BRANDING WORLD HERITAGE: A SUSTAINABLE APPROACH TO GLOBAL TOURISM

By

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Since its foundation in 1972, the World Heritage Convention recognizes and lists places of "outstanding universal value" that are part of the heritage of all humankind and make their protection a shared responsibility of the international community and of the concerned State Parties.

The World Heritage List continuously increased at hectic pace but with some gaps which seriously challenge the credibility of the concept of World Heritage and its truly outstanding universal value. This led to a brand image crisis of the World Heritage at a time of an exploding World Tourism placing World Heritage sites under the constant and growing threat of herds of tourists looking for the unique and outstanding experience to bring back on photographs.

The combination of individualism, globalisation and the demand of symbolic experiences have led to a shift away from producer or sales led marketing towards customer focused and customer driven business models where the brand acts as the logical and primary connection and mode of communication between the producer and the consumer (Ellwood, 2002).

The concept of branding is still quite ignored for World Heritage and only viewed as an emblem within its graphic and visual boundaries. There is yet no sense of the World Heritage as a brand which could make it as a sustainable and credible universal space which would connect people and promote diversity in a global world.

Therefore, this dissertation will attempt to build a strategic brand model for the World Heritage by bringing various spheres of academic knowledge together. The use of heritage interpretation theories and researches as well as of the theories and practices of branding will be central to the development of a possible brand model for the World Heritage.

It will also bring together disparate academic worlds as well as different scholarly research traditions to map a possible way to a sustainable World Heritage.

It will refer to several World Heritage sites which were visited by the author as examples to illustrate the present situation in relation to the branding of World Heritage sites.

This paper will be articulated around four stumbling blocks leading to the definition of a possible brand model for the World Heritage: It will first review the concept of the World Heritage through its history and the present brand image crisis and challenges it is now facing; It will then, outline the key theories, concepts and practices in branding and brand management; then, it will consider the theories and debates of Heritage interpretation which will be transposed in a brand management approach, and finally, it will assess World Tourism and its related implications in the branding of the World Heritage.

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Statement of significance of the problem

Since its foundation in 1972, the World Heritage Convention recognizes and lists places of "outstanding universal value" that are part of the heritage of all humankind and make their protection a shared responsibility of the international community and of the concerned State Parties. The main purpose of the Convention is therefore to ensure the identification, protection, conservation, presentation and transmission to future generations of the cultural and natural heritage of outstanding value.

The World Heritage Committee in implementing this Convention has continuously increased the list of World Heritage sites at hectic pace. However, the World Heritage Committee sessions have acknowledged over the recent years the need to compensate for some gaps which seriously challenge the credibility of the concept of World Heritage and its truly outstanding universal value. Indeed, some 44 countries do not yet have sites inscribed in the list, or some themes (religions, philosophies, styles...) or historical periods are over represented while others are absent.

With the recent Convention (2003) for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage such as oral traditions and expressions, performing arts, social practices, rituals or festive events and traditional craftsmanship will complete the World Heritage Concept in bringing a more meaningful World Heritage which includes the "living heritage" and goes beyond ruins or biodiversity which are not actually valued by most people in this world.

During a symposium in Nara held in 2004, Koichiro Matsuura, Director General of UNESCO noted the "*need for a new inclusive and where appropriate unified vision of heritage*", and called for "*an integrated approach which respects the diversity of cultures and which acknowledges the interdependencies of tangible and intangible heritages as well as their autonomy*". The World Heritage Committee has therefore been calling all experts and relevant advisory bodies to find solutions to compensate for these gaps and imbalances.

At the same time, the World Tourism has been exploding and the World Heritage sites have become somehow the hubs of this exponential development while being under the constant and growing threat of herds of tourists looking for the unique and outstanding experience to bring back on photographs. This situation has become very serious as not sustainable, and already several sites are showing the signs of a fatal fatigue in relation to their integrity and authenticity.

Furthermore, UNESCO can dedicate for some 830 World Heritage sites only some 4 million USD annually (some 4,800 dollars per site) to promote and preserve the values of the concept of the World Heritage within countries having World Heritage sites identified which were inscribed on the List or identified as endangered. This lack of adequate financial support also reveals an inability to cope with the growing threats of a booming World Tourism exacerbated by the tensions of globalization.

The World Heritage sites are then facing an emerging individualism, a fast growing globalization and an increasing demand for symbolic experiences which supports the power of consumer culture and the liberal free market economics of the westernized world. Westernized societies recognize the fragmentation of our personal and social identities and this encourages self-identity construction through the consumption of material good and services. And as individual consumers are becoming a smaller part of a much larger world, there is a growing need to find quick and easy ways to guide them through that world. Consumers are now buying experiences rather than commodities whose contents are largely image driven, intangible and symbolic.

This combination of individualism, globalization and the demand of symbolic experiences have led to a shift away from producer or sales led marketing towards customer focused and customer driven business models. This means that understanding what motivates and satisfies the customer is the key to successful modern business practices. The brand acts as the logical and primary connection and mode of communication between the producer and the consumer (Ellwood, 2002).

More and more firms and other organizations have then come to the realization that one of their most valuable assets is the brand name associated with their products or services. In an increasingly complex world, individuals and businesses are faced with more and more choices but seemingly have less and less time to make those choices. The ability of a strong brand to simplify consumer decision making, reduce risk, and set expectations is thus invaluable. Creating strong brands that deliver on that promise, and maintaining and enhancing the strength of those brands over time, is thus a management imperative (Keller, 2003).

This branding process of our world has become the key factor of success and path to a sustainable growth for many large corporations in a global world. World Heritage sites are

expected by essence to propose a unique and outstanding experience to visitors which responds to this quest of authenticity that consumers are looking for through the branding process. The universality of the World Heritage is clearly an asset in a global world which could leverage much needed resources to safeguard and promote its values.

However, the 7th Extraordinary Session of the World Heritage Committee held in December 2004 only expressed concerns at some inconsistencies in the handling by the World Heritage Centre of the requests for use of the World Heritage Emblem and urged the director of the World Heritage Committee to take necessary measures to protect the Emblem of the World Heritage from any abuse particularly in relation to the Private Sector. The concept of branding is therefore still quite ignored and only viewed as an emblem within its graphic and visual boundaries. There is yet no sense of the World Heritage as a brand which could make it as a sustainable and credible universal space which would connect people and promote diversity in a global world.

Although there is a plethora of literature on branding and branding strategies for the corporate world, there is almost none on the branding of World Heritage to promote its sustainability and authenticity. There are also a lot of literatures and commentaries on the challenges of World Heritage as its listing has been continuously increasing and on imbalances and the disparities it generated. There is basically no literature on a possible branding of the World Heritage to cope with these challenges in promoting its core values through a brand model and ensuring its sustainability.

Objectives

Therefore, this dissertation will attempt to build a strategic brand model for the World Heritage by bringing various spheres of academic knowledge together. The use of heritage interpretation theories and researches as well as of the theories and practices of branding will be central to the development of a possible brand model for the World Heritage.

Scope and method of study

It will therefore bring together disparate academic worlds as well as different scholarly research traditions to map a possible way to a sustainable World Heritage. It will also refer to several World Heritage sites which were visited by the author as examples to illustrate the present situation in relation to the branding of World Heritage sites. It will use the example of UNICEF, United Nations Children Fund, another organization from the United Nations as UNESCO, as it has successfully developed a brand model with relevant branding strategies. Through a brand model, UNICEF promotes its core values and ensures financial and

programmatic sustainability. This brand model also leverages resources for children issues worldwide.

This dissertation will be articulated around four stumbling blocks leading to the definition of a possible brand model for the World Heritage : It will first review the concept of the World Heritage through its history and the present brand image crisis and challenges it is now facing; It will then, outline the key theories, concepts and practices in branding and brand management; then, it will consider the theories and debates of heritage interpretation which will be transposed in a brand management approach, and finally, it will assess World Tourism and its related implications in the branding of the World Heritage.

Chapter 2

Introduction

The brand image crisis of the World Heritage

The 29th session of the World Heritage Committee, held in July 2005 in Durban in South Africa, brought to 812 the total number of cultural, natural and mixed sites now inscribed on the World Heritage List. The States of Bahrain, the Republic of Moldova, Bosnia and Herzegovina made their first appearance on the list while Andorra, the Democratic People's Republic of Korea, Iceland, Saint Lucia and Togo made their first appearance on the List in 2004 during the 28th session of the World Heritage Committee, held in July 2004 in Suzhou in China, and Mauritius in 2006 during the 30th session held in Vilnius in Lithuania. The World Heritage List now includes as of July 2006 some 644 cultural sites, 162 natural sites and 24 mixed sites in 138 countries around the world. It also included in 2005 three trans-boundary sites (one in 2006) and extensions to seven sites that were already on the list (three in 2006).

Three properties were also added in 2004 to the List of the World Heritage in Danger (Bam and its cultural landscape in Iran, the Ruins of Kilwa Kisiwani and the Ruins of Songo Mnara in the United Republic of Tanzania, and the Cologne Cathedral in Germany), and one in July 2005 (Humberstone and Santa Laura Salpeter works), while three were removed from it in 2004 (Angkor in Cambodia, Bahla Fort in Oman and the Rwenzori Mountains National Park in Uganda). As of July 2006, there are 31 properties on the List of World Heritage in Danger as 31 sites were removed from the list in July 2006 because of the improvements made in the state of their conservation.

There is indeed a clear intention to bring more countries to ensure a wider representation of countries, and also a strong political will to strengthen the credibility of the of World Heritage Listing by limiting the number of sites being inscribed every year with 34 new sites listed in 2004 and only 24 sites in 2005 and 18 sites in 2006. If the Convention has managed to maintain a high profile and credibility in its site evaluations and expertise it gets much lower appreciation for keeping a balance in its representation and coverage of the diversity of sites (Sheppard, 2001). One of the main concerns at the 28th and 29th sessions of the World Heritage Committee was indeed to increase the number of under-represented categories and expand the geographic coverage. The Committee recognized that the so-

called "Cairns Decision" aimed to develop a more balanced World Heritage List had not been fully implemented and that more efforts were to be made by State Parties in this regard.

These concerns about the credibility of the World Heritage concept are not yet seen and understood as part of a brand development strategy although the universal representation and credibility of the World Heritage Listing participate to the brand image of the World Heritage and to its sustainability. The brand image of the World Heritage is at stake as its credibility and actual universality are now being challenged, because of an ever expanding World Heritage List and a strong historical European and Christian cultural focus. As mentioned by Michael Omolewa, President of the UNESCO General conference at the 28th Session of the World Heritage Committee in Suzhou in China, "*our attachment to heritage – and thus the wish to reach a balanced representation on the World Heritage List – finds its roots in our deep attachment to the diversity of conceptions of the world that it reflects. It is increasingly obvious that the whole subject of heritage is closely bound up with the question of cultural diversity*".

This addition of some 34 new sites in 2004, 24 sites in 2005 and 18 sites in 2006 to the World Heritage which brought the List to 830 cultural, natural and mixed sites, still hides gaps and important imbalances between countries having sites inscribed while some 44 countries do not yet have sites inscribed, or that certain themes might be well represented while others may be absent. Although efforts are being made over recent sessions of the World Heritage Committee, this situation still seriously challenges the meaning and credibility of the World Heritage and its truly outstanding universal value, and therefore its brand image.

The definition of "universal" in the concept of "outstanding universal value" was first used formally in 1976. It was then considered that the word would mean that a property should represent or symbolize a set of ideas or values which are universally recognized as important, or as having influenced the evolution of mankind as a whole at one time or another.

It is now recognized that cultural value can vary from one culture to another, and also can evolve and change overtime, even in the same culture. UNESCO's Universal Declaration of Cultural Diversity, adopted in November 2001, states that "*culture takes diverse forms across time and space. This diversity is embodied in the uniqueness and plurality of the identities of the groups and societies making up humankind. As a source of exchange, innovation and creativity, cultural diversity is as necessary for humankind as biodiversity is for nature. In this sense, it is the common heritage of humanity and should be recognized and affirmed for the benefit of present and future generations*".

Since the World Heritage Convention came into effect in 1975, concepts of cultural heritage have gone beyond the initial vision and now include new dimensions such as cultural landscapes, technological and agricultural heritage, cultural routes, and modern heritage, as well as the cultural significance of natural features. This semantic evolution is still not well

represented in the current World Heritage List. It is now threatening the World Heritage brand image as it does not keep its brand promise in featuring the universality, the diversity and the outstanding cultural and natural expressions of the world.

These gaps and imbalances reveal that Europe is over-represented in comparison with the rest of the world; that historic towns and religious buildings are over-listed compared to other types of property; that Christianity is over-represented in relation to other religions and beliefs; that historical periods are also over-represented in relation to prehistory and the 20th century and that academic architecture is far more represented than vernacular architecture.

These gaps only exacerbate the existing tensions of a rapidly increasing World Heritage List with no actual support budget to ensure that the integrity and authenticity of this outstanding universal value is actually preserved for the next generations. Some 4 million USD being made available by UNESCO annually will not be enough in ensuring that these objectives are reached in some 830 World Heritage sites and in the more to come. Since the World Heritage Fund is based on voluntary and obligatory contributions by states, its contribution to financial sustainability for future conservation is rather limited with an expanding list, unless new states and non-governmental sources of funds could be mobilized (Ishwaran, 2004).

World Heritage status has become a highly appreciated recognition in both developed and developing countries. The diversification and expansion of the World Heritage List has now led to more inclusive and representative approach to both designation and inscription. However, an apparently indefinite expansion of the list could be questionable in terms of meaning and significance of the World Heritage status (Smith, 2002) and the motivations of the State Parties to the World Heritage Convention have tended to become more and more economical than a genuine intention to preserve the World Heritage for the next generations. The World Heritage brand image is endangered if the World Heritage Listing would only become a marketing tool which would not respect what it actually stands for as a brand.

Considering this image crisis, not yet understood as a brand image crisis, the Committee adopted on an experimental and transitory basis a different mechanism that has been applicable at its 30th session in July 2006. It now only examine up to two complete nominations per State Party, provided that at least one of the nominations concerns a natural property. It has also limited the number of nominations it reviewed at the 30th session to 45 sites, inclusive of nominations deferred and referred by previous sessions of the Committee, extensions, trans-boundary nominations and nominations submitted on an emergency basis.

The Committee also decided to develop a mechanism that would allow a State Party to correct what it considers to be factual errors in its inscription proposal. The Committee also called on the World Heritage Committee, in co-operation with States Parties, ICOMOS, IUCN, ICCROM, and other relevant partners to convene in 2005 a meeting of experts which is to

make specific proposals to enable less-represented and non-represented State Parties to improve the quality of nominations and identify sufficient funding sources for the sustainable conservation of properties inscribed. The goal is to decrease, by the year 2007, by at least 30% the number of less-represented and non-represented State Parties and to lower by 20% the number of properties inscribed as of today on the List of World Heritage in Danger.

Furthermore, the recent (2003) Convention for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage brings in the "living" cultural heritage dimension which is lacking in the World Heritage Convention. This new Convention defines the intangible cultural heritage as the practices, representations, expressions as well as the knowledge and skills that communities, groups, and in some cases, individuals recognize as part of their cultural heritage. This intangible cultural heritage includes oral traditions and expressions including languages; performing arts, social practices, rituals and festive events; knowledge and practices concerning nature and the universe and traditional craftsmanship. The intangible cultural heritage is transmitted from generation to generation and is constantly recreated by communities and groups, in response to their environment, their interaction with nature, and their historical condition of existence. It provides people with a sense of identity and its safeguarding promotes, sustains and develops cultural diversity and human creativity.

This new legal instrument will complete the World Heritage Convention by safeguarding the intangible cultural heritage which was not yet included in the World Heritage Convention. It will provide a legal framework for all measures aimed at ensuring the viability of the intangible cultural heritage including the identification, documentation, transmission as well as the revitalisation of the various aspects of such heritage. The static and historically frozen character of the tangible heritage is in stark contrast with the living and volatile character of most of the intangible cultural heritage. The inclusion of the intangible cultural heritage is therefore giving an opportunity to the World Heritage to increase its brand image while its credibility had been questioned and challenged.

Furthermore, tangible heritage has a strong link with intangible heritage. In many cases, the efficient and authentic conservation of monuments and sites can only be successful when it is placed within its appropriate cultural context. One of the key challenges for the World Heritage sites will be to use the intangible cultural heritage as an asset, as a source of meaning which would reinforce their outstanding and universal value in strengthening their authenticity and making it alive to most people. The values that local people associate with a World Heritage site which is part of their heritage are often different than those of international agencies, government officials and tourism developers (Wall and Black, 2005).

The brand image of the World Heritage is intimately linked to the World Heritage brand values which include local people participation in the interpretive process of the World Heritage sites. Unfortunately, the participation of the local people in the interpretation of the

site and actually in the branding process of the World Heritage sites has often been forgotten and contributed to a weak brand image of the World Heritage. For instance, in Indonesia, the designation of Borobodur and Prabanan as World Heritage sites required the preparation and international acceptance of a plan. These master plans were drafted in 1974 and implemented over the following decade. A major consequence is that both sites have become archaeological parks and in the process, many local people have been displaced. The planners who lived in very different conditions tried to anticipate the needs of local people rather than to consult with them about their hopes and fears. As a result the spiritual value of these two World Heritage sites was underestimated (Wall and Black, 2005) and disappeared from the face of visitors while it could have been a genuine and authentic dimension of the interpretive process which would make these two sites different and appealing to visitors in quest of authenticity and self-fulfilment.

The tendency to adopt top-down, rational and comprehensive planning procedures for World Heritage sites has resulted in the disenfranchisement of local people, giving greater prominence to expressions of national, "official" culture and nationalism at the expense of the local culture. It has tended to freeze sites and displace human activities, effectively excluding local people from their own heritage. Conservation, property gentrification including tourist hotels and corporate investment in architectural heritage has resulted in very few living communities in World Heritage sites such as Venice, Florence or others. This sterilisation of cultural World Heritage areas prevented an authentic exchange between hosts and guests. Furthermore, the absence of community amenities and a largely faceless, privatised and fragmented built environment left the historic and cultural quarter more like a "theseum" (Batten, 1993) than a living and universal space which connects people across time and boundaries of any kind. For instance the Mayas, whose descendants still inhabit their region of origin, work as hotel staff and waiters, but are completely marginalized in the protection, interpretation and exploitation of the World Heritage sites and artefacts associated with their heritage. And the benefits from their inherited culture as World Heritage are effectively denied to them (Davies, 1990). The inheritors and resident communities who have stewarded heritage sites, are very often losers in the master planning process and in the land-use and development aid distribution.

Similarly, the understanding of World Heritage site of Angkor as a form of living heritage remains neglected within a management framework which conceives the site as a form of material culture of the ancient past. The anthropological or sociological dimensions of the site of Angkor in both a historical and contemporary senses were basically ignored within an exclusively rational and scientific framework of architectural conservation (Winter, 2005). Angkor is actually very important to a population recovering from the atrocities of war and of a domestic genocidal regime along with the political incursions of neighbouring Vietnam. As Tim Winter (2005) acknowledged, Angkor is "*the convergence of past histories, both glorious and*

tragic erased, remembered and transposed into optimism in the future" and is "the metaphoric space for a nation recovery". These special meanings could also make the experience of the visitors of Angkor a unique and authentic moment in time and space which would connect them to humankind and its suffering across time and boundaries.

Although, the World Heritage Committee established a formal obligation for States to adopt a general policy which aims to give cultural and natural heritage a function in the life of the community (art. 5A), it is still a virtual reality (Evans, 2005) which has a negative impact on the World Heritage brand image as the World Heritage brand is not keeping its promise to ensure the participation of local people in its interpretation and simply in making the World Heritage sites a unique and outstanding experience for visitors.

The participation and involvement of stakeholders, local populations and the outside world are essential in achieving the objectives of the Convention. Many of the activities affecting the integrity and management of World Heritage sites come from outside their boundaries. Increasing the number of stakeholders in the selection process of World Heritage sites, especially those mostly excluded from any-decision making process, seems to be a promising approach as it enlarges the debate and facilitates consensus at all levels on how to promote and to protect World Heritage sites. The creation of an observation station together with a more participatory selection system of World Heritage sites could promote a better understanding of people perceptions into World Heritage policies (Lask and Herold, 2005).

Furthermore, the definition and maintenance of World Heritage sites would certainly be enhanced through expanded citizen participation in the debate and the decision process. Once people have debated the value and the importance of their heritage to the world, they are more likely to accord more respect to their own cultural heritage and ensure that tourist also respect it (Lask and Herold, 2005). After all, public participation is relevant, because only sites that are supported by the local population will become sustainable and meaningful. Reasons for the lack of civil action are wide ranging and include a weakness in democratic tradition and a preoccupation with poverty and the daily fight for survival. Local residents actually also have something positive to offer as part of the interpretation process as they have stories to tell about the site while their cultural expressions and living traditions can be employed to animate the sites. Their families have been informal guardians of the sites for generations, and they can still care for the sites if they are allowed to and taught how to do so.

Unfortunately, present situation still sees a global culture of World Heritage which often displaced local cultures (Wall and Black, 2005) and which prevents plurality and diversity of interpretation along participation of local populations in the interpretive process of the World Heritage. The builders of these monuments listed nowadays as World Heritage are dead and gone. The continuity of their culture lies in what human value and the fact that local people look-up to the monuments as they go about their daily activities. The relationship between

hosts and guests is essential for the authenticity of the experience of visitors, and the continuity of that relationship can be enhanced through the implementation of a constructive and creative planning process that incorporates the knowledge, skills and desires of local people, leading to more secure monument preservation, a more "authentic" tourism experience and improved life opportunities for those living in the shadow of the world heritage sites (Wall and Black, 2005).

As with other dimensions of culture, World Heritage is an invention (Anderson, 1995; Hobsbawn and Ranger, 1997) and comprehensive participation in the construction of this invention is necessary to assure its sustainability. It will indeed vary across World Heritage sites as every site is unique. There is a need to establish a forum or a free zone where information on the political, economic and social aspects of tourism and World Heritage could be freely exchanged. The consequent involvement of population in or around heritage sites would enhance their commitment to the World Heritage sites and the cultural authenticity of the site itself (Lask and Herold, 2005) and would make the World Heritage brand unique and highly differentiated from other tourist experiences.

As part of their brand image strategy, World Heritage sites should be considered as hubs not as islands (Sheppard, 2001). They should be promoting networks and connections which would link people and sites among them around the World Heritage brand values and ideal while contributing to the social and economic needs of local communities. It has to overcome the tensions between a world citizenry ideal and a local or nationalist mythology, between a "global landscape" and a place-driven focus of national or local identity and meaning (Scott, 2002). The challenge is then, to bring about an imagined community with its conservation and sustainable drive for future generations (Hitchcok, 2002) while promoting the perspectives and the identities of the various stakeholders including local residents and visitors groups (Evans, 2002, Bianchi, 2002).

The brand image of World Heritage sites is deeply rooted in their function as places of genuine exchange because in theory, at least, they are universally and culturally significant. They should facilitate visitor understanding of cultural universality as well as cultural diversity, an aim expressed in the adoption of the Universal Declaration on Cultural Diversity and its action plan during the 31st session of UNESCO's General Conference in October 2001.

However, a common tension within World Heritage sites is whether their narratives should reflect national concerns, often with ethnically or ideologically situated agendas or trans-national ones that place emphasis on what these sites have in common with one another. These nationalistic temptations have seriously affected the brand image of the World Heritage. For instance, although the United States of America have been an active member of the World Heritage Convention since its inception, the vast majority of visitors to national parks have no idea that they are visiting a World Heritage site. Rangers in America do not receive

specific training on the subject of World Heritage and what it stands for. This ignorance and confusion have been reinforced by anti United Nations sentiments expressed by such groups as the Wise Use Movement. Because of the complexity of the topic, the development of American Land Sovereignty Protection Act (ALSPA) in Congress, and through fear of hostile reaction, World Heritage designation received little publicity in the United States of America. The ALSPA which was reintroduced in the House of Representatives in 1999 but failed to move in the Senate, would repeal the existing UNESCO Biosphere Reserve designations and require that all Biosphere Reserve designations or World Heritage listing be ratified by Congress before being designated. World Heritage is seen as a threat to private property rights and rural communities and for activists like Carol Lagrasse (2001): *"the designation of a Biosphere Reserve or World Heritage site adds an overlay of almost a spiritual quality, a sense of the significant, which generates a movement toward preservation and a sense that modern home life, normal farming, forestry, mining, industry and commerce are somehow incongruous*".

This misunderstanding of the objectives of the World Heritage also emanates from a fossilizing approach of World Heritage listing which disconnected World Heritage listing from people and their lives. The new Convention on Intangible Heritage and the actual participation of local people in the designation and interpretation processes should bring the World Heritage in a more positive light. An anti UN feeling also emerged when the Great Smokey mountains National Park advertised its International Biosphere status on its signage, even though its World Heritage status was not advertised. While, there are no specific programmes at Yellow Stone National Park on World Heritage status, International Biosphere status and World Heritage plaques are prominently displayed in the movie theatre, and rangers distribute leaflets if asked about the designation which in practice rarely occurs (Williams, 2005).

To promote its brand image and retain credibility and legitimacy in an age of increasing mobility and spatial interconnectivity, World Heritage sites must become spaces of intercultural dialogue, where ethnic animosities can be productively addressed. World Heritage sites concerned with the narration of the past should aim to promote themselves as trans-national rather than national spaces of citizenship, and seek to include rather than police ethnically or racially situated knowledges and perspectives within ideological borders (Maddern, 2002).

This could be expressed in a clear and consistent brand development strategy of the World Heritage which would target these stakeholders in developing interactions and brand experiences reflecting the diversity of meanings and perspectives as well as the connectivity around the ideal and objectives of the World Heritage. The World Heritage Committee does not see yet the branding of the World Heritage as a strong unifying communication strategy which would mobilize resources and support for the objectives of the Convention. However, it understands now the necessity to protect the emblem of the World Heritage which is only the

visible and material expression of a brand. While the World Heritage Committee met in December 2004 in an extraordinary session in Paris to examine the relations between the World Heritage Convention and other UNESCO conventions relating to heritage, and review the Operational Guidelines for the Implementation of the World Heritage Convention, it then, expressed serious concerns at some inconsistencies in the handling of the World Heritage emblem. It requested that proposals for use of the emblem which are within the competence of the State Parties should be referred immediately to the State Parties concerned. It recalled the segment entitled responsibilities of State Parties of the Guidelines and Principles for the use of the World Heritage emblem as follows: "*State Parties to the Convention should take all possible measures to prevent the use of the emblem in their respective countries by any group or for any purpose not explicitly recognized by the Committee. State Parties are encouraged to make full use of national legislation including trademark laws*".

The director of the World Heritage Centre also requested as an outcome of this 7th Extraordinary Session, that the World Property Organization amend its initial communication under article 6ter of the Paris Convention from the protection of industrial property in order to protect the graphic of the World Heritage emblem by itself and the graphics with the words "World Heritage" in any language surrounding the graphics. It became obvious that the use by the private sector of the World Heritage emblem was uncontrolled and lead to associations which were detrimental in terms of brand image and perception of the World Heritage. Effective brand development strategies call for a central and globally coordinated management of the brand and its equity along its visual aspects.

However, UNESCO and the World Heritage Committee still see the World Heritage as an emblem and not yet as a brand which would imply more than a graphic appearance. It would then, also encompass brand values which need to be protected from any abuse, and enhanced to strengthen the brand equity level of the World Heritage brand. This consideration restricting the World Heritage brand as an emblem and somehow the neglect of State Parties could also explain the inconsistent visual presentation of the emblem in many sites without either any connection to its brand values nor any explanations on the World Heritage. This inconsistency and neglect certainly contributed to a rather limited visibility of the World Heritage brand in many countries and limited understanding of its values and promise as a brand. This led to an undifferentiated positioning with other sites or tourist attractions and to a lack of credibility and authenticity of its outstanding and universal values.

Most of the World Heritage sites do not even mention that they are listed as a World Heritage, and when it does there are no explanations about the universal significance of the site. Furthermore, the existing signage when it exists is often inconsistent and resembles more to funeral accessories or boring advertising signs. They do not express any visual consistency within the site and between sites to underline the interconnectivity of World Heritage sites.

The interpretation paradigm so specific to the World Heritage is not translated into the branded process through stories, participation of local population, in connection with other sites and in relation to the global values of an emerging global world. There is no consolidated effort to communicate a message that the support programmes for the World Heritage are the response of the international community to upholding the World Heritage ideal and to conserving humankind's common heritage. Improving this communication and "story telling" capability is one way World Heritage could raise its brand image along with the profile of protected areas issues and problems in international efforts at cooperation and dialogue (Ishwaran, 2004).

Several sites were visited in 2004 and 2005 by the author of this dissertation in Africa, Asia, Europe, America and Middle East. And all available media such as ticket booths, tickets themselves, entrance and explanation board very often ignore the brand attributes of the World Heritage which are about people, universality, participation, intergenerational connection, interconnectivity of our world and its emerging global values such as mutual understanding, cultural and moral respect, tolerance, democracy and peace.

For instance, the Statue of Liberty in the United States of America which has been listed in 1984 as a World Heritage as it is a masterpiece of the creative spirit of man (criterion I of the World Heritage Convention) and as it is directly and materially associated with an event of outstanding universal significance, the populating of the United States of America, the melting pot of disparate peoples from all over the world (criterion IV). The Statue of Liberty was indeed the emblem of the hopes and dreams of millions of immigrants reaching the harbour of New York where it is located.

The signage of this World Heritage site has no mention of its World Heritage status, the ticket and presentation leaflet feature the Statue of Liberty exclusively as a national heritage (Figures 1, 2 and 3). There is no explanation provided by tour guides on its World Heritage status during their presentation, and no use is made in the interpretation paradigm of the site of the outstanding universal significance of the Statue of Liberty. Furthermore, the World Heritage site has also been associated in all publication and signage with Ellis Island which is another national heritage site dedicated to the memory of million of immigrants which were cleared on this island before entering the United States. The Statue of Liberty is however not presented as the emblem of the hopes and dreams of these immigrants, but merely as a monument.

NATIONAL PARK SERVICE
STATUE OF LIBERTY NATIONAL MONUMENT AND ELLIS ISLAND

Interior Statue tours have reached capacity for the remainder of TODAY

Free Ranger-guided tours of the exterior grounds are available
A schedule of programs are posted at the Liberty Island Information center
and the Information Desk at Ellis Island

Fig.1

Statue of Liberty & Ellis Island

SOUVENIR HALF

CIRCLE LINE

www.circlelineferry.com

DO NOT DETACH

#1310738375

Fig. 2

Welcome to the Statue of Liberty National Monumen
and Ellis Island.

The Statue of Liberty was presented by the people of France to the people of the United States in 1886 to honor the friendship between the two nations. Today, it recognized as a symbol of liberty throughout the world.

It was established as a national monument in 1924 an placed under the management of the National Park Ser vice (NPS) in 1933. It underwent an extensive $86 mil lion renovation, just in time for the statue's 100th birthday in 1986. Millions of people visit the statue each year.

Ellis Island was the gateway through which more than 12 million immigrants passed between 1892 and 1954 a their search for freedom of speech and religion, and for economic opportunity in the United States. Because of i unique historical importance, it was declared part of the Statue of Liberty National Monument in 1965. After a six-year, $170 million renovation, overseen by the NPS and funded through the efforts of The Statue of Liberty Ellis Island Foundation, it reopened to the public as a museum in 1990.

Ellis Island was declared part of the Statue of Liberty National Monument in 1965.

For 85 years, the NPS has endeavored to preserve America's parklands for generations to come. The NPS and concessioner ARAMARK work to provide every thing you may need for a memorable visit.

This *American Park Network* guide to Ellis Island an Statue of Liberty is provided by ARAMARK to enhanc your appreciation and enjoyment of the monuments. It has been made possible by the support of the sponsors whose messages appear inside.

Fig. 3

Fig. 4

Lamu Old Town in East Africa, has been listed as World Heritage site in 2001 as its architecture and urban structure graphically demonstrate the cultural influences that have come together there over several hundred years from Europe, Arabia, and India, utilizing traditional Swahili techniques to produce a distinct culture (Criterion II of the World Heritage Convention). The old town of Lamu is also the most outstanding expression of the growth and decline of the seaports the East African coast and interaction between the Bantu, Arabs, Persians, Indians, and Europeans represents significant cultural and economic phase in the history the region (Criterion IV). Its paramount trading role and its attraction for scholars and teachers gave Lamu an important religious function in the region. It continues to be significant centre for education in Islamic and Swahili culture (Criterion VI).

Fig. 5

Fig. 6

The World Heritage Listing is advertised on one single wooded sign near the small deck which sees the arrivals of all visitors on the island (Figure 5). The sign does not provide any explanation on the outstanding values of the site which have motivated such listing but simply mentioned that it was officially launched by the Vice-president and minister for Home affairs on 16 December 2003. Some of the constructions which were being built just behind the sign were actually not respectful of the specific architectural style and standards which legitimated the listing of Lamu as World Heritage site. The sign features the World Heritage logo with four other logos which generate confusion rather than awareness and recognition of the logo.

Similarly, the World Heritage site of Mount Kilimanjaro in Tanzania (Figure 7b) does not mention through its signage or entrance ticket booth its World Heritage status. No explanation or information is provided through the signage or through guides and National Park officers. The entrance gate does not mention the World Heritage listing and makes no reference to the World Heritage logo (Figure 6).

The main interpretation articulates itself around its status as a national park for international tourists. Any connection to outstanding values or universal significance are not understood by local staff and not promoted on leaflet or promotional material available in bookstores. The summit which is the main motivation of many of the visitors as the Mount Kilimanjaro is the highest mountain of Africa does not even have a sign featuring its World Heritage status (Figure 7).

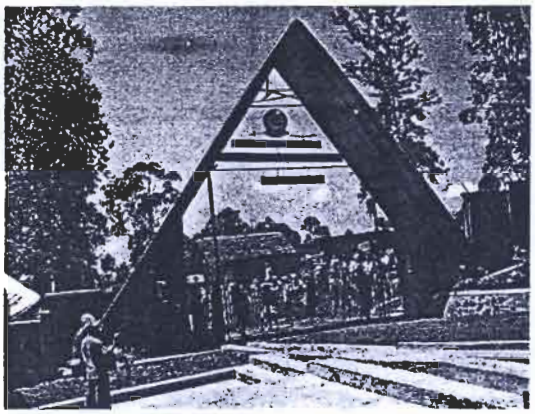

Fig. 7

Fig. 8

Fig. 9

The branding of the World Heritage listing is also inexistent through the site signage and in the interpretive process of the Temple of Heaven, in China, founded in the first half of the 15th century. It has been listed as a World Heritage site in 1998 as it is a masterpiece of architecture and landscape design which simply and graphically illustrates a cosmogony of great importance for the evolution of one of the world's great civilizations (Criterion I) . Its symbolic layout and design had a profound influence on architecture and planning in the Far East over many centuries (Criterion II). For more than two thousand years China was ruled by a series of feudal dynasties, the legitimacy of which is symbolized by the design and layout of the Temple of Heaven (Criterion III).

The entrance ticket does feature the logo of the World Heritage although without any explanation (Figure 8). The back side of the ticket could have been used for such an explanation, but has been used instead as an advertising space which confuses even more the image and values of the Temple of Heaven as a World Heritage site (Figure 9). The association to a consumer brand with no relevance or resonance with the World Heritage brand is detrimental to its brand image and effective branding.

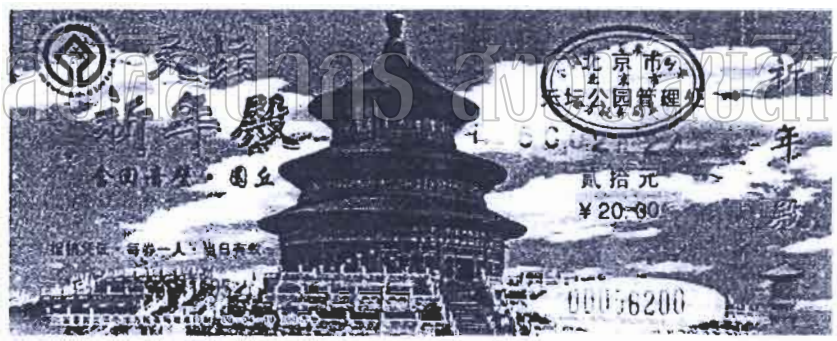

Fig. 10

Fig. 11

A panel of information (Figure 10) does mention the outstanding value of the site and its recognition as a World Heritage, but does not establish an explicit connection between the outstanding value of the site and its listing as a World Heritage. However, it is also indicating that the presentation is made by the "Guangzhou Pharmaceutical group" with their logo appearing on the panel board. The association with a logo and a brand which has no relevance or resonance with the outstanding values of the World Heritage brand is detrimental to the branding of the World Heritage. This is particularly detrimental in the context of developing a unique brand experience for visitors and when occurring at key branding moments such as the interpretative process.

It reads as follows:

"Built in 1420, a masterpiece of the Ming and Qing architectural art and a precious example of china's ancient architecture, the temple of heaven is the largest architectural group for worship to heaven in the world. In 1961, it was listed by the State Council as one of the key monuments under the State protection. In 1998, it was recognized by UNESCO as one of the human heritages of the world".

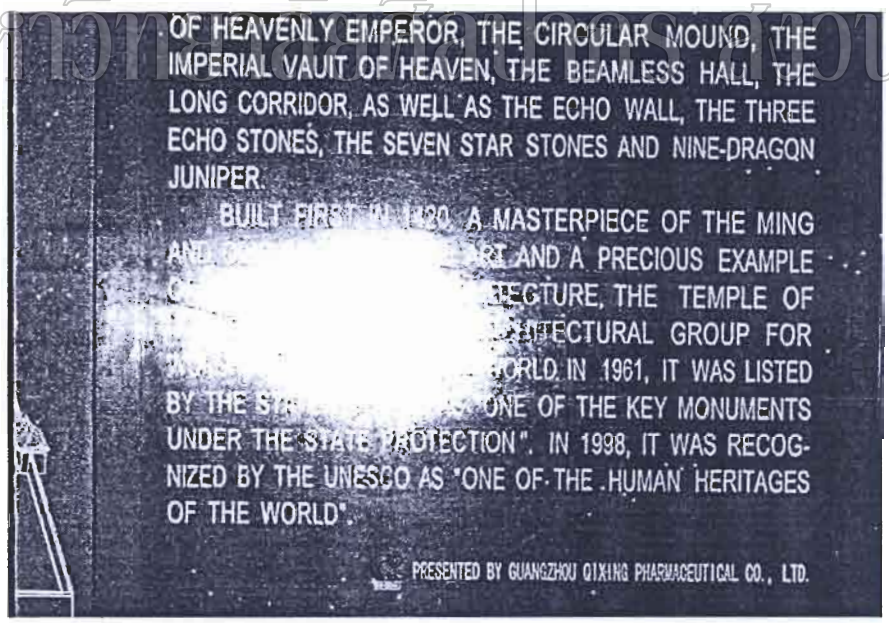

Fig. 12

The imperial palaces of the Ming and Qing Dynasties were inscribed in 1987 for the Beijing compound and extended in 2004 with the listing of the Shenyang Palaces as the Imperial Palaces represent masterpieces in the development of imperial palace architecture in China (Criterion I). Their architecture particularly in Shenyang, exhibit an important interchange of influences of traditional architecture and Chinese palace architecture particularly in the 17th and 18th centuries (Criterion II). The Imperial Palaces also bear exceptional testimony to Chinese civilization at the time of the Ming and Qing dynasties, being true reserves of landscapes, architecture, furnishings and objects of art, as well as carrying exceptional evidence to the living traditions and the customs of Shamanism of the Manchu people for centuries (Criterion III). Furthermore, the Imperial Palaces provide outstanding examples of the greatest palatial architectural ensembles in China. They illustrate the grandeur of the imperial institution from the Qing Dynasty to the earlier Ming and Yuan dynasties, as well as Manchu traditions, and present evidence on the evolution of this architecture in the 17th and 18th centuries (Criterion IV).

Fig.13

Fig. 14

Fig.15

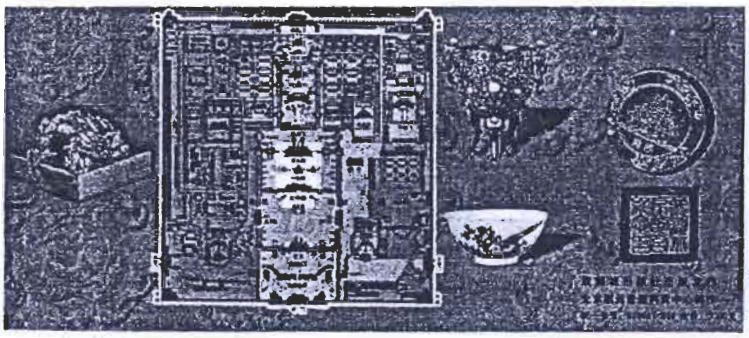

Fig.16

Fig.17

The entrance ticket does not mention the logo of the World Heritage. The verso of the entrance ticket (Figure 13) does feature an advert for Nestlé which confuses even further the branding of a World Heritage site (Figure 15). Not only the listing and the outstanding value of the site as a World Heritage are not mentioned on the ticket but the site is also associated with a consumer product brand. This undermines the World Heritage brand Image as the association with this consumer brand and its products (mainly baby food) does not bring any related or added value to the World Heritage brand.

However, a small memory card with a golden coin is given to visitors. This card bears the logo of UNESCO, but not the logo of the World Heritage (Figures 11 and 14). The signage on the World Heritage is very limited and a simple mention is done on an explanation board (Figure 17) with a strong emphasis on the Government recognition with no explicit linkages between the World Heritage Listing and the outstanding significance of the site for the world: *"The imperial palace was listed by the State Council as one of the important historical monument under the protection of the Government and in 1987 was affirmed by the UNESCO as the World Heritage".*

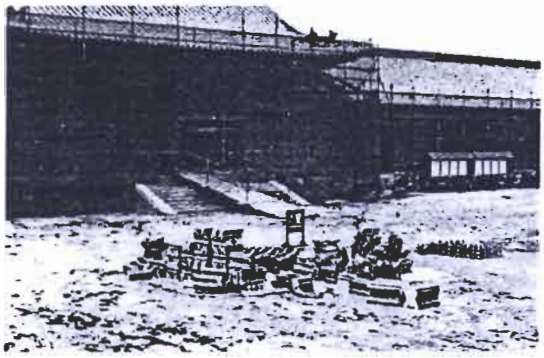

Fig. 18

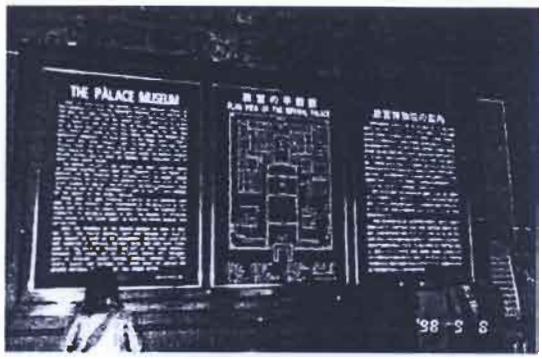

Fig. 19

Some noticeable efforts were made to promote the conservation work and a sustainable behavior from visitors as it relates to the conservation of the site. A sign for instance (Figure 12) encourages visitor to respect the site: "*The more you care about the palace, the more it shoes its splendor*". However, some restoration work were done at the time of the visit of the author in 2004 with no explanation on the purpose and conservation process for visitors which were left to see by themselves some repair works without explanation which could have participated to the interpretation process and particularly to the quality of the visitor's experience (Figure16).

Still in China, the Great Wall, traditionally known to Chinese as the "Long Wall of Ten Thousand Li", was inscribed in 1987 on the World Heritage List because of the perfection of its construction which makes it a masterpiece along with the ambitious character of its undertaking. The Great Wall is the only work built by human hands on this planet which can be seen from the moon and constitutes a perfect example of architecture integrated to the landscape (Criterion I). The Great Wall also exerted a great influence on architectural development as during the Chunqiu Period (722-481 B.C), when the Chinese imposed their models of construction and organization of space in building defense works along the northern frontiers. The spread of Sinicism was then accelerated by the population transfers brought about by the Great Wall which resulted in an important interchange of human values (Criterion II). The Great Wall also bears exceptional testimony to the civilizations of Ancient China which are illustrated by its tamped-earth sections of the fortification dating from the Western Han and by its renowned masonry of the Ming Period (Criterion III). The Great Wall is also an outstanding and unique example of a military architectural ensemble which served a single strategic purpose for 2000 years while its construction illustrates successive advances in defense techniques and adaptation to changing political contexts (Criterion IV). The Great Wall is associated with important events of the history of China and has an incomparable symbolic significance not only in protecting China from barbarian invasions, but also in preserving its culture. The Great Wall therefore inspired a lot of the great artists of China such

as Tch'en Lin (C. 200 A.D) in the "*Soldier's Ballad*" or Tu Fu (712-770) in his poems and such inspiration could also be found in the popular novels of the Ming Period (Criterion VI).

The signage of the site does not feature the Great wall as a World Heritage site and neither the entrance booth (Figure 18) nor the available signs feature some explanation related to the outstanding values and significance which make the Great Wall a World Heritage (Figure 19).

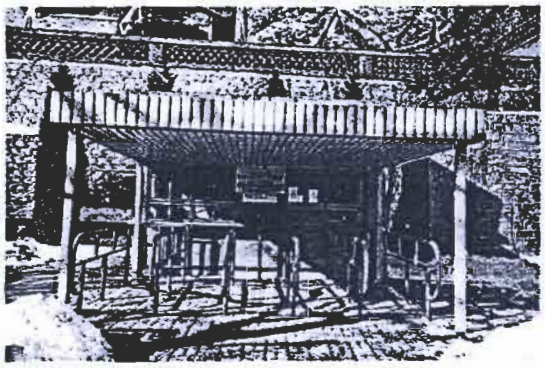

Fig.20

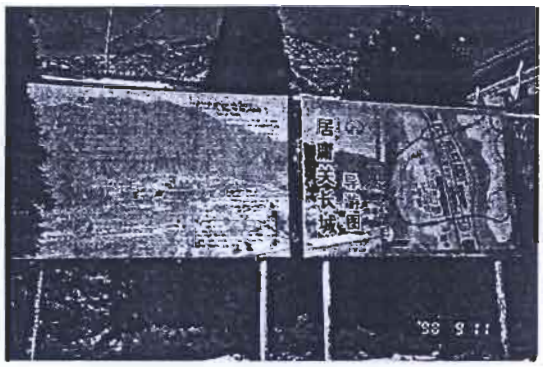

Fig. 21

Fig. 22

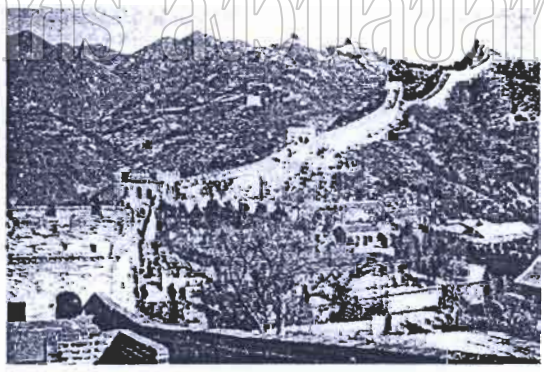

Fig. 23

Fig. 24

Fig. 25

The Great Wall (Figure 20b) is actually more presented as a "National Tourist Attraction" as shown on the sign below which is displayed at the entrance of the site (Figure 20).

The Summer Palace in Beijing (Figure 21) – first built in 1750, largely destroyed in the war of 1860 and restored on its original foundations in 1886 – is a masterpiece of Chinese landscape garden design. The natural landscape of hills and open water is combined with artificial features such as pavilions, halls, palaces, temples and bridges to form a harmonious ensemble of outstanding aesthetic value.

The listing of the Summer Palace as a World Heritage is therefore justified through its outstanding expression of the creative art of Chinese landscape garden design, incorporating the works of humankind and nature in a harmonious whole (Criterion I). The Summer Palace is also very emblematic of the philosophy and practice of Chinese garden design, which played an essential role in the development of this cultural form throughout the East (Criterion II). The imperial Chinese garden, illustrated by the Summer Palace, is a testimony to one of the major world civilizations (Criterion III).

The entrance ticket features the logo of the World Heritage (Figure 22), but does not provide any explanation on its outstanding values which legitimated its listing as a World Heritage site. The signage on the site does not provide any information on its World Heritage status and the interpretive process is rather restricted to a walk in the garden.

The Ming and Qing Tombs were inscribed on the World Heritage List in 2000 and in 2003 as the harmonious integration of their remarkable architectural groups in a natural environment chosen to meet the criteria of geomancy (Fengshui) makes them masterpieces of human creative genius (Criterion I). These imperial mausoleums are outstanding testimony to a cultural and architectural tradition that for over five hundred years dominated this part of the world; by reason of their integration into the natural environment, they make up a unique ensemble of cultural landscapes *(Criteria II,III and IV)*. The Ming and Qing Tombs are outstanding illustrations of the beliefs, world view, and geomantic theories of Fengshui prevalent in Ancient China. They have served as burial edifices for illustrious personages and as the theatre for major events that have marked the history of China *(Criterion VI)*.

