are frequently neglected (women, children, new inhabitants, foreigners, second home owners, etc.) in order to prevent social exclusion.

**Recommendation 2:** Local Alpine societies should work on the building of a common identity, which should display the identities of the majority of inhabitants’ and groups’ without excluding the interests of social, cultural, ethnic, religious or political minorities.

**Recommendation 3:** Local Alpine societies should work on the building of an integrated vision of their own territory, taking into account the specificity of every village and hamlet and the specificity of local economic activities for a better use of every opportunity in local planning, cultural events, etc.

**Recommendation 4:** Local Alpine societies should foster local economies within the scope of global trends they cannot escape from, and thus elaborate cross-sectored strategies and partnerships based on different levels and types of territory (from local level to international level - urban, rural, peri-urban).

**Recommendation 5:** Local Alpine societies should develop specific skills for the comprehension of the various political and administrative processes and tools in order to enhance their participation in the definition of these processes and to combine local interests and expectations with more global development frames and conditions.

**Recommendation 6:** Local Alpine societies, in town like in the countryside, should promote an outward looking attitude, being aware to maintain and to develop each type of external partnership they can built.

**Recommendation 7:** Local Alpine societies should develop initiatives for maintaining or even creating adapted, new and more appropriate infrastructures and services. Due to a relative decreasing of public subsidies and to a privatisation context of public services, local communities have to cooperate and to join their needs and means.

**Recommendation 8:** Local Alpine societies should undertake every effort to assist women empowerment respectively strengthening the position of women in order to establish a more gendered community and to better utilise the potentials of the region.
5.3. ILLUSTRATION BY GOOD PRACTISE EXAMPLES

Targeting at fostering both young Alpine people’s cultural identity and mobility, the project “The pedlars’ House” (“La Maison des Colporteurs”), is a relevant experience, especially considering recommendations 1, 2, 6 and even 7, while it promotes a sustainable and dynamic outward attitude through the installation of an “inforoute” (transborder info-highway).

An outward looking attitude is crucial for the project “To re-knot the link between town and countryside in the Alps” (“Renouer le lien ville/campagne dans les Alpes”), that fits recommendations 2, 3, 4 and 6. Indeed, it is through the complementarities of two “worlds” (urban consumers and rural farmers), too many times isolated from one another, that common visions of Alpine areas may arise and that reciprocal needs and offers can adapt to each other. This project clearly exposes the benefit of an outward attitude for local economy while it preserves or even creates jobs for farmers.

The project "Network of multi-media libraries of Queyras" (“Réseau des bibliothèques multimédia du Queyras”) aims at developing a library multimedia network, follows recommendations 1, 5, 6 and 7. This initiative puts local communities in a permanent learning process, promotes the sharing of knowledge, know-how and skills, both in traditional way (history, culture, habits, agriculture, geography, etc.), as well as in implementing new technologies and ways that may open up new opportunities for remote areas for example in terms of job employment potentials, training and open access services and infrastructures.

The initiative “Rigodonaires Festival”, is a good example how to encourage social connectedness by creating social events, meeting sites for the people, fostering culture and local identities. From the view of a vast participation of many actors (at local, regional, national or even European level), this initiative also gives the opportunities for local communities to increase their knowledge of political and administrative processes, and the way they can adapt them to specific local contexts. Thus this initiative deals with recommendations 1, 3 and 5.

“Future in the Alps” can not be thought without future craftsmen, that’s why initiatives like the “Creation of structure and services for childhood” (“Création de structures et de services pour l’enfance”) set up in Bourg d’Oisans are crucial. While it allows children and their parents to stay in valleys and villages, it also fosters local economy and creates jobs and partnerships between local administrations, associations and communities. This best practice example, particularly emphasises on recommendations 4, 5 and 7.

