

Levers for transformative nature-based adaptation initiatives in the Alps

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Abstract

Transformative adaptation is essential to face the unprecedented biodiversity and climate change crises. Nature-based Solutions (NbS) could accelerate the transformation of social-ecological systems to address climate change and biodiversity and Nature's Contribution to People (NCP) loss. However, they are not widely implemented. Understanding the drivers of decision-making context that support NbS implementation is crucial to address potential bottlenecks and barriers. Here, we conducted semi-structured interviews with managers of twenty NbS implemented in the Alps. We investigated their decision-making contexts using the *values-rules-knowledge* framework and their transformative characteristics. Using a clustering analysis we identified three types of initiatives sharing similar groups of levers and barriers: the *local transformation* type implemented self-sufficient initiatives motivated by relational values to nature, supporting the adaptive capacity of nature through informal governance and experiential knowledge sharing; the *green deal* type implemented gradual change in practices using funding opportunities or regulations to experiment with new approaches fostering instrumental values of nature; the *multi-scale co-production* type implemented socially accepted NbS through wide participatory process with local practitioners, and the inclusion of diverse values in initiatives designed to be persistent even when challenged by the instability of funding opportunities. Based on these results we recommend that NbS related policies should: i) foster NbS implementation by local communities who faced economic constraints when implementing new practices; ii) support transdisciplinary programmes to create an inclusive network around NbS practices; and iii) adapt incentives to enable transformative adaptation through NbS. A macro-regional strategy may have the potential to face these challenges.

Key-words

Nature-based Solutions; Transformative adaptation; Climate change adaptation drivers; Social-ecological systems; European Alps



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1. Introduction

41 The interlinked crises of climate and biodiversity urge societies to adapt whatever the emissions
42 scenarios (1–3). However, incremental adaptation actions are likely to maintain the system in its current
43 trajectory and to be insufficient to face new climate conditions (4). Sustainable responses of socio-
44 ecological systems need transformative adaptation, i.e. fundamentally altering the entire socio-
45 ecological system’s properties and function to reduce the root cause of vulnerabilities (4–6).
46 Transformative adaptation aims to involve a holistic approach with new governance systems and
47 knowledge production, different power relations, and a shift in values, assumptions, and policies (7–9).
48 Despite the growing interest for transformative adaptation in sustainability science and policy (1,3,10),
49 real case evidences of transformative responses to climate change are limited (11,12) mainly due to the
50 inherent complexity of assessing transformation process that entails several and diverse elements
51 including governance, stakeholders’ plurality, value systems, and habits among others (8). Previous
52 studies proposed a set of characteristics, including innovation, restructuring, shift to an alternative
53 direction, with long-term impacts at large scale and across scales to measure transformative adaptation
54 (Fedele et al., 2019). While some empirical studies have identified promising examples of
55 transformative adaptation (Palomo et al., 2021), others regret having mainly found incremental
56 responses (12,14). Further research is thus needed to evaluate different adaptation strategies and their
57 relation to transformative processes.
58

59 There is a growing interest in Nature-based Solutions (NbS) as adaptation options with the potential for
60 transformative change to address the joint climate and biodiversity crisis (13,15–17). NbS are “actions
61 to protect, sustainably manage and restore natural or modified ecosystems that address societal
62 challenges effectively and adaptively, simultaneously providing human well-being and biodiversity
63 benefits” (18).

64 On-the-ground transformative NbS for climate change adaptation are for examples small-scale
65 greening projects in urban area co-created with local communities to reduce heatwaves impact (19);
66 wetland restoration with the introduction of sivopastoral systems in mountains to adapt to reduced
67 water provision (20); agroecology practices to reduce drought impacts, increase soil biodiversity, and
68 secure food production (21,22). Transformative NbS are also understood as incentive measures to
69 enhance farmers to safeguard Nature’s Contribution to People (NCP) (23), co-producing knowledge
70 networks to adapt management practices (24), and creating biosphere reserve to reduce deforestation
71 trends (13).

72 Despite the growing evidence of the abilities of NbS to address a wide range of issues and to
73 simultaneously provide various NCP co-benefits (25–27), they are not widely implemented (8,22,28),
74 and particularly not where they are most needed (26,29). Indeed, technical or biophysical parameters
75 are often not the main barriers; rather, NbS implementation is shaped by the social-ecological decision-

76 making context (30–32). In order to amplify transformative NbS, i.e. to disseminate initiatives and to
77 mainstream NbS into public action (33), there is a need to understand the main elements involved in the
78 decision-making contexts of already implemented NbS, and what transformative characteristics these
79 decision-making contexts foster.

80 The *vrk* (*values-rules-knowledge*) framework analyses the decision-making context (34) and is an
81 established tool in the context of environmental changes (35–37). According to the framework, the
82 decision-making leading to NbS design, funding and realisation, a step-by-step process which we refer
83 to as ‘implementation’, involves an interconnected system of *values, rules and knowledge*. The *values*
84 refer to “a set of ethical precepts that determine the way people select actions, evaluate events” (38). For
85 human-nature relationships, *values* usually refer to the intrinsic value of species and ecosystems, the
86 instrumental values and the relational values (39). *Rules* include informal norms, practices, taboos,
87 habits, and heuristics, as well as formal regulations, legislation, treaties, and ordinances (Dopfer and
88 Potts, 2009; Ostrom, 2011). *Knowledge* combines evidence-based (scientific and technical) knowledge,
89 experiential, meanings-based knowledge (40,41) or indigenous knowledge (32,42). Identifying the
90 *values, rules, knowledge*, and interactions involved in the decision-making context related to NbS
91 implementation enables the characterisation of the set of levers and barriers to climate adaptation
92 (34,43).

93 Commonly identified barriers to nature-based solutions implementation are i) the lack of funds and
94 financial instruments for implementing NbS (44); ii) the path dependency of practices leading to a
95 resistance to change from stakeholders and institutions (30,45); iii) the limited participation of local
96 stakeholders (46); iv) the limited coordination between actors from different sectors (47); and v) the
97 knowledge gap about the multiple co-benefits of NbS (47,48).

98 Several levers have been highlighted to overcome these barriers: promotion and assessment of NbS co-
99 benefits (49,50), collaboration and co-construction of solutions between stakeholders (50,51),
100 polycentric governance (47), incentives and environmental law (7), social innovation (30,52) and
101 overcoming path dependency (30,43). Most of these levers are identified and listed in the literature as
102 general recommendations, with low considerations of the local contexts and the synergies or trade-offs
103 that may exist between them (7,19). However, multiple levers and barriers to adaptation co-occur within
104 decision-making context, such as place attachment and resistance to innovation (43); subsidies for
105 conservation action and the willingness (or unwillingness) of local actors to act (35); the protection of
106 traditional practices and the need to adapt them to new conditions (35); the valuation of landscape
107 aesthetics and the lack of instrumental benefits it provides (36). While these results improve our
108 understanding of the decision-making process, it is still unclear how levers are activated jointly to
109 successfully achieve NbS implementation, especially regarding their transformative characteristics.

110 Previous studies identified mountain areas as sentinels of climate change due to their high vulnerability
111 regarding the rapidity of temperature increase in elevated areas (53,54), the increasing climatic hazards
112 they are submitted to such as drought, floods and landslides (55,56). The resulting impacts threaten the
113 unique habitats that mountains procured for biodiversity and the substantial NCP that benefit local
114 communities and those living in lowlands (57–60).

115 In this study, we characterised the decision-making context and transformative characteristics of twenty
116 NbS initiatives in the European Alps to: i) understand which levers and barriers co-occur in the
117 implementation of NbS; ii) identify which NbS are implemented under different decision-making
118 contexts; iii) determine which levers are associated with transformative NbS.

119 **2. Materials and Methods**

120

121 2.1. Semi-structured interviews with Nature-based Solutions managers

122 We explored NbS implemented in the Alps through the PORTAL database of initiatives
123 (<https://portal.osug.fr/-EXPLORE-THE-INITIATIVES->). This database collects around one hundred
124 initiatives that aim to adapt to climate change or to mitigate natural hazards (likely enhanced by climate
125 change) by safeguarding or increasing benefits in terms of NCP and/or biodiversity (26). In order to
126 obtain a comparable subset of NbS, we identified the three climatic hazards the most addressed through
127 all the NbS of the PORTAL database, namely droughts, floods and soil erosion (26), and we selected
128 the NbS that aim to adapt to them. They included reforestation of plots by planting local or exotic
129 adapted species trees to reduced drought impact, to safeguard the protective function of forests against
130 natural hazards, or to protect crops from heatwaves; natural regeneration of degraded forests to increase
131 their resilience to natural disturbances; river restoration to reduce flood impacts; restoration of
132 grasslands to reduce landslides; transdisciplinary network to co-produce and share knowledge on
133 adaptation to climate change in forestry, agricultural or natural disaster management sectors; enabling-
134 NbS programme for local stakeholders. Each of the selected NbS mentions its potential benefits for
135 biodiversity. Then, we contacted and performed semi-structured interviews with twenty managers of the
136 selected NbS who had in-depth knowledge of the initiative implementation during spring 2022
137 (S1_Table). Semi-structured interviews are suitable methods for qualitative research, allowing open-
138 ended questions within a flexible network (61,62). We designed the interview protocol in order to
139 characterise the decision-making context of each NbS implementation, based on previously identified
140 components of decision-making and NbS planning processes (30,34,36,49,63) (S2_Table). The
141 questions addressed eight topics: i) the reasons and the context for the NbS implementation; ii) whether
142 it targeted climate change adaptation only, or also biodiversity loss or socio-economic issues; iii)
143 whether an alternative solution was considered and how the solution was chosen, especially whether an
144 initial diagnosis was made; iv) how the NbS was implemented; v) how it was funded; vi) whether there

145 were collaborations or conflicts with other entities or people and how the relationships were framed; vii)
146 how the future of the NbS was perceived in case the NbS was long-lasting; and viii) what the NbS
147 outcomes were in case they were monitored. Following questions targeted the barriers that were
148 encountered and the levers that were activated to overcome them. Interviews ended by questioning the
149 managers on what they would expect to foster or constrain the future implementation of similar NbS,
150 named hereafter NbS amplification. Interviews lasted from 55 to 120 minutes, with a median of around
151 90 minutes. Interviews were recorded and transcribed for coding and analyses. The sites where the
152 studied NbS were implemented were mapped with QGIS software (version 3.16.5) (Fig 2).

