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Jumping off the treadmill: transforming NRM to systemic governing with systemic co-inquiry

While there is continued interest in Deliberative Policy Analysis (DPA) its practice element appears to have been underappreciated. We reflect on our experience of using a systemic co-inquiry to provide new insights into operationalising DPA that may assist it to speak more immediately to issues related to governing in the Anthropocene. Natural resource management (NRM) in Australia embraced the global turn to governance, but demonstrated how difficult it is to achieve systemic, collaborative approaches to management policy. The treadmill of our title symbolises the experience of community and organizational stakeholders in the case area, who were constantly in motion but achieving no forward movement in collaborative governance. A systemic coinquiry into how decision making and action taking in NRM could be improved began in 2015. Systemic co-inquiry is a facilitated process that enables emergence of ideas and opportunities for transforming a situation. We describe this process, present how it was used in the case area, then critically reflect on its contributions for governance and practice, and its theoretical and political implications. Describing and critiquing our use of systemic co-inquiry provides new insights to address challenges for future DPA.

Keywords: systemic co-inquiry; natural resource management; systemic governance, deliberative policy analysis

Introduction

This paper focuses on innovation in governance by considering how systemic, relational policy and practice development could be operationalised as part of a shift towards systemic/adaptive co-governance. The domain for this consideration is Australian natural resource management (NRM), where it is understood as "the integrated management of the natural resources that make up Australia's natural landscapes, such as land, water, soil, plants and animals". While use of the term is not limited to Australia, this framing has become widely institutionalised there. An appreciation of the constraints and possibilities of an NRM framing is needed when seeking to innovate and

foster meaningful change. The paper leads, then, with an exploration of the initial starting conditions created by NRM. We then report on an ongoing attempt at transformative reframing in this domain using systemic co-inquiry. Systemic co-inquiry is a form of collaborative investigation; it involves processes of social learning within which opportunities emerge and are pursued into action (Foster et al. 2019). Systemic co-inquiry can therefore be a way of governing, in which on-going inquiry and action between people in situations of concern is built into the institutional ecology of ongoing human-biosphere relations (Ison and Straw 2020). Presenting and reflecting on our experience of this on-going inquiry within NRM, we describe our understanding and use of systemic co-inquiry. We conclude with critical reflections on our experience of using systemic co-inquiry and their relevance to, and implications for, Deliberative Policy Analysis (DPA).

Starting conditions: The pendulum swing of NRM governance in Australia

NRM is enacted in situations of complexity and uncertainty, where multiple human interests converge in dynamic biophysical landscapes. While NRM seeks to manage human activity and support ecological processes, the predominant disciplinary base of NRM has been the biophysical sciences. In the NRM tradition, science sits inside an administrative regime of scientific management, in which scientific knowledge and expert opinion guide policy decisions, which in turn guide efficient and effective action on environmental degradation, administered through an impartial public service (Brunner and Steelman 2005), and more recently, neo-liberal smaller government. Historically this regime has inovled little social science, even less social systems science, given scant legitimacy and capacity for reflection and deliberation, and has limited focus on governance to the administrative sense. Given anthropogenic pressure on natural resources such as land, soil, freshwater and biota (Rockström et al. 2009),

approaches to future NRM policy making and implementation are part of the response shaping how humans will be sustained (or not) in the future. As the M in NRM implies, management has been the focus of concern; our work contributes to the shift of concern from managing to governing.

There have been many proposals for collaborative management processes and research into how collaborative managing and adaptation works, and the conditions under which it works. In fact, as we outline below, Australia was a pioneer in community-based, participatory managing (but not necessarily governing). Despite a great deal of activity, and initial optimism of community members, NRM is still predominantly a top-down activity. Little is known about how to shift existing governance regimes towards improvements in arrangements and practices that are determined collaboratively. The problem can be framed as: top-down attempts to improve governance fail to connect to the on-going self-organising of participants/stakeholders in the governance system. We thus need ways to rapidly transform governance and to insitutionalise relevant understandings and practices (Foster et al. 2019).

