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# 1. Introduction

It is widely accepted that resource use is exceeding the planet's replacement capacity 1 2 (Melkert & Vos, 2008; WHO, 2013) with anthropogenic, global environmental change 3 problems threatening human needs. Associated, complex social-environmental issues have, in many cases, been classified as 'wicked problems' following Rittel and Webber (1973). 4 5 This term denotes problems for which it is impossible to define optimal solutions because 6 of both uncertainty about future environmental conditions and intractable differences in 7 social values (Shindler & Cramer, 1999). Environmental, wicked problems are particularly 8 challenging for policy makers. Policy initiatives aiming to address complex social-9 environmental issues are perennially difficult to implement because of a host of 10 circumstances including when associated knowledge bases are divergent and incomplete, when short-term interests conflict with long-term benefits, and when ambiguous boundaries 11 12 prevent universally agreed problem formulation or assignation of responsibilities for 13 resource allocation (Head, 2014). 14 This paper re-evaluates what makes problems wicked, reflecting upon the nature of the 15 'untameable beast' to which wicked problems have been likened (Xiang, 2013, see also 16 Churchman, 1967) and assesses the theoretical and pragmatic approaches that have been 17 advanced to 'tame the beast' through a literature review. We begin by revisiting Rittel and 18 Webber's (1973) despondent analysis in which they set out a series of insoluble conundrums for would-be problem solvers. We see despondency in the superlative 19 negativity of the language repeated throughout the seminal article: wicked problems are not 20 21 merely difficult to manage but "incorrigible" (Rittel and Webber, 1973). We then move on to critique the discourse that has emerged which promotes more optimistic strategies to 22

23	tackle wicked problems (for example, ASPC, 2007; Brown et al., 2010; Termeer et al.,
24	2013) and qualitatively review the presence of corresponding strategic initiatives in actual
25	practices of environmental problem management and the surrounding policy discourse in
26	Scotland. Specifically, we address the following research questions:
27	What strategies to tackle wicked environmental problems are prominent in the
28	literature and to what extent do they address or provide pathways for tackling the
29	defining characteristics of wicked problems?
30	How are these strategies, suggested by the literature, reflected in examples of
31	practice in Scotland?
32	Our analysis seeks out emergent themes in the literature on wicked environmental problems
33	to help us to understand how far both theory and practice have come since the original
34	problem formulation by Rittel and Webber (1973) and how this has percolated, implicitly
35	or explicitly in the policy discourse, using the Scottish example. In Scotland, policy is
36	responding to address wicked environmental problems with a range of instruments
37	including legislation, strategies, programmes and frameworks, and in some cases
38	implementing European directives (e.g. The Water Framework Directive). Encouragement
39	for bottom-up individual or community led approaches and the use of market mechanisms
40	is also present in the Scottish policy discourse. Given this diversity of policy initiatives and
41	with respect to wider interest in all aspects of environmental governance there is a pressing
42	need to leave no stone unturned in exploring the available methods for understanding and
43	responding to wicked environmental problems.

# 2. Methodology

44 To address our research questions, the paper conducts a three-step analysis. First, based on Rittel and Webber's (1973) original representation and subsequent formulations (for 45 example, Conklin, 2003; Horn & Weber, 2007; Levin et al., 2009), we present a 46 47 consolidated set of characteristics of wicked problems (see Table 1). Second, we map 'strategies to tackle wicked problems' proposed in the literature onto the particular 48 elements of wicked problems which each strategy claims to tackle, grouping them 49 thematically. Third, we search for evidence that the grouped strategies are reflected in 50 Scottish policy responses to four wicked environmental problems, namely: securing the 51 52 sustainability and resilience of landscape and land-use systems through spatial planning; 53 addressing population health through the control of livestock diseases; mitigating climate change through woodland planting; and mitigating rural diffuse pollution in freshwater 54 55 systems.

56

# 2.1. Characterizing wicked problems

57 Table 1 is a novel reformulation of wicked problem characteristics, starting from Rittel and 58 Webber's 1973 article, in which they detailed ten defining characteristics, and developed by collapsing and condensing ten into six descriptive categories. We aim to comprehensively 59 60 but more concisely capture the original ideas augmented with some of our own insights 61 informed by other literature in the field. Our categories are: 1. Indefinable; 2. Ambiguously 62 bounded; 3. Temporally exacting; 4. Repercussive; 5. Doubly hermeneutic; and 6. Morally consequential. The objective was to develop an instrument that eliminated repetition in the 63 original yet remained true to Rittel and Webber's conceptual construct, and furthermore 64 65 worked on a pragmatic level within the scope of this paper. In doing so, we acknowledge 66 Conklin (2005) who presents a different, condensed set of defining characteristics.

67

# 2.2. Identifying and mapping strategies from the literature

The second step of the analysis maps various proposed strategies to tackle wicked problems 68 69 onto the six defining categories (Table 1). The objective is to identify the specific 70 characteristic of wickedness purportedly being tackled. Strategies were identified using the 71 ScienceDirect and Google Scholar search engines. The titles of articles and reports 72 identified through keyword searching were reviewed, and articles best matching the search criteria were studied in greater detail. Reference lists from reviewed articles were scanned 73 for other relevant articles. Material was chosen at first for a good match with the 'wicked 74 75 environmental problem' topic, but later, as strategies began to be repeated with only minor 76 variations, we purposely searched for more novel strategies. We stopped searching the 77 literature following the principle of theoretical saturation, that is; no new concepts were emerging regarding the development of our categorization thereby demonstrating that our 78 79 overall structure had sufficient variation to enable categorization of all new proposals 80 appearing in the literature; and we had become reasonably confident that relationships 81 among categories were well established and validated, and that further discoveries would 82 add little to the model (Glaser & Strauss, 1967, pp.61-62, 11-112). A caveat to the search 83 is however, that while based on an extensive review of the literature, our evaluation is not 84 an inventory of all published papers on the topic of wicked problems, but rather the result 85 of a systematic exercise to identify strategies to tackle wicked environmental problems in 86 the literature.

#### **INSTERT TABLE 1 AROUND HERE**

Mapping the strategies to the six defining characteristics was accomplished qualitatively 88 89 through an 'analytical matrix' in which we plotted how each identified tackling strategy 90 might best correspond to a specific wicked characteristic. This was sometimes 91 straightforward where, as in many cases, there were explicit claims attached to the 92 strategies. At other times the process of drawing linkages was more interpretive. A qualitative, thematic analysis drawing on aspects of Grounded Theory (Corbin & Strauss, 93 2008; Glaser & Strauss, 1967) was applied revealing a number of common themes. Based 94 95 on this analysis we identified a set of mitigation approaches taking the most distinct 96 elements from the matrix. Tackling strategies, as proposed by the literature, were 97 consolidated on the basis of having strong similarity or common authorship. Many studies only allowed a partial mapping because all six characteristics (Table 1) were not 98 99 necessarily tackled thus leaving gaps in the matrix. Furthermore, we recognise that 100 thematically clustering and condensing common ideas inevitably loses some of the nuances 101 in the original papers. However, our review covers a substantial body of literature and what 102 is gained is the degree of generality our research question requires. We also acknowledge 103 applying subjective judgements to the analysis, assigning strategies to categories on the 104 basis of our reading of the text. This is integral to our methodology. We situate this study 105 within the tradition of qualitative research and hold that the derivation of meaning from text 106 as an interpretive practice is a valid exercise for the social sciences.