153 2.2. Data processing

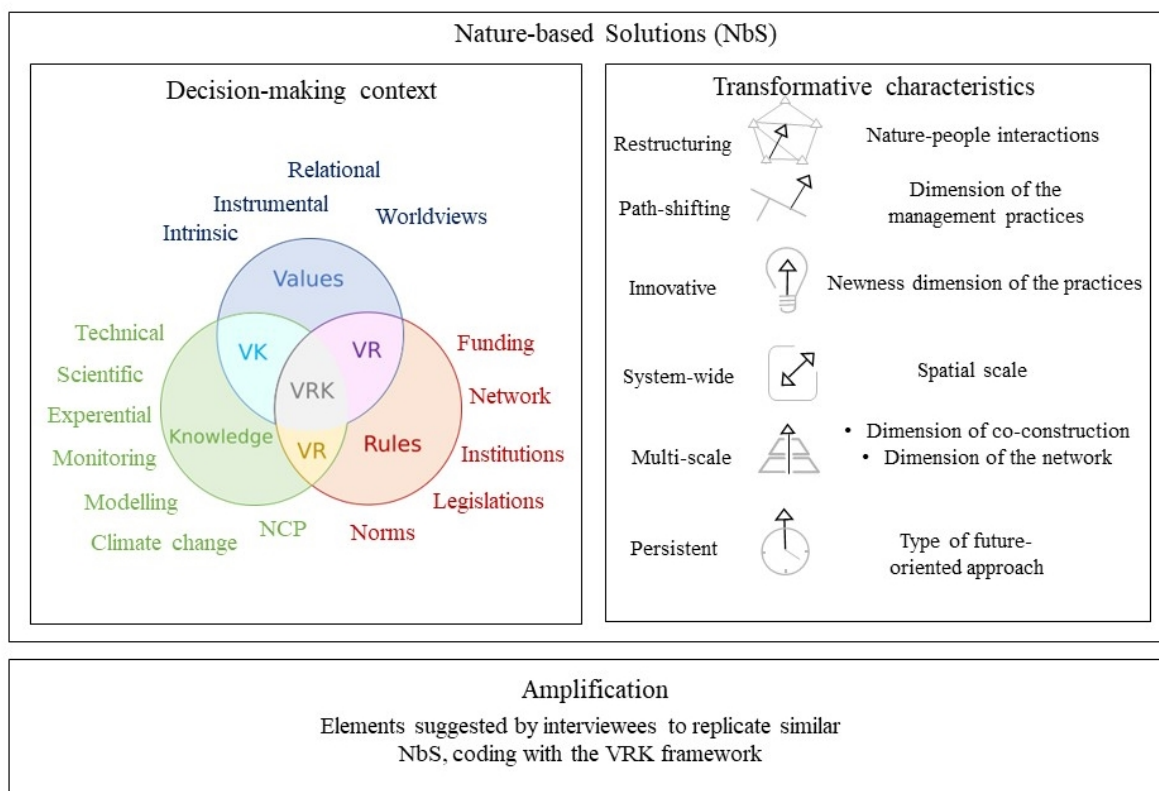
154 We coded interviews using the Qualcoder software (version 3.1) that enables systematic textual analysis.
155 We first extracted the contextual information of each case study: the role of the interviewee in the NbS
156 implementation, the organisation(s) that led the NbS implementation, funding sources, the ecosystem or
157 land-use in which the NbS was implemented, the type(s) of interventions, and the climatic hazards the
158 NbS aimed to address.

159 We then used a combination of inductive and deductive approaches to code the levers and barriers
160 mentioned by the interviewees for the implemented NbS using an assessment list based on the levers
161 and barriers identified by a preliminary literature review (S3_Table). For example, we identified whether
162 intrinsic, instrumental or relational values were involved in the implementation of each NbS, based on
163 criteria found in the literature (39,64). Then, we adapted this classification regarding the context of the
164 NbS, e.g., whether the involved values refer to the landscape's aesthetics, the willingness to not harm
165 surroundings environment, the biodiversity for itself. We also created new variables not identified in the
166 literature when more than one interviewee mentioned them. For example, we coded two interviewees
167 with the labour value that was considered as a lever to NbS implementation, although we did not find it
168 in the literature. Each resulting variable was coded as a *value*, a *rule*, a *knowledge*, or an interaction of
169 two or three components of the *vrk* framework.

170 We extracted a matrix describing for each NbS whether each identified code was mentioned by
171 interviewees as a lever (coded '1'), a barrier (coded '-1') or whether it was not mentioned (coded as '0').
172 A few variables were coded as a semi-quantitative factor (e.g., for funding, whether the project had no
173 funding; was partially funded; or was entirely funded). The suggested elements for NbS amplification
174 were coded according to the same process for each interview. The matrix also contained contextual
175 information for each NbS.

176 Finally, based on the responses received from the interviewees, we combined both inductive and
177 deductive approaches to code the transformative characteristics of each NbS based on a list of indicators
178 adapted from ones previously used for NbS case studies (S4_Table). These characteristics explore
179 whether an NbS is *restructuring*, i.e. involving major shifts in fundamental properties, functions or

180 interactions; *path-shifting*, i.e. altering the systems' current trajectory towards an alternative direction;
181 *innovative*, i.e. changing to new states that have not previously existed; *multi-scale*, i.e. impacting the
182 system across multiple scales (e.g., trophic, spatial, jurisdictional, or sectoral scales); *system-wide*, i.e.
183 occurring at large scale (e.g., regions, ecosystems, landscapes, or communities); *persistent*, i.e. with
184 long-term impacts although not necessarily irreversible (8). For each characteristic, we reviewed the
185 indicators used in existing work and we adapted their modalities according to the response we had from
186 the interviews (S4_Table). For example, *innovative* characteristics were assessed from previous
187 literature as depending on new elements (species, practices, technologies, policies, behaviours,
188 awareness or financial instruments) considering different perspectives (new in the region, in the sector,
189 in the world) (20). Because the responses received from the interviewees were not adapted to the
190 identified indicators, we selected the ones that were mentioned: the type of practices including
191 conventional practices (not *innovative*), non-usual practices in the region but known elsewhere, non-
192 conventional practices but known alternative way of doing (*innovative*), practices from known
193 experiments but never applied, and practices never seen elsewhere (highly *innovative*). Some modalities
194 of transformative characteristics cannot be ranked, e.g., to characterise the *persistence* of NbS, in the
195 case where an initiative developed new methods for successful NbS and another has built a strong
196 partnership between local actors, the two initiatives were coded differently with non-ordered modalities.
197 Each transformative characteristic was coded with one variable, except the *multi-scale* and *restructuring*
198 characteristics that were coded according to two types of variables because they cover the multiple
199 dimensions of the characteristics: i) for *multi-scale*, the type of collaboration (e.g., peer-to-peer or within
200 a collaboration between public and private institutions) and the type of network (e.g., single-sector or
201 cross-sectoral network); and ii) for *restructuring*, the type of nature-people relationships (e.g., with
202 instrumental values only, or combined with relational or intrinsic values) and the type of ecological
203 changes (in species, species richness, landscape connectivity, land-cover or NCP). The coded
204 information is summarised in the Figure 1.



205
 206 *Figure 1: Variables used to code the interviews conducted to define the decision-making context (Values-Rules-Knowledge*
 207 *framework) and the transformative characteristics of the implemented Nature-based Solutions, adapted from (8,34)*

208
 209 **2.3. Data analysis**

210 The data analysis was performed using the FactoMineR package (version 2.4) of the R software (version
 211 4.1.0). We first performed a Multiple Correspondence Analysis (MCA) with the involved levers and
 212 barriers in the NbS implementation as well as with the transformative characteristics of NbS to identify
 213 their simultaneous occurrences, named hereafter co-occurrence. We plotted the levers and barriers with
 214 the highest representation along the first three dimensions of the MCA. As a second step, we performed
 215 a hierarchical clustering of the performed MCA to identify decision-making context clusters, named
 216 hereafter NbS clusters. The main elements defining each cluster were extracted, and plotted in the MCA
 217 based on the elements of the *vrk* framework, and following the level of the transformative characteristics
 218 highlighted by the analysis. Then, we predicted the amplification levers and barriers on the computed
 219 MCA as supplementary variables to identify whether each mentioned lever and barrier to amplify NbS
 220 were correlated to decision-making context clusters. Finally, we identified which levers and barriers of
 221 NbS implementation were the most mentioned across all the case studies and which elements were the
 222 most suggested for NbS amplification. We detected whether these elements were correlated to the NbS
 223 clusters with *Khi2* tests.

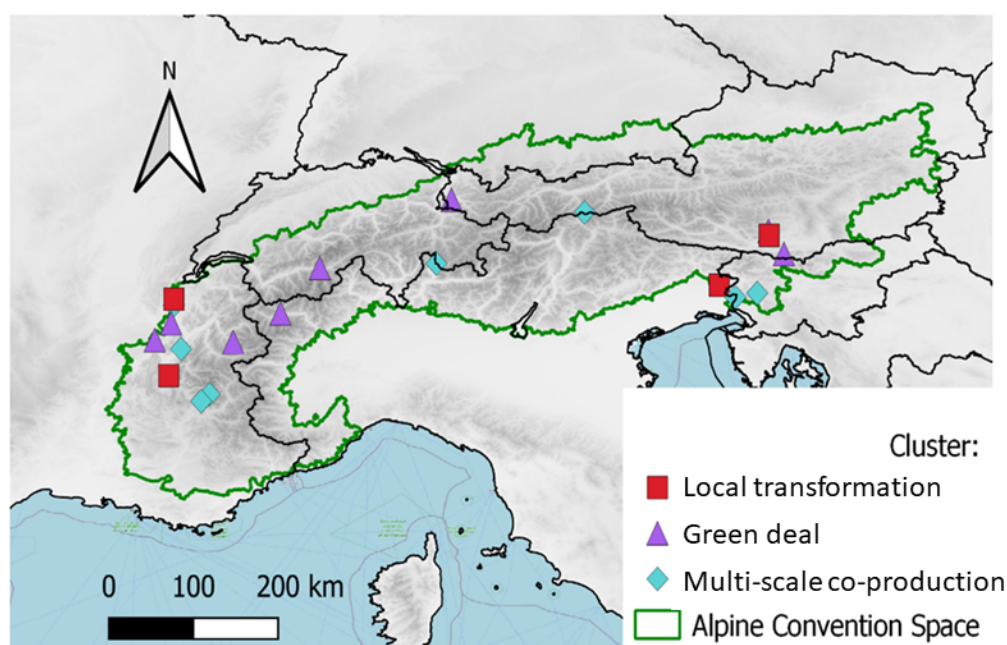
224 3. Results

225 3.1. Co-occurrence of levers and barriers to Nature-based Solutions implementation

226 We identified 47 levers and twelve barriers across the twenty interviews, and ten additional elements
227 mentioned as barriers or levers depending on the interviewee. Each interviewee mentioned in average
228 twenty elements to characterise the decision-making contexts of the NbS implementation.

229 The hierarchical clustering identified three NbS clusters (case studies mapped in fig. 2), based on the
230 correlation of levers and barriers of their decision-making contexts and their transformative
231 characteristics (S6_Figure). We named these three clusters *local transformation*, *green deal* and *multi-*
232 *scale co-production* according to their key characteristics represented along the two first dimensions of
233 the MCA (fig. 3, S7_Figure, S9_Figure).

