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Published in:
Knowledge Networks and Tourism

Publication date:
2014

Document Version
Accepted author manuscript, peer reviewed version

[Link to publication from Aalborg University](#)

Citation for published version (APA):
Dredge, D. (2014). Tourism-planning network knowledge dynamics. In M. McLeod, & R. Vaughan (Eds.), *Knowledge Networks and Tourism* Routledge. <http://www.tandf.net/books/details/9780415840163/>

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2 Tourism-planning network knowledge dynamics

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Forthcoming in 'Knowledge Networks and Tourism' McLeod, M and Vaughan, R. (Routledge)

INTRODUCTION

The competitive advantage of regions is closely tied to the availability of information, the dynamics of knowledge creation and the capacity of actors and groups within that region to convert knowledge into strategic action (Castells 2005; Gibbons et al 1994; Henriksen & Halkier 2009). This view tends to focus attention on private firms and their capacity to disassemble and reassemble new hybrid knowledge resources that can in turn generate competitive advantage. While this line of research provides useful insights into how firms can build and leverage new knowledge, an important but often overlooked dimension of knowledge dynamics, innovation and competitiveness is that the implementation of actions are often constrained by complex policy environments (OECD 2012). For example, in tourism, tightly bound sector-specific policy networks or silos have frequently been identified as factors that stymie industry innovation or progress towards sustainability (OECD 2010).

The focus of this chapter is to critically explore the characteristics of planning and tourism policy networks to better understand inter-sectoral knowledge dynamics. Improved understandings of policy network knowledge dynamics will highlight the opportunities and limitations of current dialogic practices, uncover entrenched and bounded ways of thinking and can assist reflexive learning. An analytic auto-ethnographic case study of the development of *Next Generation Tourism Planning: A Guide for Planners in Queensland* (Queensland Government 2013), a policy initiative that sought to 'increase awareness and

understanding of tourism, sustainable tourism development and tourism planning' amongst land use planners, is used to explore knowledge dynamics spanning tourism and planning policy sectors.

NETWORKS AND KNOWLEDGE DYNAMICS

Social network analysis focuses on analyzing actors and their network relations to reveal aspects such as the strength of relationships, actors' centrality within a network and the characteristics of cliques (Borgatti, Mehra, Brass, & Labianca, 2009; Scott & Carrington, 2011). Traditional quantitative approaches to social network research have tended to either collect egocentric data from respondents who give information about their relationships from which understandings of personal networks are generated, or adopt a whole network approach that seeks to quantify relationships between actors in a defined group or network. As a result, understandings of networks are usually fixed in space and time, and they are actor-centred or network centred (Hollstein 2011). Recent developments associated with Actor Network Theory (ANT) acknowledge the dynamics and fluidity associated with networks, the limitations of actor-centric and whole network approaches, and the need to move beyond rigid dimensions (e.g. strong-weak ties, centrality/non-centrality, inside/outside) towards more fluid understandings of networks that do not privilege particular nodes or network boundaries. Instead, proponents of ANT argued the world is more fluid and permeable and that sociology and anthropology play important roles in understanding flows of information, idea and things across networks that sometimes do not have clear spatial or temporal connections (Callon 1986; Latour 1987, 2005).

It is outside the scope of this chapter to explore the origins, advantages and disadvantages of ANT in any depth, suffice to say that it has been used to understand relationships between scientists, governments, industry, resources and information in order to explain uneven flows

of information and knowledge accumulation, and how and why certain actions are taken (Callon 1986; Latour 1987). In doing so, this line of research rejects the notion that only actors have the agency to transmit knowledge or that knowledge transfer, creation and adoption are linear and traceable. Instead, protagonists assert that social, conceptual, technical, conceptual and textual inputs are puzzled together and transformed into knowledge and that objects (e.g. plans, policies) and ideas also have agency in this ‘engineering process’ (Crawford, 2005). Drawing from Foucault, knowledge is partial, discontinuous and subject to ‘manifold relations of power which permeate, characterize and constitute the social body’ (Foucault 1980:93). Technologists, or in this case, policy-actors, have the capacity to construct a world, create a truth, and in doing so, shape a history of the issue and its impact (Callon 1986; Latour 2005). These embedded ways of thinking build up over time to create communities of practice whose work reinforces their own epistemological assumptions. The key to more responsive and integrated policy is to raise awareness of these cognitive boundaries through communication and knowledge sharing.