#### 107 **2.3. Identifying tackling strategies in four case studies**

In the third step we examined four cases of wicked environmental problems found in 108 109 Scotland in the light of the tackling strategies that we have identified: Our four cases were as 110 follows: i) securing the sustainability and resilience of landscape and land-use systems through spatial planning; ii) addressing population health and infectious diseases through 111 112 livestock disease control; iii) climate change mitigation with woodland planting; iv) mitigation of freshwater diffuse pollution. All four cases are high on Scotland's 113 environmental policy agenda and are part of the Scottish Government's Rural Affairs and the 114 Environment Portfolio Strategic Research Programme 2011-2016. 115

#### 3. Findings from the mapping process

116 The decades since Rittel and Webber defined wicked problems have seen a wealth of 117 material proposing strategies to tackle wicked environmental problems (for example, Balint 118 et al., 2011; Brown et al., 2010). Post-normal science (Sardar, 2010; Healy, 2011; Ravetz, 2011) and other mixed methods approaches that incorporate adaptive, participatory and 119 transdisciplinary (APT) elements have been proposed and in various cases applied to 120 121 wicked problems (O'Connor, 1999; Frame & Brown, 2007; Innes & Booher, 2010). For 122 example, there are claims that scenario planning techniques can open up problem solving 123 possibilities through more creative, inclusive and ongoing engagement processes, such as 124 participatory back-casting, in contrast to normal science-based approaches (Carlsson-125 Kanyama et al., 2008).

Figure 1 summarizes the results of the analysis and the options identified in the process ofmapping the tackling strategies against the six defining characteristics.

### 128 [INSERT FIGURE HERE]

Figure 1. The wicked wheel: strategies to tackle wicked problems mapped to consolidatedcharacteristics of wickedness proposed in the searched literature

131

# **3.1. Tackling Indefinability**

132 To address the indefinable nature of wicked problems, a strand of the literature proposes 133 changing the problem solving paradigm or theoretical framework. For example, Batie 134 (2008) suggests that post-normal science and its epistemic assumptions can generate a more 135 powerful conceptual framework to deal with wicked problems. Berkes (2011) proposes framing problems under the socio-ecological systems paradigm. Other authors go further, 136 137 advocating methods beyond rationality (Coyne, 2005) and the use of philosophical inputs enlisting environmental philosophers in collaborative reimagining of engineering and 138 139 technology practices particularly in relation to sustainability problems (Whyte & 140 Thompson, 2012). We label this group of ideas as the theoretical approach (strategy 1a, 141 Fig. 1).

142 Other proposals in the literature are, what can be understood as, pragmatic (strategy 1b,

143 Fig. 1). Two pragmatic sub themes are identified: firstly, those that advance specific

analytical tools or methodological approaches to help cope with uncertainty (for example,

145 modelling tools, scenario planning and non-deterministic participatory approaches (see

146 Batie, 2008; Grootjans in Brown et al., 2010); and secondly, those favouring

147 deconstructing the problem into sub-problems, for example, the translation of complex

148 problems into more recognizable, smaller problems (Shindler & Cramer, 1999); locking the

down the problem definition (Conklin, 2010) 'sticking' to purposes and goals (Lazarus,

150	2009) and assessing competences (Mascarenhas, 2009). These deconstructive approaches
151	are further referred to in our analysis as atomistic. In another approach, Innes and Booher
152	(2010) have developed a framework they call 'collaborative rationality' that we consider
153	both theoretical and pragmatic. Their approach, explicitly based on Habermas' 'Theory of
154	Communicative Rationality' (Habermas, 1984), targets reframing the planning process in
155	the complex contexts in which wicked environmental problems arise. These authors
156	balance more abstract theorizing, for example, 'thinking differently in an age of
157	complexity' with practical application, for example 'stories from the field'.
158	A further theme accepts the indefinability of wicked problems offering no way around
159	(Sharman, 2009; van der Brugge et al., 2005; van Latesteijn & Rabbinge, 2012; Palmer,
160	2012). We denote this as the resignatory approach (strategy 1c, Fig 1). This neologism is
161	not intended to be a pejorative label but one very much in the spirit of Rittel and Webber's
162	delineation of the field. They explicitly state that, without severe qualifications there are no
163	solutions and emphasise that wicked problems are "incorrigible" (Rittel & Webber's 1973).
164	To a large extent their seminal paper implies a resignatory approach from the outset and
165	this important idea will be revisited in the conclusion.
166	It is worth noting at this point, that for the defining characteristic of indefinability, many
167	studies in our review do not propose any kind of solution, but we make a clear distinction
168	between omissions for which any interpretation would be highly speculative and the
169	resignatory approach (strategy 1c, Fig. 1) which explicitly recognises that little can be done

about indefinability and the associated non-generalizability beyond informed acceptance.

## 171 **3.2. Tackling Boundary ambiguity**

Regarding the boundary ambiguity of many wicked problems (2, Table 1), three strategic 172 173 options emerged from the analysis; although it should be noted that they are not necessarily 174 mutually exclusive. Some authors propose an explicitly interdisciplinary or 175 transdisciplinary approach (strategy 2a, Fig 1): the distinction being that an 176 interdisciplinary approach entails integration across different scientific disciplines whereas 177 transdisciplinary entails the incorporation of other strands of knowledge including nonacademic knowledge (Tress et al., 2004). For example, Batie (2008) uses the example of 178 179 ecological economics and sustainability sciences as examples of interdisciplinarity to 180 address wicked problems, whereas Conklin (2010) and Palmer (2012) advocate 181 transdisciplinary approaches in which science is integrated with management. A variation, for Innes and Booher (2010) proposes transdisciplinarity with a particular emphasis on the 182 183 generation of rational knowledge and discussion through permanent collaboration between 184 public and private decision makers, enrolling scientists as informants and facilitators. 185 Systems thinking (strategy 2b, Fig. 1) following Bertalanffy (1968) also features in some approaches such as the one inherent to the socio-ecological framework (Berkes, 2011) and 186 187 underpinning the proposals by Shindler and Cramer (1999), Chapin et al. (2008) and 188 Sharman (2009). Beyond transdisciplinary planning processes, Innes and Booher (2010) propose a complexity-based approach to tackle wicked problems that also appears to favour 189 190 looking at wicked problems through the lens of systems thinking but using softer tools that 191 recognise different world views and local knowledge (see also Checkland, 1981 and 2000). The 'collaborative rationality' proposed by Innes and Booher (2010) draws upon Habermas 192 (1984) and emphasises the importance of levelling power imbalances in order to reach 193

genuine consensus. We distinguish a final approach in response to this defining
characteristic, which we call boundary spanning (strategy 2c, Fig. 1). This refers to
bridging levels or institutional boundaries within organizations and across functional scales
(van der Brugge et al., 2005; van Latesteijn & Rabbinge, 2012; Whyte & Thompson,
2012).

199

# **3.3. Tackling Exacting temporality**

200 Several approaches have also been proposed to deal with the temporally exacting 201 characteristic evident in many wicked environmental problems. Different forms of scenario 202 building, fore-sighting and envisioning (strategy 3a, Fig. 1) are advanced for imagining plausible futures and preparing solutions for them (e.g., Batie, 2008; Whyte & Thompson, 203 204 2012; Griffith in Brown et al., 2010). Not mutually exclusive to envisioning is the 205 opportunity-driven approach (strategy 3b, Fig. 1), by which several authors propose 206 grasping the opportunity or seizing the moment, to establish dynamic and temporary goals 207 and intermediate solutions (Lazarus, 2009; van Latesteijn & Rabbinge, 2012). Mascarenhas 208 (2009) expresses this in terms of concentrating on possibility rather than probability. Following their practice based approach to planning and decision-making, Innes and 209 210 Booher (2010) propose an opportunity-driven approach with (rational) communication 211 taking place amongst different stakeholders as the key tool to adaptive mitigation of wicked 212 problems possessing contingent and ever-changing characteristics. Within the socio-213 ecological framework, resilience (strategy 3c, Fig. 1) is proposed as the key variable that 214 determines the limits and thresholds that ought not to be passed, thus attempting to 215 determine the point at which the system is destabilized to such an extent that alternative, 216 beneficial courses of action are no longer available (Berkes, 2011).

