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TOWARDS GOVERNANCE FOR THE MANAGEMENT OF CULTURAL LANDSCAPES

Abstract. Many (World Heritage) cultural landscapes are a living environment for thousands of inhabitants, visitors, entrepreneurs, farmers and other land users. In order to manage such landscapes we have to consider the legal framework and the reality of the regional planning culture. The ‘landscape of regional players’ consists of a wide range of stakeholders. How should regions tackle natural and cultural heritage as an integrated part of regional development? The discussion of Austria’s Hallstatt-Dachstein / Salzkammergut World Heritage region involves vertical and horizontal dimensions of governance, including politics, administration, private businesses and civil society. Key words: UNESCO World Heritage, regional planning, rural development, adaptive co-management.

1. CULTURAL LANDSCAPES, REGIONAL DEVELOPMENT AND THE UNESCO WORLD HERITAGE IN AUSTRIA

The Austrian canon of cultural landscapes with ‘outstanding universal value’ ranges from the alpine landscape of the Dachstein and the ancient salt mining town of Hallstatt, the fin de siècle summer retreat landscape around the mountain railway over the Semmering,† the Danube landscape of the Wachau and the Pannonian cultural landscape of Fertő / Lake Neusiedl.‡ Sadly it has not yet been possible to position a cultural landscape in the lower mountain ranges as a World Cultural Patrimonial Cultural Landscape. One of the reasons for this is the difficulty of the landscape in the lower mountain ranges as well as the socio-political framework. Hence, the Hallstatt-Dachstein / Salzkammergut World Heritage region can act as a model for the study of cultural landscapes with ‘outstanding universal value’ on a Cultural Landscape scale.

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† With the construction of the Semmering Railway, areas of great natural beauty became more easily accessible, and as a result these were developed as recreational areas with the construction of villas and hotels, creating a new form of cultural landscape (Stadtland, 2010).
‡ Cf. several research activities from Sibylla Zech in these world heritage regions, for example Zech et al. (2003).
Heritage site. The Bregenz Forest, a region shaped by its traditional agricultural economic system and, in architectural terms, by its extraordinary merit in both historic and contemporary timber architecture, attempted in 2006/2007 through a committed regional development process involving many people, businesses and institutions from the region to become a World Cultural Heritage site, but was unable to win out on the international stage.

There is a fundamental challenge facing Austrian World Heritage sites: in federal Austria almost every legal aspect affecting spatial and thus landscape development falls within the jurisdiction of the provinces or municipalities. On the one hand this safeguards bottom-up processes, regional identity and initiatives. However, on the other hand it makes it difficult for regions equipped with only modest resources to compete without adequate support ‘from above’ (Republic of Austria) among candidates receiving commensurate support from their nation states (for UNESCO only national governments and not regions are treated as contracting parties).

Each of Austria’s World Heritage cultural landscapes is a living environment for thousands of inhabitants, tourists, entrepreneurs, farmers and other land users. These landscapes – often farming landscapes – are by their very nature not static, but instead reflect the changing methods of cultivation and management practised there. For its part, UNESCO has stated that the objective in these landscapes is not preservation but rather the intertwining of conservation and development goals. The strategy defined is one of ‘gentle development’ (cf. Rössler, 2006).

The importance of cultural landscape potential for regional development in different regions was recognized as long ago as the 1980s. Building on traditions of ‘independent regional development’ that reach back to the 1970s, different rural and urban regions rehabilitated their historic heritage and made it ready to play a part in their development, e.g. the Iron Road in the Eisenwurzen region, the textile regions in the Mühlviertel and Waldviertel districts, and the Bregenz Forest. What all of these examples have in common is that the development of regional identities is taking and has taken place within broad regional discussion processes in which many local stakeholders with different backgrounds are or were involved. Practical experiences with the governance of regional cultural landscape heritage are closely connected to regional development initiatives, which to a certain extent came about as self-help projects ‘from below’ in the rural regions and which have also received much attention and recognition on the international stage (cf. Heintel, 1994). In terms of the development of Austria as a tourist country, these initiatives for enhancing cultural landscape potential in economically weaker regions have provided vital stimuli.

These experiences are an important point of reference for management planning in World Heritage cultural landscapes. However, World Heritage status plac-
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es further demands on their management. In the assessment by UNESCO, criteria such as ‘authenticity’, ‘uniqueness’ and ‘integrity’ are of great importance. The member states undertake to develop suitable management plans for the protection of such areas. World Heritage management ‘best practice’ guidelines propose a strategy of ‘adaptive co-management’ for continuing cultural landscapes (Mitchell et al., 2009).

