Place, power and tourism in value-creation: Contesting the plaza in Pisac, Peru

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Abstract
Place, power and tourism intersect as disparate actors attempt to create and extract different forms of value from shared spatial resources. In Pisac, Peru, various stakeholders pursue their interests through and in relation to the plaza. Participant observation and interviews show how traders, residents, tour guides and municipal agents make competing claims over place through their engagement with evolving tourism practices. Power is exercised through physical and symbolic visibility, tactical use of expertise and control of information, temporal and spatial orchestration of mobility, acts of micro-aggression leading to exclusion and invisibility, coupled with unfulfilled political promises and inaction regarding governance. These practices and strategies help to construct and extricate economic, social, and political value from intersections of tourism and place.

摘要
当不同的行动者试图从共享的空间资源中创造和提取不同形式的价值时，地点、权力和旅游业就会产生交集。在秘鲁Pisac，各种利益相关者通过广场和与广场相关的活动来追求他们的利益。通过对参与者的观察和访谈表明，商人、居民、导游和市政代理人如何通过他们与不断发展的旅游实践的接触而相互竞争。权力是通过有形和象征性的可见性、策略性地运用专业知识、控制信息、时空上和谐的

移动、导致排斥和隐形的微观侵略行为，以及未兑现的政治承诺和治理方面的**不作为**来行使的。这些实践和策略有助于从旅游和地方的交叉点构建和释放经济、社会和政治价值。

Keywords: Community, Conflict, Local power relations, Peru, Pisac, Place, Relational power, Value-creation, Value-extraction

关键词:**社区**，**冲突**，**地方**权力关系，秘鲁，皮萨克，地方，关系性权力，价值创造，价值提**取**

Introduction

Power remains a central concern in research on tourism's transformational capacities (Cornelisse, 2020; Nogués-Pedregal, 2019; Yankholmes, 2018) due to tourism's potential to create value (Cannas, 2018) and restructure societies (Duffy, Kline, Mowatt, & Chancellor, 2015). Tourism and power may intersect in multiple ways, with diverse consequences. Positive outcomes include reshaping local power dynamics by creating new employment and educational opportunities for traditionally marginalised populations, such as Indigenous groups and women (Duffy et al., 2015), and the creation of collaborative governance arrangements among local actors (Cannas, 2018; Cave & Dredge, 2018).

Tourism may also facilitate the emergence of new business elites (Gibson, 2009) and the reproduction of prevailing hegemonic power mechanisms, reinforcing social differences based on ethnicity, culture and gender (Yang, 2011). Foreign brokers and tour operators may influence the distribution of tourism's benefits, thus amplifying existing asymmetric power relations embedded in 'host' communities (Duffy, 2000; Wearing et al., 2010). However, the agency of destination residents is increasingly stressed in research, which emphasises the need to understand how local actors exercise and contest power amongst themselves and in relation to external actors, including tourists and tourism intermediaries (Cave & Dredge, 2018; Maoz, 2006; Knight et al., 2017).

Whilst power as a concept has been widely examined within tourism research (cf. Cheong & Miller, 2000; Church & Coles, 2007; Knight & Cottrell, 2016; Macleod & Carrier, 2010), considerable focus has been placed on investigating power asymmetries between hosts and tourists, and the exercise of power at a macro-level, for example regarding place marketing and governance (Bowen, Zubair, & Altinay, 2017; Lew, 2017). However, it is important to question how micro-level power dynamics, emerging in everyday social and economic practices, influence local participation in tourism and how tourism can (re)structure social relations of power amongst local actors. Lew (2017), for example, in exploring intersections of place(making), tourism and power, highlighted the need to examine how different tourism-related actors compete to interpret, transform and utilise places as resources to serve diverse social or economic interests (see also Hollinshead, Ateljevic, & Ali, 2009). This corresponds with Nogués-Pedregal's (2019)

anthropological imperative to account for tourism, place and power convergences through ethnographic, contextualised, and thus place-specific, enquiry. This is necessary because tourism in particular locations comprises a unique combination of practices and actors, specific to those places.

This paper takes Pisac, Peru as its empirical focus. Previous research on Pisac has explored a number of important issues, for example local women's engagement in tourism (Ypeij, 2012) and links between tourism and culture (Henrici, 1999; Hill, 2008). Other research has studied tourist behaviours (Scarles, 2012), guide practices (McGrath, 2007), local agency (Bidwell & Murray, 2019) and power relations elsewhere in Peru (Knight & Cottrell, 2016; Knight et al., 2017). However, none of these studies have attempted to examine intersections of power, tourism and place in the context of Pisac. This empirical focus is important because Pisac comprises a multi-ethnic population (including Indigenous and Non-Indigenous communities) whose interactions have been historically conditioned by distinctive power structures related to ethnicity, gender and class (Henrici, 1999). The local population is largely comprised of Mestizo groups (Peruvian individuals of mixed European and Indigenous heritage) and Quechua Indigenous collectives (native communities of the Peruvian Andes who live in separate communities and share pre-Hispanic cultural characteristics). Additionally, the area brings together diverse socio-economic activities (i.e. cultural tourism, shopping and food provision), which have their own practices and requirements, and are managed by disparate groups and individuals (i.e. foreign entrepreneurs, NGOs, Pisac natives, Indigenous groups) (Simon, 2009).

Pisac has experienced a decline in independent day visitors and an increase in organised group tours, which usually include stops in several villages in the adjacent Sacred Valley. Organised group tourists' spatial-temporal interactions with Pisac are strongly influenced by intensive tour itineraries and guiding practices that result in shorter dwell time to explore, a spatial concentration of activities, and lower spend in fewer venues. Tourism activities are increasingly focused in and around the plaza, which has become an increasingly valuable resource for diverse actors with competing goals and claims over 'place'. Shifting tourism patterns and conflicting desires to extract value from place stress the need to examine how power is exercised by various actors in, through and in relation to the plaza.

