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CREATING AN IMAGE, SHAPING A DESTINATION IN CHACHAPOYAS, PERU

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By

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ABSTRACT

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Creating an Image, Shaping a Destination in Chachapoyas, Peru

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  This thesis examines the place image of the Chachapoyas region in northern Peru by identifying themes found in tourism guidebooks and websites. Photographs and written descriptions of Chachapoyas were found to emphasize certain features of the region while avoiding or hiding others. To further inform the discussion of the place image of Chachapoyas interviews were conducted with international tourists visiting the region. These interviews indicate that Chachapoyas does not have the same level of recognition as sites in southern Peru. The purveyors of representations of Chachapoyas have tried to appropriate the intrigue of a place myth characterized by lost civilizations and exploration that this study refers to as ancient mystery. The study indicates that along with the ancient mystery place myth, the larger scale place image of Peru, referred to as *andeanismo,* contributes to the place image of Chachapoyas. The study suggests that awareness of the place image is a step toward strategically influencing it to produce favorable outcomes for local people who are impacted by the steady flow of tourists visiting their region.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

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Chapter I: Introduction

Over the last decade, tourism has become an increasingly important part of the economy of the northern Peruvian region of Chachapoyas. This is due in part to a national level strategy of tourism promotion to invigorate its economy and remake its global image which had been tainted by insurgent violence of the 1980's and early 1990s. In the process, Peru has joined other developing nations that have been encouraged by international agencies such as the World Bank to embrace the world's largest industry: tourism (Binns and Nel 2002, Bury 2008, Ioannides 1995, *Ministerio de Comercio Exterior y Turismo* 2008, Potter et al. 2004).   Chachapoyas is located in one of Peru's poorest and least accessible departments but features a pre-Inca fortress, known as Kuelap, which is popular among tourists. Chachapoyas has been a grateful beneficiary of Peru's national tourism strategy with rapidly increasing visitation and commensurate investments in infrastructure.

A key part of Peru's national tourism promotion strategy has been the creation of a new essentialized narrative, or place image, that masks the recent political violence and the urban poverty caused by peasants fleeing areas of conflict. Nature and history were the selected themes in this narrative which in Peru translated to a focus on the Andes Mountains and Inca. Over time, "…Peru's global legibility as a bastion of timelessness, authenticity, spirituality, and serenity ultimately confirm[ed] the success of Peru's efforts at rhetorical reinvention during the 1990s and early 2000s" (Pellinen-Chavez 2007, 15). Peru transformed from just another troubled and impoverished Latin American country into a romanticized land of the Inca seemingly untouched by modernity with tourism receipts of $2.4 billion by 2009 (Trading Economics 2011).

Conceptualizations or meanings of places as they change or shift over time have been a frequent topic of intense study among social scientists for several decades. Humanistic geographers often refer to the process of social reimagining of places and resulting physical and cultural changes as the *production of space* (Lefebvre 1991). As Chachapoyas seeks economic diversification and integration into the global marketplace

with tourism as a catalyst, the region will increasingly be defined in terms that are appealing to tourists. This thesis relies on the theoretical concepts of *place image* and *sense of place* as contributing factors to discuss the production of the tourist space of Chachapoyas. To help determine the currently deployed image of Chachapoyas, content analysis was used to derive meanings from representations of this destination that are found in English-language guidebooks and a selection of websites. The study presented herein also utilized interviews with foreign visitors to Chachapoyas in order to characterize their feelings and interpretations of the destination - their sense of place. This data was complemented by field observations and casual conversation with people living in Chachapoyas as well as a survey of historical journalistic pieces on the destination. The findings indicate that the place image of Chachapoyas is not independent but entwined with the larger Peruvian narrative as well as what is known as a *place myth*, that I argue in this case is best described as 'ancient mystery.'

The Chachapoyas region was selected for this study for several reasons. First, the tourism economy is still in the early stages of development. The National Strategic Tourism Plan (PENTUR) envisioned Chachapoyas as part of a Northern Tourist Circuit with Kuelap as the "jewel" to complement the well-trodden Southern Tourist Circuit (PENTUR 2008). Regular press releases by PromPeru, the national agency tasked with promoting tourism, as well as other national entities have announced heavy investment in tourism in the region as well as legislation meant to raise the profile of the region's tourist attractions (Andina2011). International visitation has been steadily rising over the past decade and with the crescendo of attention paid by the federal government, visitation is expected to continue increasing. This research is meant to provide insight into the opinions and motivations of its international visitors. As projects meant to promote tourism in Chachapoyas are suggested and debated, having this information available will ideally lead to informed decision-making that will mutually benefit visitors and hosts. Also, very little research has been undertaken in this locale in geography or allied fields with the exception of archaeology. A survey of the literature identified no published articles in peer-reviewed journals on tourism in Chachapoyas.

Examining the production of Chachapoyas is important for a number of reasons. First, tourism can be challenging in less developed areas like Chachapoyas where tourists expect an exotic or unchanged host culture. The host may in fact be striving for modernity partly financed with tourist revenue (Zoomers 2008, 980). For a tourist destination, planning how to deal with complex and often opposing forces to create economically, culturally and ecologically sustainable tourism is as vital as it is challenging. An understanding of tourists is an important piece in the tourism management puzzle. Annelies Zoomers (2008, 980), in a study of tourism's effects on Andean peoples, has called for an emphasis to be "placed on familiarizing local populations with tourists' expectations." Also, the production of space, especially tourist space, not only impacts meanings but can alter the physical and cultural aspects of a place. How places change in response to tourist expectations can vary from physical alterations such as planting palm trees at a beach for a tropical appearance or restricting traditional land uses (Waitt and Head 2002) to cultural interventions that involve the commodification of exotic hosts in cultural performances, which has been described by William Hunter (2008, 361) as a form of "symbolic violence." With knowledge of the place image of Chachapoyas the region could identify areas of potential conflict with local ideas of place. This could potentially be the basis from which to wrestle back some control of the image of Chachapoyas from business-oriented entities such as guidebook publishers and tour companies.

Research Questions and Contributions to Geography

If Peru's tourism economy grows as expected, Chachapoyas will likely become increasingly interconnected with global economic and cultural forces through an expanded tourism sector and the arrival of international tourists. Tourists and their expectations, reflect interpretations of representations, will gain influence in the production of this destination. Therefore, the overarching question investigated in this study is, *What is the place of Chachapoyas to tourists*? Three component questions are addressed: i) What is the place image of as characterized by current representations of the tourist destination area of Chachapoyas in guidebooks and websites? ii) What are key aspects of tourists' sense of place for the destination? and, iii) Is there a place myth at

work in representations of Chachapoyas? Additionally, addressing these questions and integrating field observations gives insight into the role of tourism in reproducing Chachapoyas.

The findings of this study contribute to the body of geographical knowledge in two ways. The study adds to the collection of geographic research on the production of space and place-myths. Second, as a case study it addresses the dearth of research on tourism in northern Peru generally and Chachapoyas specifically at a time when the area is poised to rapidly change as tourism investment increases.

Arrangement of Thesis

This thesis is structured in seven chapters. Following the introductory chapter, Chapter II reviews the key concepts that are instrumental in the theoretical approach to addressing the research questions. Place as a concept is theorized by drawing on the geographic literature and tourism studies and linkages are made among the concepts of sense of place, place image, place myth, representations, and the production of space. The chapter concludes with a brief overview of geographic and tourism research in Peru.

Chapter III links the theoretical and conceptual framework of this study to a set of methodological considerations. Data sources are first discussed followed by the methods used in acquiring data as well as in analysis of the data.

Chapter IV highlights the historical and geographical context of the study. First, there is a geographical and historical discussion of the study site followed by a brief exploration of what is known of the Chachapoya culture. This discussion is followed by a historical account of tourism and tourism promotion at the national scale of Peru. The chapter concludes with a description of tourism in Chachapoyas which includes a review of media reportage on the region.

Chapter V presents a condensed form of the raw data from interview transcripts, guidebooks and websites. The chapter then reviews the key findings of the analysis of representations and interviews.

Chapter VI attempts to answer the research questions by linking the theoretical framework and the key findings of Chapter V. The various types of representations are analyzed to identify dominant themes. Interview data are analyzed to determine features of the tourists' sense of place. Finally, the possibility and origins of a place myth are discussed.

Chapter VII revisits the research questions and results. This chapter also discusses the limitations of the study and makes suggestions for further research.

Figure 1.1. The outer wall of Kuelap (Source: C. Hoadley, June 2010)

Chapter II: Theoretical Framework

Introduction

The purpose of this chapter is to define the key concepts in geography and tourism studies that inform the theoretical framework of this study. Place and its conceptualization in geography is the starting point. In addition, the theoretical background on sense of place and its formation is discussed. Place image is then examined in relation to place and sense of place as well as representations of place. The chapter then elaborates on the concept of place myth. Next, the production of space is discussed with a focus on tourism. This chapter also provides a brief discussion concerning the meaning and use of the terms 'tourist' and 'traveler' and their relevance to this study. The chapter concludes with a review of current tourism and geographical research conducted in Peru. The review serves to contextualize this thesis among work that has already been conducted in Peru.

Place and Sense of Place

As tourists begin planning a trip to a foreign country, they think about the places or types of places they would like to visit. In fact, it may be the characteristics of a specific place that led them to choose a particular country as a destination. Outside of the field of geography, 'place' is such a prosaic word that it can be difficult to define. For geographers, it is a central concept. As Noel Castree (2003, 182) argues, "place matters in a very profound and very worldly sense." In contrast to its conversational usage as a distinct location, geographers recognize that places are integrated into a larger system but are still unique (ibid 2003). This interconnectedness means that places are dynamic not only due to internal (local) forces but are also affected by their connections to the outside world (Harvey 1996). The Chachapoyas region, despite being surrounded by geographical barriers, has been almost continually connected to other distant places. Archaeological evidence suggests it was part of an extensive South American trade network (Nystrom 2005). The region was later forcibly incorporated into the vast Inca Empire in the late 15th century. In the 16th century it became linked to the Old World through Spanish colonization. The various phases of connections Chachapoyas has had

with the outside world have been monumentally influential in remaking the physical and cultural landscape. Today, it is more connected than ever particularly through modern communication technologies, improved transportation infrastructure, and the increasing flow of international tourists.

For humanistic geographers, an equally important aspect of place is the influence of social processes in the creation of place identity (Cresswell 2004). Jeffrey Sasha Davis (2005) explored this aspect of place and its consequences for Bikini Atoll, an island that was defined and redefined variously as a home, a nuclear test site, and a tourist paradise. This rather dramatic example shows that place identities, although often thought of as stable over time and local in origin, are dynamic and likely to be influenced by connections to the outside world (Castree 2003). Also, as place identities are essentially social constructions, multiple conceptualizations for a place can exist at any time and compete for legitimacy (Davis 2005). Competition over place identity is particularly relevant for places experiencing tourism. For example, representatives of Cusco, the capital of the Inca Empire and a heavily-touristed UNESCO World Heritage Center, have been reluctant to allow the construction of a movie theater at the request of locals for fear of further westernizing the city (Pellinen-Chavez 2007). Clearly, outsider ideas of Cusco as timeless are legitimized at the expense of the locals' conceptualizations and expectations of development.

In geographic discourse 'place' has three meanings: 1) place as location 2) place as subjective feelings or 'sense of place' and 3) place as locale or the setting of daily life (Agnew 1987). In this study, examining the perceptions and opinions- i.e., sense of place - of tourists at a destination is of most interest. Sense of place can simply be defined as the "unique qualities that places acquire in people's minds" (Williams 2009, 185). Yi-Fu Tuan, a leading theorist in the humanistic approach to geography has investigated the affective properties of places and the symbols and meanings they imbue (Tuan 1974, 1977). Tuan (1977, 6) introduced his seminal work, *Space and Place,* by saying, ''… undifferentiated space becomes place when we get to know it better and endow it with value.'' Tuan's quote serves to define place as a social construction which he contrasts with space, which is essentially empty of meaning.

Henry Lefebvre (1991) determined that sense of place is developed in three realms. Using Edward Soja's (1996; see Davis 2005) terminology these realms are: 1) perceived space; 2) conceptualized space; and 3) lived space. Perceived space reflects perceptions based on direct experience with a physical place. Conceptualized space is the imagined characteristics of place based on representations that are consumed outside of direct experience with a place. Finally, lived space is based on the perception of place as mental furniture, wherein the surroundings no longer inspire interpretation.

Conceptualized space is the primary focus of this study because it is the purely imagined aspect of place that websites, guidebooks and other representations contribute to. This imagined mental picture can greatly influence how a place is experienced. Perceived space is also relevant to this study as interviews were conducted with tourists who had been in Chachapoyas for a short period of time and presumably had their sense of place influenced by the experience. Lived space was not considered in this study largely owing to the fact that study participants, i.e., tourists, spent less than a week at the destination, leaving little possibility for them to reach a state of familiarity and routine that the place no longer inspired interpretation.

Although perceived space is the result of experiencing a place, it is not necessarily more objective than conceptualized space, which relies on information provided by others (Davis 2005). The understanding a person draws from interacting with a place can be greatly affected by previous experiences and personal factors including one's own self-perception (Desforges 2000). The astounding effect of personal factors was illustrated anecdotally during the field research in Chachapoyas by a morose interviewee observing his birthday alone while his wife was ill in their hotel room. His personal circumstances were reflected in his interpretations of Chachapoyas which were exceedingly negative in comparison to the other interviewed subjects. This interview subject mentioned he was blogging about his travel around South America by motorcycle. One month after the interview I found his blog and read the entries that had been written after the interview. To my surprise, his tone was much more upbeat.

Despite the multitude of factors that influence an individual's sense of place, there are several commonalities among the study participants that would similarly inform or

restrict their sense of place. First, 92 percent of the interviewees came from highly developed countries of Europe and North America meaning they are relatively rich guests in a relatively poor host country. Second, 72 percent relied on the *Lonely Planet* guidebook series which would restrict the variety of information they have to interpret. Finally, tourists in particular are said to view a destination with the 'tourist gaze' which causes them to perceive a place in a particular way, that is, seeking out the unusual and photogenic (Urry 1990). Tourists anticipate their travel by learning about their destination and identifying highlights. They then interpret the destination with their imagined preconceptions as a framework. In contrast, locals influenced by a history of personal experience will attribute completely different meanings to the same place. This is to say that physical aspects of place are not necessarily privileged over social imaginings and may in fact be inconsequential. As Cresswell (2004, 31) points out, there exists a philosophical debate with sides arguing the spatial and social are either "mutually constitutive" of place or that place is entirely socially produced. Both sides of the debate agree that social processes, such as tourism and tourism promotion, are integral to the reproduction of place.

Place Image, Representations and Place Myths

Place image is a term found more often in tourism literature than in explicitly geographic literature. Destination image, the overtly tourism-related form of place image, is a "compilation of beliefs and impressions based on information processing from various sources over time, resulting in an internally accepted mental construct" (Crompton, 1979; paraphrased in Yuksel and Akgul 2006, 716). Place images are conjured from subjective understandings of a multitude of representations, so there cannot exist a "single mental picture or interpretation shared by all" (Hunter 2008, 356). Destination image is "complex, multiple, relativistic and dynamic," and it is not empirical (Beerli & Martin 2004, 658). Hunter (2008, 355) describes the theoretical messiness caused by this inherent subjectivity as the "duplicity of the image." Regarding their genesis, destination images form gradually over time from a variety of representational inputs (ibid 2008). Rob Shields (1991) describes the process as reducing the

complexities of place by ignoring most traits, amplifying others through stereotyping, and applying labels. Destination images are completely imaginary but they influence how places are understood and interacted with. This is a process that has been studied for Peru's cultivated national image as a tourist destination (Babb 2011, Pellinen-Chavez 2007, Vich 2007) and is the substance of this research on the destination of Chachapoyas.

The concept of place image seems to overlap greatly with the humanistic geography term sense of place. Both are essentially mental constructs of place. Among definitions, the discrepancies appear as matters of proximity and emotion. Place image is frequently discussed in the context of tourists who are purchasing a product, in this case experiences at a destination, without having first-hand knowledge of the place. In contrast, sense of place is frequently discussed in reference to people with emotional bonds to places that are usually developed over time. Within the context of this study, place image is alluded to in discussions of the possible interpretations of representations found in common guidebooks and websites. Sense of place is the more appropriate concept for discussions regarding interviews with tourists who were in the process of visiting the destination and are engaged with the spatial aspects of place.

A destination image is something a potential tourist has mentally fabricated from input in the form of symbols such as photographs, newspaper or magazine articles, video documentaries, or even recommendations from friends and family. These symbols are generally referred to as representations or as texts (Cosgrove and Daniels 1988, McGregor 2000). Like all symbols, representations of place are not universally understood and do not have a single interpretation. As William Hunter (2008, 356) explains:

> Representations do not exist independently; they exist within the context of one's own social reality, inherited from the past in the form of narratives and accounts found in books, travel autobiographies and newspapers about other places.

Not only are representations subjectively interpreted, but the representations themselves are inherently incomplete. Written representations are always biased because they feature the point-of-view of the author or are tailored to appeal to a target audience. Ethno-historians have struggled to ascertain accurate details of the Chachapoya for this

very reason. Early historical accounts are unreliable owing to the impact of the authors' political motives on how native groups are portrayed (Nystrom 2005). Travel guidebooks and website run by tour agencies also have specific motivations and goals that guide what attributes of a place are highlighted and which ones are omitted.

Since the advent of photography, "photograph and film have taken over from written texts the role of primary educator" (Lutz and Collins 1993, 4). They may appear to be windows into reality, but photographs are no less illusionary than written texts. They are cropped, edited and taken in "ideal" circumstances creating a "groomed space" (Hunter 2008, 360). Tourism photography in particular has been criticized for its tendency to convey selective meanings by decontextualizing the subject (Edwards 1996). Photographic representations depicting the unusual and exotic have a transformative effect turning lifestyles, landscapes and sacred sites into recreational products for tourists (Hunter 2008, Urry 1990). Tourism photographs also have the amusing effect of creating an archetypal image that tourists seek to replicate with their own cameras (Dann 1996). The examples given here are a small sample of the forms that representations can take. A few sources of representations relevant to tourism that have been studied include guidebooks (Hunter 2008, Lew 1991, Lisle 2008, McGregor 2000, Siegenthaler 2002, Wong and Liu 2011), brochures (Hunter 2008), postcards (DeBres and Sowers 2009, Edwards 1996, Markwick 2001, Waitt and Head 2002, Yuksel and Akgul 2006), cultural replica displays (Buck 1993, Fjellman 1992), maps (Bosak et al. 2010) and photographic travelogues (Lutz and Collins 1993). For this study, representations of Chachapoyas are the raw materials for analysis to estimate a place image.