One of the central challenges in planning the management of Austria’s World Heritage cultural landscapes has proven to be combining the top-down concept of the ‘UNESCO landscapes of universal value’ with regionally-established strategies for ‘gentle development’. The use of existing cultural landscape potential for regional development essentially depends on the strategic form of the management mechanisms: these include the interaction of formal and informal planning levels and instruments, cooperation and quality assurance strategies, the applicable regional institutional landscape, the historic structures and the planning culture that has evolved on a local level. In Austria these are diverse and individual as a result of the federal way in which the Austrian legal and planning systems are organized, as well as the cultural and geographical diversity of the regions. As a result of this variety and heterogeneity, differing models of governance have developed in the individual World Heritage regions. For management planning it is essential to start with the regional conditions, tap them, build on them and also ‘adaptively and carefully develop’ the ‘social landscapes’ of the regional and national stakeholders in the sense of a ‘smart governance’ (Zech and Linzer, 2013).

Taking various different examples, with the emphasis on the Hallstatt-Dachstein / Salzkammergut region, governance approaches in the management of World Cultural heritage regions in Austria are presented and discussed below.

2. BASIC PLANNING PARAMETERS FOR THE UNESCO WORLD CULTURAL HERITAGE REGIONS IN AUSTRIA

Austria signed the UNESCO Convention Concerning the Protection of the World Cultural and Natural Heritage (World Heritage Convention) in 1992. There are now nine World Heritage sites.

At national level, a range of Federal sectoral legislation (Austrian Monument Protection Act, Environmental Impact Assessment Act – EIA Act, forestry law, water law, railway law, federal highways law etc.) has an impact on the development of World Heritage regions, even if it does not refer directly to World Heritage sites. The EIA Act is the only one where World Heritage is specifically mentioned: inscribed UNESCO World Heritage sites are named in Appendix 2 of
the act as ‘Special Protected Areas (Category A)’. Cultural landscapes, and thus relevant ‘usage and protection’ content for World Heritage cultural landscapes, are primarily governed by the spatial planning laws, building laws and nature and landscape conservation laws of the individual federal provinces. To date, in terms of spatial planning instruments, only the development programme for Burgenland has actively taken up the subject of World Cultural heritage. This programme firmly establishes zoning and the aims of management planning at province level. On the other hand, local spatial planning – and consequently land use and construction planning – falls within the competence of the municipalities. The federal Republic of Austria is subdivided into 9 provinces and 2,345 municipalities (as of March 2014). Around three quarters of these municipalities have fewer than 2,500 inhabitants, and the autonomy of municipalities is traditionally attributed a high degree of importance. Cultural landscapes do not stop at municipal boundaries. The area of World Heritage cultural landscapes consistently embraces several municipalities, which demands a high level of inter-municipal coordination and cooperation.

Again, a number of Federal sectoral planning laws operate in the agrarian cultural landscapes, which, however, contain no direct reference to the subject of World Heritage. Among others, these include forestry spatial planning, hazard zone planning, agricultural sector planning and water management planning. Overall, as a consequence, management planning and implementation for World Heritage sites in Austria takes place in what is legally a somewhat complex environment.

Of great importance for the management of cultural landscapes are the subsidy framework for agriculture (ÖPUL, Austria’s programme for the promotion of an agriculture that is appropriate to the environment, extensive and protective of natural habitats) and the rural regions (rural development programme) together with the regional development structures and their institutions (Leader, Interreg, Regional Agenda). These structures are strongly interconnected. They are overlain, so to speak, by World Heritage status as an overarching element without its own legal status, which generally has only limited resources of its own. The practice of management planning depends therefore on the defined conservation object on the one hand and essentially also on the regional planning culture that has evolved locally. Figure 1 shows the profile of the different planning and legal responsibilities for the management of cultural landscapes taking the Hallstatt-Dachstein / Salzkammergut region as an example.
3. THE CASE OF THE HALLSTATT-DACHSTEIN / SALZKAMMERGUT WORLD HERITAGE CULTURAL LANDSCAPE