Previous studies have recognised the importance of plazas, which facilitate interaction and trade, and by nature of their visibility become places of surveillance, control and resistance (cf. Heckenberger, 2005; Low, 2000). The multiple practical and symbolic functions of plazas mean that their uses are contested by various stakeholders. Consequently, the plaza is examined in two ways: firstly, as a shared, mundane location of everyday (intra-host and host-guest) encounters through which power relationships are performed and negotiated. Secondly, as a 'valued', symbolic entity over which various actors, including tour operators, local business owners and governmental decision makers seek to exercise power by attempting to evaluate its worth, create representations of it and assert their entitlement to extract value from it (cf. Ren & Mahadevan, 2018). This study thus helps to construct a context-sensitive understanding of how power is exercised

through various stakeholders' engagement with tourism-related activities, examining which social actors participate, the basis of their engagement and the conditions shaping their participation.

Power and place

Allen (2003:2) contended that power 'is a relational effect of social interaction'. This conception of power is similar to Foucault's (1979) insofar as it is viewed as something exercised, performed or practised, rather than possessed. Moreover, it has been argued that the exercise (and experience) of power should be examined in relation to its spatial dimensions (Allen, 2003; Sharp, Routledge, Philo, & Paddison, 2002). Hence, Allen (2003) and others do not assume that power is ubiquitous and evenly distributed across space. Rather, different modalities of power are exercised in different places (Sharp et al., 2002). This stresses the need to engage in contextual, place-specific analyses of power.

It is useful at this point to restate the conceptual distinction between space and place, which was initially made by Tuan (1977). Whereas spaces are considered abstractions, places are specific, tied to embodied experiences and, therefore, imbued with meaning: they are part of everyday actions and interactions, entangled in individual or group identities and histories, thus having affective as well as social, economic and political significance (Low, 2017; Tuan, 1977). Consequently, individuals and groups often have competing goals regarding the use of place and how their interests are served.

Analysing competing claims over place raises questions concerning both the *conceptions* and *capacities* of those seeking to territorialise them. Conceptions refers to the meanings associated with places and the social, economic, and political motivations of stakeholders, linked to the potential benefits gained and losses incurred, which drive their assertions of power. Capacities refers to abilities and resources, for example, legitimised status, the ability to provide or withhold rewards, and access to information (Raven, 1993; Saito & Ruhanen, 2017), or the ability to mobilise other assets in the form of cultural, social or economic capital (cf. Bourdieu, 1986), acting as bases of power through which they seek to (re)territorialise places. This includes the ability to engage in 'hegemonic' representational practices – i.e. gaining consent through controlling the messages and meanings concerning a domain of practice (Gramsci, 1971).

Avelino and Rotmans (2011) argued that power should be conceptualised as a capacity of actors to resist, drive or direct transformations. More specifically, their framework shifts the focus of analysis from "power to" and "power over" to "power to maintain" and "power to change" (Avelino & Rotmans, 2011). The focus of their framework is on how actors engage with the systemic and structural dimensions of power, whether they endorse and reproduce them or whether they challenge or change them, both in the long and short term (Avelino & Rotmans, 2011). Furthermore, Avelino and Rotmans (2011) argued that the simplistic notion of powerful versus powerless should be challenged by acknowledging that both sides may exercise different sorts of power. This implies that actors or collectives can use different resources and capacities to either

restrict or enable one another. Thus, it is possible to argue that stakeholders' willingness and ability to pursue common objectives requires shared frames of reference regarding the value of resources, such as place, and the perceived gains from collaboration or competition (Gyimóthy & Meged, 2018). This study adopts this dynamic, relational, context-sensitive conception of power to examine how it is exercised by multiple actors in (and over) a place fundamentally shaped by tourism.

Power, place and tourism

As noted at the outset, intersections of power and tourism, at various spatial and analytical scales, continue to be important areas of academic enquiry (Knight & Cottrell, 2016; Nogués-Pedregal, 2019; Yankholmes, 2018). However, in line with this paper's intention to examine a place-specific conception of power, the emphasis in this brief review will initially focus on the intersections of place and power within the context of tourism. This acknowledges that such intersections shape and are shaped by intra-group and inter-group relations between multiple stakeholders, including diverse factions of residents, tourism intermediaries and tourists. Moreover, it recognises that tourism has the potential to transform power dynamics between constituent stakeholders. Nevertheless, it also considers the ability of particular tourism stakeholders to exercise power in shaping how tourists engage with place.

Lew (2017) stressed that 'place making' refers in part to how 'a culture group imprints its value, perceptions, memories, and traditions on a landscape and gives meanings to geographic space' (p. 449). This foregrounds the role of localised agency, insofar as notions of place are shaped by those who inhabit it as part of their everyday routines. Lew (2017) also pointed to the importance of mundane social practices through which claims in regard to place are made. Tourism becomes entangled in such practices in several ways. Firstly, mundane practices such as shopping, trading, eating, religious observance and socialising, become part of tourism economies as locals and visitors begin to use the same place-based facilities and services, which become contested resources (cf. Jover & Díaz-Parra, 2020; Smith et al., 2018). Secondly, places become subject to alternative practices of 'place making', by a wider range of actors, including tour operators, tourists, guides and governmental entities, who have potentially competing priorities regarding the meanings attached to places, the activities places accommodate and access to places (cf. Bramwell & Meyer, 2007; Lew, 2012; Meethan et al., 2006). Touristic place making thus becomes part of wider power struggles between competing societal factions for whom place represents diverse forms of extractable value (Bianchi, 2018). Consequently, as Nogués-Pedregal (2019) suggested, understanding tourism's ability to transform places into contested, valued resources requires anthropological sensibilities that enable context-specific examinations of how power relations and tourism are intertwined in and through particular places.

Conceptualisations of power as relational and operating in society through everyday social practices have been increasingly evidenced in tourism research (Church & Coles, 2007; Edensor, 2001; Maoz, 2006; Nunkoo & Gursoy, 2016). Relational conceptions of power have informed studies which address the power of the gaze and

surveillance on tourists and host actors (Maoz, 2006; Urry & Larsen, 2011), the effects of tourism on the micro-level power dynamics of local communities (Bianchi, 2003; Lim, 2007) and issues of empowerment and resistance (Cornelisse, 2020; Wearing et al., 2010). These studies help to appreciate that intra and intergroup power relationships among tourism stakeholders are malleable and multidirectional; and that tourism has the capacity to transform power relationships, particularly as stakeholders compete to extract value from common cultural and spatial resources. Nevertheless, it also remains important to examine how particular stakeholders are afforded greater opportunities to exert their power due to (place-)specific resources at their disposal.