There exist some place images that have particular coherence and longevity and have coalesced into a consistent imagining known as place myths (Davis 2005, Sheilds 1991). These special place images are what Davis calls "floating signifiers: culturally available traveling conceptualizations of places that do not arise from a particular place as much as they are applied to it" (2005, 612). The place myth relevant to Davis's (2005) work, "Representing Place: 'Deserted Isles' and the Reproduction of Bikini Atoll," can be found in the title. The deserted isle place myth, which Davis (2005) describes as having roots in the search for the biblical Garden of Eden, has been cultivated and

popularized in the western imagination through art, novels and film. This place myth has been utilized in discourses of Bikini Atoll to reinforce a particular place image and legitimize certain uses of the island. Dydia Delyser (1999) found that the "mythic West" and the "ghost town," both of which are widespread place-myths thanks to nearly two centuries of western literature and movies, shaped the town of Bodie, California throughout its history. She points out that the mythic West and the realities of the West cannot be separated because they are mutually constitutive (Delyser 1999, 609). The subjectivity of place images means that conflicting place myths can be applied to a single place at the same time, sometimes producing conflict (Davis 2005, Shields 1991). Chachapoyas, the region at the center of this study, appears to be linked to a place myth described herein as mysterious ruins. This myth is best captured in modern times by the exotic settings of the *Indiana Jones* film franchise. Evidence for the application of this place myth to Chachapoyas is found in representations in guidebooks and websites as well as the thoughts of interviewed tourists to the region.

The Production of Space

The overarching theme throughout the theoretical discussion of place, sense of place, place image, representations, and place myth, is that there is dynamism and boundless diversity in mentally constructed meanings. Consequently, there is no positivistic or 'true' version of place though certain groups always share and promote certain core elements of place. As Gieryn (2000, 465) describes, the meaning of place is "labile—flexible in the hands of different people or cultures, malleable over time, and inevitably contested." As contests over place meanings are won and lost, the dominant place meanings leave their mark on the spatial and cultural landscape to be changed again by the victor of the next contest. Geographers refer to the process driving the dynamism of place as the production of space, sometimes written as (re)production to acknowledge that the meaning of place is contested and changes indefinitely. Yi-Fu Tuan (1977, 162) elegantly illustrates the ability to redefine place when he describes the source of the Mississippi River as appearing similar to many other regional ponds and says, "Scientists... have a certain power: they can create a place by pointing their official

fingers at one body of water rather than another." A humble pond is produced into a national landmark in an instant.

Scientists and powerful officials are not alone in their ability to produce places. Tourism is very influential in how destinations are reimagined and produced. Tourists visit Peru with the 'tourist gaze' and pre-existing place images based largely on representations. Henri Lefebvre (1991, 42) has said, "Representations of space must… have a substantial role and a specific influence in the production of space." The production of space is not only about redefining a place because new meanings are acted upon and can create empirical change. Gieryn (2000, 473) reinforces this idea when he says, "culturally reproduced images of places are… arbitrary but real in their consequences—for [they influence] what people do to the land, as they make (or destroy) places." Gieryn's inclusion of the word "destroy" in this quote is intended to emphasize the gravity of the production of space by acknowledging the plight of social groups that have contested the meaning of a place and lost. When the place images of outsiders are privileged the results can mean commoditized and diluted cultural practices and identities (Buck 1993, Waitt and Head 2002, Williams 1992).

The production of space is often a political process linked to aspirations of authority. Authority is frequently and successfully derived from glorified past civilizations to bolster a national identity, political platform or consumerism (Silverman 2002, 881 also Potter et al. 2004). As George Orwell famously put it in his novel *1984,* "Who controls the past controls the future. Who controls the present controls the past." Peru's national tourism promotion has embraced this strategy by focusing on appealing characteristics of Peru's Inca patrimony, often referred to as *andeanismo*, not only to attract tourists but also to unite the marginalized indigenous/peasant population behind a neoliberal economic diversification scheme (Hill 2007). In reviewing the recently produced national place image and examining representations of Chachapoyas in conjunction with tourist opinions, this research looks for clues as to how tourism might be precipitating the production of the destination of Chachapoyas. A model for the interaction of the theoretical components of this research and their relationships can be seen in Figure 2.1.
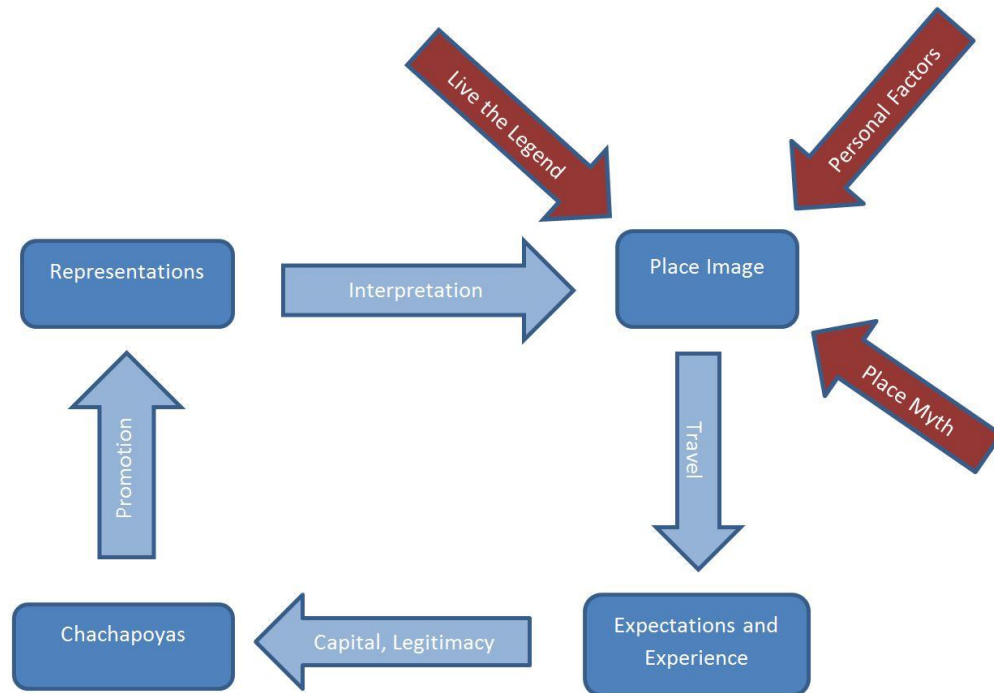
Figure 2.1. Theoretical Model (adapted from Davis 2005)

Tourists, Mass Tourists and Travelers

An important theoretical consideration for this case study is the type of tourist that is visiting Chachapoyas. Generally speaking, tourist simply refers to a person travelling or visiting a place for pleasure. Tourist is an umbrella term that includes a variety of types. There has been extensive research examining a subgroup of tourists referred to as backpackers or budget-travelers but who also refer to themselves as 'travelers' (Hamilton-Smith 1987). Research has included attempts to delineate the group by examining their habits and motivations and has recognized that as a group they are heterogeneous (Larsen et al. 2011, Sorenson 2003). Travelers often define themselves in contrast to mass tourists and disparage overt manifestations of tourism (McGregor 2000). Due to the rejection of tourist services, some have conceived of travelers as 'anti-tourists' (Maoz 2007). For the purposes of this research, the term tourist is used in the most general sense of the word. Mass tourists are defined as relying substantially on tourist infrastructure and are prone to using packaged tours, insulating themselves from the host culture. Travelers in contrast seek to minimize their use of these services and view the

tourism experience as cultural immersion (McGregor 2000). Other characteristics associated with travelers are extended travel and flexible itineraries (Sorenson 2003). McGregor (2000) expected that travelers would have less exposure to representations of their destinations. It would also be expected that the travelers' aversion to mass tourism would influence the types of representations they find appealing and ultimately influence their choice of destination.

Geographic and Tourism Research in Peru

This study takes a geographic approach to the multidimensional activity of tourism in Peru. It aims to build upon and extend work undertaken in geography and tourism studies. Geography is a very broad discipline that overlaps with many other academic fields. Tourism is a topic that is often incorporated into several academic fields as well as being studied as a stand-alone discipline. With the blurred lines of these academic pursuits in mind, the following review of current research in Peru will be topical with somewhat less attention paid to their academic categories.

The effects of neoliberal market reforms by recent Peruvian presidential administrations have piqued several researchers' interests. Luke Desforges (2000) examined how the repeal of state intervention in tourism affected the tourism industry. Neoliberalism encouraged foreign investment in mining operations which brought attention to the impacts of expanded mineral extraction on livelihoods (Bury 2004, 2005, 2007; Haarstad and Floysand 2007). The implications of global climate change for Peruvians and livelihoods have also been examined (Mark et al 2010; Ektvedt 2011).

Tourism has been a major part of Peru's neoliberal toolkit and has been studied in a number of ways. A few researchers have noticed that tourism in Peru is unequally distributed and that it is in the early stages of diversifying destinations (Bury 2008; O'Hare and Barrett 1999). Images and their effect of tourism and destinations particularly in reference to the national tourism promotion strategies have also been studied (Babb 2011; Hill 2007, 2010; Pellinen-Chavez 2007; Scott 2010; Silverman 2002). One study was found to focus on specifically on long-haul tourists visiting Peru (Desforges 2000). Most popularly studied are the effects of tourism on the socially and

economically marginalized hosts of the Andes Mountains and Amazon Basin (Bromley and Mackie 2009; Hill and Hill 2011; Stronza 2008; Zoomers 2008; Zorn and Farthing 2007). The guest/host interaction has also triggered several studies into the spread of sexually transmitted diseases in Cusco (Bauer 2008, 2009; Cabada et al 2009). The most recent trend in research on Peru's tourism industry appears to be following the growing number of tourists seeking Amazonian shamans for ceremonies using the hallucinogen *ayahuasca* (Fotiou 2010; Holman 2010; Homan 2011). Apart from the very recent research on shamanism, all but one of these tourism studies, Jeffrey Bury's (2008) work on new geographies of tourism located in central Peru, are located in the southern part of the country.

<center>**Summary**</center>

Chapter II provided the underlying theory that has acted as a framework for this study. Place was defined in the context of geography and tourism by the important characteristics of interconnectedness and social construction. These characteristics underscore that Chachapoyas is influenced by and possibly influences the outside world. It also establishes the basic premise that place is subjective and defined socially by locals, visitors and others who have an interest. These concepts are important to answering all three research questions.

Specific to the second research question, this chapter addressed the meaning and importance of sense of place. For Chachapoyas, the tourists' sense of place is important as it includes their opinions, preconceptions and feelings about the place. There are several characteristics shared by the interviewed subjects that to some degree restrict variation in sense of place.

To address the first and third research questions, place image, representations and place myth were discussed. Place image is largely based on a variety of promotional and other descriptions of a place. These descriptions whether in the form of photographs, videos or written materials are called representations and are the raw materials of place image. A place image can also be influenced by a place myth that entails many characteristics of an imaginary place.

The chapter then returns to the idea of place to discuss the changing meanings of place, or the production of space.   This serves to highlight the importance of representations, place image, sense of place and the place myth in how tourist places like Chachapoyas can change over time. The chapter concludes with a review of literature from geography and allied fields, with a focus on tourism provides additional regional context for this study.

Chapter III: Methodological Approach

Introduction

Chapter III provides the rationale for the methodological approach used in the study. To address the issue of identifying a place image of Chachapoyas through representations, the chapter explains the choice of guidebooks and websites and lists which specific sources were utilized. To address the sense of place of tourists visiting Chachapoyas, the chapter describes why interviews with tourists are the best source of data. The chapter then moves to a discussion of the methods used to analyze each of the data sources. To find meaning in the photographic representations, a specific approach relevant to cultural tourism was selected. Written text in guidebooks and websites were analyzed using content analysis used in the classical sense as well as interpretively. The chapter continues with a detailed discussion of the interview rationale and specifics of data analysis. This is followed by the analysis procedure beginning with transcription and leading to coding and reduction.

To determine the application of a place myth, common traits among guidebook, websites and interviews were identified. The place myth was confirmed through the discovery of a similar theme found by a critical reading of historical newspaper articles.

Data Sources

The overarching question this thesis addresses has been divided into three parts through the theoretical considerations of Chapter II: 1) characterizing a place image for Chachapoyas based on an analysis of representations; 2) examining the sense of place of international visitors to Chachapoyas; and 3) investigating the existence of a place myth. To address these three areas of investigation this study draws on tourist-targeted media, interviews with tourists at the destination, field observations and newspaper articles.

Investigating the place image of Chachapoyas is best approached by analysis of the most accessible representations given that they have the potential to influence the most viewers. Also, since this research is concerned with potential tourists to

Chachapoyas, sources of representations produced for or easily accessed by tourists are most relevant. These were determined to be travel guidebooks for Peru and South America (McGregor 2000) and internet websites for the destination region of Chachapoyas (Dorsey et. al. 2004). Destination brochures would typically be another source of tourist information; however, for Chachapoyas there are no destination brochures that are easily accessible.

Guidebooks are "commercial books that provide destination information (city, region, county or continent) to visitors and are available for purchase in bookstores" (Wong and Liu 2011, 616). Guidebooks contribute to destination selection, provide guidance, and shape tourist expectations of place (Lew 1991). Among backpackers, guidebooks have been found to "exert an inordinate amount of power" over tourists and the destination (McGregor 2000, 35). I used two selection methods that resulted in a sample that included ten recently published guidebooks. First, I selected all guidebooks available for Peru at a nationwide bookseller. Second, I selected guidebooks used by study subjects identified through the interview process in Chachapoyas. The guidebooks selected are as follows:

-Eyewitness Travel *Peru* 2010

> Blacker, Maryanne. 2010. *Eyewitness Travel: Peru.* Rev. ed. New York: DK Publishing.

-Footprint *South America Handbook* 2011

> Box, Ben. 2011. *Footprint South America Handbook. 87th ed*. London: Globe Pequot Press.

-Frommer's *Peru* 2010

> Schlecht, Neil Edward. 2010.*Frommer's Peru. 5th ed*. Hoboken: Wiley Publishing.

-Fodor's *Peru* 2011

> Moker, Molly, ed. 2011.*Fodor's Peru.4thed*. New York: Random House, Inc.

-Insight Guides *Peru* 2010

> Lawrence, Rachel ed. 2008.*Insight Guide: Peru.5th ed*. Long Island City: Langensheidt Publishers, Inc.

-Lonely Planet *Peru* 2010

Miranda, Carolina A. 2010. *Lonely Planet: Peru.7th ed*. London: Lonely Planet
Publishers.

-Lonely Planet *South America on a Shoestring* 2010

St. Louis, Regis. 2010. *Lonely Planet: South America on a Shoestring. 11th ed*.
London: Lonely Planet Publishers.

-Moon Handbook *Peru* 2011

Wehner, Ross, Renee Del Gaudio, and Kazia Jankowski. 2011. *Moon Handbook
Peru. 3rd ed*. Berkeley, CA: Avalon.

-National Geographic Traveler *Peru* 2009

Rachowiecki, Rob. 2009. *Traveler: Peru.* Washington: National Geographic
Society

-The Rough Guide *Peru* 2009

Jenkins, Dilwyn. 2009. *The Rough Guide to Peru*. *7th ed*. London: Penguin Books
Ltd.

The travel guidebook industry is vast with the above sample displaying only the most common English-language titles. There were two guidebooks mentioned by study participants that were not selected for analysis because they were not in English: Le Petit Futé (French) and Turen Går Til (Danish). By far the most popular guidebook series in the world is *Lonely Planet* which has even come to symbolize a style of tourist that often refer to themselves as 'travelers' (McGregor 2000; Sorenson 2003). Through the interview process I found that 72 percent of interviewees carried a *Lonely Planet*, confirming the popularity of the series in Peru.

The second source of representations analyzed to approximate a place image for Chachapoyas were internet websites. According to Peru's annual Foreign Tourist Profile for 2009 (PromPeru Tourist Profile 2009), only 16% of tourists reported relying on guidebooks for pre-travel information compared to 74% who reported consulting the internet. Clearly, the internet is widely used among tourists to Peru and is a significant source of representations. It is relevant to note that of subjects interviewed for this research, the number who relied on the internet for travel information were in the minority.

Websites were selected for analysis by replicating how a potential tourist might approach the search of web-based information on Chachapoyas. First, using the popular search engine Google, I searched for the keyword Chachapoyas, which refers to the principal town in the region, the province, and is the commonly used term for the culture that is responsible for building Kuelap. I then repeated the procedure using 'Kuelap,' a large archaeological site and the primary tourist attraction in the region. These two searches returned over 4 million combined results. I reduced these results to a reasonable number by selectively sampling. I selected several websites that appeared in the results for both search terms. I included websites at the top of the results as well as a few with authoritative-sounding web addresses. In addition I added webpages from the popular online reference site Wikipedia for both Chachapoyas and Kuelap. I later added a website mentioned by a tourist during the interview process. Several of these websites contain multiple webpages. Only the webpages with information referencing the region of Chachapoyas and Kuelap were included for analysis. The following is a list of the selected websites along with a brief description.

-www.inkanatura.com

> According to its website, InkaNatura Travel is owned by a nonprofit conservation group called Peru Verde. Their slogan is "Conservation through Tourism" and their nation-wide tours focus on the rainforest and archaeology. For Chachapoyas and Kuelap the format is informational with links to tour details.

-www.perutravelguide.info

> This website, though displayed differently is sponsored by InkaNatura Travel. Its information of Chachapoyas and Kuelap is primarily displayed as a detailed and descriptive itinerary.