The German project “Kempodium” which has been implemented 2002 in Kempten, Allgäu, copes with plenty of our recommendations (particularly recommendation 1, 2, 3, 5 and 7). The basic objective of this project is the creation of a podium as an innovative centre for local people integrating artisan workshops for children and laymen, cultural events, bazaars and second hand shops. Local people should be incited to more innovation, creativity, social and political participation in order to enhance social networks, communication and mutual trust amongst people, civic connectedness, social capital and making use of local resources. The maintenance and improvement of socio-cultural competence as well as the knowledge about traditional handicrafts by local people aims directly at fostering regional identity and sustainable economy. Innovative processes and features from outside the region are also acknowledged by cultural exchange at a supra-local and global level (e.g. music concerts, expositions, African dancing).
The main objectives of the barter circle Vorarlberg („Tauschkreis Vorarlberg“) are promotion and support of regional economy and environment. The availability of products and services on local level should be increased. Furthermore the project targets at the improvement of the skills of the individuals, the integration of people who are prone to be put at the social margin like jobless, handicapped and senior citizens by the implementation of organised neighbourhood and relief services. The creation of a local complementary currency as a non-commercial exchange means is perceived as an appropriate instrument for this goal. This project encompasses various recommendations from QT2 particularly those aiming at social inclusion (recommendation 1), common identity (recommendation 2) and local economy (recommendation 4).

The initiative „Living Space for young People“ (Lebensraum für die Jugend) puts the focus on improving the socio-cultural and economic living condition for young people in a remote Carinthian village close to the Slovenian border. Bad Eisenkappel/Železna Kapla is severely affected by out-migration, the loss of local services, infrastructures and culture. Bad Eisenkappel/Železna Kapla is inhabited by two ethnic groups (German Austrians and Slovenes). Historically many tensions arose between those two groups out of different political reasons. The main objectives of the project are to better integrate young people by active involvement through cultural events like workshops and theatre performances. The project targets at all age groups between five and 20 years. Simultaneously the fostering of mutual co-operation and understanding between the ethnic groups is also an important goal. Above all recommendation 1 (supporting social and cultural inclusion) is matched by this initiative. But also recommendations 2, 3, 6 and 7 are well covered. Supporting infrastructures and innovations, internal and external partnership and the creation of a common local identity that is not exclusive are crucial features of the project. Prejudices between the ethnic groups are combated in order to facilitate a fruitful regional development and to open up new perspectives for the local youth.

Ambientetrentino.it is a very articulated internet portal for sustainable development in the Trentino region in Northern Italy. This project fits recommendations 3 and 4. Through this website and the social network that has been involved, it is possible to create an integrated vision of what sustainability means for the region, projects can be presented and discussed on a broad basis and the participation of the population can be enhanced. This cross-sectored portal gives the possibility to gather information also on issues concerning urban development of the city of Trento put in relation to its rural surroundings.

Polo Poschiavo is a center of competence for continuous education (specialized in e-learning and blended learning) and support of development projects located in the Valposchiavo, Southern Switzerland. The work of this center has a strong relation to recommendations 4, 5, 6 and 8. Polo Poschiavo’s activities involve the participation of large numbers of residents and business people in the region (women who wish to return to work, owners of small trade and commercial businesses, farmers, senior citizens). In the framework of Interreg IIA, significant forms of collaboration have been established with public bodies in Italy. All the activities of Polo Poschiavo are targeted at the overriding goal of creating the conditions for human and ecological development in harmony with social, cultural and economic conditions in the region involved. The centre is an important instrument for communicating and promoting the potential of computer-mediated communication. Polo Poschiavo and the knowledge taught there have direct and indirect effects in the creation of new jobs. The innovative education offering at Polo Poschiavo has increased awareness in the region for supra-regional stimuli. Co-operation with surrounding regions has been strengthened by the project. At the same time, a process of structural change has been initiated; new opportunities for economic development have been identified and implemented within the region. Polo Poschiavo has enhanced awareness in the region for its strengths and weaknesses.
The initiative “www.ilbernina.ch” comprises an online newspaper for the Valposchiavo, an Italian speaking region in Southern Switzerland. The goals of this project are relevant for recommendations 2, 3, 5 and 6. The creation of an online newspaper for a small region (5,000 inhabitants) as an instrument for a broader participation on finding creative solutions for the problems of the area is one of the main achievements of this project. Discussions through forums facilitate the people to take actively part in the definition of political decision making processes, so the common identity can be enhanced without excluding minorities. The newspaper is also a showcase for the region and its economy and gives to the external visitors a comprehensive image of the complexity and richness of the region.