Cheong and Miller (2000), for example, contended that various local actors such as brokers, guides and travel agents are able to shape tourists' decisions due to their expert knowledge of tourism and the destination. This assumes that 'local' experts can influence tourists' behaviours by encouraging or discouraging tourists to visit particular sites, instructing tourists to value or devalue particular features of a destination or influencing what services and commodities tourists purchase (Cheong & Miller, 2000). Guides can further fulfil their personal economic agenda when they coordinate interactions with allied local brokers (such as owners of and employees of hotels, retail shops or restaurants), directing tourists to particular businesses (Dahles, 2002) and limiting interactions with locals (McGrath, 2007). Thus, according to Cheong and Miller's (2000) argument, local agents construct the tourist gaze through their knowledge and expertise, which is then legitimised by tourists' actions and behaviours.

Hallin and Dober (2012, p.22) stated that guides often "constitute a dominant group in translating and disclosing the visited place for tourists" and thus possess 'symbolic power' (Bourdieu, 1986). Symbolic power is exercised when the listener hands power to the speaker based on the perception that the speaker has authority due to their position or 'expertise' (Bourdieu, 1986). Relatively few studies have examined the role of tour guides as negative mediators, even though researchers acknowledge that the process of mediation in practice should be seen as attempts to exercise power in, through and over place (Dahles, 2002; Hansen & Mossberg, 2017; Overend, 2012). Particularly in developing countries, tour guides have an entrepreneurial role, fulfilling a need to make interactions with tourists profitable (Dahles, 2002).

Research gaps thus exist for further critical inquiry into relationships between guides and diverse 'host' stakeholders (Chen, Weiler & Black, 2018). Similarly, although Foucault's and other relational conceptualisations of power are valuable for informing contextualised analyses of how the exercise of power intersects with tourism, existing studies provide limited emphasis on place and local cultural stimuli in their analysis of tourism-linked power relations. There is a need to examine empirically how these theoretical assumptions operate within, across and in relation to specific places. This need to examine the contextual dynamics of power, therefore, drives this place-specific analysis of power relationships in the context of Pisac, Peru.

Research methods

Data collection

Analogous to previous research in the region (Henrici, 1999; Simon, 2009), this study adopted an interpretative approach involving participant observation and semi-structured interviews. Primary data were collected during two periods of fieldwork in Pisac, which also involved visits to Cuzco and Lima (See Pisac's location, Figure 1.). The first period lasted approximately six weeks and the second period eight weeks. Participant observation was conducted in public spaces that represented key locations for tourism activity or social interactions amongst host actors. This included the main plaza (which is also the location of the handicraft market) and the surrounding streets (See map of Pisac's centre, Figure 2.). The main researcher visited these settings on a daily basis, moving between tourist and non-tourist areas of Pisac to gain a broader understanding of the local context. Attention was particularly paid to the movement of toured groups, the interactions between tourists and hosts, tourist-guide interplays, and exchanges amongst local actors. The main researcher's engagement was closer to the observer end of the continuum: interacting with host actors on a daily basis, but not participating in daily activities such as selling in the market or working in souvenir shops (cf. Adler & Adler, 1987). Nevertheless, observation often involved informal conversations.

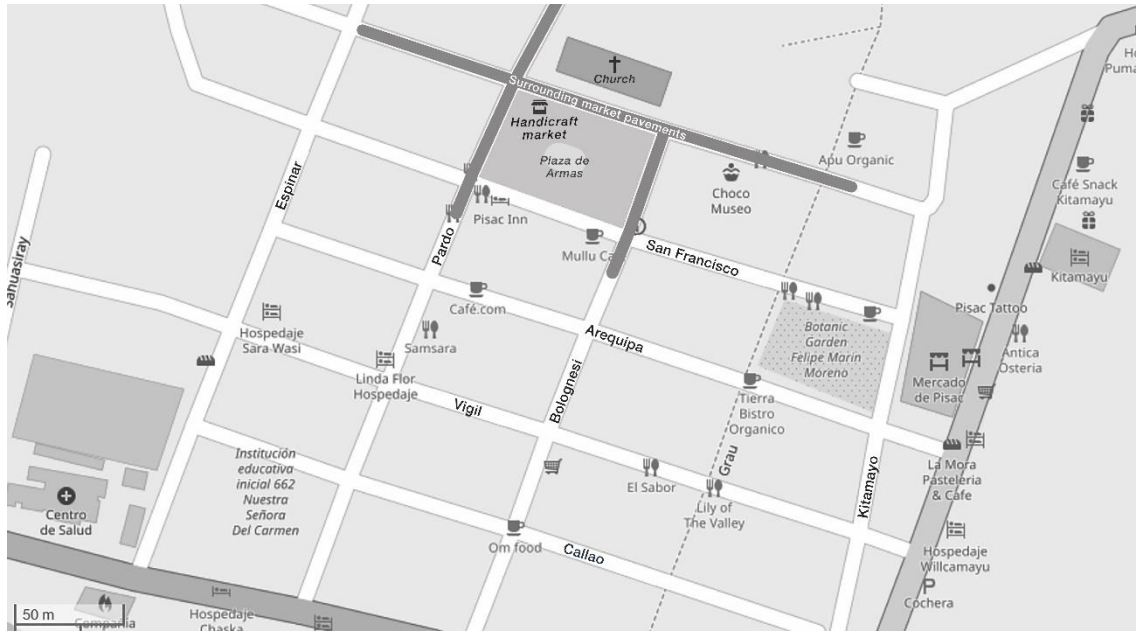Figure 1. Map of Pisac in relation to Cusco

Figure 2. Map of Pisac's centre

Semi-structured interviews were conducted with a diverse range of stakeholders, including 18 long-term Pisac residents working in tourism locally, three local government representatives, and three government officials in charge of managing tourism regionally and nationally. Interviews were also conducted with five members of the Quechua communities located in the district of Pisac, five Peruvian migrants working in the Pisac tourism industry, four foreigners living in Pisac and two private tour operator/travel agency owners. During transcription and analysis, respondents were given pseudonyms to conceal their identities.