To this end, it is important to recognize the existence of different perspectives, the value of different types of knowledge and to understand how different types of knowledge contribute to truth-making and knowing in action (Amin & Roberts 2008). The distinction between tacit and explicit knowledge is widely discussed (c.f. Barnes, Bloor, & Henry 1996; Boheme & Stehr 1986; Calvert, Lewis, & Spindler 2011; Gibbons et al 1994; Lindblom 2000; Nonaka & von Krogh 2009; Tuomi 2005). Explicit knowledge is knowledge that can be expressed and transmitted in words and numbers. Visitation statistics and planning strategies are examples of this type of knowledge. Tacit knowledge is less easy to isolate, existing in the personal qualities, experiences and life worlds of individuals, often emerging from a coalescence of cognitive and technical knowledge. Nonaka and von Krogh (2009) argue that explicit and tacit knowledge exist on a continuum and the relationship between the two is more dynamic than a simple distinction between the two implies. Knowledge is socialized at individual and

collective levels through the communications and actions of individuals and groups operating within and outside formal knowledge sharing arrangements (Vargas-Sanchez & Dredge 2011). These authors draw attention to Collins (1993), who, for example, identifies five different types of knowledge that exist along this continuum:

- *Embrained knowledge* – knowledge based on a synthesis of conceptual skills and cognitive abilities.
- *Embodied knowledge* – knowledge that is performed; it is action oriented, practical and problem solving.
- *Encultured knowledge* – knowledge that is achieved through shared understandings; it is socially constructed and underlies ways of thinking.
- *Embedded knowledge* – knowledge that resides in systematic processes, procedures and routines of how to do something.
- *Encoded knowledge* – knowledge that is transferred through symbols, signs, reports and other formats that reduce and decontextualize information.

The capacity of individuals, organizations and regions to draw from and mobilize these different types of knowledge, to be agile and stay abreast of, if not ahead of, the field, is a key factor in competitiveness. Critical researchers in sociology (e.g. Latour 2005; Law 2004), tourism (e.g. Ren, Pritchard, & Morgan 2010) and evolutionary economics (e.g. Boschma 2007; Strambach 2010; Halkier & Therkelsen 2013) have argued that the (im)mobility and stickiness of ideas, information and network resources can create unequal access to information; and it can promote or inhibit knowledge creation, transfer and adoption. These

researchers draw a link between knowledge dynamics and the capacity of individuals and collectives to think creatively, to reinvent themselves and remain agile and competitive in a rapidly changing, highly mobile world (Castells 2008; Tzortzaki & Mihiotis 2012). As a result, understanding the characteristics of policy networks and how they impact on knowledge creation, transfer and adoption are important in building agile destinations (Dredge, Jenkins, & Whitford 2011; Hjalager 2002, 2010; McLeod, Vaughan, & Edwards 2010).

TOURISM-PLANNING KNOWLEDGE DYNAMICS: A CASE STUDY

Approach

The research adopted an analytical auto-ethnographical approach to explore tourism-planning knowledge dynamics (Anderson 2006), a space that the author has had a long historical association with. This account of knowledge dynamics is therefore underpinned by the author's historical insights into the nature of communications and the way in which distinct discourses of truth have been circulated in both tourism and planning policy networks. Such insights are not forthcoming in contemporary social network analysis, which cannot account for factors including the movement of individuals over time and the subsequent impact on knowledge flows, or the impact of new public management, organizational restructures and shifting political agendas on the accumulation (or diffusion) of knowledge and expertise. This socially constructed understanding of networks and their knowledge dynamics over time is an essential dimension of this research, which influenced the adoption of a grounded theory method. During the period of the case study, data gathering, analysis and theory construction took place concurrently, and there was a disciplined search of patterns and variations in the data and systematic comparison with theoretical ideas (Bryant & Charmaz 2007; Glaser & Strauss 1967). Traditional grounded theory methodologists assert it is important for the researcher to maintain an open mind with respect to relevant theory and that new theory

emerges from the data (Glaser & Strauss 1967). However, in this case, an open mind did not mean an ‘empty head’. The author’s historical engagement in planning and tourism policy networks provided a repertoire of alternative experiences, examples, theoretical explanations and ideas that provided an orientation to the topic; this background was an asset to the research that allowed explanations to be abductively developed through critical and creative assemblage of data and theory (Reichertz 2007).

This case study commenced with my appointment to an advisory panel set up to provide feedback on the development of a new policy guidance material for tourism development, now known as *Next Generation Tourism Planning* (2013). The Queensland State Government sought to establish a more efficient framework for economic development in the State, and within this tourism was singled out as one of four economic pillars (Queensland Government 2013). The development of the policy guidance material was outsourced by the government and was prepared by an experienced planning firm. Policy officers from the Department of Tourism, Major Events, Small Business and Commonwealth Games managed the project. My engagement with policymakers and the consultants included one half-day workshop, telephone conversations and extensive email exchanges over a period of three months during the course of the policy’s development.