The Australian continent had been occupied and managed by people for at least 60,000 years before it was claimed by Britain in 1788. The colonisers brought with them the policy, history, and practices of England specifically, and Europe more generally. During the 1800s, colonial governments sought to increase the population by developing agriculture and exporting commodities such as wool. Government agencies soon arose within the colonies to support the management of, and production from, land, forests and water. Upon Federation in 1901, the Australian States assumed primary responsibility for NRM (Bates 2006). Agriculture and related agencies in each Australian State developed issue-based programs targeting threats to productivity such

as soil erosion, weeds and salinity, and these programs continued to be developed by technical experts and delivered by technical extension agents through to the mid 1980s when fundamental reforms began (Head 2009). Through the 1970s, a vanguard of Australian soil conservationists, extension agents, and farmers were influenced by new rural development theory that emphasised self-help and cooperative community effort supported by change agents (Curtis 1998). In the 1980s, the agencies for agriculture, soil conservation, wildlife and rivers began to be integrated within each State, in an attempt to manage landscape processes holistically. New alliances formed across government and non-government sectors. In 1985, a new approach, based on local farming community groups, called 'Landcare', rapidly into a nation-wide 'Decade of Landcare' program funded by Federal and State governments (Curtis and Lockwood 2000). Landcare focused on local participatory action and capacity building for sustainable management of natural resources, mostly on privately owned land (Youl et al. 2001). While technical experts provided support, farmers were the key actors, working in local groups to assess degradation on their properties, improve practices and remediate damage (Lockie 1998).

In the 1990s, a perceived failure of locally-organised projects to create the extent of landscapes change desired by governments converged with mobilisation of the interests of Indigenous people, declining economic viability for rural producers, rationalisation of infrastructure spending and withdrawal of government services, increasing diversity in rural economies and communities, and a trend to collaborative planning, to raise interest in regional scale catchment planning (Morrison and Lane 2006). This belief in the possibilities of regional governance accorded with enthusiasm for regional level decision-making in environmental management worldwide (Jennings and Moore 2000).

Stakeholder participation was (and remains) an objective for NRM in numerous pieces of State legislation and Federal policy (Marshall 2008), but there was always a gap between the rhetoric and practice of participatory governance in the regional delivery model (Lockwood and Davidson 2010; Prager 2010). More than 50 NRM regional bodies were created as a level of organization between Government (State and Federal) and community based groups, initially under the shelter of a Natural Resource Management Ministerial Council (Robins and Dovers 2007). For example, in the State of Victoria, regional Catchment Management Authorities (CMAs), were formed as statutory authorities responsible to a Minister, with Ministerial-appointed boards. The regional bodies were created to link local communities, State-based planning and Federal policies and investment (Head 2009). They became the main route for funding on-ground work (Lockwood et al. 2009). Local community organizations such as Landcare groups had informal links with regional bodies, however, with regionalisation came more rules and accountability. Neo-liberal economics and new public management created a system of administration organised around the needs of governments acting as purchasers of outputs, which regional NRM bodies delivered (Marshall 2009). From 2000, Federal programs required that regional priorities guide funding allocations, strengthening the role of regional bodies at the expense of local decision making (Curtis et al. 2014). By the mid-2000s regionally devolved governance had peaked, and centralised decision began to return (Robins and Kanowski 2011). Local Landcare groups and networks in Australia now have their reach and effectiveness constrained by the dominance of State and Federal targets and by gradual reduction in funding (Tennent and Lockie 2013; Colliver 2012).