234



236 *Figure 1: Map of the twenty studied Nature-based Solutions (NbS), coloured according to the clustering analysis based on the*
237 *levers and barriers evoked by the NbS managers during semi-structured interviews and the transformative characteristics of*
238 *the NbS.*

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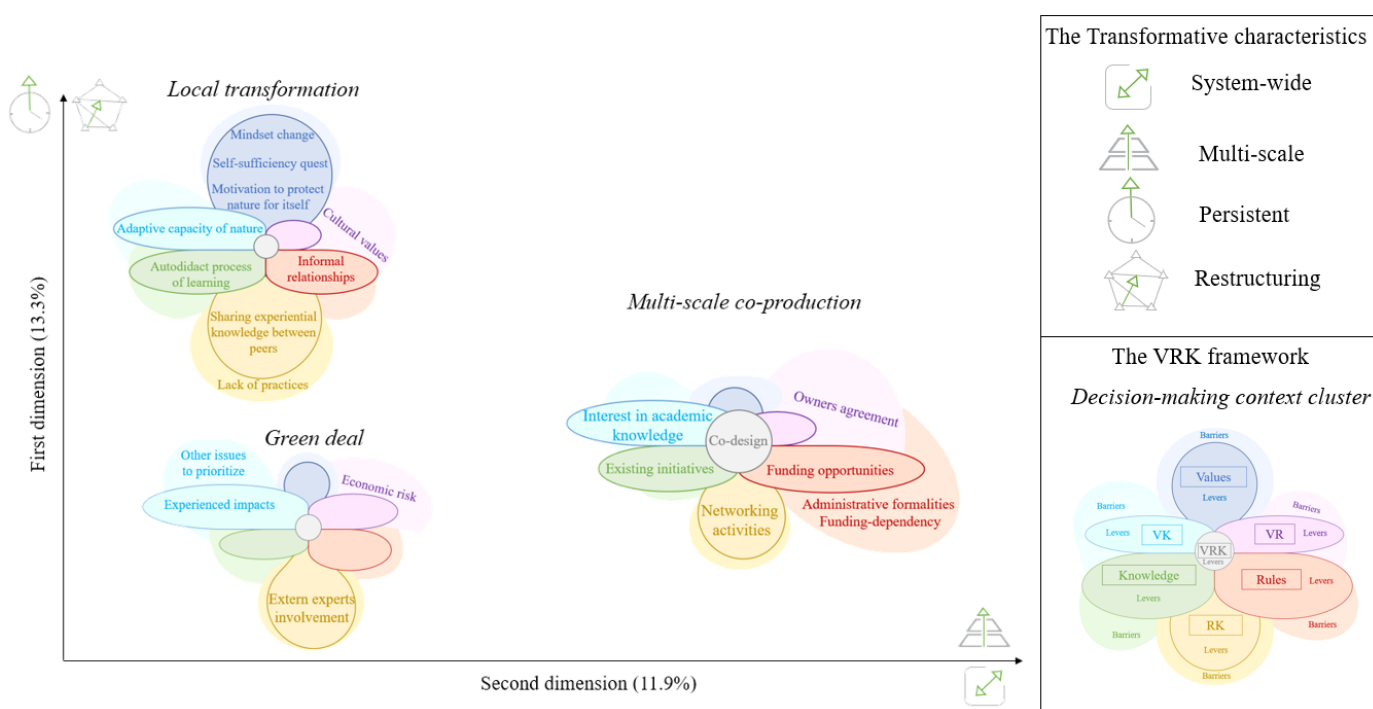
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Figure 2: The decision-making context clusters of the implemented Nature-based Solutions shown through vrk (values-rules-knowledge) flowers, plotted according to the Multiple Correspondence Analysis (MCA) of their levers (inside the related petals), their barriers (around the related petals) and their transformative characteristics. The indicated levers and barriers are the ones that contributed the most to the clustering analysis and that are well represented in the MCA. The numbers indicate the variance percentage explained by each axis of the MCA. The symbols indicate the level of the transformative characteristic distributed on each axis.

247 3.1.1. Local transformation

248 The *local transformation* cluster (4 cases) is mainly discriminated by the first axis of the MCA. One
 249 representative case of this cluster is the implementation of agroforestry practices in an organic vineyard
 250 to reduce the impact of drought on wine production. The cluster is associated with a strong role of
 251 sharing experiential knowledge with external stakeholders and with peers for advising the NbS
 252 implementation (*rk*). Stakeholders self-assessed that these NbS are adaptable to changing environmental
 253 conditions, and are willing to protect nature for itself (*v*) (quote n°1).

254 Quote n°1: “As a result, we have a biodiversity support since we have fungi, birds, entomofauna
 255 that is compatible with this type of fir. That is also why we chose fir: better social acceptance,
 256 it fits better with French biodiversity.” (translated from French, original quote in S5_Table)

257 This cluster strongly builds on nature to adapt to climatic hazards (*vk*). The interview analysis identified
 258 the significant role that personal values play in the decision-making, including a mindset shift and
 259 relational values to nature. Interviewees mentioned a solid willingness to adapt their activity towards
 260 self-sufficiency (*values*). The managers mentioned a strong willingness to learn by doing through

261 autodidact process to compensate for their lack of technical knowledge. They acquire new technical
262 skills through open access platforms like YouTube© (mentioned by three of the four cases). Moreover,
263 a shift in personal mindset (*values*), driven by relational values to biodiversity and by personal
264 experience of climate change (*vk*), appears in this cluster to overcome the deep cultural barriers of the
265 social context (*vr*) (quote n°2).

266 Quote n°2: “[the bramble] comes, it comes at a gallop, so afterwards it questions what is going
267 to be the management of the bramble, how are we going to manage it, how can we live with it,
268 how can we live with the look of the people who are going to say [...] there are brambles
269 everywhere in these vineyards.” (translated from French, original quote in S5_Table)

270 NbS in this cluster are transformative through their high level of *restructuring* explained by informal
271 rules based on friendships, deep relationships built with neighbours and peers, rather than formal rules
272 and the lack of institutional support (*rules*). This explains the small level of *multi-scale* and *system-wide*
273 transformation. Nevertheless, this cluster supports *innovative* practices and new relationships to nature,
274 e.g., promoting NCP co-benefits, or with an alternative socio-economic system, like introducing non-
275 monetary trade (quote n°3).

276 Quote n°3: “We have neighbours and friends who come to help us when we have a lot of work.
277 Then we make something to eat and drink, and we give them products from the farm.” (original)

278 3.1.2. Green deal

279 The *green deal* cluster (8 cases) was separated at the opposite end of *local transformation* along the first
280 axis of the MCA. One representative case of this type is led by a company to restore alpine grasslands
281 degraded by ski slopes with local seeds to reduce soil erosion and promote biodiversity. This decision-
282 making context involves experts acquiring technical knowledge from requested experts on how to adapt
283 to climatic hazards (*rk*), but the uncertainty of the cost-efficiency of the measures is one of the main
284 barriers (*vr*). While climate change adaptation is not perceived as a major issue, and despite managers’
285 awareness of the lack of a one-fits-all solution due to uncertainties of future climate conditions,
286 implementation decisions are urged by experiencing or having experienced climatic impact locally (*vk*),
287 or by constraints related to the multifunctional use of the same resource, such as land for two cases (*vk*)
288 (quote n°4).

289 Quote n°4: “Afterwards, an action was needed [on this mountain pasture], and we were very keen
290 that there should be a wider action that could serve the whole agricultural sector [of the area].”
291 (translated from French, original quote in S5_Table)

292 Funding programmes and incentives were opportunities for five cases to experiment new practices in
293 collaboration with experts from the specific sector of the activity (e.g., forestry technicians or academics
294 for reforestation projects) who help overcome economic barriers (*vr*). Consequently, the cluster has low

295 to medium level of *multi-scale* characteristics. The cluster concerns larger areas or higher number of
296 beneficiaries than *local transformation* NbS on average, but initiatives remain limited to one company,
297 or to a small number of beneficiaries in municipalities, resulting in a low score for the *system-wide*
298 criterion. For three cases of this cluster, the choice of NbS instead of grey solutions is strongly driven
299 by the relational values of one or a few determined people with specific positions or highly connected
300 to local networks (quote n°5).

301 Quote n°5: “Me, I do this for passion. I do this for passion, I was five years old, I was going in
302 the woods with my father.” (translated from French, original quote in S5_Table)

303 Still, interviewees of this cluster mentioned mainly instrumental values rather than intrinsic or
304 relational values, and selected NbS based on their ability to provide material or regulating NCP
305 (*knowledge*) (Quote n°6). In line with this, *path-shifting* or *restructuring* characteristics are limited in
306 these decision-making contexts that support gradual changes of practices rather than radical shifts.

307 Quote n°6: “And we can demonstrate that when I plant, I planted six hectares, I do not know how
308 much it corresponds to, but I will capture carbon for 60 years, more maybe, for 100 years, if I
309 build a house.” (translated from French, original quote in S5_Table)

310 3.1.3. Multi-scale co-production

311 The *multi-scale co-production* cluster (8 cases) is discriminated along the second axis of the MCA. One
312 representative initiative is a river restoration to reduce floods, to increase ecological connectivity and to
313 create space for outdoor recreation. It was led by unions of municipalities that make decisions based on
314 participatory process with local stakeholders and civil society (*vrk*). NbS in this cluster co-produced
315 knowledge with local stakeholders and academics (*vrk*). Interviewees perceived the inclusiveness of
316 *values* and *knowledge* as a key lever to the success of NbS implementation, by increasing social
317 acceptance and sharing experiences from research and local initiatives (*vrk*). This explains the medium
318 to high *multi-scale* score for this cluster, involving experts and academics of various sectors, from
319 natural to social sciences and from public and private sectors. In addition, this multi-stakeholder
320 engagement explains the large area or number of beneficiaries of the resulting NbS, i.e. a high *system-*
321 *wide* score. Nevertheless, according to four of eight interviewees, existing local initiatives and pilot sites
322 are essential to develop new practices at this scale (*k*), especially for three of eight cases involved in an
323 emergent sector or that does not exist yet, explaining the lack of qualified experts (*rk*) (quote n°7). In
324 line with this, the cluster promotes a favourable social context to implement existing practices through
325 networking activities (*vr*) and participatory processes (*vrk*).

326 Quote n°7: “So the big idea was in the cards, but there were not so many, at least in France,
327 projects of this scale which allowed us to go and find an example.” (translated from French,
328 original quote in S5_Table)