The study sought to understand the experiences of a variety of local stakeholders, but it did not include the views of tour guides. Despite considerable effort to recruit guides directly and through local contacts, they declined to participate when the study's aim and objectives were mentioned. They did not mention specific reasons, but there were problematic relations with Pisac residents. Consequently, they may have been reticent to make statements that could have further aggravated tensions. It is recognised that the omission of tour guides' accounts represents a limitation to the study. However, interviews were conducted with local business owners who worked with tour guides, as well as governmental officials from the Regional Ministry of Tourism (DIRCETUR). Collectively, their accounts corroborated the accounts of market traders and local actors regarding the practices of tour guides. Participant observation further substantiated these perspectives, particularly interviewees' accounts regarding the tactics used by tour guides to control the spatial movement of tourists within Pisac.

Tourists' roles and motivations were not directly explored. The focus was on host actors and intermediaries. However, observation of tour groups and conversations with local tourism business owners provided important insights into tourists' behaviours.

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Data analysis

All interviews were digitally recorded and transcribed in their entirety by the main researcher. Following the transcription process, thematic data analysis followed established processes of familiarisation, reduction and reordering (Braun & Clarke, 2006). Data familiarisation consisted of repeated reading and re-reading of interview transcripts, listening to recorded interviews, consulting observation notes and digital images taken of the plaza, alongside notes recorded during or shortly after interviews. Data reduction utilised some pre-existing sensitising concepts, for example concerning power, but primarily used open coding to classify data, which were eventually organised into wider thematic clusters. These included: the transformation of the Plaza through tourism; the impact of tourism on local ethnic relations (i.e. the relationship between Pisac Mestizos and Quechua actors); the practices of tour guides; and the role of government actors in tourism. As the analysis progressed, new sub-themes were created and the data were reordered. For instance, data related to local ethnic relations were organised under specific sub-themes such as: "power dynamics between market traders and Pisac residents"; "power dynamics between Pisac Mestizos and Indigenous actors"; "power dynamics between migrant jewellers and market traders" and "power dynamics between jewellers, traders and guides".

Importantly, analysis should not be seen as a mechanistic process leading to a static outcome. Findings were subject to ongoing interpretation especially as ordered data was translated into presentation and discussion (Richardson & St. Pierre, 2018). Consequently, the findings examine how three sets of stakeholders: locals, including residents and various traders, tour guides and government actors, exercised power in making competing claims over shared place-based resources showing how their attempts to create and extract value from the plaza intersected with tourism practices.

Findings

Changing tourism and competing claims among locals

As noted in the introduction, the profile of visitors to Pisac gradually shifted from independent day visitors to organised tours. Independent visitors came to Pisac using public transportation or private cab hires rather than as part of organised tour groups in buses. Independent day visitors tended to spend more time exploring Pisac, usually a whole day, as they were not restrained by tightly controlled tour itineraries. Residents described independent tourists as more likely to visit a wider range of local businesses and spend more at places, because they had more time and were freer to choose which venues they visited.

Tour group visitors, bound by intensive tour schedules, had limited time to visit Pisac, usually one hour, which was primarily spent in the handicraft market (cf. Simon, 2009). These tourists were also more likely to be influenced by tour guides' suggestions when visiting shops or restaurants. Consequently, tour group visitors had different impacts: they were inclined to spend less money in Pisac, they produced overcrowding in the centre during peak times of the day, and they tended to concentrate their spending in selected souvenir shops or restaurants that cooperated with guides. These changing

tourism practices, and the spatial-temporal concentration of tourist activity in Pisac, particularly around the plaza and the surrounding side streets, transformed these places into increasingly valuable resources for diverse factions. Competing actors adopted various tactics and deployed different resources to exercise their power to extract value from place, which was often seen to disempower other groups by reducing their visibility and restricting their capacity to assert alternative claims over place.

Changing tourist practices and their consequences were highlighted by Juana, a female market seller who grew up in Pisac:

> *I would see how the cars would park in front of "Grau Street", where my house used to be, all cars would stop there, even tourist cars. Before tourists didn't come in buses, they came with cabs. ... Back then, they would leave their cars there and roam around the village all day, they were free, right? Now we don't have "free" tourists anymore.*

For Juana, the previous absence of guides and organised tours, which curtailed tourists' spatial-temporal engagement with place, facilitated genuine exchanges between tourists and locals. This reasoning was echoed by market sellers and souvenir shop owners who agreed that limited visitation times had reduced tourist spending in the market and handicraft shops. Moreover, shifts in tourist patterns had wider consequences for how the plaza was used and by whom. The limited time spent by group tours in Pisac, led to market sellers increasing the number of stalls and the frequency of market days in the plaza. According to interviewed market sellers, they did this to mitigate decreased profits due to tour groups' brief visitation times. These had unintended consequences for the rest of the residents.

Some residents expressed concern during interviews over the impacts the daily handicraft market was having on local social dynamics. In Pisac, the market, made up of around 100 traders, dominated the main plaza, which was traditionally used by residents to socialise and engage in recreational activities (See Figures 3. and 4.). According to resident accounts, the numbers of stalls had gradually increased and the market expanded, to the extent that, at the time of the fieldwork, it occupied almost the entire plaza. However, some space was left for coffee shop terraces and tourist buses parking in the main square and surrounding streets.