Fig. 26

Fig. 27

The signage is very limited although the main entrance panel features the logo of the World Heritage with no mention of the World Heritage name and with no explanation on its listing as a World Heritage site (Figure 23).

The signage is at times physically massive (Figure 24), but does not provide any proportional space for explanation on the outstanding values of the site as a World Heritage.

From these examples in China to other sites in Europe such as the Palau de la Musica Catalana and the Hospital de Sant Pau in Barcelona (Figure 25) a similar situation is to be found as it relates to the branding of the World Heritage. These sites are two of the finest contributions to Barcelona's architecture by the Catalan Art Nouveau architect Lluís Domènech i Montaner. The Palau de la Música Catalana is an exuberant steel-framed structure full of light and space, and decorated by many of the leading designers of the day. The Hospital de Sant Pau is equally bold in its design and decoration, while at the same time perfectly adapted to the needs of the sick. These sites were inscribed on the World Heritage List in 1997 on the basis of criteria (I), (II) and (IV), considering that the Palau de la Música Catalana and the Hospital de Sant Pau are masterpieces of the imaginative and exuberant Art Nouveau that flowered in early 20th century Barcelona.

Fig. 28

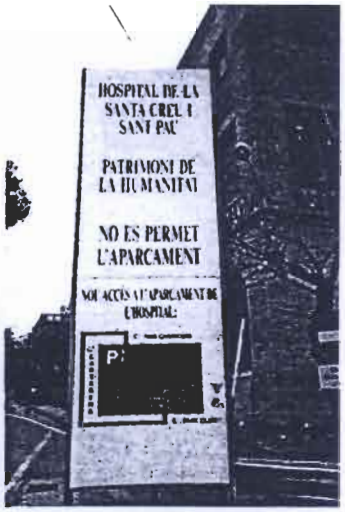

Fig. 29

However, the signage available on both sites is quite limited (Figure 26) and does not provide any information about their listing on the World Heritage List beyond mentioning "Patrimoni de la Humanita". No explanation on the outstanding values of these sites is provided to visitors and no mention is made in both sites about the other site listed for the same outstanding values.

The interesting dimension of these sites is that they are still operating with their original functions (hospital and concert house) and could participate actively in the interpretative and branding process by providing a unique and authentic experience to visitors. This is unfortunately not done and visitors feel a bit at a loss when confronted to both sites without any explanations or interpretative process about its outstanding values.

Still in Spain, the Parque Guell, the Palacio Guell and the Casa Mila in Barcelona were inscribed on the World Heritage List in 1984 while the Casa Vicens, the Casa Battlo, and the façade of the Sagrada Familia along with its crypt and the one in colonia Guell were added in 2005 on the List.

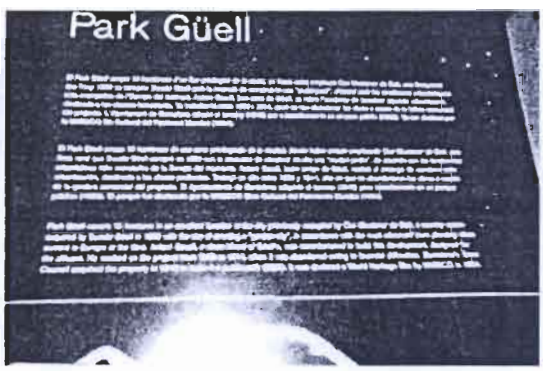

Fig. 30

Fig. 31

Fig. 32

Fig. 33

These master pieces testify to Gaudi (1852-1926) exceptional creative contribution to the development of architecture and building technology in the late 19th and early 20th centuries (Criterion I, Criterion IV). They also represent an eclectic, as well as very unique style which has transformed and brought to new esthetic dimensions the designs of gardens, sculpture and all decorative elements as well as architecture (Criterion IV).

The signage is again very restricted and limits itself to feature the logo of the World Heritage without indicating what it stands for (Figure 27) and without providing explanation on the status of the various sites as World Heritage (Figure 29).

One sign at the main entrance of the Casa Mila gives a disproportionate importance to a sponsor (Caixa de Catalunia, Figure 28) while mentioning in smaller letters its status as World Heritage. This is confusing and defeats the purpose of any clear recognition of the Logo of the World Heritage and its brand values as part of the experience of the visitors.

In the Middle East, Petra has been listed as World Heritage site in 1985, as this Nabataean caravan-city, situated between the Red Sea and the Dead Sea, was an important crossroads between Arabia, Egypt and Syria-Phoenicia and was inhabited since prehistoric times (Criterion III). Petra is a unique achievement as it is half-built, half-carved into the rock, and is surrounded by mountains riddled with passages and gorges (Criterion I). It is one of the world's most famous archaeological sites, where ancient Eastern traditions blend with Hellenistic architecture (Criterion IV).

The entrance ticket makes no mention of the World Heritage listing and does not feature the logo of the World Heritage (Figure 31). There is basically no signage on the World Heritage at the entrance booth (Figure 32) or on the site. However, one sign featuring the World Heritage logo along with the UNESCO logo is displayed near the main entrance. This sign mentions in Arabic and English the listing of Petra as a World Heritage site. This sign is interesting as it gives an explanation on the outstanding values of the site which contributed to the listing of Petra as a World Heritage site. It clearly mentions that the "*inscription on this list confirms the exceptional universal value of a cultural or a natural site that deserves protection for the benefit of all humanity*". A sign mentioning some conservation work under technical assistance of the German technical cooperation is placed at the entrance to promote the conservation efforts and the German government assistance (Figure 30). However, this sign makes no mention that Petra is a World Heritage and does not explain the conservation work being undertaken which could participate of the interpretive process of the World Heritage site in promoting conservation as part of the visitor's experience and interpretation of this World Heritage site.

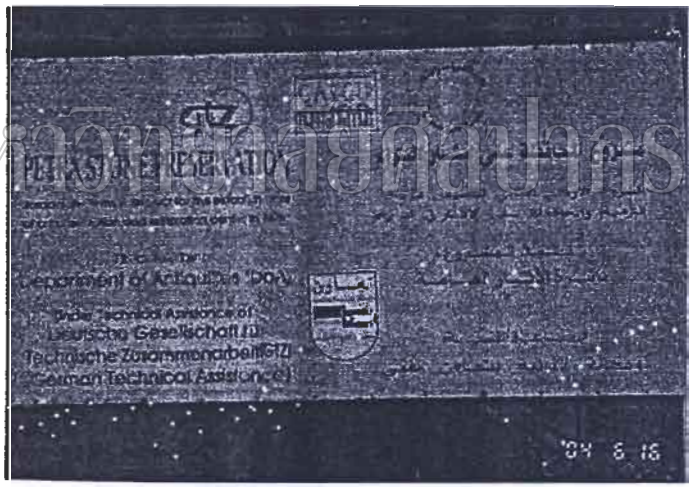

Fig. 34

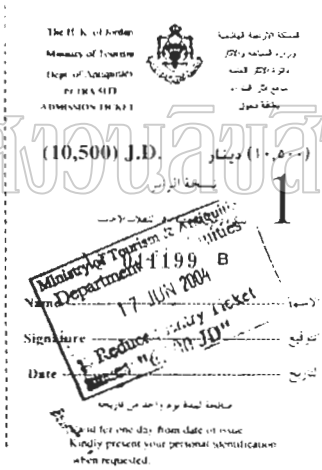

Fig. 35

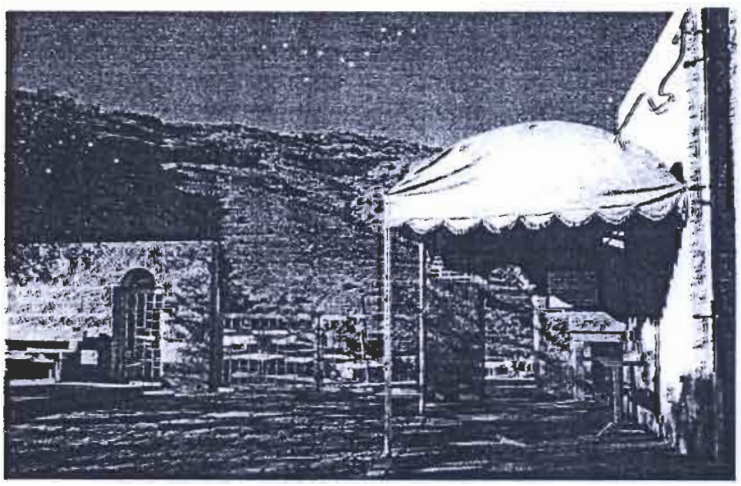

Fig. 36

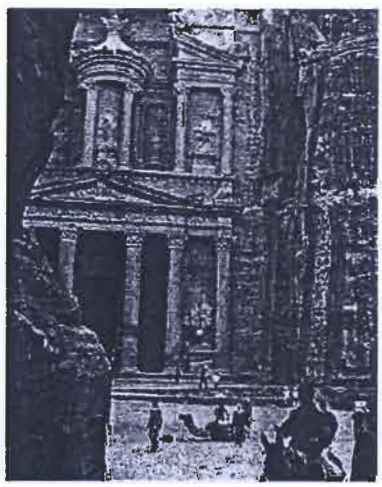

Fig. 37

Fig. 38

Still in the Middle East, in Lebanon, the city of Anjar was inscribed in 1984 on the World Heritage List as an eminent and perfectly dated example of Omayad urbanism (Criterion IV). It was founded by Caliph Walid I at the beginning of the 8th Century. The ruins reveal a very regular layout, reminiscent of the palace-cities of ancient times, and are a unique testimony to city planning under the Umayyads (Criterion III).

The entrance ticket does not mention the World Heritage listing (Figure 33) and no signs are featuring the logo of the World Heritage or providing explanations on its outstanding values as a World Heritage.

Another impressive World Heritage site in Lebanon, the Baalbeck-Heliopolis monumental ensemble was also inscribed on the World Heritage List in 1984 as it is a unique artistic creation (Criterion I) and as it is one of the most impressive testimonies to the roman architecture of the Imperial Period at its apogee (Criterion IV). This Phoenician city, where a triad of deities was worshipped, was known as Heliopolis during the Hellenistic period. It retained its religious function during Roman times, when the sanctuary of the Heliopolitan Jupiter attracted thousands of pilgrims.

Fig. 39

Fig. 40

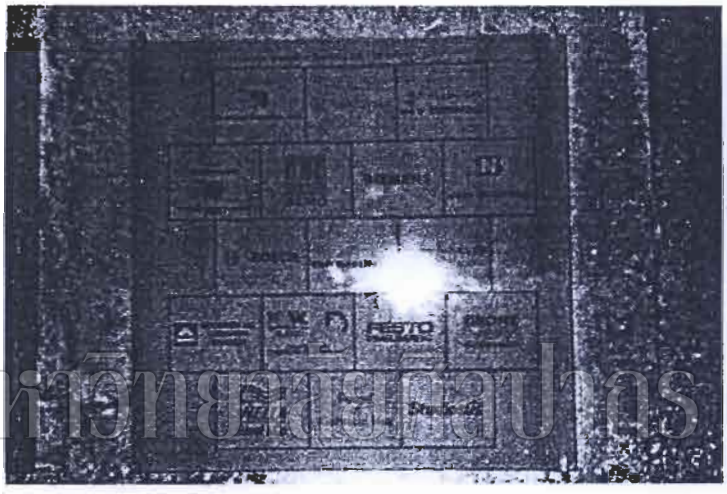

Fig. 41

Fig. 42

Again, the entrance ticket of the temples of Baalbeck does not mention its World Heritage status and does not feature the logo of the World Heritage (Figure 34). The main signage at the entrance of the site presents the site as a national site by associating it with the Republic of Lebanon and the Ministry of Tourism as on the entrance ticket (Figure 38). Explanation boards which are displayed on the site feature the logo of the World Heritage with no explanation on its significance (Figure 37). However, a small sign displayed in one of the entrance rooms features the logo of the World Heritage and of UNESCO, and mentions the listing of the site along its outstanding values (Figure 35). It is also associated to a similar sign which presents all corporations involved in sponsoring the conservation efforts of the site (Figure 36). Again, the branding of the World Heritage is quite limited and given the same level of importance as a simple recognition of sponsors.

Also in Lebanon, the site of Tyre, which was the great Phoenician city that ruled the seas and founded prosperous colonies such as Cadiz and Carthage was inscribed in 1984 on the World Heritage List as Tyre is considered as one of the oldest metropolis of the world and bears a unique testimony to roman and medieval times (Criterion III). Archaeological remains include the roman city and the medieval constructions of the crusades. Tyre has also been associated to important stages of mankind such as the discovery of the alphabet or the discovery of purple pigment (Criterion VI).

The entrance ticket of the site of Tyre (Figure 39) does mention its World Heritage status and does not feature the logo of the World Heritage. No signage features on the site its World Heritage listing and no explanations are given on its outstanding values as a World Heritage site. It is again presented in a national framework with the mention of the Republic of Lebanon along with the Ministry of Tourism (Figures 40 and 41).

Fig. 43

Fig. 44

Fig. 45

One sign still features its listing in 1983 as a World Heritage in Danger because it was significantly affected by the war, but also because of rapid urbanization and land speculation.

The site of Byblos in Lebanon encompasses the ruins of many successive civilizations and is one of the oldest Phoenician cities. Inhabited since Neolithic times, it has been closely linked to the legends and history of the Mediterranean region for thousands of years. It was inscribed in 1984 on the World Heritage List as it bears an exceptional testimony to the beginnings of Phoenician civilization (Criterion III). From the Bronze Age, Byblos provides one of the primary examples of urban organization in the Mediterranean world (Criterion IV). Byblos is also directly associated with the history and diffusion of the Phoenician alphabet (Criterion VI).

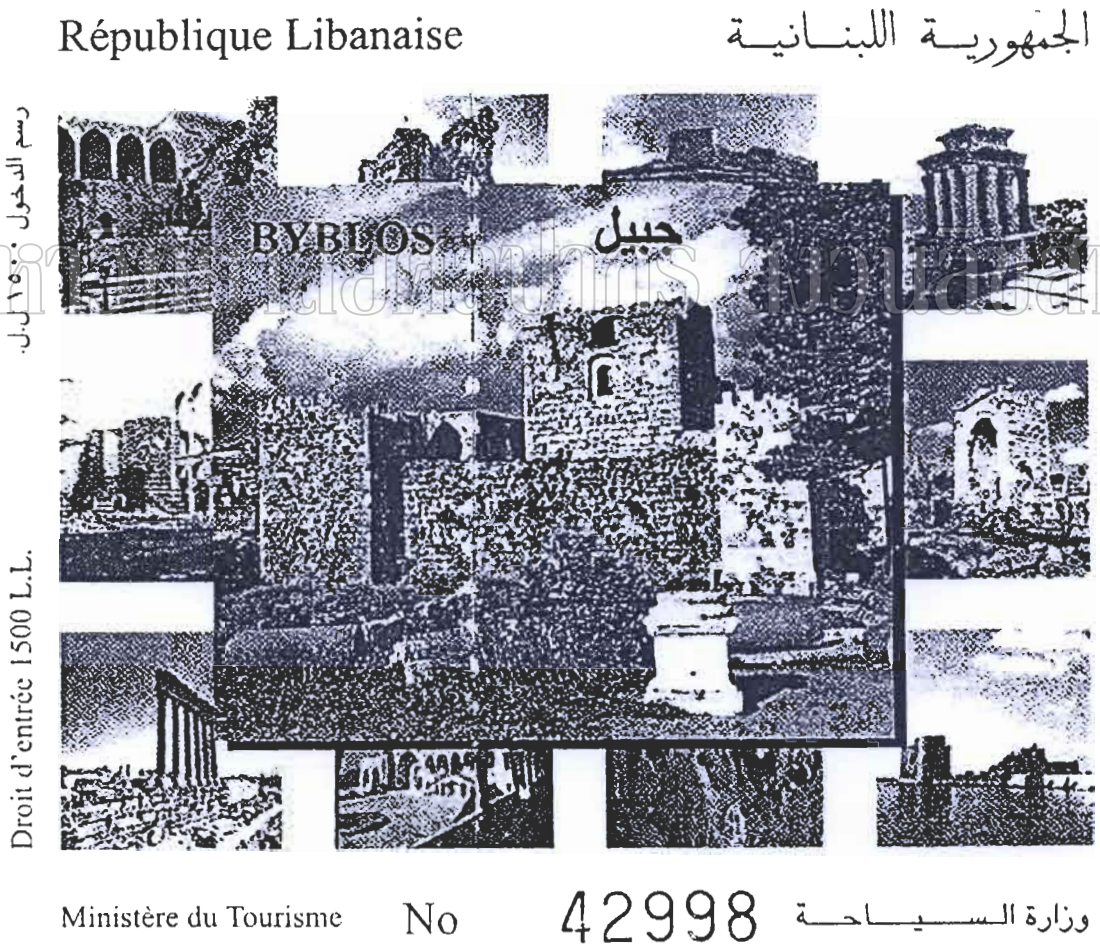

Fig. 46

The ticket entrance of Byblos (Figure 42) does not feature the World Heritage logo and does not mention its listing as a World Heritage site. No signage features the World Heritage status on site and no explanations are provided on its outstanding values as World Heritage.

The Ouadi Qadisha (the Holy Valley) and the Forest cedars of God (Horsh Arz el-Rab) in Lebanon were inscribed on the World Heritage List in 1998 as the Qadisha Valley is one of the most important early Christian monastic settlements in the world (Fig. 43b). Its monasteries, many of which are of a great age, stand in dramatic positions in a rugged landscape. Nearby are the remains of the great forest of cedars of Lebanon, highly prized in Antiquity. The trees in the Cedar Forest are survivors of a sacred forest and of one of the most highly prized building materials of the ancient world (Criterion III). The monasteries of the Qadisha Valley are also the most significant surviving examples of this fundamental demonstration of Christian faith (Criterion IV).

Fig. 47

Fig. 48

The entrance ticket and the entrance signage (Figure 43) do not mention the World Heritage logo and do not provide any information on the World Heritage status or any explanation on its outstanding values. The site of the Cedar of God is very contrived with a strict itinerary defined by ropes all the way through the remains of the forest which removes any feeling of a sacred forest particularly because of the proximity of souvenirs shops which played loud Middle Eastern music.

The World Heritage site of Persepolis in Iran presents the same situation as it comes to branding the World Heritage. Founded by Darius I in 518 B.C., Persepolis was the Capital of the Achaemenid Empire. It was built on an immense half-artificial, half-natural terrace, where the king of kings created an impressive palace complex inspired by Mesopotamian

models. The importance and quality of the monumental ruins make it a unique archaeological site. Persepolis was listed as a World Heritage in 1979 as its terrace with its double flight of access stairs, its walls covered by sculpted friezes, the gigantic wing bulls and the remains of its large halls is still a grandiose architectural creation (Criterion I). This ensemble of majestic approaches, monumental stairways, throne rooms (Apadana, Fig. 44b) bear witness to a unique quality to a most ancient civilization (Criterion III). The terrace of Persepolis continues to be the image of the Achaemenid Monarchy itself (Criterion VI).

Fig. 49

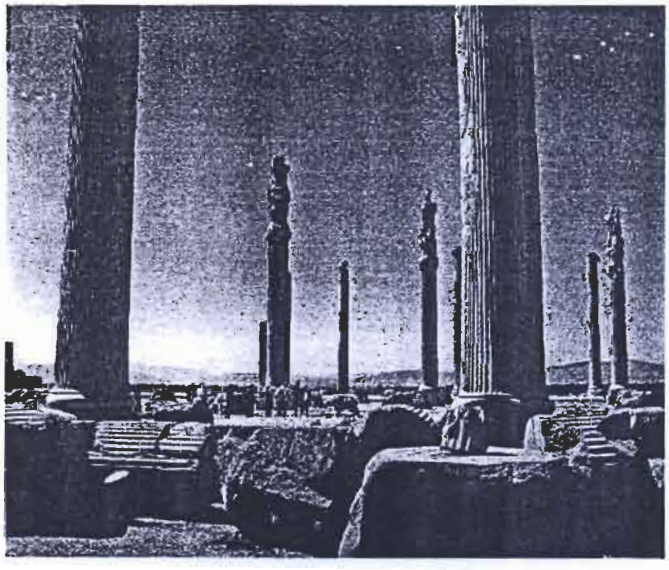

Fig. 50

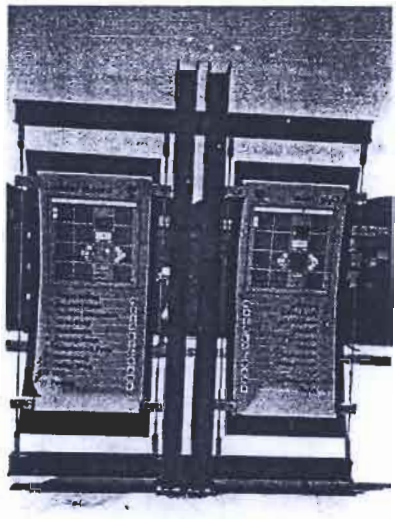

Fig. 51

However, the entrance ticket booth (Figure 44) does not mention its status as a World Heritage and the logo of the World Heritage brand is not even featured. Available signage on site does not feature the World Heritage logo as well and does not provide explanation or information on its universal and outstanding values which made Persepolis a World Heritage site (Figure 45).

Another challenging example is the cultural heritage of the Kathmandu Valley in Nepal which has been inscribed in 2003 on the List of World Heritage in Danger as the exceptional architectural design of Kathmandu, Patan and Bhaktapur is gradually disappearing due to uncontrolled urban developments.

The Kathmandu Valley is illustrated by seven groups of monuments and buildings which display the full range of historic and artistic achievements for which the Kathmandu Valley is world famous. The seven include the Durbar Squares of Hanuman Dhoka (Kathmandu), Patan and Bhaktapur, the Buddhist stupas of Swayambhu and Boddhanath, and the Hindu temples of Pashupath and Changu Narayan. The intention to keep the living heritage (merchants, colorful and lively markets, cremation of deceased bodies, funerals, local population living within World Heritage site compound...) within the World Heritage has its merits for authenticity, but also challenges the conservation and the preservation of the monument (Fig. 52 and Fig. 56) which in this case resulted in inscribing the site on the World Heritage in Danger List.

Fig. 52

Fig. 53

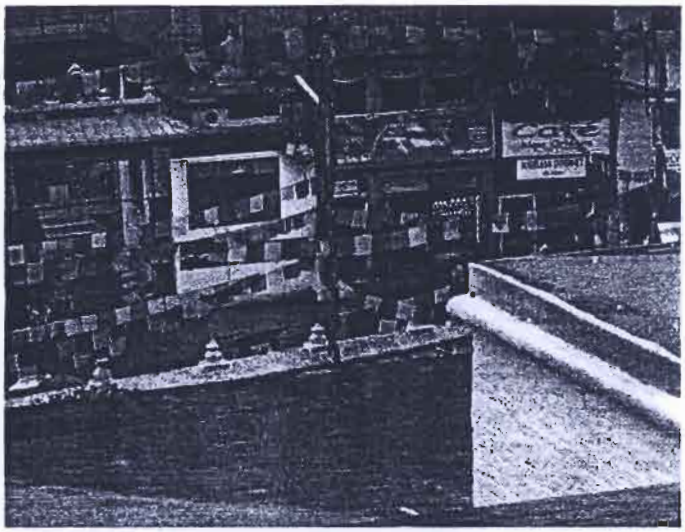

Fig. 54

Fig. 55

Fig. 56

There are efforts of signage indicating the World Heritage status of the sites (Fig. 53, Figures 57, 60, 62, 65 and 66). However the explanations are still scarce and limited in promoting awareness and understanding of the universal and outstanding value of these sites. This is particularly crucial as these sites are inscribed on the World Heritage in Danger List and there is an urgent need to raise awareness on conservation and preservation needs within the local residents and visitors.

Conservation works are left without providing any explanation on the intent of conservation and motives of such conservation so that local population would as part of the interpretation paradigm develop a sense of respect along with their already existing sense of ownership of the sites (Fig. 54 and Fig. 58).

The interaction between local resident and external visitors is intense, but could also lead to a staged attraction with the supposedly wise and ascetic saddhus performing for photos against financial retribution (Fig.63).

The site of Boddhanath Stupa which is the largest Buddhist Stupa in the World is now encroached and surrounded by souvenirs shops from Tibet and ciber cafes (Figure 59). The omnipresence of souvenirs shops within the inner circle of the Stupa removes the authenticity of a spiritual and religious atmosphere which should surround the Stupa. These shops also obstruct the view of the Stupa and it is not possible anymore to see the Stupa from far away as it used to be possible for pilgrims.

Fig. 57

Fig.58

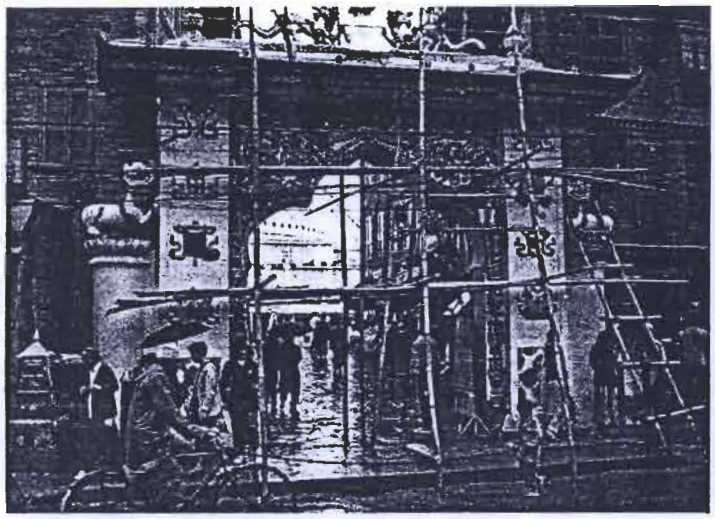

Fig. 59

Fig. 60

Fig.61

Fig. 62

Fig. 63

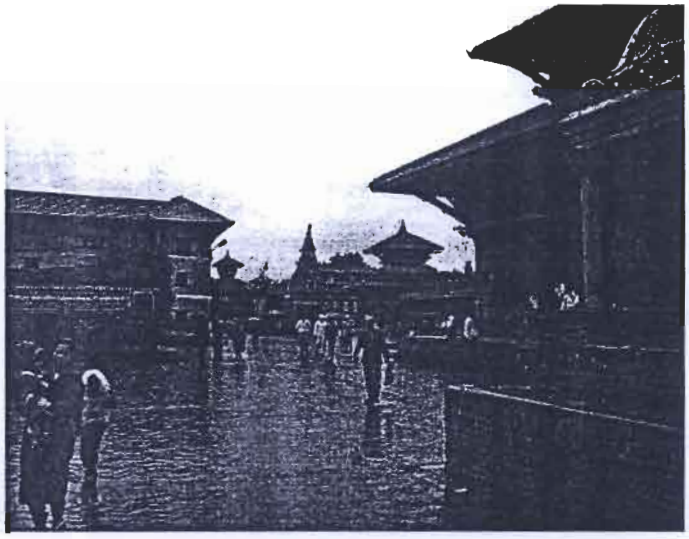

Fig. 64

Fig.65

Fig.66

Fig. 67

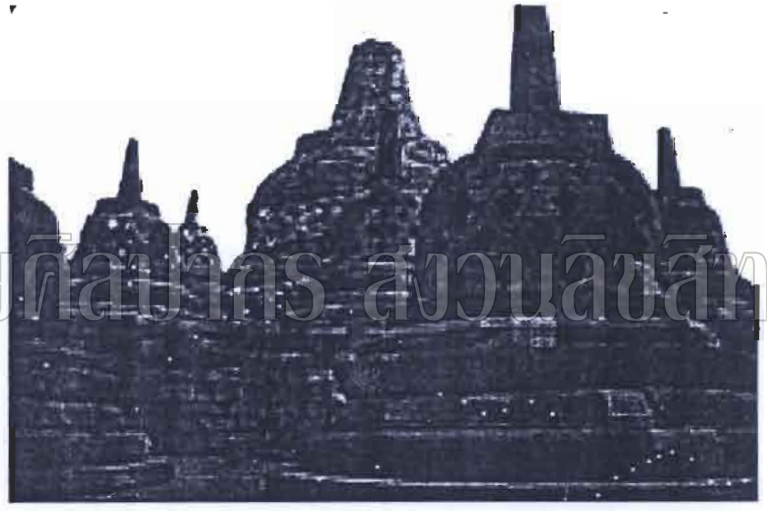

Fig. 68

The situation is basically the same for other World Heritage sites visited during this dissertation such as Sukhothai and the historic city of Ayutthaya in Thailand. Borobudur or Prabanan (Fig. in Indonesia, Schwedagon in Myanmar, The City of Le Havre in France, Notre Dame de Paris in France, Isfahan in Iran, the City of Bern in Switzerland and the Cathedral of Köln in Germany. It is probably the same in many other World Heritage sites while a growing brand image crisis is challenging the credibility and sustainability of the World Heritage.

It is therefore high time to develop a brand model for the World Heritage which would encapsulate the diversity, plurality, universality and complexity of heritage interpretations to ensure that in a globally branded world, the integrity and authenticity of the outstanding universal values of World Heritage sites will be preserved for new generations with new consuming behavior patterns and forms of tourism.

The World Heritage Convention

The rationale for the World Heritage Convention (1972) is that there are places of "outstanding universal value" that are part of the heritage of all humankind and that their protection is therefore a shared responsibility. The main purpose of the Convention is therefore to ensure the identification, protection, conservation, presentation and transmission to future generations of the cultural and natural heritage of outstanding value. This Convention is one of the most universal international legal instruments for the protection of the cultural and natural heritage (Convention, Preamble):

"Considering that parts of the cultural or natural heritage are of outstanding interest and therefore need to be preserved as part of the world heritage of mankind as a whole,

Considering that in view of the magnitude and gravity of the new dangers threatening them, it is incumbent on the international community as a whole to participate in the protection of the cultural and natural heritage of outstanding universal value, by the granting of collective assistance which, although not taking the place of action by the State concerned, will serve as an efficient complement thereto,

Considering that it is essential for this purpose to adopt new provisions in the form of a Convention establishing an effective system of collective protection of the cultural and natural heritage of outstanding value, organized on a permanent basis and in accordance with modern scientific methods…".

The most interesting characteristic of the Convention is that it combines together in a single document the concepts of nature conservation and the preservation of cultural sites. Nature and culture become complementary and cultural identity is intimately related to the natural environment in which it develops. The Convention's primary focus on both cultural and natural heritage makes it a unique and innovative legal framework. This is somehow reflected in the World Heritage emblem, which is round, like the world, but at the same time a symbol of protection. The central square symbolises a form created by man and the circle represents nature, the two being intimately interrelated.

Although there was the understanding of the need of a visual identification of a World Heritage site, there is no mention of the logo or symbol of the World Heritage with its related protection from abuse in the text of the Convention. It is only in the Operational Guidelines that the issue of the emblem is actually raised. There was no consideration at that time of the possible use of the brand name of the World Heritage in support of its objectives and sustainability.

However, the Convention, with its 38 articles, provides for an administrative structure, funding, inventories, technical and emergency assistance, and world-wide promotion of heritage conservation. The essential objectives of the Convention are three fold. First the

identification, on the basis of nomination by State Parties, of cultural and natural sites of "outstanding universal value" and their inscription on the "World Heritage List"; secondly the publication of a "List of World Heritage in Danger" and thirdly the establishment of the World Heritage Fund.

The Convention defines the kind of natural and cultural sites which can be registered on the World Heritage List, and outlines the duties and obligations of the State Parties in their identification of potential sites and in their role in protecting and preserving them.

"Each State Party to this Convention recognizes that the duty of ensuring the identification, protection, conservation, presentation and transmission to future generations of the cultural and natural heritage (...) belongs primarily to the State..." (Article 4)

By signing the Convention, the respective countries pledge to conserve not only the World Heritage sites within their own territory, but also to protect their national heritage through a series of obligations and commitments from the State Party.

"To ensure that effective and active measures are taken for the protection, conservation and presentation of the cultural and natural heritage situated on its territory, each State Party to this Convention shall endeavour (...) to adopt a general policy which aims to give the cultural and natural heritage a function in the life of the community (...) to set up within its territories services for the protection, conservation and presentation of the cultural and natural heritage (...), to develop scientific and technical studies and research (...), to take the appropriate legal, scientific, technical, administrative and financial measures necessary for the identification, protection, conservation, presentation and rehabilitation of this heritage, to foster the establishment or development of national or regional centres for training in the protection, conservation and presentation of the cultural and natural heritage..." (Article 5).

Under the terms of the Convention, a World Heritage List outlines cultural and natural properties of "outstanding universal values" from nominations submitted by the national governments of member countries; with the idea that the World Heritage transcends the national boundaries and should be preserved for future generations.

The Convention, however, introduces somehow a spatial and legal ambiguity as it does not exclude the sovereignty of the State Party while creating obligations vis-à-vis the international community in relation to the World Heritage site situated within the boundaries of the State Party.

"Whilst fully respecting the sovereignty of the States on whose territory the cultural and natural heritage (...) and without prejudice to property right provided by national legislation, the State Parties to this Convention recognize that such heritage constitutes a world heritage for whose protection it is the duty of the international community as a whole to co-operate" (Article 6, al.1).

This ambiguity brought about by the Convention between the national and the international, or the particular and the universal, is the source of political tensions between a national territory under national protection and legislation but also under international scrutiny. While World Heritage sites are the expression of a universal recognition that goes beyond national borders and cultural exclusivity, they also belong to national and regional memories. This listing as World Heritage of symbolic meanings attached to these sites exacerbates the tensions around universal values of cosmopolitanism and the local expression of an identity (Bianchi and Boniface, 2002; Scott, 2002, and Evans, 2002). Several countries have not requested international status for places although of universal and outstanding value, because considered as sacred or being the "untouchable" expression of the national mythology. For instance, the Kingdom of Thailand did not request the World Heritage status for the Grand Palace as it is the expression of the national and sacred symbol of the King.

The nomination process is therefore upon governments' request and consent. This situation already reveals the politicization of the nomination process and the limitation of the international recognition of the outstanding and universal value.

"The inclusion of a property in the World Heritage List requires the consent of the State concerned..." (Article 11, al.3).

As the application for a site to be inscribed on the World Heritage List must come from the country itself, UNESCO does not make any recommendations for possible sites to be inscribed on the World Heritage List. The application has to include a plan presenting and detailing the management and protection conditions of the site in national legislation. However, the Convention sets the definition of the World Heritage beyond its listing as a World Heritage or as a World Heritage in Danger, and therefore beyond any national definition or recognition.

"The fact that a property belonging to the cultural or natural heritage has not been included in either of the two lists (...) shall in no way be construed to mean that it does not have an outstanding universal value for the purposes other than those resulting from inclusion in these lists" (Article 12).

The Convention also defines the role and responsibilities of the World Heritage Committee, as well as the selection process of its members and their term of office. It also identifies the professional advisory bodies to which it can turn for advice and guidance in selecting the sites to be inscribed on the World Heritage List.

"An Intergovernmental Committee for the Protection of the Cultural and Natural Heritage of Outstanding Universal Value, called the 'World Heritage Committee' is hereby established within the United Nations Education, Scientific and Cultural organization"... (Article 8).

Furthermore, the Convention provides explanations on the role and mandate of the World Heritage Fund as well as on the necessary conditions under which the international financial assistance may be called for.

"A Fund for the protection of the World Cultural and Natural Heritage of outstanding Universal Value, called "the World Heritage Fund" is hereby established" (Article 15).

This Fund can receive as a Trust Account any contributions from the Private Sector, State Parties or other contributors. The Convention also gives some indications for fundraising support in relation to the Fund. It is however, rather limited considering the needs of an ever increasing World Heritage List, and it is also delegated to the State Parties' initiative without the vision and understanding of the need for a global and coordinated resource mobilization strategy and a related funding mechanism based on a global and universal brand model of the World Heritage.

"The State Parties to this Convention shall consider or encourage the establishment of national public and private foundations or association whose purpose is to invite donations for the protection of the cultural and natural heritage...(Article 17).

"The State Parties to this Convention shall give their assistance to international fund-raising campaigns organized for the World Heritage Fund under the auspices of the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization. They shall facilitate collections (...) (Article 18).

The Operational Guidelines for the Implementation of the World Heritage Convention concern the protection of World Cultural and Natural Heritage, past civilizations and natural landscapes. The Guidelines were issued by the Intergovernmental Committee of UNESCO in 1997 for the protection of the World Cultural and Natural Heritage. The Convention provides a permanent legal, administrative and financial framework designed to assist conservation programmes. The Convention fundamentally refers to an assemblage of scientific value, history and aesthetic beauty which had to be further elaborated within the Operational Guidelines for its Implementation.

To be included on the World Heritage List, respective sites must comply with the related selection criteria (six criteria for cultural properties and four criteria for natural properties). These criteria are further developed in the Operational Guidelines which, besides the text of the Convention, are the key explanatory framework on World Heritage. The criteria have been regularly revised by the Committee to cope with the evolution of the World Heritage concept itself. The Operational Guidelines for the implementation of the World Heritage Convention are along with the Convention text itself the most important statutory document guiding the implementation of the Convention (Ishwaran, 2004).

However, despite its title the World Heritage Committee cannot determine which sites should be included on the World Heritage List. The Committee itself does not make nomination. Instead, these come from Nation-States, and an application for World Heritage listing is a complex political process. A site's acceptance to the World Heritage List signifies therefore that it meets the Convention criteria and that it is assured of adequate protection. As a former secretary of ICOMOS in the United Kingdom noted during a conference in 2002 on the Politics of World Heritage, "*the protection of the World 's Heritage can reach far beyond technical questions of conservation and site management into the much wider realms of ideology, politics, power and citizenship*" (Whitebourn, 2002).

There are six criteria considering if a cultural site is of outstanding universal value and four criteria for natural sites which were also used during the 29th Session of the World Heritage Committee in Durban, South Africa, while inscribing in July 2005 some 24 new sites in the World Heritage List or in Vilnius, Lithuania in July 2006.

The First of the six possible criteria for a Cultural Site is quite simply that the property in question represents unique artistic achievement, a masterpiece of human creative genius. The site of Soltaniyeh in Iran inscribed on the World Heritage List in July 2005 is a good example of an outstanding master piece of human genius as well as of Persian and Islamic architectures. Similarly, the Mountain Railways of India inscribed in 1999 and further expanded in July 2005 by including the Nilgiri Mountain Railway, are an extraordinary production of human genius with a railway scaling an elevation of 326 meters to 2,203 meters still in use today which represented the latest technology of the time.

The Second Criterion recognizes the sites which have exerted a great influence, over a span of time, on developments in architecture, monumental arts or town planning and landscape. It therefore exhibits an important interchange of human values over a span of time or within a cultural area of the world, on development in architecture or technology, monumental arts, town planning or landscape design. The site of the residential and cultural complex of the Radziwill family at Nesvizh in Belarus also inscribed in July 2005 is a good illustration of this criterion as it became an important prototype which marked the development of architecture throughout Central Europe and Russia.

The Third Criterion considers the sites which bear a unique or at least exceptional testimony to a civilization which has disappeared such as the archaeological site of Qal'at al Bahrain in Bahrain inscribed in July 2005. This site is indeed a testimony of one of the most important ancient civilizations of the Gulf area region and was known as the Capital of Dilmun.

The Fourth Criterion concerns sites which are outstanding examples of a type of building or architectural ensemble which illustrates a significant stage in history such as the City of Le Havre in France which has been inscribed in July 2005 as well. This city rebuilt by Auguste Perret is an outstanding example of a post-war urban planning and architecture

based on the unity of methodology and the use of prefabrication with the systematic utilization of a modular grid along with an innovative exploitation of the potential of concrete.

The Fifth Criterion recognizes sites which are outstanding examples of traditional human settlements being representative of a culture and which have become vulnerable under the impact of universal change such as the Museum City of Gjirokastra in Albania. It was inscribed in July 2005, because it is a rare example of a well-preserved Ottoman town, built by farmers of large estate, including outstanding architectural feature such as Kule, a type of building which crystallised in the 17th Century.

The Sixth and last Criterion relates to cultural sites which are directly or tangibly associated with events or with ideas or beliefs, or with artistic and literary works of outstanding universal significance. Equally important is the authenticity of the property and the way it is protected and managed. The Plantin-Moretus House and workshops Museum complex in Belgium, inscribed in July 2005, is an excellent example of this criterion as it is a printing plant and publishing house, dating from Renaissance and Baroque periods, which is associated with the history of the invention and spread of typography.

The First Criterion for natural Sites considers sites which are outstanding examples representing the major stages of the Earth's evolutionary history, including the record of life, significant ongoing geological processes in the development of landforms, or significant geomorphic or physiographic feature. The Ancient Underground Waters of Sian Ka'an which is a natural reserve across the Yucatan Peninsula which became a World Heritage site in July 2005, illustrates this criterion very well with its shell fossils indicating its past and related earth evolutionary history.

The Second Criterion recognizes natural sites which are outstanding examples of significant on-going geological processes, biological evolution and man's interaction with his natural environment including fresh water, coastal and marine ecosystems and communities of plants and animals such as the Fossil Hominid sites of Sterkfontein, Swartkrans, kromdraai and Environs. These sites are located in South Africa and were inscribed on the World Heritage List in July 2005 as well. They contain essential elements that define the origin and evolution of mankind such as the famous Taung skull, a specimen of the species Australopithecus Africanus.

The Third Criterion addresses sites which contain superlative natural phenomena, formation or features such as most important eco-systems or natural beauty such as the site of the Valley of Flowers National Park in India. It was inscribed on the World Heritage List in 1988, because of its meadows of endemic alpine flowers and outstanding beauty.

The Fourth Criterion identifies sites which contain the most important and significant natural habitats where threatened species of animals or plants of outstanding universal value from the point of view of science or conservation still survive. A good example of this criterion

is the site of the Galapagos Islands which are home for the Land Iguana and is a cradle of evolution.

The protection, the management and integrity of the site are also essential considerations within the Convention framework. Although, it is primarily the responsibility of the State Party, the Convention legitimates the intervention of the international community through cooperation and assistance.

"For the purpose of this Convention, international protection of the world cultural and natural heritage shall be understood to mean the establishment of a system of international co-operation and assistance designed to support State Parties to the Convention in their efforts to conserve and identify that heritage" (Article 7).

Mixed sites have both outstanding natural and cultural values. Since 1992, the interactions between people and the natural environment have been identified as Cultural Landscapes. For instance, the site of Saint Kilda in the United Kingdom, initially inscribed on the World Heritage List in 1986 for its natural value became a mixed site further to the extension of its inscription in July 2005 to cover its cultural value along with its natural value.

World Heritage is an on-going process as the listing of a site is not enough if it ultimately losses its universal significance into a state of disrepair or if a development project threatens the integrity and the authenticity of the qualities that led initially the site to be granted the World Heritage status. The credibility of the World Heritage relies on countries' regular reporting on the condition of sites, on measures taken to preserve them, and on their efforts to raise public awareness of cultural and natural heritage.

However, the listing as a World Heritage does not promote the direct intervention of UNESCO and its advisory bodies in the management of sites, nor a single regulatory framework for all activities related to the conservation, preservation and promotion of World Heritage sites. It is more of a cooperation framework which implies the sharing of sovereignty on a site which is included in the international framework of policies and regulations of World Heritage sites. This is a rather complex structure of authority which entails a lot of ambiguity (Bianchi and Boniface, 2002). This complexity and ambiguity bring about serious limitations particularly as it comes to promote consistently the universal values of the World Heritage as a brand. The management of each World Heritage site is left to the understanding and interpretation of the State Party of the measures and actions to be taken to fulfil the objectives and purposes of this World Heritage listing. Furthermore, the Convention, or the Operational Guidelines provide a clear framework for the financial sustainability of such measures. It is again up the State Party to develop its own funding mechanisms in support of such actions.

If a country is not fulfilling its obligations under the Convention, it risks having its sites removed from the World Heritage List. Actually, countries have to take their responsibilities very seriously, and the World Heritage Committee would be alerted, by individuals, non-

governmental organizations, or other groups of the possible risks and dangers to a site. If the threat is a realistic probability, and the problem serious enough, the site will be placed on the List of the World Heritage in Danger.

"The Committee shall establish, keep up to date and publish, whenever circumstances shall so require, under the title 'List of World Heritage in Danger', a list of the property appearing in the World Heritage List for the conservation of which major operations are necessary and for which assistance has been requested under this Convention (...). The Committee may at any time, in case of urgent need, make a new entry in the List of World Heritage in Danger and publicize such entry immediately" (Article 11, al.4).

This list is designed to call for the world's attention to natural or human-made conditions which endangers the characteristics for which the site was initially registered on the World Heritage List. Armed conflict and war, earthquakes and other natural disasters, pollution, poaching, uncontrolled urbanization and unchecked tourist development indeed pose major problems to World Heritage sites. Dangers can be "ascertained", referring to specific and proven imminent threats, or "potential", when a property is faced with threats which could have negative effects on its World Heritage values. There are currently thirty-one sites among the 830 World Heritage properties which are inscribed on the List of World Heritage in Danger. Five sites were removed in July 2006 because of the improvements made in the state of their conservation. This list includes therefore sites which were endangered by natural disasters such as the Iranian City of Bam which was devastated in December 2003 by an earthquake or sites which are endangered by human deliberate aggression such as the Bamiyan Valley in Afghanistan which has suffered from abandonment, military action and dynamite explosions. Parts of the site are still even inaccessible due to the presence of antipersonnel mines. Similarly the National Parks of Garamba, kahuzi-Biega, Salonga, Viunga and the Okapi Wildlife Reserve in the Democratic Republic of Congo were inscribed on the List of World Heritage in Danger as a result of the impact of the war and civil conflicts in the Great Lakes region to protect the habitat of endangered species such as the Mountain Gorilla, the Northern White Rhino and the Okapi.

It also includes sites which are endangered by human development activities such as the Katmandu Valley in Nepal where the exceptional urban and architectural heritage of Kathmandu, Patan and Bhaktapur had been severely affected by uncontrolled urban development resulting in commercial and agricultural intrusions into the site.

Similarly the Rio Platano Biosphere Reserve in Honduras where the advancing agricultural frontier at the west side of the Reserve, pushed by small farmers and cattle ranchers, is reducing the Reserve's forest and resulting in massive extraction of precious wood such as the Caoba.

Inscribing a site on the List of World Heritage in Danger allows then the World Heritage Committee to allocate immediate assistance from the World Heritage Fund to the endangered property. It also alerts the international community to these situations calling for support in saving these endangered sites. The listing of a site as World Heritage in Danger provides to the conservation experts an opportunity to respond to specific preservation needs in an efficient manner as the prospect of inscribing a site on this List can result in rapid conservation action. This inscription is also a way in some cases to help mobilize resources for its conservation. For instance, the sites of Humberstone and Santa Laura Salpeters have been inscribed on the List of the World Heritage in July 2005 at the same time as on the List of World Heritage in Danger to promote their conservation and related required funding, because of the vulnerability of their structures and because of the impact of a recent earthquake.

Inscription of a site on the List of World Heritage in Danger requires the World Heritage Committee to develop and adopt, in consultation with the State Party concerned, a programme for corrective measures, and subsequently to monitor the situation of the site. All efforts must, then, be made to restore the site's values in order to enable its removal from the List of World Heritage in Danger as soon as possible.

If a site loses the characteristics which determined its inscription on the World Heritage List, the World Heritage Committee may decide to delete the property from both the List of World Heritage in Danger and the World Heritage List. To date, this provision of the Operational Guidelines for the Implementation of the World Heritage Convention has never had to be applied or was not applied mainly because of the political nature of such an action. Indeed, some State Parties do not appreciate to have sites in their countries inscribed on the list of World Heritage in Danger.

However, this could be an interesting way to promote and reinforce the credibility of the World Heritage listing. It would be a strategic mechanism to mobilize resources and support particularly from the private sector and tourism industry as the removal of the World Heritage status for a site could be detrimental to their business development activities and related profits. It could also be a useful approach in ensuring and warranting the authenticity of a World Heritage site in preserving its outstanding and universal values and consequently its brand equity. The removal of the World Heritage status would primarily indicate that the authenticity of these brand values are questionable or in serious danger within the same patterns as famous brands such as Nike or Coke would remove distribution rights to a licensee to protect their brand image and brand equity from any damage.

However, the politicization of the designation process is very much related to governments as State Parties which often have their political agenda and such a measure would immediately create diplomatic tensions between the concerned government and UNESCO rather than bringing a strong sense of priority or urgency in relation to the safeguard

of the site. On the other hand, the politicization of the nomination process could also have a positive impetus in the protection and promotion of the World Heritage brand as it could be a source of pride through responsibility and credibility in international diplomacy (Takacs, 1996).

A strong brand image with a high level of brand equity of the World Heritage brand could also be an opportunity for State Parties to leverage resources and support in promoting the conservation of their heritage along with a strong connection with a global world. Although, the Convention is not explicitly referring to a World Heritage brand, it is clearly about what this World Heritage brand stands for and about the brand promise. Therefore, the Convention would be an essential dimension in defining in the last chapter a brand model for the World Heritage brand.

The World Heritage Institutions

To manage the Convention, provision was also made for the setting up of an intergovernmental "World Heritage Committee", elected by State Parties and assisted by the non-political advisory bodies, ICOMOS (The International Council on Monuments and Sites) on cultural sites, by IUCN (The World Conservation Union) on natural sites and generally by ICCROM, the International Study Centre in Rome.