-www.rediscovermachupicchu.com

> Rediscover Machu Picchu is a website primarily concerned with providing accurate and in-depth information about Machu Picchu. It also addresses the lesser-known Peruvian heritage sites. The website has nine stated objectives that mainly deal with educating viewers, but also encouraging sustainable and responsible tourism as well as functioning as an advertising platform. This website was unique in that it had no photos of Chachapoyas.

-www.vilayatours.com

Vilaya Tours is operated by a British guide who has been living in Chachapoyas since 1997. The website has brief background information on the region and attractions among the descriptions of tour offerings limited to the Chachapoyas region. This particular tour company is mentioned in several guidebooks including Footprint, Lonely Planet and Moon.

-www.lonelyplanet.com

Lonely Planet offers some of its travel information on its website including a description of Chachapoyas that is identical to that found in the guidebook. There is also a piece on Kuelap under the "Tips & Articles" heading written in early 2010 when flooding at Machu Picchu forced tourists to adjust their itineraries.

-www.wikipedia.org

Wikipedia is a web-based collaborative encyclopedia and according to its Wikipedia webpage, it is the sixth most commonly used website. Wikipedia has a page describing basic features of the town of Chachapoyas including history, geography, and tourist attractions. It also has a page describing Kuelap.

-www.kuelapperu.com

This website is operated by Chachapoyas Tours which has its head office in Chachapoyas but also claims an international office in Orlando, Florida. They are proud of the fact that their staff is 100 percent Peruvian. There is a primary informational page and links to tour itineraries.

-www.theperuguide.com

The Peru Guide calls itself "an entertainment guide-magazine" with information about current events as well as restaurants and bars in Lima and Cusco. It also has information about other destinations including Chachapoyas. There are advertisements for tours, but the Peru Guide itself is not a tour agency.

Figure 3.1. A selection of sampled guidebooks analyzed in this study (source: C. Hoadley, 2011).

The second component of the research involves determining key aspects of the sense of place of visitors to Chachapoyas. As discussed in Chapter II, sense of place involves thoughts, opinions and perceptions about a place. Interviewing visitors in Chachapoyas was determined to be the most efficient way of gathering this information. Interviews were also important in answering a host of other questions including sources of pre-travel information and motivation for visiting Chachapoyas. Responses to these questions informed the analysis of the Chachapoyas place image and the existence of a place myth.

The town of Chachapoyas is the largest settlement in the region and offers the most options for accommodations, dining and transportation. The high number of amenities served to spatially concentrate tourists making it a natural interview site. Foreign (non-Peruvian) tourists were selected by convenience sampling and snowball sampling methods during a fifteen day visit beginning on September 2, 2011. The majority of interviewees were found by strolling in the Plaza in the evenings after tours had returned for the day. Interviews were conducted in English utilizing an interview script. Interview responses to initial closed questions were recorded on paper and open-ended question responses were audio-recorded. The interview respondents were not selected to ensure a statistically representative sample of tourists traveling to this region. Seventeen of the interviewees were European, five were North American, one was Australian, one was Guatemalan and one was Argentinian. Sixteen were male and nine were female. Further attribute information can be found in Appendix A.

Identifying whether a place myth is attached to Chachapoyas requires data in the form of propagated representations, as found in guidebooks and websites as well as the imagination of tourists visiting Chachapoyas, revealed through interviews. To further trace the attachment of a place myth I sampled newspaper articles with reference to Chachapoyas from the LexisNexis database dating back to 1980.

The above mentioned data sources were complimented by field observations made by myself during two visits to Chachapoyas in June 2010 and September 2011. These include observations of the tourism economy and infrastructure as well as informal conversations with guides, local people, a tourism assessor with the regional Directorate of Foreign Trade and Tourism (DIRCETUR), as well as Peter Lerche, the formal mayor and leading ethno-historian on the region. These observations and insights hint at how the increase in foreign visitation is influencing tourism space in Chachapoyas.

Methods

This investigation utilizes a case study research strategy and qualitative analysis to address the overarching question, *What is Chachapoyas to the tourist?* The components of this as detailed in Chapter II are the place image, sense of place, and place myth. To address these topics, the large amount of data from the guidebooks, websites and interviews had to be reduced and summarized into representative but manageable data.

This research does not take a positivist approach by insisting that there is a single, knowable place image that exists for Chachapoyas. Rather, owing to the limited options that influence place image for a western tourist as explained in Chapter II, it is expected that a reasonably meaningful set of characteristics for the place image can be determined based on a limited pool of representations. To further substantiate the legitimacy of the approximated place image for Chachapoyas, the study is designed to incorporate information reflecting a place image gleaned from the interview responses. Interviewees' thoughts will either reflect themes found in representations or refute them. This approach is what Gillham (2000) calls triangulation, wherin mixed-methods of data collection are employed to improve the reliability of qualitative studies.

The content of the guidebooks and websites were divided into photographic and written text components to be analyzed separately. The guidebooks contained 29 photographs of the Chachapoyas region and the websites contained 71 photographs. The photograph "is the most widely disseminated tourist icon" (Markwick 2001, 417). However, photographs are not objective depictions of reality. They are symbols that "communicate or evoke ideas-ideas replete with feelings" (Lutz and Collins 1993, 5). William Hunter (2008) developed a deductive content-analysis rubric very similar to Dann (1996) that lends itself well to identifying ideas in representations of places of cultural tourism, the primary type of tourism practiced in Peru. The photographic analysis rubric is based on the elements of 'space' and 'subject,' resulting in sixteen representational categories.

William Hunter's (2008) paper entitled "A typology of photographic representations for tourism: Depictions of groomed spaces," describes the elements of 'space' and 'subject' as summarized in the following paragraphs.

Space, not to be confused with the theoretical dialectic of space and place, refers to the non-human environment and has four mutually exclusive and exhaustive categories: natural, built, heritage, and tourist products. Photographs deemed 'natural' are those that are ostensibly untouched by humans. 'Built' spaces are those showing evidence of use by current inhabitants of the area. 'Heritage' spaces depict subjects with links to a distant past including ruins or ethnic peoples with distinctive dress. Photographs depicting spaces or items meant specifically for tourist consumption are coded 'tourism products.'

Subject simply refers to the presence of people, i.e. tourists or hosts, in a photograph with possibilities being: no one, tourists, hosts, or tourists and hosts. The guidebook and website photos were analyzed according to the rubric and tallied to describe what type of photographic content is available to tourists. Beyond Hunter's (2008) methodology there appeared a few startling consistencies in the subject matter of the photographs that warranted more attention as elaborated in Chapter IV.

These sixteen categories are designed to be mutually exclusive and exhaustive. The vast majority of photographs were easily categorized, however more nuanced rules were developed as a few photographs had elements arguably of more than one category. A prominent example was a photograph of a circular house ruin with a small interpretive sign in front. The ruin was clearly the main focus and the sign took up onlya small part of the composition. The photo could either be considered a 'tourist product' due to the appearance of the sign or 'heritage' space simply depicting the ruin. I decided to categorize it as a 'tourist product' because although small, the sign was approximately in the center of the composition, was in sharp focus and easily noticeable. In contrast, photographs of the town of Chachapoyas seemed purposefully to diminish the presence of people. Only a close examination showed that the odd dark shapes in the background were people. These photographs were categorized as 'no people.' Another illustration of the challenge of categorizing photographs using this rubric was presented by staged photographs of mummies and artifacts. In cases where the items were clearly on display, as in a museum, they were categorized as 'tourist product.' Artifacts with no discernible setting, such as a solid backdrop, were categorized as 'heritage' to reflect the focus on the artifact itself. 'Cultivated' spaces and 'natural' spaces in panoramic vistas were at times a challenge to categorize. Only when clear agricultural field boundaries were visible was a photograph categorized as 'cultivated' rather than 'natural.'

The other category of representation found in guidebooks and websites was written text. Although the visual impact of photographs has been noted, written descriptions of places are also important contributions to place image. Language not only guides but controls tourists, reducing them to "chasers of images" (Dann 1996, 83). The written text from sampled guidebooks and websites was analyzed qualitatively and iteratively to allow for the development of themes as they appeared (Ryan and Bernard 2003). NVivo 9 Data Analysis software was used to organize the data by "structuring" or creating categorical codes (Kohlbacher 2005). Passages within the text were coded by categories that developed iteratively. Examples of the categories developed through structuring include Chachapoyas (town), Chachapoya culture, current inhabitants, environment, transportation, tourism commentary, Kuelap, Gocta, and a host of other sites. These categories were used for 'classical' content analysis linking the importance

of particular categories to how much coverage they received in the guidebooks and websites (ibid 2005). Qualitative content analysis continues from the structuring stage by summarizing and reducing categories to their essential message and by identifying latent themes such as mystery and adventure and the absence of a society of the present (Bryman 2004).

Another source of data, tourist thoughts and opinions about Chachapoyas, came from semi-structured interviews that were conducted with foreign visitors at Chachapoyas. The town of Chachapoyas is the capital of the Departmento de Amazonas and is a nexus of transportation and commerce in the region. This makes it an efficient location to encounter and interview tourists. Interviews have an advantage over surveys in that their open-ended questions allow a great deal more freedom in response. The interview format was chosen because "disclosing people's 'sense of place' requires 'empathetic' inquiries into the realms of feelings, emotions, and values" (Castree 2003, 177).

Interview subjects were selected via the convenience sampling technique rather than a more rigorous representational sampling technique due to the ephemeral nature of tourism at a destination (Young 1999). I was also able to get additional interviews by asking the respondents if they knew other tourists who would be willing to participate. Generally speaking, tourists were easy to identify by their inclination to wear a daypack, carry a bottle of water and/or wear nylon convertible pants.

The interview protocol and questionnaire were reviewed and approved by the The University of Montana Institutional Review Board. The subjects were required to sign an informed consent as is standard with human research subjects; however, the interviews themselves were conducted anonymously. The interview script began with nine closed questions about basic demographics and details of their travel (see Appendix A). Next, participants responded to five simple statements about Chachapoyas such as, *Chachapoyas is interesting* and *Chachapoyas is safe*. The respondents were asked to rate their feelings about the statements on a Likert scale from 1, strongly disagree, to 5, strongly agree. These responses were recorded on the interview script.

The digital voice recorder was turned on and fifteen questions, most with prepared probes, were asked. The first two questions and probes were meant to reveal how much was known about Chachapoyas before travel, how they first learned about the destination and what sources they most often use for travel information. The next set of questions reveal the respondents route, motivation for visiting and their activities around Chachapoyas. To assess their pre-travel place image, I asked a challenging question about their formally-held expectations for the place. Slightly easier to answer was the probe asking how Chachapoyas was different or similar to their expectations. To further gauge their opinion of the place, I asked whether their visit to Chachapoyas was an authentic Peruvian experience. I also asked them to compare it to other parts of Peru they know. I asked how they would describe Chachapoyas to friends and family and whether they would recommend it to both young people and older people. I attempted to gauge the dominant historical themes of the region by asking what they had learned about all aspects of Chachapoyas. To create a change of pace, there were a couple questions about purchasing souvenirs. Finally, I learned more about their opinions of Chachapoyas by asking if they felt the area was touristy and what they thought of a proposed cable car to reduce travel time to Kuelap. The complete interview script can be found in Appendix B.

Transcription followed a protocol for uniformity designed by Gilbert Quintero of The University of Montana's Department of Anthropology (Quintero 2009). Similar to the guidebook and website text analysis, the transcribed interviews were coded with NVivo 9 software beginning with structuring by question topic. These topics were then summarized and reduced with the intent of maintaining a reliable reflection of the original material. Throughout the structuring and summarizing process, themes and patterns were identified as they appeared (Kohlbacher 2005).

Identifying a place myth used information found both in representations as well as the responses to interview questions. In order to add temporal scale to the place myth, I searched through newspaper articles published over the past 30 years that reference Chachapoyas. I then read these articles critically with the intention of finding language that supports the place myth that was discovered among the primary data sources.

Another complimentary source of information was field observations made during two brief visits to Chachapoyas in June, 2010 and September, 2011. During these two field campaigns I made notes on the manifest features of the tourism economy and infrastructure. I also participated in tours to Kuelap, Gocta Waterfall, a cliff burial with distinctive sarcophagi called Karajia, and a cliff burial and housing site called Pueblo de los Muertos (Village of the Dead). In addition to observations I casually conversed with several local residents and guides about the development of tourism in Chachapoyas. I was also able to meet with the former mayor and leading ethno-historian on the Chachapoya culture and an employee working at the Amazonas Dircetur office in Chachapoyas. These observations and conversations informed the discussion of Chachapoyas and its relation to tourism as well as providing specific examples of how tourism is producing space in Chachapoyas.

Summary

The aim of Chapter III was to present a logical approach to answering the theory-driven components of the overarching question, *What is Chachapoyas to the tourist?* It defined the most appropriate data sources for representations of Chachapoyas. It then explained the importance of interviewing tourists to determine sense of place. It also explained the relevance of field observations and historic newspaper articles to the research.

The second part of the chapter dealt with the methodological approach of the research. It explained the photographic analysis rubric as well as the qualitative content analysis approach utilized to extract meaning and messages from the guidebooks and websites. It continued by discussing in detail the interview process and data reduction strategy.

Chapter IV: Research Context

Introduction

This study focuses on the idea that place is labile and interconnected. Therefore it is necessary to provide geographical, political, and historical context to illustrate these connections and where change has occurred. To start, the chapter attempts to disambiguate the term Chachapoyas. This discussion leads to an overview of the geography and ecology of the region and a brief discussion of some of the tourist attractions.

The chapter then delves into ethno-historical and archaeological studies that have investigated the Chachapoya culture. This serves to dispel some commonly stated assertions about the culture while acknowledging that there is much yet to learn. The discussion then delves into the recent history of tourism in Peru. This section demonstrates the importance placed upon tourism development by recent administrations and traces the path of the development of Peru's tourism image.

The final section of the chapter addresses tourism in Chachapoyas. With little published data on the topic from which to draw, the section reviews some of the interesting announcements of discoveries in the region that made world newspaper headlines.

Chachapoyas

Chachapoyas is a term that presented confusion for some of the tourists who participated in this study and requires explanation. The term originates from the Inca sobriquet of the civilization that had inhabited the region prior to Inca and Spanish incursions and is commonly translated from the Inca language Quechua to mean "people of the clouds" (Lerche 1995). The word has four usages in this thesis: 1) Chachapoyas refers the capital town of the Department of Amazonas; 2) Chachapoyas is also the name of the province where the town of Chachapoyas is located within the Department of Amazonas; 3) Chachapoyas is the term this study uses for the tourism region roughly delimited by the geographical locations of the attractions that can be reached on a day trip

from the town of Chachapoyas as shown in Figure 4.1. Chachapoya (without the terminal "s") refers to the pre-Hispanic political entity that existed in the region and built many of the ruins that are popularly visited (Nystrom 2005; Muscutt 1998). The most common usage of the term Chachapoyas in this study is in reference to the tourism region. Elsewhere I use the labels 'town' or 'province' for clarity.

What I refer to as the town of Chachapoyas is a translation and commonly abbreviated form of its full name, San Juan de la Frontera de los Chachapoyas. In Spanish it is typically referred to a la Ciudad de Chachapoyas, or Chachas for short. Ciudad is typically translated to city in English, and owing to Chacahpoyas' relative size and political importance in the region, it may be considered a city. Peter Lerche, the former mayor, typically referred to it as a town in correspondence with me.   I made the decision to translate ciudad as town because I feel it better represents Chachapoyas to the majority of the audience of this study.
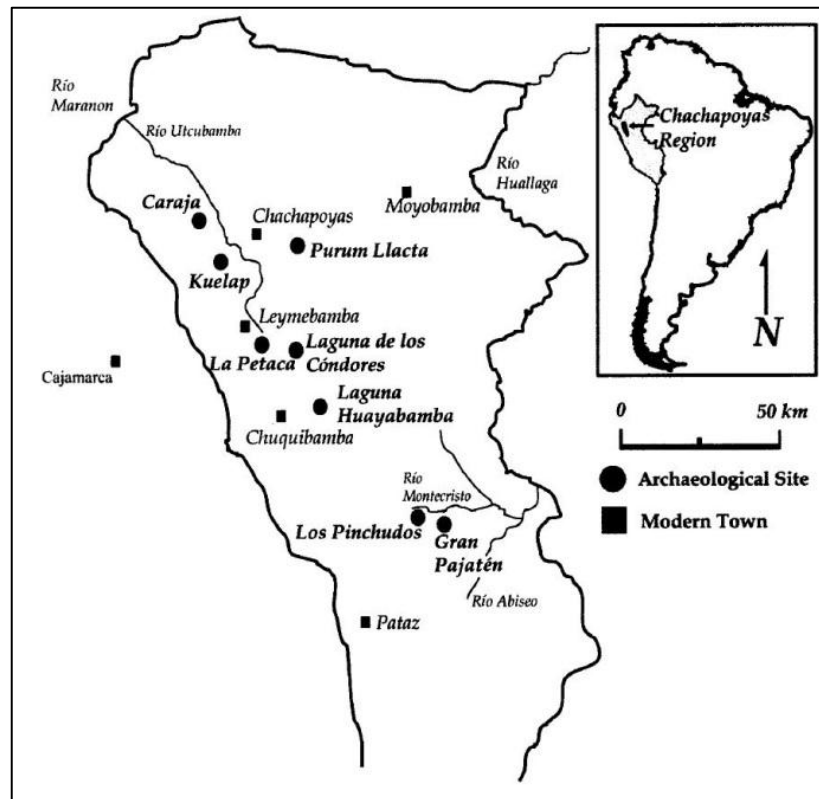
Figure 4.1. Map of conceptualized study region adapted from Nystrom (2005).

Generally speaking, economic diversification in the region has been hindered by its remote location, poorly maintained access roads and infrequently functional airstrip. The region is located on the eastern slope of the Andes which leads its weather to be affected by the atmospheric conditions of the Amazon basin (Nystrom 2005). The terrain is highly variable with Kuelap at an elevation of 10,170 feet and the Maranon River Valley around 5,600 feet. Elevation variation, the rain shadow effect, and a history of deforestation create a variety of ecological niches. Local terminology delineates six different ecological zones that range from xerophytic thorny woodland to the cloud forests believed to have been the source of the name Chachapoya (ibid 2005). Despite the Department's name, the Chachapoyas region is well above the elevation where the lowland rainforest typically associated with the term Amazonas begins.