#### 217 **3.4. Tackling Repercursiveness**

218 The most frequently recurring suggestion addressing the repercusiveness characteristic of 219 wicked environmental problems (within the searched literature) is to use different 220 participatory approaches (strategy 4a Fig. 1). This is formulated, variously, as effective 221 engagement (Batie, 2008), integration of knowledges, social learning, accommodation of 222 multiple alternatives, group exploration (Mascarenhas, 2009), dialogue mapping and 223 deliberation (Conklin, 2010). Suggestions also include some more concrete frameworks 224 such as adaptive co-management (Berkes, 2011), and collaborative rationality (Innes & 225 Booher, 2010), both of which explicitly prescribe the necessity to go beyond participation 226 and towards active collaboration throughout the whole planning and decision-making 227 process.

# **3.5. Tackling the Double hermeneutic characteristic**

229 The notion of a double hermeneutic (5, Fig. 1) draws on Giddens' (1987) idea that there is a 230 two-way relationship between reflection upon and participation in the social world. This 231 can be particularly frustrating when tackling wicked environmental problems in which 232 social context and proposed solutions are mutually and constantly reshaping one another. In 233 response, some of the reviewed literature refers to a participatory re-framing of the 234 problem through iterative processes (strategy 5a, Fig. 1) that is, sharing views at different 235 stages of the process to reframe the problem. This includes the proposals by van Bueren et 236 al. (2003), Coyne (2005), Batie (2008), Conklin (2010), Palmer (2012), van Latesteijn and 237 Rabbinge (2012) and Schooneveldt (in Brown et al. (2010)). Alternatively, by placing 238 wicked environmental problems in the context of complexity, Innes and Booher suggest

going beyond participation through iterative dialogues, and promote instead "a democratic
governance for a resilient society" (2010, p. 196). Their idea of resilience envisages public
rationality and adaptiveness spontaneously arising from the communicative processes
taking place within and between local communities, scientists, planners and politicians.
According to these authors, rational processes of communication will allow communities to
constantly adapt to any new circumstances, and be empowered to take full responsibility for
common, agreed actions and decisions.

A second strand aiming to tackle the double hermeneutic problem characteristic can be 246 247 classified as a holistic approach (strategy 5b, Fig. 1) that emphasises connectedness. 248 Mascarenhas (2009) argues for a focus on the relationships between discrete alternatives 249 rather than continuous variables for a better understanding of the systemic nature of wicked problems (see also Sharman (2009)). Waddock (2012) conceives of a holistic shift through 250 251 which agents of change stand outside the detailed interactions at the operational level and 252 take a bigger-picture view with democratically agreed objectives. According to the APSC 253 (2007) thinking inclusively to tackle wicked problems also belongs to the holistic approach.

We also find an atomistic (strategy 5c, Fig 1) proposal in relation to the double hermeneutic in Chapin et al. (2008) who recommend pursuing simple solutions at an appropriate scale (e.g., local or regional), thereby capturing problem definitions at the actor level. This twoway dynamic is treated ambivalently under asymmetric pre-commitment strategy (Lazarus, 2009), an approach which deliberately makes it hard to roll-back laws established to deliver environmental goods, while simultaneously allowing advances that are consistent with the established law's objectives. The pre-commitment rationale recognises that actors, over

time, will sometimes subvert less rigid arrangements in the pursuit of self-interest thereforeit promotes seizing moments of opportunity to pre-empt this.

263

# 3.6. Tackling Moral consequentiality

264 We found a consensus, where the issue arises, that the morally consequential nature of 265 wicked problems can be addressed through public participation (6a, Fig 1). Authors refer 266 variously to collective deliberation (Coyne, 2005); citizens at the core of the problems (Sharman, 2009); equal empowerment of everyone (Aslin & Blackstock in Brown et al., 267 268 2010); increasing ownership through transparency and participation (Mascarenhas, 2009); 269 comparing different perspectives and incentivizing continuous debate (Whyte & Thompson, 270 2012); and of going beyond public participation and into rational collaboration (Innes & 271 Booher, 2010). In places this participatory theme evokes a Habermasian view of governance 272 (Habermas, 1984), presupposing that the generation of permanent platforms for discussion 273 and collaboration are the key to overcoming barriers to progressive decision-making (for 274 example, differences in status, power, etc.) and facilitating rational decisions. There are notes 275 of caution however. Participation ought to take proper account of the socio-ecological 276 contingencies of any given moment for Innes and Booher (2010). Head and Alford (2015) 277 agree that collaboration offers one way of recognizing the complexity of problems but point 278 to the difficulty of establishing and sustaining robust collaboration particularly in a publicsector context subject to turbulence and strict accountability rules. Van Bueren et al. (2003) 279 280 identify risks involved in over-reliance on citizen engagement citing ethical dilemmas associated with public participation. One example, are the tensions created trying to maintain 281 scientific credibility while engaging in adaptive management (Griffith in Brown et al., 2010). 282 In addition, the APSC (2007) cautions that lack of understanding of the wicked 283

environmental problem can result in different stakeholders being confident that their version
of the problem is correct. To the list of logistical challenges Sharman (2009) adds the need
to re-think the scale of moral values, with citizens at the core of the process, an idea echoed
throughout the literature. Finally, Huxham and Vangen (2005), advise that seeking
collaborative advantage is a seriously resource-consuming activity that practitioners and
policy makers should not undertake lightly.

#### 4. Case study analysis

290 There follow four separate case studies undertaken by sector specialists (the four named 291 authors). A personal perspective is presented regarding the influences of the wicked 292 problem discourse within the field of each of these four cases. We were inspired to develop 293 this paper and drawn together through our encounters with the 'wicked problem' discourse 294 in the course of our separate programs of research. These four cases have not been selected 295 necessarily because they feature prominently in the 'wicked problems' discourse, although 296 some of them (e.g. the mitigation of diffuse pollution in freshwater systems) have been 297 identified as such (Patterson et al., 2013). For the most part however, they are not exemplars or archetypes long established as wicked problems by scholars. For us 298 299 'wickedness' is not a fixed academic label but an analytical category and we have selected the four cases to show that they variously share the characteristics of wicked problems as 300 defined in this paper. More importantly, they allow us to present ideas to address or 'tackle' 301 302 wicked problems in the context of real-world environmental challenges that bear the 303 hallmarks of incorrigibility and intractability that first drew the attention of Rittel and Webber (1973). Whether or not wicked problems are either explicitly referred to in the 304 305 respective policy frames or generally in the measures adopted to manage the challenges is

not germane to our analysis and we fully accept that other discourses may have influencedthe development of the policies that are in place.

We proceed systematically, case by case, firstly presenting the policy frame, secondly supporting our assertion that the case is a wicked environmental problem. We do so in a narrative way, highlighting elements of the problem that link to the defining characteristics established in this paper. Thirdly, we explore the tackling strategies that we see in evidence and critique them in light of the literature presented above.