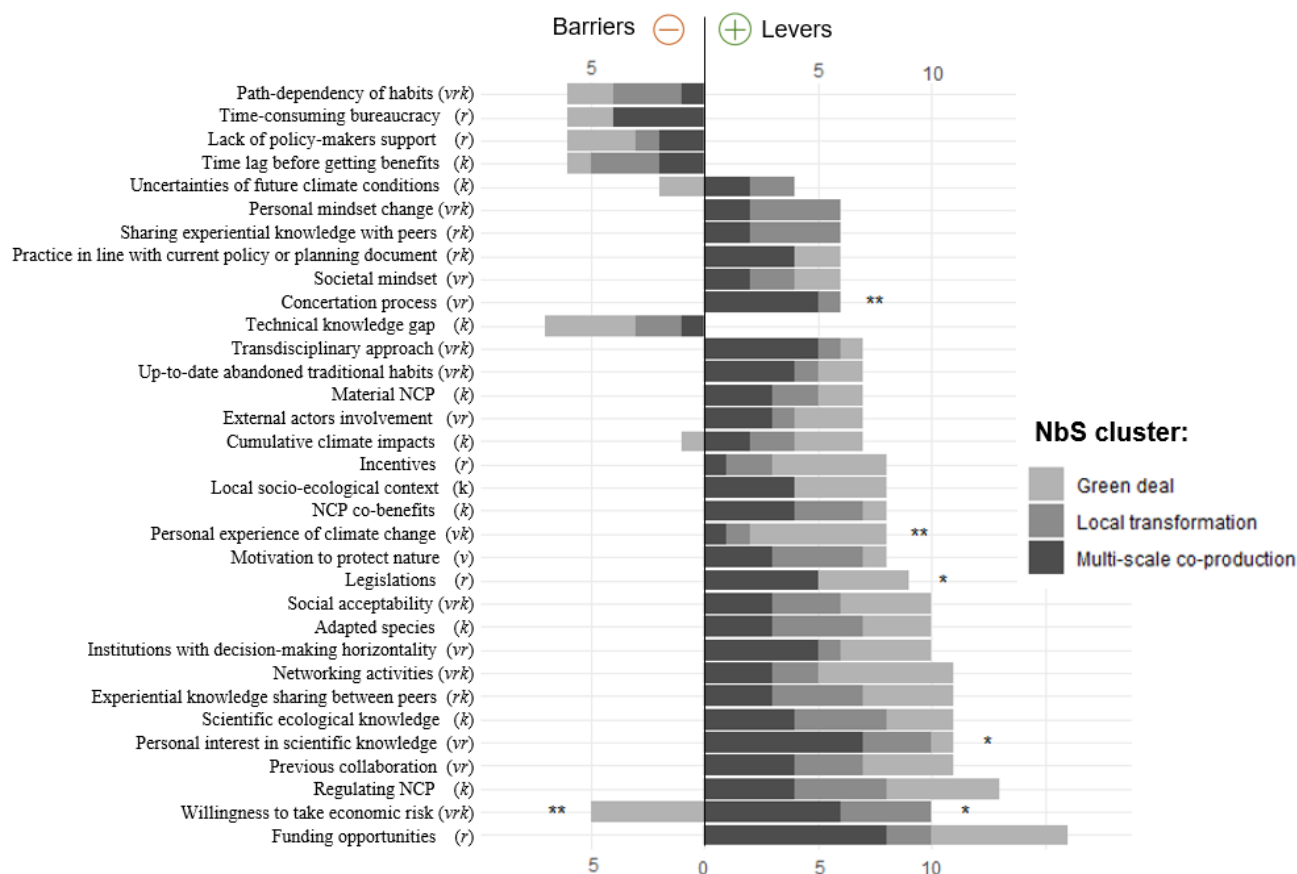
329 These NbS would not have emerged without funding (*rules*), and for four of eight cases, this is associated
330 with intense bureaucracy perceived as a barrier by interviewees (*rules*) (quote n°8). This explains the
331 low to medium *restructuring* level of the cluster, mainly based on the funding-dependent *persistence* of
332 NbS. The funding insecurity and the perception of an uncertain institutional support in the future are
333 due to the frequent turnover of policymakers (*rules*). These barriers are overcome for two of eight cases
334 through the long-lasting reputation of the organisation as a result of the NbS (*vr*), and for five of eight
335 cases through strong collaboration built between participants to ensure the viability of the NbS (*vr*).

336 Quote n°8: “And for me as the lead partner, but also I think many other partners had to fight
337 with it, was the administration, the high level of administration” (original)

338 3.2. Shared levers and barriers in decision-making contexts

339 The most cited levers among all three decision-making contexts are related to formal *rules*, including
340 funding opportunities shared by sixteen of the twenty interviewees and the incentives mentioned by
341 eight interviewees (fig. 4). *Rules* are also mentioned to explain the success of the NbS in interaction: i)
342 with: i) *values*, such as the network strength, especially for the eleven interviewees who indicated the
343 relevance of a previous collaboration and for the eleven interviewees who had networking activities; ii)
344 with *knowledge*, by sharing experiential knowledge in eleven cases, and for implementing practices in
345 line with current policy or planning documents (seven cases); and iii) with both *knowledge* and *values*,
346 regarding social acceptance of the initiatives (ten cases). Regarding *knowledge*, understanding
347 ecological dynamics and the regulating NCP positively influences decision-making for respectively
348 eleven and thirteen interviewees. *Knowledge* related to adapted species, NCP co-benefits and the
349 cumulative impacts of climate change are recognised by more than seven interviewees to help implement
350 NbS. *Knowledge* is also perceived as a lever in interaction with *values* by ten interviewees mentioning
351 their motivation to benefit from academic *knowledge* to design NbS.

352 The most cited barrier is the uncertainty about the cost-efficiency of measures for the *green deal* cluster
353 (*rk*), where it is identified as a necessary risk to take for adaptability in the *local transformation* and the
354 *multi-scale co-production* NbS. The following most cited barriers are related to *knowledge*, namely the
355 technical knowledge gap (7 cases) and the time lag of NbS to deliver benefits (6 cases).



356

357 *Figure 3: Barplot of the number of interviewees who mentioned the levers (+) and barriers (-) to Nature-based Solutions*
 358 *implementation, plotted according to the decision-making context cluster, and for the levers and barriers mentioned by more*
 359 *than five interviewees. Significance level of the difference of occurrence between clusters for each lever or barrier: * p-value*
 360 *< 0.1; ** p-value < 0.05; ***p-value < 0.01*

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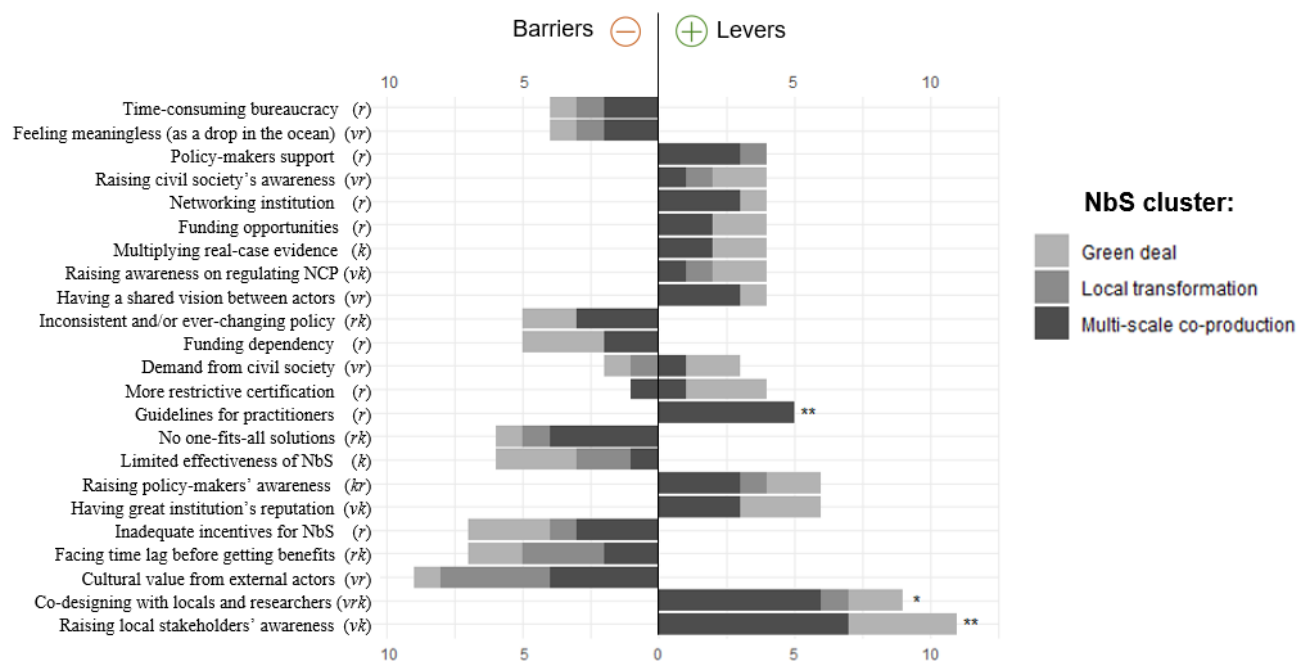
362 3.3. Levers to activate for Nature-based Solutions amplification

363 We identified 25 levers and 23 barriers among the suggestions of the interviewees to amplify NbS, and
 364 three elements were mentioned as both a lever or a barrier depending on the interviewees. Only ten
 365 elements were mentioned by more than five interviewees (fig. 5). The majority of these levers and
 366 barriers are not correlated with one specific NbS cluster (S8_Figure). For example, at least one case of
 367 each cluster mentioned “policymakers’ awareness-raising” as a lever to amplify NbS (*rk*) (6 cases).
 368 However, initiatives within *multi-scale co-production* were the only ones that claim, in four of eight
 369 cases, for “writing guidelines for stakeholders” to amplify NbS (*rules*) (5 cases). Likewise, levers
 370 involving *rules*, in interactions with *knowledge* through “raising local stakeholders’ awareness” (*rk*) (9
 371 cases) or with *values* through “co-designing NbS” (*vrk*) (8 cases) and “enhancing the institution’s
 372 reputation” (*vr*) (6 cases), are little or even not mentioned by *local transformation* cases.

373 The most cited potential barrier that needs to be overcome is associated with formal *rules* (7 cases).
 374 Indeed, interviewees from the three clusters referred to the lack of “existing or adapted incentives” to

375 amplify NbS (*rules*). Other cited barriers refer to *knowledge* alone, e.g., about the “time lag for NbS to
 376 deliver benefits” (6 cases); or in interaction with *rules*, e.g., the “limited capacity of NbS to reduce
 377 climate impacts” (*rk*) (6 cases) or the dependency of these practices to social-ecological-context making
 378 “one-fits-all solution” not adapted (*rk*) (5 cases). Some interviewees (4 cases) from the *multi-scale co-*
 379 *production* and *green deal* clusters wished for more pilot sites and experiments to bridge the technical
 380 knowledge gap about implementing effective NbS (*rk*).

381 Two interviewees warned of the potential barrier from “civil society expectations” (*vr*) referring to the
 382 risk of low social acceptability of the NbS. In contrast, three others perceived the shift in “societal
 383 values” (*vr*) as an opportunity to foster NbS, e.g., through additional and more accessible funds.
 384 Similarly, while a few interviewees wished for more restrictive “access to incentives” to ensure
 385 biodiversity conservation and avoid greenwashing (*rules*), one interviewee warned on the already too
 386 specific requirement of incentives that discourage stakeholders from embracing NbS implementation
 387 (*rules*).



388
 389 *Figure 4: Barplot of the number of interviewees who mentioned the levers and barriers to amplify similar Nature-based*
 390 *Solutions, plotted according to the decision-making context clusters, and for the levers and barriers mentioned by more than*
 391 *four interviewees. Significance level of the difference of occurrence between clusters for each lever or barrier: * p-value <*
 392 *0.1; ** p-value < 0.05; ***p-value < 0.01*

393
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 395

396 4. Discussion

397 4.1. Levers and barriers identified with *values-rules-knowledge* and transformative characteristics 398 framework

399 Our analysis combined the *vrk* framework with an assessment of transformative characteristics to
400 identify levers and barriers to NbS implementation in the Alps. Our results are consistent to the
401 suitability of the *vrk* framework to highlight the main elements that play a role in adaptation initiatives
402 (43,65,66). Our study shows that formal rules, a robust project coordinator, positive cultural values of
403 civil society, knowledge sharing through informal exchanges, collaborative planning and academic
404 support are currently the main levers for NbS implementation. Results also highlight the inherent
405 uncertainty of NbS effectiveness as a prominent barrier to choose NbS over grey infrastructures. While
406 grey solutions benefit from high societal acceptance (67,68) due to one-size-fits-all designs with
407 immediate outcomes, NbS are, in contrast, site-specific and their effectiveness is less known (25,69).