“Il ricambio generazionale quale strumento di rilancio dei pascoli montani” is a project located in the Belluno Province in Northern Italy and it is related with recommendations 2, 3 and 4. The objective of this project is to transfer the traditional knowledge about animal keeping on fallows to the new generations. The integration of experienced elderly people in the project gives the possibility to create an innovative approach for an educational programme that will be created in order to increase the attractiveness of this kind of job. The common identity of the local society can be strengthened and an integrated vision of the territory that is aware of its traditions and peculiarities can be achieved. The cross-sectored partnership of this project is an indicator for the importance that is given to agriculture in order foster local economy and the image of the territory.
Table for good practices – criteria concerned by good practice examples

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6. New and open questions

Most open questions which occurred during our research activities can be related to the “planet system” which we invented in Chapter 3.2. Focusing on attractiveness there is a strong need to analyse the relationship between local social cohesion and the different subsystems or what we called “orbits” sketched as follows by long-term surveys and pilot studies all over the Alpine regions:

- Geo-culture
  - territorial features

Is there any evidence that territorial features (topography, remoteness, climate, landscapes etc.) affect social cohesion and if yes to what extent?

- Economy
  - Local/regional economy
  - provision with local infrastructures and services

To what extent is social cohesion fostered by local/regional economy? What is the impact on social cohesion by shutting down local services and infrastructures? Are there new innovative ways to compensate the loss of local services and infrastructures?

- Society
  - external relations, impact from tourism
  - cultural identity
  - gender issues
  - social stratification and income distribution

How and in which cases does tourism support or distort social cohesion and cultural identity? Considering gender issues and the role of women, what are the ways to foster women participation in local economy and society? Analyses on the relation between cultural identity and social cohesion are needed as well as research on rural poverty and social exclusion.

- Policy
  - political tradition
  - local governance capacity
  - interaction between the different level (local, regional, national, international) of governance processes

What is the effect of democratic respectively hierarchical systems and authoritarian political traditions on social cohesion and good governance? How to combine local governance processes with regional, national and global policy systems?

Besides these questions referring to the “planet system” there are further open questions that may be listed:

- Comprehensive analyses on the importance of social capital for attractiveness of Alpine regions
• Sociological surveys and case studies investigating the relationship between social capital and regional attractiveness are required.
• Can the notions of attractiveness, local governance and sustainable development be thought at the same time?
7. Annexes

7.1. ANNEXE 1: LIST OF PUBLICATIONS FILLED INTO THE DATABASE


18. HÖCHTL F., LEHRINGER S., KONOLD W., 2005, ”‘Wilderness’: what it means when it becomes a reality—a case study from the southwestern Alps”; in: Landscape and Urban Planning, Elsevier, vol.70, n°1-2, pp.85-95


# Table for publications – criteria tackled by publications

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Secondary publications (useful for our analysis)


ESPACE, POPULATIONS, SOCIETES, 2000, “Repopulation et mobilités rurales”, thematic issue, n°3, Université des Sciences et Techniques de Lille Flandre-Artois, Villeneuve d’Ascq.


7.2. ANNEXE 2: LIST OF GOOD PRACTICE EXAMPLES FILLED INTO THE DATABASE

1) Réseau des bibliothèques multimédia du Queyras, Hautes-Alpes (F)
2) Festival Rigodonaïres, Isère (38) - Rhône Alpes (F)
3) Création de structures et de services pour l’enfance, Rhône-Alpes-Isère-Bourg d’Oisans (F)
4) Renouer le lien ville/campagne dans les Alpes, Isère (France)
5) La Maison des Colporteurs (Savoie, Piémont, F/I)
6) Kempodium, Allgäuer Zentrum für Eigenversorgung, Stadt Kempten (D)
7) Polo Poschiavo, Valposchiavo-Bregaglia-Val Müstair-Valle Maggia-Valtellina-Valchiavenna CH/I)
8) www.ilbernina.ch, Valposchiavo (Graubünden, CH)
9) Tauschkreis Vorarlberg, Vorarlberg (A)
10) Lebensraum für die Jugend im zweisprachigen Berggebiet, Unterkärnten (A)
11) Ambientetrentino (Trento, I)
12) Il ricambio generazionale quale strumento di rilancio dei pascoli montani (Veneto/Belluno, I).
7.3. ANNEXE 3. LIST OF ORIGINAL MATERIAL CONCERNING THE PUBLICATIONS AND THE GOOD PRACTICE EXAMPLES SAVED ON THE ONLINE PLATFORM FOR DOCUMENTS