The Department of Amazonas had the third lowest GDP per capita of Peru's twenty-four departments in 2009. Its predominant economic activities are agricultural with coffee an increasingly produced cash crop (INEI 2011). A large portion of the rural population is dependent on subsistence agriculture that capitalizes on the altitudinal zonation in the vertical landscape to grow beans, corn, potatoes, yucca, sugarcane, and a variety of fruits (Muscutt 1998).

The region has sought growth in the tourism sector for nearly two decades. Since 1995, the town of Chachapoyas has held a week-long tourism festival, simply called Tourism Week, to encourage visitors, investment, and civic pride (Andina 2011). From the town's Plaza de Armas visitors are enticed by local tour agencies to visit places of interest in the region including the fortification of Kuelap, the area's primary tourist attraction (Englebert 2008). In addition to Kuelap, there are many other archaeological sites that tourists visit (see table 4.2). Catarata de Gocta, or Gocta Falls, is one of many high waterfalls in the region. In 1996 it was measured for the first time at 2,531 feet by a German engineer who mistakenly announced it was the third highest waterfall in the world (World Waterfall Database 2011). Also of interest to tourists is trekking and bird watching.

Tourist Attraction	Archaeological/ Heritage	Natural	No. of guidebooks and websites mentioning site
Kuelap	✓		19
Laguna de los Condores	✓	✓	12
Gocta Falls		✓	10
Leymebamba	✓		10
Gran Vilaya	✓		9
Karajia	✓		9
Revash	✓		9
Levanto	✓		6
Purunllacta	✓		5
Huancas	✓	✓	4
La Jalca	✓		4
Congona	✓		3
Pueblo de los Muertos	✓		3
Yalpe	✓		3
Ollape	✓		2
Quiocta Cave	✓	✓	2
Macro	✓		1

Table 4.1. A list of sites found in guidebooks and websites analyzed in this study.

Historically speaking Chachapoyas has been a nexus of exchange and exists now as a crossroads for tourists. It is a gateway to the Amazon basin to the east. Archaeological evidence suggests the peoples of the Chachapoyas region acted as middlemen for exchange between the Amazon and other parts of Peru (Nystrom 2005). To the south is Cajamarca, the Inca city where Francisco Pizarro effectively conquered the Inca civilization by capturing and executing Atahualpa. To the west is access to the coast and the cities of Chiclayo and Piura. To the north is a border crossing to Ecuador, though transportation between Chachapoyas and the border is disjointed and cumbersome for visitors. The town of Chachapoyas with a population of 22,872 is at the center of the tourism economy of the region as it has the highest concentration of hotels and other amenities and is a transportation hub. Using Kuelap's visitation figures as a proxy,

Chachapoyas hosted 6,155 international tourists in 2010, a 20 percent increase over 2009 and a 265 percent increase over 2003 (see Table 4.2).

	Kuelap Visitation January 2003 - August 2011		
Year	International	Peruvian	Total
2003	1,687	8,129	9,816
2004	1,683	8,391	10,074
2005	2,250	7,223	9,473
2006	3,334	8,651	11,985
2007	4,241	10,462	14,703
2008	5,393	12,003	17,396
2009	5,106	13,436	18,542
2010	6,155	17,541	23,696
2011*	6,124	23,173	29,297

*Projected totals

Table 4.2. Kuelap visitation (Data Source: MINCETUR 2011 and Dirección Regional de Cultura – Amazonas)

Knowledge of Chachapoya Culture

Human inhabitants in the area may have arrived as early as 12,200 BP. Lithic evidence at a well-excavated cave site indicates the region may have been a travel corridor for transient groups at the time with later evidence suggesting long-distance trade networks (Church and Von Hagen 2008). Despite limited dating for confirmation, Kuelap's builders are believed to have begun construction around 800 AD with the genesis of what is referred to as the classic Chachapoya culture of circular houses with mosaic friezes and cliff tombs around 1000 AD; however, architecture alone has proven unreliable for dating purposes (Church and von Hagen 2008).

There are a number of chroniclers, the earliest from the mid-16th century, who left brief but florid written accounts of the Chachapoya culture. Ethno-historians have been critical of the chronicler's descriptions because they often display political motives

(Nystrom 2005). These researchers have also been cautious about drawing conclusions about the Chachapoya culture from the descriptions because they are rarely written from first-hand accounts and the Chachapoya livelihoods had been seriously disrupted by 60 years of Inca interference by the time the Spanish arrived (Lerche 1995; Nystrom 2005).

Frequently repeated in tourism information is the assertion by Pedro de Cieza de Leon in 1553 that the Chachapoya were "more white and graceful" than other "indians" (Lerche 1995; my translation). Peter Lerche (1986) points out that many other indigenous groups were described in a similar manner by Spanish chroniclers. They may in fact have been distinct from other Andean peoples. An investigation of Chachapoya skeletal remains from 900 A.D. indicates they were taller than and had different cranial features than the prototypical southern Andean (Schjellerup 1991). Today, there exists a small population of lighter-skinned and light-haired people that some have come to assume have Chachapoya ancestry. Peter Lerche, ethno-historian and former mayor of Chachapoyas, believes they are more likely the progeny of European immigrants to the area in the 19th and early 20th centuries (field notes, interview with Peter Lerche June 2, 2010).

Before the intrusion of the Inca, the Chachapoya are believed to have used a language that had no linguistic link to other central Andean or coastal languages (Lerche 1995). What is known about the language has been concluded from place names and family names that have survived. Although evidence is paltry, the best understanding of the Chachapoya culture is that it was a loose confederation of several groups inhabiting roughly the area between the Marañon and Huallaga rivers in the current Department of Amazonas. It is assumed that kinship as well as trade and defensive alliances existed between these groups. The Inca later imposed the ethnic category "Chachapoya" to merge the groups in order to facilitate their administration (Church and von Hagen 2008). The Inca's interest in securing the region likely is due to the trade possibilities engendered by its geographic location on the fringe of Amazonia, an important source of valuable goods including the expertise of powerful shamans (ibid 2008).

It is believed that the region was heavily populated prior to the turmoil brought about by the Inca Empire and subsequent Spanish intrusions. Population estimates come

from Inca tax records and indicate that the population declined by one-third during the half-century of Inca rule (Lerche 1986). The Spanish likely encountered 100,000 people on their arrival in the region (Church and Von Hagen 2008). Two centuries after the arrival of Europeans, it is believed that more than 90 percent of the indigenous population in the region had succumbed to various introduced diseases to be replaced by peoples from the north and east, effectively erasing what remained of the culture (Lerche 1995).

Tourism in Peru

Tourism had been an important part of the economic growth strategy of Peru by the time Alberto Fujimori, an ardent neoliberalist, was elected president in 1990. Since independence, Peru has been divided country both culturally and economically. Urban areas along the coast are home to people of European ancestry while rural mountainous and forested areas are home to indigenous agriculturalists. In fact, Fujimori as a person of Japanese ancestry appealed to many indigenous people who were distrustful of the Spanish-ancestry Peruvians who had long held a monopoly on political power (Pellien-Chavez 2007). In spite of the deep divides, tourism has seen wide support (Babb 2011). Tourism is viewed as an economic development tool that has gone hand-in-hand with neoliberal open-market and privatization reforms begun by the Fujimori administration.

Tourism was dealt a harsh setback during the early 1990s owing to a spike in violence between the Sendero Luminoso (Shining Path) insurgency and Fujimori's ruthless suppression tactics (Bury 2008). PromPeru, a government body charged with promoting tourism to the nation, adapted its strategy to avoiddepicting indigenous and Andean people in promotional materials for fear tourists would link them to the violence of the rural-based insurgency that resulted in the death of approximately 69,000 Peruvians (Henrici 1997). Abimael Guzman, leader of Sendero Luminoso, was captured in 1992 and peace slowly returned to Peru. Seven years later PromPeru reevaluated its tourism promotion strategy announcing that Peruvian "identities and unique qualities are our principal good for the future" (Baud et al. 2006, 22, quoted in Babb 2011, 70).

Tourism promotion began in earnest with the transition of power from the Fujimori administration which had been marred by violence and corruption, to Peru's

first indigenous president Alejandro Toledo in 2001. Toledo had escaped childhood poverty by getting an academic scholarship to study in the U.S. and eventually earning a Ph.D. in economics at Stanford University. He recognized that his Andean identity intrigued Americans and capitalized on it by dressing the part while busking for extra money. As seen in Figure 4.2, a captured frame of a photograph from *The Royal Tour*, a young Toledo wears a colored headband holding back long hair while playing a guitar. In contrast the video shows five photos of Toledo as a child in Peru. He is always wearing western-style clothing and has a short, tidy haircut.
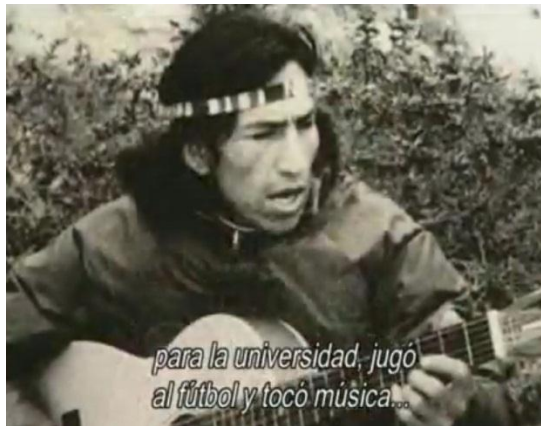
Figure 4.2. Toledo busking in California in a photograph shown in *Peru: The Royal Tour.*

After graduation Toledo secured positions at the UN, World Bank, Inter-American Development Bank, the International Labour Organization, and the Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development. He had established himself on the world stage and likewise wanted to raise the international profile of Peru. This began with the elaborate presidential inauguration that he designed to draw attention to the country and bolster tourism (Pellinen-Chavez 2007). Teresa Pellinen-Chavez (2007, 27) writes in her doctoral dissertation, "Shining Paths: Tourism and the marketing of innocence in Cusco, Peru:"

> The first [inauguration], according to Peruvian presidential custom, was a ceremony held at the capitol on Independence Day (July 28, 2001), which was followed the next day by a "traditional" ceremony at Machu Picchu, the Inca sanctuary in the department of Cusco. Although heralded by the

press for its tradition and authenticity, the ceremony at Machu Picchu was the first of its kind in Peruvian political history.

Toledo described tourism as "an industry that will allow us to become part of the global economy while preserving our cultural roots" (DeVoss 2004). In August of 2004, a year that saw 1.3 million international visitor arrivals, Toledo announced a new National Tourism Strategic Plan with the stated goal of attracting five to ten million visitors a year by 2015 (MercoPress 2004). The same year he participated in a Travel Channel television series called *The Royal Tour*, which featured the host, Peter Greenberg, receiving a private tour of Peru by President Alejandro Toledo (Vich 2007). Shown sitting in the royal palace, Toledo says, "This is a mystical country… with deep roots in Inca Empire. If you want to touch yourself as a human-being, come to Peru." Victor Vich, a contemporary Peruvian literary critic, had misgivings about the effect the program might have on the global image of Peru. Rather than attempting to present the complexity of Peruvian identities and history, the President's exoticized and mystical demeanor played to Peru's global imaginary of a romanticized Inca history (Babb 2011). Toledo's performance of Andean indigeneity was part of a reimagining of Peru that originated in his presidential campaign. During the presidential race he reportedly encouraged and enjoyed the nickname Pachacutec – the name of an Inca ruler who greatly expanded the empire (Krauss 2001). Toledo's academic accomplishments and résumé earned him the respect of the political elite of Lima. His humble beginnings and emphasis on rural livelihoods inspired hope among the poor and marginalized people of the country. Toledo's dramatized Andean identity and the spectacle of his presidential inauguration intrigued the western world.

The year following the airing of *The Royal Tour*, foreign visitation to Peru increased 16 percent; Machu Picchu visitation increased 18 percent and Kuelap 34 percent (Mincetur 2011). Foreign tourism to Machu Picchu continued to climb until its peak in 2008 with 553,029. Visitation in 2009 suffered owing to the global economic downturn and a possible 2010 rebound was stymied early in the year by flooding that disrupted access to Machu Picchu for two months. Meanwhile, total international tourist arrivals grew slowly but steadily. This year, 2011, is on pace to be another record year for international tourist arrivals and tourist visitation to Machu Picchu. Peru is

celebrating the centennial of the "scientific discovery" of the site by Yale archaeologist Hiram Bingham in 1911.

	International Tourist Visitation		
Year	Peru	Machu Picchu	Kuelap
2002	1,063,606	n/a	n/a
2003	1,135,769	n/a	1,687
2004	1,349,959	338,402	1,683
2005	1,570,566	411,709	2,250
2006	1,720,746	419,417	3,334
2007	1,916,400	484,168	4,241
2008	2,057,620	553,029	5,393
2009	2,139,961	524,685	5,106
2010	2,299,187	419,342	6,155
2011*	2,643,962	590,505	6,124

*Projected totals

Table 4.3. International tourist visitation (Data Source: MINCETUR 2011).

Machu Picchu's phenomenal success attracting tourists has caused concern for the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) which identifies and endeavors to conserve natural and cultural sites that are "irreplaceable sources of life and inspiration" (UNESCO 2011). In 2002 the United Nations organization recommended a cap be placed on the number of people allowed to visit Machu Picchu each day to limit degradation of the site (UNEP 2008). The Peruvian government compromised with the currently imposed limit of 2,500 visitors per day, more than double what UNESCO deemed sustainable. The World Heritage committee is extremely concerned that the Peruvian government is putting profit ahead of conservation. Some commonly cited evidence includes allowing Machu Picchu to be used in the filming of a beer commercial in 2002 that damaged stone work, the recent filming of a Bollywood movie scene, and a ceremony scheduled for the centennial of the site which was cancelled due to UNESCO objections (Salazar 2011; UNEP 2008). Giving further emphasis to this point, UNESCO has given the site a Threat Intensity

Coefficient of 97 out of a possible 100, indicating a maximum level of threat (UNESCO 2011).

Tourism promotion remains at full tilt. The Ministerio de Comercio Exterior y Turismo (Ministry of Foreign Trade and Tourism, MINCETUR) is attempting to increase its international presence by creating 18 promotional offices in the Americas, Europe, the Middle East, and Asia to further the goal of attracting more diverse visitors (Andean Air Mail 2011). Internally, Peru has attempted to train its populace to embrace the Peruvian image and become better hosts.

With the stated goal of improving tourist satisfaction, Jose Luis Silva, the Minister of MINCETUR recently called on Peruvians to be aware of tourists and to treat them well, and prodding with a reminder that 25 percent of Peruvians work in the tourism sector (Andina 2011). Several taxis I rode in on my visit in 2011 had stickers on the dashboard that said, "The tourist is my friend" or other similar sentiments. I also noticed several signs posted at busy intersections in Piura, Peru that encouraged kind treatment of tourists as they create jobs. PromPeru gently suggests in its publication, *Smiling at the Future: Peruvian Initiatives for Sustainable Tourism*, that the populace in touristed areas benefit from wearing traditional garments because it "gives added value as a tourist product" (2005, 51). Last year the Minister of MINCETUR was quoted during an announcement of tourism investment: "We aim to promote the country's image and Peruvians should understand that it can be damaging when a group of people incite riots in the streets" (Collantes 2010). Protests and work stoppages have been a frequent and successful method for the subaltern and marginalized in Peru to gain agency in situations where they sense injustice, often having to do with working conditions or pollution related to extractive industries (Living in Peru 2010). One could get the feeling that the Peruvian image is "imposing an ideal" of a passive, friendly Indian to "which it challenges the [cultural] landscape to conform" (Pellinen-Chavez 2007, 48).

Tourism in Chachapoyas

Chachapoyas, until recently, has been on the periphery of Peruvian tourism sector. The nation's tourism flows and networks have been highly concentrated in the south

around Cusco, Machu Picchu, Lake Titicaca and Nazca; a route often referred to variously as the Inca Trail and the Gringo Trail (Bury 2008, Zoomers 2008). Routes to Chachapoyas have been slower to develop due in part to lacking transport infrastructure but also limited tourist knowledge of the area. Peru's recognition that Machu Picchu is essentially saturated as a tourist destination has compelled it to decentralize the tourism industry by developing and promoting other parts of the country, particularly the Chachapoyas region (Andina 2010). A recent attempt to raise the prominence of Kuelap was dependent on appropriating some of Machu Picchu's fame. Peru's Ministry of Culture issued a "Supreme Decree" to declare the sites "sister citadels" (Andina 2011).

As a result of being on the periphery of Peru's tourism market, Chachapoyas has been little studied in academia outside of the field of archaeology. To date there has been no peer-reviewed research on tourism or development issues in Chachapoyas. Kenneth Wood (2005) investigated the possibility of Pro-Poor tourism development in the small village closest to Kuelap. His research was distributed as an occasional paper with oversight from the International Centre for Responsible Tourism at Leeds Metropolitan University. There is currently a dissertation being written on "sustainable tourism" that has been thoroughly researched during a year-long stay in Chachapoyas by a PhD candidate from the University of Leeds (Raftopolous 2010, 2011).

In addition to a lack of academic study of the region, tourist visitation statistics prior to 2003 are not readily available making a historical discussion of tourism in Chachapoyas difficult. In an attempt to address this issue in a manner consistent with the primary goals of this study, the following is a review of international interest in the region drawn from coverage in western newspapers and other media. Illustrating the appeal of exploration, mystery, and lost civilizations is the fact that these are the topic of nearly all the news that came from Chachapoyas over the past 30 years.

An early account of Chachapoyas comes from Elisee Reclus's (1894) ambitiously conceived tome, *The Earth and Its Inhabitants*. Chachapoyas is described as being extremely fertile but "thinly-peopled," and the author speculates, based on the existence of "a vast necropolis near the village of Cuelap," that the population was once much higher (Reclus 1894, 332). It is evidenced by the grossly exaggerated portrayal of the

walls (330 feet high) that the author was drawing on flawed information - perhaps that of the original documenter of the site, Juan Cristomo Nieto in 1843 (Muscutt 1998). Adolph Bandelier (1907) made a contemporaneous visit to Chachapoyas, recorded thoughtfully in *The Indians and Aboriginal Ruins near Chachapoyas in Northern Peru*. Although his visit to the region was brief, he used his time to complete the first-ever survey of Kuelap.