313 4.1. Securing the sustainability and resilience of landscape and land-use systems
314 through spatial planning

315 What is the policy frame? Following political devolution from the UK more than a decade 316 ago, the Scottish Government assumed full competence in Spatial Planning. The resulting 317 political and planning framework is fragmented (Campbell et al., 2012; Sugden et al., 318 2012). It comprises independent regimes for urban, rural and semi-natural land-use 319 systems. This might hamper the achievability of generic political goals for Scotland's land 320 systems, including achieving sustainable multi-functionality and increasing resilience 321 (Scottish Government, 2011a). Relevant examples of regulations and planning tools that 322 concern the built environment include the National Planning Framework 2 (Scottish 323 Government, 2009b), the National Planning Framework 3 (Scottish Government, 2014a), 324 the Scottish Planning Policy (Scottish Government, 2014b) and Local Development Plans 325 for local planning authorities. Meanwhile Scotland's Land Use Strategy (Scottish 326 Government, 2011a), local Forest Indicative Strategies, regional Forest District Strategies, 327 and Rural Development Programmes are all concerned with the planning and regulation of

328 rural areas, whilst the Nature Conservation (Act) Scotland (Scottish Government, 2004) 329 and the Local Biodiversity Action Plans regulate natural resources. Landscape-oriented 330 policies include: National Scenic Areas and National Parks; Local and Regional Landscape 331 Designations; and Landscape Character Assessment and Supplementary Planning 332 Guidelines underpinning local plans and strategies. Additionally, some other regulatory instruments have been recently approved that strongly influence the direction of spatial 333 planning, including; the Land Reform (Scotland) Act 2003, and (Modification) Order 2013 334 (Scottish Government, 2013), and the Climate Change (Scotland) Act (Scottish 335 Government, 2009a). Clearly therefore, there is a diversity of very specialized regulatory 336 and planning instruments influencing change in land-use (Campbell et al., 2012). This 337 results in a highly fragmented spatial planning framework. Such fragmentation is therefore 338 339 unfit to address the fact that the diverse components of land-use systems are, in reality, 340 strongly interconnected and mutually dependant, for example, urbanization and its effects 341 on landscape protection, or conflicts amongst forestry and wind-energy expansion. What is the wicked environmental problem? Spatial planning is a an area of public 342 343 policy that is defined at diverse levels of public administration, ranging from the National 344 to the Local levels, and across areas of policy that jointly encompass the natural, rural and 345 urban components of land-use systems. It is basically aimed at securing the sustainability 346 and multi-functionality and at increasing the resilience of land-use systems. It is the site of 347 a wicked environmental problem because it operates within cross-cutting socio-political 348 jurisdictions and established institutional, administrative and socio-political structures. 349 Furthermore, it addresses territorial processes that are mutually nested, and hence

ambiguously bounded (2, Table 1) across spatial-temporal institutional scales (from the

351 national to the local), forming complex patterns, making it both spatially and temporally 352 exacting (3, Fig. 1). Ultimately it is subject to huge uncertainty associated with the 353 definition of permanent, concrete targets and objectives (1, Fig. 1). This problem is 354 exacerbated by the lack of stopping rules concerning the definition of targets for change in 355 land-use systems, especially surrounding defining attributes such as resilience and 356 sustainable multi-functionality. Additional complexity arises where outcomes can be determined by the attribution of roles and responsibilities in the decision-making process. 357 This results in the process of spatial planning being characterized by a double-hermeneutic 358 359 nature (5, Fig 1). Furthermore, even the conceptualisation of spatial planning tools to tackle 360 the wicked problems of resilience and multi-functionality of land-use systems can defy rational formulation (1, Fig, 1), as the domain itself is simultaneously defined as a scientific 361 362 field of study, an administrative technique and a socio-political praxis (European 363 Regional/Spatial Planning Charter, 1983). Consequently it confounds rules that may be 364 separately applicable to the political, social and scientific spheres of human knowledge and 365 action.

#### **How are the strategies to tackle wicked problems being reflected in practice?** The

indefinability that is inherent in the complex nature of land-use systems (Rindfuss et al.,

2008; Dearing et al., 2010) and the landscapes that are representative of these (Pedroli et

al., 2006; Selman, 2008; Dramstad & Fjellstad, 2011) is currently being tackled in Scotland

- through the fragmentation of policy and planning frameworks and regimes. This is a
- 371 pragmatic (strategy 1b, Fig. 1) and atomistic (strategy 5c, Fig. 1) approach. In order to
- tackle the ambiguous boundaries (2, Table 1) of problems associated with landscapes and
- 373 land-use systems, the present Scottish planning regime has opted to operate in a systemic

374 mode (strategy 2b, Fig. 1). This is clearly reflected in strategic documents such as 375 Scotland's Land Use Strategy (Scottish Government, 2011a) and Scottish Planning Policy (Scottish Government, 2014b) and National Planning Framework 3 (2014a). These 376 377 documents are reflective of the Scottish Government's intention to embed spatial planning 378 policy in a wider and more holistic understanding of land-use systems, by adopting an 379 ecosystem approach (Scottish Government, 2011b). Regarding the temporally exacting (3, 380 Table 1) nature of changes in landscapes and land-use systems, it is clear from major 381 policies and their recent evolution that the approach undertaken by the spatial planning 382 system in Scotland is opportunity driven (strategy 3b, Fig. 1). This is well reflected by the recent changes in the definition of targets for issues as important for land-use change as 383 384 forestry expansion (Scottish Executive, 2006; WEAG, 2012).

385 In essence, most efforts to cope with the wickedness of land-use systems in the planning 386 and policy framework in Scotland to date have been concentrated through strategic 387 instruments that operate at the national and regional levels. Paradoxically, there is a clear 388 tendency in the Scottish territorial political discourse to favour bottom-up approaches 389 underpinned by the principle of subsidiarity that favour decisions at the local level (Scott & 390 Shannon, 2007), and that are backed by a strong emphasis on promoting public and 391 stakeholder participation in the planning process (strategies 4a and 6a, Fig. 1). Whilst 392 recognising these competing strategies, it is too soon to evaluate their effects on shaping 393 novel planning models that are capable of coping with wicked environmental problems 394 associated with defining targets for planning the sustainable multi-functionality and 395 resilience of land-use systems and associated landscapes. Nevertheless, a joint effort by 396 political authorities, local agents and experts is clearly underway.

#### **4.2.** Addressing population health through the control of livestock diseases

What is the policy frame? Balancing ecological and agricultural objectives under 398 399 conditions of climate change whilst competing in globalised food and energy markets 400 severely tests collective approaches and encompasses a number of policy areas impacting 401 on the control of livestock disease. The Wildlife and Natural Environment (Scotland) Act 402 2011 attempts to harmonise policy outcomes with those of the Scottish Rural Development Program (Scottish Government, 2014c) which in turn are subject to the European Rural 403 Development programme. The monolithic Common Agricultural Policy, currently in the 404 405 midst of profound and politically charged reform, overarches all of these. Environmental 406 management is further subject to European directives (for example the Habitats Directive, 407 1992) and UK law (for example, The Protection of Badgers Act (1992)) as livestock intersects with wild nature. At European Union, UK and devolved Scottish scales there are 408 409 complex, nested and overlapping constraints on control policies. More widely, Scotland's 410 disease control strategy must co-exist in a minefield of international obligations in a 411 dynamic environment where diseases are both uncertain and emerging, and in which human 412 values are inextricably bound-up. Animal disease is regulated through The World 413 Organization for Animal Health (OIE); trade in livestock through The World Trade 414 Organization; and zoonotic disease through The World Health Organization.