Early in the process, the author became aware that the consultants were drawing from, among other sources, her published academic work. In discussions about how to apply some of this work, the author provided the consultants with further published and unpublished consulting reports and examples of policies and plans that had been developed in at least five other local government areas and two regions to illustrate how the original ideas could be implemented in different contexts. In this process, the author shared codified knowledge (texts and reports); embodied knowledge (via discussions about the author’s action-oriented approach to tourism planning); and encultured knowledge (via discussions about tourism and how it need to be

conceived of differently from a planner's perspective, and what the difficulties are of planning frameworks and processes from a tourism perspective).

Institutional Context

The *Next Generation Tourism Planning* document was an initiative developed out of a change in State government in late 2012 and the incoming government's commitment to tourism as one of the four pillars of the Queensland economy. Agriculture, mining and construction were the other three pillars. The new government was committed to 'creating an environment for new investment, revitalization and redevelopment of the tourism industry' by removing barriers to its development (DTESB 2014).

The tourism industry had, for some time, been lobbying government to address the 'increasingly complex and costly regulatory environment [which was] threatening the viability of existing operations and deterring further investment' (QTIC 2011). The mobility of global capital, especially since the Global Financial Crisis, meant that the tourism sector was competing with other sectors (particularly mining) for capital investment. Moreover, growth in visitor numbers and expenditure in recent years had been relatively slow. These factors had combined to place downward pressure on investment in product development and renewal and lobbying for the removal of development barriers was a key issue for the State's peak industry body, the Queensland Tourism Industry Council.

The institutional arrangements in place divided up responsibility for tourism across a number of agencies including:

- Tourism and Events Queensland which is a special purpose statutory authority with responsibility for the promotion of tourism and the facilitation capacity building in the tourism industry;

- The Department of Tourism, Major Events, Small Business and Commonwealth Games whose responsibility is (amongst other things) to promote a whole-of-government approach to tourism by undertaking policy development and co-ordination activities;
- Other State government departments including planning and infrastructure, parks and wildlife, emergency services that are indirectly implicated in tourism;
- Local government whose responsibility it is to undertake a range of planning, management and regulatory activities that directly or indirectly affect tourism.

Despite the first two agencies listed above having responsibility for tourism marketing and helping to create broad policy conditions conducive to tourism development and growth, the last two categories of agencies have most of the regulatory responsibility in terms of how tourism development takes place (Dredge & Jenkins 2003). In essence, local government has delegated responsibility from the State for the development of strategic and regulatory planning policies and it oversees the development approval processes. The State government provides oversight of the development of these policy instruments and a judicial framework should developers seek to appeal decisions. The tension between the promotion of tourism as an economic development tool and the perceived over-regulation by the last two categories of agencies is the critical issue the incoming government was seeking to address in this case.

This tension has been compounded by the fact that both strategic and regulatory components of planning schemes are heavily codified bodies of knowledge. For example, implicitly embedded within these documents is significant historical information about planning as a professional practice (i.e. its historical roots in protecting public interests, planning theories and processes), information about local conditions and what might be acceptable from a local community perspective (usually based on knowledge generated from consultation processes). This knowledge becomes codified in aspirations, objectives and vision statements and in

development codes, policies and regulations. Planning schemes often use heavily technical language that is inaccessible to those outside the profession. Thus, the knowledge contained within these policy instruments are interpreted and given meaning by planning practitioners who bring a range of tacit knowledge from their professional education, organizations and their experience. Evans and Rydin (1997) argue that this process of creating, controlling and institutionalizing a particular area of cognitive and technical knowledge is characteristic of professions such as planning. It produces communities of practice that reinforce a distinctive self-image, a rationale for the ‘credentialization’ of knowledge into a recognized professional qualification, and the emergence of a professional network with clear membership boundaries (Evans & Rydin 1997; Rydin 2007). As will be seen in this case, the characteristics of this professional network gave rise to bounded ways of thinking with impacts on knowledge dynamics.