"An intergovernmental Committee for the protection of the Cultural and Natural Heritage of outstanding Universal value, called 'the World Heritage Committee', is hereby established within the United Nations Education Scientific and Cultural Organization. .. " (Article 8, al.1).

The World Heritage Committee comprised of 21 States Members and meets once a year and reviews the applications on the basis of technical evaluations.

The election of members of the Committee shall ensure an equitable representation of the different regions and cultures of the world.

"Election of members of the Committee shall ensure an equitable representation of the different regions and cultures of the world" (Article 8, al.2).

As specified in the Operational Guidelines, "*The World Heritage Committee identifies, on the basis of nominations submitted by State Parties, cultural and natural properties of outstanding universal value which are to be protected under the Convention and lists these properties on the World Heritage List*".

It also "*monitors the state of conservation of properties inscribed on the World Heritage List, in liaison with the State parties*". Furthermore, it also "*decides in case of urgent need which properties included in the World Heritage List are to be inscribed on the List of World Heritage in Danger*". It "*determines as well in what way and under what conditions the*

resources in the World Heritage Fund can most advantageously be used to assist State Parties in the protection of their properties of outstanding value" (Operational Guidelines for the Implementation of the World Heritage, UNESCO, 2002, 2004) .

The Committee is also defining the conditions under which the International Assistance shall be considered for specific request. It carries-out in this respect all preliminary studies, consultations and analysis necessary in defining these conditions.

As provided by the Article 22 of the Convention, the Committee itself can provide direct assistance through "*studies concerning the artistic, scientific and technical problems raised by the protection, conservation, presentation and rehabilitation of the cultural and natural heritage*". It can also provide the relevant "*experts and technicians to carry out the agreed tasks, or also in view of training staff and specialist at all levels in the field of identification, protection, conservation, presentation and rehabilitation of the cultural and natural heritage*". One of the key responsibilities of the Committee is to keep the lists of the World Heritage and of the World Heritage in Danger. "*On the basis of the inventories submitted by States (...) the Committee shall establish, keep up to date and publish, under the title 'World Heritage List,' a list of properties forming part of the cultural and natural heritage (...) which it considers as having outstanding universal value in terms of such criteria as it shall have established. An updated list shall be distributed at least every two years*" (Article 11, al.2). "*The Committee shall establish, keep up to date and publish, whenever circumstances shall so require, under the title of "List of World Heritage in Danger", a list of property appearing in the World Heritage List for the conservation of which major operations are necessary and for which assistance has been requested under this Convention (...) the Committee may at any time, in case of urgent need, make a new entry in the List of World Heritage in Danger and publicize such entry immediately*" (Article 11, al.4). The Committee is also forefront when it comes to mobilize resources and to allocate funds available to specific projects. "*The Committee shall decide on the use of the resources of the Fund established under Article 15 of this Convention. It shall seek ways of increasing these resources and shall take all useful steps to this end*" (Article 13, al.6).

Furthermore, the Convention also provides in its Article 15 for the "*establishment of the World Heritage Fund for the Protection of the World Cultural and Natural Heritage of Outstanding value*" which is managed by the Committee.

This Fund constitutes a Trust Fund which amounts to some 4 million USD annually and consists of "*compulsory and voluntary contributions made by State Parties, contributions, gifts or bequests made by States, or the Private Sector*" (Article 15).

The funding source is rather complicated and limited in view of the objectives of the Convention and the scope of the World Heritage List.

Although the article 16 of the Convention stipulates that *"without prejudice to any supplementary voluntary contribution, the State Parties to the Convention undertake to pay regularly, every two years, to the World Heritage Fund, contributions, the amount of which, in the form of a uniform percentage applicable to all States, determined by the General Assembly of State Parties to the Convention"*. The Operational Guidelines however, specify that in no case does the Organization compulsory contribution of States parties exceed 1 % of the contribution to the regular budget of the United Nations Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization.

The Committee may also supply technical support, equipment, provide training or grant low-interest or interest-free loans or non payable-subsidies as stipulated in Article 22.

Although the Convention makes no reference to a brand development strategy of the World Heritage brand, the Committee would therefore be the best placed in developing and coordinating a brand development strategy which would mobilize resources and support, while ensuring the sustainability of the World Heritage brand.

However, the Committee has not yet defined the World Heritage as a brand beyond protecting the logo with the World Intellectual Property Organization.

As, the World Heritage Committee is assisted by a Secretariat appointed by the Director General of the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) the brand development strategy vision and strategy should be prepared and proposed by the Secretariat.

My discussions with some experts of the Secretariat of the Committee indicated that the vision of the World Heritage as a brand with the possibility to manage and use it in leveraging resources is no yet there and needs further understanding of its potential. This dissertation will aim to contribute to a better understanding on the possible use of the World Heritage as a brand in support of the ideal and objectives of the Convention in protecting, preserving and promoting the world cultural and natural heritage.

The Committee is not by nature a flexible, and easy decision making mechanism, as its decisions are taken by a majority of two-thirds of its members present and voting. A majority of the members of the Committee constitutes a quorum.

As specified in the article 14 of the Convention, "*The Director General of UNESCO, prepares the Committee's documentation and the agenda of its meetings and shall have the responsibility for the implementation of its decisions*". In this respect, the Director makes *"use to the fullest extent possible of the services of International Centre for the Study of the Preservation and the Restoration of Cultural property (the Rome Centre), the International Council of Monuments and Sites (ICOMOS) and the International Union for Conservation of*

Nature and Natural resources (IUCN) in their respective areas of competence and capability" for any evaluation or monitoring activity.

These independent Evaluations of proposed cultural and natural sites are provided by two advisory bodies, the International Council on Monuments and Sites (ICOMOS) and the World Conservation Union (IUCN) respectively. ICOMOS is an international, non-governmental organization dedicated to the conservation of the world's historic monuments and sites. The organization was founded in 1965, as a result of the international adoption of the Charter for the Conservation and Restoration of Monuments and Sites in Venice in 1964. ICOMOS has an international role under the World Heritage Convention to advise the World Heritage Committee and UNESCO on the nomination of new sites to the World Heritage List. ICOMOS has today 21 International Scientific committees of experts in over 107 countries. It brings and connects together the conservation specialists from all over the world for co-operation purposes in research, information dissemination, training, evaluation and monitoring of international conventions on the conservation and enhancement of architectural heritage.

IUCN is a World Union of some 10,000 internationally recognized experts from more than 180 countries, 114 government agencies, some 800 Non-governmental organizations, and 77 States. Its mission is *"to influence, encourage and assist societies throughout the world to conserve the integrity and diversity of nature and to ensure that any use of natural resources is equitable and ecologically sustainable"* (IUCN website, 2005). Through its 500 projects in several countries IUCN works to apply sound eco-system management for sustainable livelihood for those directly dependent on natural resources. It has also engaged in restoring ecosystems and regenerating people's life, economies and societies. IUCN, being the world's most respected source of information and reference since 1948 on the environment, is giving advice and technical support to global secretariats and the Parties of several international Conventions and is assessing all new sites nominated by State Parties for Natural World Heritage.

A third Advisory body is the International Centre for the Study of the Preservation and Restoration of Cultural Property (ICCROM). ICCROM is an inter-governmental organization which was established in 1959 further to the 9th UNESCO General Conference in New Delhi in 1956 as the global concern for the protection and preservation of cultural heritage was growing. It has a worldwide mandate of promoting the conservation of all types of cultural heritage, both movable and immovable. And it has some 100 Member States. It also aims at improving the quality of conservation practice as well as raising awareness about the importance of preserving the cultural heritage. It also provides expert advice on restoring monuments and organizes training courses.

Once a site is selected, its name and location are placed on the World Heritage List. Representatives from the ICOMOS, IUCN and ICCROM may also attend meetings of the

Committee in an advisory capacity. However, contrary to expectations, the listing as a World Heritage does not imply the direct intervention of UNESCO or of its advisory bodies in the management of sites, nor the authority of a single regulatory body or legal and framework to oversee such responsibilities. It actually brings about the sharing of sovereignty over a particular site, which then becomes ostensibly subject to an international framework of policies and regulations pertaining to World Heritage sites, with all the ambiguity it entails (Bianchi and Boniface, 2002).

These advisory bodies are essential in terms of expertise and support to the Committee, and in contributing to the Convention's objectives. However their authority and influence is confined in an advisory role and subsidiary to the authority of the State Parties. Nevertheless, the use of these bodies as partners in promoting the World Heritage as a brand with its related values could be instrumental in leveraging resources and in ensuring its sustainability as they represent networks of influence with a strong commitment to the conservation, preservation and promotion of the World Heritage sites. These bodies and institutions would therefore need to have a clear and shared understanding of the brand vision and of its related brand development strategy to ensure the success of the branding of the World Heritage.

History of the World Heritage

The concept of creating an international movement for protecting sites of outstanding value arouse after the World War I. Some of the Convention's conceptual origins, particularly relating to cultural heritage, can be traced to the work of the League of Nations in the 1920s and 1930s. The League promoted the idea of a common heritage of humankind deserving of international conservation through international cooperation.

Actually, UNESCO's work to protect the world's "immovable" cultural heritage began in 1948 with discussions on the establishment of an international fund for the preservation and restoration of monuments of "world-wide importance" (Titchen, 2001).

The catalytic moment which generated a tremendous international concern was the decision to build the Aswan High Dam in Egypt, which would have flooded the valley containing the Abu Simbel temples, a treasure of ancient Egyptian civilization from the XIII century BC. In 1959, after an appeal from the governments of Egypt and Sudan, UNESCO decided to launch an international safeguarding campaign. And all the archaeological researches in the areas to be flooded were intensified and accelerated in view of transferring the temples to higher ground levels. The Abu Simbel and Philae temples were then dismantled, and moved to dry ground stone by stone and finally reassembled. The campaign costed about 80 million USD, half of which was donated by some 50 countries, reflecting the

new emerging concern of nations in sharing responsibilities to preserve and conserve outstanding cultural properties.

For the first time, as André Malraux (1960) said, "*All Nations were called to safeguard together the Heritage of a civilization which does not belong to them, but from which they claim their heritage*".

The success of this campaign led to other safeguarding campaigns, such as Venice in Italy, Moenjodaro in Pakistan and Borobudur in Indonesia to name but a few.

As a logical outcome of such an international concern for cultural properties, UNESCO initiated with the help of the International Council on Monuments and Sites (ICOMOS), the preparation of a draft Convention on the Protection of Cultural Heritage. Fundamentally, the Convention concerning the Protection of the World Cultural and Natural Heritage developed from the merging of two separate movements: the first focussing on dangers to cultural sites, and the other dealing with conservation of nature.

The idea of combining conservation of cultural sites with those of nature came from the United States with people like the environmentalist Russell Train (Titchen, 2001). In 1965, a White House Conference in Washington D.C. called for a World Heritage Trust that would encourage international co-operation "*to protect the world's superb natural and scenic areas and historic properties for the present and the future of the entire world citizenry*". While he was the new president of the Convention Foundation since merged as WWF, Russell Train participated in 1967 in an International Congress on Nature and Man, in Amsterdam and delivered a speech on "A World Heritage Trust". He then, "*urged the launching of an international cooperative effort that brings together in a unified programme a common concern for both man's natural heritage and his cultural heritage. In so doing, we will recognize that our civilization, past and present, is inextricably linked to our physical environment. Indeed, the works of man are necessary founded upon and moulded by the Natural environment. Can we conceive of a Venice in isolation from the sea?*" (Train, 1967).

Soon after, the Council on Environmental Quality was established by President Nixon and Russell Train was named as its first chairman. Among the Council's responsibilities was the preparation of an annual environmental report by the President to the Congress. In 1971, President Richard Nixon said in his environmental message that, "As the United States approaches the centennial celebration in 1972 of the establishment of Yellowstone National Park, it would be appropriate to mark this historic event by a new international initiative... Yellowstone is the first national park concept has represented a major contribution to world culture. Similar systems have now been established throughout the world... it would be fitting by 1972 for the nations of the world to agree to the principle that there are certain areas of such unique worldwide value that they should be treated as part of a world heritage trust" (Train, 2002).

It then already amalgamated the cultural and natural sites by referring simultaneously to sites like the Grand Canyon along the Pyramids of Egypt, the Acropolis of Athens, and the Serengeti Valley in Tanzania. This combining of natural and cultural sites was a normal approach in the United States as the National Park Service is actually in charge of both in the United States. Supported by Richard Nixon this idea grew in importance and recognition.

In 1968, the World Conservation Union (IUCN) developed similar proposals for its members. These proposals were presented to the 1972 United Nations Conference on Human Environment in Stockholm. Although there was a risk to see two concurrent conventions for Cultural and Natural sites, intense debates and negotiations recognized the value to have one unique Convention for both areas and that UNESCO was the most logical institution to manage this Convention. In addition, the United States insisted on making financial contributions by member states voluntary which unfortunately lead to relatively small amounts.

On the 16 November 1972, the General Conference of UNESCO adopted the Convention Concerning the Protection of the World Cultural and Natural Heritage. The main idea of the Convention was to acknowledge that there are some places on Earth which are of such outstanding universal value that their protection is not just the responsibility of a single nation but of the international community as a whole.

The first decade allowed the Convention to be fully recognized within the International Community. A regular expansion marked the second decade while the third decade has been caught by a rapid and considerable increase in the number of sites although with the growing concerns about the problems brought by this rapid growth such as “disparities”, “imbalances” and “global strategies”.

The First Session of UNESCO's World Heritage Committee was held in Paris in 1977. The Second Session took place in Washington DC in 1978 and saw the first twelve World Heritage sites which were to be inscribed in seven countries, eight of the sites being cultural ones and four of them natural sites. The Third Session of the Committee was held in Egypt, when new inscriptions include the famous Nubian monuments from Abu Simbel and the pyramids of Giza, the only survivor of the Seven Wonders of the World identified by the Greek scribe Philo some 2000 years earlier. Many of the early additions to the World Heritage List were individual monuments such as the Palace of Versailles and the Cathedral at Chartres which were inscribed in 1979. History of Art and of Architecture in those days was largely written by Europeans and Americans and, not surprisingly, the earlier inscriptions tended to reflect this.

The third decade has seen the credibility of the List being challenged, and the emergence of a tremendous pressure put upon both the Advisory Bodies and on the World Heritage Committee itself by the rapidly increasing number of applications coming forward. Thus, when the World Heritage Committee met in Cairns, Australia in 2000, the need for

reforms was on the agenda to counteract the inequalities and imbalance along with restoring and ensuring the credibility of the World Heritage List. Some of the reform issues concerned arrangements for the election of members and the timing of the Committee cycles, but decisions were also taken to limit the number of sites to be considered per year and to accord some priority both to categories or properties that were un-represented or under-represented on the list, and to State Parties with no sites on the List.

A further reform in the closing years of the Third decade has concerned the revision of the Operational Guidelines. Issued by UNESCO's World Heritage Centre, the Guidelines have been a key document for the implementation of the Convention.

They have set out criteria for the inclusion of properties in the List; the format and procedures for nomination; arrangements for periodic reporting; a definition of "buffer zones"; and many other matters including guidelines for the use of the World Heritage emblem, the design of which symbolizes the interdependence of cultural properties, represented by a square from created by mankind, and natural properties, represented by the circle.

This last decade has seen attempts in bringing the cultural and natural dimensions closer together with the emergence of the concept of Cultural Landscape which is a combined work of nature and mankind. The World Heritage Committee inscribed in December 1993 Tongariro National Park in New Zealand as the first cultural landscape on the World Heritage List. It was then acknowledged that these mountains have immense cultural and religious significance for the Maori people and symbolize their spiritual links with their environment. It recognized the intimate religious and cultural connections between indigenous peoples and their natural environment. It also proved that the Convention could be pioneering new approaches in the protection of the World Heritage (Roesler and Cleere, 2001).

The historical benefits of the ratification of the Convention are related to the primary mission of identifying cultural and natural heritage of outstanding universal value throughout the world, and ensuring its protection through international co-operation. The Convention states: "*Whilst fully respecting the sovereignty of the States on whose territory the cultural and natural heritage (...) is situated, and without prejudice to property rights provided by national legislation, the State Parties to this Convention recognise that such heritage constitutes a world heritage for whose protection it is the duty of the international community as a whole to cooperate*" (Article 6.1).

Through international solidarity, the Convention transcribes the principle of collective responsibility for the protection of World Heritage into action. By signing the World Heritage Convention, a country also pledges to protect the whole of its national heritage, whether or not it is recognized as World Heritage. The prestige that comes from being a State Party to the Convention and of having sites inscribed on the World Heritage List often serves as a catalyst to raising awareness for heritage preservation on the part of governments and citizens alike.

Furthermore, the ultimate benefit of adhering to the World Heritage Convention is that of belonging to an international community of appreciation and concern for unique, universally significant cultural and natural sites that embody a world of outstanding examples of cultural diversity and natural wealth. It also reflects a shared commitment to preserving our legacy for future generations.

In terms of practical and immediate benefit, the World Heritage Programme has made a difference in many countries and prevented the irreversible to happen to precious cultural and natural sites of outstanding values. Perhaps the best known example has been the abandonment of the planned motorway in Egypt that would have threatened the setting of the Giza pyramids. Similarly, Peru has cancelled plans for a cable car up to the Inca city of Machu Pichu, and Mexico has cancelled plans for an industrial complex beside a grey whale sanctuary (Whitbourn, 2002).

The existence of the World Heritage in Danger List also played a part in safeguarding the Iguaçu National Park in Brazil from a growing threat of pollution. In a very positive and tangible way, the international assistance which emerged in inscribing Dubrovnik or Angkor on this list has assisted in dealing with war damage to the Old City of Dubrovnik in Croatia; and with the Angkor Wat archaeological Site in Cambodia.

The World Heritage Programme has helped in changing attitudes in many instances and in encouraging heritage appreciation. For instance, survivals of past mining activities in South Wales and in Cornwall are now seen as part of the history and heritage of these areas rather than as exclusive symbols of economic crisis and social despair.

While the first two decades have been regarding the World Heritage status as largely honorific and prestigious the third decade saw a growing concern for the authenticity and the integrity of sites, both at national and at the international levels. At an international level UNESCO had instituted, under article 29 of the Convention, a system of Periodic Reporting on the State of Conservation of properties to ensure that their World Heritage values are being maintained over time. And in preparation for this, plans need to be set-out stating what the World Heritage values of the particular sites are followed by the way in which these values are to be maintained and respected. This is basically the same as defining a brand model and a brand positioning for the World Heritage brand.

Furthermore, the International Guidelines for Authenticity, Intellectual Integrity and Sustainable Development in the Public Presentation of Archaeological and Historical Sites and Landscapes (ENAME Charter) has been a serious focus in 2005 in Beijing during the ICOMOS General Assembly.

Over the last 60 years or so, the most spectacular of failures was in March 2002 when the Afghanistan's then hard-line Taliban regime ignored an international outcry and damaged irreversibly with rockets, guns and dynamite to the two standing Buddha statues of Bamiyan,

that had looked over the region's remote valleys for 15,000 years. Technically, the Bamiyan Buddhas were not a World Heritage site. In 1983, the inscription of the statues was deferred, because of the deficiencies in the proposed protection scheme, and conflict in the area rendered further steps to remedy this situation too difficult. Nevertheless, the cold and calculated destruction of the statues shocked the international community and caused UNESCO's Director to describe the act as "*a crime against culture*" (Mayor, 1995).

This crisis revealed a global cultural consciousness and a trans-continental solidarity which was also outraged by the sacking of the Museum of Bagdad during the war in Irak. It also revealed a strong potential to enhance the World Heritage brand awareness level calling for the definition of a brand model and brand development strategy which would ultimately leverage resource and support for the sustainability of the World Heritage.

Chapter 3

Branding and Brand Management

Branding

From Greek ancient times, branding has been around for centuries as a means to distinguish the goods of one producer from those of another. In fact, the word brand is derived from the Old Norse word "brand", which means "to burn" as brands were and still are the means by which owners of livestock mark their animals to identify them (Interbrand Group, 1992).

Nowadays, a brand is more than just a visual identification and has also become a promise of a relationship between a company and its audiences as well as a guarantee of quality. A strong brand will therefore differentiate, create preference and command a premium (Perry, 2003). Russel L. Hanin, CEO of Sunkist Growers, summarized well what a brand is in saying that" *an orange…is an orange…is an orange. Unless, of course that orange happens to be a Sunkist, a name that eighty percent of consumers know and trust*". Similarly, Richard Le fauve, CEO of Saturn cars stated that "*Saturn is more than a car. It's an idea. It's a whole new way of doing things, of working with our customers and with one another. It's more of a cultural revolution than a product revolution*". The branding strategy of Saturn is about communicating consistently and effectively about its values and culture, its employees, and its customers rather than the car.

Unfortunately, the World Heritage brand is still reduced and understood as an emblem with a graphic content. Although, the World Heritage Committee has recently taken some action in further protecting the use of the emblem, it did not present the World Heritage as a brand which would build the credibility and attract the support needed for its conservation, preservation and promotion of its outstanding and universal value.

A strong brand is indeed the badge, emblem, and global symbol that can bestow credibility and attract instant attention in a new country, product category, or industry. It's a powerful way to stand out by being relevant to target audiences and different from the competition. A brand can then be anything, a company, a product, a service, a special event, a person, an animal....

A brand is much like a person, a brand has fundamental identity, a personality, a projected image, perceptions about it held by others, and relationships to parents, siblings, and those we want to get to know and impress. The brand personality is often described through adjectives such as fun, kind, sexy, safe, sincere, sophisticated, cheerful, old fashioned, reliable, progressive... The brand as a person can help create a self-expressive benefit that becomes a vehicle for the customer to express his or her own personality. For example, an Apple computer user might identify himself or herself as casual, anti-corporate, and creative. Harley-Davidson is much more than a motorcycle; it is an experience, an attitude, a lifestyle, and a vehicle to express who one is.

The World Heritage with its objectives of conserving, preserving and promoting the outstanding and universal value of our world, and calling upon visitors to share, understand and learn from World Heritage sites is certainly a reassuring and driving force for a more harmonious, fair and sustainable globalization of our societies.

Furthermore, a brand personality can be the basis of a relationship between the customer and the brand. The friend relationship helps drive the identity and related experience which makes Levi Strauss a rugged outdoor companion, Mercedes Benz an upscale, admired person, or Word perfect a competent caring professional (Aaker,1996). The World Heritage in that sense could certainly be looked at as a unique relational experience across time and generations of the meanings of the outstanding and universal value of our world.

A brand personality may also help communicate a product attribute and thus contribute to a functional benefit. For example, the Michelin man's strong energetic personality suggests that Michelin tires are also strong and energetic. Although, the emblem of the World Heritage was defined through its universality and protection objectives with the round shape of the emblem, with the square as a form created by humankind, and with the circle symbolizing nature, it is not yet perceived as such by people and particularly by visitors of World Heritage sites.

A brand as a person perspective is also quite strategic in branding as it makes the brand experience sustainable and intimately linked to the customers aspirations and desires. As Scott Talgo, a brand strategist once said (cited in M> Impact, 2003): "*A brand that captures your mind gains behavior. A brand that captures your heart gains commitment*".

A brand is about the whole customer experience. It therefore includes all of the company's actions, communications and customer interactions and aligns all actions and messages with the core value an organization brings to its line of business. A brand is therefore the sum of the good, the bad and the ugly and the off-strategy defined by the best achievements of your best employees along with the poor performances of your worst employees (Bedbury, 2002). Brands are indeed sponges for content, images, for fleeting feelings. They become psychological and living concepts that we hold in our mind for years. It

is both a logical and an irrational process. Successful brands will set themselves apart not just by how well their products and services perform, but how they create and deliver them to the consumers and how they communicate and interact with the world around them.

Successful branding therefore is integrated. A company carefully orchestrates everything it does to deliver a highly differentiated, consistent and positive experience to the eyes of its audiences. Integrated branding is the promise that you keep. The goal of an integrated branding promise is to create unbreakable and sustainable customer relationships through compelling and memorable customer experiences. The Starbuck brand experience is not about merely buying a cup of coffee, but is about rewarding everyday moments.

Branding then involves creating mental structures and helping consumer organize their knowledge from these experiences about products and services in a way that clarifies their decision making and, in the process, provides value to the firm (Keller, 2003). Today, a brand is, if it is anything, the result of a synaptic process in the brain which makes relevant and compelling connections to deeply rooted human emotions or profound cultural forces. Consciously or not, we seek experiences that make us think, that make us feel, that help us grow and that enrich our lives in some way.

In the World Heritage context it is related to its specific interpretation paradigm which would provide the visitors of World Heritage sites with the understanding of its meanings for humankind as well as its objectives of conservation and preservation.

It is unfortunately clear today, that there is neither consistency nor highly differentiated and positive experience in the eyes of the visitors of World Heritage sites. World Heritage sites are still far from creating unbreakable and sustainable visitors relationships through compelling and memorable experiences. Most of the World Heritage sites communicate poorly to their visitors their status as World Heritage. It is particularly reflected through inexistent or inconsistent signage as shown in the previous chapter. It seems also that there is no particular intention to create a unique experience as World Heritage as it is most of the time simply presented as a mere site to be visited or gazed upon without any triggering interpretation paradigm which would immerse visitors in a world of plurality and diversity of meanings across time and generations.

Branded experiences are critical to creating a bond with customers. While prior economic offerings – commodities, goods and services – are external to the buyer, experiences are inherently personal, existing only in the mind of an individual who has been engaged on an emotional, physical, intellectual or even spiritual level (Pine,1998).

The whole world has become interactive through new technologies and philosophies, and our lives definition emerges now from these interactions. Basically, we exist if we interact. The brand definition process is fundamentally similar and a brand would only exist if it creates interactions and through interactions.

The World Heritage sites do not provide yet a branded experience to visitors which could generate interactions with its universal and outstanding value and the related meanings in the mind of visitors. No connection whatsoever is made between World Heritage sites while it could generate a very unique path to self-development and better understanding of the plurality and diversity of the post-modern world.

Professor Susan Fournier of Harvard University (1966) identified three relational modes creating an emotional tie with a brand: Congruence with deeply rooted themes or values such as personal freedom; Helping in the accomplishment of life projects such as college graduation or parenting; Resolution of current concerns, such as getting enough vitamins. According to Fournier, all three relational modes can occur either through the customer's interaction with the brand – resulting in the customer seeing the brand as a friend or partner, or through a community of users – where the community becomes a significant part of customer's life. When these relational modes result in high levels of satisfaction or significant personal investment in the brand (emotions, time or money), customer loyalty increases.

Because of these interactions and brand experiences with the product and its marketing program over the years, consumers learn about brands. They recognize which brands satisfy their needs and which ones do not. As a result brands provide a simple device or means for their product decisions and preferences (Jacoby, Olson, Haddock, 1971). Brands take then on special meaning to consumers. If consumers recognize a brand and have some knowledge about it, then they do not have to engage in a lot of thinking or processing of information to make a choice and decision. Thus, from an economic perspective, brands enable consumers to lower search costs for products and allow them to make assumptions and form reasonable expectations (Keller, 2003).

The meaning placed in brands by a consumer can be quite profound. Thus, the relationship between a brand and the consumer can be seen as a type of bond or pact or marriage of any kind. Consumers offer their trust and loyalty with the understanding that the brand will stand in certain ways and provide them with all relevant interactions and experiences through consistent product performance and appropriate pricing, meaningful promotion, and distribution programs and actions.

The World Heritage is not yet understood and promoted as a brand which could have profound meanings for visitors of World Heritage sites, and which could develop loyal and sustainable bonds in view of its conservation and its preservation. The World Heritage sites are still inconsistent in their management against their original claim of universal and outstanding value. The profusion of sites without a clear and consistent vision and strategy of the interactions and experiences it could offer to its visitors increased the blurred

understanding and positioning of the World Heritage in the mind of people today and particularly in the mind of its visitors.

As long as consumers trust is enhanced through advantages and benefits from purchasing the brand, and as long as they derive satisfaction from product consumption, they are likely to continue to buy it. These benefits may not be purely functional in nature. Brands can also serve as symbolic devices, allowing consumers to project a self-image. Certain brands are associated with some particular lifestyles as being used by certain types of people and thus reflecting different values or traits. Consuming such products becomes then a way by which consumers can interact with others, or even with themselves by projecting the type of person they are or would like to be. Brands become then essential in the self-definition and accomplishment of each consumer's life. Successful brands therefore respond to the human desire to belong to a larger group which is so deeply embedded in our primal tribal histories along with more powerful, more subtle, more complex motivations such as the needing to feel connected, hoping to transcend, desiring to experience joy and fulfillment.

The World Heritage brand could be for visitors a unique and post-modern utopia which would connect them across cultures, across generations, with themselves and in harmony with others and with nature. It would provide to visitors a very genuine experience of humankind in a global world. It would make them feel as citizens of a post-modern world where cultures are interacting and generating outstanding and universal meanings which would help them to reach self-fulfillment levels beyond their initial expectations and limitations.

Unfortunately, this is not yet understood as in most World Heritage sites the signification of the listing as a World Heritage is not communicated to visitors. When a sign is available it is done inconsistently with no visual communality and connectivity within sites and between sites. Today the signage indicating the listing as World Heritage in most World Heritage sites have less added value in the mind of visitors than the functional signage which indicates toilets, cafes and shops as there are no explanations of the outstanding and universal values the World Heritage stands for across time and generations.

As Susan Fournier (1966) noted relationships with Mass Market brands can soothe the empty-selves left behind by society's abandonment of tradition and community and provide stable anchors in an otherwise changing world. The formation and maintenance of brand-product relationships serve many culturally-supported roles within post-modern society (Fournier, 1966). In summary, the special meaning that brands take on consumers can change their perceptions and experiences with a product and finally their interpretation of what the products stands for. The World Heritage brand is no exception to that process and could see its objectives of conservation and preservation sustain through the branding process which would raise awareness and resources.

Brands also take on unique, special meanings to consumers that facilitate their day-to-day complicated, rushed, and time starved, the ability of a brand to simplify decision making and reduce risk is invaluable. Although manufacturing processes and product designs may be easily replicated and copied, lasting impressions in the minds of individuals and organizations cultivated with years of marketing activity and product experience and multiple interactions may not be so easily reproduced. In this sense, Branding can be seen as a powerful means of securing competitive advantage (Keller, 2003) and ensuring a sustainable development.

The World Heritage could certainly benefit from a branding process which would make clear to visitors that it provides a unique and outstanding experience in connecting oneself with the world across time, generations and with nature. A brand is then a perceptual and interpretive entity that is deeply rooted in reality, but which also reflects the perceptions and interpretations of a self-definition and self-cognitive development enriching the lives of consumers or visitors of World Heritage sites.

To brand a product it is necessary to teach consumers "who " the product is, by giving it a name and using other brand elements to identify it, as well as what the product does and why consumers should care. In other words, to brand a product or service it is necessary to give consumers a label for the product (i.e. "here's how you can identify the product") and to provide meaning for the brand to consumers (i.e. "Here's what this particular product can do for you and why it is special and different from other brand name products"). This dissertation aims to provide a brand model and a branding strategy to the World Heritage which would address these questions of definition of the World Heritage brand with a related positioning strategy in the mind of visitors or potential visitors.

The universality of branding is such that it can be applied to products defined broadly to include physical goods, services, retail stores, online businesses, people, organizations, places, sports, arts and entertainment, events or even ideas. Geographic locations like products and people can also be branded. In this case the brand name is defined by the actual name of the location. The power of this type of branding is in making people aware of the location and then linking desirable associations to this awareness.

Increased mobility of people, businesses and the continuous growth in the tourism industry contributed to the emergence of place marketing. Cities, states, regions and countries are now actively promoted through advertising, direct mail and other communication tools. The ultimate goals of these marketing strategies are to build awareness and create a positive image of a location that will generate temporary visits or permanent moves from individuals and investments from businesses (Keller, 2003).

The World Heritage branding is particularly relevant in this marketing strategy of places, but does not limit itself to promoting business or financial added value for the tourism industry. The World Heritage branding would certainly increase the interest of visitors to visit

World Heritage sites through a consistent and unique experience of what it stands for and would go far beyond a "gaze-upon" and would promote a "connect-upon" with the outstanding and universal value of the world and in harmony with nature.

Similarly, numerous ideas, concepts and causes have also become branded, particularly by non-profit organizations. These ideas, concepts and causes may be captured in a phrase or slogan ("Adjustment with a Human Face", "Silent Emergencies", "and Sustainable Development"...) and even represented by a symbol (Aids ribbon, panda ...). By making the ideas, concepts and causes more visible, concrete, closer to people's hearts and minds, and meaningful branding can provide much value and generate much support. Humanitarians organizations often grow on meanings through their programs, activities and products and Non-profit organizations such WWF, UNICEF, the Red Cross, and Amnesty international have increasingly defined their marketing strategies in relation to a brand model.

Individual donors or supporters of humanitarian organizations do not have the time, neither the capacity to monitor, and evaluate the respective operations and results of humanitarian organizations. They, therefore, make their choice of donation and support based on their experience of the respective organizations. Trust and confidence are then essential in the donating decision process. A clear and consistent branding strategy will help the potential donors to make their decision and choice. They will support organizations that clearly stand for something which they can relate to or identify themselves with. However, it is also necessary that the organizations branding strategies succeed in generating interactions and bonds with the potential donors which would make them donate or support in confidence, regularly and increasingly.

Successful branding strategy would have created in the mind of donors a sense of ownership and self-identification to the brand and its related cause.

These organizations such as UNICEF have to build their sustainability, as based on voluntary contributions, on these perceptions and interactions generated by the branding process and its relational experience. UNICEF, being an organization from the United Nations such as UNESCO which is in charge of the World Heritage is therefore an interesting case for the object of our dissertation. UNICEF had before the nineties no consistent communication on its objectives and values. The shapes and use of its logo and emblem were chaotic and did not express a clear and consistent message with systematic visual representation. All UNICEF National Committees in industrialized countries, its country offices in developing countries, regional offices in all continents as well as headquarters locations had different logos and messages (Figure 46).

Fig. 69

Fig. 70

Fig. 71

This visual chaos did not contribute to establish in the mind of people particularly in the mind of potential donors and supporters a clear image of what UNICEF stands for. It therefore undertook in the late 90's a branding process which established UNICEF brand model with its related values and identity. UNICEF brand identity was then defined and positioned by its staff members, its core partners and traditional supporters as a loving, caring, daring organization which gets things done. It was also perceived as an institutional and a bit old fashioned organization which could be trusted, but which was a bit outdated.

The branding process revamped the visual appearance with a different logo typeset and rejuvenated blue colour (from a blue reflex to a cyan blue). It also had a new tag line which would encapsulate the brand promise:

"For every child

Health, Education, Equality, Protection

ADVANCE HUMANITY"

Every single UNICEF publication, every single UNICEF greeting card, name cards, letters, emails, fundraising direct mail packs, advertising campaigns, public relations, TV interviews in any place of the world, special events as well as internet site would consistently use the same visuals, tag lines as a means to reinforce a visual perception and memory, and promotes the same brand values.

It would also carefully select pictures and photographs of children to be associated with the logo to ensure that it would reflect the values of an organization which wants to position itself not for children only, but with children. Pictures would then feature bold and colourful children strong and demanding the fulfillment of their rights to the world and not imploring for charity or mercy.

Branding is also about the content which emerges through the association of carefully selected visuals and the brand itself as in the above example where the association of Girls with Education is an important brand statement for UNICEF as it relates to one of its key priorities for its development work all over the world (Figures 47 and 48).

Successful brand-building is mainly about understanding how to develop a brand identity, to know what the brand stands for and to consistently and effectively communicate that identity. As Howard Schulz, CEO of Starbucks stated customers must recognize that you stand for something (Aaker, 1996). The World Heritage certainly stands for something that its branding could reveal to visitors or potential visitors of World Heritage sites. Sustainability is intimately linked to the World Heritage brand identity.

The next chapter will address therefore the questions of brand identity and brand equity in the branding process while projecting these notions in the World Heritage context.

Brand Identity and Brand Equity

Though all things are initially possible at the stage of the brand creation, after a time it acquires autonomy, and its own meaning. Starting as a meaningless word attached to a product, a place, a person, or an idea, year after year, association after association, interaction after interaction it acquires a meaning, composed of the memories of past and emergent associations and interactions (Kapferer, 1992).

Brand Identity is made of all the words, images, ideas and associations that form a consumer's aggregate perception of a brand. The identity is a brand's unique fingerprint that makes one of a kind, what Kapferer, called its "meaning". The identity is the whole fabric of how a product or service is perceived and understood by its constituencies in relation to its performance. The brand identity lives entirely in the mind of the consumer (Upshawn, 1995). A brand identity similarly to a person's identity provides direction, purpose and meaning for the brand (Aaker, 1996).

It is therefore a unique set of brand associations and interactions that the brand aspires to create or maintain. These associations reflect and project what the brand stands for and stem out from a fundamental promise to consumers from the organization members. Brand identity should then help establish a sustainable relationship between the brand and the consumer by generating a value proposition involving functional, material, emotional, or self-expressive and cognitive benefits (Aaker, 1996).

A Brand Identity articulates itself around a core and extended identity. The core identity – the DNA, timeless essence of the brand – is most likely to remain constant as the brand travels to new markets and products. The extended identity encompasses identity factors, strategically organized into cohesive and meaningful clusters that provide texture and completeness through associations and interactions (Aaker, 1996).

The core identity is about "the souls" of the brand, the fundamental beliefs and essential values that drive the brand, the competencies and image of the organization behind the brand and what it stands for. The extended identity is fundamentally adjusting the picture, adding details that help portray what the brand stands for and the important dimensions of the brand's marketing program that have become visible through associations and interactions (Aaker, 1996).

For instance, McDonald's which has a turnover of about 26 billion USD in some seventy-nine countries has one of the most successful global brands. The focus of the core identity has been on value offering (provides value, special offers), Food quality (consistently, good taste), service (fast and hassle free), cleanliness (both sides of the counter) and user (families and kids are focus but serve everyone). Their extended identity is made of convenience (McDonald's is the most convenient quick service restaurant), of product scope (Fast food with children entertainment), of corporate citizenship (Ronald McDonald charity), of

brand personality (Family oriented, all-American, genuine, cheerful, fun), of relationship (part of good times, family oriented), of a particular logo (golden Arches) and of character (Ronald Mc Donald, McDonald dolls and toys).

The World Heritage brand core identity which will be developed in the last chapters of this dissertation is certainly about the need to conserve and preserve for the next generations the outstanding and universal value of our world. The extended identity of the World Heritage brand is more about promoting World Heritage sites whether cultural or natural as bridges across time, cultures and generations. It is about connecting people with the diversity and plurality of meanings of our world while providing them with a unique and outstanding experience of humankind and nature.

However, creating a brand identity is more than finding out what customers say they want through focus groups or market research. It must also reflect the soul and vision of the brand, what it hopes to achieve (Aaker, 1996). Brand identity is often confused with brand image although quite different. While brand image is usually passive and looks to the past and present, brand identity should be active and look toward the future, reflecting the associations that are aspired for the brand. Developing a brand identity is indeed far more strategic and is bringing about change in present and past perceptions of the brand. Building a brand identity is therefore about developing a sustainable and competitive position for the brand.

Similarly, the World Heritage although not yet promoted as a brand, has a brand image which emerges from its past associations and perceptions in the mind of visitors of World Heritage sites as well as in their relational experiences with these World Heritage sites. This brand image is rather unclear and not consistent. The profusion of World Heritage sites without clear communication of their listing as World Heritage, and of their outstanding and universal value certainly contributed to a blurred brand image.

Furthermore, until recent years no efforts were actually made to have a balanced representation in terms of World Heritage sites listed between countries, regions, cultures, themes so that the World Heritage was very much associated with a western and European context, and not with the diversity and plurality of a post-modern world. This also generated a lack of credibility and authenticity over the years as the World Heritage's claim and promise of universality and outstanding value were somehow truncated. As mentioned by Evans (2001), World Heritage sites have become "must-see-sites", a bit like the Michelin restaurant guide award ratings.

The brand image of the World Heritage is more about some sort of label or standard from western cultures rather than about a worldwide recognition and understanding of the outstanding and universal value of our world.

The brand identity of the World Heritage is still yet to be developed and strategically communicated to ensure the promotion and sustainability of its objectives of conservation,

preservation and promotion of the world outstanding value across time and generations. The last chapters of this dissertation will propose a strategic approach and model. This approach will use the branding experience of UNICEF as an organization from the United Nations System such as UNESCO. Interestingly, UNICEF defined its brand identity as "*to be the passionate driving force that builds with children a better world in which every child's right to dignity, security and self-fulfillment is achieved*" (UNICEF, 1999). The World Heritage brand would also have to define its identity while having a clear understanding and measure of its brand equity as the brand identity is part of the brand overall equity; the total perception of a brand in the marketplace, driven mostly by its positioning and personality.

Basically, the brand equity is the total accumulated value or worth of a brand, the tangible and intangible assets that the brand contributes to its corporate parent, both financially and in terms of selling leverage. As defined by the Marketing Science Institute (Srivastana and Shoker, 1991), brand equity is "*the set of associations and behaviors on the part of the brand's customers, channel members, and Parent Corporation that permits the brand to earn greater volume or greater margins that it could without the brand name and that give the brand a strong, sustainable, and differentiated advantage over competitors*".

Fundamentally, branding is about endowing products and services with the power of brand equity. Therefore, the brand equity is built on consumers' subjective and intangible assessments of the brand, above and beyond its objectively perceived value. It is strategically essential in branding strategies to convince consumers that there are meaningful differences among brands in the product or service category so that brand equity could be created. The key to branding is that consumer must not think that all brands in its product category are the same.

Thus, establishing a high level of brand awareness and a positive brand image in consumer memory, in terms of strong, favorable, and unique brand associations, brings about the knowledge structures that will trigger consumer response. Increasing the familiarity of the brand through repeated interactions and strong associations with the relevant product category creates brand awareness. Therefore, brand awareness relates to consumers' ability to recall and recognize the brand, as reflected by their ability to identify the brand under different conditions through various associations. That is, the more a consumer experiences the brand by seeing it, hearing it, feeling it or thinking about it, the more likely it is that the brand will become strongly rooted in memory. Thus, anything that enables consumer to experience a brand name, symbol, logo, character, packaging, or slogan can potentially increase the familiarity and awareness of that brand element (Keller, 2003).

Positive brand identity and brand equity are created by marketing programs that orchestrate strong, favourable and unique associations and interactions with the brand in consumers' memory in relation to their beliefs about brand attributes and benefits; brand

attributes being those descriptive features that define a product, and brand benefits the personal value and meaning that consumers project on the product attributes. The strongest association is made through interaction and direct experience and also on the basis on word of mouth or other non-commercial sources of information. Fundamentally, favourable brand associations are created by convincing consumers that the brand possesses all relevant attributes and benefits that satisfy their needs and desires, whether material or psychological, such that they form positive overall brand judgments.

However, it is important that some of the strongly held brand associations are not only favourable, but also unique. Indeed, beliefs about unique brand attributes and benefits for brands that consumers value more positively than competitive brands lead to a greater likelihood the consumers choosing the former brands (Keller, 2003). Brand associations may or may not be shared with other competing brands, but the essence of brand positioning is that the brand has a sustainable competitive advantage or "unique selling proposition" that gives consumers a compelling reason why they should buy that particular brand (Aaker, 1991).

Brand Positioning and Brand Values

Philippe Kotler (2003) defines brand positioning as the act of designing the company's offer and image so that it occupies a distinct and valued space in the target customer's mind. Thus, positioning involves finding the particular space in the minds of targeted consumers so that they feel, think and relate to a product in the expected or desired way. Positioning is all about identifying the optimal benefit to the organization behind the brand (Keller, 2003). While brand image reflects current perceptions of a brand, brand position like brand identity is more aspirational, reflecting perceptions the brand strategists want to have associated with the brand (Aaker, 1996).

Brand positioning is then, the strategic genesis of the marketing mix. Freudians might call the positioning the ego of a brand and like the human ego, it is not created by the individual brand itself, but how others perceive it. A brand is positioned by consumers in their own lives, with their own feelings based on their own perceptions and interpretations of the brand, in relation to its comparative performances with other brands and other purchase alternatives that compete for their affections (Upshaw, 1995). Fundamentally, brand positioning is about what a brand stands for in the minds of consumers, relatively to its competition through similarities and differences, in terms of benefits and promises.

Positioning therefore involves identifying and establishing points of parity and points of difference to establish the unique brand identity and to create the relevant brand image. Brand positioning is done in relation to the target market and the nature of competition, and through brand associations and interactions with consumers reflecting and building the ideal points-of-

parity and points-of-difference. In other words, it is necessary to decide who the target consumer is, who the main competitors are, and how the brand is similar to these competitors and how the brand is different from these competitors.

The target market is the set of all actual and potential buyers who have sufficient interest in, income for and access to a product. It is basically made of all consumers with sufficient motivation, ability and opportunity to buy a product. The same definition of a target market is applicable to the World Heritage context. It has indeed to target potential visitors who have an interest in its values, and an understanding of the need to support and maintain the World Heritage sites. The World Heritage could not be targeting mass tourism as the sustainability and authenticity of the sites would be at stake and endangered.

It is difficult to envisage market in isolation of competition as they are often so closely related. Therefore a competitive analysis is essential and should consider the resources, capabilities, and likely intentions of various firms to choose markets where consumers can be profitably serviced. Similarly, in the World Heritage context, there are many types of competitors which aim to drive tourists in different approaches of heritage tourism using if need be contrived attractions to promote "a gaze-upon" tourism. These competitors do not promote the need for conservation, preservation of heritage sites, but rather promote a leisure based and entertaining heritage product.

A successful positioning requires defining the appropriate points-of-difference and points-of-parity associations for a brand (Keller, Heckler and Houston, 1998). The points-of-difference are attributes or benefits that consumers strongly associate with a brand, positively evaluate, and believe that they could not find the same extent with a competitive brand. It is similar to the notion of unique selling proposition (USP) a concept pioneered by Rosser Reeves and the Ted Bates advertising agency in the1950s. It translates nowadays into the concept of sustainable competitive advantage (SCA) which relates to the firm's ability to achieve an advantage in delivering superior value in the market place for a prolonged period of time. Consumer's actual brand choices often depend on the perceived uniqueness of brand associations. Creating strong, favorable and unique associations is essential in terms of competitive brand positioning (Keller, 2003).

Points-of-parity, on the other hand are those associations that are not necessarily unique to the brand, but may in fact be shared with other brands. They include product category points-of-parity, which are those associations that consumers view as being necessary to be legitimate, and credible offering within a certain product category. They also include competitive points-of-parity which are those associations designed to negate competitors' points-of-difference. In other words, achieving points-of-parity on particular attribute or benefit of the brand is about making customers feel that the brand does sufficiently

well on that particular attribute or benefit so that they do not consider it to be a negative or a problem (Keller, 2003).

Brand positioning is therefore about augmenting or reinforcing, and expressing an image which resonates with the targeted customers while differentiating the brand from competitors (Aaker, 1996). UNICEF defined its brand positioning very clearly in resonance with a specific group of people as being "*for people who want to make a lasting difference, UNICEF is the champion of rights for all the world's children with the authority, knowledge and resource to get things done*" (UNICEF, 1999).

The World Heritage sites still have to differentiate themselves from any other national or local heritage places or even contrived tourist places in the mind of visitors. The outstanding and universal value which listed them as World Heritage is often not communicated nor perceived clearly by visitors or potential visitors. The World Heritage brand does have yet a clear positioning in terms of targeted visitors. The preservation and conservation of World Heritage sites require a sustainable positioning which can not target massively all kinds of visitors. This wide positioning would indeed be detrimental to the sustainability of the World Heritage sites. The last chapters of this dissertation will propose some sustainable positioning strategies for the World Heritage.

The brand positioning process also includes the definition of brand values to capture the important dimensions of the brand meaning and what the brand represents in the mind of consumers. A clear definition of the concept of value has been advanced by Rokeach (1973): "*A value is an enduring belief that a specific mode of conduct or end-state of existence is personally or socially preferable to an opposite or converse mode of conduct or end-state of existence*". Values are an important part of a brand and ultimately shape its destiny and that of its staff. Red Cross and Red Crescent have three core values: humanity, unity and independence, and these drive its staff to go into disaster-stricken areas to help others.

People buy brands whose values concur with their values or enhance them. Potential employees are also attracted to organizations which have similar values to theirs, in other words the brand's values have an impact on both consumers and staff. As Rokeach explained, personal values are enduring and long lasting. A value is a belief, which cognitively enables a person to know the correct way to behave, thus a particular value generates a specific behaviour. Brand values should be unique and genuine, and not generic values of the product category within which the brand competes (Chernatony, 2001).

Therefore brand values clearly offer an opportunity for brand differentiation and attract people whose values match those being projected by their preferred brand. A brand with a clear set of values is particularly welcomed by targeted consumers, because it enables them to make symbolic, non-verbal statements about themselves and about their lives. For example, having an account with the Co-operative Bank, which has a policy of ethical banking,

enables the customer to portray something positive about them (Antonides and Van Raaij, 1998).