Figure 3. Aerial view of Pisac plaza and market

Figure 4. Pisac plaza and market

The plaza was vacated in the evenings and during traditional *fiestas* in February and July, but the market and tourists occupied the plaza in the mornings and afternoons, during most days of the week. Observation revealed that even when market sellers departed in the evenings, they left behind partially dismounted stalls, alongside waste from the day's trading. Several interviewees expressed irritation about this. For example, when asked about her opinion of the daily market, Maria, a former female artisan stated:

> *They [market traders] don't even pay anything, they finish selling their stuff and leave everything dirty! We [Piseños] have to send street sweepers, it's a cost! But they don't even help with that, not even fifty cents!*

The expansion of the congested handicraft market, as a resource servicing tourism-related transactions, created numerous tensions among many local residents who feared that it created a negative image of Pisac whilst depriving residents of a communal social place. Market sellers, as perceived beneficiaries from tourism, were seen to take symbolic control of the plaza through the subversion of multiple domains of activity. Manuel, a local bookshop owner, was particularly critical of the way market sellers had gradually taken over a shared community resource, viewing their actions as illegitimate enactments of power:

There have been cases where they have acted as if they owned the plaza, some have sold or rented spaces in the plaza, but that belongs to the local council! Nobody should be able to sell or rent public spaces! ... They use the streets as if they belonged to them. ... The plaza should be respected, it's a public space that belongs to everyone, they can't become owners of the plaza!

The market sellers asserted their authority over place by creating new, tradeable commodities, and simultaneously constructing the transactional conditions (i.e. their own micro-level real-estate markets), by positioning themselves as brokers. Moreover, the spatial expansion of the market and the shift from a casual to a quasi-permanent market appeared to have consolidated the power of market sellers as a social group within Pisac because they could continue to assert influence over the tradeable objects (i.e. stall locations), and the new market conditions. This was partly because they could mediate transactions, and also because they could define the 'valuation system' by which the stall places could be priced and traded (Ren & Mahadevan, 2018). Maria echoed Manuel's comments, associating the lack of an accessible plaza with a sense of loss and disempowerment for residents:

I don't agree with the plaza being occupied by the market 7 days a week because it makes me feel ashamed. The tourists who come to Pisac ask me "where is Pisac's Plaza?" and what can I say? "No, we don't have one", right? It gives me great sadness, we don't even have benches to sit in like in other small villages where people just go to the plaza to sit down and watch the world go by.

Aside from restricting the use of the plaza for other residents, observation revealed that Pisac market sellers used subtle, (micro-)aggressive tactics to prevent access for competitors. For example, Mary, an NGO manager working with Indigenous groups from surrounding Quechua communities, commented on her experience of trying to secure space and thus visibility for a group of Indigenous female weavers. She recalled how the rest of the Mestizo market sellers initially tried to boycott the stall given to female Indigenous weavers to sell their weavings once a week:

We finally managed to get the Municipality to agree to let a group of Indigenous women from our project, sell their weavings in the market. At the start, the other market sellers didn't seem to like it; they even hid the sign that said [Name of NGO] which the women were using in their stand. I think now they have stopped doing such things.

Although the plaza is a public space, under the authority of the municipality, the market is governed by various sellers' associations, which are made up of local Mestizo families, and only association members are able to trade there. Membership is largely based on kinship and sellers usually inherit stalls from family members. Affiliation is seldom given to non-Pisac and non-Mestizo traders. The right to sell in the market is,

therefore, not regulated by local authorities but instead organised along kindred lines. Consequently, the weavers' presence not only represented market competition, it also risked destabilising historically established power relations based on ethnicity and culture.

Although market sellers eventually had to accept the intermittent presence of Indigenous female weavers in the plaza, they adopted other tactics to marginalise Quechua sellers and conceal their presence from tourists. Traditionally, the main plaza and adjacent streets were vacated on Sundays for the parade of Quechua mayors on their way to the weekly mass. The parade was an established tradition and thus an important marker of social life for Piseños and Quechua communities, and it also became a focal point of tourists' attention. Nonetheless, through observation, it became apparent that market traders stopped vacating the plaza for the parade. This inevitably forced Quechua mayors to make their way through the narrow passageways of market stalls to reach the main church. When asked about this current state of affairs, a travel agent, Armando, noted that such actions by market traders were perceived as attempts to make the Indigenous parade invisible:

> *The parade should be visible, if it can't be seen it doesn't exist, it's not meant to be hidden, it's disrespectful. The market vendors don't want tourists to see the parade because otherwise they go to church to listen to the Quechua mass and what they want is that tourists stay in the market to buy from them.*

Limiting the use of place available to Indigenous sellers and obstructing the Mayors' parade by filling the entire plaza with stalls, may be seen as performative tactics for exerting power over others through purposive foregrounding, making one cultural group's practices visible whilst obscuring and rendering indigenous culture invisible. Nevertheless, observation revealed that the Sunday Quechua mass attended by Indigenous Varayocs was still very popular with tourists. This arguably transformed the church, a site meant for communal religious practice, into a tourist attraction and another contested place for residents. Thus, whilst the presence of market stalls became a prominent characteristic of the plaza, other tourism-mediated practices also emerged to render the plaza and surrounding pavements disputed communal resources among locals.

There were also disputes amongst residents, shop owners and governmental officials about the use of pavements surrounding the plaza by souvenir shops, *ambulantes* (street vendors) and market sellers. This considerably narrowed the space available for pedestrians, especially as pavements were usually filled with tour groups during the daytime. Public pavements arguably became tourist spaces, accommodating their flows, further angering many residents who saw this as further illegitimate appropriation of communal spaces. For example, when asked about the impacts of market traders' actions on public space, Manuel noted:

> *You go through certain streets where establishments cannot be opened, why? Because [market traders and ambulantes] have established*

themselves there for years and they think they have rights! That is not
so! The law never says that you can be the owner of a public pavement!

The contestation of the communal space of the plaza and surrounding pavements thus presented an interesting opportunity to analyse how tourism-related practices mediate spatial relations of (and in) destinations. Cultural geographers propose that spaces and places are "in a constant state of transition as a result of continuous, dialectical struggles of power and resistance among and between the diversity of landscape providers, users and mediators" (Aitchison, 1999, p.29). This is illustrated in Pisac's plaza, which is a touristic place where social identity, cultural meanings and thus power were renegotiated among community members. Recalling Tuan's (1977) and Low's (2017) conceptualisation of place, the plaza may be seen as tied to everyday interactions, entwined with individual and group identities and histories, and thus imbued with varied political, social and economic significance by diverse local actors. Assertions and contestations of power were performed through seemingly invisible acts of micro-aggression. Importantly, tourism as an external agent amplified conflicts over place by creating new forms of economic (and symbolic) value that interested actors sought to define, control and exploit through everyday interactions.