Researcher Engagement and Positionality

The author’s initial interest in the relationship between tourism and town planning was ignited 20 years ago after having been involved as a planning practitioner in various development applications. Drawing together practical observations and reflections (tacit knowledge) and explicit knowledge contained in urban design and planning texts (e.g. Lynch 1960, 1984), the author had argued that planning schemes could help shape a sense of order; reinforce destination image; allow tourists unfamiliar with place to navigate and feel more comfortable; promote clustering and hence facilitate efficient delivery of services; promote environmental sustainability and reduce conflict between visitors and residents (Dredge & Moore 1992, Dredge 1998). Influenced by planning’s normative tradition, it was argued that:

“For town planners, the opportunity to proactively plan for tourism lies, for the most part, in the development of appropriate forward planning documents-strategic plans,

development control plans, town planning schedules and policies. It is in these documents, particularly in the strategic plan and development control plans that a vision for the most desirable form and extent of tourism development should be set out. Such documents provide the basis for day-to-day decision making...” (Dredge & Moore 1992: 20-21)

Some 10 practitioner years later the opportunity again presented itself to explore these ideas in another academic book chapter (Dredge & Humphreys 2003). These early publications were attempts to crystallize and codify the author’s embrained and embodied knowledge developed in practice from preparing and maneuvering complex development applications through multi-agency approval processes. The author had seen developers go into bankruptcy as a result of protracted development approval processes and had seen approvals given far too freely only to see developments struggle once they came on line. Sometimes the reasons were obvious: they were isolated from established tourism services and transport networks or they were inconsistent with local place qualities. The planning system seemed quite inadequate in dealing with the unique characteristics of tourism, a sentiment also conveyed at the time by planning academic, Michael Fagence:

“An inescapable conclusion to be drawn from any examination of tourism development is that land use planning systems, and the statutory frameworks are designed to cope best with the conventional land uses such as residential, retail/commercial and industrial, rather than with the peculiarities of tourism phenomena which may be sites, facilities or may be as intangible as environmental and aesthetic circumstances (views, vistas, multiple-use forests and so on)” (Fagence 1987 in McGuire 2013: 10).

The opportunity to explore the link between tourism and planning resurfaced in 2013 when the author was contacted to provide feedback on the development of the State Government's tourism policy. As explained, the development of the policy materials was in response to the newly elected government's desire to streamline and reduce the complexity of the regulatory environment for tourism. *The Next Generation Tourism Planning* guideline aimed at assisting "planners when writing plans or considering tourism proposals... to increase awareness and understanding of tourism... and to explain tourism planning practice in Queensland and how it can be used to assist local government planning" (Queensland Government 2013: 2).

The consultants indicated that they had found an early paper by the author on the Internet and had purchased a more recent book (Dredge & Jenkins 2011: *Stories of Practice; Tourism Planning and Policy*), indicating that the codified academic knowledge that the author and other academics had produced was being used as input. In the process of developing the policy, the consultants and government actors also undertook site visits and conducted interviews with developers and operators to understand their personal stories about how planning regulations had impacted their development and operations. In this process informal tacit knowledge and insights from developers and operators were collected as stories of practice. They were written up, or codified in the guidelines, but verbal presentation of these cases in the workshop during the development of the guidance material suggest that deeply personal and reflexive learning took place which is not evident from the written text. Through these interviews the consultants also learned that the stress associated with complex planning applications had personal and financial implications for small and medium sized operators since this group lacked both the financial buffer to cover delays in approvals, and the expertise to navigate complex requirements. Through this process the planners' own embedded perspectives, self-image and understandings about the impacts of planning regulation were challenged. They began to understand that planning regulation had a profound impact on the way tourist landscapes develop physically, on issues of

competitiveness and innovation, but also on the lives of tourism operators, who were not all big businesses, as they had previously assumed.

The Next Generation Tourism guideline articulated a long-term sustainable approach for integrating tourism into land use planning and was based on the idea that planning schemes can provide a supportive statutory context for tourism development via two key mechanisms:

- The strategic component of a planning scheme articulates “the ‘tourism story’ or sets a tourism vision for the LGA and will be unique to the qualities, strengths and aspirations for each region and local government area” (Queensland Government, 2013: 54). In doing so, it outlines the most appropriate style and scale of tourism for an area, and it can recognize, protect and enhance the character and resources of an area on which tourism depends.
- The regulatory components of a planning scheme (e.g. zones, precincts, development criteria, incentives, etc.) can be used to shape the type, scale and extent of tourism development in certain locations, including encouraging the clustering and co-location of compatible tourism activities.

The consulting team was provided with various consultant reports by the author that illustrated how tourism had been integrated into the strategic component of planning schemes, and how collaboration could be achieved across tourism and planning networks. This published and unpublished work was part of a large pool of academic and practitioner knowledge and reports that were collected. Some of the work provided was in confidence, so the consultant confirmed that they would use the information but de-identify it:

There is some excellent material in the _____ and _____ studies that I would really like to use to inform some of the model scheme provisions for the guideline–

particularly strategic framework provisions... My approach to the drafting of the model scheme provisions is not to identify specific local government areas or place names... the intent being to keep them generic so Councils can build upon them and make them locally relevant for their planning schemes. I thought this would be a good opportunity to develop some generic example scheme provisions based on some real life tourism studies, but not giving the details away (Pers com. email 28.6.2013)

This practice illustrates a process whereby consultants use various types of knowledge and blend them to create new codified knowledge (in this case, generic normative guidelines); it shows not only that there was knowledge diffusion across academic-practice networks but that different types of knowledge were dissected and reassembled, sources became de-identified and assimilated into new codified knowledge, making it impossible to trace the source or flow of ideas. As a result, the genealogy of contributing knowledge is impossible to trace.