By all accounts, steady visitation did not commence until late in the 20th century, coinciding with the end of the violent *Sendero Luminoso* insurgency and likely stimulated by a series of announcements proclaiming the discovery of a site called Gran Pajaten. Early in 1985, a team of archaeologists from the University of Colorado announced they had returned from an expedition to a "lost city" in the northern Andes of Peru that "…may rival Machu Picchu" (Rensberger 1985). The news of this 'discovery' was on the front page of *The Washington Post* and *The New York Times.* Despite the insinuation that the site was discovered on the expedition, the article acknowledged that it had been publicized twenty years earlier by explorer Gene Savoy. The site had even been featured in a 1970 CBS News documentary (ibid 1985). None the less, the region of Chachapoyas received considerable attention. Not to be out-done, Savoy announced 6 months later that he had discovered a vast city complex in the area called Gran Vilaya stretching for 25 miles along a ridge inhabited only by "roving bands of monkeys" (New York Times 1985). Peru was not a safe place for visitors or Peruvians at this time which kept most foreign visitors at bay. A Peruvian travelogue published in London in *The Times* in 1986 reported only two people had visited "Cuelape" in the month prior to the author's visit (Shakespeare 1986).

Another round of attention came to the region in the later part of 1989. Savoy once again found headlines with pronouncements reported in a series of articles in the *The Washington Times* as well as in *The Guardian* of London, and the *Sydney Morning Herald* in Australia. He claimed rather outrageously that his latest expedition to Gran Vilaya turned up tablets with Semitic hieroglyphs, supporting his theory that the extensive ruins were the site of King Solomon's mines (Martin 1989). The next big news came in 1997 with the announcement of the discovery of a large cache of mummies near the town of Leymebamba, south of Chachapoyas (Muscutt 1998). Peruvian mummies

were already making international headlines with Johan Reinhard's discovery of Juanita, an Inca sacrifice found in remarkable condition at the peak of a mountain in southern Peru (Reinhard 2006). The Discovery Channel provided financial support for an expedition to recover what remained of the looted site and aired a documentary of the event, "Lost Warriors of the Clouds," in October 1998 (Muscutt 1998). Gene Savoy saw these mummies as further evidence of his pre-Columbian intercontinental trade network. Latching on to accounts from early Spanish chroniclers combined with his own observations of fair-skinned locals, Savoy believed DNA analysis of the mummies would show an intriguing evidence of European ancestry (Wavell 1998).

News of the mummy discovery caught the attention of more adventurous travelers and the entrepreneurs of Chachapoyas anticipated their arrival. The town of Chachapoyas had just begun its yearly Tourism Festival in 1995. The lake where the mommies were found underwent a renaming process to make it more attractive to tourists. Its original name, which I was unable to find in any written records, was purportedly changed to Laguna de los Condores (Lake of the Condores) although condors are not found in the area. Shortly thereafter if was changed to the less fanciful and more descriptive Laguna de los Momias (Lake of the Mummies) (Kauffman Doig 2000). Guidebooks and personal experience with tourism operators in Chachapoyas indicate that more recent name has not been widely adopted. Only a few months after the announcement of the find, Laguna de los Momias (or Condores) had to be legally declared an emergency site because tourists had been trampling the remains and taking souvenirs (Muscutt 1998).

The Sendero Luminoso leader Abimael Guzman was captured in 1992. Between that year and 2001 the number of tourists visiting Peru had quadrupled due to the reduced violence (Babb 2011). A British tour company in 1999 declared Peru "…the new Nepal" offering tours to the "completely untouristy" region of Chachapoyas (Evening Standard 1999). If all the attention had not yet caused tourists to form long lines, it had inspired Peruvian politicians to make promises of future tourism growth. Alberto Fujimori's government recognized the region's tourism potential and made aggressive plans to concession land to foreign investors, a plan that never went into action (Woods

2005). In 2004 during Alejandro Toledo's presidency, a $58-million plan was devised to improve the region's tourist infrastructure including a proposed cable car to ferry visitors to Kuelap from the valley floor (National Post 2004).

The 2006 announcement of Gocta as the third highest waterfall in the world at 2,531 feet spawned many newspaper articles again putting the spotlight on Chachapoyas. In 2003, using Kuelap visitation records as a proxy for Chachapoyas region visitation, there were 1,687 foreign visitors (MINCETUR 2011). Over the next 8 years visitation increased at an average rate of 19 percent per year. It is projected that 2011 will see a total of 6,124 visitors (national visitors arrive in higher numbers 2003-8,129 2010-17,541). For comparison, in 2011 Machu Picchu averaged over 48,600 visitors per month.

Summary

The geography and history of the region of Chachapoyas have set the stage for this study. The history of the recent development of tourism in the national scale destination of Peru is also an important consideration that sets the contextual stage for tourism in Chachapoyas.

Chapter V: Representing and Imagining Chachapoyas

Introduction

Chapter V endeavors to systematically report the key findings on representations of Chachapoyas. The chapter begins by addressing findings relevant to the place image of Chachapoyas that emerge from the analysis. The discussion presents the results of the analysis of photographic representations in guidebooks and websites as well as the written text found in those sources.

The chapter then focuses on findings relevant to a discussion of sense of place. The results of the analysis of the interviews with tourists at Chachapoyas begin by making the distinction between tourist and traveler. It continues by presenting the summarized answers to several interview questions that illuminate common characteristics of sense of place among visitors to Chachapoyas.

Representations of Chachapoyas

Guidebook Photographs

The importance of photographic representations in tourism has been established in Chapters II and III. Despite this enormous influence, guidebooks tend to use photographs sparingly in order to maximize written travel information and manage the cost and portability of the book. As a result, the overwhelming majority of representations found in guidebooks are in written form. A major exception is the *Eyewitness Travel* series which take pride in being "The guides that show you what others only tell you" (Blacker 2010). In contrast, there were three guidebooks that included no photos of Chachapoyas: *Lonely Planet South America*, *Footprint South America* and *Frommer's*. The ten guidebooks sampled had a cumulative total of twenty-nine photographs depicting the destination of Chachapoyas, though fourteen of these came from *Eyewitness Travel Peru* (see Appendix C).

The most common type of photo found across the guidebooks categorized as 'heritage' space with no people (15 photographs, 52% of total). The second most

common category was 'natural' space with no people (6 photographs, 21% of total).
Only four of the photos feature people, two with hosts and two with guests, but no photos
of the host and guest together (see Table 5.1). Photos of Kuelap are not as common as
would be expected (4 photographs). The most popularly photographed subject is the
circular stone house (9 photographs).   Photos of Gocta appear in only two guidebooks (3
photographs). Among the guidebooks, only one features a photograph of the town of
Chachapoyas. Also nearly absent are evidence of tourist products with the exception of
one photograph in Eyewitness that shows a partially restored circular structure with an
interpretive sign in front. This was among several photographs that presented challenges
to the adopted typology rubric as discussed in Chapter III.

Guidebook Photos	Space			
	Natural	**Built**	**Heritage**	**Product**
None	6	3	15	1
Host	-	2	-	-
Guest	1	-	1	-
Host and Guest	-	-	-	-

Table 5.1. Tabulation of Typology of Guidebook Photographs

Website Photographs

Tourist-targeted websites have much more capacity for displaying photographs
than do guidebooks. While the guidebooks averaged slightly less than three photos each,
the websites average eight. Somewhat surprisingly, there is one site,
www.rediscovermachupicchu.com, with no photos. Of a total of 71 photos analyzed
from all the websites, the largest proportion feature heritage space with no people (32
photographs, 45% of total). The next most common are natural spaces with no people
(23 photographs, 32% of total), although twenty of these came from a single website with
a slideshow, www.kuelapperu.com. Nine photos in total show people (13% of total).
Eight of these are guests in natural spaces and one is a photo of host and guest together
with a 'tourist product' in the form of an interpretive sign. No photographs showed the

46

host alone. In this set, Kuelap was shown eleven times and the circular house ruins eight times. Other ruins, rhomboid patterns in walls, and the sarcophagi of Karajia made up the remainder of the photos of heritage space. Four photos were categorized as built space. One showed the central plaza in the town of Chachapoyas. Another photograph featured an aerial view of the town. A depiction of agricultural land and a fireworks display were the other 'built' spaces depicted in photographs. None of these, despite depicting present day material culture, had people easily visible. Four photographs depicted tourist products including items clearly in a museum display, a replica of the Chachapoya round houses on a museum campus and two photographs with informational signs (see Table 5.2, Appendix D).

Website Photos		Space			
		Natural	**Built**	**Heritage**	**Product**
Subject	**None**	**23**	**4**	**32**	**3**
	Host	**-**	**-**	**-**	**-**
	Guest	**8**	**-**	**-**	**-**
	Host and Guest	**-**	**-**	**-**	**1**

Table 5.2. Tabulation of Typology of Website Photographs

Photographic representations are important components of place image. These results show a distinct pattern across guidebooks and websites. When selecting photographs of Chachapoyas for publication in guidebooks and websites, heritage and natural space are preferred and photographs with people, especially the local population, are avoided. The implications of the particular types of prevalent photographs to the place image of Chachapoyas are discussed in greater depth in Chapter VI.

Guidebook Written Text

The place image of Chachapoyas is constructed not only by photographs, but also by written representations. Guidebooks are typically written by avid tourists writing for a tourist audience. The resulting text is imbued with the tourist gaze. This section reviews what information is prominent in guidebooks and is most likely to contribute to the place image of Chachapoyas. Special attention is paid to the *Lonely Planet* guidebooks because of their overwhelming popularity in the tourism market. An in-depth analysis of this data can be found in Chapter VI.

The amount and depth of content relating to Chachapoyas varied substantially among the selected guidebooks. *Lonely Planet South America* and *Footprint South America* had some of the least coverage most likely owing to the need to economize space to keep the book portable. Initial structuring of the data, as described in Chapter III, produced categories of information that enabled a simple assessment of which characteristics of Chachapoyas are most written about across all guidebooks. Somewhat surprisingly, the only topics covered across all ten guidebooks were the Chachapoya civilization and Kuelap. Nearly all had at least a brief description of the town of Chachapoyas, the natural environment, tourism, and transportation. A quasi-statistical measure of prominence among the topics is the number of references to each topic from the content of all the guidebooks. Kuelap was mentioned most often (58 references), the natural environment was next (46 references) and references to tourism and transportation were mentioned slightly less often (38 and 36 respectively). The following are brief discussions of the more relevant topics.

Descriptions of Kuelap

Unlike other topics, Kuelap was typically brought up in various parts of the guidebooks beyond the few pages dedicated to the Chachapoyas region. Kuelap was included in planned itineraries and in lists of "must-see" archaeological sites as well as photo captions. It is invariably described as a fortress or citadel, the definitional distinction being inconsequential. Adjectives used to describe it include imposing, impressive, a grand city, immense, spectacular, man-made wonder, stupendous, titanic, huge stone city, awesome, a monolithic monument, intriguing, breathtaking, isolated, untouristed, blissfully crowd-free, and fabulous. Other details often included in the

description are the elevated tower at one end called El Torreon, the finely-built structure of El Tintero, and the multitude of circular house ruins. Dates for its construction vary among guidebooks reflecting the lack of certainty among archaeologists who have studied it (Muscutt 1998). The unrestored status of much of the site and the fact that it is largely covered in plant life is mentioned in most. The height of the outer walls is inconsistently reported. This is likely due to the inconsistency of the height of the walls caused by the undulating terrain they are built on. Lonely Planet curiously describes them as being 6m to 12m high in one part of the book and elsewhere as "a colossal 20m-high wall" (Miranda et al. 2010). Also mentioned are its three narrow entranceways, always described as a defensive measure.

Perhaps the most resounding endorsement is in the form of its comparison to Machu Picchu and the Great Pyramid at Giza. Nine of the ten guidebooks make claims that Kuelap rivals or matches Machu Picchu in grandeur, magnificence, size, or scenery. Several claim Kuelap superiority on merit of it being older than Machu Picchu and having far fewer visitors. Five of the guidebooks repeat the mysterious and patently false claim that Kuelap was built with three times the volume of stone that it took to build the Great Pyramid in Egypt. To simply test the assertion I expanded Kuelap's perimeter from an elongated "irregular trapezoid" (Bandalier 1907, 22) to a rectangular cuboid and used the maximum length, width, and wall height (see Bradley 2005). The calculation yielded a volume of approximately 40,000,000 cubic feet. The volume of the Great Pyramid of Egypt, a popular middle school geometry problem, is approximately 88,000,000 cubic feet (Levy 2006). I can only assume that at some point Kuelap was described as having a volume equivalent to one-third that of the Great Pyramid, and was misquoted. The more fantastic statistic was then repeated without question. The hyperbole was recently repeated by Peru's highest tourism official, Minister of Foreign Trade and Tourism Jose Luis Silva (Andina 2011).

Environment

The natural environment is a key part of nearly all descriptions of other topics related to Chachapoyas. Across guidebooks there is varying and sometimes contradictory language used to describe the landscape. *Fodors* in particular takes time to disambiguate

the connotations of 'jungle' from the name of the Department, Amazonas, and the prevailing 'cloud forest' ecosystem. *Lonely Planet* was more cavalier in its use of the term jungle. Cloud forest was the term most in use to describe the natural environment of the region. Pristine, lush, vivacious, verdant and a million shades of green describe the plant life with orchids and bromeliads frequently listed as native species. Plant life and clouds are often described as impeding exploration or hiding things such as ruins. *Lonely Planet* describes the clouds as 'ghostly' and 'creep[ing] eerily.' Hummingbirds are the most frequently mentioned fauna, but also mentioned are the Andean Spectacled Bear (*Tremarctos ornatus*) and puma (*Puma concolor*). Oddly, there is no mention of the Andean cock-of-the-rock (*Rupicola peruvianus*), Peru's national bird which is endemic to the area.

Tourism

It is no surprise that tourism is a topic in guidebooks; however, the manner in which tourism is discussed in relation to the site could impact the visitors experience or even play a role in their decision to travel to the destination. Only Kuelap and the natural environment were referenced in coding more than tourism indicating that publishers find its discussion important. The majority of these references are to the assertion that Chachapoyas is not visited by many tourists. Common expressions of this include, sees few tourists, a destination for independent travelers, unlikely to have to share, untouristed, blissfully crowd-free, nearly forgotten, and the classic, off-the-beaten-track. *Insight* erroneously claims that less than 500 visitors visit Kuelap per year. A realistic figure would be ten-fold this number not including Peruvian visitors who arrive in much larger numbers than do foreigners. Only *Lonely Planet* tempers their claims of a crowd-free zone by admitting there are "more than a dozen tour agencies," that "local guides congregate" at Kuelap and that a lake was renamed to make it more tourist friendly. The renaming of the lake, a popular trekking route destination, will be discussed in reference to the production of tourist space of Chachapoyas in Chapter VI.

Chachapoya Civilization

Every guidebook has at least a brief description on the civilization that the region is named for, the Chachapoya. The word Chachapoya was translated by all guidebooks as either forest-cloud or people of the clouds, though the origin of the name was not agreed to by all sources. Most guidebooks did not address the etymology. *Fodor's* claims archaeologists named the civilization and *Frommer's* confused alternate spellings of the name as separate cultures. *Moon* was the only guidebook to describe the civilization as a federation of states which is the conclusion archaeologists have come to (Nystrom 2005). Most stated that there is little-known about the culture and several described the Chachapoya as mysterious. Other descriptions include warlike, fierce, skilled agriculturalists, weavers of textiles, white, fair-skinned, beautiful, shamans, and potters. Most guidebooks mention their conflict with the Inca although outcomes vary by guidebook. *Eyewitness* and *Lonely Planet* make comments that extend the Chachapoya culture to the present time. *Eyewitness* describes a "vibrant tradition of crafts" as a legacy of the Chachapoya and *Lonely Planet* avers that fierce resistance to the Inca is the explanation for little Quechua being spoken in the area today. *Moon* on the other hand says the culture was completely wiped out decades before the Spanish arrived.

Town of Chachapoyas

The town of Chachapoyas, the capital of the Department and province at the center of this research, was discussed to some degree in nine of ten guidebooks. The most common theme in the description regarded its utility to visitors. It was described as a jumping-off point or a base by six of the guidebooks. *Insight* reinforced this idea by saying that the town was "pleasant but not worth the journey" and *Rough Guides* felt it was "of no particular interest." Chachapoyas was described as laid-back, sleepy, little, quiet, pleasant, and friendly but also as a bustling or thriving market town. Descriptions also noted its colonial character saying it was well-preserved, attractive, and "a poor man's Cusco." *Lonely Planet* had a unique characterization of it as "wildly out of place" and an "unlikely capital." The author states that this confusion comes from the assumption that the town should occupy a lowland rainforest landscape based on the name of the department where it is located, Amazonas.

Current Inhabitants

Local people do not feature prominently in guidebook descriptions of Chachapoyas, and there are few themes across the guidebooks apart from a general dearth of attention. *Rough Guides* describes the population as mostly Indian. *Moon*, having previously said the Chachapoya culture was wiped out, suggests the best way to understand the modern-day descendants of the Chachapoya is to homestay. *Moon* and *Rough Guide* both reference current local people as having fair or pale skin, clear eyes, or light hair compared to other Andean peoples. They both insinuate this is a phenotypic trait from the Chachapoya culture. *Rough Guides* describes the reputation of local residents as the "friendliest in Peru." *Lonely Planet* and *National Geographic Traveler* suggest that local residents' favorite form of entertainment is strolling around the plaza. *Eyewitness* says rural life continues unchanged. A caption under a photo of a small child in *Insight* suggests travelers give village children ballpoint pens as they prefer them to money.