The Hallstatt-Dachstein / Salzkammergut cultural landscape in the province of Upper Austria was awarded the title of UNESCO World Cultural Heritage site in 1997 for its 5000-year history as an alpine industrial region (salt mining). At this time, the region was undergoing a severe developmental and identity crisis. Following the privatisation of the two large state enterprises in the region – the Austrian Federal Forests and the Austrian Salt Works – a large proportion of the area’s industrial jobs were lost and municipal budgets were cut. A peripheral location and poor accessibility, low availability of land for development as a consequence of the geographic conditions and – for historical reasons – the low level of capital resources provided poor conditions for a reorientation of the region. In some cases dramatic demographic developments were the result. At the same time, due to the isolated location of individual municipalities and their functional integration in the centrally organized system of the salt industry, there was a rather underdeveloped tradition of cooperation and thus few points of contact for cooperation – as well as resistance to forms of planning and management prescribed ‘from above’.

3 This case study is based on a research project from Peter Kurz and Gisa Ruland for the Federal Chancellery Austria (Kurz, Ruland, in preparation) and two student projects at the Vienna University of Technology, Department of Urban Planning and Landscape Architecture (Auzinger et al., 2012 and Bachmair, 2014, unpublished).
3.1. World Heritage Management in the Hallstatt-Dachstein / Salzkammergut Region

The Hallstatt-Dachstein World Heritage region is historically characterized by very specific social and economic, legal and institutional structures: whilst around 80% of the land area and the larger lakes fall under the planning authority of a centrally organized state forestry company (today the privately structured, state-owned Bundesforste AG) and many of the larger properties were owned by the – formerly state, now privately structured – salt industry administration, the remaining municipal areas are characterized by very small-scale, fragmented rural ownership. This historic heritage of an economic monostructure of local resource extraction and a population characterized by salt mining and forestry work, forms the developmental basis of the municipalities in the region to the present day. Where historically the fundamental infrastructure was provided by the state-dominated salt extraction industry, the scope for planning freedom in the individual municipalities was traditionally low. Despite the favourable landscape conditions and the early discovery of the region as a summer retreat destination at the beginning of the 19th century, the development of a tourist infrastructure remained rather modest until the very recent past. Tourism may have become established as an increasingly important mainstay, but has remained a somewhat decentralized, moderately commercialized phenomenon.

World Cultural Heritage status was awarded to the region at the same time as the salt industry lost its importance as the basis for physical and economic survival. This was the starting point of a more intensive exploitation of the inherited resource of the ‘cultural landscape’. The UNESCO brand was recognized as an opportunity and powerful basis for greater development of tourism and the professional foundations were established to market the area with the setting-up of a regional tourist association. In parallel, the four Upper Austrian municipalities in the World Heritage region came together formally as an association and thought was given to how the region could be furnished with the ‘hard’ infrastructure required for tourism-based development (bypass tunnel and parking deck in the mountain for the municipality of Hallstatt, development of the cycling and hiking network, accommodation and hotel establishments, other tourist offerings). To this end, with the province of Upper Austria as the financing partner, a specific management model was agreed for the World Heritage region, at the centre of which was a ‘round table’. The development of the World Heritage region was declared a ‘top-level issue’, with the governor, members of the provincial government and leading officials from the different specialist departments meeting at the ‘round table’ to discuss development projects for the region with their mayors and to clarify the support and financing possibilities. The tasks that had to be accomplished in the World Heritage region became the responsibility of the Upper Austrian spatial planning department. The head of local spatial planning was appointed World Heritage coordinator, responsible for collating, checking, discuss-
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ing and preparing for the implementation of the concerns and project ideas raised by the World Heritage communities. Whilst the ‘round table’ meets once a year, strategic meetings take place between the coordinator and the representatives of the four municipalities quarterly, in order to coordinate the project catalogue to be discussed. The World Heritage coordinator consequently fulfils the role of link, hub and moderator between the ‘bottom-up’ levels of the municipalities and the ‘top-down’ levels of the state. An important role in the development of World Heritage projects also plays the regional LEADER’s management.

A management plan in the traditional sense, as intended by UNESCO, does not exist (yet). Instead, a concept of ‘regional economic support’ has been developed. In particular, subsidies are made available for development measures and investment in the key areas of tourism and infrastructure. In the process, the World Heritage status has been used as a pretext and motive for increased inter-municipal cooperation. The four World Heritage municipalities and the province of Upper Austria are currently involved in discussions regarding a strategic document that will set out longer-term development objectives. The basis for planning measures is a map defining the boundaries of the World Heritage region and surrounding buffer zones (see figure 2).