408 Our analyses are in line with the limited literature considering combinations of levers and barriers
409 (36,70). For instance, the levers involving values such as a “mindset change” and “willingness to self-
410 sufficiency” appear simultaneously with “experiential knowledge sharing”, but without institutional
411 levers such as governance processes and funding opportunities that were identified in literature as main
412 levers to amplify NbS (30,71). By analysing the co-occurrence of perceived levers and barriers in the
413 cases selected for this study, we highlighted three types of NbS decision contexts.

414 The *local transformation* type is similar to previously identified alternative practices in other regions
415 (e.g., in agriculture worldwide), known as bottom-up approaches implemented by local stakeholders
416 themselves, independent of institutional support (70,72), and involving experimental knowledge,
417 relational values and informal rules (36). The *green deal* type is in line with the current European Green
418 Deal policy strategy, resulting in a gradual change of practices towards sustainability through awareness-
419 raising activities and revision of regulations and incentives (73). This type is similar to initiatives
420 involving technical knowledge and instrumental values in the typology by Topp et al. (2021). Lastly,
421 the *multi-scale co-production* type considers changes in interactions between sectors and within the
422 research-policy-action sphere, previously illustrated in inclusive social-ecological decision-making and
423 transdisciplinary initiatives (36,46). Despite its similarity with previously identified typologies, our
424 types do not absolutely discriminate decision-making contexts depending on whether they were led by
425 bottom-up or top-down approaches (36,74). Indeed, most of the initiatives in our dataset combined
426 personal decision to involve institutions or were led by existing collaborations from the public and
427 private sectors. Therefore, our typology enables a richer picture than the differentiation between bottom-
428 up and top-down approaches, and a solution-oriented typology to help support projects in overcoming
429 barriers. Given NbS are site-specific it may make more sense to focus on amplifying their decision-
430 making process rather specific solutions, an approach that could be enabled by our typology.

431 The *vrk* framework highlights that transformative adaptation is supported by specific interactions
432 between *values*, *rules* and *knowledge* (34). Here we combined the *vrk* framework with transformative
433 characteristics covering the multiple dimensions of transformation, rather than focusing on the coping-
434 incremental-transformative trichotomy given that real life cases usually combine these multiple facets
435 of adaptation (4,75,76). We consider our approach provides a more detailed overview of the elements
436 in place in transformative adaptation processes as well as their outcomes. Our results confirm that
437 initiatives involving greater interactions of *values*, *rules* and *knowledge* are more likely to achieve
438 greater transformation according to the set of indicators we used. We also found that within a single
439 type, the NbS had different *multi-scale* levels (e.g., in *local transformation*, some NbS are co-design
440 whereas others benefit from peer-to-peer exchanges), or different levels of *persistence* (e.g., some NbS
441 from *green deal* type will last depending on funding opportunities, and others that have been designed
442 initially to be maintained). The transformation indicators discriminate which dimension of
443 transformative change each NbS can address, and which dimensions are less likely to reach
444 transformation. Considering the limited transformative capacity of most of the analysed NbS, our results
445 emphasise the limited use of transformative adaptation to address the climate and biodiversity crisis, as
446 each identified type is missing significant level of at least two transformative characteristics (12,14).
447 We confirmed that it remains challenging to assess transformation criteria for individual initiatives, but
448 we nevertheless confirm the potential of NbS to support transformative adaptation as other studies
449 analysing different datasets of NbS have found (13,15,77). Moreover, there is a need for transformative
450 NbS, namely in governance and policies supporting the adaptive capacity of nature, financial
451 compensation for transition, co-creation of knowledge and solutions, monitoring systems and
452 disseminating knowledge (7,30,70,78,79).

453 The three NbS types are new findings that complement previous classifications of NbS. While some
454 scholars discriminated NbS according to climatic hazards, NCP co-benefits (25,26) or types of
455 intervention (18,69), we found that different interventions, or NbS addressing different climatic hazards,
456 can be implemented by similar decision-making contexts. In other words, different local contexts can
457 achieve transformative adaptation to one climatic hazard. These findings align with the latest
458 interdisciplinary studies reporting the plurality of stakeholders and governance models involved in NbS
459 implementation (47,80–82). Although the NbS types identified from our cases do not discriminate
460 governance models because the interview guideline did not target this aspect, we identified that
461 transformative NbS implemented in *multi-scale co-production* are co-designed with a large range of
462 stakeholders and are coordinated by one of them without necessarily more power (83,84).

463 Furthermore, our assessment of transformative characteristics of each NbS highlighted which aspect of
464 transformation each NbS type is likely to support, and can therefore support future policymakers in
465 highlighting levers to activate to foster transformative NbS. The two following sections focus on the
466 way interactions, first with *values*, and then with *rules*, are able to enhance transformative NbS. We do

467 not focus on the interactions of *knowledge* for transformative NbS in a separate section because they are
468 addressed in their interactions with *values* and *rules*.

469 4.2. Interactions with *values* to enhance transformative Nature-based Solutions

470 Our synthesis highlighted the role of *values* within NbS decision-making contexts. *Values* have been
471 identified as a critical element of transformation (85–87). However, we showed that NbS varied in their
472 transformative characteristics depending on the type of *values* involved in their implementation. For
473 example, relational *values* to nature are involved in *innovative* practices that restructured relationships
474 between nature and people, in line with local ecological knowledge studies (32,36). The willingness to
475 include the diversity of values into NbS design through participatory approaches led to *multi-scale*
476 initiatives that are likely to benefit larger communities and regions (47).

477 Although having experienced climate impacts was not identified as a primary driver of adaptation (88),
478 the impacts of climate change drove most of the decision-making contexts we analysed. Most NbS were
479 mostly reactive rather than proactive, with adaptation arising when the social-ecological system is forced
480 to adapt to new conditions (70,89,90). NbS within the *green deal* type have been implemented after
481 experiencing impacts of climate change or natural disasters. Some NbS implemented within the *local*
482 *transformation* type emerged because economic viability was threatened by climate change, requiring
483 adaptation. This driver of change led to adaptation with different transformative characteristics, but had
484 not been anticipated by stakeholders, except in *multi-scale co-production* NbS that anticipate future
485 conditions, e.g. through climate model analysis. The main barrier often reported by interviewees is the
486 uncertainty of future conditions, whether predicted or not, and consequently of the efficiency of
487 implemented solutions (70). Each NbS type delivers one option to face this uncertainty. *Local*
488 *transformations* NbS aim to support ecosystems' resilience to face unpredicted conditions through a
489 learning-by-doing process (5,70), including failure; *green deal* NbS gradually change their practice to
490 maintain the possibility to shift from one practice to another one, despite the unclear evidence of the
491 effectiveness of this option (4,91,92). *Multi-scale co-production* NbS aim to build social resilience
492 through new governance models to enhance collective support to face future conditions (47,70,93,94).

493 The *multi-scale co-production* type comprises existing initiatives and highly aware local stakeholders.
494 These initiatives identify raising awareness of local stakeholders as a main lever to amplify NbS.
495 However, value's constraints are known to be the most resistant dimension of decision contexts (66,85),
496 especially to overcome path dependency through the inclusion of intrinsic and relational values where
497 they are not commonly shared, or of non-material NCP (36,95). Social acceptance of the project was
498 also a powerful lever in the *multi-scale co-production* type (67).

499 Cultural values of the local environment, or path dependency of practices, are perceived as barriers for
500 *local transformation* and *green deal* initiatives. These barriers are overcome in different ways. *Green*
501 *deal* NbS develop participatory approaches, whereas *local transformation* NbS fit with different cultural

502 value than the constraining one, such as the labour value or landscape aesthetics value, highlighting
503 trade-offs within decision-making contexts (96,97).

504 4.3. Interactions with *rules* to foster transformative Nature-based Solutions

505 Our results showed that institutional support helps NbS initiatives, but not equally among decision-
506 making contexts, and differently according to the type of support. As commonly reported elsewhere,
507 *multi-scale co-production* NbS depend on funding opportunities, and may not have been implemented
508 without them (70). These highly transformative initiatives benefited mostly from transdisciplinary
509 research projects, with public funding from national or European programmes or incentives, and
510 involved public administrations related to biodiversity conservation, protected areas, agriculture, forest
511 and water management (16,70). As a downside, they faced heavy bureaucratic burdens imposed by
512 funders.

513 Interviewees from *local transformation* and *green deal* NbS reported adapted incentives to help
514 implementers overcome economic viability uncertainty due to new practices implementation. *Local*
515 *transformation* participants argued that incentives are needed, especially to overcome the time lag before
516 getting the benefits of the implementation and the initial expenses that implementation requires, e.g., to
517 purchase adapted equipment for *innovative* practices. For interviewees from *green deal* type, incentives
518 are an effective instrument to mainstream biodiversity conservation into practices (70). Although this
519 was not a main lever for all, many interviewees mentioned departmental or regional administrations at
520 pivotal position to facilitate the interface between policies, including incentives management, and on-
521 the-ground actions. For example, the roles of public institutions and research institutions have been
522 identified as critical to co-design through transdisciplinary research programmes (98,99), or a regional
523 adaptation plan (72,100). Still, local stakeholders emphasised the role of sharing experiences with peers
524 to increase their willingness to implement new practices (101,102). Future research should explore the
525 pivotal position of peer-to-peer governance in fostering NbS implementation (36,74).

526 The lack of a structured sector is also identified as a barrier to NbS implementation, for example in the
527 absence of markets for local seeds to restore alpine grasslands (103) or the lack of a value chain for new
528 agricultural products (104). While *local transformation* NbS manage to diversify their marketing
529 strategy (105), e.g., developing direct marketing to local communities, the institutions involved in *multi-*
530 *scale co-production* NbS aim to develop the emerging value chains with stakeholders (103). However,
531 this institutional involvement in enabling-NbS activities is sparsely implemented because of cultural
532 barriers (31,105), and the time-consuming involvement of stakeholders (106). Only intense involvement
533 related to personal values enables the implementation of *multi-scale co-production* NbS (107).

534 A large part of the interviewees mentioned that NbS implementation guidelines and standards should
535 support NbS amplification in the future (19,49,63,108). However, most of them also highlighted the
536 unicity of each initiative, i.e. they are hardly replicated, confirming that NbS are not one-size-fits-all

537 solutions (81,96,109). Moreover, operationalising NbS guidelines might be useless or detrimental if the
538 ambiguity surrounding the vision from different actors to NbS concept is not reduced (77,110,111).
539 Finally, institutional support is needed to help monitor NbS outcomes with standardised methods
540 (European Commission. Directorate General for Research and Innovation, 2021).

541 4.4. Study limitations

542 Our study focused on a small number of NbS implemented in the Alps. However, our sample captures
543 the diversity of activities that have been identified to address drought, floods and soil erosion in this
544 region (26,113). Our insights can support NbS amplification in other regions, as we identified common
545 levers and barriers with studies from other socio-ecological systems worldwide (70,114).

546 For each NbS, we conducted interviews with only one manager involved in the implementation process.
547 Although the perception of the NbS can depend on the interviewee (107,115), we reduced the perception
548 bias by asking structured questions related to the implementation process. Moreover, in four cases, two
549 interviewees were involved in the same network but not for the same NbS, and their responses were
550 consistent.