Publications


PERROT M., LA SOUDIERE (de) M., 1998, “La résidence secondaire : un nouveau mode d’habiter la campagne?”, Ruralia, n°2, available on the following website:

http://ruralia.revues.org.document34.html


Good Practices

Réseau des bibliothèques multimédia du Queyras, Hautes-Alpes (F)

http://projects.cipra.org/bestpractice/pnrqueyras/dossier

Festival Rigodonaïres, Isère (38) - Rhône Alpes (F)

http://projects.cipra.org/bestpractice/jpbiessy/schreiben1
http://projects.cipra.org/bestpractice/jpbiessy/schreiben2_1
http://projects.cipra.org/bestpractice/jpbiessy/Schreiben2_2

Kempodium, Allgäuer Zentrum für Eigenversorgung, Stadt Kempten (D)

http://projects.cipra.org/bestpractice/Kempodium/Auszeichnungen_fAr_das_Kempodium.pdf
http://projects.cipra.org/bestpractice/Kempodium/IM001620.JPG/view
http://projects.cipra.org/bestpractice/Kempodium/IM001419.JPG/view
http://projects.cipra.org/bestpractice/Kempodium/Seite_1a.pdf

Création de structures et de services pour l’enfance, Rhône-Alpes-Isère-Bourg d’Oisans (F)
http://projects.cipra.org/bestpractice/lggautier/action  
http://projects.cipra.org/bestpractice/lggautier/diagnostic

Polo Poschiavo, Valposchiavo-Bregaglia-Val Müstair-Valle Maggia-Valtellina-Valchiavenna CH/IT)  
http://projects.cipra.org/bestpractice/Cassiano/APP  
http://projects.cipra.org/bestpractice/Cassiano/Infosociety

www.ilbernina.ch, Valposchiavo (Graubünden, CH)  
http://projects.cipra.org/bestpractice/giuliang/visite_mensili.gif/view

Tauschkreis Vorarlberg, Vorarlberg (A)  
http://projects.cipra.org/bestpractice/TTKV/Derzeit_laufende_Projekte.doc  
http://projects.cipra.org/bestpractice/TTKV/Praesentation

Lebensraum für die Jugend im zweisprachigen Berggebiet, Unterkärnten (A)  
http://projects.cipra.org/bestpractice/zarja/Sommerprogramm
7.4. ANNEXE 4. ORIGINAL MATERIAL CONCERNING THE PUBLICATIONS AND THE GOOD PRACTICE EXAMPLES