With the clarity of hindsight, NRM in Australia has felt a pendulum swing from top-down government control, to the privileging of local community participation and empowerment, and back to top-down control (Stephens 2013). In the 1980s, policy makers delegated power for communities to decide, through participation and deliberation, what action would be supported locally, enabling local solutions that fitted the complexity and uncertainty of landscape-scale change. In the 1990s the growing focus on regionalism devolved central power to the regional bodies, but this undermined existing relationships between local and regional level (Lockwood et al. 2009). The operating assumptions at this time appear to be that causes can be known, there are linear relationships between actions and outcomes, and that technically-generated data are facts. There appears to have been no sense that development of values, knowledge and discourse involves a dynamic relationship between a biophysical system and human culture, (Norton 2005), and no appreciation of the relational capital that underpins effective NRM (Wallis and Ison 2011). The regional approach continues to structure NRM, but the regional bodies and community organizations have not created forums for critique and redesign of institutional arrangements and practice based on an epistemology that understands and values knowledge creation and problem solving in diverse stakeholder settings as shared experiences (Mackay, 2018). Instead, regional and local practitioners have accepted and adapted to each new set of funders' priorities and protocols, and funders and policy makers have not supported inquiry into governance.

The treadmill of our title is this: each swing of the policy pendulum is imposed from above, with a new framework for practice, new measures of legitimacy and new understandings of what knowledge is legitimate (Figure 1). The imposition occurs without reflection on current institutional arrangements and practices, and without

sensing and building on what is already working. Each swing brings a new set of arrangements, and a scramble to reconfigure practices while addressing on-going changes in ecologies, economies and communities. Governance arrangements change, but each change undermines what has been built in the last swing, such that people must run just to stand still. Different ways of designing and enacting governance of natural resources are urgently needed (Ison 2018; Ison, Allan, and Collins 2015; Mackay 2018).

Figure 1. The pendulum swing of governance and the constant treadmill of activity that achieves little

Systemic co-inquiry of NRM governance in Victoria

Overview

In the State of Victoria, the pendulum swings have produced a cohort of community and government stakeholders who have tasted and tested local, regional and centralised approaches to NRM decision making and action. They are attuned to the rhetoric that attends each promise of a new approach, but remain committed to collaboration and deliberation at the interface of the social and the biophysical. The systemic co-inquiry presented in this paper began as an invitation to some of these capable and attuned NRM stakeholders to improve governance. Could they step off the treadmill and develop a contextually situated, collaboratively constructed practice of innovation in governance (Ison 2018; Steyaert and Jiggins 2007; Mackay 2018)? This is not as bold as it might seem- action research in the Port Philip and Westernport and Corangamite regions of Victoria in 2014-15 had demonstrated the potential of systemic co-inquiry to re-think roles and practices between local and regional levels of governance (see

Mackay et al. 2014; Mackay 2018).

A network of researchers coalesced into a consortium, the authors of this paper, to create a co-inquiry process between local, regional and State level practitioners. The researchers are part of a wave of empirically-grounded post-positivist practitioners, in the tradition of those described by Hajer and Wagenaar (2003), strongly anchored in action research/inquiry traditions, and largely interpretivist and constructivist in orientation (e.g. Ison, Röling, and Watson 2007; Colliver 2012; Allan and Curtis 2005; Mackay 2018; Wallis and Ison 2011). Researchers from other traditions joined and remained as the inquiry progressed (e.g. Mumaw and Bekessy 2017). The consortium members bring their understandings and practices to the inquiry; we each have unique, embodied histories out of which we think and act (Russell and Ison 2007). Our focus on collaboration and co-design mean we strive to bring these histories into awareness, and this demands reflexivity (Ison 2018). Together, we accept complexity, and assume change and unknowablity rather than stable states (e.g. Schön 1973). We encourage thinking systemically and collaboratively, favouring deliberating and co-designing over solving, and testing in action over extended planning. We also embrace talking and listening over time (see Innes and Booher 2016, on collaborative rationality) and seek to expose and value multiple partial perspectives (Churchman 1971). We focus on starting conditions and institutional support, and build collaboration around these (Ansell and Gash 2007). We understand innovation in governance as an emergent property of changes in understandings and practices enacted in contexts of concern (Collins and Ison 2010) and interest (Mackay 2018), with systems and second-order cybernetic scholarship (Ison 2002; Ison et al. 2004; Ison 2017) fundamental to the design and conduct of our work.