What is the wicked environmental problem? Few issues attract the polarity of ethical contestation than that of the human, animal interface. Our attitudes to the other sentient creatures that share our planet, with animal rights agendas and animal welfare regimes literally changing the landscape, and our responsibilities to our fellow humans in terms of food security and moral obligations towards the hungry, create incommensurate priorities

420 (Food and Agriculture Organization (FAO), 1996). Controlling livestock disease directly 421 encounters all of these contested areas as evidenced by the furore surrounding the funeral pyres of cattle seen throughout the UK in 2001 (Convery et al., 2005) or accompanying the 422 423 ongoing failures to effectively manage bovine tuberculosis (bTB) through culling (or killing) wild badgers (Cassidy, 2012) and during 'mad cow disease' (Murphy-Lawless, 424 425 2014) that led to a crisis of confidence in British beef of global proportions. In these recent 426 cases, market pressures, trade arrangements, food safety concerns, food security issues, animal rights and animal welfare agendas, indeed the lives and livelihoods of entire 427 428 communities, have all been entangled in disputes about science and social justice, 429 constraining proposed interventions. In the case of bTB scientists, farmers, policy makers and non-farming citizens continue to argue amongst and between themselves about the 430 431 aetiology of the disease and both the efficacy and the ethics of trialled control measures (Cassidy, 2012) making a wicked problem with indefinability and moral consequences (1 432 433 and 6, Table 1) as characteristics.

434 Livestock disease is, in certain cases, exacerbated by particular modes of production, e.g., 435 intensification, that can constitute new epidemiological risk in terms of diseases associated 436 with livestock production (for example, Arnold, 2013), yet are advanced as a solution to 437 food scarcity. Intensiveness and veterinary interventions create new problems in terms of 438 disease susceptible and drug resistant animals. Highly efficient farms can experience drastic 439 interventions such as mass culling following a disease outbreak that have led to severe 440 social and economic problems, for example, following a Foot and Mouth Disease (FMD) 441 outbreak in 2001. Vaccination strategies are often influenced by trade implications; for 442 example, when a country's disease-free status is compromised by false-positive test results

from vaccinated animals. Conservation measures may produce wildlife disease reservoirs,
such as the protection of badgers that farmers associate with increasing bovine TB. These
various effects and interrelationships are open to interpretation as ambiguously bounded
and repercussive problem characteristics (2 and 4, Table 1).

Growing global food requirements add further moral and ethical dimensions to already 447 448 complex issues with ever increasing requirements for highly productive systems, including 449 stock bred for production rather than health. Agricultural pressures on wildlife reservoirs can be intolerant of 'wild nature' seeing in it disease risks including vectors and 450 451 opportunities such as land resources for additional pasture. Globalisation of trade in animal 452 produce and live animals is ever increasing. The problems are getting worse in various 453 ways as the human population grows and any stopping rule appears unlikely. Zoonotic disease is partly a product of interactions between human and animal systems, and human 454 populations are encroaching on wild spaces evermore (3, Fig. 1). Social impacts of zoonotic 455 456 pathogens can be significant while the variety of competing economic interests frustrate 457 preparedness initiatives (Miller & Parent, 2012). Drug resistance and disease vulnerable 458 production units may be products of earlier problem framings that sought to address animal 459 welfare or human food requirements thereby revealing both a doubly hermeneutic and an 460 ambiguously bounded pattern (5 and 2, Table 1). Rational demands for food self-461 sufficiency post World War II have in part driven intensification for which adverse animal 462 welfare side effects are an unintended consequence; another repercussive effect. Culling may be too traumatic to be repeatable in political terms (Convery et al., 2005) with the 463 464 potential to stigmatise production systems and become politically problematic for would-be 465 decision makers. Outbreaks demand action yet all available actions can be unpalatable.

466 Finally, public responses to livestock disease risk are intersubjective, drawing on earlier
467 experiences, media coverage and other dynamic socio-economic and socio-cultural
468 contingencies (Duckett & Busby, 2013; Busby & Duckett, 2012) making response to
469 outbreaks a highly charged political exercise (6, Table 1).

## 470 How are the strategies to tackle wicked problems reflected in practice? Across the

471 panoply of recent crises besetting the United Kingdom in the area of livestock disease the

472 available toolbox has been extensively and variously called into service. Recent

473 experiences of FMD have, for example, resulted in the formation of public participatory

474 exercises (strategy 6a, Fig. 1) considering, for example, issues of access to the countryside

475 during livestock disease outbreaks. Recently, interdisciplinary and participatory initiatives

476 (strategies 2a and 4a, Fig. 1) have been deployed by Scottish Government through its

477 Centre for Excellence in Livestock Disease Outbreaks (www.epicscotland.org), including

478 scenario planning exercises (strategy 3a, Fig. 1) looking at the future of the Scottish cattle

sector (EPIC, 2014) and the sheep sector (EPIC, 2015). The work within the centre is

480 interdisciplinary and transdisciplinary where social scientists, veterinary scientists and

481 other disciples based across Scotland's major research providers work together to design a

482 holistic approach (strategy 5b, Fig 1) in a one-stop scientific advice centre for policy

483 makers.

The establishment of structures, like EPIC, that are willing to implement a range of
strategies broadly in-line with those promoted in the literature on tackling wicked
environmental problems, does appear to make Scotland better prepared to meet challenges
like those first encountered in 1986 with bovine spongiform encephalopathy (BSE) and in
2001 with foot and mouth disease (FMD). Stakeholders are more engaged; scientists are

489 working in new partnerships, and these developments alone seem reason for optimism. 490 With diseases however, unlike the other cases under discussion here, progress in tackling outbreaks defines success and it is tempting fate to suggest that novel approaches will 491 492 deliver significantly better outcomes in the future especially given that traditional responses 493 may have weakened with the reduction in front-line veterinary staff and state veterinary 494 services across the UK including Scotland (Lowe, 2009). It is also worth reflecting that diseases appear as adaptive as any mitigation so far developed which is yet another reason 495 why novel and emerging pathogens are such a wicked adversary. 496

# 497 **4.3.** Mitigating climate change through woodland planting

498 What is the policy frame? Scotland's targets to mitigate greenhouse gas (GHG) emissions 499 were set in the Climate Change (Scotland) Act in 2009 by the Scottish Government. These 500 targets are 80% GHG emission reduction by 2050 and 42% (interim target) reduction by 2020 501 (Scottish Government, 2009a). This Act presents a stern challenge to the rural land use sector 502 which is expected to mitigate its own GHG emissions and also to offset GHG emissions from 503 other sectors that are not expected to achieve such substantial reductions (for example, 504 transport and industry). One of the Scottish Government policies to achieve the necessary 505 GHG emission reductions is the creation of 10,000 hectares of new woodland annually until 506 2022 (Scottish Government, 2011a). To support woodland creation and management, the 507 Scottish Rural Development Programme 2014–2020 (Scottish Government, 2014c) has made 508 £252 million available through the Forestry Grant Scheme (Forestry Commission Scotland, 2015). Farmers can apply for support under eight categories, two for the creation of woodland 509 510 and six for management of existing woodland. The most recent discourse points out that apart 511 from climate change mitigation benefits, the Scottish Government also aims at promoting

other environmental benefits as well as economic and social benefits, ensuring that newwoodlands are created by multiple landowners and across holdings.