551 We did not assess the adaptation pathways of these initiatives, i.e. the long-term adaptation process,
552 shifting from one decision-making context to the one favourable to NbS implementation (66). However,
553 we considered the NbS implemented to address an emerging issue in a specific context, and we therefore
554 identified the perceived future of the initiatives. This combination of knowledge allows identifying what
555 elements of the *vrk* play to inflect the system trajectory towards adaptation and would contribute to
556 building pathways (43,65). We also questioned the potential levers and barriers towards NbS
557 amplification, combining both vision and experiences of stakeholders to determine actions towards
558 desired adaptation pathways (30).

559 We did not assess the effectiveness of NbS, but we addressed the interviewee's perception of the
560 initiative and how they perceive its future, indicating whether the issues were already addressed or in
561 process to be addressed (116). Moreover, although not all investigated NbS were at the same
562 implementation stage, our analysis did not segregate different stages of implementation as NbS
563 implementation and transformation is known to follow a variety of pathways (70,81,117).

564 Although the consideration of power relationships is essential to address the sustainability of adaptation
565 in terms of equity, justice and gender (86,118,119), we did not explicitly consider these aspects in our
566 analysis. However, some interviewees mentioned these aspects in the decision-making process, and we
567 considered them, e.g., by coding the presence of participatory processes such as consultation,
568 concertation and co-designing approaches that aim to benefit equally within local communities. Given
569 our regional context, the NbS we identified did not integrate local indigenous knowledge that is needed

570 to implement sustainable initiatives (77,120). However, the role of experiential knowledge and the
571 relational value to nature emerged from interviews.

572 4.5. Perspectives and recommendations for policymakers: There is not one-fits-all lever

573 NbS have the potential for transformative change towards climate change adaptation, and their
574 amplification is fostered to reduce future impacts on ecosystems and human well-being. However, we
575 confirmed the limited use of transformative adaptation (12,14) and the preference of local stakeholders
576 for incremental adaptations (72,121). This reluctance is due to the complexity of elements considered
577 by NbS, including climate change adaptation, ecosystem functioning, NCP co-benefits as well as long-
578 term economic and social benefits and trade-offs (86,94,122).

579 We collected the levers and barriers suggested by NbS managers to amplify similar initiatives.
580 Complementing previous studies which identified different enabling contexts leading to NbS
581 implementation (123), our study shows that levers and barriers, and their combinations enable specific
582 activities. We found that policymakers can support three types of actions for amplifying NbS: creating
583 opportunities for non-governmental stakeholders (private sector, NGO, and civil society) to implement
584 transformative NbS, e.g. through networking and monitoring activities; changing public administration
585 strategies towards mainstreaming transformative NbS for public action (e.g., natural disaster risk
586 reduction, managing public land and commons good); encouraging, e.g., through incentives or even
587 making binding, e.g. through legislation, non-governmental stakeholders who are not willing to
588 implement transformative NbS.

589 Levers to action must be tailored to the NbS they might support. For example, supporting a
590 transdisciplinary approach to disaster risk reduction aims to enhance the co-design of NbS including
591 local communities and developing a network of stakeholders willing to collaborate. However, this action
592 might not support local stakeholders aiming to adapt their own practices if they are unwilling to be
593 involved in the new project. Moreover, multiplying *local transformations* NbS initiatives by non-
594 governmental stakeholders is a powerful means to build larger-scale initiatives, through sharing and
595 monitoring contributing initiatives. New financial incentives or environmental regulations can support
596 multiplying NbS implementation from stakeholders who are already willing to and who faced economic
597 or technical barriers, in case of these instruments are framed considering principles for effective NbS,
598 namely economic viability, inclusive governance, equity, sustainability, mainstreaming (124). However,
599 incentives or regulations cannot enhance uptake by stakeholders who are not willing to implement NbS,
600 and would require additional facilitating levers. For example, new policy might be associated with
601 raising awareness activities for stakeholders on NbS effectiveness and their capacity to provide NCP co-
602 benefits (45).

603 In order to increase the knowledge transfer, sustainability science might address the knowledge
604 mismatch between *local transformations* that are based on experiential knowledge, and *multi-scale co-*

605 *production* initiatives involving academic knowledge (83,125). Transdisciplinary research projects are
606 therefore needed to bridge institutions and to co-produce knowledge with and for local communities
607 (126), as well as public institutions to disseminate academic knowledge in an actionable way for
608 stakeholders, e.g., through knowledge hubs or living labs (127). Knowledge hubs are also essential for
609 multiplying local initiatives and sharing experiences without being considered as non-standard cases,
610 pilot projects, or on the margins (46). Societal mindset and worldviews were strong motivations to NbS
611 implementation. Thus, raising awareness of local communities in the role of ecosystems for adaptation
612 might greatly increase social acceptance, as well as raising awareness of policymakers about the benefits
613 of mainstreaming NbS (128). Lastly, as exemplified for *green deal* NbS, greater support from
614 institutions can greater levels of innovation, persistency and cross-scaling, e.g., by fostering the
615 inclusion of stakeholders into already existing information or knowledge systems, and by creating space
616 for dialogue (70).

617 Together, these points suggest intensifying international cooperation towards NbS implementation in
618 large connected regions like the Alps, that form a spatial continuum where cross-regional similarities
619 are opportunities to benefit from shared knowledge and governance networks (78,129). Cross-regional
620 institutions such as the Alpine Convention or EUSALP (European Union Strategy for the ALPine
621 region) have shown their potential to engage macro-regional governance with biodiversity conservation
622 or the energy transition in the Alps (130,131). Similar cooperation may foster transformative NbS-
623 enabling activities, networking and transdisciplinary projects with cross-regional benefits from informal
624 institutional networking to overcome the heterogeneity of formal rules between countries or regions
625 (132,133).

626 **5. Conclusion**

627 Levers of transformative adaptation to the climatic and biodiversity crises are being increasingly studied.
628 However, prevalent levers and barriers vary with the local decision-making context. We analysed the
629 decision-making contexts of implemented NbS in the Alps and their transformative characteristics to
630 identify context-specific levers and barriers. We identified three NbS types of co-occurring levers and
631 barriers. *Local transformation* NbS implemented self-sufficient initiatives motivated by relational
632 values to nature, supporting the adaptive capacity of nature through informal governance and
633 experiential knowledge sharing. They incorporated the deep cultural value of their environment by
634 creating an alternative system of practices. *Green deal* NbS implemented a gradual change of their
635 practices using opportunities in incentives and regulations to experiment with new approaches. They
636 prioritised instrumental values for fostering benefits from NbS and overcome path dependency in current
637 practices. *Multi-scale co-production* implemented larger NbS, socially accepted through wide
638 participatory approaches with local practitioners, and inclusion of diverse values into the decision-

639 making process. Although designed to be persistent, they are challenged by the instability of funding
640 opportunities.

641 Amplifying transformative NbS will require better integrating *values, rules, and knowledge* and their
642 interactions into NbS implementation processes. This could be achieved by creating new governance
643 models and adapting incentives and regulation, supporting local NbS, increasing policymakers'
644 awareness of NbS benefits, and creating long-lasting spaces for dialogue. Due to its socio-ecological
645 continuum and its climate impact similarities, the alpine scale has the potential to address these issues,
646 thanks to its pivotal position for a strategic macro-regional governance. Future research is needed to
647 explore how to engage in NbS implementation those local communities with active peer-to-peer
648 dialogues with other communities who benefit from scientific knowledge on NbS effectiveness to
649 address the climate impacts they both face.

650

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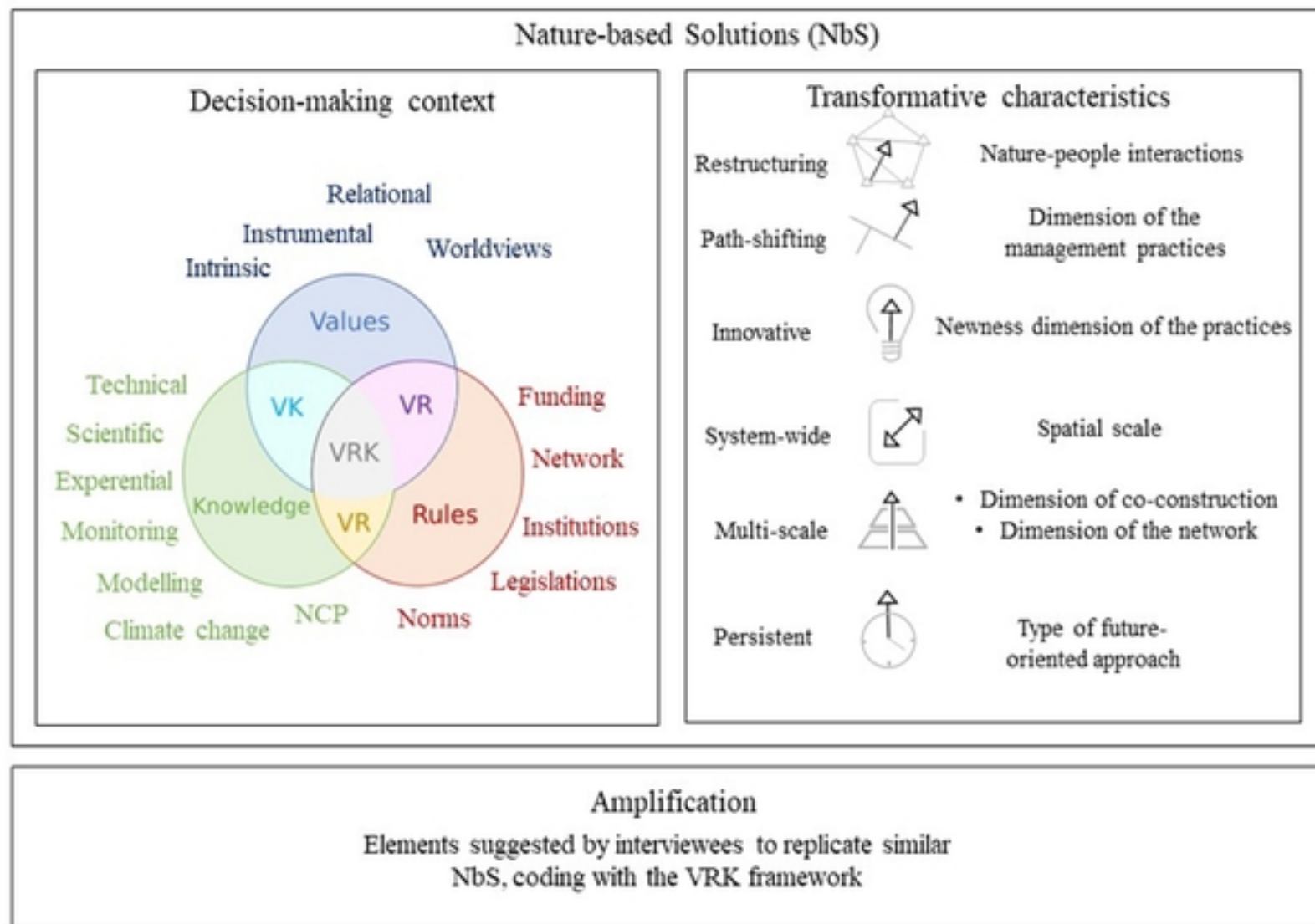