A distinction can also be made between core and peripheral values. A brand's core values are those values, which the brand will always uphold, regardless of environmental change, and which will always be a central characteristic of the brand. Core brand values are those set of abstract associations (attributes and benefits) that characterize the 5 or 10 most important aspects or dimensions of a brand. By contrast, peripheral values are secondary values which are less important to the brand and which can be adjusted according to environmental conditions. An example of a brand being true to its core values, but allowing its peripheral values to change, is the retailer Wal-Mart. Its core value of exceeding customer expectations has continually been emphasised, yet one of its peripheral values, welcoming customers, was relaxed as customer expectations changed, resulting in foregoing the customer greeters.

UNICEF articulated the definition of its core values in two different categories: rational values and emotional values. The rational values would be positioning UNICEF as principled, leading, credible, influential, innovative and getting things done. The emotional values would present UNICEF brand as passionate, courageous, inspirational, visionary, loving, caring, wired and engaging. Every brand value is used in the brand positioning process and as points of differentiation vis-à-vis other organizations.

The World Heritage brand values which are not yet clearly defined and communicated as part of brand development strategy would certainly include values such as authenticity, universality, sustainability, humanity, connectivity and people participation among others. The last chapters of this dissertation will propose possible brand values definition for the World Heritage brand and connect them to a brand positioning.

Brand Management

Brand Management involves the design and implementation of marketing programmes and activities to build, measure, and manage brand equity. Effective brand management requires proactive strategies designed to at least maintain, if not actually enhance, brand equity in the face of all external forces such as competitors strategies, government regulations, shift in consumer behaviors... It also requires taking long-term view of marketing decisions.

Brand equity must be actively managed over time by reinforcing the brand meaning, by maintaining a brand consistency and protecting sources of brand equity (Keller, 2003). Brand management therefore requires a long-term view of marketing decisions, which recognizes that any changes in the supporting marketing programme for a brand may, by

3.8i. Brand Model for UNICEF

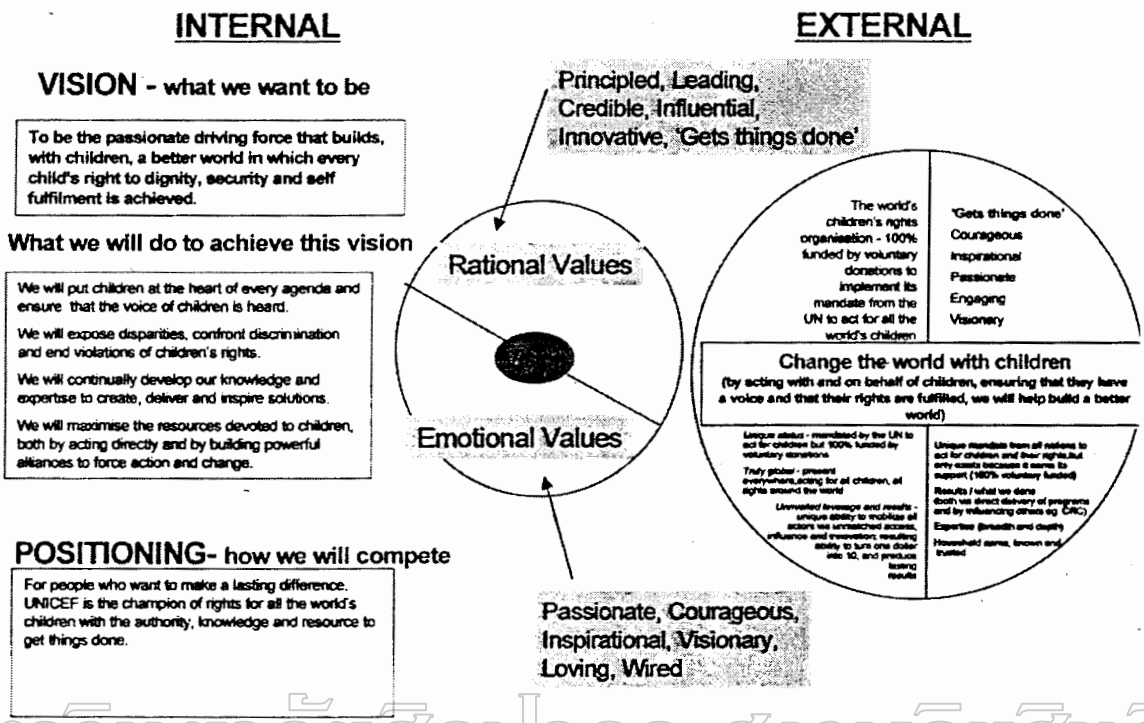

Fig. 49

For instance all supplies provided during emergencies or in support of current programmes are branded consistently following brand guidelines which had been developed to facilitate the branding process.

Similarly, all associations with the private sector particularly with large corporations or celebrities are carefully selected and monitored against the brand model and the brand positioning. Before partnering with a large corporation for fundraising or advocacy purposes, UNICEF established an online screening process of the brands to ensure that the brand values and activities of the concerned corporation match UNICEF brand values and related selective criteria. For instance, any corporation involved in child labor, landmines and weapons, breast-milk substitutes, alcohol, tobacco, polluting industries or labor abusive exploiting industries will not be considered for partnerships independently of the amount of financial support at stake. Being principled is one of the core values of the UNICEF Brand Model.

This association or partnership with the corporate sector can also serve a brand development strategy by focusing on corporations having an interesting and strategic outreach to targeted groups such as credit card companies, banks, advertising companies, telecommunication companies...or brand values which could enhance the brand values of

UNICEF brand model such as an insurance company for the caring dimension, a mobile phone company to target younger audiences and strengthen the wired and connected dimensions.

Furthermore, the selection of celebrities in the branding process is also carefully made to ensure that the personal values and profile of the celebrity match UNICEF values and brand positioning. Audrey Hepburn certainly did enhance the loving and caring dimensions of the UNICEF brand model while Nelson Mandela enhances the daring and rights based approaches. Roger Moore or Jacky Chang also contributed to promote to wider audiences the daring dimension of UNICEF as an organization through their actor's profile.

The World Heritage brand also has to develop strategically the associations which will promote its core values such as sustainability, authenticity and credibility and promote its outreach so that its objectives are understood by wider and relevant audiences. These strategic associations and brand development approaches will be developed in the last chapters of this dissertation.

However, building brand involves strategic and tactical imperatives that create significant organizational challenges. One of the basic imperative is obviously to have a brand identity in place to guide the development and coordination of the tactical programmes (Aaker, 1996). It is also imperative to create a mechanism for managing and implementing a common, coordinated brand strategy across the organization and in relation with its partners and customers. It is also essential that a common vision be shared and consistently enhanced within employees in support of the brand development strategies. Internal branding is indeed as strategic as external branding.

Saturn brand is a good example of an external branding articulated around its internal branding where the advertising campaigns are even featured by the employees themselves while indicating to their customers that "*it is not promotion, but it is a promise* ".

Chapter 4

Heritage Interpretation

Definition of the concept of Heritage

To understand the concept of World Heritage and its branding potential, it is essential to understand the various definitions and theories in relation to the concept of heritage. First, the notion of Heritage is by essence one particular expression of the past while there are many ways of understanding the past and its history. Three important theoretical approaches of historicism in the last century were dominant. The first approach relies neutrally on the facts of the past which trace precedents of events in the present while the second one deliberately emphasizes specific variable historical conditions and contexts through which all specific events must be interpreted.

The third approach denies all forms of interpretations or predications by historical necessity or the discovery of general laws of historical development where the possibility of learning from the past is challenged (Can-Seng, 2002).

Furthermore, historians are merely referring to the past from conceptual views of the present, a conceptual approach often known as "presentism", and they also claim that an objective history is only based on what actually took place; this is often summarized as "objectivism" (Can-Seng, 2002). This is often the approach which is in use within World Heritage sites where visitors are exposed to an objectified history as part of the conservation process. The general interpretation given to visitors of World Heritage sites is often unique while referring and nurturing an agreed upon history guarded by a government as a State Party of the World Heritage Convention.

In avoiding the dilemma of "objectivism" and "presentism" in history, Foucault's theoretical conception of history offers an alternative path which privileges contemporary conditions in the articulation of the past (Dean, 1994). Therefore, Foucault problematized in 1972 in the *Archaeology of knowledge*, the "*objective manner*" in which history is conveyed to us. He is convinced that we must go beyond the virtual self evidence of facts, and free the problems that they bring about. He recognizes that they are not the "*tranquil locus*" on the basis of which other questions concerning their structure, coherence, systematicity, or transformation may be raised, but that themselves generate a lot of questions. He also

claimed that a historical discourse should be treated "*as and when it occurs*" instead of being processed through a reference to origin or their truth-value claim (Foucault, 1972). He reminded us that a statement is an event which links and fits into a narrative; and that a message is often generated via carefully selected statements. Everything that is formulated in the discourse covers and silences; it also represses the not-said which can undermine what is said. Statements are therefore strategically constructed (Foucault, 1972). So, instead of treating history in an "objectivist" approach and in trying to avoid "presentist" interpretations, Foucault treated history as the outcome of strategic representations. For him, to recoup an actual past is difficult if not impossible. He even considered it a futile enterprise as he argued that any articulation of history has to be understood in the circumstances of presentation as it is with the use of history just part of strategic communication (Foucault, 1972).

This conception of history could be very instrumental in making the interpretation paradigm of World Heritage sites more meaningful and closer to a contemporary context of presentation and conservation. World Heritage sites could then be the hubs of our contemporary search for meaning and authenticity in a plural, globalized and complex world. The World Heritage brand would then embody a post-modern interpretation paradigm where the conservation would participate to the contemporary thinking process. World Heritage sites would then become a unique experience of self-fulfillment by connecting people beyond generations, time and geographies with a universal sense of humanity and nature.

This is also very much in line with an other approach of history called the dialogic perspective which emphasizes the role of processes, relations, and dynamics which are complementary, in contradiction, or in opposition. It relies more on a dynamic rather than a static pattern of thinking the world. So, instead of conceptualizing the world in cause-and-effect terms, a dialogic approach conceptualizes a phenomenon as an on-going and interrelated process of ideas, structures, agents and politics. Therefore, ideas and concepts have to be understood in connection to other ideas and concepts, and also within their contexts of use. In "dialogic historicism", neither the past nor the present dominates, but instead each animates the other (Can-Seng, 2002).

Basically, a dialogic interpretation of the history recognizes that any re-presentation of the past is an act in the present, and that history cannot be ended, while the Foulcaultian way is somehow to subsume the past under the present, privileging contemporary contexts and reality.

The World Heritage brand is also clearly of a dialogic nature if it is to connect people across generations, time and geographies while ensuring the conservation of World Heritage sites. World Heritage sites would then become the hubs for ideas and concepts in connection to other ideas and concepts. The participation of visitors and local people in the interpretation

paradigm of World Heritage sites would then create this animation between past and present making the experience of the World Heritage brand a self-fulfillment and unique experience.

Others like Sandywell (1998) claim that the multiple temporal contexts which are intimately intricate in the presentation of history are embedded in chronotopes. Through the concept of chronotopes, Sandywell asserts the primacy of space and time in the human experience; chronotopes literally meaning "time-space". She suggested that chronotopes encapsulate different forms of time, alterity, and meaning to constitute the imaginary matrix of social experience.

Van Loon similarly argued in 1997, using the televised reporting of the 1992 riots in Los Angeles, that the chronotopes articulate the dialogic structure of the utterance in real time-space. It is then about the world in the text and the world of the text. The gap between, "world-in-the-past" and "world-presenting-the-past" is rather seen dialogically not as a problem, but as an interplay between various temporal contexts.

World Heritage sites are somehow universally listed chronotopes which should in their interpretation paradigm encapsulate different forms of time, alterity, and meaning to constitute the imaginary matrix of a unique social experience for visitors of World Heritage sites. The histories and aesthetics are therefore dialogically constituted, in which objects from the past, present day circumstances and contexts, and modern technologies produce various stories together. The ancient sculpture and its modern presentation jointly offer a historically significant product (Can-Seng, 2002).

From this dialogic perspective, "presentism" is rather a part of history-telling aiming to understand the relationship between the past and the present, while the "dialogic historicism" refers to the multiple temporal contexts in the presentation of history recognizing the changing circumstances of society and culture, and that the past is continuously being reconstructed. The World Heritage brand should certainly be more featuring in its interpretation paradigm a dialogic historicism if it is to connect its visitors with multiple temporal contexts and the plurality of meanings in a global world.

This again would make World Heritage sites as the hubs or chronotopes of a very unique experience for visitors while promoting their conservation through self-fulfillment and the understanding and appreciation by visitors for these connections.

Beyond its historical expression of the past in the present, the concept of heritage also includes a sense of ownership and the consumption of heritage therefore requires a sense of permission (Graburn, 2001). Claude Marie Bazin (1995) has explored how the French concept of "patrimoine", usually translated as heritage in English, has in the last several decades shifted from the notion of personal property to the concept of national or even wider cultural dimension of heritage. First, it meant exclusively the cultural inheritance of a symbolic estate, a set of myths, rights, ownerships, stories and persona that can be called patrimony, at least in

a patrimonial society. Fundamentally, it is related to the acquisition throughout one's life of a property, material or non-material which is believed to be one's own right by descent or by expectation, but also by virtue of one's membership in a social group through birth or association.

Then, it extended its significance to the very common acquisition and use of the symbolic estates from nearby sources other than birthright and descent. Basically, that is from one nearby "other", or from the fusion of one familiar or family group to another, whose otherness is defined by the incest taboo or rules of exogamy. Heritage in this sense of material and symbolic became an important constitutive element of identity. As Graburn reminded us (2001), heritage does not only give a concrete sense of shared identity or belonging, but it also calls for responsibility for preservation, respect and safety, in the use or enhancement of each of these heritage-identity forms. The World Heritage brand brings this sense of ownership and identity to a global level by connecting people with a plurality of spaces, meanings and identities along with a universal and common sense of conservation and preservation.

The evolution of the meaning of heritage can also be understood through its political significance. According the Oxford English Dictionary, Heritage derives from the Old French "heritage", meaning property which revolves by right of inheritance in a social process combining linkages of hereditary successions. Tradition has then evolved as the action of transmitting or handing-down from one to another, beliefs of any kind, rules and customs. Heritage was then going through three different stages which started with the end of colonialism and the development of intensified contacts between cultures which brought an era of "hybridity".

Postcolonial nationalism with its demand for historic monuments and symbolic buildings saw newly established nations calling upon their heritage preservation as an expression of resistance against hegemonic forces of twentieth century modernity.

Today, independent nations compete on a globalized market economy, and claim beyond any consideration of sustainability their natural resources and vernacular built heritage to attract an ever increasing number of international investors and tourists for the sake of economic growth and capitalistic development (AlSayyad, 2001).

The contemporary use of Heritage as a legitimization of a nation or a political national system stems from the decolonization process itself. When the people of colonized societies rebelled against the colonial order, they had not much more to refer to in establishing their own sovereignty other than an extensive somehow manipulative evocation of their heritage as catalyst of the nation-building process. Traditions and structures, which for many of them, were actually no longer appreciated by the native people, were brought forward as the prime expressions of a new national identity.

However, during postcolonial time, heritage evolved by association as an expression of the new and not only of the legacy of the past, even when the new was not yet fully developed. As a result, the urban environment of many developing nations was rapidly "kitschized" or pseudo-modernized (AlSayyad, 2001). Singapore is very emblematic of this trend in building its post-colonial identity through a new housing programme even negating its past vernacular heritage. The new Singaporean heritage found its "raison d'être" in a multicultural society expressed in a unique and common habitat which would not include the traditional and distinctive cultural characteristics of the various ethnic groups in its development as seen as a factor of division and social disorder.

AlSayyad (2001) interestingly claims in this respect that continuity and historicity of identity will always be challenged by the immediacy and intensity of global cultural confrontations. Many nations now have to mediate between post-colonial and colonial legacies, between the traditional and the modern, but they must also deal with the fragmenting effects of globalization. The World Heritage brand should then be globally connecting sites with outstanding and universal significance beyond this politicization of heritage while promoting a strong sense of conservation and preservation which goes against any unsustainable use of heritage sites. It should therefore promote a common ownership of the plurality of meanings in harmony with a global world and nature as a unique experience of self-fulfilment for visitors of World Heritage sites.

Gidden (1990, 1991) suggests that globalization has also generated a new common world interdependence in which there are no different others. However, it is predictable that, since capitalism thrives on competitive edges and differentiation or specialization, the present era of economic universalism will only lead to a new order of divisions, in which culture will become the globally authoritative paradigm for explaining difference and naming and locating the "other" (AlSayyad, 2001).

The World Heritage brand has therefore an opportunity in using this new world interdependence in building a common sense of ownership of World Heritage sites while promoting their conservation and ensuring their sustainability. Beyond this predictable new order of divisions emerging from a global world, there is clearly an opportunity for the World Heritage brand to be the expression of the plurality of meanings and spaces that connect people and visitors with themselves through a unique and self-fulfilling experience.

The exercises of constructing national identity and manufacturing heritage for commercial consumption are particularly impacting on the relation between built form and culture. AlSayyad (2001) identified three types of different physical environments which are produced today with the planned intent of making these places for deliberate representation of cultural tradition. They are all planned to embody the clear vision of capturing, reconstructing, manufacturing and possibly inventing the social and built heritage.

This is also echoed by Hewison (1987) while quoting Roy Strong (1978) mentioning that our awareness of problems and troubles of changes within the structure of society, or through dissolution of old values and standards makes us find in heritage the representation of some kind of security, a point of reference, and a refuge. Heritage then becomes something visible and tangible which seems stable and unchanged. Our environmental heritage is then seen by Hewison as a deeply stabilizing and unifying element within our society.

Furthermore, the protection of the past could also be seen as a way to conceal the destruction of the present. There is an absolute distinction between authentic history (continuing and therefore dangerous) and heritage (past, dead, and safe). The latter, basically erases social and spatial inequalities, hides a shallow commercialism and consumerism, and contributes to the destruction of elements of buildings or artifacts supposedly being conserved.

Hewison (1987) therefore argues that if we really are interested in our history, then we may have to preserve it from conservationists and that heritage is "bogus history". The World Heritage brand should by essence be the link which connects past and present through the participation of visitors and local people in the interpretation paradigm of World Heritage sites which values conservation and preservation as nurturing the universal significance and authenticity of the plurality of meanings. Conservation then becomes an essential component of the interpretation paradigm which ensures the sustainability and authenticity of the connection between visitors and the plurality of meanings and spaces.

What is crucial to understand when defining the notion of heritage is that heritage history has been distorted, because of the predominant focus on visualization, on presenting visitors with a variety of artifacts, including buildings either genuine or manufactured. The heritage interpretation mostly considered the understanding and the presenting of the patterns of life that would have emerged around them as secondary or inexistent. This resulted in an essentially artifact based history, in which the extensive diversity and significances of social experiences are necessarily ignored or trivialised (Jordanova, 1989).

The World Heritage brand would have to differentiate itself from a fossilized heritage where interpretation would not connect visitors with the plurality of meanings across time and geographies. It has therefore been ignored for a long time that heritage is a contemporary mode of popular or non-specialists history. The writing or presentation of such histories is always and necessarily contentious. Thus, heritage is as stated by Brett (1996) part of the process of self-definition and self-fulfillment through historicized self-presentation, and unique experience.

The World Heritage brand should stand for this promise of a self-fulfilling experience in connecting people with themselves through the plurality of meanings and spaces. World Heritage would have to make heritage as a form of popular history where history like art and sport, is not a fixed entity but an activity. History would become the story we are constantly

telling ourselves to explain ourselves just how we come to be where we think we are (Brett, 1996).

World Heritage would then make world history, truly considered, as a verb, not an abstract noun: "We history". The participation of visitors in the interpretation process is therefore essential as history is not given, but made. The story that visitors would tell themselves through their experience of World Heritage sites would then become a form of self-definition and therefore, and unavoidably an ethical enterprise (Brett, 1996) which would connect visitors with values of universal and outstanding significance.

World Heritage can therefore also serve a didactic purpose in educating or fostering a sense of global nationhood (Handler, 1988) for consumption by both "insiders" and "outsiders", as well as simply providing some form of diversion or entertainment. One of the purpose of heritage, inasmuch as it is consciously planned, is to act as a bulwark against modernity, heritage has been a means of differentiating cultures in terms of both space and time, and as such stresses heterogeneity as opposed to homogeneity. The World Heritage brand stands for this diversity and plurality of meanings without opposing them but in connecting people across times, generations and geographies with the plurality of meanings and spaces. It gives to the notion of heritage an interactive mode between past and present which participates to modernity.

Heritage has also been a means of defining the individuality and authenticity of places, cultures and people and as such, is a socially constructed means of distinction. The World Heritage brand scales up this function of heritage by connecting people with sites and values of universal and outstanding significance.

However, heritage became to be viewed by some as an indicator of decline, most notably perhaps by Hewison (1989) and Wright (1985) who argues that the commoditization of history abstracts and redeploys it within the public realm where national heritage is the backward glance and a sense that is history is foreclosed. Similarly, Hewison considers the commoditization of culture as inherently negative and resulting in a depthless World Heritage.

The promise of the World Heritage has not materialized yet and it is not seen today as a unifying brand which would connect people with the plurality of spaces and meanings while promoting authenticity, sustainability and participation of local people and visitors of World Heritage sites in their interpretation paradigm.

Fundamentally, the important question is to understand whose heritage is being preserved, recovered or even invented (Staiff, 2003). This understanding is essential in defining the notion of heritage as it leads to the acceptance of the necessary diverse and plural significances of heritage. The World Heritage brand is by essence a plural translation of the notion of heritage by connecting people with their immediate heritage simultaneously with the heritage of others.

Therefore, heritage serves more than one function. It not only defines what should be seen as the embodiment of authenticity, both material and imagined, but it also creates the conditions in which symbolic value, having been identified, isolated and made tangible, can become the next commodity for sale on tourist market (Horne, 1992). The World Heritage brand incorporates the plurality of functions of heritage, but should also be viewing heritage not as a commodity for tourist but as a connecting experience for visitors with the plurality of meanings and spaces of our globalized world. Heritage then becomes an opportunity to connect and interact with our global world while ensuring a sustainable conservation of its universal, authentic and outstanding significance.

The whole idea of heritage can also play a crucial role in liberal-pluralistic societies when people learn the arts of conserving some of their own places and collecting some of their own things (Horne, 1992) and articulate their own significance of time. The World Heritage brand should resonate in the mind of visitors as an opportunity to relate to values and experiences which participate to their self-fulfillment and growth.

The "past" is indeed an invention of the present. Despite the inside stories told by the guides, we can never "know" the past. We can, however, examine relics of the past, speculate and provide stories (Horne, 1992). Therefore, heritage is by essence a notion based on pluralism, multiculturalism and humanity in its relation to time and space. The World Heritage brand is the ultimate representation of such a plurality, multiculturality and humanism through the promise of an interpretation paradigm which embodies all these dimensions. It is therefore essential to understand the notion of heritage interpretation in relation to this brand building strategy for the World Heritage.

Definition of Heritage Interpretation

The notion of Interpretation in the contexts of Heritage and Tourism has a wide range of meanings and definitions although very precise and specific to each particular context. Hence, many writers explain Interpretation from a variety of contexts: Cultural Heritage management, Eco-tourism, Museums and National Parks.

In the context of National Parks, Interpretation is an educational activity which aims to reveal meanings and relationships through the use of original objects, by first-hand experience, and by illustrative media, rather than simply to communicate factual information (Tilden, 1977). This definition of the notion of Interpretation is actually used by all authors as a basic definition of their understanding of Interpretation. For instance, Beck and Cable defined some years later Interpretation as an educational activity that aims to reveal meanings about cultural and natural resources. The World Heritage brand should also stand for an interpretation paradigm which educates through the revelation of the plurality of meanings and through a self-fulfilling relational experience of visitors with the World Heritage sites.

However, Interpretation does not only reveal a meaning or educate, but it also takes the visitor beyond the point of his aesthetic joy toward a realization of the natural forces that have joined to produce the beauty around him (Tilden 1977). Interpretation goes beyond the apparent to the real, beyond a part to a whole, beyond a truth to a more important truth (Tilden, 1977). Interpretation would then be considered as a revelation of a larger truth that lies behind any statement of any fact (Tilden, 1977). Therefore, Interpretation is not only information, but is a revelation based on information (Tilden, 1977). It gives the inspiration and spiritual meaning that lie behind what the visitor can with his senses perceive (Tilden, 1977). Similarly, the World Heritage brand would connect people across time, generations and geographies with "a larger truth" through the universal and outstanding significance of World Heritage sites.

Furthermore, Tilden strongly believed that Interpretation should relate what is being displayed or described to something within the personality or experience of the visitor (Tilden, 1977). He was convinced that Interpretation should aim to present a whole rather than a part and that it must address itself to the whole man rather than any phase. This specific understanding of Heritage Interpretation developed by Tilden in the context of his works within Natural Parks was then shared some years later by all the authors in their research about Interpretation. Perhaps, all authors though, did not fully endorse that the chief aim of Interpretation is not instruction, but provocation (Tilden, 1977).

The World Heritage brand should also be the promise through its interpretation paradigm of a genuine, enriching and provoking experience for visitors in their search of authenticity and identity across time and generations. Some years later, Staiff and Bushell place Interpretation in the central place of conservation within the context of National Parks. But more importantly, Interpretation is then seen as a consensus at a particular point in time and within particular cultural and institutional contexts (Staiff and Bushell, 2002). Interpretation is on-going, fluid, dynamic and never fixed (Pearce, 1994). Therefore Interpretation must take into account the diversity of meanings of landscape and should address the needs of multicultural, diasporic and post colonial societies (Staiff and Bushell, 2002). The World Heritage brand should not only reflect the diversity of meanings of World Heritage sites but also connect them in a universal "consensus" on values of outstanding significance and on the imperative need of a sustainable conservation.

These definitions and explanations of Interpretation within the context of National Parks reflect the attempts of definitions or explanations of Interpretation in the context of Ecotourism. Interpretation is also central to conservation (Hall and McArthur, 1998) and is seen as the process of stimulating and encouraging appreciation of our natural and cultural heritage and of communicating nature conservation ideals and practices (Queensland National Parks and Wildlife Service quoted by McArthur, 1998). Again, Interpretation is not seen as mere information. It goes beyond telling people the name of a plant species or the

age of a building. Interpretation is a co-ordinated, creative and inspiring form of learning. It provides a means of discovering the many complexities of the world and our role within it (McArthur, 1998).

It is also seen in the context of Ecotourism as the communication process which aims at helping people to discover the significance of things, places, people and events. It is also helping people change the way they perceive themselves and their world through a greater understanding of the world and themselves (McArthur, 1998). The World Heritage brand should also be the promise of a place where visitors discover themselves through the experience of the outstanding significance of our world.

McArthur also believes that Interpretation is about emotions and feelings and that Interpretation is more effective when it uses emotions to convey ideas and feelings as it leaves people moved, their assumptions challenged and their interest in learning stimulated. He also defines Interpretation through the need of tailoring its content and approach in relation to target markets. Interpretation is then seen as a strategic tool in revealing "this larger truth" to specific target groups. Similarly, the World Heritage brand would take into account this targeting of specific visitor's profile into its interpretation paradigm as it is an essential condition of its sustainability and conservation.

In the context of Cultural Heritage Management definitions and explanations of Interpretation all stem from the key definitions of Tilden. Interpretation is also seen as an educational activity, which aims to reveal meanings and relationships and which is the revelation of a larger truth. Actually, Hall and McArthur think that Heritage managers have tailored these definitions to their own needs (1998). They also think that "*Interpretation follows the same process as education, but Education is a more formalized form of interpretation*" (1998). Interpretation is also perceived as an added value to the visitor experience for which people are willing to pay for (Hall and MacArthur, 1998). Therefore, Interpretation can improve an experience by giving it context and meaning, and by making it more enjoyable (Hall and MacArthur, 1998).

Interpretation is also about giving to visitors a greater sense of place and of ownership of their heritage by raising awareness and promoting the understanding of the values and uses of heritage (Hall and MacArthur, 1998). This awareness raising process aims to influence or change visitors' behavior and seeks public involvement with various aspects of heritage and visitor management (Hall and MacArthur, 1998). The World Heritage brand is certainly about a universal sense of place and of ownership which connect people across generations, time and geographies by raising awareness and promoting the outstanding values and significance of World Heritage sites.

Hall and MacArthur also see in Interpretation a marketing tool helping Heritage managers to differentiate their tourism products, attract higher yield clientele, increase client

satisfaction, and contribute to an ethical position held by the operation (1998). They also consider that Interpretation can communicate ideas in a richer and more entertaining way than the media and other marketing techniques. Interpretation would then focus content and techniques on making people feel good. So that, it becomes a source of inspiration and energy (Hall and MacArthur, 1998)

Still in the context of Cultural Heritage, Staiff and Bushell emphasized that Interpretation is about meaning, more precisely about the generation of meanings and about the transmission of meanings (2003). They also think that all interpretation is a mediation between the object, text and performance being interpreted, and the audience. Therefore, there are levels of interpretation that spread out from the site or object and these levels eventually capture the visitor's world (Staiff and Bushell, 2003). And multiple interpretations are crucial if the subjective position of the visitor is to be respected (Hooper-Greenhill, 2000). Interpretation being multiple by essence, makes Heritage Interpretation as a rhetoric of cohesion that attempts to disguise the fact that culture is an assemblage of loose, often contradictory, often fragmentary, often disputed processes and productions (Staiff and Bushell, 2003).

Interpretation is also understood in the Cultural Heritage Management context as any form of presentation of factual material, and as an interpreted subjective meaning about a site or other heritage item, whether on-site or off-site. No presentation of material is objective or value free (Aplin, 2002). Interpretation has been the vision of a few reinforcing the dominant perception, the beliefs and stances of the hegemonic group (Aplin, 2002). It is therefore imperative to define Heritage Interpretation through the interpretation needs of various groups (Aplin, 2002).

Heritage Interpretation could then be used to bolster a sense of identity for minority groups or as a tool in promoting the use of Heritage to help build national, regional, and community identities (Aplin, 2002). Memorials for instance can be "heterotopic spaces" that not only order through difference, but through competing readings of that difference. It is the very ambivalence and uncertainty of these spaces that allows many voices to be expressed. Heritage landscapes are also contested spaces with many actors who all wish to project their ideas about society, their utopias, through its space (Hetherington, 1996).

Attention has therefore to be given to the role heritage landscapes play in the formation of collective identities articulated in cultural, religious or national terms (Edensor, 1998; Picard, 1997). For example, in the case of the Acropolis, a World Heritage site, Yalouri (2001) argues that the site not only reflects certain identities, but also serves to communicate and reproduce the values and meanings that underpin these identities. Therefore, exploring spatial diversity through a multi-vocal text emphasizes the struggle of certain marginalized stakeholder voices in the face of institutionalized and hegemonic value systems. Yalouri

claims that the desire to represent the site for both national and international tourism consumption creates a tension around selective presentation of memories and their mode of narrations. Together, with Edensor's analysis of the Taj Mahal (1998), Yalouri identifies the complex political web arising from a discourse of World Heritage attempting to intersecting local, national and global memories of place. This is clearly a challenge for the World Heritage brand as these tensions could marginalize some groups or local population and therefore remove an essential part of the interpretation paradigm. The plurality of meanings and the participation of local people in the interpretation process should be the essence of the World Heritage brand's interpretation paradigm.

In this light, landscapes as "Lieux de Memoire" (Nora, 1998) also conceptually emerge as a medium through which multiple histories are simultaneously remembered and forgotten (Mc Crone, 1998). The World Heritage brand would then be having some resonance with a universal memory made of the plurality of meanings, of values of outstanding significance, and also of the understanding of conservation needs as an interpretation modality.

Furthermore, Heritage Interpretation is also seen as an interactive management tool to explain reasons behind directions and prohibitions in relation to preservation and conservation objectives (Aplin, 2002). Some authors such as Light see in Interpretation a service that is provided to many visitors of heritage sites with the expectation to have learned something from their visit (1995); this service is a central component of modern heritage tourism. Interpretation is then an important element of the process by which some individual accumulate cultural capital at museums and heritage sites (Light, 1995).

Interpretation plays then, an important role to respond to individual leisure needs including the desire for understanding and competent manipulation of knowledge, and social needs, in particular the desire to accumulate cultural capital (Light, 1995). It is designed to communicate the significance of heritage places, in a manner appropriate to visitors engaged in leisure activities during their leisure time as informal education is at the heart of Interpretation (Light, 1995). The World Heritage brand should then stand for the promise of a unique and self-fulfilling experience for visitors of World Heritage sites. Its Interpretation paradigm would be about a unique and authentic connection opportunity with people, with the plurality of meanings, and with values of outstanding significance.

In the context of museum, interpretation is again understood within the same original patterns of Tilden. In museum, though, meaning as mentioned by Hooper-Greenhill is constructed through the collections of the museum. Objects in museums are staged to make visual statements and produce visual narratives (2000). Individual objects have shifting and ambiguous relationships to meaning; being themselves mute, their significance is open to interpretation (Hooper-Greenhill, 2000). The processes of interpretation in the context of

museum are also not singular, but multiple and they proceed from a range of starting points. Meaning is also produced by museum visitors for their own point of view, using whatever skills and knowledge they may have, according to the contingent demands of the moment and in response to the experience offered by the museum (Hooper-Greenhill, 2000). Interpretation lies in the relationships between the objects and other elements; it is combinatorial and relational (Hooper-Greenhill, 2000). The interpretive frameworks within which objects are seen and from which they are spoken about, act to place objects within contexts of discourse that shape meaning, and meanings may be fixed provisionally but are susceptible to being changed as the interpretive frameworks change (Hooper-Greenhill, 2000). Constructions of meaning in the museum are then, based on visual interpretive which are differentiated according to the social discourses within which these interpretations are placed. And these interpretive practices will vary according to cultural background, experience and knowledge (Hooper-Greenhill, 2000).

Falk and Dierking understand Interpretation as a total experience, from the moment the thought occurs to someone to go to a museum through the remembrance of the museum visit, days, weeks, and years later (1992). Interpretation is about the personal context, the social context and the physical context of the museum experience. Thompson also refers to Tilden (1994) in outlining 3 stages of interpretation in Museum experience: through interpretation, understanding; through understanding, appreciation; and through appreciation, protection. He also thinks that Interpretation compensates for the lack of prior knowledge of the visitor (1994).

Similarly, the World Heritage brand should be a promise of an interpretation about the personal context, the social context and the physical context of the World Heritage site; the promise of a total experience. The visitors of World Heritage sites would then anticipate through the branding process this unique experience from interpretation to protection through understanding and appreciation. The brand itself would then also be part of the visitor's experience.

Most of the authors agree in their attempts to define and explain Interpretation whether from the context of Natural Parks, Ecotourism, Cultural Heritage Management or Museum. Tilden seems to have pioneered the Interpretation field in his vision of Interpretation as an educational activity which aims to reveal meanings and relationships and which inspired many authors and Interpretation experts. Tilden also advocated that Interpretation is an Art which combines many Arts paving hereby the way of numerous explanations and definitions from different contexts of the notion of interpretation which all relate one way or another to his initial vision.

AlSayyad (2001) defined a typology of constructing the "Other" where the first type is based on the notion of using history to create a dream landscape, "a wizard of Oz" land where

all conflicts within a given culture are resolved, and where all cultural aspects are reduced to their basic representations. Authenticity here is desired and is achieved through the manipulation of images and experiences. In such a vision, all icons of culture such as architectural styles, building typologies and spatial configurations simply become the cultures that they are meant to represent (Disney Land, World's Fairs...).

The second type of environment that partakes of these processes of cultural objectification is that with a true claim to history, in the sense that is once was the site of an important historic event, but over time has become marginalized. A third type of environment that seeks to exploit cultural heritage, and in these places any claim to the reality of history is clearly secondary to its potential to generate commercial profit. It is in such places that loosening of ties between the signs of a culture and their referents may be most apparent. The objectives are quite simply, to optimize the desire of the producers to manufacture cultural heritage and the tourist to consume it (Las Vegas).

There will be differences between what visitors and locals "see" in a place and between the view points of old and new residents as people live in different worlds even though they share the same locality. There is no single community or quarter but a multiplicity of meanings within a community (Wright, 1985). The World Heritage brand should reflect the differences between what visitors and local see along with the multiplicity of meanings attached to the World Heritage sites so that the concept of "other" becomes a learning experience and a source of self-development.

The role of education has changed in a world where knowledge is not transmitted, but produced. Far from eradicating the need for education, however, new views of knowledge have rendered it more acute. Now, the task of education is about not just interpreting objects, but also deciphering interpretations. In other words, anticipating and negotiating between the meanings constructed by visitors or tourists and the meanings constructed by museums or heritage sites. This may be a rather unorthodox definition of education, but it is one that accounts for the existence and the legitimacy of multiple meanings (Roberts, 1997).

There is a shift from knowledge to knowledges, from science to narratives. There has also been a conscious shift toward the use of language like "learning", emphasizing the learner over the teacher, and "experience", emphasizing the open-endedness of the outcome and "meaning-making", emphasizing the act of interpretation (Orosz, 1990). The World Heritage brand is very much in line with this new learning mode based on one's experience through the interpretation process of the plurality of meanings.

One of the most significant developments in literary theory in recent years has been the expansion of a "text" to a signifying system, including non-literary genres such as fashion, architecture, and eve exhibits. This idea holds that, like languages entities such as these, function as systems of signs and thus bear messages that can be subject to interpretation and

critique (Roberts, 1990). Analysis of those messages itself becomes constructed meaning. In other words, the interpretation of a text is necessarily the product of an interpreter who crafts it. One of the key features of literary theory is its insistence on the productive nature of knowledge and meaning, be it by the text's original creator or by its consumers (readers, viewers and critics). Meaning therefore arises out of multiple contexts as there is more than one way of knowing.

By promoting interpretations that reflects visitor's worth and experiences, museum educators in particular, have brought the debate about canon into institutions and as advocates for visitors and their perspectives, they have served as the catalysts of a wider shift to a more context based definition of knowledge (Roberts, 1990). The World Heritage brand should stand for World Heritage sites acting as catalyst or hubs for the connections of visitors with others and themselves beyond generations and across cultures and geographies.

Popular histories, of course, need not always to be written, but they will always be narratives in epic, ballad, theatre, film and video; and now in the form of spectacle or display, and now again as exhibitions (Brett, 1996). "Truth" is strictly related to the problem of the coherence, the integration and the integrity of narrative wholes (Topolski, 1991). Topolski makes a useful classification of narrative types where the simplest of all is the Annal; this typically exists in the form of simple statements in chronological order. The second type is the Chronicle. This introduces rudimentary ideas of causality and a hierarchy is placed over the facts; some are more important than others this is significantly more coherent than the Annals, because the reality described includes not only events, but also relations between events such as TV documentaries. The third type is the Scholarly Narrative. Here the writer and reader can look both forward and backward along the direction of time, being both retrospective and prospective; facts are integrated into wholes in terms both of causality and inference, giving altogether higher level of coherence. Facts are presented in terms of the consequence that flow from them. The World Heritage brand should promise a narrative which connects people with the plurality of meanings, with authenticity and with the understanding and appreciation for heritage conservation.

However, heritage is also gradually effacing history, by substituting an image of the past for its reality (Hewison, 1989). As Weber (1949) stated all knowledge of cultural reality is always knowledge from particular points of view. Therefore, narratives of heritage and the domain that heritage including World Heritage covers are contested, because there is nothing intrinsically sacrosanct about any building, any part of nature, or any cultural practice. As social relations ebb and flow, as one class or pressure group takes ascendancy over another, new perception, new views on the past and what was the value in the past, also take over (Harrison, 2005).

And what is considered heritage is continually subject to interpretation and reinterpretation, claim and counter claim, and negotiation whether we are dealing with formal categorisation of heritage on the World Heritage List, or in any national hierarchies; the outcome will depend on the balance of status and power at any one time and on who among the numerous stakeholders has the loudest voice (Harrison, 2005).

Most of all, what is defined as heritage is linked to power: the power to impose a view of the world, especially of the past, on others. Perceptions of the past are closely linked to present hierarchies, and the voices of those at the top are often the most likely to prevail in the interpretive process (Harrison, 2005). As Lowenthal (1985, 1997) claims, portrayals of the past are important in the formation and reformation of the Present and even presenting the past necessarily involved its interpretation (Uzell, 1989). What is considered "heritage" is continually invented and reinvented (Hobsbawm and Ranger, 1983, 1997). The World Heritage brand should be able to transcend this power to impose a view through the plurality of meanings, the participation of local populations and visitors in the interpretive process and through a unique experience for visitors which would connect them with themselves through others and nature.

With careful historical interpretation, World Heritage sites could become arenas for the working out of these differences. However, places designated as relevant to the heritage of humankind, with the responsibility of acting as receptacles not just of national memory, but of world memory, still have particular challenges to surmount (Gilroy, 1993; Hall, 1990; Massey, 1993) as it is unknown to the vast majority of people. The branding of the World Heritage would certainly help in overcoming this challenge of building a world memory which would connect people with their past, present and future.

Interpretation and Heritage Management

The diversity of definitions of the interpretation of heritage should be reflected in the management of heritage as an expression of good governance. Managing heritage and a heritage site is about ensuring the authenticity, the sustainability and the integrity of this site so that all possible and potential interpretations of this heritage site participate in the conservation, preservation and promotion of its related heritage values particularly its meanings and significance.

By using Cohen's notion of cultural territories (1995), the natural and built environment can be seen imbued with cultural meanings and historical contexts and to reflect the values and behaviors of its creators, stewards and inhabitants. Managing such a territory in this sense means therefore to create an environment for the feelings of collective and individual ownership on the part of the local community. In some cases ownership in the legal sense is an issue, but it relates much more often to an emotional sense of connectedness with an area,

a set of buildings, or streetscape as spatial expressions of cultures (Cohen, 1995). And the boundaries of cultural territories may not be recognizable from the outside, but are learned and recognized from within. The management of such places within these boundaries is challenging as they continually shift in both aesthetic and functional terms.

It also implies to manage the conditions of the experience of the individual tourist and the act of temporarily leaving his or her own cultural territory to share with (or at least gaze upon) that of another (Cohen, 1995).

As a form of economic activity, nature-based tourism requires that nature be transformed into a commodity which can be readily sold to prospective tourists. This commoditization of nature and related tourism practices and discourses as construed within particular social, cultural and historical frameworks can also provide the boundaries within which we make sense of, and claim to understand and explain nature (Markwell, 2002).

Visitors also bring with them their own intellectual capacity and cultural knowledge including concepts like the "Noble Savage", the "Romantic view of nature", the Darwinian theory and the scientist's impulse to collect and classify, combined with a human fascination for the unusual and the exotic (Saunders, 1993). The theoretical position adopted here is therefore similar to that articulated by Norton (1996) who argues that the cultural meanings attached to nature are fluid and that popular culture plays an important role in helping to create and sustain the ways in which we understand and attach meaning to nature.

Similarly, Strinati (1995) claimed that nature could never be innocent as it exists as a reality which is interpreted by a society's culture. Individual tourists are actively participating in the construction of the meaning from their perspective and experiences.

Although this process of building meaning and significance largely takes place within culturally defined boundaries, the meaning of nature is fluid and influenced by a variety of forces and has at the same time lasting qualities. And the implicit focus of tourism's engagement with nature is based essentially on the consumption of nature, although admittedly much of this consumption is not material but symbolic.

Markwell (2002) reminds us that colonialism has been replaced by tourism as the global force that shapes the experience of the other and that the process of discovery and the subsequent social constructions of place and nature which occurred during colonial times. They are occurring again this time within the context of the globalized tourism market place which connects the tropical jungles with the so-called wild places of the world.

Many of these images were in fact constructed by colonial powers and remain prominent in promotional material today. The construction and representations of nature presented within tourism promotional material participate to the construction of myths which help to shape the tourist imagination (Selvyn, 1993, 1996) and in so doing, contribute to the

development of expectations about particular destinations and sites in relation to a particular interpretation mode.

However, beyond all these forces at work and beyond the dynamics of globalization, it all stems from the recognition of the role of local communities in the interpretation process. The values which local people attach to a heritage site are different from the values ascribed to it by art historians, archaeologists and government officials. These values, which have the potential to enhance the interpretation of the monuments, and in fact make them more relevant to domestic and international visitors, are often ignored. It is therefore, essential to search for interconnections between community values and internationally defined classical forms of cultural expressions in the management plan of a heritage site (Black and Wall, 2002).

Heritage interpretation is a creative process that must involve all stakeholders (Faggeter, 2003). Interpretation is the missing link in heritage and without stories places are just physical relics. Interpretation is about people and places. It is not about plaques, brochures and signs. Interpretation is about intergenerational and cultural changes (Beamer, 2003). Community participation is more important than the secret archaeological business. Archaeology should be event-based rather than scientific and technological base. Interpretation should be about connecting to the community (MacKay, 2003).

Many people involved in planning are now beginning to think that planning has more to do with managing change and people's interactions with an heritage site and their expectations than it does with planning formulation and implementation. Participatory planning and management proved to be far more successful and sustainable on the long term (Dobbing, 1988) as the involvement of local communities and visitors themselves in the process responds to the complexity of the "genesis" of heritage interpretation particularly for World Heritage sites.

In 1964, the Venice Charter encouraged Nations to conserve "*the urban and rural settings in which was found the evidence of a particular civilization*". As the values and motivations involved are largely imported, the mustering of support and involvement in such endeavors by small, local communities living in the vicinity of the sites are likely to entail more than the recognition of the site as historically significant. These local communities participate to the interpretation process and to the significance of the heritage site.

Furthermore, once there is a clear understanding by local people that historical features have the potential to generate financial advantages and local economic employment or development, they tend then to become more enthusiastic about preserving them (Cohen, 1978, Soemarvoto, 1992). Projects are therefore more successful when their Planning and Management rely on local control and equitable resource distribution through a large and meaningful public participation (Black and Wall, 2002).

There is therefore a need to attend the integration of community development into the management of these sites as a major factor contributing to the sustainability, integrity and authenticity of a heritage site particularly the World Heritage sites. Local involvement would then serve to foster a sense of co-ownership of the cultural or natural sites by the local community and there could be more of a sense of stewardship amongst residents (Black and Wall, 2002) and visitors through their interactions with the local community as part of their experience of these sites.

However, the greatest challenge to participation lies in persuading administrators and government officials that the local people have something to offer and have a role to play in the conservation, preservation and interpretation of the cultural and natural sites as there is a climate of distrust between the government and local communities (Ioannides, 1995). It is not yet recognized that involvement in the process itself serves to give the people some degree of control over their lives. And there is also a lack of will to seek out what aspects of culture are important to the local people.

Furthermore, the apparent indifference of local people is also due to a more or less single-minded interest at the national level in classical arts and a general lack of interest in more vernacular forms (Black and Wall, 2002). This opposition between the classical or vernacular forms of culture is also obvious in monumental heritage itself.

The vernacular elements of cultural expression which tend to have so much meaning and significance for local communities are not usually recognized as being particularly valuable by national governments.

For instance, the Indonesian and Thai governments appear to be more interested in culture which binds the communities together, so that government can expand its political centralization and direct control. The political goal of cultural homogeneity by creating and nurturing the myths and the idea of a social group or a nation through heritage is incongruent with the diverse expression of local traditions (Black and Wall, 2002). For example, at Ayutthaya, Historic City and World Heritage site in Thailand, local people have folk tales and ghost stories to tell about things that have happened at the ancient temple complexes but again, no one has asked them to tell their stories as it is not seen as necessary and useful in the building of this ideal and myth of a pure and eternal Thailand (Black and Wall, 2002). The hegemony of the official historical narratives is certainly a problem in ensuring the expression of local communities' interpretations of the sites (Peleggi, 1996) as well as raising their interest and involvement for the site and its conservation and preservation.

Although the motivation of UNESCO, through its Convention on the World Heritage, is to preserve examples of what is unique and special, and to protect them for the future generations, there is somehow an element of "freezing" the cultural and natural sites and with their contexts (Black and Wall, 2002). In the case of some of the most important restored

archaeological sites in Thailand such as the Old Capital of Sukhothai, a World Heritage site as well, the alterations imposed upon the site and its surroundings make it as a partially contrived attraction (Peleggi, 1996) which is expressed in a preventive and conservative management of the site. While it can be generally understood why the monuments need to be separated from the destructive effects of "progress", it is not necessary though to separate cultural and natural sites from the vitality of cultural expression of living peoples...the heritage, particularly the World Heritage, belongs to everyone but it does not mean that it has to have the same meaning to everyone.

It often leads to the "aseptisation" or even "dysnefication" of these sites defeating herewith the main purposes of the conservation and preservation of their integrity and authenticity for future generations. It is therefore vital to understand that culture, as builders of the monuments knew it, no longer exists. Black and Wall remind us (2002) that the very essence of culture is that it is ever in a state of flux and that the continuity lies in what human value along with their daily activities, their food, their feelings and their dreams.

The relationship between host and guest also participates in this continuous process.. The continuity of that relationship can be enhanced and enriched through the development and implementation of a constructive and creative management plan which incorporates the knowledge, skills, and desires of local people, along with their interpretations and visions. Such management plans often lead to more secure preservation and conservation, to a more authentic tourism experience and improved life opportunities for those living in the within the areas of the cultural and natural sites (Black and Wall, 2002).

The real issues here involve who manages heritage sites, and how these are in turn managed in relation to both demands of the tourist market and the goals of the national or municipal governments that control them (AlSayyad, 2001) and which interpretation mode and paradigm are being promoted. And as Robinson (2001) mentions cultures in terms of ethnic traditions, language, religious beliefs and community traditions, together with their symbolic expression in the form of cultural capital, are open to political manipulations by the State for both economic and nationalistic reasons.