514

515 What is the wicked environmental problem? Climate change, perhaps more than any other 516 area, has been conceptualized as a set of wicked environmental problems. It defies resolution due to enormous uncertainties, circularities and conflicting stakeholder interests that become 517 enmeshed in efforts to develop solutions (Lazarus, 2009). Woodland planting has been 518 considered an essential strategy to mitigate GHG emissions due to its capacity to sequester 519 CO2 from the atmosphere. However, in Scotland, this strategy is difficult to implement due 520 to conflicting food and climate change policy goals (Feliciano et al., 2013, Munoz-Rojas 521 Morenes et al., 2015), low acceptability of woodland planting schemes among Scottish 522 523 farmers (Crabtree et al., 2001; WEAG, 2012) and volatile stakeholder perceptions about the 524 consequences of climate change (Barnes & Toma, 2012; Feliciano et al., 2014). Therefore, 525 the strategy to mitigate the climate change problem is itself a wicked problem and because 526 of that it engenders slow progress in addressing the main problem. Meanwhile, the rate of GHG emissions is increasing and time seems to be running out for communities and 527 ecosystems both in Scotland and around the world. In short, the problem is temporally 528 529 exacting (3, Table 1). Furthermore, while neither woodland planting nor any single 530 intervention can change such a complex nexus, every individual effort can foster negative repercussions (4, Table 1). For example, reducing available arable land or pasture through 531 532 woodland planting may promote more intensive farming through demand-side pressure or competing imports from other countries; a development laden with a further ambiguously 533 534 bounded set of wicked environmental problems (2, Table 1).

536 Those seeking to resolve the problem (for example, Scottish Government) are also 537 exacerbating it (5, Table 1). Political discourses are sometimes contradictory in relation to the support of woodland planting to cut GHG emissions since by strengthening food policy 538 539 discourses, which accept the mantra of increasing food demand, they undermine the 540 aspiration to increase forest cover. Woodland planting is a morally consequential problem 541 (6, Table 1) because stakeholders have different perspectives and goals, both specifically in 542 relation to the successful implementation of woodland planting in Scotland, and in relation to climate change in general. A report from the Woodland Expansion Advisory Group 543 544 (WEAG, 2012) admitted that there is a deep cultural divide between forestry and farming 545 strategy. A glance at the Food and Agriculture Rome declaration (FAO, 1996) highlights the moral imperatives stacked-up on the food side of that divide. 546

# 547 How are the strategies to tackle wicked problems being reflected in practice?

Mitigating climate change through woodland planting requires the Scottish Government to 548 549 align its own policies, plans and strategies. We focus on the Land Use Strategy for Scotland 550 (Scottish Government, 2011a) and the Scottish Forestry Strategy discourses (Scottish 551 Executive, 2006). Through these instruments the Scottish Government recognises that different individuals have different legitimate interests and priorities for the use of particular 552 areas of land and that the main factors influencing land use and land use choices can vary 553 554 considerably from area to area. There is recognition that decisions are generally best made 555 by those closest to the land, namely individuals, land managers, communities and businesses, 556 in order to reflect local needs and circumstances; a recognition partly emerging from and partly creating a need for participatory processes (strategy 4a, Fig. 1). The Land Use Strategy 557 558 for Scotland (Scottish Government, 2011a) proposes a pragmatic approach (strategy 1b, Fig. 1) to inform these local processes. 559

560 The Scottish Government, working through its Forestry Strategy is cooperating with local 561 authorities and others to expand existing strategies beyond forestry issues. These multi-562 agency strategies are expected to assist in decisions on grant funding, develop proposals and 563 other decisions relating to land use and land use change, thus embarking upon boundary spanning collaborations (strategy 2b, Fig. 1). The APSC (2007) considers that improving the 564 public sector's capacity to work in a distributed way can help to better understand the causes 565 566 and solutions of a particular wicked problem among the organisations that are supposed to deliver the services. 567

The Land Use Strategy for Scotland (Scottish Government, 2011a) enshrines values that land use decisions should be informed by an understanding of the opportunities and threats, brought about by the changing climate. In addition, it mentions that land should continue to contribute to delivering climate change mitigation objectives in addition to reduced GHG emissions associated to land use change (Scottish Government, 2011a). We interpret this discourse as being an opportunity driven approach (strategy 3b, Fig. 1).

Mitigating climate change through woodland planting is entangled with value conflicts, ideological and cultural constraints. The Scottish Government has set out principles to decide how proposals within the Land Use Strategy for Scotland (Scottish Government, 2011a) will be delivered, including a commitment that, "people should have opportunities to contribute to debates and decisions about land use and management decisions which affect their lives and their future" (Scottish Government, 2011a), an explicitly public participatory approach (strategy 6a, Fig. 1).

The Land Use Strategy for Scotland (Scottish Government, 2011a) presents a set of ten principles for sustainable land use that reflect Scottish Government policies on the priorities which should inform national land use choices. These principles tacitly acknowledge the doubly hermeneutic characteristics of wicked problem (5, Table 1), whereby contextual factors, human and non-human are an on-going challenge varying in spatial and temporal dimensions. The strategy asserts that it is not an option to look at a narrow range of interests when making decisions about land and it particularly embraces regionalisation. It further recommends an integrated approach and holistic action in decision-making about land use to secure tangible benefits in practice (strategy 5b, Fig. 1).

Finally, the Forestry Commission Scotland suggests increasing awareness of the forestry sector's contribution in climate change mitigation with Regional Forestry Forums and assessing trends in public awareness through public opinion surveys. The Land Use Strategy for Scotland (Scottish Government, 2011a) recognises that people should have opportunities to contribute to debates and decisions about land use and management decisions that affect their lives and their future (strategy 6a, Fig. 1).

In 2012, the Woodland Expansion Advisory Group wrote a report to the cabinet secretary for rural affairs and environment with 24 recommendations to help achieving woodland creation. Given the inclusive approach intended by both the Forestry Strategy and the Land Use Strategy, it is expected that these recommendations will be taken forward for further discussion.

601

# **4.4. Mitigating rural diffuse pollution in freshwater systems**

What is the policy frame? The Scotland River Basin Management Plan, developed by the
Scottish Environmental Protection Agency (SEPA, 2009), requires programmes and
interventions that comply with the Water Framework (WFD) and Nitrates Directives. The
WFD (2000) sets the target for European water bodies to reach 'good ecological status',

prescribing the use of economic tools and principles and promoting public participation
(Martin-Ortega, 2012). The Nitrates Directive (1991) aims to protect water quality across
Europe by preventing nitrates from agricultural sources polluting ground and surface waters
and by promoting the use of good farming practices. In this context, the Rural Diffuse
Pollution Management Strategy for Scotland (SEPA, 2010) aims at improving water quality
through a combination of regulation, guidance and voluntary measures.

What is the wicked environmental problem? We focus on how best to mitigate pollution
of freshwater systems at the catchment scale in a cost-effective and socially acceptable
way. This is a problem tackled by Scottish Government (SEPA, 2010), and is also
recognized as a problem by a range of other stakeholders, however, land managers in
Scotland do not always necessarily see or recognize the link between their activities and
water quality (Martin-Ortega & Holstead, 2013, Christen et al, 2015).

619 Catchment management in general (von Korff et al., 2012) and diffuse pollution in

620 particular have been explicitly recognized to be wicked problems in the literature.

621 Addressing diffuse pollution requires implementation actions involving multiple actors

acting at multiple scales and influenced by a range of factors (Patterson et al., 2013; Smith

623 & Porter, 2010), making it ambiguously bounded (2, Table 1). It also commonly involves

tensions and mismatches between spatial and temporal scales relating to environmental

625 change, human behaviour and institutional processes (Patterson et al., 2013; Smith &

626 Porter, 2010), which are all riddled by uncertainty and affected by repercusiveness and the

- 627 double hermeneutic effect (4, 5 Table 1). For example, programmes to improve water
- quality need to be assessed in terms of their economic efficiency at the catchment scale by
- 629 the regulator; while each specific intervention requires farmers' action at the field level.