Fig. 2. Overview of World Heritage sites in Austria and World Heritage region zoning plan

Sources: UNESCO (2008), Stadtland (2013), authors’ elaboration, 2014

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4 As part of several projects in the region by students from the Vienna University of Technology, Department of Urban Planning and Landscape Architecture, discussions have been carried on regarding the regional potential and possible World Heritage management (cf. http://www.landscape.tuwien.ac.at/index.php/de/archiv) (25.06.2013).
3.2. Strengths and Weaknesses of the Practised Model

The example of the Hallstatt-Dachstein / Salzkammergut region shows an approach for making the ‘UNESCO World Cultural Heritage’ category that is prescribed from the top down useful for a strategy of regional economic development and for expanding internal networking and cooperation. At the same time, this approach demands that the World Heritage status and criteria be dealt with continuously. The motive for ‘regional economic support’ using the instrument of the ‘round table’ was to quickly and efficiently establish items of infrastructure in order to prepare for the transformation to a modern tourist region and to create incentives for investment. In the process, the management planning of the World Heritage site was focussed on the cooperation between municipalities and the province of Upper Austria.

The strengths of the model presented are as follows:

Due to its lean bureaucracy the management model described works effectively and has so far been able to quickly implement a number of projects (e.g. two heritage hotels in Hallstatt, a holiday village complex in Obertraun, a viewing platform etc.). Since the area was inscribed as a World Heritage site, tourist numbers have risen continuously. The region is a popular destination for visitors from the Austrian urban centres, Germany and the Far East.5

Through their integration in the provincial spatial planning department, quality assurance mechanisms for the observance of World Heritage criteria, which are established diffusely in different pieces of legislation (SEA,6 EIA, nature conservation, monument protection) and/or can be interpreted, are incorporated in project development. In the process, the World Heritage coordinator plays an advisory role. In addition, representatives of the province (lakefront protection, environmental advocacy office) and of ICOMOS are involved in an advisory capacity at the initial stage of project development.

For the municipalities, their status as a UNESCO World Heritage region provided the incentive to coordinate their actions among themselves – taking into account the UNESCO requirements – and as a region to appear as a cohesive unit in their dealings with the province of Upper Austria. This is also significant in light of the fact that in the province of Upper Austria, the regional planning level is only weakly developed and thus infrastructure projects of regional importance are only rarely realized ‘from the bottom’. In this context, the instrument of the ‘round table’ may be seen as a thorough success, and the awarding of the UNESCO label as the driver for the regional development that has been initiated.

5 China has built its own ‘alpine idyll’ in the sub-tropical province of Guangdong. The ‘true to life’ copy of the village of Hallstatt was opened in 2012.
6 Strategic environmental assessment.
However, the experiences of the last ten years also show the limits and weaknesses of this model:

To the present day, the local population views the status of World Heritage region in two ways. On the one hand it is seen as an instrument for tourism marketing, and on the other as the reason for the restriction of individual freedoms, primarily in connection with the protection of monuments. The direct personal contact points with the World Heritage are predominantly associated with experiences of restricted use.

Since in the context of World Cultural Heritage spatial development efforts are concentrated on the building and infrastructure level, other important areas recede into the background. In particular, the aspects of a cultural landscape shaped by agriculture and forestry and its importance for the World Heritage and the debate around possible development prospects have been neglected. As a consequence, not only has a central aspect been excluded so far from the debate on the ‘continuing cultural landscape’, but also important regional stakeholders have not been involved accordingly in development matters.

The strategy employed to date has had no discernible positive impact on the demographic problem of a shrinking and ageing population in the region. On the one hand this is due to the fact that the regional tourist economy is still not perceived as an attractive area of employment by local young people, and on the other hand there has been no appreciable diversification of the industrial structure and employment market in the region as part of the ‘regional economic support’ programme. The number of people forced to commute out of the region has increased strongly during the period in which it has been a World Cultural Heritage region.

Due to the low level of human and financial resources – the involvement of the four mayors and the World Heritage coordinator from the province of Upper Austria in the management of the World Heritage site is secondary to their other activities – the full development potential arising from the World Heritage status has not yet been fully exploited.