Undertaking the systemic co-inquiry

Systemic co-inquiry builds on co-operative inquiry (Heron and Reason 2001); participants as co-researchers contribute to the design, implementation, monitoring and evaluation of research. It is a specific type of collaborative inquiry which draws on systems theories, methodologies and techniques (Dewey 1933; Churchman 1971; Checkland 2002; Blackmore 2009; Ison 2017; Mackay 2018). Systemic co-inquiry is underpinned by acknowledging that much is not known, and focuses on processes of social learning and the emergence of opportunities, rather than on pre-defined timelines, blueprints and outputs common to projects and programs (Ison 2002). The process of systemic co-inquiry is purposefully designed and facilitated, bringing people together around a situation of concern to understand possibilities and constraints, and to design and test alternative institutional arrangements and practices. It creates a safe space for inquiry, embedded in networks and hierarchies, where investigation and reflection are valued. Systems thinking brings attention to the context of concerns, to multiple rather than single causes, and to patterns that repeat. A facilitated process, framed as an inquiry, enables people to encounter their differing points of view, to maintain momentum when there is difference and uncertainty, and to design ways for improving governance. Figure 2 illustrates systemic co-inquiry as a process purposefully designed for the circumstances-to-hand. In the following section we show how this general approach was used to explore NYM governance.

Figure 2. The design for the systemic co-inquiry, adapted from Mackay (2018)

Implementation of systemic co-inquiry of NRM governance

The implementation of our systemic co-inquiry is unusual, in being convened by and for practitioners in NRM governance. It was initiated not as part of a government program, but by a Landcare facilitator undertaking PhD research (Mackay 2018; Mackay et al. 2014). In investigating participatory process in NRM, Landcare networks in the Corangamite region said they wanted to understand why their community-based approach to improving land management and restoring landscapes was so little understood by staff in regional and State level programs. Six workshops with the Corangamite network used systemic co-inquiry to build relationships and understandings between local and regional levels, but participants concluded that most of the opportunities they developed needed State level support to prosper.

Building on that PhD research the systemic co-inquiry moved to the State capital, Melbourne, targeting NRM practitioners who sensed systemic failure and wanted to step off the treadmill and re-think governance. State and Federal-level practitioners were invited to join local and regional practitioners (some from the Landcare network-based inquiry) in a new round of inquiry titled the Systemic Inquiry into NRM Governance in Victoria. Over 14 months, five workshops drew together practitioners from Landcare groups and other community environmental volunteer networks, CMAs, State government agencies, local government, philanthropic trusts and universities. Numbers grew from an initial 23 to 45.

Through the inquiry participants settled on four opportunities for improving NRM governance (Figure 3). *Operationalising the Victorian Biodiversity Strategy* looked to strengthen local level agency in relation to State goals for biodiversity. *Integrating NRM planning across local, regional and State scales* considered how each level of governance could understand and work with the imperatives driving other

levels. Creating a common language for measuring NRM tackled the failure to measure outcomes in a way that spoke simultaneously to Treasury, program designers and the practitioners delivering programs. Co-designing the partnership between community and government investigated how to turn the rhetoric of partnership into decision making that actually considered community priorities. To these, the consortium itself added a fifth opportunity: development of a platform to sustain innovation in NRM governance.

Figure 3. Five opportunities in the Systemic Inquiry into NRM Governance

Throughout the five workshops, the research consortium documented workshop

outcomes, so that participants could hold their thinking as it developed, and introduce
ideas to colleagues and managers. From Workshop 2, some working groups began to
pursue their opportunity outside the formal workshops, with the consortium assisting
with introductions, facilitation and guidance on how to keep thinking systemically. A
'meta-inquiry' by the consortium explored how systems thinking and action was
maintained in each of the working groups.