DISCUSSION

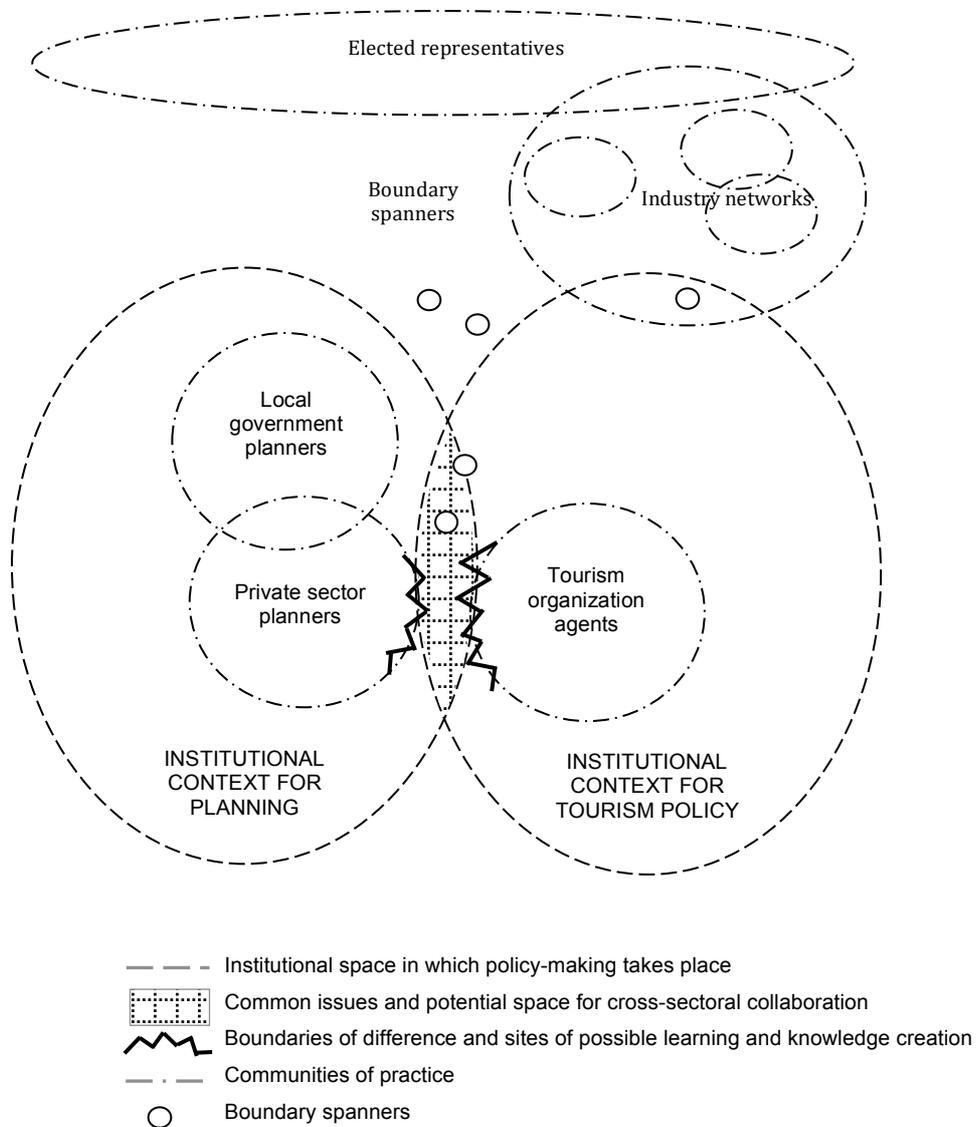


Figure 2.1 Tourism-planning network knowledge spaces

From this auto-ethnographic case study, a conceptual diagram was elaborated (Figure 2.1) which can be read in conjunction with the following discussion of the way in which network characteristics shape knowledge dynamics. The problem with any such diagram is that, as an abstraction, it is unable to show the dynamic movement of actors, ideas and objects over time. Nevertheless, it is a useful visual metaphor that highlights the overlapping nature of the institutional contexts for planning and tourism, and the relationship between various networks of policy agents.