The inability of the host community to control the tourism industry in political and economical terms may exacerbate the potential for resentment and conflict along cultural lines at both micro and macro-levels. There is nevertheless a trade-off position by which aspects of cultural intrusion and degrees of acculturation can be tolerated in the name of economic development and modernization (Robinson, 2001). This is echoed by Urry (1995) who pointed out that environments, places and people are being regularly made and remade as tourist objects, and by Ringer (1998) who noted that tourism is essentially about the creation and reconstruction of geographic landscapes as distinctive tourism destinations through manipulations of history and culture.

Maddern (2002) showed how Ellis Island, formerly an immigration station, became a powerful commemorative landscape. She claimed that it is essential to explore the politics of the past as it is presented at various cultural tourist attractions in understanding the relations of power that are constitutive of particular places and identities, these mnemonic places have been conceptualised in many different ways.

The "Lieux de Memoire" identified by Nora (Place of Memory) could also become the "Lieux de Pouvoir" (Places of Power). Similarly, Maddern (2002) claims that exploring the commoditization of Heritage is like understanding the often-contested nature of these discursive spaces and in unpacking the types of knowledge and national identities represented at particular communities of memory.

Bodnar (1995) also confirmed that people use history and memory to create mythical narratives with symbols and heroes that articulate a point of view in the present. They inevitably recall the past in ways that best serve their purpose in present time and they erase or revise facts and interpretations that they consider antithetical. Maddern (2002) in debating the role of power in the production of heritage landscapes highlighted some of the economic and socio-cultural processes through which historical knowledge becomes concretized at a hegemonic tourist site. He also deconstructed some of the discourses that are embedded in and circulated through the multicultural and fragmented spaces of the museum.

It echoes Mike Wallace's concern (1991) that history museums have been "constructed" by members of dominant classes, and have embodied interpretations that supported their sponsors' privileged positions. At Ellis Island Heritage site, immigrants are represented as self-sacrificing defenders of the Nation and its democratic ideals from dangerous and immoral outsiders, and as people who have successfully realized materialist dreams through ingenuity and entrepreneurship. Here, the stories of voluntary or forced immigrants whose experiences of poverty, abuse, rejection, exploitation of injustice do not fit into this ideal, are marginalized (Maddern, 2002).

As Kevin Hetherington (1996) suggested, memorials can be "heterotrophic space" that not only order through difference, but through competing readings of that difference. It is the very ambivalence and uncertainty of these spaces that allows many voices to be expressed. Heritage landscapes are also contested spaces, spaces with many actors who all wish to project their ideas about society, their utopias, through its space.

The construction of National Heritage, as Allcock (1995) has pointed out with reference to Croatia constitutes a deeply political and a-symmetrical contest for the control of symbolic resources which may be used to marginalize and exclude minorities, at the same time as they consolidate the legitimacy of more dominant groups. The attraction of the Hellenic Heritage for Greek nationalist narratives positioned the Greek Nation in the realm of the monumental and universal. By contrast, other ethnic groups and national movements were

consigned to the social times of the everyday, the mundane and the contingents (Herzfeld, 1991).

There is an on-going struggle with the search for balance between tourism, conservation, authenticity and economic development (Black and Wall, 2002). This balance is essential to the successful implementation of the Master plans and long term repercussions of the planning process on the communities living adjacent to the heritage sites. International organizations that seek to protect exceptional natural and cultural spaces take stewardship and therefore, in some sense, ownership of a heritage seriously, because it is now shared by humankind (Peleggi, 1996).

Governments are also anxious to preserve historical sites in order to gain economic benefits through the attraction of tourists. Most of the significant archaeological sites in the world that are major tourism destinations are now state-owned and operated by the public sector. Archaeology has been instrumental in structuring national ideology which uses ancient symbols to create a tourism industry (Evans-Pritchard, D, 1993). In Thailand and in Indonesia, it is also a way of promoting the symbolism of monuments as a source of political legitimacy and in the fostering of a national unity (Blacking, 1987).

As stated, by the ICOMOS charter, "*the natural and cultural heritage belongs to all people". We each therefore have a right and responsibility to understand, appreciate and conserve its universal values".* Conservation is of no use without transmitting to audiences the conservation principles of heritage being conserved. There is a need for an iconography of the work on site that includes narratives of preservation and conservation. Conservation should not be hidden behind the scene and be made visible to increase the public's knowledge about the crucial role conservation and preservation.

Public should not be just viewed as consumers or hunters of experiences and should rather be seen as frontline partners in the conservation and preservation of cultural and natural heritage. The guiding principle managing cultural heritage and tourism partnerships should be one where the cultural, historical and aesthetic meaning of objects and sites include conservation praxis as an integral part of the viewing, appreciation and consumption of cultural heritage. Conservation is part of the story of the object and site as it raises awareness and interest from tourists against predators of any kind and raises respect for the physical integrity.

We need a cultural mapping, using community based processes to build a sense of place where heritage is integrated into cultural development more generally and into the fabric of the community development. Interpretation should be a central tool and dynamic in this process (Winkworth, 2003). Heritage practitioners always regret that they cannot fully express the meaning of a place as there is somehow a sense of loss in the expression itself. The complexity must be retained irrespective of the views of visitors especially those not prepared to tackle complexity or because of the leisure and pleasure motives for visiting (Walker, 2003).

Branding then involves creating mental structures and helping visitors organize their knowledge from these experiences about the World Heritage site in a way that clarifies their expectations and understanding of the universal significance and universal value of the World Heritage site through a plural and multicultural interpretation paradigm which in the process provides value to the World Heritage brand. And branded experiences are critical to creating a bond with visitors as experiences are inherently personal, existing only in the mind of an individual who has been engaged on an emotional, physical, intellectual or even spiritual level (Pine,1998).

Brand management also involves the design and implementation of interpretation programs within the site embodying the universal significance and the outstanding value of the World Heritage concept. An effective brand management would then require proactive strategies designed to at least maintain, if not actually enhance, brand equity of the World Heritage brand in the face of all external forces such as competitors strategies of non World Heritage sites, amusement parks, contrived or staged heritage sites, cultural or natural sites with a unique and authoritative interpretation, sites with no participation of the visitors and local communities in the interpretation process.

The brand equity of the World Heritage brand is then reinforced by interpretative actions that consistently convey through associations and interactions, the meaning and importance of the plurality, diversity, and multi-culturality of the brand in the mind of visitors in terms of values for which the brand represents and stands for such as authenticity, integrity, sustainability, participation of local communities in the interpretive process, and which psychological needs it satisfies for the visitors.

Then, the use of the past in all its forms – memory, narratives, material objects or historical sites etc. - can be regarded as an active ingredient in this search and construction of identity and meaning and consequently, an active ingredient in the ways different people continuously create a sense of place and a sense of possible futures (Brett, 1996) through their experiences of the plural and multicultural interpretative paradigm of the World Heritage brand.

Furthermore, the management of the World Heritage brand should develop an interpretation paradigm which includes a post-modernism vision. The term itself presupposes a break with the past, and whereas modernity was characterized by differentiation, standardisation and hierarchical notions of taste and judgment, the condition of post-modernism is one where the characteristics are challenged or even inverted. This interpretation paradigm would no longer recognize norms, standards and hierarchies as correct or incorrect but different and diverse.

It should also acknowledge the importance of the ways in which space has the capacity to embody sets of values from which people derive significance and meaning and

connect World Heritage sites to their space through the interpretive process. For example, the concepts of "home" and "away" are linked to specific forms of place, attachment and indeed, the pursuit of tourist leisure. An effective brand management of the World Heritage brand would have to create the associations between the spaces through the interpretive process so that a fusion of these spaces characterizes the World Heritage brand.

And as the commoditization of place that re-values heritage and culture to attract investment as well as catering for tourist markets has led to what Zukin (1995) has termed a symbolic economy of space which she describes as the symbolic economy. She distinguishes two parallel production systems that are crucial to a city's material life: the production of space with its synergy of capital investment and cultural meanings, and the production of symbols which constructs both a currency of commercial exchange and a language of social identity. Zukin underlines the importance of the interrelationship between the material and the symbolic, between the urban form and the meanings that are derived from it. The World Heritage would then have to take this into account and creates a coherent spatial representation or narratives which generate or manipulate new patterns of consumption involving the leisure tourism nexus.

The symbolic system is therefore a system of communication embodied in material form which can define and express social positions and destructions (Bourdieu, 1984), but which would act as a clear brand positioning of the World Heritage through a clear definition of expectations for visitors. As Lefebvre (1991) noted such space acts as a collection of possibilities out of which new readings can be constructed. It brings about a horizon of meanings with a specific or indefinite multiplicity of meanings along with a shifting hierarchy in each one.

It is therefore important to note from all this that the processes of spatial commoditization have contributed to the development of a new aesthetic which somehow constitutes a break with the past. For instance, the medieval cathedrals of Europe have seen their significance changed from being places of reverence and worship, into places for the visual consumption of history by tourists. We have then to recognize that spaces cannot be reduced to one "code or discourse" with prescribed meanings even if this was intended. The values and meanings are therefore both created in and derived from spatial formations, and the ways in which symbolic systems are commoditised. This is an essential consideration for the Brand management of the World Heritage in relation to its interpretation paradigm by developing a universal sense of space beyond time and space itself.

Globalization implies increasing interconnectivity, increasing economic depth, and the extension of commodity relations into realms which were previously seen as free from such influences. Both Hogvelt (1997) and Robertson (1995) also called our attention on the development of shared phenomenal worlds, which refers to the ways in which a form of global

consciousness is emerging. In other words, people are more likely than before to conceptualize economic and social relations on a global scale, for example in relation to issues of social justice, human rights and environmental issues, all of which impinge in some ways on the current patterns of tourism supply demand.

One of the notable aspects of globalization has been the reassertion of the region or locality as the basis of social interaction and focus of both political and social identity. So while on the one hand we have the rise of global forms of economic ordering, on the other it would also appear that the local is also being reinforced, if not assuming a greater degree of prominence (Amin and Thrift, 1994; Meyer and Gershiere, 1999). The World Heritage sites already embody this global consciousness in their outstanding value and universal significance in relation to their preservation and conservation for future generations. The World Heritage brand management through its interpretive process is therefore about connecting spaces and people from the past, present and future.

As Lefebvre (1991) claims, the production of space is an ambitious and complex attempt to prevent the reduction of the conceptualization of space to either a container within which social activity occurs or a philosophical abstraction. Representations of space are the space of planners, urbanists, technocratic sub dividers and social engineers which tends towards a system of verbal and therefore intellectually worked out signs. In other words, representational spaces are those which are partly conceptual and which can provide the perspective for identity. In terms of World Heritage sites, this would encompass sets of universal values and meanings, the symbolic element that is derived from these experiences of visitors as much as the local communities.

Within the restrictions of the global economy, policies and marketing strategies as well as brand management strategies assign symbolic and aesthetic value to the material attributes of space with specific associations. In turn, these representations or narratives of people and places assume an exchange value as the objects of consumption beaming commodities to be traded and consumed in the same way as the material services and goods which are associated with them.

To analyze space means then, focusing on the material production of places, of sites, of economic and social practices as much as on symbols and representations they give rise to, and which are also derived from them (Lefebvre, 1991, 1996). The construction of space therefore involves the production and circulation of commodities, which are both material and symbolic (Baudrillard, 1988; Bourdieu, 1984; Harvey, 1989).

Brand management through its interpretation paradigm has to understand that the material order of space is also a social order that encapsulates both material and symbolic elements. It also has to consider that tourism is irreducibly associated with the production and consumption of tourist spaces and that it is a general process of commoditization mediated at

various spatial and institutional levels, from the global and trans-national, regional and local. Such processes need also to be considered as dynamic systems of change.

And as Boyle (2003) noted, it is clearer now that the dominant cultural force of the century ahead is not just global and virtual, but also a powerful interweaving of opposites, globalization and localization, virtual and real, with a driving mode constantly undermining what is packaged and drawing much of society along behind them. The brand management of the World Heritage has to reflect these important realities in its interpretation paradigm.

Furthermore, the roots of the new demand for authenticity lie in a sense that reality itself is up for sale. The effect of an increasingly virtual world where nothing is quite what it seems, has led to a growing clamour from what is genuine and human. As john Grant claims, the authenticity is now the universal benchmark against which all brands are now judged. The World Heritage sites are defined by essence from their authenticity. Therefore, the World Heritage brand management should emphasize this core dimension in its interpretation paradigm.

Brands are our new traditions, our values to live by and our ideals in a shapeless and shifting world. And as we have seen earlier a brand is a popular set of ideas that people live by. Mckercher and Du Cros (2002) proposed an approach from a tourism perspective, how to brand cultural heritage, how to commoditize it, how to sanitize it, how to standardize it, how to turn cultural heritage into a product for consumption, how to reduce its "otherness" by making it "familiar" and less "strange" and how to make cultural heritage sites marketable in terms of the realities of tourism as a commercial activity. Their tactics include mythologizing the asset, making it triumphant, a spectacle, a fantasy, and finally fun and entertaining.

However, Staiff (2004) challenged this approach which undermines and even eradicates all the complex issues at the heart of contemporary museology and heritage management. He argues that it is about community identity, objects shaped by the milieu of Post-colonial societies, of issues pertaining to multi-cultural custodianship of objects and narratives. Museums and heritage sites are then seen as places that represent and manufacture culture, tradition and memory, of aesthetics and education and conservation, and of community celebration (Staiff, 2004).

Mckercher and Du Cros have a very limitative understanding of the notion brand. They seem to view the branding process as a mere packaging without values and meanings beyond any consideration of authenticity and sustainability of heritage. Actually, the brand management of the World Heritage brand has by essence to reflect the complexity, the plurality and the multiculturality of our world, the interconnectiveness of spaces, of people beyond time along the need to preserve and conserve common cultural and natural spaces for Mankind. The World Heritage brand is fundamentally defined through the complexity and diversity of this specific heritage interpretation paradigm of World Heritage sites.

Chapter 5

Tourism

Definition of Tourism

It is actually difficult to define precisely the word "tourism" and "tourist" by extension, because these words mean different things to different people. The absence of a widely accepted definition of these terms is not unique to tourism, as most subjects for academic research and professional studies experience the same problem. Fundamentally, there are multiple definitions of these terms. This plurality actually reflects the complexity of tourism, and stems from the complexity and diversity of its history. The early forms of tourism were shaped by all sorts of people who traveled in large numbers as nomads, pilgrims and migrant workers, or in smaller numbers such as the traders, scholars, resort tourists, or simply adventurous.

Etymologically, the word "tour" comes from the Latin "tornare" and the Greek "tornos", with the meaning of a circle or a lathe; basically, the movement around a central point or axis. Therefore, "tour" meant for many centuries a trip that returned to its departure point. It also meant for at least some 500 years, as Leiper (2004) reminded us, "a circular trip for pleasure" which probably came from the French word "tour", meaning "tower". A thousand years ago, when French was the ruling language in England and in much of Western Europe, "going on a tour" meant going to the tower of a castle, walking around and looking out over the scene below, leisurely sightseeing (Leiper, 2004). And therefore, the one taking that journey could be called or defined as a "tourist".

An interesting and relevant historical meaning to our topic is the meaning which appears in England in the 18th century with the "Grand Tour of Europe" that educated young men from the aristocracy had to do to round up their studies before embarking on their career in politics, government or diplomacy (Leiper, 1979). This "grand tour" was then perceived as the ultimate completion of their educational and cultural background. According to Inskeep (1991), the first guide book ever done for this very specific kind of tourism was published by Thomas Nugent in 1778; it was then simply called "The Grand tour". The main purpose was then to provide education and training, not so much from the tutor's lessons, but through first hand experiences at classical sites and by mixing socially with members of upper-class societies in the leading cities of Europe such as Paris, Naples, Rome and Vienna (Leiper,

2004). "Grand tourism" was then fundamentally cultural tourism and did not really mean to be recreational and leisurely.

Far from the traveller of the 18th Century, today's tourist seems to imply a singularly negative image of a bargain hunter who travels in masse (Theobald, 2004). Similarly, Eliot (1974) describes the contemporary tourist as a target to be sought out for his cash while being despised for his ignorance of culture. Burkart and Medlick (1981) claim that there is a set of conceptual definitions that attempt to provide a theoretical framework in order to identify the essential characteristics of tourism, and of technical definitions that provide tourism information for statistical or legislative purpose.

An interesting conceptual definition for our topic is proposed by Jafary (1977) who states that "*tourism is a study of the man away from his usual habitat, of the industry which responds to his needs, and of the impacts that both he and the industry have on the socio-cultural, economic, and physical environments*". Similarly, the conceptual definition given by Mathieson and Wall (1982) is also interesting for our study as it considers tourism as "*the temporary movement of people to destinations outside their normal places of work and residence, the activities undertaken during their stay in those destinations, and the facilities created to cater to their needs*".

The technical definitions reflect the need for a more precise statistical definition of tourism. The World Tourism Organization recognizes a tourist as "*any person visiting a country other than that in which he has his usual place of residence, for any reason other than following an occupation remunerated from within the country visited*" (World Tourism Organization, 2006). This universally accepted definition distinguishes two different categories of visitors with tourists considered as visitors staying at least 24 hours in the country visited and whose purpose was for leisure, business, family, mission or meeting, and excursionists as temporary visitors staying less than 24 hours in the destination visited and not staying overnight.

Perhaps, a simple and useful definition of tourism could stem from the tourist itself. Przeclawski (1986) noted that tourism is, first of all, a form of human behavior. Leiper (2004) defines similarly tourism as the theories and practices for being a tourist. This involves traveling and visiting places for leisure-related purposes. Tourism then comprises the ideas and opinions people hold which shape their decisions about going on trips, about where to go (and where not to go) and what to do or not to do, about how to relate to other tourists, locals and service personnel. Tourism is then all the behavioral manifestations of those ideas.

Tourism is also a leisure activity which presupposes its opposite, namely regulated and organized work (Urry, 1990), and the growing free time has been a major social trend over the last 200 years which has considerably developed tourism. Increases in the real value of wages and later, the introduction of statutory holidays which eventually were also paid, meant that the

majority of the urban population in the industrialized countries had both the time and means to take holiday during the year.

Furthermore, tourism is part of the process of commoditization and consumption inherent in modern capitalism. With this perspective, tourism is therefore best conceptualized as a global process of commoditization and consumption involving flows of people, capital, images and cultures (Meethan, 2001). The issue of commoditization is related to the ways in which material culture, people and places become objectified for the purposes of the global market. Tourism is also irreducibly associated with the specificity of places, with the processes by which sights are demarcated and set apart from mundane becoming in effect the commodities to be sold in the global market place (Urry, 1995).

As Meethan (2001) claims that the concepts of alienation, the division between past and present or between the modern and the primitive influence considerably the ways in which many forms of tourism are perceived and analysed. The development of a specific tourist place, then, can be seen as a consequence of the differentiation inherent in modernity, of splitting the sphere of work from the sphere of leisure in conceptual, temporal and spatial terms (Meethan, 2001).

Tourism itself becomes a search for the authentic, the pre-modern and the primitive; a quest for heritage; a ritual response towards the alienation of modernity whose purpose is to reconstruct a cultural heritage or social identity (MacCannell, 1976). The tourist therefore, is an alienated modern in search of the wholeness and structure absent from our daily contemporary life (Selvyn, 1994). There is no unique type of tourist and hence, no single mode of tourist experience that may be described as universal (Cohen, 1995).

The notion of tourism as an escape from modernity, viewed as a dystopia and as a direct consequence of alienation, in turn brought about analyses which conceptualized tourism as sacred journey, a form of secular pilgrimage directed towards the utopian authentic and primitive (Graburn, 1989). This makes a binary distinction between the world of work, seen as everyday and profane, and the world of tourism, seen as different and sacred. It also reflects the attitude established in ancient times with pilgrimage where the authentic relics had a value, and raised interest and respect.

However, as Frow (1997) reminds us that the notion of tourism is a sacred quest even if it is subsumed under more secularized form. It is conceptually limiting, if not "banal". The tourist seeks to recover, or recreate that which has been lost in the processes of differentiation. Globalization and commoditization are bringing about a loss of identity between cultures which are becoming more homogenized. New forms of cultures that are "hybrids" or simply the result of the combination of diverse elements are emerging, because of the development of diasporic or transnational cultures.

Similarly, Williams and Shaw (1997) argue that there was a loss of distinctiveness between places, so that the resorts began to resemble each other in terms of what they offered. Another factor contributing to this loss is the increase in other forms of tourist attractions such as amusement and theme parks, historic properties, museum and urban heritage.

However, tourism also defines itself through the creation of specific forms of social space. With the downturn in industrial manufacturing across the developed economies which began in the 1970's with the development of a service based economy, together with the globalization of information technology, new forms of spatial organization began to emerge, which in turn gave rise to new form of tourist space. During the 1970's however, the move to suburbs by the middle classes began to reverse itself as people began to come back to inner city areas, which became known as gentrification. It is fundamentally a process of the middle class replacing the working class which results in increasing property values, an alteration in the built environment and the emergence of a new urban style of life (Savage and Warde, 1993).

This revaluation of urban life was fuelled by the emergence of the concept of heritage and urban conservation movements as well as by the rising of postmodernism in architecture and design. For example, Zukin (1998) notes how gentrification led to the development of spaces of urban consumption which in turn are inextricably linked to new patterns of leisure travel and culture. We see, therefore, new forms of spatial development linked in turn to new forms of consumption of tourism which involve a revaluation of urban space, and new forms of spatial differentiation. In particular, the increasing popularity of short off-season breaks, and the rise of new urban based forms of tourism have resulted in a distinct move away from the mass provision of domestic standard holidays into more fragmented and diversified markets of tourism.

Tourism is therefore to be understood not only through definitions, but through its diversity and complexity which is better apprehended within models of whole tourism systems. It usually identifies five elements such as tourists, traveler-generating regions, transit routes, tourist destination regions, tourism industries, which interact with one another and with various environments (Leiper, 2004).

Tourism and Heritage Interpretation

For the purpose of this research, we are particularly interested by tourism in relation to cultural and natural heritage with its related interpretations. Whereas the use of cultural heritage in tourism as the object of an economic activity is perhaps, more obvious, nature-based tourism also transforms nature into a commodity in order to be sold to prospective tourists. This commoditization process of nature and related tourism practices brings about an interpretation model as construed within specific social, cultural and historical references. It can set the limits within which we make sense of, and claim to understand and explain nature (Markwell, 2002).

Furthermore, travelers bring with them as we have seen earlier their own intellectual and cultural baggage including concepts like the "Noble Savage", the "Romantic view of nature", the Darwinian theory and the scientific impulse to collect and categorize, combined with a human fascination for the extraordinary and the exotic (Saunders, 1993), but also their brand culture and perceptions and recognition of brand values and brand equities for any brand related or associated to nature.

Norton (1996) similarly argues that the cultural meanings attached to nature are diverse and fluid. Popular culture plays an important role in helping to create and sustain the ways in which we understand and attach meaning to nature. Norton did not though refer to a brand culture which has been growing over the last 20 years in the mind of tourists as consumers within a frantic globalization process. Therefore, nature can never be innocent as it is a reality which is interpreted by a society's culture (Strinati, 1995), and individual tourists are actively involved in constructing meaning from their experiences, although this process of interpretation mostly takes place within culturally defined spaces. While the meaning of nature is fluid and influenced by a variety of forces, it has at the same time lasting qualities which are very much used in branding strategies particularly for the food, health and hygiene global brands.

Beyond this emerging branded world, tourism replaced colonialism as the global force that shapes the experience of the "other". And the process of discovery and the related interpretation and social constructions of place and nature which existed during colonial times are used again within the context of the global tourism market which connects in its promotional material the tropical jungles with the so-called wild places of the world (Markwell, 2002).

The interpretations and representations of nature presented within tourism promotional material promote myths which influence the tourist imagination (Selvyn, 1993, 1996), and contribute to the development of expectations about specific destinations and sites. Although, admittedly much of this consumption is not material, but symbolic, the tourism's engagement with nature is fundamentally about the consumption of nature (Markwell, 2002).

Furthermore, the tourists apprehend nature through the geographical, social, cultural, and historical experience of the urban (FitzSimmons, 1989), and experience therefore a nature which is basically differentiated and defined from their predominantly urban existence (Urry, 1990) and related interpretations. At the same time, nature has been domesticated through tourism with trekking, canoeing, visiting parks and beaches. It must then become a stage providing a unique experience which shapes in turn a distinctive brand (Markwell, 2002).

Therefore, tourism is a form of discourse which has its own interpretation conventions and models. Although, it is commonly associated with freedom of experience, it is like leisure itself, constrained by a range of social, cultural, economic, spatial and temporal forces (Dann, 1996). The tourist, rather than being emancipated by this experience is instead "guided" and controlled by an industry which is driven by the maximization of its profits and returns on its investments. And subsequently, Itineraries and schedules have to adhere to defined timetables, some sites, then, become "must-see sights" (Urry, 1990), and specific tourist routes rationalize the movement of tourists across space and through time to serve these ultimate corporate objectives. The focus is then on the "tourist gaze" arguing that there are systematic ways of "seeing" what we as tourists look at, and that these ways can be explained and described. They are consumed, because they supposedly generate pleasurable experiences.

Tourists' relationships arise from a movement of people, and their stay in various destinations. Their journey and stay are to, and in, sites which are outside the normal places of residence and work. A substantial proportion of the population of modern societies engages in such tourist practices.

Places are chosen to gaze upon, because there is an anticipation especially through daydreaming and fantasy of intense pleasures either on a different scale or involving different senses from those customarily encountered (Urry, 1990). The tourist gaze is directed to features of landscapes and townscapes which separate them off from everyday experience. The gaze is then constructed through signs, and tourism involves the collection of signs.

Similarly Murdoch (1998) argues that the cultures of travel attempt to construct spaces of prescriptions within which routes, sights and imaginative geographies are regularized, standardized and made predictable. Murdoch is although convinced that as travellers and tourists made their way through these "actor-networks", they often found themselves within spaces of negotiation that are fluid, individual and improvisational. For instance, the traditional Thailand was also produced for tourists as a space that is rationalized by routes and itineraries, and defined by specific sights and views, and codified in imaginative geographies projecting in its landscapes the ideal vision of a panoramic reality, timeless, authentic and real.

The tourist industry is then set-up to manipulate and manufacture the tourist experiences in particular ways privileging the visual over the other senses. However, the tourist experience can not only be limited to a series of artificially combined sights as it would fail to consider that tourists, as consumers, have choices in what they consume, or engage with the everyday practice of others, and not always, because these practices differ from the tourist's understanding of the "everyday".

Tourism is fundamentally an industry of consumption, and the consumption not of individual goods, but of a more complex commodity made of experiences. The purchase of food, clothing or car is always about branding one's self in association with other brand' worlds and their corresponding brand values and brand equities. Consuming is then about the purchase of a certain taste, lifestyle or experience. One buys not just for the thing but also what it signifies and means. With tourism, this branded consumption of meanings is very similar and even brought to the extreme as the tourist industry does not sell individual objects of signification, but entire worlds of experiences and meanings (Mitchell, 2001).

However, it has been done mostly with an approach of branding hedonism and self-centred pleasures. Branding tourism goes beyond selling products or creating anticipations, it should also be promoting core values such as sustainability and authenticity. The World Heritage brand is very much a brand for tourists and their search of meaning and self-development, but a brand which stands also for a sustainable approach to tourism where conservation is part of the interpretation paradigm of World Heritage sites. The World Heritage brand is also the promise of the participation of local people in the interpretation and branding process as it allows visitors to connect with a diversity of meanings and understand the need for conservation and sustainability of World Heritage sites.

It is also through selective images and texts of the tourism promotional material such as guide books and postcards fuelled by a particular interpretation model that the tourist expectations are shaped to influence their actions, consumptions, behaviors and experiences (Marsh, 1985, Dilley, 1986, Dann, 1993, 1996). Unfortunately, the World Heritage brand is not consistently promoted and branded through these promotional material and this lack of promotion or even misuse of the logo of the World Heritage have resulted in a poor understanding of the World Heritage values and objectives. There is clearly a need for global branding guidelines which could help World Heritage sites stakeholders in promoting the World Heritage brand and its related values particularly the importance of sustainability, of local people participation, and conservation. The last chapter will attempt to provide some branding guidelines emanating from the definition of a brand model for the World Heritage.

As the contemporary tourist is, much less willing or able to spend relatively long and undefined periods of time at particular natural or cultural sites as in the early days of tourism, these sites have been transformed into "sights" by the global tourism industry. Contemporary

imagery used by the tourism industry is however connected to these earlier days of tourism with colonial discourses which emphasized European superiority and claims of cultural sophistication. Markwell (2002) actually claims that the tour brochure usually conveys a clear notion that the lands explored by tourists are largely empty, echoing the colonial myth that lands occupied by tribal peoples could be conveniently considered unoccupied.

However, this generates standardized expectations with standardized products and services marketed worldwide without any conservation concern which subsequently calls for an increasing demand for built environments that promise unique cultural experiences. Many nations are therefore resorting to some opportunistic heritage preservation, to the invention of tradition and to the rewriting of history and to the development of heritage interpretations models as forms of self-definition (AlSayyad, 2001).

Similarly, Urry (1990) suggests that this gaze and transformation of sites into sights are now a core feature of an industry in which the contemporary tourist, like the old world pilgrim, seeks authenticity and truth in times and places from his own everyday life. The gaze, then, transforms the material reality of the built environment into a cultural imaginary (AlSayyad, 2001). Therefore, all tourists embody a quest for authenticity and this quest is a modern version of the universal human concern for the sacred (McCannell, 1976). The tourist is a kind of contemporary pilgrim, seeking authenticity in other "times" and other "places" away from everyday life and routine. McCannell maintains that there is normally a process of sacralisation which transforms a particular natural or cultural artefact into a sacred object of the tourist ritual.

Turner's analysis of pilgrims (1973, 1974) demonstrated that important rites of passage are involved in the movement from one stage to another. He outlines three respective stages beginning first by the social and spatial separation from the normal place of residence and conventional ties. The second stage is characterized by the "liminality" where the individual is in an "anti-structure", out of time and place; conventional ties being suspended and where an intensive bonding "communitas" is experienced with a direct experience of the sacred. The third stage is marked by the reintegration of the individual in the previous social group, usually at a higher social status elevated by this unique experience of authenticity.

Gottlieb (1982) argues that tourist actually look for the inversion of the everyday life and an escape of the related routine, rather than a search for authenticity. Tourists want to experience distinct pleasures and meanings in contrast with their everyday life. This is an essential dimension in their approach and interpretation of heritage. For instance, there is seeing a unique object such as the Eiffel tower. Most people living in the west would hope to see some of these objects during their lifetime as they imply a kind of pilgrimage to a sacred centre. There is the seeing of particular signs such as the typical English village; this mode of gazing shows how the tourists are in a way "semioticians", reading the landscape for signifiers

of certain pre-established notions or signs derived from various discourses of travel and tourism (Culler, 1981). The branding process is very much about the production of meanings in resonance with the visitors' minds and senses which help tourists in recognizing and understanding values. There is also the seeing of unfamiliar aspects of what had previously been thought as familiar particularly with museums on the lives of ordinary people. There is seeing the ordinary aspects of social life being undertaken by people in unusual contexts, and the carrying out of familiar activities within an unusual visual environment. Finally, there is the seeing of particular signs which indicate that a certain other object is indeed extraordinary, even though it does not seem to be so. The attraction is not the object itself, but the sign referring to it that marks it out as distinctive, thus the marker becomes distinctive sight (Culler, 1981). The World Heritage brand should translate in its interpretation paradigm the diversity of modes of seeing so that visitors would develop an interest for its brand values.

However, the current powerful global marketing value of cultural difference and extraordinary experiences generates considerable misrepresentation where native traditions are disabled and rearranged in order to create a marketable semblance of authenticity and where the representation has become the thing itself (AlSayyad, 2001). The World Heritage brand should then stand in reaction to these opportunistic misrepresentations and promote authenticity, participation and conservation as core values of its promise to visitors.

If tradition is about the absence of choice as Yi-Fu Tuan (1989) argues, heritage then, is the deliberate embrace of a single choice as a reactive definition of the past in relationship to the future. It is clear though, from the work of Hobsbawm and Ranger (1983) that all traditions are invented and that most nations are imagined communities (Anderson, 1983, Peleggi, 1996). Heritage with its related interpretation is therefore a social production, and all traditions are also socially manufactured and can be consumed on the global tourism market.

Many countries are now actually inventing or recreating their own heritage, and using tourist revenues to do so. They realized that they might actually need such places with their related interpretations to compete in the new global tourism market as competitive advantages, with its emphasis on heritage sites. The challenge is therefore to recreate new commercial areas that look ethnic enough to recapture some of the city's lost cultural heritage (AlSayyad, 2001).

Graburn (2001), using a subjective personal approach, constructs a Foulcautian "genealogy of heritage" showing that heritage is constructed, just as all environments are culturally constructed, and suggests that heritage can be manufactured. He also considers traditions as a product of modernity, which itself sums-up an evolution and a history. It is the product of a lifetime of experiences and changes by individuals; it is basically made of a never ending sequence of changes from one generation to the other.

Though Oliver (2001) examining the ways in which buildings have been removed from their original sites and repositioned to new ones, claims that the late twentieth century is driven by a desire to seek out and consume authentic places. AlSayyad (2001) also argues that in today's world, where the global heritage industry reigns supreme, the notion of authenticity has sometimes been cut completely lose from its moorings. The image of the thing may now actually replace the thing itself and the reality ceased to be relevant when the image became the principal frame of reference. The World Heritage brand could then differentiate itself from these staged or manufactured heritages for opportunistic marketing, and stand for an authentic visitor's experience of the diversity of meanings across time, generations, geographies which would connect people among themselves in harmony with nature.

However, as with any economic development, tourism brings about social, cultural and environmental change whether good or bad. And the development and related consumption that accompany world tourism also contribute to physical changes in the natural and created environment as well as in the cultural meanings attached to space and places (Robinson, 2001). Tourism itself participates to the construction of meanings and heritage interpretations.

As Rojek and Urry (1997) have emphasized, all cultures get "remade" as a result of flows of people, objects, images across national borders, whether these involve colonialism, work-based migration, individual travel or mass tourism. The World Heritage brand should include in its interpretation paradigm this sense of evolutionary heritage through the diversity of meanings and through the participation of visitors and local population in the interpretation process. World Heritage sites would then become contemporary hubs which would connect people and their evolution.

The conferring of "heritage" status implies an inherent hierarchy and selectivity which promotes certain value systems over others and which could through the commoditization and the marketing processes of such symbols contribute to the "disheritance" of non-participatory, marginalized groups (Robinson, 2001).

The tourists themselves have a very limited influence on heritage planning and management including issues such as ownership or heritage interpretation. It is the tourism industry that has the capacity and the power to bring about the major changes to the physical and cultural environments, as negative environmental impacts can be reduced through anticipatory planning and effective management within a sustainable development focus.

Furthermore, the appropriation of natural and cultural resources by the tourism industry in actual and symbolic terms can generate tensions and conflicts between tourists and hosts, as they have different claims to resources, but also different interpretations of their use and meaning (Robinson, 2001). The tourism industry also creates expectations, and

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generates a unique heritage interpretation through a selective packaging of cultures and sites, which emanates from its own value system based on profit and return on investment.

The outcome is that tourists develop contrived expectations of the cultures they visit, which are frequently idealized and often inauthentic (Robinson, 2001). The challenge is, then, to find or create attractive, exciting, and largely value-neutral spaces that the tourists will want to buy into (Poon, 1993). Similarly, Boorstin (1964) argues that contemporary American cannot experience "reality" directly, but thrive on "pseudo-events" in isolation from the host environment and the local people. The mass tourist travels in guided groups and finds pleasures in inauthentic contrived attractions, gullibly enjoying the "pseudo-events" and disregarding the real world outside.

Krippendorf (1987) had also criticized the notion of separate tourist communities with its contrived expectations and unique heritage interpretation as being economically disadvantageous to the hosts, culturally limiting for both hosts and holiday makers, and effectively a sterile experience and both end in competing for space and facilities. As Edwards (1997) further noted, tourism marketing often results in an increase of land prices and rents, a decrease of security of tenure, an heavy competition for business space, a loss of indigenous control, and in the dominance of aesthetics over function. Tourism would then have often contributed to changing the social patterns of the host community, and the migration of populations, together with social and economic problems out of town.

Because tourism is largely measured by its economic success rather than its cultural integrity or authenticity, the issue of ownership has not yet commonly been recognized as a crucial issue of sustainability by tourism planning and management (Robinson, 2001). However, it is becoming a growing concern, and Staiff (2003) urges tourism to contribute to the quality of life of indigenous people and local communities, provide incentives to support traditional customs and values, protect and respect sacred sites, and acknowledge traditional knowledge, as part of its planning and management objectives for the sake of its own sustainability and survival. The World Heritage brand is clearly the promise of a tourism which values local populations and their participation in the interpretation process with their culture, beliefs and traditions. However, there is still a long way to go to make this a global reality and an accepted heritage management practice essential for the conservation and sustainability of the World Heritage sites.

Bourdieu's view (1984) that identity is increasingly shaped through consumptive behaviors and "lifestyle" may be helpful in explaining the role of tourists. But the cultural identity of the host community goes beyond a group of individuals seeking to identify themselves through distinctive consumption patterns and behaviors. The host cultural identity is often closely related to the natural and built environments and is partly reflected by its fixedness.

Furthermore, the contrast with the "on-the-move" culture of tourism and the strategic planning of the tourism industry which nourishes itself from people staying in one place for very long time is exacerbating these tensions with the host communities.

The tourist encounter between tourists as the new "conquistadores" seeking to experience and consume the cultural identity of others is reflecting the fundamental inequality of world tourism. And as Robinson (2001) argues destinations, whether purposely designed for the tourist or, more commonly shared by the tourist, are not value neutral stages for tourism encounters; they are dynamic culturally conceived theatres of complex interaction.

New cultural territories with a focus upon tourism and leisure, create further potentials for conflict between local communities, tourists and the tourism industry, and can expose power differentials within and between host community groups. The World Heritage brand should therefore clearly stand in reaction to these tensions through the participation of local population and visitors jointly in the interpretation process so that the visitors' experience of a World Heritage site becomes and encounter with the "other" and an opportunity for self-fulfillment and self development.

In supply terms, through airlines routes and well developed global distribution and booking systems, tourism involves a global interconnectedness which participates to the process of the "Coca-colonization", and encourages aesthetic and cultural homogeneity (Hannertz, 1992). The more homogeneous the world becomes through the promotion of tourism as a global product, the greater the need for a renewed cultural differentiation (Naisbitt, Aberdene, 1990). Tourists are therefore exposed to an increasing choice of cultural differences to choose from – some authentic and some staged. However, the heritage interpretation dimension is often unilateral and shaped by a unique discourse reflecting the interest of the industry with the promotion of the "myths packaging" which was sold with the products. The World Heritage brand should stand for the promise of an experience of the diversity of meanings in its interpretation paradigm to differentiate itself from other heritage sites.

Similarly, Tim Winter (2002) explored competing temporalities of heritage at the World Heritage site of Angkor, Cambodia, in order to challenge a prevailing discourse of cultural tourism which overlooks many of the ways in which the site is currently interpreted, valued and experienced by tourists both national and international. As Angkor rapidly emerged as a major international tourist destination, through its world heritage recognition, the dominant heritage interpretation vision model is centred on a time of the monumental creation. Such a vision, promoted through cultural tourism, as both rhetoric and policy, ignores and marginalizes other temporalities of heritage currently existing.

Domestic tourists project on Angkor's on-going restoration and increasing popularity the image of a nation revival while international tourists are driven to look for an imagined

presence of the "lost time" of earlier traveler encounter. However, because Cambodian tourists provide marginal income compared to international visitors there is little acknowledgement within the cultural tourism planning and management. For instance, Cambodian New Year celebrations which take place on the site reflect a "living heritage", are negated by the conservation concern for the material culture of eight centuries ago. Therefore, tourism needs to be viewed not just as a type of management or business, but also as a cultural form and evolutionary process which can be enriched by national projections of culture and society.

The World Heritage brand should be about a vision of heritage where the living heritage contributes to the diversity of meanings in the interpretation process of World Heritage sites while ensuring its sustainability and authenticity. People will value and preserve heritage sites they can identify themselves with. It is therefore essential for World Heritage sites to acknowledge these dimensions in their interpretation paradigm.

Nations that wanted to acknowledge their integration and access in the modern world with a particular vision of their future needed to produce a common past for all groups in building a coherent nation (Hobsbawm and Ranger, 1983). The World Heritage sites' listing is made through these very same nations as State Parties to a Convention. It often uses the World Heritage listing as an international recognition of the meaning they attached to the heritage site. The World Heritage brand should then embrace these national meanings in a pluralistic and holistic interpretation paradigm if it is to promote conservation, sustainability and authenticity while connecting people.

And, to produce a past a State has to produce a place which connects history, monuments with some strong characteristics of one's social identity. Mitchell (2001) also claims that the otherness plays a fundamental role as the nation is made out of encounters in which this self is to be made by making the other. The nation is therefore made out of projects in which the identity of the communities as modern nation can only be built on the distinction of between what belongs to the nation from what does not, and by performing this distinction in particular encounters and in developing tourism experiences.

These experiences are not only created out of the available archaeological sites, but also by mobilizing the contemporary society to appear as a reflection and extension of the past. The mass production of experiences within a nationalistic vision of a heritage interpretation divides the world into consumers of tradition, and the dead and depopulated heritage they are to consume (Mitchell, 2001). It is therefore important for the World Heritage brand to connect these contemporary and evolutionary meanings in its interpretation paradigm. In a post-modern and global world the interconnectiveness and interactivity are actively contributing to the formation of meanings and to the interpretation process of heritage sites beyond time and geographies.

And as Upton claims (2001) there would be no market if the contemplation of the indigenous and the traditional were not central to the experience of the modern. The adjectives traditional and modern are themselves artifacts of modernity: tradition did not exist until it was imagined as the defining complement of modernity. Tradition was sorted out from modernity in interaction. Tradition is also the evidence of the continuity of identity through time, while in turn heritage is the visible product of tradition, conserved, preserved and marketable. Consequently, Upton suggests that it might be more fruitful to understand heritage, tradition and modernity as strategic political positions expressed in particular interpretations, rather than as fixed or essential qualities of sites or cultural practices. Individuals routinely shift from one cultural position to another, adopt one identity or another, as occasion demands.

Heritage sites likewise seem to take on varying interpretations according to the angle from which one views and experiences. Some acknowledge this diversity through the concept of "hybridity", a term that retains the essentialist qualities of the original dichotomies. And a hybrid is a third thing created by the amalgamation of two fixed, because genetically coded entities (Upton, 2001). The World Heritage brand should in a post-modern world stand for these hybrid meanings which are brought about through interconnectiveness and interaction in the interpretation paradigm of the World Heritage sites.

Furthermore, this hybridity seems to be complicated through a never-ending search for the materialisation of a dream made of individual's expectations and anticipations. As Campbell (1987) argues that dream with its expectations and anticipations is core to modern consumerism as individuals do not seek satisfaction from products, from their actual selection, purchase and use; their satisfaction rather comes from the anticipated and imaginative pleasure before and during the search. Therefore, people's basic motivation for consumption is not therefore simply materialistic. It is rather that they seek to experience "in reality" the pleasurable dramas they have already experienced in their imagination.

However, since "reality" can never provide the absolute fulfilment of the consumer's dreams, each purchase leads to "disillusionment" and to "longing" for ever new products. There is "a dialectic of novelty and instability" at the heart of contemporary consumerism (Campbell, 1987). The World Heritage brand could then materialize for visitors their expectations and anticipations for a diversity of meanings, a promise of self-fulfilling and authentic experiences, of a unique encounter of the "Other" across time, generations and geographies. The dialectic of novelty and instability could be then be overcome through the connection of World Heritage sites through a strong branding in resonance with visitors' minds and their never ending search of self-development and identity.

Similarly, contemporary tourism creates through advertising and media a consumer dream by generating expectations and promoting anticipations of a unique experience and an

escape from a routine life. However, that dream seems to have evolved over the years as our societies switched from a mass consumption driven by a mass production market to a Post-Fordist consumption where consumption rather than production is the striving force. These changes have been characterized by Poon (1989) as involving the shift from "old tourism" which involved packaging and standardization to "new tourism" which is segmented, flexible, and customized.

The mass tourist gaze started in the backstreets of the industrial towns and cities in the north of England. The growth of such tourism represents a democratization of travel; the tourist gaze came to have a different importance in one place rather than another. A resort "hierarchy" developed and certain places were viewed as embodiments of mass tourism, to be despised and ridiculed (Urry, 1990).

However, the gradual extension of holidays from the mid-nineteenth century onwards mainly resulted from defensive pressure from the workforce itself. In late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, emphasis was placed on the industry of emotion and sensation, on poetic mystery rather than intellectual clarity, and on individual hedonistic expressions (Feifer, 1985). The effects of romanticism were to suggest that one could feel emotional about the natural world, and that scenery was something one could gaze at with delight. Romanticism not only led to the development of "scenic tourism" but also to an appreciation for magnificent stretches of the coastline.

Thus, by the Second World War, there was widespread acceptance of the view that going on holiday was good as it was the basis of personal replenishment. In the Post-War period, it has been the sun, not the sea that is presumed to produce health and sexual attractiveness. The ideal body has come to be viewed as one that is tanned. Harvey (1987) noted that increasingly every town and city has to appear as an innovative, exciting, creative and safe place to live, play and consume. The internationalization of contemporary tourism has made every potential object of the tourist gaze to compete internationally. This has led to substantial changes in just what is extraordinary and what is internationally ordinary.

Part of what is consumed is in effect the place in which the service producer is located. If the particular place does not convey appropriate cultural meanings, the quality of the specific service may well be tarnished. There is therefore a crucial "spatial fixity" about tourist services (Bagguley, 1987). Much of what is appreciated is not directly experienced reality itself, but representations, particularly through the medium of photography. What people "gaze upon" are ideal representations of the view in question that they internalize from postcards and guidebooks and increasingly from TV programmes (Urry, 1990).

Certain sorts of countryside are therefore attractive to the prospective visitor, particularly those consistent with their idea of "landscape". Cosgrove (1984) summarized this conception by mentioning that the landscape idea was active within a process of undermining

collective appropriation of nature for use. It was locked into an individualist way of seeing. It is a way of seeing which separates subject and object and where the eye of a single observer dominates. In this, the landscape idea either denies collective experience or mystifies it in an appeal to transcendental qualities of a particular area. What people see is therefore highly selective, and it is the gaze which is central to people's appropriation and the very idea of landscape implies separation and observation (Williams, 1973).

From such a post modern perspective landscape seems to be like a palimpsest whose "real" or "authentic" meanings can somehow be recovered with correct techniques, theories or ideologies. Its meaning can then be created, extended, altered, elaborated and finally obliterated by the touch of a button (Daniels and Cosgrove, 1988). This implies that contemporary appropriation of the countryside involves treating it as a spectacle even as a "theme". This can be seen as a post-modern attitude to the countryside very much in contrast with an approach which emphasizes its use.

Feifer (1985) defines the post-tourist as not having to leave his or her house in order to see many of the typical objects of the tourist gaze as with TV and video, all sorts of places can be gazed upon; being aware of change and delights in the multitude of choices. Feifer (1985) depicts the tourist as wanting to behold something sacred, something informative to broaden him, something beautiful to lift him and make him finer and something just different, because he is bored.

The post-tourist is free from the constraints of "high-culture" on one hand, and the untrammeled pursuit of the "pleasure principle" on the other. He or she can move easily from one to the other, and indeed can gain pleasure from the contrast between the two. The post-tourist knows that he is a tourist and that tourism is a game, or rather a whole series of games with multiple texts and no single, authentic tourist experience (Feifer, 1985).

The pleasures of tourism then stem from complex processes of both production and consumption of heritage interpretations. Urry emphasized the socially constructed character of the tourist gaze, that both production and consumption of interpretations are both socially organized, and that the gaze must be directed to certain objects or features through a particular interpretive process which distinguishes that site/sight of the gaze from others. The development of post-tourism transforms these processes by which the tourist gaze and its related interpretation are produced and consumed. The post-tourist emphasis on playfulness, variety and self-consciousness is considerably influencing the heritage interpretation and could result in innovative approaches or distortions of meanings.

However, the globalization of the tourist gaze lead all sorts of places to construct themselves as objects of the tourist gaze and therefore not as centres of productions of heritage interpretations or meanings, but rather as sites of pleasure (Urry, 1995). There has to be something distinctive and meaningful to gaze upon, otherwise a particular experience will

in their brochures, and secondly, as being derived from the representational spaces of lived experience, emerging from individual narratives. The tourist is then an active agent capable of reflexively organizing experiences into forms of self-identity (Giddens, 1991).

However, tourism consumption with its related interpretation is more of a social rather than an individual dimension as the individualization of experiences and their creation as narratives of the self is generated in a context that is mediated by the material as much as symbolic means. The tourists, with their expectations and anticipations, and personal hierarchy of significance armed with a still or video camera, are shaping their experiences of authenticity into a socially recognizable form and as cultural capital which can be saved and accrued.