Website Written Text

The selected websites are operated by travel agencies (www.vilayatours.com, www.inkanatura.com, www.perutravelguide.info, www.kuelapperu.com) or are simply informational (www.wikipedia.org, www.rediscovermachupicchu.com, www.lonelyplanet.com, www.theperuguide.com). As with photographs, websites have basically unlimited space for written description. Structuring of the data was performed using the topics found in the guidebooks. These turned out to be more than sufficient with many of the lesser visited sites not mentioned. This confirmed a general sense that guidebooks addressed a wider range of topics while website focused on greater depth. However, similar to the guidebooks, the most commonly referenced topics among selected websites were Kuelap (27 references), the environment (26 references), Chachapoyas civilization (23 references), and descriptions of the town (22 references). Tourism was referenced somewhat less (15 references) as was transportation (8 references). The following are summaries of the content of the more relevant topics.

Kuelap

Descriptions of Kuelap were very prominent on websites devoted to Chachapoyas, even on webpages that were dedicated to the town of Chachapoyas or to the Chachapoyas civilization. Functionally, it is described as a fortress or citadel several times, but also as a walled city, an enormous platform and a sanctuary.   Descriptive adjectives employed included colossal, spectacular, monumental, and ancient. For the visitor it is an "archaeological wonder," outstanding archaeological remains, "some of the most important ruins," and the "second-most thrilling archaeological site in Peru." Three of the sites indicate that Kuelap is not heavily visited.   Five websites describe aspects of Kuelap as mysterious. Three sites mention that it was unknown by outsiders until 1843. The age of the site is disputed with four websites agreeing that the structure was built in the 6th century AD, and three suggesting the 9th century. Four websites say Kuelap supported more than 400 circular houses. Four sites describe the few narrow entrances to Kuelap, usually as a strategic defense. Inkanatura.com erroneously states that there is only one such entrance. Surveys of the site show there are three (Bandelier 1907; Muscutt 1998). Wikipedia.org relays that someone has speculated the design of the entrances is meant to "symbolize an immense vulva."

Similarly to the guidebooks, Kuelap is compared to Machu Picchu in the websites although with less frequency. It is called a "Machu Picchu alternative" and referred to by its unofficial nickname; "the Machu Picchu of the North." Kuelap is described as being reminiscent of Machu Picchu, and Inkanatura.com declares, "Experts agree that the monumental aspects of Kuelap can only compare in size and grandeur to Machu Picchu." Kuelapperu.com gives Kuelap the advantage because it is older than Machu Picchu and was found in better condition. Theperuguide.com sees the low number of visitors to Kuelap as a "major advantage" over Machu Picchu. Only Lonelyplanet.com repeated the popular guidebook statistic that Kuelap has more stone than the Great Pyramid of Egypt.

Environment

Six of the sites have some mention of cloud forests as being the dominant environmental feature. Four of the sites reinforce the idea by describing trees as laden, festooned, or covered in bromeliads and orchids. Three sites mention birds with perutravelguide.info mentioning many species including the Marvellous Spatuletail

hummingbird (*Loddigesia mirabilis*) and the Andean cock-of-the-rock (*R. peruvianus*). Only two sites indicate that there is much variation in the natural environment around Chachapoyas. In more general terms it is described at unforgettable, stunning, and Kuelapperu.com declares the Chachapoyas environment to be "a pristine zone better than Yellowstone!"

Tourism

Of descriptions of tourism among websites, there is an adventure theme that is apparent. Four websites explicitly state that to visit Chachapoyas the tourist must want adventure. Direct statements describing the area as receiving few tourists are less abundant than in guidebooks. One site says it is off-the-beaten-path, another says there are only a handful of visitors, and a third site attempting to illustrate the small number of visitors, somewhat unconvincingly states that only 23,700 people visited Kuelap in 2010. With several travel agencies represented among the websites there are comforting references confirming the existence of 'modern' tourism facilities and air-conditioned vehicles in the area.

Chachapoya Civilization

The Chachapoya culture was referenced by nearly all websites though mostly with little depth. There was a slightly wider variety of translations of the name. Some version of 'People of the Clouds' is mentioned by five websites. One had the more titillating translation, "Warriors of the Clouds," which Keith Muscutt (1996) used as the title of his book on the region. Wikipedia.org acknowledged the competing translations of 'mount of haze' and 'strong male.' Only one website explicitly states that the civilization's self-given name is unknown. The same site, perutravelguide.info, was also the only website to note that the Chachapoya was a federation rather than a single group. The Chachapoya are described as advanced and fierce with a powerful aristocracy. They are described as conquered but not subdued by the Inca. Lonelyplanet.com cited this as the reason little Quechua is spoken around Chachapoyas. One website mentions them cooperating or joining forces with the Spanish. Another website says there is little

information about them. They are twice described as mysterious and twice described as having vanished.

Town of Chachapoyas

Chachapoyas is lightly covered by most websites, apart from Wikipedia.org which devotes 800 words to its history and landmarks on its Chachapoyas webpage. It is most frequently referred to as a city, several times as a small city, once as a market town and once as a typical Andean town. Rediscovermachupicchu.com refers to it contradictorily both as a small city and a big city. Chachapoyas is regularly reported to be the capital of the Department of Amazonas. The town's population is only listed a few times with the figure always around 20,000. It is described as a center of commerce, an agricultural center, and agricultural. The history of Chachapoyas is most often covered by stating that it was founded in 1583. Wikipedia.org goes into far more historical detail than other websites. Only Wikipedia.org describes the city as colonial. One website, vilayatours.com reports Chachapoyas was the base for Spanish expeditions searching for the mythical city of El Dorado. Other descriptors used are small, quaint, tranquil, isolated, and that "it has retained its charm." It is also described as cosmopolitan and lively. One website describes it as having a number of restaurants and "one or two bars." Theperuguide.com had the most emotion-laden description saying "it is hard to not fall in love immediately…" with the town and noting that it is "affectionately known" as Chachas.

Local People

The current inhabitants of the area were referenced in five of the websites, but very sparsely (85 words total). The only repeated theme is the friendliness of the people, mentioned by two websites. Lonelyplanet.com notes that the people of Chachapoyas did not learn Quechua. Perutravelguide.info mentions in passing the people's "typical farms." Rediscovermachupicchu.com describes the "famous Yaravi musicians" found in Leymebamba. Theperuguide.com describes rural people in "full sierra attire" and says the locals' preferred activity is strolling around the plaza.

Interview Respondents: Travelers, Guidebooks, the Internet, and Routes

Travelers

Relying on a simple but oft cited typology, 24 of the 25 interviewees can be considered 'travelers' as opposed to mass tourists (Cohen 1972). The exception was part of a faculty-led university trip. The overwhelming occurrence of travelers in this sample is most likely the result of the timing of the research. Interviews were held at the beginning of September, just past the high season coinciding with the northern hemisphere summer. The extended length of their travels (average for the sample was 6 months) means they are not limited to the traditional vacation travel season and could reasonably expected to arrive at any time of year.

Further adhering to the working definition of traveler, the interviewed subjects mostly exhibited very vague itineraries often consisting of a handful of major destinations with only the origin and date of their return flight being a certainty. The oldest interviewee at 50 years was an exception with a meticulously planned route for his year-long motorcycle tour of South America. The general lack of a set itinerary is supported by the finding that only four of the subjects had heard of Chachapoyas before their travels and still decided to pay the region a visit. The average length of stay in Chachapoyas for the interviewed subjects was 4.2 days.

Respondents' Use of Guidebooks

It would be expected that travelers would rely less on tourist-oriented media and be critical of representations that tend to be associated more with tourists (McGregor 2000). Nonetheless, one type or tourist media does have an avid following among travelers: the guidebook. Among the interviewees, 20 of the 25 carried a guidebook and 18 carried a *Lonely Planet* (either South America or Peru). This finding is consistent with other research on the topic (McGregor 2000, Sorenson 2003). Sorenson (2003) suggests that part of the reason for guidebook popularity is that guidebooks reinforce the traveler identity, thereby distinguishing them from "ordinary" tourists. McGregor (2000) interviewed a few travelers who were so loyal to their *Lonely Planet* that they referred to it as a 'Bible.' None of the respondents in this study expressed such strong feelings for

their guidebook. Despite *Lonely Planet's* overwhelming popularity, several interviewees were critical of it, one relaying during the interview that he had thrown his copy away early in the trip. Some cited inaccuracies or incomplete information, though others may have come to resent being "tutored" by the guidebook (McGregor 2000, 46). To illustrate the prevalence of the phenomenon of criticizing *Lonely Planet* guidebooks, Sorenson (2003) refers to the novel *The Beach* by Alex Garland in which a chapter is titled "Bible Bashing."

Respondents' Use of the Internet

Prior to conducting the interviews, my assumption was that travelers would regard the internet as an essential source of travel information and would rely on it quite heavily, possibly surpassing the role of the guidebook. According the CIA World Factbook, 31 percent of Peruvians had access to the internet in 2009. While staying in the town of Chachapoyas in 2011 I identified six internet cafes and noticed many coffee shops and restaurants with Wi-Fi internet access. Of the travelers interviewed, when asked how they had researched Chachapoyas, eight said they had used the internet in conjunction with their guidebook and two relied solely on the internet. Meanwhile, twelve relied solely on their guidebook and three claimed to have done no research. Several respondents had approached internet research by simply using a web browser and searching key words. When asked for specifics, they were rarely able to recall the exact websites they had visited. Wikipedia.org was used by one interviewee. Three interview subjects related the use of a variety of web logs or 'blogs' relating to travel. Two of the blogs were for specific types of travel, i.e., motorcycle, and the third was on *Lonely Planet's* Thorn Tree blog. The threads tended to revolve around specific topics such as modes of travel and accommodation recommendations and comments were by a variety of people creating a conversational tone. These were excluded from representations to be analyzed.

Routes

The interviewees were asked where they had been before arriving in Chachapoyas and where they planned to go on the remainder of the trip. Twelve of the interviewees

had recently come from Ecuador. Of these, two-thirds had crossed the in-land border near the Peruvian town of San Ignacio, in guidebooks called the Jaen crossing. The remainder had crossed the border closer to the coast along the PanAmericana Highway and then approached Chachapoyas from the coastal city of Chiclayo which has direct bus routes. Eleven travelers approached Chachapoyas from the south of the country. Some took direct buses from Lima and a few travelled the infamous road from Cajamarca, described by guidebooks and interviewed subjects alike as treacherous and breathtaking. Only two came from the Amazon basin to the east. This is understandable because it is a vast wilderness area with few roads. To reach Iquitos, the largest city in the lowland Department of Loreto, requires a lengthy boat trip on the Amazon River or a flight. Several interviewees planned to go to Iquitos by boat after leaving Chachapoyas, one continuing on to Brazil.

As mentioned previously, Chachapoyas was envisioned by the National Strategic Tourism Plan as part of a Northern Tourist Circuit to complement the well-trodden 'gringo trail' in the southern part of the country. The diversity in routes of the interviewed travelers may indicate that the circuit has not yet developed as planned. It may also be a reflection of the interviews being conducted outside of the cyclical tourism season. A more evident route that has a likelihood of growth features Chachapoyas as a gateway to Peru. From the popular tourist towns of Cuenca and Loja in Ecuador, it is due south to Chachapoyas. When asked for their motivation for visiting Chachapoyas, four tourists simply said it was en route to earlier planned destinations such as Huaraz or "the jungle." Several others said they became interested in visiting Chachapoyas because they overstayed their visas in Ecuador and were advised to use the San Ignacio border crossing where there are no computers that could check such things. Another said their hostel in Ecuador had a notice board that gave specifics on how to reach Chachapoyas via the same route.

Interview Respondents: A summary of thoughts and opinions

Thus far in Chapter V, the representations of Chachapoyas found in guidebooks and websites have been summarized topically to approximate the destination image.

However, the image only exists in the minds of people who consume these representations. Here the chapter continues by summarizing pertinent results from interviews with tourists visiting Chachapoyas. The primary reason tourists were interviewed was to learn about their sense of place for Chachapoyas through their thoughts and opinions as well as offering more insight into the theorized place image derived from representations. There were many other findings that were interesting but tangential to the objectives of this research that can be found in Appendix E.

Respondents' Motivation for Visiting Chachapoyas

The respondents were asked what parts of Peru they were most interested in before they began travelling. Several responded with a short list and Machu Picchu was predictably mentioned most often, by fifteen people. Lake Titicaca was mentioned by seven respondents and Huaraz, the Amazon, and Colca Canyon were each mentioned four times. Kuelap was mentioned once as was Lima. Also mentioned were personal interests and activities such as archaeology, trekking and bird watching. Unlike Machu Picchu, visiting Chachapoyas was not a motivating factor in the respondents' decision to visit Peru.

Despite Machu Picchu's popularity, unprompted, six people expressed some disillusionment with the destination. Some of these study participants had visited Machu Picchu and some had not. All of them disparaged the UNESCO World Heritage Site for being too touristy and overcrowded. Another concern was the high costs associated with visiting Machu Picchu. Three of these respondents expressed embarrassment with their interest in Machu Picchu, describing it as cliché. Traveler complaints about commodification of the site have been noted by others (Babb 2011). This was a revelation nearly all had after their arrival in Peru either from their visit to the site or from talking with other travelers. It seems safe to speculate that the travelers were reacting to the conflict between the widely circulated photos of an empty Machu Picchu and the actuality of visiting the site. It is an interesting example of the production of tourist space. A site that Hiram Bingham and National Geographic made famous as a so called lost city, an image that Peru continues to capitalize on, is now outfitted with turnstiles. The act of recognizing Machu Picchu as a UNESCO World Heritage Site set

the stage for mass commercialization and has reduced it to a cliché for some viewers and a hassle to visit for others.

As previously noted, only four of the respondents had heard of Chachapoyas before travelling. Eleven travelers first learned about Chachapoyas through word-of-mouth and nine from their guidebook. I asked what they were most interested in at Chachapoyas before they arrived. Kuelap was the most common, mentioned by nineteen respondents. Eight mentioned Gocta waterfall and six indicated they were most interested in the sarcophagi perched on a cliff face at a site called Karajia. Respondents were specifically asked if they had any interest in the town of Chachapoyas. A few claimed they did, but none mentioned the town before the prompt indicating it as an afterthought. When the question was asked, *What are you actually visiting around Chachapoyas?* the responses were more diverse. Twenty-two visited Kuelap, 13 went to Gocta, ten visited Karajia, five went to Pueblo de los Muertos, four went to Leymebamba, four to Quiocta Cave and three went to Huancas.

I also asked what finally convinced them to make the trip to Chachapoyas. Half of the responses were in reference to reading something interesting in the guidebook or seeing a photograph or advertisement for Chahapoyas elsewhere. In other words, they came across compelling information. Eight of the respondents said they decided to visit because they had received a strong recommendation from other travelers or from Peruvians. Five said the deciding factor was simply that it was *en route* to another destination. Nearly all respondents were informed prior to the visit that the area was not heavily visited and noted that they found this appealing. One indicated that she would not visit Chachapoyas if it were more heavily visited.

> "…if there is more transport there is more tourists so… The reason for my visit is it's not a tourism place so if it's more touristic maybe I can't come here."

I asked the respondents directly if they would describe Chachapoyas as touristy. Twelve respondents felt Chachapoyas was not touristy and four felt there was an acceptable level of tourist activity often describing it as a "good mix." Four felt the area was touristy and five respondents were indecisive on the issue. There is an internal

conflict that arises among travelers who want to visit tourist-free places but cannot completely deny the convenience that tourism infrastructure offers. This is illustrated by responses by two of the study participants.

> …and on the one hand it's good how it is, but on the other hand everything takes so long to go anywhere because its only dirt roads and stuff like that.

> I will try to travel the less [sic] possible with the guides and agency so to me I just don't look at them. I ignore it, but I went to iPeru. It was our first time to go in like government tourist office. It was good. The guy gave us maps and information.

Authenticity

The interview simply asked, *Would you describe your visit to Chachapoyas as an authentic Peruvian experience?* Eighteen responded 'yes' and seven responded 'no.' "Yeah, it's not that touristy" was a typical response. It appears that authenticity was seen as an antonym to touristy. This idea was summed up by an English traveler who said, "It's a weird one because I wouldn't say it feels authentically Peruvian, and I wouldn't either say it's really touristy. It's somewhere in the middle I'd say."There was an interesting caveat in the logic for one respondent who felt her experience was authentic because her tour to Kuelap was full of Peruvian tourists. Two respondents expressed directly that authenticity was imbued by the similarity of outlying villages to "the Peruvian poster." Another was more geographically specific about where the image of Peru is located.

> I would say it's authentic in the sense that, maybe it's not like, the idea one has for Peru in the sense, yeah, when you go to Cusco, yeah, it's like that so, I guess there is what you expect from Peru so here is a little bit different, but yeah, I would say it's really authentic.

This seems to indicate that the larger Peruvian narrative of *andeanismo* is influencing what some visitors deem authentic. This topic and its connection to the place image of Chachapoyas is discussed further in Chapter VI**.**

Expectations

Many respondents found the question about their prior expectations for Chachapoyas difficult to answer. Very few of the respondents had heard of Chachapoyas before travelling allowing little time to actively cement an image of the destination in their mind. In addition, most admitted doing very little research on Chachapoyas in advance of arrival. Interviews were conducted at the destination usually after the respondent had been there for a day or two. Five respondents claimed they had no expectations. One expressed that not having expectations was as a travel philosophy saying, "during this travel I've had no expectations, I just travel and see all the things happen." Having no expectations before arrival at a pre-selected destination is implausible. This particular traveler carried a *Lonely Planet* guidebook and said Chachapoyas had been recommended to him by a Peruvian friend in Lima. This friend had told him about Kuelap and Laguna de los Condores. These representations contributed to a place image for Chachapoyas that influenced his decision to select the region as a destination (Hunter 2008). Responding this way most likely indicates a poorly informed place image but not truly a total lack of expectations. Several interviewees who responded with some preconceived notions of Chachapoyas also said they did not have "big expectations."

Seven respondents said that in most ways Chachapoyas, as they have experienced it, fit their expectations. One in particular said, "I think the *Lonely Planet* travel book we have is pretty accurate." He referenced white-washed buildings of the town and Kuelap being similar to Machu Picchu as examples. Another felt that the description of Kuelap as being similar to an Indiana Jones movie was accurate. This person had a *Lonely Planet* guidebook but it is not clear where she heard this description. Several said they expected the area to be mountainous and were not disappointed. One expected more jungle and suspected that land had been recently cleared for agriculture. One specifically said he thought the area would have more tourists. Another was expecting a "small ugly town" and was pleasantly surprised. Nine respondents were surprised by the size of the town, although it was equally divided between those who expected a larger city and those who expected a smaller one. Six respondents expressed some confusion about what the destination was; often conflating the town of Chachapoyas and the sites they wished to

see. They were surprised to find there were several hours of driving to reach both Kuelap and Karajia.