Publications available in hardcopy


7.5. ANNEXE 5. UPDATE OF DEFINITIONS OF KEY TERMS OF YOUR QUESTION (CONTRIBUTION TO THE GLOSSARY)

Our contributions to the glossary have already been considered at the beginning of the program. The actual version of the glossary is corresponding to our research positions.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Key term</th>
<th>Definition relevant for ‘Future in the Alps’</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Governance capacity</td>
<td>(Q2) Governance: rules, processes and behaviour that affect the way in which individuals and institutions, public and private, manage their common affairs, particularly as regards openness, participation, effectiveness and coherence. Capacity: the ability or power to do something. In the context of ‘Future in the Alps’ we focus on the governance capacity of local or regional social entities (municipalities, regional or local institutions etc.).</td>
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<tr>
<td>Regional identities</td>
<td>(Q2) Identity: the fact of being who or what a person or thing is as well as the characteristics determining this. Regional identities are influenced by various factors from local to global scale. Today, people often have more than only one single identity, that’s why we use the word in plural.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Social capital</td>
<td>(Q2) Social capital is the driving force behind social relations and can be generated by a wide variety of different social interactions and institutions (Robert D. Putnam: Making Democracy Work 1993, Bowling Alone 2000).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Social services</td>
<td>(Q2) Services provided by the state or by private institutions for the community, such as education, social welfare, healthcare, religion, advocacy, fight against poverty etc.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Spatial polarisation</td>
<td>(Q2) Spatial polarisation describes the trend of wealthy regions (for example metropolitan areas) developing better and better and less favoured regions (for example peripheral areas) declining more and more. This trend can be observed on different scales in and outside the Alps.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
7.6. ANNEXE 6. LIST OF POTENTIAL MEMBERS FOR THE NETWORK ‘ENTERPRISE ALPS’

Luigi GAÏDO
IRE, Via Massena 58, 10128 TORINO (Italy)

Nicolas HUBERT
Directeur de l’Association Culturelle, sociale et sportive du Queyras

Laëtitia PRAS
Responsable du Point Public Espace Rural Emploi Formation
05740 AIGUILLES, Hautes-Alpes, France
http://acssq.free.fr/

Dominique HUARD
Directeur de la maison de l’emploi de BONNEVILLE (Haute-Savoie, France)
http://www.maison-emploi.com

Jean MAURIZOT
Bureau national des Bistrots de Pays
Le Grand Carré - 13 bd des Martyrs - BP 41- 04300 FORCALQUIER (Alpes de Hautes-Provence, France)
http://www.bistrotdepays.com

Maison des Services Publics - Espace Rural Emploi Formation - Point Information Jeunesse
Esplanade Pierre Auguste Giraud
05120 L’ARGENTIÈRE LA BESSEE (Hautes-Alpes, France)
Email : msp@ville-argentiere.fr
http://ville-argentiere.fr/HTML/services/msp/msp1.htm

Site de Proximité pour l’emploi et la création d’activités
Animation technique régionale
Lycée agricole du Valentin
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Michel MUGNIER
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Jean-Michel DEVAUX
Chargé de mission Programme Vercors connect
jean-michel.devaux@vercors.net
http://www.grenoble-isere.com/vercors-connect
7.7. ANNEXE 7. LIST OF ONGOING RESEARCH PROJECTS REGARDING THE CONTENTS OF YOUR QUESTION FILLED INTO THE ISCAR DATABASE

http://www.alpinestudies.ch//projekte.html

Felix Schläpfer
How publicly provided landscapes resources and historical heritage affect local economic change: population, employment and residential land prices
Project Number : 100012-105841
Project Duration : 2/1/05 - 1/31/07

Alain Thierstein
The impact of the liberalisation of public services on the competitiveness of firms in the Alpine regions of Switzerland
Project Number : 4048-064499
Project Duration : 2/1/02 - 1/31/05 project completed

Dieter Schürch
Nuove tecnologie e processi di comunicazione a distanza
Project ID : CH-1065
Project Duration : 3/11/15 - 00/00/00 (this project is already finished)

Bernard Debarbieux
"Mountain communities in global networks"
Financial supports : NFS and Fondation Boninch

Nicolas Evrard
“Interact ProMonte”
Themes: Networks, Rural development, Spatial development, Transport and communications
Project lead partner: European Association of Elected Representatives from Mountain Areas (FR)
Total project cost in Euro: 935 890.00 / Funding from EU in Euro: 467 945.00
Project Duration: 01.06.2004 - 31.05.2006
http://www.interact.promonte.net/index.htm

Axel Borsdorf (Institute of Geography, University of Innsbruck)
Sigrun Lange (Institute of Geography, University of Innsbruck)
“Data Infrastructure of the Alps – Mountain Oriented Network Technology - DIAMONT”
DIAMONT aims to give a vital impulse to the relaunch of SOIA (System for Observation of and Information on the Alps). DIAMONT is an Interreg IIIB-Project, financed by the European Union in the Alpine Space Programme (Project-Nr.: A/III/1.1/29)
http://www2.uibk.ac.at/diamont/