Tourism could then be seen as a metaphysical search for completeness, for the authenticity of "primal" social and cultural relations, a pilgrim's progress of the alienated. Tourist can gain prestige from this search and find a self-accomplishment (Horne, 1992). Alternatively, it could also transform the tourist into "a different person" whether physically, intellectually, morally, or spiritually.

Sightseeing tourism is fundamentally about art, religion, and other entertainments. It is about the search for the past and authenticity and about the nature of power and the nature of nations through the relations between peoples, the views they have of themselves, of each other, and of human existence. It is also about the ways in which humans have devised the realities by which they live, and of the breakdowns in knowledge and understanding that lead to reassuring illusions (Horne, 1992).

Sightseeing tourism therefore can be part of our search for building up a general intellectual criticism of existence. It can become a liberating and empowering force in a search for authenticity, rather than a force that can lead to a modern conformity, trivialization and physical and social distinction. The World Heritage brand should stand for this liberating and empowering force in a search for authenticity. World Heritage sites should become for visitors hubs for regeneration and harmony in a fast paced world where technology and economy are pulling people apart. Modernity would therefore bring by definition the false, the alienating, the unreal and the unauthentic. Modernity is viewed as both the antithesis and rampant destroyer of the authentic. The World Heritage brand could then be the promise of a unique connection between past, present and future and between tradition and modernity through its interpretation paradigm across World Heritage sites. The World Heritage brand would then link industrial sites with religious sites or with natural sites through their outstanding value. This unique bridging of a diversity of sites across the globe through the World Heritage brand would in itself create meanings of a post-modern essence. This linkage are not yet done within present branding situation although it could be a strong point of differentiation vis-à-vis other attractions or heritage sites. It would indeed be unique for

visitors in their search for authenticity and identity to comprehend our world and humanity through the linkages between the Humberstone and Santa Laura Salpeter Works in Latin America with the Mount Kilimanjaro in Africa or the Temples of Borobudur and Prabanan in Asia or with the ruins of Petra in the Middle East.

The division of labour within modern capitalist societies causes alienation, and its consequent loss of authentic social relations and authentic material cultures boosters a need for an authentic otherness that tourism provides. A concern with authenticity is a critique of modernity and a call to action to protect, preserve and conserve its remains for future generations. Authenticity goes therefore beyond the provenance of an artifact as in for example, museums, but is what Wang terms "constructive" that is authenticity defined in terms of beliefs, perspectives, and powers (Wang, 1999).

Basically, authenticity is about interpretations and ascribed meanings. It is similar to the "emergent authenticity" proposed by Cohen (1988) and to the "the invention of tradition" proposed by Hobsbawn and Ranger (1983). The other form of authenticity that Wang identifies is an existential authenticity, which relates to individual experiences and self-constructed personal interpretations.

Therefore, the meanings of commodities are not fixed, but subject to reinterpretation at both individual and social levels. The post-modern tourist may find self-identity through the construction of personalized narratives through commoditized forms. Authenticity is based on interpretations, constructed value or set of values, but cannot be accounted for without considering the social and material contexts in which it is located.

Furthermore, tourism contributes to a global movement of people and material objects, and involves people in consuming interpretations and narratives of places as well as certain cultural values. Global tourism diffuses and nurtures a global culture through local sites. The emergence of a global culture made of traveling cultures also identified by Toon (1999) reflects a loss of the traditional and natural relationships between cultures and the geographical and social territories in which it is located. Historically, tourism had become possible, because people had the money and the leisure, and because middle class people were soon able to travel further and for longer periods, and this brought particular visions and interpretations of heritage sites.

Throughout the world, there are reminders by which things did not exist until they were seen and interpreted and re-imagines by a European. Africa, Asia, and the Americas did not really exist until they were reclassified by Europeans. In re-imagining them, the Europeans gave them a new "reality" and a meaning which became essential in the process of tourism (Horne, 1992). Europeans have often engaged in an act of appropriation through naming while discovering new territories. Today naming can be one of the essential

ingredients of tourism through its promotion of an ideal vision of heritage sites which serves its own purposes.

The great "namers" of tourism are not anymore the explorers, but the editors of the guidebooks. The first guidebooks were prescribing the "objects" to be seen and providing the "subjects" with their interpretation, meaning and significance. Unfortunately, the naming has been often confused with branding which is in itself a broader semantic and holistic approach than just a name or a logo. Brand values without genuine intentions and sincere promises are not sustainable in a global and post modern world. Branding the World Heritage goes beyond advertising its logo or naming a site as World Heritage. It is more about consistently promoting a sense of a place which connects people with others and themselves in their search of identity and authenticity, and where conservation is an important dimension of the interpretation paradigm.

McCannell (1976) gives four stages of "sacralisation" of a tourist site. Firstly, it is named and then it is "framed" before being "elevated" (given its status as a site). After that follows "enshrinement" in which the framing of the site becomes significant. Then, the mechanical reproduction (postcards, souvenirs...) materialises this "sacralisation" for further out-of-sight worshiping. This is indeed a direct reminiscence of the ancestral religious pilgrimage where the adoration of holy relics was central to the travel itself. The change from religious to secular came when works of art began to be interpreted like holy relics.

The World Heritage brand might be in itself a form of sacralisation as defined by McCannell, but goes far beyond the mechanical reproduction as it connects and involves visitors in the interpretation paradigm. Modern-industrial-societies art museums are also seen as places of such inspirational power that they have become the modern cathedrals. And cathedrals, themselves, have become in turn, museums.

The palatial architecture of art museums and their realistic arrangement of objects maintained distance and esteem. It is indeed this idea of authenticity that unites the different objects from which tourists can seek regeneration. Similarly, the World Heritage brand has united and broadened the scope of heritage in recognizing outstanding values and universal significance in cultural sites along with natural sites, cultural landscapes and also in industrial sites.

The myth of such tourism is the possibility of regeneration through travel to other people's place. Its ritual is to achieve this regeneration force by moving our bodies in a predetermined pattern, in proximity to objects or activities that, through the radiance of fame, have been given some of the magical properties of holy relics. The legends of tourism are found in travel books, guidebooks, travel brochures, and in the stories we bring back home. The icons of tourism such as the Taj Mahal, the Eiffel Tower can all become not much more than emblem of themselves as symbols of tourism or even symbols of symbols of tourism.

The cult of authenticity transform a site which becomes part of heritage and enters that realm of extraordinary purity into the authentic, the real thing. The desire for a pure authenticity conceals the paradox that often the authentic must be contrived. The historic site and the old quarter were not like that when new. Similarly, a museum's collection or exhibit can be authentic and at the same time false, in the sense that it is not authentic for things to be taken out of the world, cleaned, conserved labelled, catalogued, displayed and transmuted into museum's exhibits. Authenticity can never be achieved, as it is a mirage part of the enchantment. It is the idea of authenticity that many tourists want. As long as it is confidently asserted and attested by some seal of approval, almost any authenticity might do (Horne, 1992).

The appetite for authenticity in tourism is itself part of a wider modern craving, the infatuation with the real and a sense of actuality. This belief in the transcendent reality of the photograph has been as important to tourism as the transport revolution that started with the railways. If tourists have learned a lot about whatever it is that they are looking at; about the people who produced it, the kinds of meanings and interpretations that permeated the society in which it was produced, and the different kinds of meanings given by succeeding generations, they can feel its significance and its resonance. They can then reach beyond its formal boundaries and imagine a world of complex, dynamic cultural forces (Greenblatt, 1992)

In tourism, a tourist who wants to be enlightened has to learn how to be a sightseer, as tourism usually makes tourists superficial observers. Intelligent tourists may have a sharper concentration of observation a more innocent eye and may make comparison with other parts of their experience that the experts. They are trying to make sense of the world in their own particular way (Horne, 1992). The World Heritage brand should target these tourists who connect heritage sites together in their search of authenticity and diversity of meanings and for whom sustainability and conservation are important dimensions of the interpretation process.

One of the functions of a tour is to arouse an interest in our fellows, similar to the "character" interest provided by a nineteenth century model. In his book "Abroad", Fussel (1982) made a distinction between explorers, travelers, and tourists. Explorers, characteristic of the Renaissance society, went in search of the "undiscovered" while travelers, characteristic of the Bourgeois society, moved a territory already made part of the history, but could make discoveries within it. Tourists, a product of the mass culture societies, seek an experience entirely structured by the tourist industry.

In the "intelligent Tourist", Donald Horne suggests "autonomic tourism", a kind of tourism that is as involuntary as the functions of the autonomic nervous system of the human body. The "autonomic tourists" if, in their sightseeing quest do not move beyond whatever the tourist industry has prefabricated for them, in heritage interpretations, routes and emotions.

Furthermore, when admiring historic sites and monuments, we are likely to be looking at relics of the old ambitions and old justifications of those who were then the masters of power with its social implications. But, we can also look around and see the justifications of those who are the masters now and who decided on the interpretations and meanings of the cultural sites to be looked at. In any society, tourism is likely to reflect many of the values of the public culture or in the case of the World Heritage of a certain western conception of culture or nature. The modern-industrial–nation states that began forming in the nineteenth century were too complex for people to understand. Without a simplified mirage of national life, a special kind of national "reality" a modern-nation-state could not be seen to exist. The "mirage" or the public culture is a society in which true citizens show common values and a common life (Horne, 1992).

However, a World Heritage brand which could aim to connect people with themselves and others through the outstanding value of World Heritage sites would allow a dialogue between cultures and generations across time and geographies. A focused and targeted branding strategy would bring World Heritage sites beyond their current western based approach and promote a diversity of meanings in its interpretation paradigm along with the participation of local people and visitors in the conservation and interpretation processes.

In any society, tourism is likely to reflect many of the values of the public culture. The magic circles drawn around the objects of modern sightseeing were usually put there mainly by the middle class people along with other parts of the new public cultures of the modernizing states. They came from similar dreams of public virtue as those which produced the setting-up of schools, the declaring of "national days", the establishing of grand squares, or the designing of dignified post offices. When it was to be decided which cultural or natural sites were historic and should be preserved, it was the guardians of the new public virtues who were likely to be deciding (Horne, 1992).

The idea of tourism as a way of buying bits of cultural experience and heritage interpretations in packages is one of the basic marketing strategies of autonomic tourism in business driven societies. Magic meanings and interpretations have packaged the products through advertising and marketing, in much the same way as being on show in a museum transmutes objects with the magic circle of a new meaning.

However, these short-sighted approaches are not sustainable in a branded world as consumers can easily on the long run comprehend the limitations and business driven intentions of the packaged interpretation. The World Heritage brand is driven by conservation and participation of people in the construction of meanings in the interpretation paradigm proposed through World Heritage sites. It is defined by outstanding values and universal significance which connects people with others and with themselves in their search of authenticity and identity. Any marketing approach which would promote a World Heritage site

should then reflect its brand values in its strategy. A packaged interpretation would not be in line with the brand model of the World Heritage and then be a point of differentiation against other forms of tourism. Tourism can become more intelligent if the objects including relic of an imagined past can be seen in relation to the myth-system of the society in which it is presented (Horne, 1992). Similarly, Hewison (1987) claims that heritage, for all its seductive delights is "bogus history" in a sense that it has enclosed the late twentieth century in a bell jar into which no idea can enter, and just as crucially from which none can escape.

Tourism can be considered a cultural phenomenon that both mediates and activates this historical project and is consequently a vital part of the constructing interrelations between identity, interpretations and meanings. People can, potentially, create themselves, their space and place as well as their future through heritage interpretation and tourism (Hollinshead, 1997). Tourism is therefore, a crucial vehicle for cultural transmission, cultural expressions, cultural translations and cultural productions in a post-modern and postcolonial milieu (Staiff, 2003). The relationship between heritage places and tourism is dynamic and may involve conflicting values particularly between hosting and visiting populations. Similarly, Lanfant (1995) commented as well that the construction and reconstruction of identities by and for tourism produce conflict, illusion and paradox, where the tourist objects are required by the tourism industry driven by western capitalist or elitist interests to preserve an authenticity that never existed.

Conservation practices and tourism planning for World Heritage sites should then ensure that the visitor experience will be worthwhile, satisfying, enjoyable and sustainable. Host communities and indigenous peoples should also be involved in planning conservation and tourism as tourism and conservation activities should benefit the host community. This would also contribute to the sustainability of the World Heritage sites.

Tourism programmes should promote the diversity of interpretations in our multi-ethnic world and protect and enhance natural and cultural heritage significance. Actually, tourism has played a major role in the imaging and recreation of national cultures and ethnicity in many Asian countries (Graburn, 1997). Tourism and its policy-makers are key social agents for re-inventing, promulgating image and identity along specifically determined lines, pursuing both national identity and interconnectivity with the rest of the world. They carry-out carefully planned, global campaigns to create awareness of national or local communities culture, engaging in competition with neighbors, differentiating their culture as attraction while at the same time encouraging and promulgating connectedness through visitation and universalism, through such global application as hotel chains, resort airlines, quality service standards (Sofield, 2002).

The World Heritage branding strategy has to involve the tourism policy makers in promoting its universal significance and core values particularly of sustainability and

conservation. It would certainly be instrumental in using the tourism industry in co-branding partnerships which would promote the brand values and sustainability of World Heritage sites while connecting people with others and themselves. Tourism stakeholders clearly have vested interests in the sustainability of the World Heritage sites and should be more engaged in their conservation along with their branding process.

Efforts to interpret cultural and related differences are necessarily problematic, because they incorporate an evaluation of "otherness" (Sofield, 2002). As Said (1978) argues in relation to western representations of orientalism, there is little examination of "Self" in determining that "otherness" so that we tend to underestimate the influence of an imagery and production of culture for tourism which derived from a western, metropolitan, and colonialist essence. In contrast to this, tourism can also be an instrument for establishing identities or for assisting emergent minorities to gain recognition on the international stage (Lanfant, 1995). The World Heritage brand stands for these connections between visitors and local populations in the interpretation paradigm of World Heritage sites. That encounter is unfortunately today still unplanned for and unsolicited as not understood and not actually considered as an essential factor for sustainability of World Heritage sites.

Dann (1996) even believes that tourism can inflict all sorts of iconological violence on things and people through its discourse particularly through its engrained ethnocentric styles and its forms of representation. In the process, it can turn local populations into objects through the projection of its storylines, because the very western discourse of the industry acts as spectator, judge and jury over the topic it narrates. However, local populations are probably the most reliable way to ensure the sustainability of World Heritage sites through their participation in the interpretation and conservation processes. They are also the best placed people to promote in an effective and convincing way the need for sustainability and conservation to visitors.

Through its immense imagery power, tourism has a vast organic role in the making of people and traditions, in the manufacture of places, and in the manipulation of pasts (Hollinshead, 1998 after Said, 1979). Tourism becomes essentially and fundamentally the industry of difference, it is at once both a leisure activity and the world's largest business (Hollinshead, 1998). In its marketing strategies, it is constantly striving to differentiate one destination from another, one product from another, one experience from another, to create difference in other words (Dann, 1998).

It is through the projection of difference that tourism has acquired an extremely significant role in the representation of the national, cultural and ethnic character of people, places and pasts (Hollinshead, 1998). These newly recognized projective architectural powers of tourism and these newly identified inventive morphological effects of international tourism have resulted in the invention, re-invention and de-invention of difference. We are not

only witnesses but also participants in a massive two-fold process, involving the interpenetration of the universalization of the particularization, and the particularization of the universalization (Robertson 1992).

Tourism is therefore an important vehicle for cultural exchange and conservation providing opportunities for the host communities and visitors to understand that community's heritage and culture at first hand (ICOMOS Charter).

Heritage is equally perhaps more significantly of present-future nature and based on multiple interpretations of a site which are absolutely fundamental, while stories are more important than themes (Staiff, 2003). Its interpretations are about communities and visitors and the negotiation of the story should be the starting point of the whole development of a heritage site (Staiff, 2003). The World Heritage brand has to stand for this genuine and authentic connection of local population with visitors through their participation in the interpretation process. It should include people as a core brand value as people are the most important monument we have (Mayor, 1995). It has also been a mistake to consider natural systems in isolation from human ecology.

The World Heritage brand should be the promise of a sustainable World Tourism. It is therefore important to understand World Tourism in relation to World Heritage tourism.

World Tourism and World Heritage Tourism

World Tourism has become an increasingly significant driver of cultural remaking and reinvention. First, there are relatively few nations and cultures which are not affected in some way by tourism and the tourism development process. Second, where tourism has emerged as an important economic activity, it is frequently characterized by a rapid and often dramatic expansion in supply. A third feature of World Tourism is that it is a First World ideology, and as such it displays fundamental inequalities in the patterns and impacts it demonstrates (Robinson, 2001).

World Tourism has also become one of the world's most important sources of employment. It stimulates and encourages investments in infrastructures, most of which also helps to improve the living conditions of local people and provides governments with substantial tax revenues. Most new tourism jobs and business are created in developing countries, helping to equalize economic opportunities and keep rural residents away from overcrowded cities. Intercultural awareness and personal friendships fostered through tourism are also a powerful force in improving international understanding and contributing to peace among all the nations of the world.

The globalization of tourism has led to the foundation in 1969 of the World Tourism Organization, a specialized agency of the United Nations, which is dealing with all aspects of

Tourism including these important and strategic dimensions. It serves as a global forum for tourism policy worldwide and as a practical source of tourism know-how. It also plays a crucial role in promoting development of a responsible, sustainable and universally accessible tourism with the aim of contributing to economic development, international understanding, peace, prosperity and universal respect and observance of, human rights and fundamental freedoms.

The World Tourism Organization, with some 144 State members and numerous Affiliate Members representing the private sector, educational institutions, tourism associations, and tourism authorities, is also playing an essential role in promoting technology transfers and international cooperation stimulating and developing public-private sector partnerships, and in encouraging the implementation of the Global Code of Ethics for Tourism. The main objective is to ensure that member countries tourists organizations, and business maximize the positive economic, social and cultural effects of tourism and fully benefits and while minimizing its negative social and environmental impacts.

Francisco Bandarin, Director of the World Heritage Committee at UNESCO, believes that the inscription to the World Heritage List not only confers recognition in terms of conservation, but also raises a site's profile and stimulates tourist demand. He also thinks that perhaps in internationally well established sites, such as the Tower of London, World Heritage status may have little impact on visitor numbers, but in less established destinations, inscription is usually accompanied by an upsurge in tourism.

World Heritage status can be seen as "a unique selling point" (Kotler and Amstrong, 1996) and used to attract more tourists and new residents.

As Hall claims (2001), World Heritage has long been recognized as having significance for tourism. However, the exact nature of the relationship is open to debate. World Heritage is seen by some as being geared towards western perceptions of heritage as well as being a useful mechanism for tourism promotion and regional development. Boniface (2001) further notes that as a result of being World Heritage listed, besides raising awareness and support for conservation, people identify the site as being extraordinary and wish to view it. Similarly, Evans (2001) considers that World Heritage sites have become the must-see sites a bit as the Michelin restaurant guide award rating. Shackley (1998) also confirms that World Heritage label is acting like a magnet for visitors and any site awarded World Heritage status will immediately receive a marked increase in visitors; Although there are also other contributing factors such as accommodation capacity, transportation access and telecommunication access.

However, it is interesting to note for the purpose of this dissertation that there is not an exact correlation between the number of World Heritage sites in a country and its ranking in the top destinations as other factors promote a destination beyond its available number of

World Heritage sites such as transportation fares which could be lower for some destinations than others, accommodation capacity which would be more important and adequate in some countries, push of promotion campaigns, and some countries are more open to tourism than others.

It is to be acknowledged though, that the top ten destinations happen to be among the countries having a relatively important number of World Heritage sites or among the top countries having a lot of World Heritage sites. For instance, these ten most visited countries in the world in 2002: France, Spain, the United States, Italy, China, the United Kingdom, Canada, Mexico, Austria and Germany already represent more than a third of the number of the World Heritage sites in the World (some 245 World Heritage sites out of 788 in 2004).

According to the World Tourism Organization, Tourism (international tourism and international fare receipts) represents approximately 7 per cent of worldwide exports of goods and services in USD (with some 578 billion USD generated), ranking in fourth position after exports of chemicals (660 billion USD), automotive products (621 billion USD), and fuels (615 million USD). The top five countries are: The United States of America (66.5 billion USD), Spain (33.6 billion USD), France (32.3 billion USD), Italy (26.9 billion USD) and China (20.4 billion USD); these countries also representing some 20 % of the total number of World Heritage sites in 2004.

In 2002, as shown by the World Tourism Organisation's statistics, 11 countries recorded more than 10 billion USD in international tourism expenditure (international fare expenditure) with the big industrial economies clearly in the front. More than half of the top world tourism spenders are from Europe (44 % of the total expenditure). The ranking is as follows: the United States (with 58 billion USD), Germany (53.2 billion USD), United Kingdom (40.4 billion USD), Japan (26.7 billion USD), France (19.5 billion USD), Italy (16.9 billion USD) and China (13.1 billion USD). These countries represented in 2004 almost one third of all World Heritage sites.

World Tourism demand fundamentally depends on the economic environment in major income generating markets. When economies grow, levels of disposable income will usually also increase. An important part of the discretionary income will normally be spent on tourism, in particular in the case of emerging economies. The tightening of the economic situation on the other hand, will often result in a decrease of tourism spending.

Another positive side of tourism associated with World Heritage listing has been the revival of traditional arts and crafts. The literature is replete with examples of where tourism has prompted a creative reaction in local people and as been instrumental in reviving arts and crafts that would have otherwise disappeared and it is particularly true with World Heritage sites (Cohen, 1993; Daniel, 1996; Popelka and Littrel 1991).

In the World Heritage sites visited during this dissertation, particularly in Angkor in Cambodia, it was indeed clear that where there was a plan to revive arts and crafts with the participation of local people as part the World Heritage Listing, there was an innovative development of the local arts and crafts. Les Artisans du Cambodge is a cooperative project which has been developed along the World Heritage listing of Angkor and which promotes local arts and crafts. It not only maintains the traditional patterns of sculpture, engraving, pottery, weaving but also provides a forum for contemporary art expressions using traditional patterns such as abstract sculptures combining traditional geometrics shapes in a contemporary way. The quality standards are international and this project has succeeded in avoiding any "trinketisation" of local arts and crafts. It has also generated a sense of pride in relation to a global world.

However, as mentioned by Francesco Bandarin, tourism is a double edged sword which on one hand confers economic benefits through the sale of tickets and visitors spending on hotels, restaurants and other tourism related services, but on the other, places stress on the fabric of destinations and the communities who live in them. For instance Venice, as a World Heritage site benefits financially from its booming tourism industry, but struggles to cope with related conservation problems associated with such a large annual influx of tourists.

This growth of World Tourism exacerbated by the dynamics of the World Heritage listing also generates tensions with host populations and tourists. The flow of tourists into a World Heritage site increases the densities at which people live and overcrowds the facilities that tourists share with local population. This overcrowding also reduces the value of the holiday experience and creates additional strain for the resident population (Archer, et al., 2004).

Furthermore, the tourists themselves are often guilty of helping to destroy surrounding environment and the site itself, as the more attractive the site became through the World Heritage listing, the more popular it becomes, and the more likely it is that it will be degraded by heavy visitation (Hillery, et al., 2001). Some World Heritage cultural sites have to face this corrosion through excessive flows of tourist in looting, damage to the integrity and to the authenticity of the site.

In some World Heritage sites wildlife has also been severely disturbed, coral reefs have been despoiled, and alien forms of plant life have been introduced into delicate ecosystem on the shoes and clothing of visitors. Already in 1974, Plog warned that destinations carry with them the potential seeds of their own destruction, as they allow themselves to become more commercialized and lose their qualities which originally attracted tourists.

Actually, in the 1970s and early 1980s several works and analysis such as Bryden (1973) challenged the unquestioning acceptance of tourism as an economic panacea (Hudson

and Miller, 2004). Among the many voices which raised their concerns were Budowski (1976) and Cohen (1978) who focused on the environmental impacts of tourism. Cohen (1972) as well as Dekadt (1979), Doxey (1975) and MacCannel (1976) also analyzed and demonstrated the socio-cultural impacts while Britton (1982) and De Kadt (1979) reviewed the political consequences. It is actually within this context that the World Heritage idea could generate wider support in a conservation ethic for all mankind.

Early forms of World Tourism such as mass tourism were then seen as having a negative impact on environments and societies and with unsustainable practices and deleterious effects (Hudson and Miller, 2004). It was then understood that the sustainability of the World Heritage would in turn ensure the sustainability of World Tourism. Similarly Godfrey (1998) also identifies tourism in a sustainable development context as sustainable tourism is not an end in itself, nor a unique or isolated procedure, but rather an interdependent function of a wider and permanent socio-economic development process.

World Tourism in relation to World Heritage also generates awareness about conservation and preservation of sites for next generations while it provides financial support for conservation and preservation practices. It is therefore essential to plan for a sustainable development of these World Heritage sites for the sustainability of World Tourism itself, as if "the products" do not fulfill the promises made to consumers the market will collapse and the support to preserve and conserve the World Heritage for next generations as well.

The World Heritage brand stands for that promise of sustainability in tourism. The often quoted Brundtland Report defines sustainability simply as "*meeting the needs of the present without compromising the ability of future generations to meet their own needs*" (World Commission on Environment and Development, 1987).

An unspoiled natural, cultural and human environment is indeed fundamental for the development of tourism, and rational management of tourism may then help protect and develop the physical environment and cultural heritages and improve the overall quality of life. This should include effective measures to inform and educate tourists, both domestic and international, to preserve, conserve, and respect the natural cultural and human development of destination areas.

The Brundland Report (World Commission on Environment and Development, 1987) and UNEP's (United Nations Environment Program) work on the environment (United Nations, 1987) along with the World Conference on Sustainable Tourism (1995) recognized "*economic and social cohesion among people of the world as a fundamental principle of sustainable development and underlined the need to "promote measures that permit a more equitable distribution of the income and burdens of tourism*". This implies a change in consumption patterns and the introduction of pricing methods which allow environmental costs to be integrated into tourism (Lask and Herold, 2005).

As Archer (and al., 2004) claims, the concept of sustainability is central to the reassessment of the role of tourism in society. It demands a long-term view of economic activity, questions the imperative of continued economic growth, and ensures that consumption of tourism does not exceed the ability of a host destination to provide for future tourists. As a matter of fact, public agencies issuing guidelines for the ethical consumption of tourism; the World Tourism Organization has for instance developed a global code of ethics for tourism. The industry sector organizations have also developed sustainable auditing procedures for destinations and pressure groups and professional societies have devised codes of conduct for visitors and travelers.

Sustainable tourism is becoming integral to tourism curricula (Jurowki, 2002).

It is particularly true for Word Heritage sites which are basically about meeting the needs of the present World Tourism while preserving the integrity and the authenticity of sites for future generations. Planning for sustainability of World Tourism necessitates a careful definition of the respective responsibilities of the public and the private sector and local communities in relation to the World Heritage sites.

Interestingly, the Article 3 of the Global Code of Ethics for tourism (World Tourism Organization, 1999) defines tourism as a factor of Sustainable Tourism:

1. *All Stakeholders in tourism development should safeguard the natural environment with a view to achieving sound, continuous and sustainable economic growth geared to satisfying equitability the needs and aspirations of present and future generations.*
2. *All forms of tourism development that are conducive to saving rare and precious resources, in particular water and energy, as well as avoiding so far as possible waste production, should be given priority and encouraged by national, regional and local public authorities.*
3. *The staggering in time and space of tourist and visitor flows, particularly those resulting from paid leave and school holidays, and a more even distribution of holidays should be sought so as to reduce the pressure of tourism activity on the environment and enhance its beneficial impact on the tourism industry and the local economy.*
4. *Tourism infrastructure should be designed and tourism activities programmed in such a way as to protect the natural heritage composed of ecosystems and biodiversity and to preserve endangered species of wildlife; the stakeholders in tourism development, and especially professionals should agree to the imposition of limitations or constraints on their activities when these are exercised in particularly sensitive areas: deserts, polar or high mountain regions, coastal areas, tropical forests or wetlands propitious to the creation of nature reserves or protected areas.*

5. *Nature tourism and ecotourism are recognized as being particularly conducive to enriching and enhancing the standing of tourism, provided they respect the natural heritage and local populations and are in keeping with the carrying capacity of the sites.*

The same principles are valid for cultural heritage sites in terms of sustainability in view of preserving their authenticity and their integrity for future generations. Actually, the World Heritage Convention (UNESCO, 1972) has been the first legal framework to combine these principles for both natural and cultural sites with a view of preserving and conserving the World Heritage for Mankind. The World Heritage brand should then stand for these principles as brand values in a consistent communication and through relevant associations which would resonate in visitor's minds and ensure that conservation is an essential dimension of tourism.

Present situation and challenges

The outstanding growth of tourism activity makes it as one of the most remarkable economic and social phenomena of the past century. The number of international arrivals shows an evolution from a mere 25 million international arrivals in 1959 to over 700 million in 2002, corresponding to an annual growth rate of 6.6 per cent!

Of all these international tourists in the world the majority travel within or to destinations in Europe (400 million arrivals), in Asia and the Pacific (131 million arrivals), in the Americas (112 million) and in Africa (29 million) and in the Middle East (28 million). During this period, it is interesting to note that development was particularly strong in Asia and the Pacific (13 per cent per year) and in the Middle East (10%) while the Americas (5.4%) and Europe (6.3) grew at a slower pace.

The fastest grower in absolute terms has been China, gaining almost 17 million international tourists in the period 1995-2002, an achievement only equaled by France and Spain which are the most visited countries.

The World Tourism Organization forecasted that by the year 2020 the number of international trips will reach some 1.6 billion international trips. Of these worldwide arrivals in 2020, 1.2 billion will be intra-regional and 0.4 billion long-haul travelers. The top three receiving regions will be Europe (717 million international tourist arrivals), East Asia and the Pacific (397 million) and the Americas (282 million) followed by Africa (77, 3 million) and Middle East (68,5 million). In 2001, the majority of international tourists arrivals corresponded to trips made for the purpose of leisure, recreation and holidays (54%) reaching a total of 367 million.

These trends were exacerbated by the orthodox vision of tourism development around which most regulatory regimes in the South Asian Region have been arrayed since at least the

Second World War and which equated "Development" with achievements of modernization and growth (Brohman, 1996). Regulatory mechanisms evolved and were legitimated by the ideology of development although the regulatory process was often manipulated by social groups whose private and collective interests were best served by this "regime of over-accumulation" (Clark, 1992). Uneven and unsustainable development was a common consequence. An alternative definition of development has emerged which places a strong emphasis on the pursuit of equity, democracy and sustainability. The redefinition of development reflects the growing ascendancy and assertiveness of social actors who remained somewhat peripheral and subservient to the regulatory regime of orthodox development (Parnwell, 2002). The State as a regulatory Gate keeper is seeing its power eroded by parallel tendencies of neo liberalism and globalization/regionalization as a result of its interaction within the Global System (Parnwell, 2002). As a nation becomes a player on the global stage it inevitably cedes a degree of power, autonomy and sovereignty to supra national institutions and forces (Mittelman, 1995).

Tourism development is now facing a fundamental paradox by promoting the authentic, the pristine, the untouched which once tourism takes off and increasing number of tourist visit those destinations lead to ubiquitous process (Cohen, 2002). Sites become gradually transformed in order either to adapt them to tourist demand or to prevent their progressive destruction. Simultaneously new contrived attractions are created to enhance the attractiveness of the destination and to deflect tourists from the declining natural attraction or even to substitute for the latter. There exists a close interconnection between the decline in the attractiveness of natural attractions and the emergence of new contrived ones (Cohen, 2002).

A growing gap emerges between the tourist image of the destination, based on the attractiveness of its natural attractions, and reality. And the clear, blue swimming pools substitute for polluted beaches, gardens for destroyed nature, and cultural shows for live ethnic customs. The boundary between the local society and the tourist sphere is, however, not fixed but permeable. Some of the initially contrived attractions become, in the course of time, naturalized and incorporated into local tradition and way of life leading to an emergent authenticity (Cohen 2002). In the most developed destination, the boundary between the tourist sphere and the rest of society become blurred (Cohen, 1999).

Several world travel organizations predict that world tourism will grow at a rate of 4% per annum reaching by 2010 a level 1 billion international arrivals and revenues of 2,4 billion USD (AlSayyad, 2001). In the late 1970s, less than one-hundredth of a per cent of the world's population took an international trip in any given year. But, by the end of the twentieth century this percentage had increased a hundred fold. Over the twentieth century, people of every class and from every country have been wandering to every part of the planet (AlSayyad, 2001). The twenty first century has become the age of voyaging on a global scale.

Meanwhile, tourism destinations throughout the world find themselves in ever more fierce competition for tourist dollars. For many parts of the world, especially those marginalized in the global industrial and information economy, tourism development may seem to offer the only hope of surviving in the global era. However, such mass tourism as already caused irreversible destruction of traditional places and historical sites. The exponential growth of world tourism clearly calls for sustainable access to World Heritage sites which would provide for their protection and conservation. This sustainable access should be part of the World Heritage brand positioning by targeting visitors which would understand and participate in the conservation efforts. World Heritage brand values such as authenticity and sustainability are intrinsically linked to conservation and participation. The World Heritage brand cannot stand for massive visitation akin to any contrived attraction as it would be unsustainable but should rather have a clear positioning and targeting of potential visitors.

As Gupta and Ferguson have written, the new global context does seem to be recreating a sense of place and sense of community in positive ways, giving rise to "an energetic cosmopolitanism" in certain localities. They argue that local fragmentation may inspire a nostalgic introverted and "parochial sense" of local attachment and identity, and therefore argue that even if globalization re-contextualizes cultural localism, it often does so in ways that are "equivocal and ambiguous".

Kevin Robins reminded that globalization pulls cultures in different, contradictory and often conflictual ways. It is about the "de-territorialisation" of culture, but it also involves "re-territorialisation". It is about increasing mobility of culture, but also about new cultural fixities. It is about the achievement of a new global-local nexus, about new and intricate relations between global space and local space. The global-local nexus is about the relation between globalizing and particularizing dynamics in the strategy of the global corporation, and the "local" should be seen as a fluid and relational space, constituted only in and through its relation to the global. Indeed, the very celebration and recognition of "difference" and "otherness" may itself conceal more subtle and insidious relation of power.

Robins has further written that globalization is about the increasing trans-nationalization of economic and cultural life, frequently imagined in terms of the creation of a global space and community in which we shall all be global citizens and neighbors. The proliferation of common cultural references across the world evokes for some a cosmopolitan ideal. There is the sense that cultural encounters across frontiers create new and productive kinds of cultural fusion and hybridity (AlSayyad, 2001).

As tradition has increasingly become an object of world tourism, its audience is no longer confined to the members of cultures that generate it. Instead, the primary consumers of cultural traditions may now be visitors from elsewhere. These outsiders, as well as the local agents who package tours around cultural themes, are no longer willing simply to accept local

traditions passively, and have increasingly taken an active role in manipulating and transforming cultures to fit their demands. This local-global process has resulted in the creation of stereotyped notions of "others", which may be at odds with local people's conceptions of themselves (AlSayyad, Graburn, 2001).

The World Heritage brand is by essence a global brand which is deeply rooted in the diversity of local cultures and landscapes of our world. It should transform the tensions between global-local dimensions into a connection among people with themselves and with the "other" across time, generations, geographies and cultures. The absence of a strong World Heritage global brand results in the absence of active connections between World Heritage sites and their outstanding values, and therefore in a disconnect between the global and local dimensions. None of the visited World Heritage sites during this dissertation were mentioning or referring to other World Heritage sites in the available on-site communication or interpretation while it is a key point of differentiation with other heritage sites.

Robinson (2001) points out that much of the tourism industry demonstrates no real concern for the cultural dimensions of place or territory. Rather, the challenge is to package, image and transform traditions, rituals and ways of life into saleable products. Thus, the tourism industry largely conceives of culture in two ways: either as value free, and thus largely as an inconsequential aspect of development, and as just another product to be packaged. As a result, cultures as embodiments of living traditions are reduced to superficial subjugates of consumerism and lose their active social aspects, political function and authenticity (Robinson, 2001).

Mitchell (2001) demonstrates with the example of Egypt that the governmental authorities assume that enjoyment of historical treasures can only be secured by their physical separation from the local community. This has resulted in the creation of "enclave tourism". Indeed most tourist live, eat and sleep in enclave hotels, travel in separate air-conditioned buses, and go to special entertainment sites. According to Mitchell, this process of segregation is being driven not only by the planning of international chains and local entrepreneurs, but also by government policies. Mitchell argues that such a segregated condition can be explained by realizing that the tourist industry, like other conventional industries, relies upon the optimization of resource flows and timetables, and the rearranging of physical space to accommodate it. The twist with the tourist industry is that this process is organized around maximization not of production but of consumption. To reveal the true nature of this relationship, one must bring the hidden violence of the "heritage industry" into view.

Negative effects of acculturation via the "demonstration effect" including deviant behaviors to support the imitation of touristic lifestyles, does occur, reflecting the fact that although direct tourist-host encounters may be limited, indirect encounters are far greater and arguably more pervasive (Robinson, 2001). The cost of the marginal tourist takes no account

of the additional congestion cost imposed by the extra tourist. Allowing the market to develop without regulation has the effect of destroying the very places which are the objects of the tourist gaze. The World Heritage brand stands for the diversity of cultures and connects them through their outstanding values across time, geographies and generations, and through the participation of visitors and local people in the interpretive process and conservation efforts.

It seems that the current concern for the effects of mass tourism is basically a "middle class" anxiety like other environmental concerns (Beckerman, 1974). People's consumption of positional goods is inherently relational. The satisfaction derived from each individual is not infinitely expandable, but depends upon the position of one's own consumption to that of others. This can be termed "coerced competition" (Mishan, 1969).

One strategy pursued by the tourist industry has been to initiate new developments which have permitted greatly increased numbers to gaze upon the same object. Moreover the notion of scarcity is problematic for other reasons as there also is a distinction between the physical carrying capacity of a tourist site, and its perceptual capacity (Walter, 1982). In the former sense, it is clear when a mountain path literally cannot take anymore walkers since it has been eroded and has effectively disappeared. The notion of perceptual capacity changes the situation. Walter (1982) is concerned here with the subjective quality of the tourist experience. He goes on to note that the perceptual capacity is immensely variable and depends upon particular conceptions of nature and on the circumstances in which people expect to gaze upon.

Contemporary tourists are collectors of gazes and appear to be less interested in repeat visits to the same sites. The initial gaze is what counts. The internationalization of tourism means that all potential objects of the tourist gaze can be located on a scale, and can be compared with each other. The result of such internationalization is that different countries or different places within a country come to specialize in providing particular kinds of objects to be gazed upon. An international division of tourist sites has emerged in the last decades or two.

It seems that with the increased leisure time people are increasingly moving away from the somewhat standardized package holiday and seeking of a wider variety of forms of leisure activity, including independent travel (McRae, 1989). Furthermore, there are complex relationships between tourists and the indigenous populations of the places at which those tourists gaze. There are indeed a number of determinants of the particular social relations that are established between "host" and "guests" (Smith, 1978) such as the number of tourists visiting a place in relationship to the size of the host populations, and to the scale of the objects being gazed upon.

The predominant object of the tourist gaze, whether it is a landscape, a townscape, an ethnic group, a lifestyle, historical artifacts, bases of recreation or sand, sun and sea is

also an important dimension in this respect although those tourists activities which involve observation of physical objects are clearly less intrusive. The character of the gaze involved and the resulting spatial and temporal "packing" of visitors also clearly determine the relation between host and visiting populations.

The organization of the industry that develops to service the mass gaze whether it is private or publicly owned and financed with the "trinketisation" of local crafts also impact on the type of relation between visitors and local population. The effects of tourism upon the pre-existing agricultural and industrial activities and the economic and social differences between the visitors and the majority of hosts are important causes of tensions. The World Heritage brand should then stand for a visitor's experience which transforms the gaze-upon into a "connect-upon" with other cultures, diversity of meanings and with local people. This connect-upon experience for visitors of World Heritage sites should become a key point of differentiation with other attractions particularly heritage sites through a World Heritage brand development strategy.

The degree to which the State in a given country actively seeks to promote tourist developments or alternatively endeavors to prevent them is also a strong determinant in the relationship between visitors and local population. The degree to which the mass of visitors demand particular standards of accommodation and service, that they should be enclosed in an environmental bubble to provide protection from many of the features of the host society is also a competition or tension factors in the relation between visiting and hosting populations. One place that has been overrun by tourists is Florence where the resident population of 500,000 accommodates some 1.7 million visitors each year. This has led to the plan to remove the city's academic, commercial and industrial functions from the centre and to turn it over entirely to tourism. It would mean the "disneyfication of Florence" (Vulliamy, 1988).

Thus, the same object in a physical sense has been transformed by a variety of commercial and public interest. The nature of the gaze has undergone immense changes. In the eighteenth century the falls were an object of intense aura. In the nineteenth century they functioned as a "liminal zone" gazed upon and deeply experienced by courting people. In the later twentieth century, they have become "another place" to be collected by the immensely mobile visitor for whom the gaze at the falls stands for spectacle, sex and commercial development (Urry, 1990).

Culture has come to occupy a more central position in the organization of present day societies, whose contemporary culture can be at least in part characterized as "post-modern". Postmodernism involves a dissolving of the boundaries, not only between high and low cultures, but also between different cultural forms, such as tourism, art, education, photography, television, music, sport, shopping and architecture (Upton, 2001). Postmodernism is free-floating, having few connections with anything real, no minimal shared

meaning of any sort. It refers to a system of signs or symbols which is specific in both time and space (Upton, 2001).

Tourism is pre-figuratively post-modern, because of its particular combination of the visual, the aesthetic and the popular. But within tourism, modernism has been reflected to treat people within a socially differentiated site as similar to each other with shared tastes and characteristics albeit determined by the providers of the service in question (Upton, 2001). The World Heritage brand is fundamentally post-modern by essence through dissolving boundaries across time, cultures, geographies and generations. This is not yet apparent at World Heritage sites, because of the absence of a branding strategy. World Heritage sites such as the Great Wall or the Summer Palace in China which were visited during this dissertation do not communicate their World Heritage Listing in relation to other World Heritage sites. There are currently no efforts of bridging World Heritage sites among themselves to create meanings as part of the interpretation process.

As Frampton (1988) argues, life has become a paradoxical moment and people became perhaps more obsessed by history than ever before, and have simultaneously the feeling that a certain historical trajectory, or even for some, history itself, is coming to an end. This loss of historical sense has also been associated with a characteristic of the media which contrives increasingly our lives in a three-minute culture. Indeed the gaze in which all sorts of places have become centres of spectacle and display with the nostalgic attraction of "heritage" can be seen as post-modern.

We have seen a spectacular growth in the number of museums in western countries. This is clearly part of the process by which the past has come to be much more highly valued by comparison with both present and the future. The development of tourism spaces can be viewed as part of a more general process of modernity, of the increasing differentiation of functions in both space and time. The restructuring of global space is in part the result of changes to the pattern of economic growth and investment which is now played on a global scale. Spatial practices are no longer confined within the boundaries of nation states and tourism is no exception.

One of the features of contemporary globalization is the growth and influence of multinational corporations. One of the apparent paradoxes of globalization is the way that it appears to be pulling in two directions at once. On the one hand it pulls towards the creation of a global system of deregulated neo-liberal economies, while on the other it promotes forms of cultural fragmentation or de-differentiation leading to assertion of nations, regions, and localities as "foci" of identity in apparent rootless global world. In other words, there exists a series of tensions between the dominant forms of global practice, representation of space defined at a national level, and the representation of spaces of localities and lived experiences (Freedman, 1999 and King, 1999).

Tourism is no exception to these trends and, in the past decade or so many alternative models that emphasize both local solution to development and concentration on more specialized targeted or niche markets have emerged.

All tourist development must have some sustainable target-markets such as visitors attracted to ecotourism although they are a relatively small market segment. It also involves a high degree of aesthetic appreciation which is now a central element within contemporary patterns of consumption and commoditization.

Tourists in the near future will be financially rich, but time impoverished. The implication for the development of tourism is that tourists will be more active in seeking what could be termed quality of experience. The World Heritage brand should then stand for this visitor's demand of quality experience in a post modern context. The World Heritage brand can only bring sustainability by targeting these visitors which understand the quality of experience through the appreciation of conservation efforts, participation of local people in the interpretation and conservation processes, and through their quest of meanings and authenticity for their own self-development.

Horne (1992) calls for a re-conceptualization of tourism itself instead of having the museum world and the heritage industry submitting to the dictates of an uncritical consumer-driven market oriented tourism. As Shackley (1998) advocates, greater application of heritage and tourism management planning, and the imposition of pricing mechanism are also needed. Large visitor numbers, poor interpretation, little available information, crowds, congestion and pollution affect the quality of that experience, a quality which can unfortunately only be maintained at a high cost.

The challenge will be to improve the quality of the experience while increasing the capacity of the sites to meet the demand and to develop facilities for cultural tourism so as to prevent the onslaught of low quality mass tourism provoking irreversible destructions of World cultural and natural heritage (UNESCO, 1996, 1997).

The suggestion that "*a policy encouraging high quality, high price tourism is indispensable*" (UNESCO, 1996) clearly implies the aim of reaping the maximum benefits from low numbers of tourists while minimizing the impact on the infrastructure recovering from decades of social and economic turmoil. However, such approaches would make the World Heritage to a few privileged ones which could afford the high price of the access. While the current strategy of developing cultural tourism succeeds in presenting at World Heritage sites such as Angkor a "high quality" landscape of "ancient" monuments for an international audience, the practices and values of domestic visitors remain inadequately appreciated.

Tourism is one of the largest industries in the world with more than 700 million tourist in 2003 and can become an essential tool in the challenge to overcome biodiversity losses and eradicate poverty (it generates some 12% of the world global GNP). Experience has

shown that visitor management is a balancing act requiring the establishment of a tourism policy based on conservation and preservation goals that will be supported by all stakeholders, while respecting legal mandates, encouraging on-going debate and monitoring tourism activities.

There could be clear benefits in setting-up what Lask and Herold (2005) term "tourism observation stations" within World Heritage sites, where all stakeholders could come together in a continuous exchange of information and concern, and where intercultural interaction and exchange become genuine possibilities.

Tourism contributes to the globalization process and at the same time contributes to the maintenance and retention of cultural diversity (Urry, 1990). It contributes to the globalization through the dissemination of homogeneous management system, universal applications of service quality, repetition of touristic architectural styles, personal training and management, and through the contacts travelers have with local peoples everywhere.

As Robertson (1992) notes the cultures of particular societies are, to different degrees, the result of their interactions with other societies in the global system. In this context the tourism system is a significant vector of inter-penetrating societies and cultures across the globe. While cultural integration processes are taking place on a local level, there are increasing pluralistic or polytheistic manifestations including a process of cultural fragmentation and collapse of symbolic hierarchies.

The fluid composition of population in the Post-Fordist era, accelerated by the immense mobility of people and the refusal of cultural products and practices to stay "where they belong" bring about a sense of loss of territorial roots, of an erosion of the distinctiveness of places (Bhabba, 1994). And de-territorialized space becomes re-territorialized space with place no longer necessarily a paramount consideration.

However the problem of the moment is that the rich have mobility while the poor have locality. Or rather, the poor have locality until the rich get their hands on it (Eagleton, 2003).

World Heritage sites could become abstract spaces where mutual exchange in culture and arts could be possible, and where different cultural influences could lead to the creation of something new of a post-modern nature. Tourism would thus become a way of contacting another culture and expressing oneself to its cultural influences (Lask and Herold, 2005).

This notion of tourism destinations as meeting points or zones that contribute to creativity and help to open up minds by cultural exchange is quite interesting for World Heritage sites and contrast with MacCannell's more negative notion of "empty meeting grounds" (MacCannell, 1992). World Heritage sites could then rather represent a no-man's land where at every instance cross-cultural communication must be invented (Clifford, 1997, Lask, 2002, Sahlins, 1989). The World Heritage brand would then stand for the promise of a

self-fulfilling experience through the encounter of the "other" in harmony with nature and humanity beyond geographies, generations and time.

It is therefore useful to propose a branding development strategy with a related brand model for the World Heritage which could respond to these challenges while ensuring the sustainability and authenticity of World Heritage sites.

Chapter 6

Branding the World Heritage: a brand Model Strategy for World Heritage Sites

World Heritage Brand Identity and Equity

The World Heritage brand was created through the Convention on World Heritage which defined this universal concept and ideal of a World Heritage with outstanding values to be preserved and protected for the generations to come. After some time of listings of several prestigious sites, it then acquired some autonomy as a brand with its own meaning. It started as many other brands as a meaningless word and year after year, listing after listing which were actually associations with prestigious and world famous heritage sites such as the ruins Machu Pichu in Peru or the Pyramids of Giza in Egypt, it acquired a meaning, composed of the memories of past and emergent associations. This meaning also resulted from a succession of interactions with visitors, governments, media, experts, universities and other partners.

It is therefore made of the unique set of associations and interactions that the World Heritage brand aspires to create or maintain. These associations reflect and project what the brand stands for and stem out from a fundamental promise to visitors from the World Heritage sites.