Surprises

Have there been any pleasant or unpleasant surprises on you visit to Chachapoyas? This question was an outwardly vague question that was asked to identify areas where a person's sense of place had been altered by their personal experience with the destination. The question was meant to compliment the more direct, but often difficult-to-answer question: *What did you expect this place to be like?* Several respondents expressed some disappointment in Kuelap saying that they had heard it rivaled Machu Picchu in grandeur but found it not to be true in their opinion. A Spanish tourist said, "Well, Kuelap was good, it was not as good as I expected because I expected something comparable to Machu Picchu which it is not. But it's still very interesting." A few were surprised at the natural environment. They had expected dense jungle from guidebook descriptions and mental constructs of the name of the sociopolitical unit it is the capital of, the Department of Amazonas. Instead, they found a mix of agricultural land, gum trees and rocky, semi-arid gorges.

On a positive note, thirteen people said they were pleasantly surprised with some aspect of Chachapoyas, twelve of these complements were directed at the town itself. These respondents variously mentioned its beauty, tranquility, safety and one even called it a "paradise." One of the more enthusiastic admirers of the town said,

> …and the good surprise was like, just look at it. It's beautiful, it's beautiful. It's really like all the houses around the plaza here. If you get in, it's just like, whoa, super beautiful. The architecture and the way it's… yeah, I like that yeah, the architecture as well.

Two respondents said they found the area surprisingly interesting. One part of the interview asked respondents to indicate how strongly they agreed with five statements on a scale from 1 (Strongly Disagree) to 5 (Strongly Agree). One was, Chachapoyas is safe. The average of twenty-five responses was 4.4. Travelers to Chachapoyas clearly *feel* very safe which is clearly important.

The city is more pleasant than we expected I guess and safer also, because in Ecuador there are nobody in the streets after 6 o'clock or after dark and here it's very nice because there are a lot of people so it feels safe.

Chachapoyas Description

Respondents were asked how they would describe Chachapoyas to their friends and family. This question was meant to illicit their personal opinions of the place and to see what characteristics they would highlight. Most of the respondents spoke primarily about the town rather than outlying areas and the sites they had visited. Ten respondents described Chachapoyas as a "town" and four as a "city." It was referred to as being small by ten respondents as well cozy, comfortable and as having a "village feel." Thirteen respondents described Chachapoyas as quiet, tranquil or relaxing. Chachapoyas was described as clean by three respondents and dirty by one. Seven people described the area as interesting, always alluding to archaeological sites. One person felt the area was mysterious on account of the unexcavated sites. Local people were described as friendly by three of the respondents. The area is described as nice, pretty, beautiful, and attractive. One respondent concluded that the area was quite wealthy. Another described Chachapoyas as an "authentic highland-type town." It was also described as more typical than Miraflores (an upscale Lima neighborhood). Another felt it was not representative of Peru. Three described it as having few tourists and none took the opportunity to claim it was too touristy.

Cable Car

Part of the tourism development plans proposed at the national level for Chachapoyas involve the construction of a cable car from the valley floor to the ridge where Kuelap sits. This has been a contentious issue in Chachapoyas. People living in the town of Chachapoyas have told me that the cable car is just an idea that will never come to pass. However, the idea has been circulated as recently as March, 2011 in news coverage (PE21 2011). Respondents were asked to consider the proposed cable car as another way to reveal aspects of their sense of place. Six respondents thought it would be a good idea noting that the travel time to reach Kuelap is a lot to endure and that it may

increase visitation and provide development for the surrounding communities. Three people were undecided. Sixteen thought it was a bad idea with four reasons given. Three mentioned possible environmental impacts. Five thought it was a poor financial decision saying there should be other priorities. Six worried it would lead to overcrowding at the site and eight more generally thought it would have a negative impact on the experience. They cited concerns for the viewshed and character of the site.

Summary

This chapter presented topical summaries that were extracted through content analysis of guidebooks, websites and interview transcripts. The first portion of the chapter dealt with the data most relevant to addressing the place image of Chachapoyas. First, findings of photographic representations found in guidebooks and websites were presented. Next, the written text of these sources was presented in a reduced form. Together these representations are constituents of the theoretical place image of Chachapoyas.

Data that reveals aspects of the tourist sense of place that was extracted from interviews was presented in the second half of the chapter. This included tourist motivations, expectations, ideas of authenticity, surprises, and so forth. Information relating to the third concept at the core of this study, the place myth, comes both from representations and interview data and will be discussed at length in Chapter VI.

Chapter VI: Image, Imagination, and Place Myth

Introduction

Pursuant to the research objectives, Chapter VI is a synthesis of the content of the data sources and interview responses. First the place image of Chachapoyas is addressed by drawing meanings from the themes found in photographic and written representations. These are discussed in the context of other studies of tourism representation. The next section makes a case for a place myth within the image of Chachapoyas, particularly surrounding Kuelap. The discussion suggests an origin of the place myth and provides evidence from the body of representations of Chachapoyas. The chapter concludes by linking the image and place myth to elements of the tourists' sense of place and identifies some evidence that tourism is precipitating the production of tourism space in Chachapoyas.

Image

The first objective of this research is to establish themes and common characteristics of representations of Chachapoyas through content analysis of selected guidebooks and websites. Representations create a narrative of place that "directs expectations, influences perceptions and thereby provides a preconceived landscape for the tourist to 'discover'" (Weightman 1987, 230). In effect, analysis of representations approximates the destination's place image, that is, a simplified understanding of the place (Yuksel and Akgul 2006). The results of the analysis can at best form an approximation of place image for a number of reasons. First, Hunter (2008) and others have pointed out that there is no universal place image. Not everyone has access to the same representations and those that do will not interpret them in the same way (Crompton 1979). However, the act of participating in tourism directs the tourist's interpretation of place. Urry (1990) contends that with the 'tourist gaze,' a person seeks out the unusual and photogenic. There is also an argument to be made that within the context of tourism and representation, there is a degree of universality created by commoditization and competition (McDonald 1986). For example, Hunter (2008) found consistency in tourism photographs from twenty-one countries. Photographs depicting heritage and

natural space without people appeared most often across all destinations. The same types of photographs appear most often in the sample for this research but to an even more exaggerated degree.

The empirical results of the photographic content analysis are virtually identical between images found in guidebooks and those found on websites. Of 100 sampled photographs from both categories of sources, 48 percent showed heritage space with no people and 29 percent showed natural space without people. Overall, 87 percent of photographs showed no human subjects. Broadly speaking, the absence of people in photographic representations of tourist spaces is widespread. William Hunter (2008, 360) describes this as a "groomed space," that is "vacant, pristine and awaiting the tourist…" perceived by a tourism market as ready to be filled by experience. Hunter (2008) analyzed a sample of 375 tourism photographs from a broad selection of destinations and found 52 percent showed uninhabited space. The results of the sample in this study are much more extreme. Of the 100 photographs sampled, only thirteen featured people, ten of which were guests, two were hosts, and one showed guest and host together. These representations, essentially without local people or tourists, are visual "fragments [that] come to stand for the whole or the essence of things… which may extend, symbolically, far beyond that which is photographed" (Markwick 2001, 420). Unrestored and seemingly untouched archaeological ruins and pristine natural scenes are likely to create a narrative of Chachapoyas as uninhabited and unexplored. This essentialized place is reinforced by written material found in the guidebooks and websites which gloss over current inhabitants of the area and emphasize how few tourists visit.

Kuelap, the area's premier attraction and the most discussed topic in both guidebooks and websites, was not as common in photographic representations as expected. Only two guidebooks featured Kuelap for a total of four pictures. All websites had at least one photograph of Kuelap however these made up only 15 percent of total website photos. The relatively small number of photographs seems curious for a structure that is so frequently described with superlatives and favorably compared in guidebooks to the supersite of Machu Picchu. A possible reason may be the practical

considerations of photographing Kuelap. It is very large and was built to blend into the landscape with an organic shape and undulating walls. Its extensive walls are typically described as a defensive measure but they also serve as a retaining wall for the man-made butte that the circular house ruins sit on. Kuelap is also located on the highest ridge in the vicinity so it is impossible to see from above. In contrast, the iconic image of Machu Picchu that is emulated by visitors is taken from an elevated vantage point. Finally, during the 300 years Kuelap was largely uninhabited nature was at work obscuring the top of the structure with thick trees and vegetation. From across the valley Kuelap would go unnoticed by the casual observer. Despite its many attractive qualities, a photograph that displays its most lauded trait – its size – is unreasonable. In other words, it is difficult to create the type of majestic photographs that would match the high praise of the written representations. Difficulty photographing Kuelap never appeared as a complaint by the interviewed subjects, but several did find its comparison to Machu Picchu to be overstated.

Chachapoyas, at least among travelers interviewed, is not a destination that is widely anticipated. I had assumed that among tourists with plans to travel through northern Peru, Chachapoyas would be penciled into itineraries, but only four subjects were aware of it before their travels. This indicates that the destination is not as well known outside of Peru as the extensive history of lost city, mummy, and waterfall headlines might suggest (please see Chapter III: Tourism in Chachapoyas). In other words, the modest sample of representations analyzed in this study seems to be only lightly used by tourists who participated in this study. Without utilizing representations specifically of Chachapoyas, when a tourist imagines a place in the Andes of Peru, the widely disseminated image of the larger scale destination, Peru, becomes influential in sense of place. The influence of the national image was apparent among a few interview subjects who compared Chachapoyas to the "Peruvian poster" or the "idea one has for Peru." The authenticity of Chachapoyas was judged by a few study participants to be dependent on how closely it matched Peru's national image. This is not by accident. It is a stated policy of PENTUR to have an "umbrella brand" for Peru that covers all the destinations (PENTUR 2008, 22). Furthermore, the representations Peru has adopted to project an image are the same representations found on the covers and large glossy

photos of guidebooks: llamas, ruins, and indigenous girls in colorful dress. The national image of Peru is also attached to Chachapoyas in tourist media by frequent comparisons to Peru's iconic attraction, Machu Picchu, "the spring from which Peruvian/Andean/Inca authenticity flowed" (Pellinen-Chavez 2007, 30). In this sense, Chachapoyas is being described through representations of other, more widely conceptualized places.

Place Myth: The Ancient Mystery

Geographers have examined how place-myths as prepackaged place narratives are applied to produce space particularly in tourist spaces. Notable examples mentioned elsewhere in this research are Jeffrey Davis's (2005) article entitled, "Representing Place: "Deserted Isles" and the Reproduction of Bikini Atoll," and Dydia DeLyser's (1999) article, "Authenticity on the Ground: Engaging the Past in a California Ghost Town." The analysis of the guidebooks and websites in this study suggest there is a place-myth being developed for Chachapoyas as well. These sources, both in photographic and written text representations, promote the aura of ancient mystery. Unlike the concepts of deserted isles and ghost towns, the concept I refer to as ancient mystery does not have a widely recognized term associated with it. The ancient mystery myth encapsulates places that are associated with extinct civilizations with origins and traditions concealed by the passage of time. This myth is evidenced in Chachapoyas by descriptions from guidebooks and website evoking mystery, hidden or lost cities, ruin,s or civilizations, a lush jungle-like environment, remoteness, exploration and adventure, as well as association with other ancient and mysterious sites such as Machu Picchu and the Pyramids of Egypt.

Over the last decade, Peru's international tourism promotion campaigns have illustrated the salience of the ancient mystery place myth with advertising strategies meant to focus on cultural heritage and the esoteric. First, there was the slogan: "Pack Your Six Senses" overlaid with Inca motifs invoking a sense that some intangible ancient mystical experience awaits the visitor (Hill 2007). The current slogan is "Live the Legend," again linked to Inca or indigenous rainforest imagery and inviting exploration of myths. The same sentiment prompted Europeans in the 16th and 17th centuries to

repeatedly mount expeditions into various parts of South America searching for the mythical lost city of gold, El Dorado (Bauer and Mazzotti 2009).

A website analyzed in this study refers to the claim that Chachapoyas was a base for such expeditions; however the claim could not be confirmed by other sources. Guidebooks also compared Kuelap to the Great Pyramid of Giza, a structure surrounded by superstition and rumors of extra-planetary origin, squarely in the realm of ancient mystery. As previously stated Kuelap's comparison to Machu Picchu is ubiquitous both in websites and guidebooks and was echoed by visitors. Despite the enormous number of people who visit Machu Picchu each year, it retains an air of mystery. It was found by accident in the search for Vilcabamba giving it instant credibility as a Lost City. There are also oddly carved rocks in prominent locations with purposes that are unknown, all set in a dramatic natural setting. This gap in knowledge surrounding the ancient mysteries of Inca sites has been filled with all-manner of conjecture. At Machu Picchu a few theories include energy vortices and extraterrestrial intervention. Visitors are encouraged to feel the "energy" emitted by the Temple of the Sun, a carved rock at Machu Picchu (Babb 2011).

The mysterious dimensions of Chachapoyas, often described as hidden by clouds, have also invited the projection of fantasy and imagination. There are many overgrown ruins in the area that become "tangible evidence on which interpretations of the past can be constructed" (Radley 1990, 59). Gene Savoy took vague comments from an early Spanish account of fair-skinned people to mean that the Chachapoya civilization was evidence of pre-Columbian transatlantic travel (Walker 1989). At Kuelap there are geometric friezes found on nearly all the circular houses created by a civilization that was by all accounts erased more than 300 years ago without even their name being recorded. Nonetheless, guides offer a variety of intricate interpretations of the abstract symbols usually with an animistic or philosophical tilt related to different planes of existence. The entryways to Kuelap are sometimes said to symbolize a vulva and promote fertility. Babb (2011) acknowledges the importance of Andean esoteric knowledge to tourism and points out that Peru's recent tourism promotion has appealed to the New Age mystical crowd, lending a quasi-religious spin on the ancient mystery place myth.

The *Indiana Jones* films feature an adventurous archaeologist travelling to lesser-known parts of the world to retrieve mysterious and powerful relics. The films capitalized on and reified the ancient mystery place myth. Steven Spielberg and George Lucas purportedly developed the Indiana Jones character with inspiration from the jungle serials of the early 20th century (Jared 2006). Popular titles of the genre include Columbia's 1945 *Jungle Raiders* and Universal's 1946 *The Lost City of the Jungle* (Cline 1984). Western serials also contributed to what DeLyser's (1999) and other have described as the mythic West. Several newspaper articles relied on references to the iconic film franchise to flesh out their representations of Chachapoyas (Brazil 2004). Gene Savoy, the consummate explorer of the region, in his obituary is said to have relished the comparison of himself to the fictional archaeologist, looking for lost treasures of a mysterious civilization, even adding to the mystery himself with elaborate theories.

This link to Chachapoyas is more accurate, in a way, than the authors of the newspaper articles may have known. The novelized *Indiana Jones and the Raiders of the Lost Ark* describes the character's adventure as taking place in Peru at a fictionalized Chachapoya temple where he collected a fertility idol. A National Geographic sponsored *Indiana Jones* archaeology exhibition shows an image of a "Chachapoyan Fertility Idol" movie prop on their website. However in the movie, these specifics are not mentioned and Steven Speilberg actually shot the scenes in Hawaii. Although the link to *Indiana Jones* has not caught on in the guidebooks or websites sampled in this research, two of the interviewees said they had heard from friends that visiting Kuelap would be like an *Indiana Jones* adventure. Nonetheless, *Indiana Jones* is a touchstone for mystery, adventure and exploration, jungle-like environments, and lost civilizations. These are key elements of the myth of ancient mysteries and elements that are alluded to with frequency in representations of Chachapoyas.

The sampled photographs in this study employ the myth in several ways. The most common images are of apparently unstudied ruins and unmanaged nature. This seems to be a prudent marketing strategy as unspoiled, primitive, and remote are shown to be almost universally regarded as markers of desirability (Cohen 1989). The

photographs reaffirm that an adventurous explorer is needed to reveal the secrets hidden in the lush landscape. Photographs with elements that conflict with the myth such as cityscapes, local people, tourists, infrastructure such as roads, electric lines or cellphone towers are noticeably absent. The representations in the written text are consistent with this image. The town of Chachapoyas is described often in terms of being a base from which to explore. Its people are friendly and quaint and partake in the provincial pastime of strolling around the plaza.

The place myth directs the tourist gaze to the past; a timelessness which is a large part of the appeal of Peru to many visitors. Thirteen of the respondents felt compelled, unprompted to praise the town of Chachapoyas for being organized, clean, safe, well-lit, and attractive as if it was completely unexpected. The town has all white buildings, colonial architecture and regulates signage on businesses. It also has a manicured plaza with broad sidewalks and plenty of seating. Vehicular traffic is minimal reducing noise and making the town pedestrian friendly. Hotels are abundant and of good quality as are restaurants. It is far from the hectic scenes found by most of Peru's city plazas. Chachapoyas by most measures is a modern town. Consequently, the tourists' desire for the past is not well accommodated. One interviewee was not convinced of the authenticity of his experience in Chachapoyas until he saw a man wearing a poncho with a donkey. Further emphasizing the importance of the past, another found authenticity in staying at a house with no electricity or running water. One visitor felt the area was not sufficiently louche to provide "the Peruvian experience." In most cases among tourists included in this study, authenticity was conceptualized as the opposite of touristy, several arguing Cusco is inauthentic. At least in some cases authenticity was being contrasted with non-traditional lifestyles such as those found in Peru's urban areas. According to many interviewees, staying for an extended period in a small village and "seeing their way of life" was the most authentic possible Peruvian experience.