Network Agents

Within this tourism planning policy space, five loosely formed networks of policy agents were identified:

- Tourism agents working within the State's tourism organization whose primary role it is to market and promote tourism to and within the State. Business and specifically marketing is the dominant knowledge domain in this community and their claim to expertise, although there are a small number of boundary spanners whose role is to bring specialist knowledge into the network to help deal with trans-disciplinary policy issues (e.g. ecotourism, destination planning) (Williams 2002).
- Planners were broadly divided into two subgroups – (a) planners working at local government level – primarily involved in regulation and development assessment, and to whom the Next Generation Tourism Planning guidelines were targeted; and (b) those working in the private sector, primarily involved in developing strategic and regulatory policy instruments that have been outsourced from local government or undertaking policy development outsourced from State government. This latter group also undertakes the preparation of planning reports for private developers and industry interests. Planners are a tightly socialized epistemic community; they have professional qualifications, membership to a professional association and a

requirement for professional development underpinning their claim to expertise. In terms of knowledge, this group is heterogeneous due to the variety of sectors they work in, their experiences and expertise, but there is generally very little movement of these agents into the tourism policy sector.

- Tourism policy officers working within the State government whose primary role is to look after tourism interests in other areas of policy. Knowledge of the machinery of government and policymaking is the foundation of their expertise, but the diversity of professional qualifications and experience means that this group is not a closely woven epistemic community.
- Industry operators include a diverse range of small, medium and large operators. These agents form a loose community of interest, but because of the geographical distribution, type of operation, different levels of access and expertise and the different challenges they face, they exist in relatively dispersed networks and share very little in common apart from the broad objective of tourism growth. There are a number of place-based regional organizations and a peak industry group, the Queensland Tourism Industry Council, representing their collective interests in policy discussions.
- Elected representatives who have significant power to determine agendas, prioritize issues and make policies. These agents are generally connected into diverse networks characterized by complex power relations. In this case, a change to a conservative-led State government with a strong economic development agenda triggered the development of the Next Generation Tourism Planning guidance material.

In addition, there were also a number of boundary spanners (Williams 2002). The author had held positions as a tourism policy researcher, a practicing planner, a tourism educator and a planning educator giving her transdisciplinary insights and cognitive skills to engage in different networks and institutional contexts. Her function in this case was as a boundary

spanner, a role that was also held by another of the advisory panel from the tourism organisation who was also a planner. The remainder of the advisory panel represented their tourism network interests.

In this case study, planners and tourism agents formed communities of practice. According to Wegner (2000), Communities of Practice (CoP) are networks of actors that share common knowledge and shared practices (e.g. tourism facilitators in the tourism organization and planners); they shape social learning by constituting what competence is in their community; they create a sense of belonging which in turn influences how knowledge is transferred and who it is shared with. Planners and tourism agents working within the state tourism organization CoP were characterised by distinct epistemic views and claims to expertise (Haas 1992). Drawing from Foucault's (1980) view, these groups use power/knowledge relations to create an instrumental form of knowledge that works to maintain their dominance over particular policy areas or way of doing something. In this case study, the change in government marked a pivotal change in the situated practices of the planning community providing the context for the development of the guidelines:

“When times are good and planning is concerned with managing rampant urban or industrial growth, it's easy to forget about long term economic planning. To state the obvious; that's not the situation now... It is no surprise that the 'business-friendly' side of politics [i.e. the incoming government] have an economic development focus, on this occasion with a declared emphasis on mining, agriculture, tourism and construction. It was only a matter of time before our planning framework was adjusted to support this agenda” (McKeown 2013:2).

The mobility of network agents was also a factor that influenced knowledge dynamics. Contrasting with an earlier study by Dredge (2006), where it was found that networks of

actors move in and out of the policy space depending upon the issue attention cycle, in this case study agent(s) in the planning and tourism CoP showed little mobility over time. Instead, ideas and information were mobile and connections were made between CoP as a result of political directives. For example, over time, the community of planners had stayed within (and relevant to) the tourism policy space but the boundaries of their epistemic network were impermeable to the idea that tourism was more than just a land use issue. It was the persistence of the issue and the political power of the incoming government that led to mobility of the idea that tourism was more than land use and that the economic sustainability of regions was also an issue for planning. In other words, the planners themselves were not mobile within other policy spaces, it was political power that mobilized the idea.