630 Current hydro-chemical models are limited in their capacity to establish the association and 631 causation between land-management practices and ecological and geomorphological consequences across the catchment and field scales (Slee et al., 2013). There are also 632 633 heterogeneous perceptions of what constitutes proper land-management and how it affects water quality between different stakeholders (Martin-Ortega & Holstead, 2013, Christen et 634 635 al, 2015), making the problem indefinable (1, Table 1). Moreover, there is evidence that 636 mitigation programmes designed for current conditions might not be 'future-proofed' against climate and land-use change (Jackson-Blake et al., 2013), contributing to a 637 638 temporally exacting dimension (3, Table 1). Finally, the ultimate aim, established by the WFD, to achieve (close to) natural conditions in systems that are essentially 639 anthropogenized, poses a moral dilemma (6, Table 1) as to whether it is acceptable (and 640 641 ultimately possible) due to the unequal distribution of the costs of measures to improve water quality and the benefits the good ecological status provides (Martin-Ortega et al., 642 2015). 643

How are the strategies to tackle wicked problems being reflected in practice? We focus
on the approach followed by The Scottish Environmental Protection Agency, through the
analysis of its Rural Diffuse Pollution Plan (SEPA, 2010). The Plan is aimed at ensuring
'that the key stakeholders in Scotland work in a coordinated way to reduce diffuse
pollution, tacitly acknowledging the ambiguously bounded nature of this wicked
environmental problem (2, Table 1). There are some early signs of interdisciplinarity
(strategy 2a, Fig. 1) and the adopted catchment approach can to some extent be

approximated to systems thinking (strategy 2b, Fig. 1).

652 The Scottish Environmental protection Agency acknowledges the fact that 'there is no 653 single solution to problems of diffuse pollution and it adopts a pragmatic approach 654 (strategy 1b, Fig. 1) by endorsing best management practices, which rely on a range of 655 measures to reduce and alleviate diffuse pollution impacts, and by offering a number of planning tools and in-field measures. Through the creation of a Diffuse Pollution 656 Management Advisory Group (DPMAG) involving a range of stakeholders and aimed at 657 'helping create robust governance, decision-making and a coordination framework' and 658 'ensuring input from a cross-section of rural, environmental and biodiversity interests', the 659 Scottish Environmental Protection Agency has adopted an explicitly participatory approach 660 (strategy 4a, Fig. 1). It is too early to observe whether the advisory group is also an 661 instrument for iterative participatory re-framing (strategy 5a, Fig. 1), which could address 662 663 the double hermeneutic issue. The Diffuse Pollution Management Advisory Group's 'Priority Catchment Strategy' where areas significantly failing water quality standards are 664 665 prioritized, could be approximated to a certain extent to the threshold delimitation approach 666 (strategy 3c, Fig. 1).

667 The national awareness raising and one-to-one farm visit campaigns, that are at the core of 668 the Rural Diffuse Pollution Plan and by which the Scottish Environmental Protection 669 Agency has moved from a punitive approach to a supportive one, could be interpreted as 670 the regulator's strategy towards tackling the morally consequential aspect of diffuse 671 pollution's wickedness (6, Table 1), by increasing transparency and participation 672 (strategies 6a and 6b, Fig. 1). While there has been no formal evaluation of the overall 673 effectiveness of the Rural Diffuse Pollution Plan in mitigating diffuse pollution, the Diffuse 674 Pollution Management Advisory Group is observing positive progress. Compliance with

General Binding Rules in six of the priority catchments has risen from 26% to 51%, with
88% compliant or working towards compliance, as evidence by field visits (SEPA, 2015).

#### 5. Discussion

677 Numerous difficulties remain, some of which we attempt to address below. However first 678 we can say positively that strategies identified in the selected literature are clearly evident 679 in practice in the Scottish cases we have featured. Given that cause and effect between theory and practice is perennially difficult to establish we have at least been able to draw 680 681 some parallels between environmental management praxis and the 'tackling wicked 682 environmental problems' literature, finding clear correspondences in terms of theoretical 683 ideas that have practical counterparts. An exemplar of theoretical ideas resembling 684 elements in current practice is participation. Various participatory processes were 685 evidenced in all four case studies. In this regard, the analytical approach we adopted allows 686 us to offer a partial answer to the question, often raised in this context, regarding whether 687 the wicked problem discourse is any more than a descriptive commentary and is actually 688 grounded in practices, (for example, Xiang, 2013). We have shown that, within the Scottish context at least, socio-ecological challenges are sites where approaches consistent with 689 690 those advocated in the wicked problem literature are being practiced. In all four of our case studies notable parallels are evident. With regard to securing the sustainability and 691 resilience of landscape and land-use through spatial planning, we have identified in-use 692 693 tackling strategies, such as the ecosystems approach, (the primary framework for action under the Convention on Biological Diversity, 1992) that evoke the systemic approaches 694 common in the discourse. Scottish Government have also embraced scenario exercises and 695 696 appear committed to interdisciplinary science to tackle the thorny issues involved in

addressing population health through the control of livestock diseases. When it comes to
mitigating climate change through woodland planting, there is further evidence that multiscale approaches have been deployed in response to the ambiguously bounded nature of the
challenges faced. In our fourth case study, mitigating rural diffuse pollution in freshwater
systems, it also seems reasonable to argue for the existence of holistic, participatory,
interdisciplinary and systemic approaches evoking similar ideas from the literature.

The extent to which the 'strategies to tackle wicked environmental problems' discourse has 703 704 actually influenced these practices is more difficult to determine. All of the options 705 (strategies 1a to 6b) are not only present as strategies to tackle wicked problems but are also 706 aligned to prevailing ideas in wider research beyond any necessary association with wicked 707 problems; examples include quests for transparency and systems thinking. The discourse, in 708 many ways broadly reflects current methodologies, particularly in the social sciences, 709 rather than offering a unique set of approaches tailored for a specifically 'wicked' problem. 710 Other examples include the rubric of interdisciplinarity that pervades a great deal of 711 research independently of the discourse of wicked environmental problems. Likewise, 712 participatory approaches are de rigueur across social science with the idea of 'the 713 stakeholder' a prerequisite for a great many problems that are not ostensively wicked (for 714 example, Renn, 2003). Similarly both adaptive and holistic approaches within the socio-715 environmental problem sphere do not appear consistently differentiated in the searched 716 literature from their more general usage.

This degree of generality does not invalidate the utility of any of the aforementioned
approaches but does raise questions about the influence of the discourse especially given
that it largely operates within an Anglophone diaspora (Xiang, 2013) whereas many of the

720 actual environmental problems and their management approaches appear ubiquitous. The 721 question then arises, regarding whether these approaches are simply generally accepted as 722 valid and useful for tame and wicked problems alike or whether they particularly offer 723 something to wicked environmental problems. The evidence from our cases is mixed. 724 Participation, for example, is often advanced uncritically as a universal panacea yet has 725 obvious limitations including both potentially greater overheads than non-participatory 726 approaches and variable outcomes. Other strategies to tackle wicked problems appear overly optimistic, for example overestimating the efficacy of interdisciplinary approaches; 727 728 a familiar issue for many researchers. Other strategies to tackle wicked environmental 729 problems appear to cherry-pick the least wicked parts of problems. Some of the strategies even appear to go against the foundational definition (contra-natura), for example, the 730 731 atomization approaches. This reductionist strategy, breaking problems up into manageable components, aligns well with traditional ideas about complexity but is singled out for 732 733 criticism by Rittel and Webber in their original formulation of wickedness. Wicked 734 problems, they insist, are not supposed to be amenable to straightforward simplification. 735 We are therefore keenly aware that wickedness, in its original formulation has a deeply 736 problematic intractability to its nature and is different to complexity. The distinction is 737 starkly evident in the explicitly negative prognosis running through the Rittel and Webber 738 analysis. Those tasked with tackling wicked problems often have to contend with 739 irreconcilable stakeholders, collateral environmental damage caused by previous and 740 current interventions, policy failures, messy situations, conflict, temporary fudges, and paradoxical and morally objectionable outcomes - that's how wicked problems are defined 741 742 and where such issues are avoided or resolved there was probably no wicked problem in the 743 first place.