These tourists want to have an interaction with Peruvians unaccustomed to tourism and detached from the outside world. They want to realize their fantasy of exploring a remote and exotic land, live with primitive people with colorful traditions and seek out ancient mysteries. Relying on this fantasy rubric it could be concluded that

Chachapoyas is almost a complete Peruvian tourist package. It is lacking the traditional dress of the Quechua Amerindian, a ubiquitous element of Peruvian tourism imagery. According to PromPeru in 1999, Peruvian "identities and unique qualities are our principal good for the future" (Baud et al. 2006, 13). Guidebooks and websites have not taken on this aspect of Chachapoyas, likely because current inhabitants of the area generally wear western-style clothes and are predominantly Roman Catholic. "Exotic dress alone often stands for an entire alien life-style" and is a symbolic link to the past (Lutz and Collins 1993, 92). Guidebooks and websites cannot meet tourist preconceptions of what people of the Peruvian Andes look like and thus they are largely omitted. At least a few interviewees inserted the cultural image from the larger Peruvian narrative into the gap. In this sense, guidebooks and the sampled websites are complicit in the essentialized image of Peru.

There is some evidence that Chachapoyas is attempting to repair what they apparently view as a problem with their tourist package, a term used frequently in Peru's National Tourism Strategy, PENTUR. Chachapoyas' annual Tourism Week in 2011 was advertised on posters with the slogan, "Recuperation of the Cultural Identity of the People." The insinuation is that a lost cultural identity needs to be restored for the sake of tourism and that the current culture is deficient. This is a strategy employed at other cultural tourism destinations where the host society displays their 'primitiveness' for tourists (Boynton 1997). Also, the typical rhomboid friezes found on the circular houses at Kuelap and elsewhere have been painted on modern buildings ostensibly linking modern inhabitants of the area with the culture that built the areas primary tourist attractions (field observations 2010, 2011). Assuming manifestations of this cultural recuperation come to pass, their performance will be referred to as characteristics of Chachapoyas culture (modern), certain to be confused by tourists to be persistent relics of the pre-Columbian Chachapoya civilization. These are admittedly small changes, but they have come to pass as a direct result of tourism and constitute the beginnings of place (re)production in Chachapoyas.

Summary

   This section has linked the theoretical concepts discussed in Chapter II with the findings of the research presented in Chapter V. First there was a discussion of the concept of the image of Chachapoyas through a critical analysis of the representations found in guide books and websites and their relevance to the interviewed tourists. The second part of the chapter delves into the place myths that influence the image of Chachapoyas and the sense of place of tourists who visit. The section presented a suggested historical origin of the place myth and how it in conjunction with the larger Peruvian narrative may be influencing the future of Chachapoyas.

Chapter VII: Conclusion

The question that sparked this research was, What is Chachapoyas to the tourist? Reviewing academic literature revealed that producing an answer would be a complex task requiring several data sources and methodological approaches. Through countless hours of research and analysis this thesis has contributed to knowledge of the representations of Chachapoyas, the attitudes and opinions of tourists visiting, and what place myths are lazily evoked to describe the region. To constrain the size of the project and produce a result within my means meant having to accept that the research would have limitations. Acknowledging the limitations however, reveals avenues for further research on the subject.

This thesis has contributed to the geographic body of knowledge in several ways. First and foremost it has made inroads in addressing a lack of literature on tourism in northern Peru and Chachapoyas. Owing to the lack of geographical and tourism research in the region, the study relied on a mixed-method approach of content analysis, interviews, field observations, as well as a broad selection of literature from many fields of study.

The Chachapoyas region has great appeal to tourists and is likely to continue expanding its tourism economy. Personally, visiting Chachapoyas over the past two summers was a pleasure. I enjoyed learning about its history, experiencing its diverse natural endowments, and visiting a few of its unique archaeological sites. All my interactions with people living in the region were exceedingly pleasant, further enhancing the appeal of this place. Tourism has and will continue to influence material change in the physical and cultural landscape as Chachapoyas continues to develop as a destination. This study has endeavored to elucidate a contributing factor to this change: the place image of Chachapoyas. This was attempted through the analysis of representations of the region, comparing and validating the image by interviewing tourists on their sense of place, and identifying influential contributors to the place image in the form of an ancient mystery place myth and the Peruvian narrative of *andeanismo.*

Place image is malleable and can be politicized to legitimize particular interactions with places. At this point, Chachapoyas seems to be in a honeymoon stage with the increase of visitation the main concern (Raftopolous 2011). Furthermore, if the results of interviews are any indication, Chachapoyas is not a widely known or widely anticipated destination. Twenty-one of twenty-five study participants were not aware of the region before they began travelling. This would indicate that the place image of Chachapoyas is more theoretical than influential. However, as more tourists visit the region and more resources are employed in promoting it, the image will most likely gain traction and power. Rather than submitting to an image created and perpetuated by guidebooks and tour agencies, it may be prudent for Chachapoyas to review the region's image and carefully consider whether it needs revision.

Implementing changes to a place image would be a challenge for Chachapoyas especially if it involved dispelling the heavily promoted and widely recognized Peruvian *andeanismo* narrative. However, the apparent lack of a substantive place image among tourists is an opportunity to assert influence because there is not an entrenched image of Chachapoyas to compete with. The wide use of the internet by tourists provides an efficient avenue of distribution for official representations of Chachapoyas. Promoting a local perspective of Chachapoyas is a way to gain agency, ideally reducing the influence of the ethnocentrism and preferences of outsiders on the production of place.

Limitations

This study has several limitations that resulted from an effort to keep the study a manageable size. Despite my best efforts to accurately portray Chachapoyas and its people, there is a large hole in this discussion of tourism and image. Systematically interviewing the people of Chachapoyas to get an idea of their sense of place, what they think of the expansion of tourism, and how tourism has affected their lives is not a part of this study. Where I felt it was necessary to generalize about these aspects of local perception in this study, I used anecdotal accounts and information from key informants such as the former mayor, a Dircetur official, and another graduate student who had spent a year studying the subject. I believe the people of Chachapoyas are enthusiastic about

tourism; however I do not have empirical data to further elaborate or to draw significant conclusions about competing place images of Chachapoyas.

Place image is nebulous and exists in the minds of individuals and so this study cannot portray all its complexities. This thesis made an argument that the most commonly utilized representations are the most influential in the development of place images. While the guidebook sample was quite large relative to the population, the websites were only a tiny fraction of what exists on the internet about Chachapoyas. Another limitation of this study involves the fact that international tourists make up only about one-third of total visitors to Chachapoyas. Peruvian tourists certainly have a different place image than do international visitors and are certain to have an effect on the future development of tourism in the region. Regarding the study participants, there can never be enough interviews. This study utilized 25 interviews collected over two weeks in September, though June, July, and August are the tourist high season. Interviews conducted in the high season may have included more short-term tourists and revealed different patterns. As is, nearly all the respondents were on extended, multi-country journeys.

The people of Chachapoyas speak Spanish almost exclusively and although I have spent a great deal of time in Peru, I do not speak the language fluently. As a result I was not able to easily communicate questions or completely appreciate the answers of local people I had casual conversations with. As a result, this paper does not incorporate a local perspective with the nuance it deserves.

Further Research

Future research could begin by addressing the above mentioned limitations. Examining the local perception of tourism and its risks and rewards and examining how Chachapoyas has changed over the past two decades in response to tourism would produce a much more complete picture of the (re)production of Chachapoyas. Evaluating the Peruvian tourists' experiences and perceptions of the region would also be fascinating. This research did not address the certainly interesting economic dimensions of the increase of tourism in the region. Contrasting claims of the economic benefits of

tourism with the experiences of people who have attempted to diversify their economic activities into the tourism sector would be very interesting. The interviews revealed a developing tourist route from Ecuador that leads to Chachapoyas. Tracing this route would be an interesting course of study as there are many small towns along the way that are not prepared for tourism at this time.

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APPENDICES

Appendix A. Study Participant Attributes

Gender	Age	Nationality	Visited Chachapoyas before	Visited Peru Before	Experienced Traveller	Length of Trip (Months)	Length of Stay in Chachapoyas (Days)	No. of travellers in Party	Room and Board Expenditure Soles/day
female	19	canada	no	no	no	5	4	2	20
male	19	Australia	no	no	no	6	2	2	50
female	21	Germany	no	no	yes	1.75	1	32	30
male	22	France	no	no	yes	10	3	1	40
female	22	England	no	no	yes	2.25	3	2	50
male	22	England	no	no	no	2.25	3	2	50
male	23	USA	no	no	yes	6	4	1	50
male	23	Switzerland	no	yes	no	3	4	2	70
male	24	Germany	no	no	yes	4	4	1	30
female	25	USA	no	no	yes	3	2	2	45
female	25	Germany	no	no	yes	1.5	2	2	40
male	27	USA	no	no	no	3	2	2	55
male	27	Argentina	no	no	yes	6	7	2	20
male	28	USA	no	yes	no	3	1	2	20
female	28	France	no	no	yes	12	3	2	25
male	29	Guatemala	no	yes	yes	6	14	1	12
male	29	Germany	no	no	yes	1	2	2	55
female	29	Denmark	no	no	yes	1.75	3	2	50
female	31	Netherlands	no	yes	yes	0.5	14	1	25
male	31	France	no	no	yes	7	5	2	35
male	34	Austria	no	no	no	24	1	1	50
male	34	Spain	no	no	yes	9	7	1	60
male	40	Netherlands	no	no	yes	12	4	2	60
female	42	Switzerland	no	no	yes	12	3	1	100
male	50	Germany	no	no	yes	12	7	2	35

Appendix B: Interview Script

Subject Number: _____
Date of Interview: _____
Location of Interview: _____
Time Interview Began _____ Ended _____

Intro: I would like to thank you for volunteering to answer some questions for this interview. My name is Charlie Hoadley. I am a graduate student at the University of Montana. For my Master's thesis I am studying tourist perceptions of Chachapoyas. I would like to ask a few questions about yourself, your experiences as a visitor here, and some of your opinions. The interview should take 30 - 45 minutes. If you are not comfortable answering any of the questions you can refuse without penalty. Also, you may end the interview at any time. You will be assigned an interview number so the information from your interview will be anonymous. After a few warm-up questions, I will begin recording the interview with this digital voice recorder.

CONTEXT
Sex _____ Age _____ (If less than 18 years terminate interview)
Home country _____
Have you visited Chachapoyas before? _____ If Yes, how often? _____
Have you visited Peru before? _____ If Yes, how often? _____
Would you consider yourself an experienced international traveler? _____
How long is this trip? _____
How long will you be in Chachapoyas? _____ How many? _____
Are you traveling alone or with others? _____
Approximately how much do you spend each day on food and accommodation? _____

LIKERT SCALE- In your opinion....
Chachapoyas is interesting.   Strongly disagree – 2 – 3 – 4 – Strongly agree
Chachapoyas is enjoyable.   Strongly disagree – 2 – 3 – 4 – Strongly agree
Chachapoyas is navigable.   Strongly disagree – 2 – 3 – 4 – Strongly agree
Chachapoyas is friendly.   Strongly disagree – 2 – 3 – 4 – Strongly agree
Chachapoyas is safe.   Strongly disagree – 2 – 3 – 4 – Strongly agree

RECORD
1. Where did you first hear about Chachapoyas?
   a. Kuelap
   b. Gocta

2. Did you research this destination?
   a. What sources (specifics)?
   b. Do you have a guidebook?
   c. Do you get travel advice from other travelers?

3. Where else have you visited on this trip?
   a. Where do you plan on visiting?

4. On this trip to Peru, what were you most excited about visiting or doing?

5. Why did you decide to visit Chachapoyas?
   a. What were you most interested in seeing or doing?
   b. Were you interested in touring the town?

6. What have you done or seen here?
   a. What has been your favorite experience here?
   b. Have there been any surprises?
   c. What do you still plan to do?

7. What did you expect this place to be like?
   a. How does it differ or meet those expectations?

8. Would you call your visit to Chachapoyas an 'authentic Peruvian experience'?

9. How has your visit to Chachapoyas compared to other places you have visited in Peru?

10. Having visited Chachapoyas, how would you describe it to your friends and family?
    a. Would you recommend Chachapoyas to your friends?
    b. To your parents?

11. Can you tell me what you know about the history of the town and/or Kuelap and Gocta?

12. Have you yet or do you plan to buy any souvenirs? (If 'no' skip to 13c)
    a. What are they?
    b. How much did you spend?
    c. If not, why?

13. Was there anything you hoped to buy but couldn't find?

14. Would you describe this location as 'touristy?'
    a. Is the tourist infrastructure such unattractive or helpful?
    b. How would you change it?

15. There has been a proposal to build an aerial tramway up to Kuelap to reduce the travel time for visitors. Do you have an opinion on this?

Thank you for your time and openness in answering these questions. As I said before, your name will not be linked in anyway to your responses. Do you have any additional comments that were not prompted in the interview? Do you have any questions for me?

Here is a copy of the ICF with my contact information in case you have a question or comment at a later time.

Appendix C: Analysis of Photographic Representations in Guidebooks

Guidebooks	Photo Description	Space				Subject			
		Natural	Built	Heritage	Product	None	Host	Guest	H and G
Eyewitness Travel Peru 2010	Rhomboid Pattern in Stone Wall			✓		✓			
	Rhomboid Pattern in Stone Wall			✓		✓			
	Bromeliad in tree	✓				✓			
	Exterior Kuelap wall			✓		✓			
	Circular stone structure			✓		✓			
	Kuelap entry with tourists			✓				✓	
	Circular stone structures and interpretive signs			✓		✓			
	Scenic vista	✓				✓			
	Restored circular structure			✓		✓			
	Circular stone structure			✓		✓			
	Kuelap entry			✓		✓			
	Young girls in bright sweaters making a tapestry near modern house		✓				✓		
	Gocta waterfall	✓				✓			
Insight Guides Peru 2010	Circular stone structures			✓		✓			
	Smiling child		✓				✓		
Lonely Planet Peru	Circular stone structure			✓		✓			
Lonely Planet South America	N/A								
Frommer's Peru 2010	N/A								
Fodor's Peru 2011	Circular stone structures			✓		✓			
The Rough Guide Peru 2009	Restored circular structure			✓		✓			
Moon Handbook Peru Wehner and Del Gaudio 2011	Downtown buildings		✓			✓			
	Gocta Waterfall	✓				✓			
	Gocta Waterfall	✓				✓			
	House and garden		✓			✓			
	Skeletal mummy			✓		✓			
	Restored circular structure			✓		✓			
	Tourist on horseback	✓						✓	
	Mountainous terrain	✓				✓			
National Geographic Traveler Peru Rob Rachowieki 2009	Modern stone house		✓			✓			
	Rhomboid pattern in stone wall			✓		✓			
	Exterior Kuelap wall			✓		✓			
TOTALS	29	7	5	17	0	25	2	2	0

Appendix D: Analysis of Photograph Representations on Websites

Websites	Photo Description	Space				Subject			
		Natural	Built	Heritage	Product	None	Host	Guest	H and G
Inkanatura "Interior" "Kuelap"	Rhomboid Pattern in wall			✓		✓			
	Kuelap wall			✓		✓			
	Kuelap wall and small sign			✓		✓			
	Mountain view	✓				✓			
	Sarcophagi on cliff			✓		✓			
	Kuelap wall			✓		✓			
	Kuelap wall			✓		✓			
	Small square wall			✓		✓			
	Rhomboid pattern in wall			✓		✓			
	Circular house ruins and view			✓		✓			
	Relief carving in stone wall			✓		✓			
Peru Travel Guide	Square ruins on cliff			✓		✓			
	hummingbird	✓				✓			
	Kuelap wall			✓		✓			
	Square ruins on cliff			✓		✓			
	View of agricultural land		✓			✓			
	Restored circular house			✓		✓			
Rediscover Machu Picchu	N/A								
Vilaya Tours Homepage	Sarcophagi on Cliff			✓		✓			
	Sarcophagi on cliff			✓		✓			
	Hummingbird on branch	✓				✓			
	Kuelap entry			✓		✓			
	Fireworks display		✓			✓			
	Circular ruins with prominent Rhomboid			✓		✓			
Lonely Planet "Kuelap: Machu Picchu Alternative"	Circular house ruins with sign				✓	✓			
	Wall of Kuelap			✓		✓			
	Rhomboid Pattern in wall			✓		✓			
	Restored circular house			✓		✓			
Wikipedia "Chachapoyas" "Kuelap"	Arial view of Chachapoyas		✓			✓			
	Wall of Kuelap			✓		✓			
	Circular house ruins			✓		✓			
	Circular house ruins			✓		✓			
The Peru Guide	Chachapoyas town square		✓			✓			
	Outer wall of Kuelap			✓		✓			

Continued

Websites	Photo Description	Photographic Representations							
		Space				Subject			
		Natural	Built	Heritage	Product	None	Host	Guest	H and G
Kuelap Peru	Round house ruins			✓		✓			
	Relief of snake in wall			✓		✓			
	Round house replica				✓	✓			
	Kuelap entry			✓		✓			
	Relief of face in wall			✓		✓			
	Orchid	✓				✓			
	Orchid	✓				✓			
	Orchid	✓				✓			
	Orchid	✓				✓			
	Tourist group	✓						✓	
	Tourist posing with host in front of sign				✓				✓
	Tourist group	✓						✓	
	Tourists with camping tents	✓						✓	
	Mountain view	✓				✓			
	Tourists with view	✓						✓	
	Hummingbird	✓				✓			
	Tourists resting in a field	✓						✓	
	Mountain view	✓				✓			
	View of a lake	✓				✓			
	Tourist taking a photo of tree	✓						✓	
	View of a lake	✓				✓			
	Mountain view	✓				✓			
	View of meandering stream	✓				✓			
	Cock-of-the-rock on branch	✓				✓			
	Items on display in a museum				✓	✓			
	View of a lake	✓				✓			
	Orchid	✓				✓			
	Round house ruins			✓		✓			
	Sarcophagi on cliff			✓		✓			
	View of Gocta waterfall	✓				✓			
	View of Gocta waterfall	✓				✓			
	Tourist posing at Gocta	✓						✓	
	A palm tree	✓				✓			
	Mountain view	✓				✓			
	Spatulatail hummingbird	✓				✓			
	Kuelap wall			✓		✓			
	Rhomboid pattern in wall			✓		✓			
	Tourists walking on thickly vegetated slope	✓						✓	
	orchid	✓				✓			
TOTALS	**71**	**31**	**4**	**32**	**4**	**62**	**0**	**8**	**1**