Combining World Cultural Heritage with regional development and regional identity has also changed the external image and marketing of the region. It is not primarily the beauty of the alpine scenery (mountains, rugged summits, alpine pastures, lake) that the tourism advertising presents us with, but art and culture (cf. dachstein.salzkammergut.at and www.hallstatt.net). Many artists popularized Hallstatt and the Salzkammergut through pictures and literary works. Even if it can be surmised that these pictures also have an effect on the self-image of the various stakeholders in the World Heritage communities, there needs to be still more awareness-raising and participation to turn the World Heritage into a common cause, ‘our World Heritage’.
3.3. Current and Future Challenges for Governance and Management in the Region

Therefore, challenges for the future management planning in the region include
– to improve ‘in-house’ communication and to better involve the citizens in the everyday management of World Heritage regions. This means amongst others participation in the development of strategies for the region, greater transparency, e.g. in monument protection matters and the quality assurance of World Heritage values, improved culture in dealing with ‘official’ instruments;
– to design a participatory planning process for visions and guidelines, containing a common understanding and agreement of the future orientation and further development of the region;
– to network the regional players to create synergies, e.g. a closer cooperation between skilled labour and those responsible for monument protection, to establish networking and cross-financing between tourism, the hospitality industry and agriculture in terms of the care and preservation of the cultural landscape and to sound out other possibilities for diversification of the regional economy under the seal of World Heritage;
– to intensify the existing cooperation with the traditional (forestry, saltworks, energy companies) and new ‘big’ players (nature and monument conservation) in the region in the planning of the management of the World Heritage site and to increase their involvement in the responsibility for the strategic development of regional resources.

4. Governance as a Groundwork for the Management of World Heritage Cultural Landscapes

From our experiences and the management processes that were started in (World Heritage) cultural landscapes in recent years, seven action approaches are derived below (cf. among others Zech and Linzer, 2013):

1. Governance refers to regional conditions and builds on them positively. Regionally meaningful points of departure are, in particular, the cultural, social, economic and political relationships and those pertaining to the natural environment, plus ownership structures. Here the landscape constitutes the basis for planning action. Positively establishing that which makes regions special and the values of the respective cultural landscape in people’s minds and/or strengthening what is often an existing awareness of the special importance of their landscape area, among other things in respect of World Cultural Heritage, is a basic building block for the success of governance processes. This means being conscious of and com-
mitted to the ongoing development of cultural landscapes – we are building the World Heritage cultural landscape of tomorrow today.

2. Governance is based on the relationships between the regional actors. A democratically-based development of World Heritage regions is among the basic values of UNESCO. The stakeholder landscape that secures the continuity of the cultural landscape is highly diverse. Platforms for debate and dialogue on an equal footing are needed. State-run and/or today’s partially privatized major stakeholders, both historic and current, such as, in the case study presented, Bundesforste AG (Austrian Federal Forests), Salinen AG (the federal salt extraction company), Energie AG (energy company of Upper Austria) or the Austrian Federal Railways among others, should be involved in responsibility for the protection and strategic development of the regions.

3. Governance places the prospects of the inhabitants and those working in these regions at the forefront. Aspects of the continuity of a cultural landscape include: the preservation and development of the economic livelihoods of the people, which have mostly changed in respect of the original grounds for protection, landscape protection and development and monument / settlement protection and development. It is necessary to take the historic heritage seriously and to integrate the varying requirements that are placed on the landscape as a resource in its necessary and sensible development. Continuing development is a creative task that requires mindfulness and courage – one could say ‘cultural planning virtues’ – in equal measure.

4. It is important that the inhabitants of cultural landscape areas have a genuine sense of the prospects and an opportunity to help actively shape them. Cultural heritage can be used as a starting and integration point for new developments even aside from tourism, especially in regard to the regional culture of building and the associated technical and artisanal know-how. Combining traditions with new developments, as demonstrated, for example, at Hallstatt Federal Higher Technical Institute, which in teaching and research combines the subject of the restoration of old windows with new techniques. Networking of regional stakeholders, e.g. production and marketing of regional products under special regional brands; cross-financing between tourism, the hospitality industry and agriculture in terms of preserving the cultural landscape, cf. the tourism contribution to agriculture for the preservation of the landscape around Lake Weissensee in Carinthia. This means designing participatory processes to anchor common goals of sustainability in everyday decision-making.

5. Governance requires property responsibility and care takers. Who is, in fact, responsible for the World Heritage property? Here, on the one hand, it is a matter of the legislative responsibility of the public authorities and the private responsibility that ownership entails, and on the other hand the operational role in the management of the World Heritage cultural landscape. Regional asso-
ciations of municipalities such as, for example, the REGIS regional development association in the Salzkammergut can serve as management platforms. The broad experience of regional management can be used for the operational business of the regions. Regional managers are established in many Austrian regions – they have the capacity to listen to local concerns, provide impetus for ideas from the municipalities and the region and facilitate their development and implementation. Not all Austrian World Heritage sites have a specific World Heritage management team. To establish efficient and lean management structures it is necessary to make available more funds for regional heritage management to fulfil its task as promoter and ‘care taker’ in a very complex stakeholder environment.