Fig1

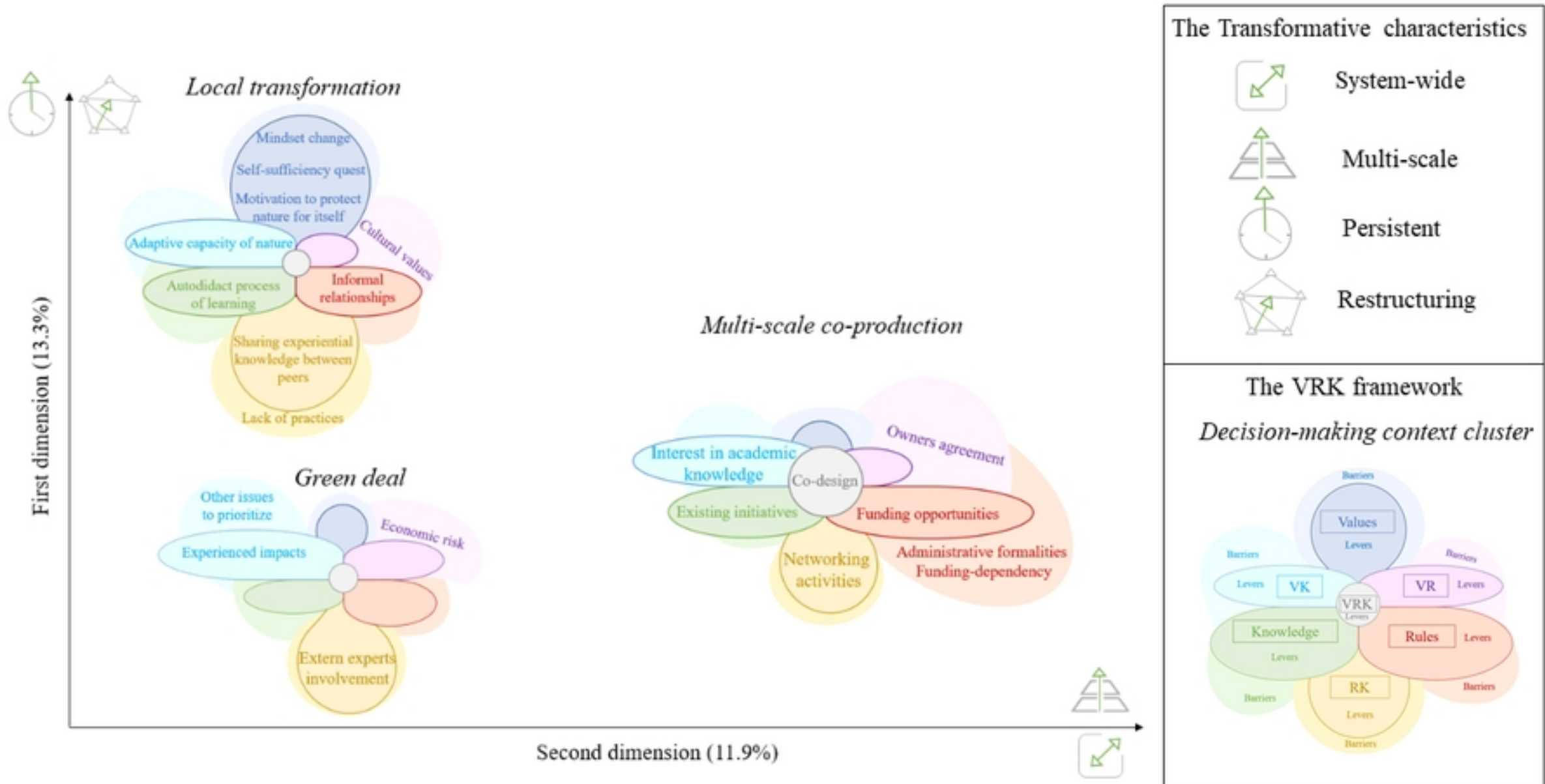


Fig3

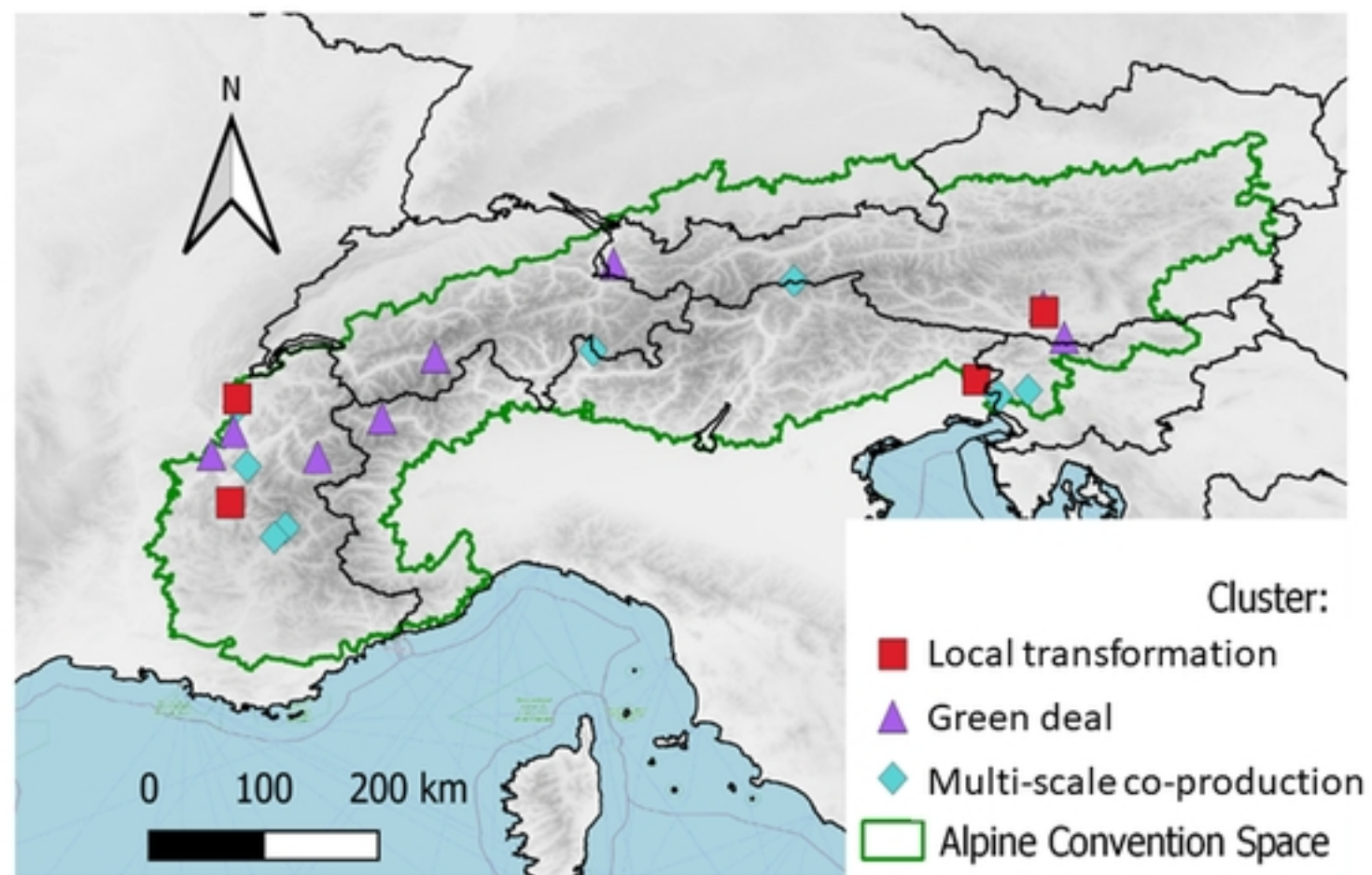


Fig2

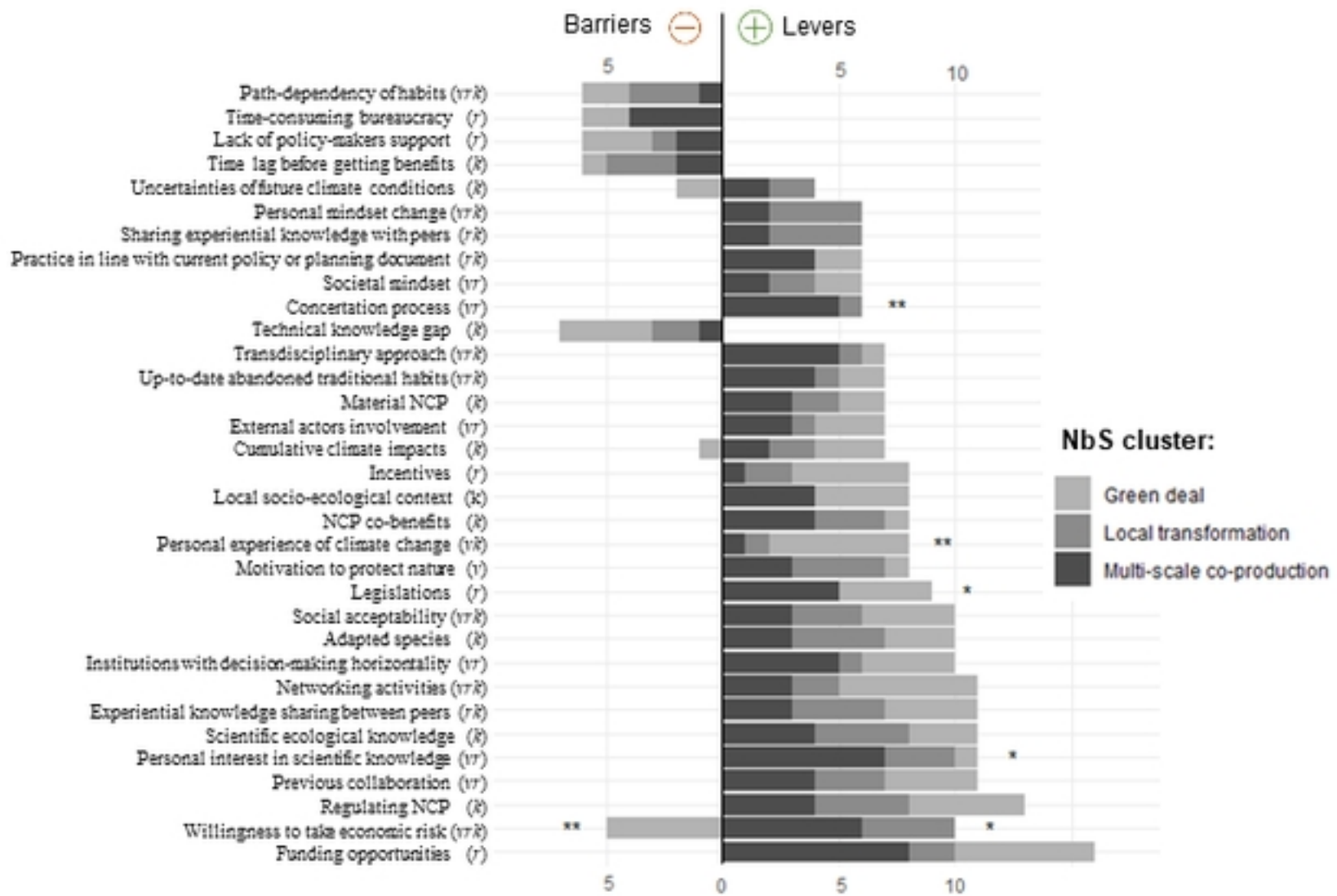


Fig4

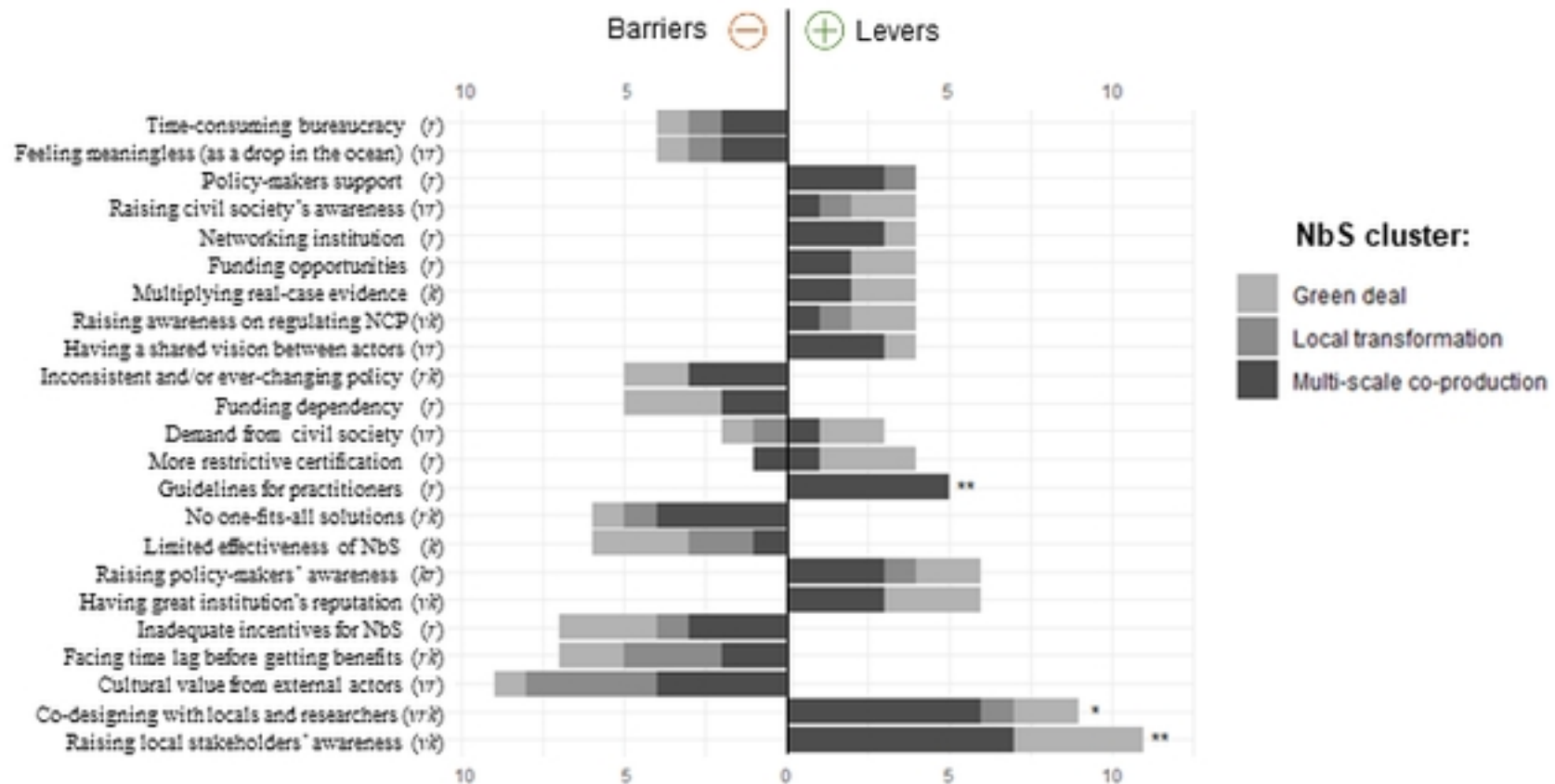