In this case study, both planning and tourism CoP had been busy reproducing their own discourses of truth. Tourism has been conceptualized for the most part as an industry and government responses have been to work with industry to co-produce policy directions that focus almost exclusively on boosting tourism growth and visitation (Dredge 2012). Historically, planning practice has been concerned with managing the impacts of growth, attending to industry policy failures such as environmental degradation and development conflicts. Its professional discourse of truth is grounded in protecting public interests and community well-being. Tourism, as an industry, has been positioned as oppositional to planners' core concerns in protecting public interests and managing the impacts (conceived mostly in negative terms) of development. The highly specialized language and situated practices that characterize planning exacerbated lack of understanding between planners and tourism agents (Flyvbjerg 1994).

Boundaries and bounded thinking

Understanding generated from the operation of planning and tourism CoP draws attention to the boundaries of difference between networks and their encultured ways of framing policy problems. Wenger (2000) draws attention to the role of boundaries in understanding knowledge dynamics and innovation. In this case study, three sets of factors bounded the way networks operated and how agents communicated and shared knowledge.

First, boundaries of planning and tourism networks were shaped by legislation, embedded practice and encultured knowledge that define roles and responsibilities. These institutional frameworks define what tasks and activities must be undertaken in both planning and tourism sectors; they shape the dominant type of professional knowledge present in the network and therefore value some types of knowledge more than others; and they give rise to very specific forms of ‘knowing in action’ or situated forms of social practice (Amin & Roberts 2008). For example, the rationale for planning is to protect public interests, which is historically linked to public health and welfare reforms in Britain in the 19th century. Whilst planning practice has become quite complex and multifaceted over the course of the 20th century, these historical values permeate planning education and the institutional frameworks in which planners operate. As a result, tourism development applications are reduced to a number of co-located land uses — residential, commercial, parks and so on — and assessment is framed as a change of land use. Thus, addressing issues such as enhancing the image and attractiveness of a destination by clustering tourism activities, promoting development that enhances tourism experiences, and building synergies between tourism and other land uses are beyond the scope of development assessment processes.

Second, networks were bounded by cognitive differences. The sociology of education literature argues that in most disciplines and fields of study there are ‘conceptual gateways’ or

‘portals’, and transcending these to reach new ‘liminalities’ leads to previously inaccessible way of thinking (Meyer & Land 2003). Learners, in this case planners and tourism network agents, need to pass through these conceptual gateways or thresholds in order to be able to transform their thinking, see other perspectives and to move beyond the ‘stuck’ places of their own understandings (Meyer & Land 2003). In this case study, the Next Generation Tourism Planning guidance material transcended previous framings of tourism, and opened up liminal spaces of understanding about tourism:

“Local planning has arguably the most influential role to play, particularly through drafting of planning schemes. Long term visions and goals determined by the strategic framework, as well as the intent and criteria for development within each zone, shape the types, scale and extent of tourism development possible within a local government area” (Queensland Government 2013: 24).

The similarity between this and the 1992 statement by this author (see above) illustrates that the idea is not necessarily new and raises questions about why such an approach had taken so long to permeate the different CoP. This can be partially explained by the cognitive boundaries of planning and tourism CoP which are reinforced by the limited availability of boundary spanning books, texts and papers and lack of boundary spanning agents. The impact of successive reform processes had also turned planners thinking inwards upon planning structures and processes limiting cross-sectoral engagement. Other external factors were also at play, including the decline in tourism growth during the 2000s resulting in less tourism related developments and fewer opportunities to engage with these ideas.

Third, the pragmatic boundaries that are drawn around tourism and planning practice also shape knowledge dynamics. This case illustrates that neither tourism nor planning exist in silos and neither is unaffected by other policy areas. However, for pragmatic reasons such as

funding, time limitations and resource availability, spatial, temporal and sectoral boundaries are drawn around policy-making activities that limit knowledge creation, transfer and adoption. In this case, pragmatic limitations were largely shaped by the consultants' contract but they were also able to address this by tapping into the various types of knowledge existing within the advisory panel.

Network resources

Researchers interested in knowledge management that enhances competitiveness and innovation have drawn attention to the need to strategically manage network resources (Gulati 1999). In this view, new network resources, such as new competencies and expertise, result from informational advantages obtained from networks that channel valuable information. According to Gulati (1999) organizations can be subject to path dependencies as a result of historical processes of knowledge formation, but new inter-organizational capacities can accrue where inter-organizational alliances prompt new ways of understanding a problem and new approaches to its solution. While this thinking is specifically applied in the management of firms, application of these ideas can also be made in the case of 'wicked policy problems' (Rittel and Webber 1973) such as tourism.