The World Heritage brand identity should then help establish a sustainable relationship between the brand and the visitor by generating a value proposition involving functional, material, emotional, or self-expressive and cognitive benefits (Aaker, 1996) which are defined through the unique, authentic and self-fulfilling experience for visitors of World Heritage sites. The World Heritage brand identity is made up of all the words, images, ideas, and associations that form a visitor's aggregate perception of the World Heritage brand before during and after the visit. The identity is then the whole fabric of how World Heritage is perceived and understood by its constituencies in relation to its performance. As seen with Upshawn (1995), the brand identity lives entirely in the mind of the consumer or in the case of World Heritage sites of visitors. The promise of a unique and authentic experience of the universality and outstanding value of our world is at the core of the World Heritage brand

identity. The current inexistence of a World Heritage brand focus throughout World Heritage sites has been detrimental to the building of a strong brand identity resulting in erratic brand equity. As we have seen in chapter 1, the inconsistent use of the World Heritage logo at some sites such as the Imperial Palace of the Ming and Qing Dynasties in China in association with the advertising of unrelated consuming goods does not strengthen the brand equity and even damage the World Heritage brand identity.

The World Heritage brand identity articulates itself as for other brands around a core and an extended identity. The core identity – the DNA, timeless essence of the World Heritage brand – is about being the global driving force that develops with partners a better understanding and respect for World Heritage sites to ensure their authenticity, credibility and sustainability. The World Heritage brand core identity is certainly about the need to conserve and preserve for humanity and the next generations the outstanding and universal value of parts of our world.

The extended identity encompasses identity factors such as its stand for the implementation of the Convention on World Heritage while exposing dangers faced by World Heritage, confronting unsustainable use of World Heritage and ending practices that violate the Convention on World Heritage. As seen by Aaker (1996) the extended identity is fundamentally about adjusting the picture, adding details that help portray what the brand stands for and the important dimensions of the brand's marketing program that have become visible through associations and interactions.

It therefore includes the continuous development of knowledge and expertise to create, deliver and inspire solutions for World Heritage sites to ensure their sustainability and authenticity through innovative conservation and interpretation practices. The extended brand identity of World Heritage is also about building local capacity by engaging local populations in promoting and protecting World Heritage values while developing sustainable resources for local communities. The current branding situation which is basically about the absence of any strategic branding focus within World Heritage sites lead to the fossilization of sites such as the Forest of Cedars of Gods in Lebanon where the visitor's experience is contrived to strict itineraries and rules which become the only on-site available interpretation paradigm.

The World Heritage brand is about innovative, participatory and interactive approaches to interpretation and conservation.

An important dimension of the World Heritage marketing program which has become visible and essential is the need to maximize resources invested in World Heritage both by acting directly and by building strong alliances to protect its authenticity and promote its sustainability. The extended identity of the World Heritage brand is fundamentally about promoting World Heritage sites whether cultural or natural as bridges across time, cultures,

generations to connect people with the diversity and plurality of meanings of our world in providing them with a unique and outstanding experience of humankind and nature.

Furthermore, the World Heritage Convention contributed significantly to the linking of what had been traditionally regarded as two different and often opposing interests: cultural environment and natural environment (ICOMOS, 1986). The identity of the World Heritage brand is very marked by these linkages between culture and nature which are promoted by the World Heritage brand. This brand identity also reflects an understanding of a post-modern world which combines and blends meanings and which connects people with and among themselves.

The brand identity of World Heritage also emerges from UNESCO's recommendation for the safeguarding of sites which focuses on countering "*the threats of modern life to landscapes and sites*" and call for "*control over operations and activities liable to impair them*" (UNESCO General Conference, 1962). The World Heritage brand identity is then very much associated with the authentic and genuine memory of humankind. However, no explicit references are made to the Convention in the World Heritage sites which were visited for this dissertation. The combination made at the Statue of Liberty site in the United States of America, with another site which is not listed as a World Heritage (Ellis Island, Figures 1, 2 and 3) somehow undermines the credibility of the Convention.

Notions of heritage and identity are also affected by globalization and related social changes, which often encourage cultural homogeneity and may create tensions with a local or national meaning as heritage attractions are also employed in the exploration, discovery and expression of national and cultural identities (Prideaux, 2003). Meanings of identity and heritage may however be disputed, and the State acts as a decision maker and mediator, often following an essentially hegemonic agenda in matters of interpretation, presentation and conservation (Prideaux, 2003).

The Convention actually addresses the issues of World Heritage in terms of State Parties to the Convention with related responsibilities. The World Heritage brand identity is also about bringing visitors beyond these national or political agendas. The brand image of the World Heritage has been affected at times by the narrow political use of some State Parties to the Convention which gave a limited and limitative sense of World Heritage. For instance, in Thailand, the interpretation paradigm of the World Heritage site of Sukhothai, which was visited for this dissertation, is about demonstrating the existence of an ideal and mythical Thailand beyond its regional and historical disparities. Similarly the World Heritage site of Ayutthaya promotes this eternal Thailand with some mention of the World Heritage even on postcards (Figure 51), but not in association with the World Heritage brand values (Peleggi, 1996). It is therefore essential to aim for a brand identity which will stand for World Heritage brand values such as authenticity, universality, participation and diversity. The World Heritage

brand identity also derives from the interpretation paradigm it should propose which is plural, diverse and participatory and goes beyond any nationalistic or hegemonic exploitation.

However, World Heritage listing also cultivates local and national pride in the property and develops feelings of national responsibility to protect the area. The listing as a World Heritage would then engage local communities or countries in the conservation and preservation of the site contributing to its sustainability. The prestige that comes from being a State Party to the Convention and having sites inscribed on the World Heritage List often serves as catalyst to raising awareness for heritage preservation on the part of governments and citizen alike. Heightened awareness in turn, leads to greater consideration and a general rise in the level of protection and conservation afforded to heritage properties. A State Party may receive both financial assistance and expert advice for the preservation of its sites as well as for developing educational material (UNESCO, Convention on World Heritage, World Heritage Centre, 2000). The current absence in many sites of any reference to the World Heritage Listing or emphasis of the national dimension or national authorities as done in the World Heritage site of Baalbeck in Lebanon (Figure 38) prevent any awareness raising about conservation efforts and related support needed from the international community. The presentation and limitation to a national interpretation paradigm or national symbolism is defeating the objectives of a special space of humanity which needs a special international attention and protection.

As mentioned earlier, brand identity is often confused with brand image although quite different. While brand image is usually passive and looks to the past and present, brand identity should be active and look toward the future, reflecting the associations that are aspired for the brand. Developing a brand identity is indeed far more strategic and is bringing about change in present and past perceptions of the brand. Building a brand identity is therefore about developing a sustainable and competitive position for the brand.

Similarly, the World Heritage although not yet promoted as a brand, has a brand image which emerges from its past associations and perceptions in the mind of visitors of World Heritage sites as well as in their relational experiences with these World Heritage sites. As seen earlier, this brand image is rather unclear and not consistent. The profusion of World Heritage sites without clear communication of their listing as World Heritage, and of their outstanding and universal value certainly contributed to a blurred brand image. It is therefore essential to communicate in every ways possible, clearly and systematically the World Heritage core brand identity as being the global driving force developing with partners a better understanding and respect for World Heritage sites to ensure their authenticity, credibility and sustainability

Furthermore, until recent years no efforts were actually made to have a balanced representation in terms of World Heritage sites listed between countries, regions, cultures,

themes so that the World Heritage brand was very much associated with a western and European context, and not with the interrelated diversity and plurality of a post-modern world along with the recognition of the enormous number of diverse eco-systems and cultures. This also generated a lack of credibility and suspicion on its authenticity over the years as the World Heritage's claim and promise of universality and outstanding value were somehow truncated by its imbalances and gaps. A clear World Heritage brand identity will therefore also emerge from a more balanced World Heritage List in terms of sites, themes and geographic areas as it would truly stand for the universality of its initial claim.

As mentioned earlier, the brand identity is part of the brand overall equity; the total perception of a brand in the marketplace, driven mostly by its positioning and personality. Basically, the brand equity is the total accumulated value or worth of a brand, the tangible and intangible assets that the brand contributes to its corporate parent, both financially and in terms of selling leverage.

As defined by the Marketing Science Institute, brand equity is "*the set of associations and behaviours on the part of the brand's customers, channel members, and Parent Corporation that permits the brand to earn greater volume or greater margins that it could without the brand name and that give the brand a strong, sustainable, and differentiated advantage over competitors*" (Srivastana and Shoker, 1991). Fundamentally, branding is about endowing products and services with the power of brand equity.

Therefore, the brand equity is built on consumers' subjective and intangible assessments of the brand, above and beyond its objectively perceived value. It is strategically essential in branding strategies to convince consumers that there are meaningful differences among brands in the product or service category so that brand equity could be created. The key to branding is that consumer must not think that all brands in its product category are the same.

To talk about World Heritage and branding in the same title may seem anathema to some but in tourism and heritage conservation terms, World Heritage represents an extremely strong brand that is based on the outstanding heritage values of World Heritage sites as well as their potential attractiveness to visitors (Hall and Piggin, 2003). Acceptance of a nomination of a site to the World Heritage List is regarded as extremely prestigious because it is seen as having a universal value to humankind. Efforts of conservationists to stop degradation of World Heritage sites as in Australia and New Zealand have been transferred to the brand equity of the World Heritage brand (Hall, 1992).

Yet the brand equity of the World Heritage does not lie in any direct tangible benefit. The simple fact that it exists is often enough for them to support the World Heritage ideal. Indeed the association with some high-profile Heritage sites around the world can be enough to demonstrate the value to the conservation minded. Whereas branding is a major marketing

issue in most other parts of the tourism industry, to date it has played a relatively limited role in the visitor attraction sector, particularly those related to the World Heritage sites.

Hall and Piggin (2003) explored the branding potential of heritage with specific reference to existing practices surrounding visitor attractions with World Heritage status. They begin by indicating the important role of institutional procedures and processes in developing the values underlying the World Heritage brand. They conclude that there is limited consensus of understanding and usage of the World Heritage brand with its related brand identity and brand equity.

Yet while the value of World Heritage relies on universal significance it must be noted that recognition of such value is not always universal at the level of the tourism consumer (Hall and Piggin, 2003). Nevertheless, the brand equity of the World Heritage is also made through its recognized role of education about nationally and internationally significant heritage, with campaigns regarding World Heritage values active at national and international levels. The listing of a site as a World Heritage adds value to a site. Several commentators have suggested that a World Heritage status increases the popularity of a destination (Hall, 1992, Shackley, 1998, Thorsell and Sigaty, 2001). These sites in return increase the brand equity of the World Heritage brand with their own prestige and universal significance.

Undoubtedly, there is substantial evidence of the attractiveness of World Heritage sites for tourism. For example a survey of 118 national World Heritage sites by Thorsell and Sigaty (2001) reported a total annual visitation of nearly 63 million people. Further evidence of the significance of tourism for World Heritage is illustrated by the survey of management bodies of World Heritage sites in OECD countries (Hall and Piggin, 2003) which indicates some of the key factors relating to World Heritage status and tourism.

In many less developed countries, World Heritage has been recognized as a source of local pride as well as potential economic development through tourism (Hall and Piggin, 2003). Nevertheless, in some countries such as the United States of America, World Heritage is not well known as seen at some sites that are on the World Heritage List such as the Statue of Liberty which was visited for this dissertation. This can be partly attributed to the failure of tourism businesses to create and maintain customer and visitor records as well to the absence of broader macro-level research on reasons for travel to World Heritage sites.

Marcotte and Bourdeau (2002) interviewed several business managers in Quebec assessing the impact of the World Heritage recognition of Quebec City on tourism. These interviews revealed that linking the brand with the World Heritage site designation was not done systematically, although displaying this recognition provides a competitive advantage vis-à-vis other cities, as the designation by UNESCO, as a World Heritage site, should bring it international fame. They found out that for European tourists this distinction has a real value, while for visitors for whom the cultural dimension is not the most important factor in selecting a

destination, the World Heritage site designation is not a determining factor. For American and Canadian even and international tourists, the designation would be an abstract argument little known to the visitors and residents, and would not provide a clear product image of tourism in Quebec City (Marcotte and Bourdeau, 2002).

Although the UNESCO classification is considered as a value added when presenting the region, the managers interviewed emphasized that this argument is not at the core of our promotion. According to them, making reference to the World Heritage site is thus not a deciding factor in choosing a tourist destination. Finally for these managers, the historic district recognized by UNESCO is neither threatened nor extremely fragile. Therefore, it does not warrant draconian measures for its preservation measures which would be strong advertising arguments (Marcotte and Bourdeau, 2002).

Managers of cultural events use the UNESCO designation in their main promotional tools only if the historic district is the main location for their cultural events. These managers state that using the UNESCO designation with foreign visitors brings certain expectations, but they use it because this distinction is a sign of quality (Marcotte and Bourdeau, 2002). The almost total lack of knowledge of the meaning of this designation by a major proportion of the visitors as the American tourists makes it a useless promotional tool. The prestige which is intended to be associated with the classification is not having the anticipated effects.

One can also explain this lack of influence by the poor commercial use of this brand which, in turn creates a poor understanding of this brand (especially among American or business clientele) and by the fact that this brand distinction brings no guarantee of the quality of the cultural and tourist experiences.

However, when this recognition is mentioned, it is for a particular visitor, highly educated and in favor of the conservation of the natural and architectural heritage (Marcotte and Bourdeau, 2002). It is then included in advertising brochures to promote "products" intended for informed visitors and culturally attracted travelers who are interested in heritage, architecture and history. It is also mentioned, when there is a competition with other sites, the recognition is then, a strong and useful argument. In Asia, in the competition for the tourist dollars, some countries such as Thailand use their World Heritage sites as a comparative advantage vis-à-vis other tourist destinations. The Ministry of Tourism in Thailand even published a leaflet promoting Thailand tourism through its World Heritage sites.

Marcotte and Bourdeau (2002) commented that using the phrase "Quebec City, World Heritage" identifies it as a signature and distinctive prestigious brand. This designation would therefore ensure that tourists would make the journey, because it is a guarantee that the trip would be worth the effort. However, one of the interviewed tour operator summarized it by affirming that if the UNESCO designation guarantees the historic value of a place it really symbolizes tourist potential rather than a pledge of quality (Marcotte and Bourdeau, 2002).

Today, it is clear that it does not yet represent for all tourists a quality assurance label as other sites are granted the same distinction, especially in South America, which do not feature the same criteria of quality (for example on the basis of heritage conservation, safety or cleanliness). International recognition would not yet have a significant value for tourists coming from these countries or for tourist visiting World Heritage sites in these countries. Brazilian or other South American visitors are usually less interested in this feature, having in their own countries listed sites, but with a total lack of funding available to maintain them, making this recognition questionable. The perception of these visitors is negatively influenced by a poor branding and a relatively lower maintenance of World Heritage sites in South America.

The European clientele which seems to be the most attracted to the UNESCO recognition might also question in the long run the meaning of this recognition while visiting World Heritage sites poorly maintained and overrated such as the sites of Tyre and Anja in Lebanon which were visited for this dissertation. Then, the UNESCO designation appears as vague and unknown, because it is not defined, and is not associated with any concrete image. It does not have a single common criterion or standard (Marcotte and Bourdeau, 2002). This is having a depreciative effect on the brand equity of World Heritage.

On the other hand, tourists from poor countries, aside from having less opportunity to travel, would strongly associate this distinction with western standards.

This lack of interest by citizens in this recognition probably reflects, as mentioned, the lack of quality standards associated with this UNESCO distinction which are perceived and understood by local populations, and tourists at large. Thus, establishing quality standards for a public space could influence the expectations of tourists (Henry, 1998) and ensure the development of a tourist product for that destination while taking into account the historic heritage character of the place.

For now, if being a World Heritage site appears positive, it requires no quality standards in its communication and interpretation paradigm and can offer visitors no guaranty as to the quality of the experience encountered (Marcotte and Bourdeau). It is therefore essential to build a solid brand equity by communicating clearly, systematically and strategically the World Heritage brand core identity as a global driving force promoting understanding and respect for World Heritage with its related brand values such as universality, participation, sustainability and education.

Furthermore, the mass market or even a family-oriented tourism is probably less affected by this recognition, while the urban, well-educated visitor concerned about protecting the environment and the cultural heritage is more responsive (Marcotte and Bourdeau, 2002). It would then make sense to target a core market of supporters to build a solid brand equity and promote strategically the World Heritage brand.

The commercial use of the World Heritage Listing does not seem to allow the positioning of the travel destination as no common marketing image is developed based on the characteristics or symbols of the historic district from which the recognition was obtained (Ritchie and Ritchie, 2000). Marcotte and Bourdeau noted that the logo of the World Heritage site or reference is not used in current business practices as a positive promotional element. Thus, UNESCO recognition is not yet used as a brand name in order to sell the destination except among European clientele strongly interested in culture, history and heritage (Ritchie and Ritchie, 2000). Moreover, where residents are concerned, not only is the UNESCO classification not used like a brand, but also few educational or promotional activities are organized to publicise it (Marcotte and Bourdeau, 2002).

This has also been affecting negatively the World Heritage brand equity as the added value which could have been gained from a strategic focus with core audiences and partners was not seized to its fullest.

It is quite essential to build associations and develop interactions with target audiences and partners to promote the World Heritage brand around clear and articulated brand values which are relevant to these audiences and partners. A strategic focus with core audiences and on alliances with partners mainly in the tourism industry would increase the brand equity by adding value in co-branding partnerships. This strategic targeting of audiences and selection of partners has to be in relevance of the World Heritage brand model and its brand values to increase its brand equity.

UNICEF developed strategic partnerships with Airlines and Hotel chains to mobilize resources and raise awareness among targeted audiences. The partnership with some 40 airlines is basically about collecting small change of foreign currencies in a programme called "Change for Good" which not only raises million of dollars and also awareness on children issues particularly on child protection for business and tourists travelers. A partnership with the Sheraton Hotels group raises millions of dollars and again raises awareness on children issues particularly child prostitution within its "Check-out for children" programme which basically asked visitors a one dollar contribution as they check out.

Marcotte and Bourdeau (2002) reported through their study that all the respondents were unanimous in their viewpoints that this recognition is underutilized and that it would be of great benefit to use it not only in marketing to tourists, but also to the population at large particularly with communities within World Heritage sites reach. This underutilization of the World Heritage as a brand also impeded the development of its brand equity.

A similar study as the one of Marcotte and Bourdeau (2002) has been done in New Zealand in 1998-1999 regarding the tourism industry's understanding and use of the World Heritage status by businesses operating in or near two of New Zealand's World Heritage sites (Hall and Piggin, 2003): Te Wahi Pouamun which comprises four national parks and Tongariro

national Park. Some 372 Tourism businesses were approached and 142 responded to the survey; representing a good response rate of 37.2 per cent. It is interesting to note that 70 per cent of them thought that the World Heritage Listing had a positive or extremely positive effect on the region. Overall, 48.4 per cent of respondents believed that World Heritage status attracted visitors to their region, while just over 20 per cent believed it did not.

Even though they were all operating on or near to a World Heritage site, the type of business operation also influenced whether World Heritage Listing is used in promotion. Three quarter of eco-tourism and wildlife businesses in the study areas use the World Heritage brand, while most restaurants bars and museums and galleries did not use it at all. Some general themes emerged and indicated that the operators were not always sure of the meaning of World Heritage or that the area had been granted World Heritage status (Hall and Piggin, 2003).

The study showed that businesses have a different understanding of the reason of the World Heritage Listing. The beauty of the areas is seen as most relevant to operators. This mirrors some of the perceptions of operators that World Heritage is predominantly defined by natural beauty rather than by scientific significance. This indicates that there are substantial differences between the perceived and defined attributes of the sites. Interestingly, some 30 per cent of respondents did not know that the use of the World Heritage brand could be restricted while some 25 per cent of the respondents confirmed the use of the World Heritage emblem in their promotion, but not realizing that it was copyrighted (Hall and Piggin, 2003).

It also illustrates the gaps between the heritage values associated with a site at an international level and those recognized at the local level. These gaps have a serious impact on visitors' understanding and perception of a World Heritage site through the miscommunication of World Heritage brand values. It therefore affects negatively the brand equity and identity of the World Heritage.

These studies (Marcotte and Bourdeau, 2002; Hall and Piggin, 2003) therefore show a relative, erratic and inconsistent World Heritage brand equity while acknowledging its potential as a brand. It is then quite essential to increase the brand equity through a strategic use of the World Heritage as a brand through a relevant positioning towards targeted audiences and partners and through a clear, strategic and systematic promotion of World Heritage brand values.

This situation was also illustrated through the World Heritage sites visited for this dissertation particularly in the Imperial Palaces of the Ming and Qing Dynasties in China which even associate the World Heritage brand with irrelevant brands of consuming goods (Figure 9).

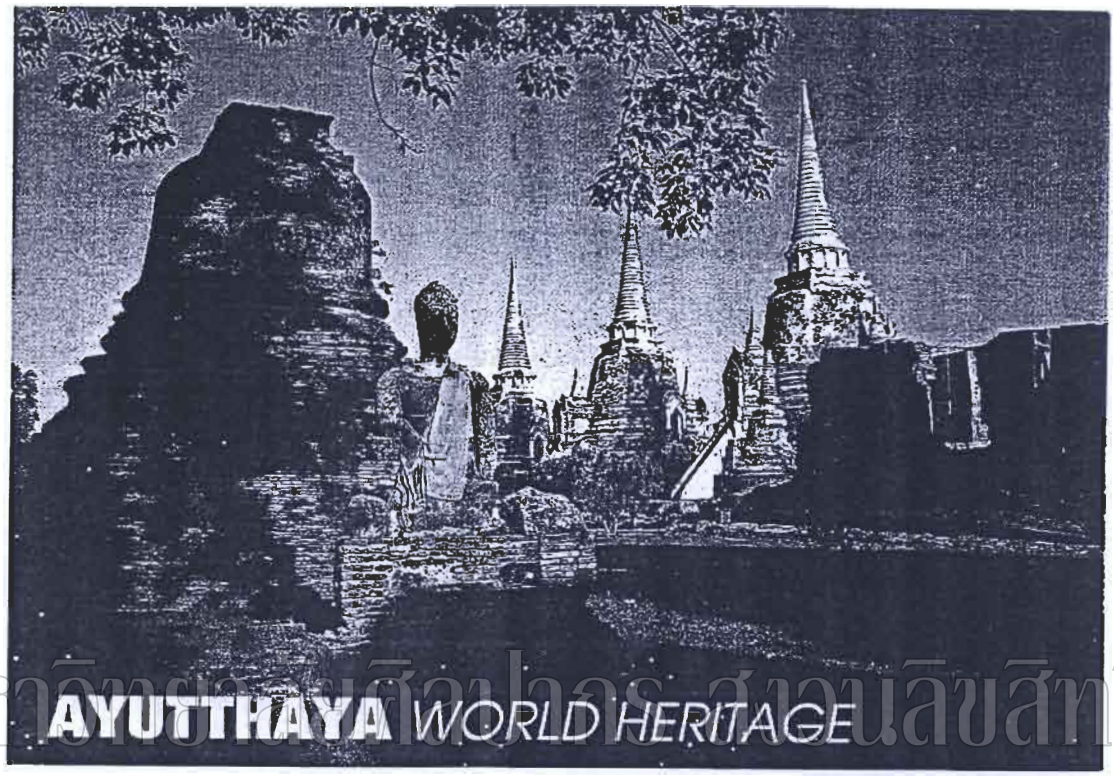


Fig. 51

World Heritage Brand Positioning and Values

A World Heritage site becomes fundamentally renowned through its listing for its values and its unique, priceless quality. Tourism businesses located in or near such a place then occasionally mention this classification in their advertising in the hope of attracting the attention and interest of national and international tourists. However, there is no understanding of the World Heritage as a strong brand which could be used in promoting World Heritage destinations. The designation of a World Heritage site could also work like an internationally recognized brand with a clear positioning which in turn makes a public place into a unique travel destination (Marcotte, Bourdeau, 2002).

Although traditionally used by private firms in marketing products and services the brand concept has been also used for several years by public organizations to promote services or tourist destinations (Kotler et al. 1996, Snepenger, 1998). Marketing strategies developed to improve the efficiency of the brand associated with a tourism destination take into account tangible and intangible elements associated with these public spaces and

position their destination brand vis-à-vis other destinations through attractive points of differentiations.

For the manager of a public space, using the UNESCO, classification like a brand is very difficult, because private firms especially in the tourism sector can also use indifferently this classification in marketing their product and services without a clear understanding of its positioning and brand values (Marcotte and Bourdeau, 2002).

A better understanding of the features that favored the acquisition of this UNESCO recognition, as well as its inherent potential for historical or tourism purposes, would also help make local residents aware of the value of this international recognition.

Tourism promotion is enhanced by the pride of residents who become its best ambassadors, and the most reliable means of protecting the brand associated with a public space lies in the feeling of ownership by residents (Marcotte, and Bourdeau, 2002). They in turn participate and are a dimension of the brand positioning while promoting its brand values.

Furthermore, a widespread and consistent use of the World Heritage designation as a brand would allow a better positioning on the international scene (Marcotte and Bourdeau, 2000) notably with tourists in search of remarkable authentic destinations. Brand positioning is done in relation to the target market and the nature of competition, and through brand associations and interactions with consumers reflecting and building the ideal points-of-parity and points-of-difference.

In other words, it is necessary to decide who the target consumer is, who the main competitors are, and how the brand is similar to these competitors and how the brand is different from these competitors. As seen earlier, the target market is the set of all actual and potential buyers who have sufficient interest in, income for and access to a product. It is basically made of all consumers with sufficient motivation, ability and opportunity to buy a product. The same definition of a target market is applicable to the World Heritage context. It has indeed to target potential visitors who have an interest in its values, and an understanding of the need to support and maintain the World Heritage sites. The World Heritage could not be targeting mass tourism as the sustainability and authenticity of the sites would be at stake and endangered.

It is difficult to envisage market in isolation of competition as they are often so closely related. Therefore a competitive analysis is essential and should consider the resources, capabilities, and likely intentions of various firms to choose markets where consumers can be profitably serviced. Similarly, in the World Heritage context, there are many types of competitors which aim to drive tourists in different approaches of destination or heritage tourism using if need be contrived attractions to promote a gaze-upon tourism. These competitors do not promote the need for conservation and preservation of heritage sites, but rather promote a leisure based and entertaining heritage product.

As seen earlier, a successful brand positioning requires defining the appropriate points-of-difference and points-of-parity associations for a brand (Keller, Heckler and Houston, 1998). The points-of-difference are attributes or benefits that consumers strongly associate with a brand, positively evaluate, and believe that they could not find the same extent with a competitive brand. The World Heritage sites still have to differentiate themselves from any other national or local heritage places or even contrived attraction tourist places in the mind of visitors. As we have seen in many World Heritage sites, the outstanding and universal value which listed them as World Heritage is often not communicated nor perceived clearly by visitors or potential visitors. This was particularly clear in the World Heritage sites in Anjar (Figure 33), in Baalbeck (Figure 34) and Tyre (Figures 39, 40 and 41).

The World Heritage brand, therefore, does not have yet a clear positioning in terms of targeted visitors. The preservation and conservation of World Heritage sites require a sustainable positioning which can not target massively all kinds of visitors. This wide positioning would indeed be detrimental to the sustainability of the World Heritage sites. It is then essential to consider this sustainability dimension in the positioning of the World Heritage brand by targeting visitors which are genuinely interested and understanding the specific values of the World Heritage brand particularly as it relates to conservation and preservation.

Although, there is a clear demand for entertainment and leisure attractions including heritage attractions, their success is related to the creativity of the design and its appeal in terms of brand positioning. According to Stephen Wanhill (2003), the market of "image-scape" mix is made of "Me-Too" attractions (local museums, local mines or industrial sites transformed as attractions...) which are the more common attraction experience, "Grand inspiration" attractions (Disney in 1955, Open Air Museum in North of England, Ford Foundation museum in Detroit...) with a new image but still within current market, "New versions" (Disney Centres in Tokyo and Paris, Universal Studios...), which are opening new markets but still with a current image, and "Wonder" attractions (Sydney or Singapore Opera Houses, Millennium Dome in London ...) with a new image and opening a new market.

It is therefore fundamental to position the World Heritage brand around the articulation of a very significant point of difference in the Heritage attraction market place aiming for a "Wonder" type of attraction with a new image and new market which is considerate of sustainability, protection, conservation and participation. Branding allows then World Heritage sites to develop a sense of individuality and product differentiation vis-à-vis other attractions.

At present, heritage has shifted to having a greater importance both as a focus of attraction as well as a theme against which places can be marketed. The World Tourism Organization states that almost 40 per cent of all travels have a heritage component involved.

A major reason for this is the emergence of significant "grey" (fifties plus) market within the major tourism sending regions.

The miniaturization and spread of Information technology has led to a democratization of knowledge and everyone can become an expert of some sorts. A highly informed, highly educated, well-traveled population is less easily led by appeals to traditional loyalties such as nation, class, trade unions or political affiliation. Hence, individuals are more apt to gather around issues which they themselves have chosen, leading to the proliferation of special interest groups around environmental issues, conservation, alternative medicine and so on (Economist, 1994).

Most practitioners and academics agree that visitors are changing and that the newness has something to do with increasing levels of sophistication. The Post-modernization has arguably produced two different species of sophisticated new consumers (Voase, 2005). The first one is the "Thoughtful" consumer who is looking for an active learning experience while the second one, the "Smart" consumer is consuming a heritage visiting experience as a mere transaction. If the thoughtful consumer responds primarily to the post-modernization of knowledge in terms of its proliferation and accessibility, the smart consumer responds primarily to its commoditized character.

The thoughtful consumers are ready to engage with the collections, and the smart consumers are alert to commercial gimmickry and see the visit essentially in terms of transaction, in which economic exchange value is a key feature. These smart visitors are in essence consumers who have lost their innocence (Voase, 2002).

The thoughtful consumer buys it as it resonates with values and memories deep in personal psyche while the smart consumer buys it as it will increase pecuniary value.

Basically, the cultural post-modernization has led to two kinds of new visitors: the thoughtful and the smart. The former is a product of the proliferation of knowledge under post-modern condition and the latter a product of the commoditization of that same knowledge.

The manager of a visitor attraction can reasonably conclude that content should offer the scope for exploration for the thoughtful consumer while price and value should offer a deal to satisfy the smart consumer and the initial contact with the visitor, via promotional material should offer and interesting and popular proposition which appeals not so much to the intellect but to the emotion (Voase, 2003). Present situation of World Heritage sites with their lack of a World Heritage brand focus with a targeted audience ignores needs of these two identified groups of visitors. Offers in terms of visitor's experiences made at World Heritage sites are not appealing to the "Smart" customer as there is no transaction gain, and "Thoughtful' visitors remain at loss with the limited interpretation paradigm proposed. This is particularly obvious at the Statue of Liberty World Heritage site in the United States of America where long waiting lines, heavy security measures and a disconnected approach to World Heritage have become

a challenging and cumbersome experience for visitors while visit prices are not particularly a bargain in this context (Figures 1, 2 and 3). The access to the boat to go to the World Heritage site of the Statue of Liberty has a pre-screening campus for visitors similar to airports were visitors have to remove their shoes and belts and get scanned through X ray machines after an hour or two of waiting.

A key distinction between heritage tourism and other types is the learning experience dimension and the perception of a greater willingness to learn on the part of the tourist (Light 1995, and Prentice, 1995). The heritage tourist is more likely to be willing to be educated on site, where learning is a principal element to the overall visit makes this all the more feasible. Current socio-demographic profile of heritage tourists suggests this level of respect to be present. The challenge will come when heritage tourism is marketed across society as a whole, where the same level of respect may not be evident (Boyd, 2005).

What has started to emerge over the past decade has been an interest in promoting the past and nature as tourist products and understanding and reliving the past or the harmony with nature as a tourist experience (Wall and Nuryanti, 1996).

The accepted thesis in Post-Fordist society is that to retain market position, suppliers should no longer sell goods to create experiences, but rather, sell services with attached goods to create experiences (Pine and Gilmore, 1998). In all cases, a site, event or place can only become an attraction when some special and significant value is given to it, and that value is communicated to visitors through interpretation and promotion (MacCannell, 1976).

Any future marketing of heritage must embrace the holistic nature of the term to involve its natural, cultural, historical, built, industrial and personal components and to present each as they exist within destinations. Failure to adopt such a holistic and inclusive understanding of heritage will perpetuate a myopic perspective that hurts what elements of heritage within settings are presented to visitors (Boyd, 2005). The World Heritage brand should be positioned around its unique heritage interpretation model based on the diversity and plurality of meanings along with the active participation of local populations and visitors in the interpretation process promoting World Heritage sites as vehicles for community development and poverty alleviation, for conservation and heritage stewardship, for education and training, for partnerships between heritage bodies, tourism organizations and operators or between local communities and stakeholders, and for biodiversity .

Destinations that selectively transform cultural resources into tangible products, including visitor attractions, not only facilitate the exchange of cultural experiences for a financial return, but they also have the potential to create a situation in which sustainable development can be promoted through the careful management of resources (Feifan Xie and Wall, 2003).

The brand values of World Heritage are derived from both the profile of the brand in certain countries and communities, such as the international heritage community, and from the rigorous process by which a site comes to be listed as World Heritage. Even in countries like Australia and New Zealand where the World Heritage Listing processes have been controversial and received high media coverage as World Heritage is of substantial importance, it reinforced its brand equity and brand values.

Significantly, World Heritage listing can also serve to reinforce the value of place brands through the association and identification (Morgan, Pritchard and Pride, 2002).

Although the actual rate of increased visitation of World Heritage sites is often similar to that of tourism overall in the countries concerned, there is the belief that World Heritage status increases tourism visitation. This belief and the fact that for many people an emotional link exists between individual international heritage attraction and the World Heritage concept is enough to establish a unique association for the consumer.

Managers in both the public and private sectors are faced with the task of improving the efficiency of a brand associated with a public space without sharing the marketing programs related to this brand. The brand concept is seldom used in promoting tourism destination (Ritchie and Ritchie, 2000). Managers in the tourism industry prefer using the image of a public place instead of promoting the destination with the help of a brand name.

When tourism industry managers deal with the image of a public space, they attempt to build an image based on its characteristics. These managers try to construct an image that will affect only the pre-travel consumer decision process. Using this marketing approach for promoting travel destination is motivated by the fact that the choice of a destination depends on the perception of a place's image that exists in the tourist mind (Goodrich, 1978). Unfortunately, quality controls associated with service offerings that deal with one's perception of a destination are not included in the marketing program. The on-site evaluation of a travel experience depends not only on the pre-conceived image offered of that destination, but also on the quality of services offered during the visit (Chon, 1992).

Simply to use the image of a travel destination without regard for the quality of the travel experience would have negative impacts on the destination. Therefore, promoting an image of a tourism destination without quality standards regarding the tourist experience is risky. Thus, the use of a brand name is not only important in order to influence expectations about the travel experience, but also in order to improve the quality control of the tourism product (Henri, 1998).

In the branding of a tourist destination, brand managers not only create an image, but they also must develop for that place a personality or an identity. Creating a brand name requires using a greater number and different types of marketing tools such as sales promotion, advertising, or marketing planning. The brand name, to a large extend, becomes

as the focal point for developing the image of the destination (Dussart, 1985). The brand name of a destination thus consists of a name and/or symbol such as logo and trademark intended to identify the destination with specific values and a specific positioning in the mind of visitors which differentiate it from competitive destinations (Ritchie and Ritchie, 2000). A destination's brand allows managers to convey to visitors the image of a pleasant experience that is unique to that destination (Ritchie and Ritchie, 2000) and, at the same time, to define quality standards (Aaker, 1991).

The brand name should therefore ensure the identification of the destination which will allow it to gain recognition and appreciation by the target market, and bring more of the targeted visitors to this place. After the visit, the brand serves to consolidate and reinforce memories of the experience (Ritchie and Ritchie, 2000). The visit itself is a branding experience which has to match all expectations and promises generated by the brand experience and its values and related positioning. Based on the knowledge of the targeted visitors and knowledge of the market, this process allows to segment the markets to differentiate the destination for its competitors, and, finally to position clearly the destination-brand for the targeted market (Dussart, 1985). Individual attractions such as Disneyland have also used their brand to promote their travel destination (Hanningan, 1998).

The combination of symbolic elements associated with the World Heritage site designation would allow a destination-brand such as a city to differentiate itself from cities that have not been designated. By communicating this symbol to tourists and residents, managers must attempt to enhance the value of the brand. This increase in the value of the brand name happens not only by differentiating the destination, but also by ensuring that the target is aware of this brand name (Kotler, 1999). Managers who would like to use the World Heritage in their marketing strategy would have thus, to emphasize the major attributes that distinguishes this destination or point of interest.

Since brand development of a travel destination is done according to a distinctive promotional theme in order to develop a personality, and a positioning statement, the use by tourism industry managers of the UNESCO designation is therefore essential to success. The organization of World Heritage sites does not decree rules for using this brand, and does not oblige in anyway Member States of the Organization to make use of it. There is however a need for a brand model with related brand development guidelines which would provide World Heritage sites managers and their partners with the appropriate tools in building associations promoting the World Heritage brand and its related values. A strategic focus on the brand during the process of associations and interactions is essential to ensure that it is actually developing the brand awareness, visibility and equity.

Because of their responsibility to protect and preserve the World Heritage sites from all types of degradation, public authorities should ensure that the promotion of the sites does

not threaten its integrity. Public Authorities should for example, intervene, to control the image conveyed to tourists, especially when making known the necessity to protect it and to explain that possible overuse could degrade it irreparably (ICOMOS,1996). It is therefore fundamental to have a serious engagement of Public Authorities which have the official accountability of World Heritage sites to be brand focused, adhere to and promote the brand values of the World Heritage.

World Heritage sites should be acting as incubators for brand development in fostering attachments to heritage sites by local communities, corporate partners in tourism industry and by visitors. The interpretation and brand strategies become catalyst for the development of local community empowerment. The World Heritage brand could then stand for a heritage interpretation model which would empower local populations and visitors in a unique experience of constructing or reconstructing meanings attached to a World Heritage site.

The World Heritage brand model could be articulated around the following brand values: Universality and Diversity; Authenticity and Sustainability; Protection and Conservation; Participation and Education and Connecting People.

Universality and Diversity

The key criteria for inscription on the World Heritage List is that World Heritage sites are sites of outstanding universal value as defined in Articles 1 and 2 of the World Heritage Convention. This outstanding universal value is defined from the point of view of history, science, ethnology, anthropology, conservation, art, aesthetic and natural beauty. Although the new Operational Guidelines of the Convention (2005) call for a balanced, representative and credible World Heritage List, it was never intended that the List should ensure a complete universal representivity of all the earth's numerous ecosystems and habitats, which is the role of national, regional and other international protected area systems. As for any natural resource, natural and mixed World Heritage sites, both existing and potential, are not found evenly around the globe.

Therefore, a perfect universal balance for all areas and types is not achievable, nor does it follow that in every country there will be at least one site that will potentially qualify for inclusion on the World Heritage List. Since the test for inclusion on the World Heritage List is that of universal outstanding value, it follows that the List cannot be open-ended and there must be some kind of eventual limit on the total number of natural and mixed sites (UNESCO, 2004). The "Universality" and subsequently the "Diversity" are then very much linked to a sense of credibility which makes it of an outstanding calibre.

UNESCO promotes an ideal of a politically neutral and universal Heritage, and attempts to realize that ideal through provisions such as article 11(3) of the World Heritage

Convention, which states that inscription of sites within a disputed territory is without prejudice to the claims of the parties involved.

The World Heritage model does not engage with the political implications of national agendas roosted in a view of heritage as the cultural property of specific ethno-national groups. For instance, in Cyprus this agenda has locked Greek and Turkish Cypriots in an intractable and uneven contest for legitimacy, framed in terms of the true cultural identity of the island. Greek and Turkish Cypriots are differently positioned in relation to the authoritative resources of the island's past, for which World Heritage inscription has become the ultimate brand, and in a certain sense the current division of the island could be viewed as the spatial expression of the temporal divide constructed through conventional heritage discourse in Cyprus (Scott, 1998).

The Universality and Diversity brand values of the World Heritage would then also mean for such nationalistic agendas that it is transcended into a universal space which would stand for humanity only.

Furthermore, Tourism development may follow a common path to create a uniform tourism landscape or contrived attraction promoted in a way that reinforces similarities and problems arise of maintaining a balance between the past and present and ensuring that aspects of heritage, such as built environment and cultural traditions, are not overwhelmed by excessive development and the race to modernize and globalize. World Heritage, built or natural, thus assumes an additional dimension whereby its conservation can help to maintain a unique sense of place and difference, intrinsic merit and commercial appeal, as mean to secure an advantage over rivals (Prideaux, 2003). The World Heritage brand is then unique in connecting this sense of place and difference with a strong sense of universality.

Authenticity and sustainability

Authenticity and sustainability are actually intrinsically linked as brand values of the World Heritage as while there is a justification to ensure that authenticity is not staged and remains real, it should be acknowledged that authenticity can be reaffirmed in how visitors consume the experience (McIntosh and Prentice 1999). Sustainability requires that the contradictory demands of conservation and visitors impacts on sites are effectively tackled and that a means is found of enabling both access to visitors and the effective protection of the site and its content from being damaged by those visitors.

World Heritage listing implies that a management plan must have been developed so as to maintain the integrity of the sites concerned. There is also a requirement to conduct on-going reviews of the qualities of World Heritage sites so as to ensure that they retain the values that allowed them to be listed in the first place (Hall and Piggin, 2003). This is

undertaken through a regular and formal review process as well as through the development of the World Heritage in Danger List which publicizes sites which are under threat and may be a precursor to removal from the World Heritage list altogether. The significance of a site placed on this List is witnessed in that the US Government has spent considerable amounts of money in an attempt to alleviate threat to World Heritage values in the Everglades and Yellow Stone parks when they were listed in 2000 as World Heritage in Danger.

In Tourism research, perspectives have varied from those of Boorstin (1964) who saw tourists as being duped and seduced to visit contrived attractions to McCannell (1976) who viewed tourists as modern pilgrims in search of the authentic, to Wang (1999) who argued that there are different types of authenticity, to Cohen (1988) who suggested that authenticity is of differing importance to different market segments. Authenticity is therefore a slippery and construed term. The authentic is not a fixed property of an object or a situation, but is a negotiated attribute with multiple dimensions whose status is evaluated differently by different assessors (Feifan Xie, 2003). The search of new icons and authentic experiences which are not available in the core market of attractions is as seen earlier a strong element of positioning for the World Heritage brand.

Protection and conservation

The "raison d'etre" of the World Heritage Convention is about protection and conservation. The title of the Convention itself is indicating this essential dimension: *"Convention concerning the Protection of the World Cultural and Natural Heritage"*.

The aim of the Convention is fundamentally to establish an effective and permanent system of collective protection of the cultural and natural heritage of outstanding universal value as indicated in its preamble. It however legitimates this protection and conservation for the sake of presentation and transmission to future generations. It is not the intent to ensure a protection and conservation for its own sake.

This protection and conservation endeavor stands for humanity. It is essential to protect World Heritage sites from uncontrolled human development, wars and conflicts, pollutions of any kinds and natural disasters. It is also necessary to ensure the conservation of World Heritage sites so that their authenticity and outstanding value are preserved. Again, the protection and conservation as World Heritage brand values are very much linked to other World Heritage brand values particularly authenticity sustainability, and education.

Conservation as a World Heritage brand value recognizes that it is essential to transmit to visitors, partners and local residents the principles for conservation and provide for their participation in the conservation efforts. Conservation is indeed of no use without

transmitting to audiences the conservation principles of the heritage being conserved as the educational value of heritage cannot be shared (Staiff, 2004).

The World Heritage brand is therefore the promise of an experience which will not only make protection and conservation visible to visitors but also as an integral part of their viewing, appreciation and consumption. This will help to strengthen their understanding of their role and engage them in the conservation process. It is therefore an effective way to reinforce the appreciation and the perception of the value of the World Heritage sites.

World Heritage sites would then have to ensure that conservation practices be made visible in all on-site presentations and that conservation is an integral part of the visitor's experience and interpretation paradigm. The World Heritage brand is the promise for a protection and conservation which connects a cultural site with our contemporary world and cultures while preventing ethnic tourism practices which destroy the host's culture or calcify a culture into a frozen picture of the past.

It is therefore the promise of an experience which goes beyond naming and stereotyping cultures from a western monocular where sites would only provide representations of the culture through the expected symbols.

It is also the promise of a conservation practice where research and participation would promote the restoration of arts, revitalize skills, foster creativity and provide a platform for communities to present themselves positively (Cohen, 1988, Graburn, 1984, Pitchford, 1995).

Participation and education

The World Heritage sites should be a participatory process and generate experiences through heritage interpretations by adding value and exploiting heritage as a resource for local communities (Staiff, 2003). Wood (1980) indicates that culture should not be viewed as being a concrete entity acted upon by forces from outside but, rather, as sets of symbols, or as webs of significance and meaning. Culture is not a thing, but a process. Ethnic identity is a feeling subject to ebb and flow (Poole, 1997).

The vital point is that meaning is not intrinsic to externalities, such as the objects and interpretive material encountered in a museum, but is authored by the visitor in his or her mind (Campbell, 1990). Meaning resides not in externalities, but is defined in the mind of the reader at the point of reading as suggested by the post-structuralists. Outside an encounter between a reader and a text there is no meaning. As Derrida (1998) famously observed, "*il n'y a pas de hors-texte* (there is no outside text)". Satisfaction resided in the exploration of memories, feelings and emotions which the visitor associates with the visit's experience. Visitors bring

with them a set of memories acquired through previous exposures to the subject matter and a set of anticipations based on memories (Campbell, 1994, Kelly, 1997).

The World Heritage brand should be the promise of a cognitive and educational experience which builds bridges of knowledge between past, present and future through the diversity and plurality of cultures and meanings in harmony with nature. It is also the promise of an experience or an encounter which fosters a sense of growth and personal development through an active participation in the construction of meaning.

This would then be the promise of place where culture is constant genesis through the visitor's participation and engagement with communities.

Connecting people

Tourism involves the movement of people outside their normal places of work and residence. As such, it provides participants with new experiences, often bringing them into contact with unaccustomed places and people. For many tourists, this is the search for the "Other", this being judged in relation to the "Self" and one's usual behaviors and settings (Feifen Xie and Wall, 2003).

The use of the past in all its forms (memory, narratives, material objects or historical sites...) can be regarded as an active factor in this search and construction of identity and meaning and consequently, an active factor in the ways different people continuously create a sense of themselves, a sense of place and a sense of possible futures (Brett, 1996, Staiff, 2004). The World Heritage brand would then be the promise of a tourism experience as a cultural phenomenon that would mediate and activate natural and cultural heritage as a vital part of the construction of self identity and meaning (Hollinshead, 1997, Hollinshead, 1999 and Staiff, 2004).

The World Heritage brand would therefore be the promise of a tourism experience which becomes the crucial vehicle for cultural transmission, cultural expressions, cultural translations and cultural productions in a post-modern milieu (Staiff, 2004). The World Heritage sites would then connect people with themselves and with others through the cultural and heritage exchange, and through revealing the self-to-self in the contemporary world while engaging with a community. It would be the promise of a connection where the global and universal are enacted in the local through the diversity and plurality of meanings and the harmony with nature.

Branding is a people to people business, not a factory to people business. A brand therefore needs to have human qualities and emotional values. As seen earlier, it needs to have a personality, expressing a corporate culture through an imagery that engages people. If you can make consumer desire a partnership with your brand, you have created an emotional

connection that spells long-term success (Gobe, 2001). The emotional relevance for visitors is essential to make the World Heritage brand sustainable. The brand values of World Heritage rely substantially on an emotional appeal based on regard for heritage, but increasingly spilling over into other areas including the tourism industry (Hall and Piggin, 2003).

Along with the rational brand values for the World Heritage co-exist therefore emotional brand values such as beauty, harmony, uniqueness, care, feelings, humanity, spirituality and identity. These emotional brand values also have to be systematically reinforced and enhanced through all associations or interactions with visitors, partners and local residents.

The World Heritage brand is about a universal sense and aspiration for beauty built on all senses and aspirations for beauty across time, generations and geographies. It encompasses all outstanding expressions of beauty in cultural or natural heritage. It is fundamentally intertwined with a sense of harmony with the world, with others, oneself and nature.

The uniqueness is this emotional intensity which lies in the outstanding value of the World Heritage and contributes to a special connection with the World Heritage brand. There is obviously the emotional sense of care as protection is deeply rooted in the brand core. This is in resonance with family care or in relation to nature.

The World Heritage brand is by essence about feelings expressed in cultural heritage or generated by our relation with nature which amplifies them. It is also clear that the World Heritage stands for humanity and the fundamental aspiration of the World Heritage Convention is to protect heritage, cultural and natural, so that it could be shared with generations to come.

People are no longer embarrassed to speak about their spiritual affinities and private soul searching. The trend is one of openness and exploration. It seems that people are seeking direct experience as opposed to dogma and the freedom to take meaning where they find it from a mixture of traditions (Gobe, 2001). The World Heritage brand should also be the emotional promise of spirituality and identity by connecting visitors of World Heritage sites with others, themselves and nature across time, generations and geographies.

A Strategic World Heritage Brand Model

The strongest brands are managed not for general awareness, but for strategic awareness. It is indeed one thing to be remembered; it is quite another to be remembered for the right reasons (Aaker, 1996). It is then essential to develop a brand model which will be the strategic framework of the all brand management activities.

Once, UNICEF had developed its brand model with its desired brand identity with related brand values and its brand positioning, it created and organization which became conscious of what it stands for in a more strategic and brand focused approach.