Complexity, by contrast, has long been 'tackled' in many ways in the social sciences for example through Soft Systems Methodology (SSM) which proposes advanced problem definition techniques, inclusive approaches to different worldviews and participatory exercises with all kinds of stakeholders. This is not to say that SSM or other approaches that have emerged independently are incompatible with tacking wicked environmental problems, rather, that claims for their efficacy or indeed appropriateness probably need to be considered on a case by case basis.

751 One approach that does appear incompatible and worth noting is precommitment strategy 752 (see section 3.5). Its notion of locked-in mitigation appears theoretically ill-equipped to 753 being an effective tackling strategy. In particular, given the general improvement in 754 scientific knowledge over time, privileging current assessments and goals over those that may develop in the future and regarding current opportunities as inherently preferable to 755 756 those that may arise, seems flawed. Seeking to pin down mitigation when the problem itself 757 cannot be pinned down does not seem to be a sound principle. This is not to say that 758 binding targets, particularly in the sphere of emissions targets, do not have a constructive 759 role.

More broadly, it is far from clear how many of the proposed wicked environmental problem fixes differ from parallel theoretical approaches, beyond belonging to a unique discourse. That said, generality may well be a strength and the postmodern turn that social science has made towards openness of method, inclusivity of stakeholders and rejection of reductionism cannot be excluded from approaches to what may be the severest sociotechnical challenges of all. Furthermore, there is a pragmatic and a can-do tenor to most of the literature excluding the original formulation. The idea of 'tackling wickedness' has, in

767 the most part, usefully moved away from idealistic notions about 'solutions'. At the time of 768 publication Rittel and Webber were despondent about a failing planning system in which 769 'arrogant systems analysts' falsely promised continual progress through outdated a nd 770 failing notions of 'scientific management'. Most subsequent authors have been at pains to reiterate a version of the wickedness conundrum before proposing their best-fit approach 771 and most, while determined that efforts must be made, are cautious and conservative in 772 773 their assessment of efficacy. For example, Head (2014) and Head and Alford (2015), argue that while conclusive solutions are very uncommon, it is possible to frame partial, 774 provisional courses of action against wicked environmental problems. This is not without 775 776 risk. Addressing only some problem elements can spawn new problems just as the Lernean hydra grew another two heads for each that was cut off. Therefore, it must be stressed that 777 778 what are considered in this study are explicitly tackling strategies not solutions. The incorrigibility or otherwise of the wickedness bedevilling Scotland's environmental 779 780 challenges demands our best efforts, however problematic the available options appear.

#### 6. Conclusion

781 In closing, we believe it is important to reiterate the order of magnitude of the challenge 782 required in making useful progress with wicked environmental problems. Rittel and 783 Webber set us an extraordinary task, already anticipating some of the subsequent proposals and ruling them out as inadequate. For example, they dismiss traditional, objectivist 784 785 systems approaches unequivocally stating that, "this type of scheme does not work" (Rittel & Webber, 1973). In comparison to the 'dodekathelon' of challenges set for Hercules that 786 required only supreme effort, the decathlon of trials Rittel and Webber identified constitute 787 tasks for which even herculean effort is not enough. Unlike the slayer of the Nemean lion, 788
789 the would-be wicked problem tackler neither knows what the mission is, nor will it necessarily ever be clear whether or not it has been accomplished. Rittel and Webber's lion 790 is not only "aggressive" but "tricky (like a leprechaun)" and "vicious (like a circle)" (Rittel 791 & Webber, 1973). It is to be expected then, given the scale of the challenges we have 792 investigated in our four cases that any positive impact resulting from strategies to tackle 793 wicked problems, even where it may exist, is extremely difficult to assess. Therefore, it is 794 795 with some trepidation, within this context of 'incorrigible' problems, that we offer this research on small steps that are being taken within Scotland toward taming the untameable 796 797 beast.

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Table 1: Six consolidated characteristics of	wicked problems
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Short description	Long description
1.Indefinable (and non- generalizable)	The formulation of a wicked problem is the problem. Stakeholder contestation abounds s hampering all attempts to reach agreed or definitive problem formulations and making each wicked problem unique and resistant to general strategies of mitigation. This creates an immense problem for both analysts and would-be problem solvers. It undermines all the following definitions (2-6) just as it did for Rittel and Webber whose 10 characteristics were equally caught in this conundrum (of their own devising).
2.Ambigously bounded	Wicked problems can usually be considered as symptoms of another different problem often at a different scale. The resultant inter and intra-connectedness of issues problematizes the isolation of manageable components. Boundaries are hard to establish and unstable. There are problems within problems and strategies to address one can spawn other single or interlocking problems.
3.Temporally exacting	Time is often running out where wicked problems are concerned. There is generally no stopping rule. There are no ends to the causal chains linking open systems involved. Persistence and longevity confound intervention strategies and mitigation efforts often only cease because of the intervention project's own material limitations. System relationships are frequently nonlinear exhibiting disproportionate and unpredictable changes. Co- evolution occurs both in the overall system and the agents within it.
4.Repercussive	Proposed solutions to wicked problems are entangled with value conflicts and ideological/cultural constraints often with side effects that may themselves be profoundly problematic. They do not have an enumerable or an exhaustively describable set of potential solutions, nor is there a well-described set of permissible operations that may be incorporated into any plan. There is no ultimate validity test for solutions. A proposed solution to a wicked problem is often a 'one-shot operation' with the problem resisting a return to square one having often been transformed by attempts to tackle it.
5.Doubly hermeneutic	There is a two-way relationship between analysis and the social world. Understandings of wicked problems cannot be pinned-down but are constantly challenged by active subjects who, unlike rocks or chemicals under the gaze of the natural scientist, can change their practices just as understandings of those practices are developed condemning attempts to solve wicked problems based on a specific understanding of the behaviours involved to failure. The information needed to understand a wicked problem depends upon initial framing which itself is co-dependent on a wide range of contextual factors; human and non-human - adaptive agents react to the system and to each other. System behaviour is

	emergent from the interaction of the parts, such that the whole is different from the sum of the parts. The problem is not understood until after the formulation of a solution.
6.Morally consequential	Wicked problems demand action while displaying great resistance to change. They exist in social systems where mistakes are unacceptable not in controlled environments. This can create significant moral dilemmas that pose individual risks for would-be problem solvers who may be held to have no right to be wrong yet may be morally obligated to act. Outcomes can always be contested. Those seeking to solve the problem may also be causing it or inadvertently causing another wicked problem.

## Appendix

## Supplementary materials

Item	Label	File type
Table 1.	Six consolidated	Word Table on
	characteristics of wicked	next page
	problems	
Figure 1.	The wicked wheel:	Powerpoint
	strategies to tackle	figure as
	wicked problems mapped	separate file
	to consolidated	attachment
	characteristics of	
	wickedness proposed in	
	the searched literature	