In this case study, new public management over the last 20 years has included widespread practice of outsourcing to many government activities such as planning and policy making and planning consultants and consulting firms are now important repositories of information in the knowledge economy. Where once planning schemes and policy directions were developed by public officials, now the development of policies and planning schemes is mostly outsourced to consultants. In this way, knowledge has become privatized, and the successful tendering of a consulting project becomes the trigger to release the embodied knowledge of consultants and their networks of peripheral boundary spanning experts. In this

case study, the advisory panel comprised experts from the peak industry group (QTIC), government, the tourism organization, and the academic community who were able to contribute diverse types of knowledge. These experts were boundary spanners, and their role was to share knowledge and perspectives from their own sectors and to build a shared direction for the development of the policy guidance material contained in the *Next Generation Tourism Planning* guidance material. Importantly, these individuals also provided a level of credibility to the overall project.

The idea that new network resources in the form of knowledge, competencies and expertise may have been developed in this process of developing the guidance material is a moot point. On one hand, the process of knowledge sharing and collaboration contributed to the accumulation of embodied knowledge in the consultants and the advisory panel. However, it is a matter for future research to determine whether this embodied knowledge and the codified knowledge in the *Next Generation Tourism Planning* guidance material will flow beyond these individual agents to change the practices of local government planners and reduce tensions between planning regulation and tourism development. On the other hand, several planners involved in the process indicated that the experience had challenged their understanding of tourism; they had moved beyond a previous threshold of understanding to see that tourism is not simply a land use and dealing with tourism differently could deliver on planning objectives such as sustainability and community resilience.

CONCLUSIONS

This chapter has sought to identify and explore how the characteristics of tourism policy networks influence knowledge dynamics. The chapter adopted a case study approach examining the development of the *Next Generation Tourism Planning* policy guidance material which was aimed at increasing awareness and understanding of tourism, sustainable tourism development and tourism planning amongst planning practitioners. The auto-

ethnographic research approach was influenced by actor network theory, and its focus on understanding how knowledge is created, interpreted, fused, fractured, hybridized and reassembled in dynamic processes of knowledge creation, transfer and adoption. While the case study revealed deep nuanced insights into the way in which planning and policy networks shape knowledge dynamics, five key observations are highlighted that may be broadly relevant beyond this case and useful in developing strategies to facilitate knowledge flows across policy sectors.

First, the case has illustrated that knowledge is partial and discontinuous, and knowledge dynamics are subject to power relations. These power relations can be obvious, such as a directive from political leaders, however they can also be embedded and indirect such as encultured ways of approaching problems embedded through professional education and belonging to socially regulated CoP. Critical attention to knowledge/power relations, especially in socially regulated professional CoP is essential in attempts to facilitate cross-sectoral knowledge creation, transfer and adoption.

Second, in this case study, CoP have shaped historical discourses of truth in both planning and tourism networks. Planners have tended to reduce tourism to a set of land uses and approach tourism development as if were contrary to the public interest. The ‘truth about tourism’ for planning network agents is that it is a set of land uses and its impacts have to be regulated in order to protect public interests. Alternatively, network actors from the State tourism organisation tended to treat tourism as a business and saw planning regulation as an impediment to economic development, which was, in their view, in the public interest. The ‘truth about tourism’ for these actors is that tourism is a significant component of the economy, generating jobs and investment, and that planning was hindering its efficient and timely development. Understanding the truth discourses characterizing different networks is

essential in transcending thresholds of understanding and reaching new liminal understandings.

Third, this case has demonstrated that knowledge is not a discrete object that can be traced from agent to agent, nor can the transfer of knowledge be always attributed to communication between human actors. Knowledge can lie dormant and resurface at a later stage, triggered by contextual factors such as a political directive; objects such as historical documents, records or past research papers; a shift in power relations; or the activities of boundaries spanning knowledge brokers. This finding suggests that social network analysis that assumes knowledge is transferred in relational ties between agents is inadequate in revealing the social complexity of knowledge dynamics over time and across discontinuous space.

Fourth, this case illustrates that different types of knowledge exist within the policy space in individuals, in CoP and in objects. These different types of knowledge are socialized into different CoP, given meaning and reassembled in dynamic processes of policy solution building. This puzzling together of knowledge has important implications for policy practitioners. As complex policy problems requiring cross-sectoral solutions become increasingly common, the need for boundary spanning knowledge experts with the cognitive and reflexive capacities to appreciate different truths and harness different types of knowledge will increase.

Finally, it is also important to note the impact of broader trends in the policy arena with respect to the outsourcing of policy functions of government and the increasing accumulation of knowledge in the consulting community. From a neoliberal perspective, this privatization of knowledge may have some cost advantages to government, however consultants become the repositories of knowledge and the release of this knowledge is only through further

contracting work. The impact of this trend on knowledge dynamics and implications for policy innovation is certainly worthy of further investigation.

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