In Pisac, local actors ascribed multiple, shifting, affective, economic and political meanings to the plaza, and the qualities of place determined how they could extract value from tourism. For market sellers, by nature of its central location, the plaza represented a strategic political and economic resource through which they could gradually assert their physical and symbolic presence to tourists, other tourist shop owners and residents. As Krase and Shortell (2015, p.66) argued, "to be seen in a public space is a means of 'taking possession' of that space". Dwellers performed their identities and asserted their interests through mundane routines in public places, which became a medium through which social actors could express claims of property and propriety (Edensor, 2001; Krase & Shortell, 2015).

Market traders progressively territorialised the plaza, asserting their status by incrementally expanding the size of the market and expanding the number of days it operated. Eventually, their presence in the plaza became normalised amongst tourists and locals to the point that market traders felt free to rent stall spaces in an a priori public space. Thus, the plaza became symbolically 'owned' by individuals and groups through ongoing practices of envelopment.

Conversely, Maria and Manuel linked the plaza to an outward image of civility and morality, as well as a place for communal socialisation, which had been undermined through these social and political processes. Maria felt 'ashamed' that Pisac did not have a plaza to welcome visitors and was upset at the lack of space for communal socialising. Manuel felt that handicraft sellers 'disrespected' the plaza, for example as it became normalised practice for traders to leave rubbish, which the council had to clean up. They were seen to individualise benefits whilst externalising costs, undermining the plaza's communal value by restricting its use as a social place for other community members.

Like many interviewed residents, Maria and Manuel associated the plaza with a group identity as Piseños and a collective local history. In contrast to market sellers, for whom the plaza represented a key political and economic spatial resource, for other community actors like Manuel and Maria, it was imbued with an alternative affective and social significance, which had been devalued or marginalised. The actions of market traders significantly impinged on the everyday lives of residents and could be viewed as a territorialisation of place. However, exogenous stakeholders also deployed their capacities and resources to assert their power over Pisac's toured places. These included migrant jewellers and tour guides, who are discussed in the following section.

Tour(ing) practices and competing claims between guides and local traders

Pisac's growing popularity as a tourist destination, and thus a place of value-creation or extraction, encouraged the migration of artisans and jewellers from other parts of Peru. Interviews disclosed that the arrival of these groups had a major impact on local businesses in general and market traders in particular. Jewellers paid sales commissions to guides who orchestrated stopovers in Pisac. Guides consequently shaped tourists' engagement with place, directing them to specific shops, telling visitors that they sold higher quality goods at lower prices. This caused tensions among market traders, jewellers and other local businesses who refused to offer commissions to guides. Moreover, guides were usually Mestizo non-Pisac natives and seen as outsiders imposing an externally developed system of rules that contested the value of place. The ability to direct tourism profits towards themselves and a select group of local actors shaped how they extracted value from place. Gladys, a young female Mestiza handicraft market–seller, observed:

> *Before it wasn't like that, tourists would come and go as they pleased; tourists had the option to choose to buy from wherever they thought best. Now that's not the case anymore. Now everything is monopolised because he who has the most money can pay the most to the tour guide, he's the one who has the most sales in the day.*

Tour guides may in some cases have relied on commission sales due to poor salaries, and it is important to acknowledge that they also operate in asymmetrical power relations and exploitative systems of value-extraction (Bianchi, 2018). Nevertheless, their participation in the organisational regimes of tour groups could still translate into localised assertions of power for value-creation. Souvenir shop owners and artisans stressed that guides made excessive demands, asking for commissions and money for meals. A government official working for DIRCETUR (Regional Ministry of Tourism, Cusco Region) raised similar concerns over the escalating incentives being offered to guides: "…commissions, which I would almost call bribes, these initially ranged between 10 or 20% and now have reached 30 or 40% and even more…these things are alarming."

Importantly, Santiago, a Mestizo artisan, highlighted the dangers of refusing to comply with guides' demands:

If you don't pay them, they won't bring you any tourists. ... If you start trying to disagree with them, you complain about something, the next day you won't see them. You don't see them or their tourist groups, and it's not only the guide that leaves, he takes with him his group of friends and other colleagues who are also guides.

Santiago's account denotes how power was enacted through potentially disruptive social capital (Bourdieu, 1986), which shaped tourists' interactions with place, and thus the ability of local stakeholders to extract value from it. Sellers did not agree with the practice of commission sales, but participated in this system out of fear of reprisals from guides, who could effectively reduce their visibility in place.

Resident traders further stressed how time and information became resource bases to exercise power in (relation to) place. Aside from discouraging tourists to buy souvenirs from particular vendors, most guides restricted the time tourists spent in Pisac, limiting their ability to explore place, including the handicraft market or other businesses. This was also evidenced through observation and by informants, as Gladys noted:

Then the guide tells [tourists] they only have half an hour and during that time he tries to make them stay in that jewellery store, they leave the store and then the guide says half an hour has already gone by… so, they don't visit the rest of the town.

Although this was partly related to the nature of tour groups, which offer tourists short stops in multiple destinations, observations revealed that guides constantly varied the time tour groups spent in Pisac. As Santiago noted, guides sometimes avoided stops in Pisac altogether if they had disagreements with local traders. Other interviewees also mentioned that guides sometimes took tourists directly to archaeological ruins surrounding Pisac, passing through without stopping. This eventually led to market traders staging protests, blocking the entrance of tour buses to Pisac by standing in front of the main entrance bridge.

In some instances, guides used time as a resource base for exercising power, limiting or blocking access to place and consequently to encounters between tourists and native traders, according to fluctuations in relations with traders. Guides also used their position of authority and 'expertise' to influence tourists' perceptions of and thus experiences in place. Drawing on Raven's (1993) understanding of *capacities*, guides harnessed their legitimised status as local experts and access to privileged information about toured groups' expectations (of 'authentic', value-for-money souvenirs) and potential fears (of getting a 'bad deal'), to discourage tourists from visiting the plaza. As Avelino and Rotmans (2011) noted, social actors can use different resources and capacities to either restrict or enable one another. In Pisac, guides' expert power was mobilised to shape tourists' socio-temporal engagement with place.