6. Governance is based on planning instruments and planning principles. Existing planning instruments and/or their revised versions should focus more clearly on the topic of cultural landscapes, especially for the World Cultural Heritage regions. Within the Austrian provinces Burgenland has taken the lead on this with its development programme (Land Burgenland, 2012) integrating World Heritage as a framework for regional or local development plans. The natural and cultural heritage is an attractive – even if often controversial – means of exploiting the respective opportunities of the region. A management plan for the individual World Heritage regions can be developed in coordination with different existing instruments and/or link them. In comparison with questions of infrastructure and location development, cultural landscapes and cultural heritage are topics with little presence in everyday planning practice. We must increase the use of existing planning instruments (e.g. zoning regulations, village renewal concepts, subsidies for revitalisation and provincial planning programmes) and put natural and cultural heritage on the spatial planning agenda. Heritage management planning should be implemented as an active instrument for regional development.

7. Governance enables integration in larger, higher-level provincial and federal structures and needs their support. In a federal political system, World Heritage needs strong national representation on the international level. This applies to existing World Heritage sites as much as to the positioning of new initiatives for World Heritage sites and regions. For this reason, to achieve successful implementation – especially with regard to the regional economic potential – integration at higher levels is essential (in Austria in the functional departments of the federal and provincial governments, among other things in the tourism strategies and development plans of the provinces). The local/regional level (World Heritage communities, World Heritage regions) needs, on the one hand, expert support, motivation and systematic financial aid, whilst on the other hand it offers local, first hand experience and knowledge, which, in turn, should be incorporated at the strategic, higher levels.
5. CONCLUSIONS

Cultural landscapes are ‘complex’ systems. Their development is determined by many diverse influences and a large number of stakeholders with a range of different interests, ideas and action strategies. Sometimes fundamental doubt is cast on the possibilities of managing cultural landscapes. Actually cultural landscapes are the physical expression of the complexity of social relationships, shaped by present and past, internal and external interdependencies, many of which elude the influence of management measures. On the other hand, the experiences – such as presented in the case study of the Hallstatt-Dachstein region – show that cultural landscapes can provide a viable concept for the development of regional identity and – further – the foundation for integrated regional development processes. The idea of a common heritage, that should be cared for, used and developed, as is the basic principle of the World Heritage concept, may constitute the starting point for debate and negotiation between the regional stakeholders. Gailing and Röring (2008, p. 5 et seq.) see cultural landscapes as social settings in which the different dimensions of regional identity can be discussed and defined. The ‘common regional asset of the cultural landscape’ (Apolinarski et al., 2006, p. 81 et seq.) is an important ‘soft location factor’ with whose help the ‘social capital’ of an area may unfold (cf. Curdes, 1999). Working on one’s own history opens up one’s eyes to its uniqueness and hones one’s perception of the existing, special qualities and potential and strengthens the self-perception and external view of regions (cf. Fürst et al., 2008). Cultural landscape management measures are, according to Apolinarski et al. (2006), the manifest outcomes that result from these processes of shaping social settings and working on regional identities. The success, quality and sustainability of the management depend on the form taken by these processes.

The management of sensitive cultural landscapes – with their cultural and natural values, their often fragile eco- and land use systems and their special potential for sustainable and resilient development need ‘top down’ control by the democratically legitimate government officials as well as ‘bottom up’ by private industry and the general public. Government here stands for the traditional steering of society by a government that functions ‘from the top down’. Governance expresses the concept that not only the nation, but also private industry and the general public (associations, special interest groups, citizens’ initiatives, the media etc.) interacting via formal and informal networks, have an interest in control and management. The role of the state should not be subverted, but instead redefined. In this connection participation plays a big part. This is the setting for the agreement and implementation of the different interests of private and public stakeholders. Here Austria already has a long tradition of and experience with different models of independent regional development and joint development of landscape areas and regions taking into account traditional values and a wide variety of inter-
est groups. This knowledge on governance and its principles and processes may provide a useful pool for the management of World Heritage cultural landscapes in Austria, but possibly also in other regions of the world.
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