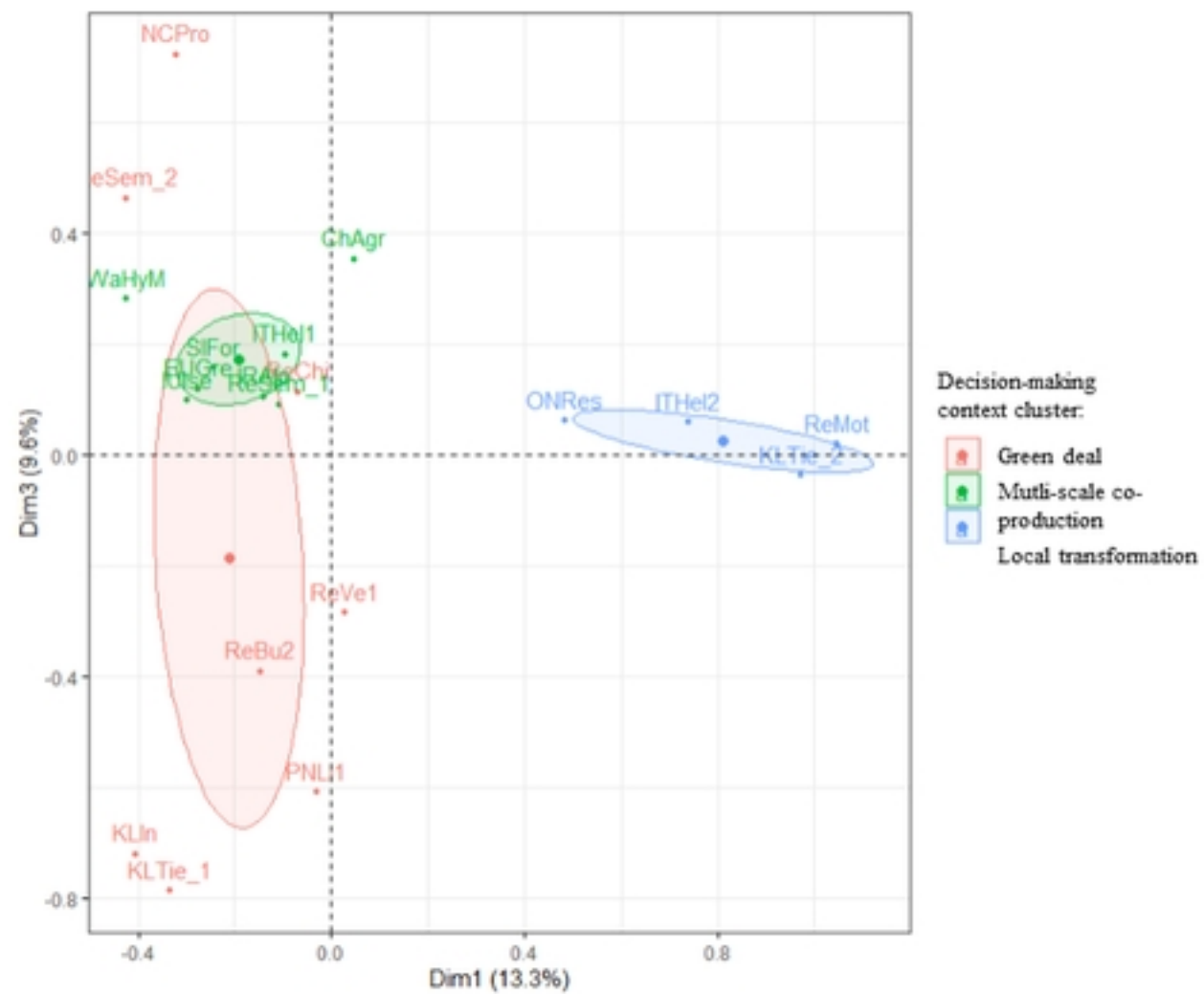
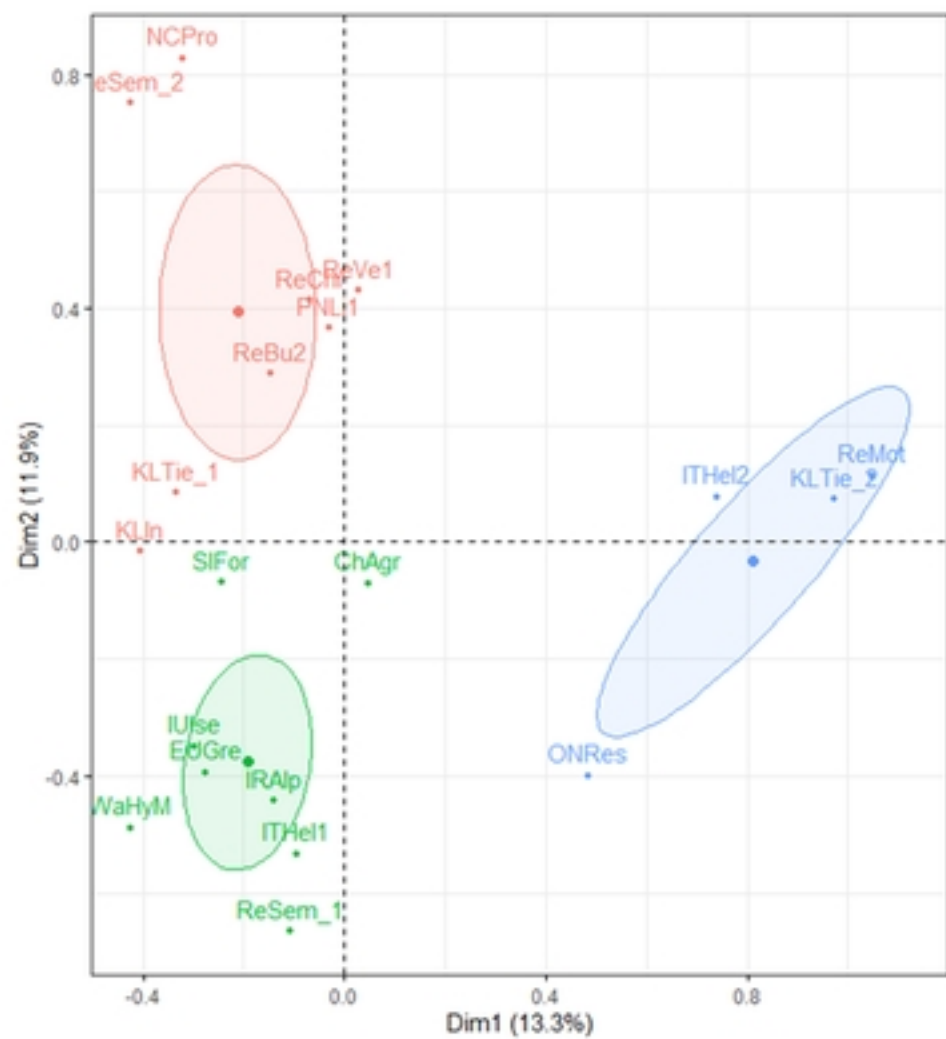


Fig5



FigS6



FigS7

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FigS8



FigS9