Tactically governing tourists' encounters with place may be particularly effective in the context of Peru, where most tourists visit rural areas as part of organised tour groups

(McGrath, 2007). Most visitors to Pisac are foreigners, unfamiliar with the culture and non-Spanish speakers, which makes them heavily reliant on tour guides to act as mediators between themselves and the host destination. As McGrath (2007) pointed out, the greater the sociocultural and economic differences between hosts and tourists, the more salient the need for guides to bridge these two worlds. A market seller, Isabel, observed that guides in Pisac were able to shape tourists' engagement with place by defining and legitimising what was authentic and worthwhile:

> *Anybody today can come and open a store on top of a hill and the guide, because he's getting paid, will take tourists to the top of the hill…because it's understood they have hired a professional person who is guiding them to the places they really have to visit, right? They blindly believe the guide…because supposedly he knows.*

The experience of those travelling in organised groups was potentially highly regulated and constrained by the external surveillance of guides who instructed tourists beforehand on what souvenirs to buy and at what price, which led to an increasing number of tourists bargaining for discounts. Observations of interactions between guides, tourists and traders revealed that guides appeared to prime tourists to negate the risks of being 'ripped off'. Such tactics were also noted by two female artisans who owned small souvenir shops.

> *So, the tourist will buy it because the guide says, "this is good" (referring to price) but he can also say "this is not good" when in reality it's the same product they will find in a commission-based store. … We have tried to reason with guides but they don't understand, they say to us "tourists are free to visit any shops they want" but that is not true, tourists obey the guide and if they tell them not to buy from us, they won't.* (Doris and Luisa, talking over one another)

Arguably, guides re-territorialised the plaza through similar practices as market sellers: shaping the spatial-temporal conditions of host-guest encounters by deploying subtle tactics of micro-aggression to reconstruct meanings and relations. Guides redefined the space of the plaza, transforming it from a heterogeneous tourist space, where local actors and tourists interacted, to an enclavic place with rules of behaviour and a sense of risk-based social divisions.

Tourism governance and competing claims between authorities and local stakeholders

Interviews with market sellers and other Pisac tourism stakeholders revealed that municipal authorities had been promising the construction of a new market for several years, which had the potential to substantially disrupt how value could be extracted from place. However, to date, they had been unable or unwilling to deliver on their promise. Interviews highlighted that most traders were willing to vacate the plaza but had lost trust in the district municipal council's longstanding promise of a new place of potential value-

creation. Council officials appeared to keep market sellers in a perpetual state of confusion over negotiations with government institutions in charge of construction permits, providing evasive answers to enquiries about progress. These views were exemplified by Juana, a Mestiza market trader who, when asked why the new market had not been built, explained:

> *The ex-mayor brought a piece of land. ... The thing is the Ministry of Agriculture is not allowing any construction in that piece of land; they are not giving permission to build houses or a market of any kind. ... Aside from that, now the Ministry of Culture and the INC (National Institute for Culture) are also not giving the green light because there are Inca ruins over there.*

Analogous views were expressed by Gladys, a Mestiza market seller, who believed that the Municipality made assurances to build a new market simply to win votes but did not take their task seriously. Place was thus mobilized as a political resource to exercise power. Moreover, municipal actors could extract political value from place, whilst shifting responsibility to external actors for the failure to actually transform place:

> *In regard to the Municipality, it's our aim to obtain this permission to build. ... The Ministry of Culture is the entity which has to certify the approval for the construction ... they are debating it in Lima.* (Franciso, Municipal Officer)

Additionally, when asked about tour guide commissions and the impending clearing of the plaza, officers stated that they were currently in talks with representatives from the Regional Ministry of Tourism and artisan associations. They were aiming to end commission-based sales and agree with market sellers to vacate the plaza, thus reclaiming it as a common place of value-creation and potentially widening who could exercise power in extracting value from it. Notwithstanding the Municipality's plans, at the time of writing the handicraft market had not been relocated.

Examining these issues, it became apparent that local residents had little trust in government officials largely due to their inability to bring place-specific policies and plans to fruition. The inaction of municipal authorities and their failure to appropriately govern the tourism sector's use of place was noted during an interview with a DIRCETUR official. When asked about the role of the mayor and municipal authorities in the administration of tourism, he was especially critical of the apparent failure of authorities to sanction those who did not follow legal procedures:

> *We have gone to Pisac to do some checks and we have found a large quantity of establishments that did not even have an operating licence granted by the Municipality. ... Municipal authorities should have been the first ones to find out about this because they are the ones who are there every day. But* we [speaker's emphasis] *had to come and put fines and then these people finally went and got an operating licence.*

The inaction of municipal authorities thus allowed entrepreneurial actors to exercise power over place, including the plaza, and over how they extracted value from it at the expense of others. By failing to take decisive actions against businesses and guides' practices, municipal authorities exercised power over place through non-decision making. The municipal authorities' decisions give credence to Mills's (1956) contention that failure to act and political inactivity may be of greater consequence than the decisions that are carried forward by politicians. Power may be exercised and produce outcomes through inaction, as well as action (Mills, 1956; Lukes, 2005).

Eventually, the inaction of local authorities regarding concerns over guide practices prompted market traders to stage aggressive public demonstrations directed against tours and their access to place. Tactics including throwing stones at tourist buses and blocking the entrance of tour buses to the centre, in a bid to ensure their concerns were not ignored:

> *There's total abandonment from authorities. ... Market sellers are protesting because all of the tourists are coming to this side of town. ... They are not taken to the market by the guides and the market sellers are right to protest in that sense, they want to be heard. ... Authorities could do more to help.* (Alberto, migrant jeweller)

These actions, in turn, angered other local residents, thus further alienating market traders amongst local residents. Maria, a female Mestiza and former artisan in her sixties blamed market traders for displacing tourism away from the Pisac plaza:

> *They stood on the streets, they wouldn't let the buses go through, they started throwing stones at tourist buses. That's very bad! And what did the tourist buses do? What did the guides do? They organised for another market to be opened in Coya* [neighbouring settlement]. *... They harmed all of us.*

Notwithstanding that the violent actions of market traders may have negatively impacted tourism, Alberto (the migrant jeweller) pointed out that this was partly due to traders feeling increasingly frustrated with the municipality's lack of solutions to the actions of guides in relation to 'valued' place-based resources.