One of the main concerns at the 28th Session of the World Heritage Committee was to increase the number of under-represented categories and expand the geographic coverage. The Committee recognized that the so-called "Cairns Decision" aimed to develop a more balanced World Heritage List had not been fully implemented and that more efforts were to be made by State Parties in this regard.

On an experimental and transitory basis the Committee adopted a different mechanism that will be applicable at its 30th Session. It will now only examine up to two complete nominations per State Party, provided that at least one of the nominations concerns a natural property. It has also limited the number of nominations it will review at the 29th Session in Durban in South Africa to 45 sites, inclusive of nominations deferred and referred by previous sessions of the Committee, extensions, transboundary nominations and nominations submitted on an emergency basis.

The Committee also decided to develop a mechanism that would allow a State Party to correct what it considers to be factual errors in its inscription proposal.

The Committee also called on the World Heritage Committee, in co-operation with State Parties, ICOMOS, IUCN, ICCROM, and other relevant partners to convene, no later than March 2005, a meeting of experts which is to make specific proposals to enable less-represented and non-represented State Parties to improve the quality of nominations and identify sufficient funding sources for the sustainable conservation of properties inscribed.

The goal is to decrease, by the year 2007, by at least 30% the number of less-represented and non-represented State parties and to lower by 20% the number of properties inscribed as of today on the List of World Heritage in Danger.

As mentioned earlier, the World Heritage brand model would include the following rational brand values:

- Universality and Diversity
- Authenticity and Sustainability
- Protection and Conservation
- Education and Participation
- Connecting people

It would also include the following emotional brand values:

- Beauty and Harmony
- Uniqueness
- Care and Feelings
- Stand for Humanity
- Spirituality and Identity

The World Heritage brand model would also articulates the following brand vision:

To be the global network that connects people among themselves and with themselves across generations, cultures and geographies through the protection and conservation of World Heritage.

It would also imply the following actions and extended brand values to achieve this brand vision:

- *We will stand for the implementation of the Convention on World Heritage.*
- *We will expose dangers faced by World Heritage, confront unsustainable use of World Heritage and end practices that violate the Convention on World Heritage.*
- *We will continuously develop our knowledge and expertise to create, deliver and inspire solutions for its conservation and interpretation.*
- *We will build local capacity by engaging local populations in promoting and protecting World Heritage values while developing sustainable resources for local communities.*
- *We will maximise resources invested in World Heritage both by acting directly and by building strong alliances to protect its authenticity and promotes its sustainability.*

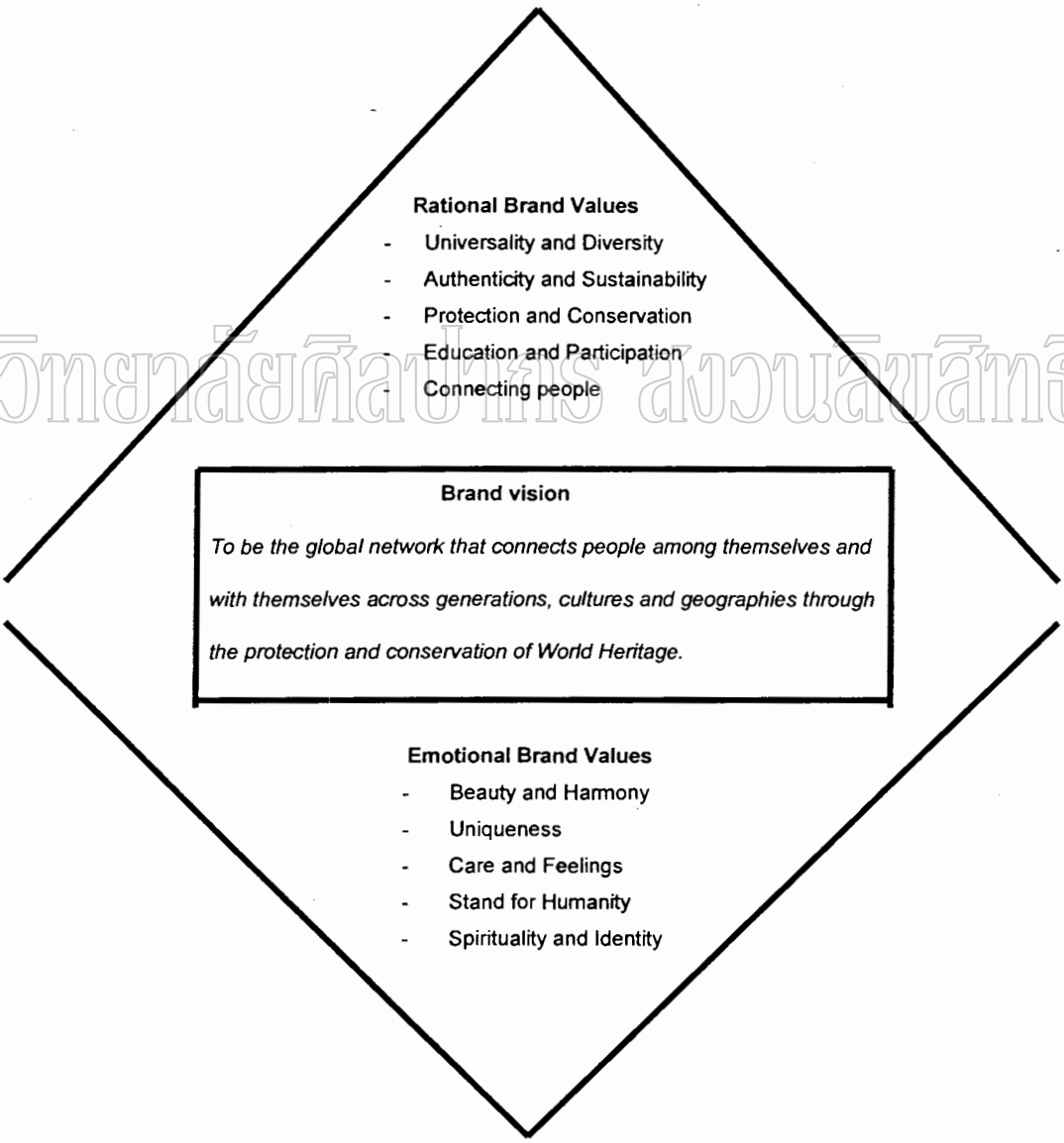
The World Heritage brand model would also have the following clear and consistent positioning:

For people who stand for humanity, World Heritage is the global hub in a Post-Modern world for dialogue and exchange across cultures, generations and geographies.

The World Heritage Brand Model (Figure 50)

Brand Positioning

For people who stand for humanity, World Heritage is the global hub in a Post-Modern world for dialogue and exchange across cultures, generations and geographies.



To deliver the Brand Promise:

- *We will stand for the implementation of the Convention on World Heritage.*
- *We will expose dangers faced by World Heritage, confront unsustainable use of World Heritage and end practices that violate the Convention on World Heritage.*
- *We will continuously develop our knowledge and expertise to create, deliver and inspire solutions for its conservation and interpretation.*
- *We will build local capacity by engaging local populations in promoting and protecting World Heritage values while developing sustainable resources for local communities.*
- *We will maximize resources invested in World Heritage both by acting directly and by building strong alliances to protects its authenticity and promotes its sustainability.*

Planning and Implementing a World Heritage Brand Model Strategy

From a commercial standpoint to paraphrase the famous dictum about hotels that has been attributed to Conrad Hilton: "*there are only three things you need to know about attractions: visitors, visitors and visitors*" (Wanhill, 2003). It is fundamentally the same for World Heritage sites. As mentioned earlier the Post-modernization has produced two different species of sophisticated new visitors. The first one is the "Thoughtful" visitor who is looking for an active learning experience while the second one, the "Smart" visitor is consuming a heritage visiting experience as a mere transaction. If the thoughtful visitor responds primarily to the post-modernization of knowledge in terms of its proliferation and accessibility, the smart visitor responds primarily to its commoditized character.

The thoughtful visitors are ready to engage with the collections, and the smart visitors are alert to commercial gimmickry and see the visit essentially in terms of transactions, in which economic exchange value was a key feature. These smart visitors are in essence consumers who have lost their innocence (Voase, 2002). The thoughtful visitor buys it as it resonates with values and memories deep in personal psyche while the smart visitor buys it as it will increase pecuniary value.

It is therefore essential to plan, design, manufacture, market, sell, deliver and service a World Heritage site visiting experience by addressing the needs of these two segments of visitors in a way to create a positive brand image with strong, favorable, and unique brand associations. It should elicit positive brand responses in terms of favorable judgments and feelings and foster greater degree of brand resonance.

The branding strategy entails choosing both tangible and intangible benefits to be embodied by the World Heritage brand and its surrounding marketing activities that are desired by these segments of visitors as well as deliverable by the marketing program.

Because of the importance of loyal customers, relationship marketing has become a branding priority. The visitor's actual experiences and related after marketing activities should be taking an increased importance in building visitor's-based brand equity. It is essential to make sure to fully understand visitors and their experiences to keep the promise of the brand before, during and after the purchase (Keller, 2003).

In order to attain visitor targets, there is a need for substantial market research and forecasting to take account of both the short term conditions (economy, financial climate and the political situation) and the longer-term ones (demographics, social values and lifestyles, technology, climate and environment). This is instrumental to the planning of a sustainable flow of targeted visitors.

Key market trends affecting attraction are first characterized by a continued growth in multiple shorter vacations so that main attractions are likely to receive the lion's share of any new growth, with the exception of visits that are repeats. The rise in the allocation of the household budget to "quality" leisure time is noticeable along with other leisure activity spending, namely in-house leisure retailing and computer systems.

Furthermore the increasing influence on children in the use of leisure time in families with both partners working is also new trend along with the growth for environmental issues and the recognition for sustainable environmental management practices (Wanhill, 2003). A long established market research outcome is that families cannot stay together for more than two to three hours without bickering, through the provision of a variety of distractions (McClung, 2001).

It is therefore necessary to include all relevant information about targeted visitor segments in World Heritage marketing communications as they are the means by which visitors are informed, persuaded, and reminded, directly or indirectly, about the World Heritage brand. In a sense, marketing communications represent the voice of the brand and are a means by which the World Heritage brand can establish a dialogue and build relationships with its visitors. Although advertising is often a central element of a marketing communication programs, it is usually not the only element for building brand equity and other

communication options such as Direct Marketing, Public Relation, and Joint promotions could play different roles in the marketing program.

One important purpose in the planning and implementing of all marketing communications is essentially to contribute to the World Heritage brand equity.

With a visitor based equity model, marketing communications should contribute to the World Heritage brand equity by creating awareness of the World Heritage brand, linking strong, favorable and unique associations to the brand in targeted visitor's memory, eliciting positive brand judgments or feelings and facilitating a stronger visitor brand connection and brand resonance.

In addition to forming the desired brand knowledge structures as defined in the World Heritage brand model, marketing connection programs can provide incentives that elicit the differential response that makes up the visitor–based brand equity (Keller, 2003). The World Heritage branding is particularly relevant in this marketing strategy of places, but does not limit itself to promoting business or financial added value for the tourism industry. The World Heritage branding would certainly increase the interest of visitors to visit World Heritage sites through a consistent and unique experience of what it stands for and would go far beyond a gaze-upon and would promote a connect-upon with the outstanding and universal value of the world, across times and generations and in harmony with nature.

The World Heritage is not yet understood and promoted as a brand which could have profound meanings not only for visitors of World Heritage sites but also for their employees, and which could develop loyal and sustainable bonds in view of its conservation and its preservation. The World Heritage sites are still inconsistent in their management including of their human resources against their original claim of universal and outstanding value. The profusion of sites without a clear and consistent vision and strategy of the interactions and experiences it could offer to its visitors increased the blurred understanding and positioning of the World Heritage in the mind of people today and particularly in the mind of its visitors but also of its employees.

The importance of understanding employees of World Heritage sites as internal customers helps to shift the focus of attitude towards an effective dialogue relationship. The development of the intellectual and emotional capital of internal customers has proved to have a great effect on the coherence of any internal branding programme. It is essential as the behavior and practices of internal customers generate an approach to business and a specific viewpoint of the world. It is essential to develop through training programmes a collective

consciousness across World Heritage sites which would shape decision making and internal relationships. The value of internal culture of the World Heritage brand must clearly be understood as a strategic tool and equity.

The business model of the New Millennium is one of people power. When there is a plethora of attractions and an increasing unsustainable use of heritage, it is the delivery by people than can create a competitive edge and a profound understanding of the World Heritage brand values particularly the need of its conservation. The power of a group of employees who would be well motivated and aware of the World Heritage brand model can be instrumental to creating sustainable World Heritage sites. The force that can help align these is the World Heritage brand, as a symbol of what it is standing for, as a communication channel towards the visitors and local communities.

It is therefore a key factor of success to rally people both internally and externally around the brand. The building blocks of the World Heritage brand are its people. This means everyone working for World Heritage sites and World Heritage organizations such as the World Heritage Committee. Planning and implementing the World Heritage brand model strategy needs everyone pulling in the same direction, using the same language and expressing the same values, consistently and constantly (Ellwood, 2002).

Planning and implementing the World Heritage brand model strategy is fundamentally about building associations for differentiation. A range of possible associations can become linked to the World Heritage brand, some functional and performance related, and some abstract and imagery related. Perceived quality and perceived value are particularly important brand associations that often drive visitor decisions.

The meaning placed in brands by a consumer can be quite profound. Thus, the relationship between the World Heritage brand and the visitor can be seen as a type of bond or pact or marriage of any kind. Visitors offer their trust and loyalty with the understanding that the World Heritage brand will stand by its brand model and provide them with all relevant interactions and experiences consistently throughout all World Heritage sites. Branded experiences are critical to creating a bond with customers while prior economic offerings such as commodities, goods and services are external to the buyer, experiences are inherently personal, existing only in the mind of an individual who has been engaged on an emotional, physical, intellectual or even spiritual level (Pine,1998) .

In planning and implementing the World Heritage brand model strategy, it is essential that World Heritage sites do provide a branded experience to visitors which could generate interactions with its universal and outstanding value and the related meanings in the mind of visitors. It is also important to connect them with all World Heritage sites while it could generate a very unique path to self-development and better understanding of the plurality and diversity of the post-modern world.

A very good illustration of the implementation of the World Heritage brand model strategy in building of associations for differentiation is the recent partnership launched in November 2005 with the United Nations Foundation and with Expedia Inc. which led to the World Heritage Alliance, which is a joint initiative to promote sustainable tourism and awareness of World Heritage sites and communities around the world. This partnership believes conscientious visitors can contribute directly to nature conservation, historic preservation, and poverty reduction through sustainable tourism. It is clearly an opportunity for interaction with visitors through an innovative public-private partnership. The United Nations Foundation was created in 1998 with businessman and philanthropist Ted Turner's historic $ I billion gift to support United Nations causes and promotes a more peaceful, prosperous, and just world through the support of the United Nations. Expedia Inc. is one of the world's leading travel service companies. With its portfolio of leading travel brands, Expedia Inc. empowers business and leisure travelers with the tools and information they need to easily research, plan, book and experience travel.

The World Heritage Alliance aims to inspire visitors to explore and experience more. The profit from the designated World Heritage trips booked on the Expedia websites will be donated to the Friends of World Heritage which is an initiative with the UNESCO World Heritage Centre for investment in local community projects at World Heritage sites in need. Expedia.com is currently offering eleven trips, accessible by visiting the website, to visit the following World Heritage sites : Pueblo de Taos in New Mexico, Central City in Prague in Czech Republic, Taj Mahal and sites near New Delhi in India, Volcanoes National park in Hawaii, Yosemite National Park in California, Great Pyramids and Nubian Monuments in Egypt, Chichen-Itza and Uxmal in Mexico, Fortified town of Campeche, near Merida in Mexico, Angkor Wat in Cambodia and other Buddhists temples throughout Cambodia, Laos, Thailand and Vietnam, Machu Picchu, City of Cuzco and historic Center of Lima in Peru, and Serengenti and Ngorongoro Crater in Tanzania.

This partnership also encourages public awareness and involvement through the Friends of the World Heritage initiative and website. Individuals have then the opportunity to learn more about and support World Heritage conservation sustainable tourism and local development. To encourage individual donations, Expedia and the UN Foundation will match donations, up to $50,000 from each partner made through the Friends of World Heritage website (www.friendsofworldheritage.org). These resources will be directed, along with the designated World Heritage trip profits, into local economic development projects at key World Heritage sites.

This partnership also engages the international Travel industry to join the World Heritage Alliance. Broad industry participation is vital because new partners bring expertise, financial resources and other assets that can further the program's goals. Industry partners will then strives toward achieving the World Heritage Alliance Principles which provide the

overarching framework to guide travel industry engagement promoting responsible travel, community engagement, and preservation of World Heritage sites. They are currently being developed in consultation between the UN Foundation, Expedia, UNESCO World Heritage Centre and National Geographic.

Corporate partners will also participate in training programs for Customer-Facing staff (concierge desks, travel agents, etc...) to promote World Heritage and responsible tourism to customers. Beginning in Mexico in 2006, this training package will train on informing customers about the values of the region's World Heritage sites, the adequate ways of visiting a site and how people can contribute back to a site. This could also be an opportunity for a training mechanism on the World Heritage brand model strategy. It will also help them to guide customers to the Friends of the World Heritage website to learn more and encourage them to make a donation for World Heritage conservation. Furthermore, it will help them to partner with tour operators to promote less visited sites as a way to alleviate tourism pressure on highly visited sites and promote local community based enterprises around the World Heritage sites as part of the packages offered by hotels and operators.

This public-private partnership already embodies and participates to the World Heritage brand model strategy as defined through this dissertation as it will also engage visitors in World Heritage sites, and corporate partners are to provide educational and informative material to customers as part of traveler education on the value of World Heritage and importance of responsible visitation. They will commit to promote unique World Heritage content and information to customers and specific packages for World Heritage destinations. They also provide opportunities for visitors to engage with local communities and conservation activities in and around the World Heritage sites through volunteering, purchasing community developed handicrafts and participating in cultural events or festivities.

This partnership is also aiming to support fundraising activities for World Heritage sites while corporate partners commit to support Community Development around World Heritage sites. Local tourism enterprises that service tourism operations should provide sustainable alternative livelihoods to communities in and around World Heritage sites, engaging them in the preservation and the conservation of the sites and preventing deforestation, poaching, or uncontrolled development.

As members of the World Heritage Alliance, partners will have the ability to work with conservation partners and others to develop and contribute resources to local economic development, education, or environmental and cultural conservation projects in and around World Heritage sites.

By working with local partners, Alliance members will help build local capacity to provide those services that are required to enhance travel experiences to sites, while

promoting local development of the community. The Corporate partners of the Alliance could also bring professional and technical assets by engaging company employees in fostering and developing sustainable tourism and World Heritage conservation. Employees could also work side by side with local community based initiatives to identify their needs and provide expertise to address their most pressing issues. Corporate partners of the Alliance could also influence policy in promoting sustainable tourism and local economic development as many of the very World Heritage sites that draw visitors and stimulate profits for the industry are at risk of over visitation, unsustainable exploitation, lack of adequate policies and control by government.

The Secretary of Tourism of Mexico and the Mexican Tourism Board signed in March 2006 a letter of intent with the founding partners of the World Heritage Alliance. Together, the partners will educate travelers and the travel industry about the importance of responsible tourism and World Heritage conservation while encouraging community-based sustainable tourism development in and around World Heritage sites and promoting the outstanding value and significance of Mexico's cultural and natural World Heritage sites around the globe. With 30 sites, Mexico provides a wide variety of unparalleled travel experiences for people coming from around the globe, but it is only through public-private partnership that it could be made sustainable.

This partnership illustrates very well how the World Heritage brand model strategy could be planned and implemented while building associations for differentiation at the global level.

An important management issues for the planning and implementing a World Heritage brand model strategy is obviously the brand management itself particularly the use of the World Heritage brand by tourism operators and other agencies. Given the substantial educative and scientific role of the World Heritage, misuse of the World Heritage brand might not only lead to misunderstandings regarding the meaning and value of World Heritage, but could also lead to the devaluing of the public good function of World Heritage. Under the Operational Guidelines for World Heritage the use of the World Heritage emblem and name is restricted in order to prevent "improper uses" (UNESCO, 1999, para. 128), while Annex 3 of the Guidelines states the responsibilities of State Parties with respect to the use of the emblem: "State Parties to the Convention should take all possible measures to prevent the use of the emblem in their respective countries by any group or for any purpose not explicitly recognized by the Committee. State Parties are encouraged to make full use of national legislation including Trade Mark laws".

Most important is the need to find appropriate management mechanisms to ensure that core heritage values are not undermined by inappropriate visitor activities and behaviors. Any physical threats to World Heritage sites would undoubtedly serve to endanger such brand loyalty. It is therefore important in planning and implementing the World Heritage brand model

strategy to ensure the protection of the World Heritage brand through legal mechanisms as needed but first and foremost through partnerships with State Parties, relevant and appropriate corporate sector, national organizations, visitors and local communities. State Parties themselves have vested interest in ensuring the promotion of the World Heritage brand model in their respective countries.

A global brand team should be organized and a World Heritage brand model manual developed to assist countries and their respective constituencies in their implementation of the World Heritage brand model strategy. Countries themselves are more and more aware of branding strategies in promoting their countries for investment or tourism purposes. The promotion of the World Heritage brand model is therefore essential in preventing a misuse of the World Heritage brand.

It is also essential to develop clear guidelines in cooperating with the corporate sector to ensure that any corporate partnership will be assessed against its relevance to the World Heritage brand model and impact on the brand equity. Present system used by the World Heritage Centre seems cumbersome and bureaucratic without any focus on the World Heritage brand equity management.

UNICEF has developed an on-line-corporate-screening system which allows any authorized representatives in respective countries to screen potential brands within 2 or 3 days against the UNICEF brand model and the relevance and acceptance of partnership terms within a week.

It is important that this screening mechanism be centralized at the global level to ensure a consistent control and management of the World Heritage brand equity.

A similar system could certainly be developed in planning and implementing the World Heritage brand model strategy.

World Heritage sites should become incubators for brand development in fostering attachments to heritage sites by local communities, corporate partners in tourism industry and by visitors. The interpretation and brand strategies become catalyst for the development of local community empowerment. The World Heritage brand could then stand for a heritage interpretation model which would empower local population and visitors in a unique experience of constructing or reconstructing meanings attached to a World Heritage site. Similarly in the private sector, Disney or Lego see the primary role of their parks as one of brand support.

With attractions including World Heritage sites the marketed output is ultimately the visitor's experience. For commodities, development starts with the invention and introduction of the product, then qualitative process innovation which is the setting up of the manufacturing

system and finally quantitative process innovation that takes the form of improvements and rationalization of the production system for mass supply.

In the case, of the majority of attractions, the reverse appears to be true. Products either exist in the natural world or in the physical environment, or they are at the end of the supply chain where they have been developed for other purposes and in other economic sectors. They are then adapted to provide a visitor experience with the aid of new communication techniques (Wanhill, 2003). In essence, the reverse product development cycle, when applied to visitor's attractions, is trying to minimize the risks of failure through building landscapes around already well-received environments, artifacts, commodities or services so as to call to mind positive images or happenings (Wanhill 2003).

These may be termed as reproductive imagescapes where branding would be the anticipation of such reproductive imagescapes associated to the World Heritage. Branding also allows visitors to give new meanings to World Heritage sites through its brand model. To be effective the message is continually and consistently repeated in the imagescape of each zone so as to have the highest visitor impact and to solidify the entertainment value through the illusion and sense of the interpretation paradigm. In the World Heritage context it is related to its specific interpretation paradigm which would provide the visitors of World Heritage sites with the understanding of its meanings for humankind as well as its objectives of conservation and preservation.

It is therefore imperative in planning and implementing the World Heritage brand model strategy to ensure that all communications are consistent and highly differentiated while generating positive experience in the eyes of the visitors of World Heritage sites. It should aim to create unbreakable and sustainable visitors relationships through compelling and memorable experiences. Most of the World Heritage sites would have then to plan and develop their communications as per the World Heritage brand model ensuring a relevant and consistent signage. World Heritage sites would also have to plan for a unique experience as World Heritage which would resonate with other World Heritage sites while implementing the World Heritage brand model. It should not remain as it is most of the time simply presented as a mere site to be visited or gazed-upon but rather a hub for connections with a triggering interpretation paradigm which would immerse visitors in a world of plurality and diversity of meanings across time and generations. It is also essential to build the capacity within each World Heritage site to manage the values on which an emotional appeal to the World Heritage is based.

Community support is generally required for the success of visitor attractions particularly where financial or in-kind assistance is required on an on-going basis (Prideaux, 2003). This is particularly true for World Heritage sites as seen earlier.

In planning and implementing the World Heritage brand model strategy, an important goal is also to set-up a heritage orientation programme with the express purpose of giving residents the knowledge based upon which they could share their understanding of heritage, both natural and human with visitors. This involvement of the local community would have the responsibility to make sure that visitors understand and appreciate the unique opportunity they have in visiting a World Heritage Site.

Local Community participation can also be enhanced through the provision of education and interpretation. For example, local people can help decide what to educate visitors about and what to interpret as part of the World Heritage brand model. Education and interpretation would in many ways appear the ideal solution to visitor impacts (Garrod, 2003). As provided by the World Heritage brand model, educational and interpretive facilities can also bring local economic benefits products by employing local people selling local products such as local handicrafts, providing services such as refreshments and helping to diversify the local economy. This is all about making World Heritage sustainable in harmony with local residents and their respective environment.

Planning and implementing the World Heritage brand model strategy is also about educating local tourism business operators with respect to the significance of the World Heritage brand and the values which it stands for. World Heritage sites managers have to educate not only the visitors about the values attached to their sites but also those businesses that are part of the local industry. Tourism operators not only distribute or accommodate tourists, but also influence visitors in their relationship to destinations and attractions.

World Heritage management needs to move away from being the sole responsibility of public sector agencies to embrace the views of those affected by activities undertaken within and around the sites. The formation of public-private partnerships could be instrumental of a more holistic and engaging approach for local population and visitors in particular. In a Post-Modern world, corporate partnerships are also essential in planning and implementing the World Heritage brand model strategy. A partnership being defined as regular cross-sectorial interaction between parties, based on at least some agreed rules or norms, intended to address a common issue or to achieve a specific policy goal or goals (Bramwell and Lane, 1999).

Working in the context of World Heritage sites, Boyd and Timothy (2001) stressed the importance of three key elements within any partnership: type (informal to formalized ones), the approach taken (grass root to agency led) and the extent of cooperation between partners (full to limited). As seen earlier, there is a need for broad-based partnerships, encouraging empowerment between members, and ranging from large corporate arrangements to private and community-led initiatives. Partnerships should, however, not just exist at the planning and

management levels, but should translate down to the users themselves and be reflected in how they respect the sites and attractions (Boyd and Timothy, 2001).

The Convention on World Heritage provides for a framework on partnerships in its Article 7 which recognizes the need for State Parties as principal stakeholders in the conservation of cultural and natural heritage of outstanding universal value to work with a range of partners:

"For the Purpose of this Convention, international protection of the World Cultural and Natural Heritage shall be understood to mean the establishment of a system of international cooperation and assistance designed to support State parties to the Convention in these efforts to conserve and identify that heritage".

However, it is essential that these partnerships be negotiated within a pro-active and strategic approach as it is important that they participate to the efforts of increasing the World Heritage brand equity by reinforcing its brand values. For instance, partnerships with airlines, travel agents corporations and telecommunications companies could reinforce the "connecting people" brand value. Partnerships with banks or insurance companies would then help strengthen the "conservation and protection" brand value. Co-branded Partnerships with famous museums such as Le Louvre, in Paris, The Metropolitan, in New York, or Bookstore chains such Borders and Barnes and Nobles or even famous universities and schools would reinforce the "education" brand value. Any corporate partnership should not only be relevant to rational World Heritage brand values but also be executed in congruence with its emotional brand values. These co-branding approaches where the brand values of the partnering brands are matched with the World Heritage brand have to contribute to an increase of brand equity and therefore should be strategically managed and articulated around the World Heritage brand model.

Interestingly, UNESCO launched in 2002 a World Heritage Partnership Initiative subsequently renamed World Heritage Pact (Partnership for Conservation) to generate support and strengthen the cooperation needed to ensure adequate cooperation of the World Heritage sites. This initiative is focused on two World Heritage brand values, conservation and sustainability, as it aims to mobilize resources in order to consolidate and expand existing levels of technical and administrative expertise as well as financially assist with proper management of World Heritage sites. Koichiro Matsuura, Director General of UNESCO rightfully believes that "*through the World Heritage Pact (Partners for Conservation), UNESCO endeavors to encourage, develop and strengthen cooperative efforts with civil society in order to help ensure long term conservation of heritage and accomplish our mission to safeguard heritage*" (www.unesco.org, 2006).

However, it is essential to redefine this partnership strategy around a brand focused strategy as it is not enough to build partnership for World Heritage with partners from the

private sector by solely proposing an international recognition for having provided resources to the World Heritage Conservation process and by obtaining some kind of visibility from working with UNESCO towards a sustainable world as done presently within UNESCO's own policy framework for partnerships with the private sector.

The corporate partnership recently launched with the French company Jet Tours (Club Med group) and UNESCO's World Heritage Centre with a view to promoting sustainable tourism and local economic development at and around World Heritage sites is also focused on a World Heritage brand value (Sustainability). Through this partnership, 12 World Heritage tours have initially been developed. Special brochures on World Heritage and additional materials like the World Heritage map will be included in a kit designed to sensitize the traveler to conservation needs around the world. In addition, Jet Tours is co-organizing training sessions with UNESCO for their accompanying guides and local representatives on the World Heritage Convention and the sites under its protection. Jet tours will also contribute financial resources to World Heritage preservation efforts and wishes in particular to support local capacity-building initiatives. On the occasion of the signing, Francesco Bandarin, Director of the World Heritage Centre, recalled that the promotion of a responsible and sustainable form of tourism is one of our priority action areas. Although very encouraging, it is not yet planned as part of a branding strategy which could increase the brand equity of the World Heritage along generating stronger support from the private sector.

Similarly, the partnership with the European branch of the Earth watch Institute launched in May 2004 is also focused on several World Heritage Brand Values (Conservation, sustainability, Education and participation) without having been planned as part of a branding strategy. The Earth watch Institute is a Non-Governmental Organization whose mission is to engage people worldwide in scientific field research and education to promote the understanding and action necessary for a sustainable environment. The Institute's action focuses on measuring human impacts on the environment, learning what is necessary to sustain biodiversity and assessing management and conservation practices. This partnership with Earth watch aims to establish a series of World Heritage-Earth watch projects on research to enable volunteers to assist in monitoring activities, data collection and management plans, on education to train World Heritage sites staff through fellowship programmes, and to promote the World Heritage Convention and the sites through publications at designated event and through tri-partite partnerships with the private sector.

Heritage attractions yield both cultural as well as economic values, but there is no a priori reason for these values to move in the same direction, and change in the stock of cultural assets will usually lead to the loss of that which is authentic through irreversibility (Wanhill, 2003). A constant challenge for many attractions, particularly those of heritage or cultural genre, is that of maintaining the authenticity of the attraction. This is particularly true

for World Heritage sites. Typically the response of visitor attractions has been to introduce some form of visitor management, the aim being to moderate the impacts of visitors while still enabling them to come onto the site, interact with whatever is to be found there and achieve a satisfying experience from their visit (Feifan Xie and Wall, 2003).

Visitor attractions are subject to a wide range of negative visitor impacts. A report by the English Tourist Board (ETB, 2001) suggests that visitor impacts tend to fall into the following categories: overcrowding, wear and tear, traffic-related problems, impacts on local community, and impacts on visitor management itself on the authenticity of visitor attractions. Queue management, making capacity more flexible (opening hours, staff working hours), increasing capacity, site hardening (security, restricted areas), restrictive ticketing and quota systems, price incentives, marketing and education on interpretations. Timed ticketing also allows regulating visitor flows and growth numbers.

It is essential that the on-site management of visitors reflects the World Heritage brand model particularly its brand values, rational or emotional as it participates to the brand experience. Visitors of World Heritage should also be informed of these management practices before going to the sites and be prepared to participate in these practices while understanding their purposes in terms of conservation and protection. In planning and implementing the World Heritage brand model strategy, it could be useful and innovative to develop a passport system which would identify visitors as having gone through a conservation course articulated around the brand model. This could be done on–line or through the travel agent on-line as a prerequisite to visit a World Heritage site. It would also create a network of interested people by World Heritage issues which could further used in funding or resource mobilization activities. A similar idea had been developed with great success in Burra, a national heritage site in Australia.

The use of new technology such as internet and Ipod systems could provide for virtual visits which could raise awareness on the need for protection and conservation through a technological and emotional connection. This could also certainly allow a broader audience to visit, interact and learn from the numerous sites and their local populations without having to visit them physically and somehow contributing to the visitor traffic containment.

Targeted visitors could then identify themselves with the World Heritage brand values and participate in the conservation efforts through a better understanding of their role. Experience has shown that educating visitors about negative impacts of certain form of behavior, informing them how to behave appropriately, and encouraging them to act accordingly can have a critical influence on their behavior both during and after the visit (Bramwell and Lane, 1993). People tend to react more positively to requests to refrain from certain forms of behavior when they know and understand the reasons. Visitor impact can be

reduced by offering visitors a more engaging experience which not only informs them about how to act responsibly, but also encourages them to act accordingly.

Visitor movements, both in time and space, can be influenced, for example, by drawing attention to alternative routes around the sites, substitute attractions or different visit times. Raising the public's conservation ethic pay longer term dividends for the visitor attraction in terms of contributions to charities and other good causes related either, directly or indirectly, to the work of the visitor attraction.

The goals of the heritage tourism strategy should be to create visitor awareness of being in a World Heritage site through fostering visitor appreciation and understanding of nature, culture, history of the site itself. It should encourage and develop opportunities, products and services that are consistent with heritage values. It should also promote environmental stewardship initiatives upon which sustainable heritage tourism could be based.

Furthermore, the issue of pricing is important in planning and implementing the World Heritage brand model strategy. If visitor pay a relatively high admission price they may be led to understand that they are visiting particularly unique, pristine or spectacular site, and will need to behave respectfully towards it in the course of their visit (Fyall and Garrod, 1998). However, it is essential that pricing strategies reflect what it stands for in terms of activities and costs be articulated around the World Heritage brand model.

Conclusion

At the time of drafting the conclusion of this dissertation, the World Heritage Committee proposed thirty-seven new sites for inscription on the UNESCO World Heritage List during the 30th Session of the World Heritage Committee held on July 8-16 in the Lithuanian capital, Vilnius.

This year, the Committee reviewed 27 cultural sites, eight natural sites, two mixed sites and three transboundary sites presented by 30 countries: Azerbaijan, Austria, Bolivia, Burkina Faso, Chile, China, Colombia, Czech Republic, Ethiopia, France, Gabon, Gambia, Germany, India, Indonesia, Islamic Republic of Iran, Israel, Italy, Malawi, Malaysia, Mauritius, Mexico, Morocco, Oman, Poland, Senegal, Spain, Syrian Arab Republic, United Kingdom, United Republic of Tanzania.

Four countries applied for the extension of sites already inscribed: Finland, Nepal, Serbia and Sweden. To date, with the newly added 18 sites during the 30th Session, UNESCO's 1972 Convention on the Protection of the World Cultural and Natural Heritage protects 830 properties of outstanding universal value, in terms of the Convention. These

include 644 cultural, 162 natural and 24 mixed properties in 138 States Parties. During the session, the Committee also examined the 36 sites currently on the List of World Heritage in Danger. These are sites that face serious threat from a variety of causes such as pollution, pillaging, war, poorly managed tourism, poaching etc. The List includes the Minaret and Archaeological Vestiges of Jam in Afghanistan, Cologne Cathedral in Germany and Garamba National Park in the Democratic Republic of the Congo.

These new nominations will further increase the World Heritage List which had continuously increased at hectic pace since inception. However, the World Heritage Committee sessions have acknowledged over the recent years the need to compensate for some gaps which seriously challenge the credibility of the concept of World Heritage and its truly outstanding universal value. Indeed, some 45 countries do not yet have sites inscribed in the list, or some themes (religions, philosophies, styles...) or historical periods are over represented while others are absent.

These nominations partially addressed these concerns and do not yet solve the problems of gaps and imbalance which challenge the credibility of the World Heritage.

Since the World Heritage Convention came into effect in 1975, concepts of cultural heritage have gone beyond the initial vision and now include new dimensions such as cultural landscapes, technological and agricultural heritage, cultural routes, and modern heritage, as well as the cultural significance of natural features. This semantic evolution is still not well represented in the current World Heritage List. It is now threatening the World Heritage brand image as it does not keep its brand promise in featuring the universality, the diversity and the outstanding cultural and natural expressions of the world.

These gaps and imbalances reveal that Europe is over-represented in comparison with the rest of the world; that historic towns and religious building are over-listed compared to other types of property; that Christianity is over-represented in relation to other religions and beliefs; that historical periods are also over-represented in relation to prehistory and the 20th century and that academic architecture is far more represented than vernacular architecture.

These gaps only exacerbate the existing tensions of a rapidly increasing World Heritage List with no actual support budget to ensure that the integrity and authenticity of this outstanding universal value is actually preserved for the next generations. Some 4 million USD being made available by UNESCO annually will not be enough in ensuring that these objectives are reached in some 830 sites and in the more to come. Since the World Heritage Fund is based on voluntary and obligatory contributions by states, its contribution to financial sustainability for future conservation is rather limited with an expanding list, unless new resources could be mobilized from the public and private sectors.

The recent Convention on Intangible Heritage which has a strong link with Tangible Heritage could be an opportunity in developing the sustainability and credibility of the World

Heritage. In many cases, the efficient and authentic conservation of monuments and sites can only be successful when it is placed within its appropriate cultural context. One of the key challenges for the World Heritage sites will be to use the intangible cultural heritage as an asset, as a source of meaning which would reinforce their outstanding and universal value in strengthening their authenticity and making it alive to most people. The values that local people associate with a World Heritage site which is part of their heritage are often different than those of international agencies, government officials and tourism developers (Wall and Black, 2005).

The participation and involvement of stakeholders, local populations and the outside world are essential in achieving the objectives of the Convention. Many of the activities affecting the integrity and management of World Heritage sites come from outside their boundaries. Increasing the number of stakeholders in the selection process of World Heritage sites, especially those mostly excluded from any-decision making process, seems to be a promising approach as it enlarges the debate and facilitates consensus at all levels on how to promote and to protect World Heritage site. The creation of an observation station together with a more participatory selection system of World Heritage sites could promote a better understanding of people perceptions into World Heritage policies (Lask and Herold, 2005).

However, as Winston Churchill once said in 1936, *"the era of procrastination, of half measures, of soothing and baffling expedients, of delays is coming to its close. In its place we are entering a period of consequences" (Gore, 2006).* The World Heritage is now facing a brand image crisis at a time of an exploding world tourism placing World Heritage sites under the constant and growing threat of herds of tourists looking for the unique and outstanding experience to bring back on photographs. Therefore, a more radical approach is called for to turn around this brand image crisis.

As explained in this dissertation, the combination of individualism, globalization and the demand of symbolic experiences have led to a shift away from producer or sales led marketing towards customer focused and customer driven business models where the brand acts as the logical and primary connection and mode of communication between the producer and the consumer (Ellwood, 2002).

A World Heritage brand focused strategy could then help developing a better understanding of what the World Heritage stands for and in mobilizing wide support and resources while ensuring its credibility and sustainability.

As part of this brand image strategy, World Heritage sites would be considered as hubs not as islands (Sheppard, 2001). They would be promoting networks and connections which would link people and sites among them around the World Heritage brand values and ideal while contributing to the social and economic needs of local communities. It has to overcome the tensions between a world citizenry ideal and a local or nationalist mythology,

between a global landscape and a place-driven focus of national or local identity and meaning (Scott, 2002). The challenge is then, to bring about an imagined community with its conservation and sustainable drive for future generations (Hitchcok, 2002) while promoting the perspectives and the identities of the various stakeholders including local residents and visitors groups (Evans, 2002, Bianchi, 2002).

To promote its brand Image and retain credibility and legitimacy in an age of increasing mobility and spatial interconnectivity, World Heritage sites must become spaces of intercultural dialogue, where ethnic animosities can be productively addressed. World Heritage sites concerned with the narration of the past should aim to promote themselves as trans-national rather than national spaces of citizenship, and seek to include rather than police ethnically or racially situated knowledges and perspectives within ideological borders (Maddern, 2002).

This could be expressed in a clear and consistent brand development strategy of the World Heritage which would target these stakeholders in developing interactions and brand experiences reflecting the diversity of meanings and perspectives as well as the connectivity around the ideal and objectives of the World Heritage. The World Heritage Committee does not see yet the branding of the World Heritage as a strong unifying communication strategy which would mobilize resources and support for the objectives of the Convention.

This current consideration restricting the World Heritage brand as an emblem and somehow the neglect of State Parties could also explain the inconsistent visual presentation of the emblem in many sites without either any connection to its brand values nor any explanations on the World Heritage. This inconsistency and neglect certainly contributed to a rather limited visibility of the World Heritage brand in many countries and limited understanding of its values and promise as a brand. This led to an undifferentiated positioning with other sites or tourist attractions and to a lack of credibility and authenticity of its outstanding and universal values.

As shown, most of the World Heritage sites do not even mention that they are listed as a World Heritage, and when it does there are no explanations about the universal significance of the site. Furthermore, the existing signage when it exists is often inconsistent and resembles more to funeral accessories or boring advertising signs. They do not express any visual consistency within the site and between sites to underline the interconnectivity of World Heritage sites.

The interpretation paradigm so specific to the World Heritage is not translated into the branded process through stories, participation of local population, in connection with other sites and in relation to the global values of an emerging global world. There is no consolidated effort to communicate a message that the support programmes for the World Heritage are the response of the international community to upholding the World Heritage ideal and to

conserving humankind's common heritage. Improving this communication and "story telling" capability is one way World Heritage could raise its brand image along with the profile of protected areas issues and problems in international efforts at cooperation and dialogue (Ishwaran, 2004).

It is therefore high time to develop a brand model for the World Heritage which would encapsulate the diversity, plurality, universality and complexity of heritage interpretations to ensure that in a globally branded world, the integrity and authenticity of the outstanding universal values of World Heritage sites will be preserved for new generations with new consuming behavior patterns and forms of tourism.

The World Heritage brand is by essence a plural translation of the notion of heritage by connecting people with their immediate heritage simultaneously with the heritage of others. The World Heritage brand incorporates the plurality of functions of heritage, but should also be viewing heritage not as a commodity for tourist but as a connecting experience for visitors with the plurality of meanings and spaces of our globalized world. Heritage then becomes an opportunity to connect and interact with our global world while ensuring a sustainable conservation of its universal, authentic and outstanding significance. The World Heritage brand should resonate in the mind of visitors as an opportunity to relate to values and experiences which participate to their self-fulfilment and growth.

The World Heritage brand is the ultimate representation of such a plurality, multiculturality and humanism through the promise of an interpretation paradigm which embodies all these dimensions. It is therefore essential to understand the notion of heritage interpretation in relation to this brand building strategy for the World Heritage.

A successful branding of a World Heritage site is integrated and articulated around the interpretation process which the site management carefully orchestrates, and around everything it does to deliver a highly differentiated and consistent, unique and positive experience to the eyes of its audiences whether local communities or visitors. Integrated branding of the World Heritage is then the promise that you keep in terms of visitors expectations. And the goal of such an integrated branding promise is to create unbreakable and sustainable visitor relationships with the World Heritage brand through compelling and memorable experiences.

Branding then involves creating mental structures and helping visitors organize their knowledge from these experiences about the World Heritage site in a way that clarifies their expectations and understanding of the universal significance and universal value of the World Heritage site through a plural and multicultural interpretation paradigm which in the process provides value to the World Heritage brand.

Brand management also involves the design and implementation of interpretation programmes within the site embodying the universal significance and the outstanding value of

the World Heritage concept. An effective brand management would then require proactive strategies designed to at least maintain, if not actually enhance, the brand equity of the World Heritage brand in the face of all external forces such as competitors strategies of non World Heritage sites, amusement parks, contrived or staged heritage sites, cultural or natural sites with a unique and authoritative interpretation, sites with no participation of the visitors and local communities in the interpretation process.

The World Heritage brand should be about a vision of heritage where the living heritage contributes to the diversity of meanings in the interpretation process of World Heritage sites while ensuring its sustainability and authenticity. People will value and preserve heritage sites they can identify themselves with. It is therefore essential for World Heritage sites to acknowledge these dimensions in their interpretation paradigm.

World Heritage sites could become abstract spaces where mutual exchange in culture and arts could be possible, and where different cultural influences could lead to the creation of something new of a post-modern nature. Tourism would thus become a way of contacting another culture and expressing oneself to its cultural influences (Lask and Herold, 2005). World Heritage sites should be acting as incubators for brand development in fostering attachments to heritage sites by local communities, corporate partners in tourism industry and by visitors. The interpretation and brand strategies become catalysts for the development of local community empowerment. The World Heritage brand could then stand for a heritage interpretation model which would empower local population and visitors in a unique experience of constructing or reconstructing meanings attached to a World Heritage site.

The World Heritage brand model could be articulated around the following brand values: Universality and Diversity; Authenticity and Sustainability; Protection and Conservation; Participation and Education and Connecting People. It is therefore imperative in planning and implementing the World Heritage brand model Strategy to ensure that all communications are consistent and highly differentiated while generating positive experience in the eyes of the visitors of World Heritage sites. It should aim to create unbreakable and sustainable visitors relationships through compelling and memorable experiences.

Most of the World Heritage sites would have then to plan and develop their communications as per the World Heritage brand model ensuring a relevant and consistent signage. World Heritage sites would also have to plan for a unique experience as World Heritage which would resonate with other World Heritage sites while implementing the World Heritage brand model. It should not remain as it is most of the time simply presented as a mere site to be visited or gazed upon but rather a hub for connections with a triggering interpretation paradigm which would immerse visitors in a world of plurality and diversity of meanings across times and generations. It is also essential to build the capacity within each

World Heritage site to manage the values on which an emotional appeal to the World Heritage is based.

In planning and implementing the World Heritage brand model strategy, an important goal is also to set-up a heritage orientation programme with the express purpose of giving residents the knowledge based upon which they could share their understanding of heritage, both natural and human with visitors. This involvement of the local community would have the responsibility to make sure that visitors understand and appreciate the unique opportunity they have in visiting a World Heritage Site.

During its recent session in Vilnius, the Committee also considered measures to preserve heritage in view of climate change as the global warming and its climate crisis have become a true planetary emergency.

Climate change is indeed a new global threat to Mankind and its Cultural and Natural World Heritage as the natural disasters it generates are quickly wiping out natural landscapes, species and cultures from this planet, but also holding generations to come as the hostages of an unsustainable development of our World. The truth about the World Heritage brand image crisis is perhaps as suggested by Al Gore (2006) in relation to the Climate crisis an inconvenient one.

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Appendix

List of visited World Heritage Sites

ASIA

- Borobudur Temple compounds, Indonesia
- Prambanan Temple compounds, Indonesia
- Historic City of Ayutthaya and Associated Historic Towns, Thailand
- Historic Town of Sukhothai and Associated Historic Towns, Thailand
- The Great Wall, China
- The Summer Palace, China
- The Forbidden City, China
- Angkor, Cambodia
- Town of Luang Prabang, Lao people's Democratic Republic
- Shwedagon Temple, Myanmar
- Kathmandu Durbar square, Nepal
- Patan Durbar square, Nepal
- Bakthapur Durbar square, Nepal
- Swoyambhunath Stupa, Nepal
- Boddanath Stupa, Nepal
- Pashupatinath Temple, Nepal

MIDDLE EAST

- Tyr, Lebanon
- Anjar, Lebanon
- Baalbeck, Lebanon
- Persepolis, Iran
- Cedar Valley, Lebanon
- Qadisha valley, Lebanon
- Petra, Jordan
- Isfahan, Iran

AFRICA

- Lamu Old Town, Kenya
- Mount Kilimajaro, Tanzania

EUROPE

- Notre Dame de Paris, France
- City of Bern, Switzerland
- Cathedral of Cologne, Germany
- City of Le Havre, France

AMERICA

- The Statue of Liberty, USA

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Professional Background	Senior Programme Funding Officer (UNICEF, New York, 2005-present) Brand Development Manager (UNICEF Europe, Geneva, 1989-2002; UNICEF Asia, Middle East and Africa, Bangkok, 2003-2005).
Special training	Political Science, International Politics (University of La Sorbonne, Paris, France, 1988-1989)

International Seminars/Workshops

- Speaker on "***Co-branding Strategies for a UN Organization***" at the Direct marketing Asian Conference, Singapore, 2002.
- Speaker on "***Global Fundraising and Branding Strategies***" at the International Fundraising Conference, Amsterdam, The Netherlands, 2003.
- Speaker on "***Sustainable Branding and Fundraising Strategies",*** at the UNICEF Middle East Regional Workshop, Beirut, 2004.
- Speaker on "***Global Branding***" at the International Fundraising Conference, Amsterdam, The Netherlands, 2005.
- Speaker on ***"The New Funding and Branding Environment",*** at the UNICEF Asia Regional Workshop, Bangkok, 2006.