Conclusion

Placing the plaza at the centre of its analysis, this paper has examined how power is exercised by diverse actors attempting to create and extract value from place. In this study, the plaza has been understood simultaneously as a distinct empirical context for exploring enactments of power and a contested empirical object entangled in power relations. For multiple stakeholders, the plaza operated as the site in which resources and capacities were mobilised to create new forms of tradeable commodities e.g. spaces for setting up stalls which could be subsequently rented. The plaza was, therefore, the transactional space of valuation and of subsequent value-creation. Place was also the 'valued' object (i.e. the outcome of value-creation practices), enabling different groups

to serve their social, economic and political interests, partly by foregrounding their presence, rendering them visible, whilst obscuring others and restricting access to comparable opportunities.

Moreover, the exercise of power and the ability to assert competing claims over place depended on multiple resources and capacities that diverse stakeholders mobilised in their attempts to define reality for other users, including tourists, competing entrepreneurs and locals for whom 'place' held alternative (symbolic, affective, social and historically defined) value. These included: market traders' ongoing physical occupation of the plaza which, coupled with their social capital, excluded migrants and ethnic minority actors from economic transactions with tourists, who only visited for short periods; Indigenous actors' social capital, particularly in mobilising and visibly contesting the activities of tourism stakeholders in the plaza; tour guides' use of cultural capital in the form of language and knowledge of 'local culture', and their control over tourists' spatial-temporal engagement with the plaza and local entrepreneurs; and, finally, artisans' and traders' willingness and ability to mobilise economic capital, in the form of commissions, which directly incentivised guides to promote certain forms of spatial behaviour among tourists. The study also showed how poor governance and inaction by authorities is entangled in power relations, enabling certain constituencies to assert their influence regarding who and how value is extracted from tourism in relation to place.

Beyond this study, the findings point to broader, transferable themes that help to appreciate multi-layered and multi-directional intersections of power, place and tourism. These are summarised in Figure 5. Evolving tourism practices (e.g. shifts towards superficial place experiences by risk-averse cultural tourists) have the potential to change *what* value can be created or extracted from places because its features are suited to certain types of tourism experiences (e.g. revenue efficient, itinerary-driven excursions). Vice versa, place and its qualities (e.g. a remote, spatially-confined but culturally rich location) can shape the forms that tourism practices take (e.g. restricted sightseeing and shopping activities). More importantly, the changing properties of tourism practice and place shape *what* resources are created (e.g. social, economic, cultural or political capital), *who* can exercise power to extract value (e.g. traders, guides, politicians) and *how* (e.g. visibility, micro-aggression, expert knowledge or disruptive social capital). These abstracted themes can act as a sensitising framework for research examining how actors mobilise resources in exercising power to create or extract value from tourism and place.
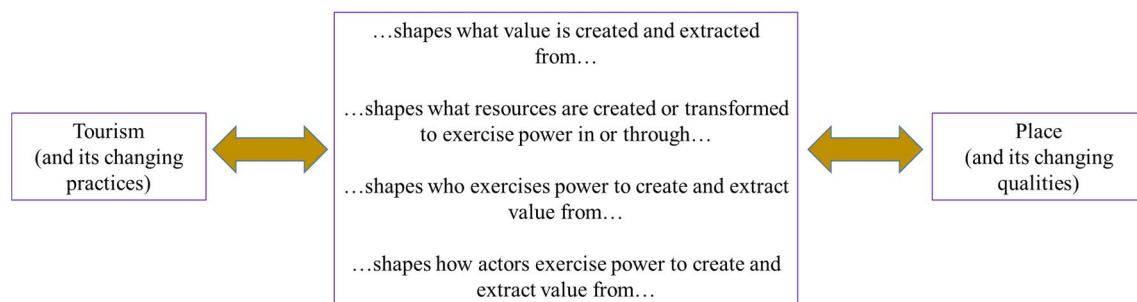

Figure 5. Multidirectional intersections of power place and tourism

Within conflicts over place-based value-creation, different actors, including members of the local community, may enact or resist competing assertions of power by accessing and utilising resources and capacities in, through and over place. Consequently, future research should firstly, problematize the notion of homogeneity among local stakeholders in destinations and acknowledge how disparate factions compete to pursue their interests; and secondly, recognise the agency of such competing groups and actors, examining the resources and tactics they use. In doing so, future research can examine how place-specific resources such as the plaza are entangled in various assertions of power.

It is important to acknowledge that the omission of guides' accounts regarding the practices mentioned in this article represents a limitation of the study. Guides' work-related time constraints and their reticence to talk about the topics under investigation made it difficult to access their perspectives. The main researcher was able to gain valuable insights into their practices through direct observations, which were compared and contrasted with the accounts of diverse local actors. However, future studies in different contexts that facilitate access can try to examine tour guides' practices and narratives in the analysis of place-centric negotiations of power in host destinations.

Previous research has shown that various local stakeholders and tourists interact and compete for shared spatial resources (Jover & Díaz-Parra, 2020). Future studies could also account for tourists' perceptions of shared resources, such as the plaza, examining their experiences of place alongside their understanding of and attitudes towards how their touristic practices are entangled in local power relationships and competing claims over place.

Finally, the data helped to identify how everyday performative routines re-territorialised places to serve the interests of particular actors and groups. Subsequent studies may thus seek to understand how the micro-politics of power embedded in everyday relationships are performed in other places, each with their distinct social dynamics, stakeholder groups and contextually-defined resources and capacities. This study has focused on social relations, but future research could extend this line of enquiry by examining how non-human actors, including the terrain, the physical features of places and material objects in places reconfigure power relationships, amplifying or restricting capacities for different actors.

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