Analytical/deliberation tools

The activities of any particular systemic co-inquiry will vary to fit the context; here we describe the methods used in three stages of this inquiry: *framing the inquiry*; *focusing in* to select opportunities for improving governance; and, *moving from what is to what a system could be*. Our systems thinking tools and activities drew from documented methods (Armson 2011; Blackmore et al. 2017) and from our collective facilitation practice. The tools are similar to those used in systemic co-inquiry into implementation

of the Water Framework Directive in England Foster et al. (2019). The activities and the workshop sequence were built as we progressed, with the consortium meeting to review the previous workshop and plan the next, supported by feedback from participants.

Framing the inquiry began with an invitation, distributed through the professional networks of the consortium, and then of those who joined the Inquiry, to people in NRM known to be dissatisfied with business-as-usual, and had a track record of innovating in governance in their institutional locale. The invitation spoke directly to practitioners' dissatisfaction and their desire to 'do NRM better', but did not attempt to define what 'better' meant. Nor did the invitation promise solutions, only inquiry. It named the pressure to deliver results within projects and programs as part of the problem of improving NRM governance, in that this squeezed out opportunities for critical reflection and discussion of practice. We left it to participants to negotiate space in their schedules to attend the workshops, but noted we expected a commitment to the full process once people had decided they wanted to be involved.

The majority of those who responded came as practitioners, from local and regional levels of governance, with no mandate to improve governance other than their own interest. The workshops did not begin with a set of concerns but with a collective inquiry into people's experience of NRM governance and a search for opportunities to do NRM better. Those opportunities provided a starting point for investigating how governance was currently organised around each opportunity, drawing on the differing perspectives of participants interested in that situation, then on their reading of the experience and interests of those not in the workshops who also had a stake in the situation. Many participants were unknown to each other until the day they assembled, so inquiry processes were designed to allow people to get to know each other as practitioners, with perspectives that flowed from their personal history and

organizational context. All of this we understand as *framing the inquiry*, with these elements: the invitation to inquiry, opening the experience of being in a system, and investigating what is at issue for individuals and groups with different stakeholdings.

The guiding intent in framing the inquiry was to displace solution-seeking based on assumptions of linear cause and effect, and put in place systemic and collaborative inquiry. The invitation created a space dedicated to inquiry. The first formal activity sought to open the experience of being in a complex system. We invited participants to draw their experience of a system, using coloured pens and images, diagrams, words or numbers to capture what the system seemed like to them. These diagrams are known as rich pictures (Armson 2011). Participants shared their pictures, and found themes together. Drawing is an alternative to talking, sidestepping the tendency to go to established interpretations and connecting people to their embodied experience of being in a system. Considering others' pictures reveals differences in perspective, rooted in where a person sits within governance arrangements (Mackay 2018). People at regional level, for example, experience NRM governance differently from people at local or State level. Finding themes rather than issues or problems is a way to think holistically about complexity, without getting overwhelmed by detail or alternatively, breaking the mess into small pieces and treating the situation as a series of difficulties.

Figures 4a & 4b. Rich pictures from Workshop 1.

The rich pictures are mostly messy affairs (see Figure 4a), but are sometimes loosely structured through use of metaphor (Figure 4b). Drawing then discussing the rich pictures activates three kinds of inquiry: first-person inquiry, as I attempt to represent what I experience; second-person inquiry, as I notice how others have represented my

role in relation to their role and we begin to examine our relationships; and third-person inquiry, as we jointly look at the institutional or organizational context in which our relationships are embedded (Torbert and Taylor 2008).

The next stage of the inquiry, Focusing in, was a search for the points in current governance arrangements and practices where there was an opportunity to improve governance. This was an iteration between a first guess at an opportunity, analysis of patterns of behaviour, and a search for interventions where change might bring improvement. We introduced participants to multi-cause diagramming (Armson 2011; Open University 2019) as a way to track intended and unintended consequences through networks of cause and effect, and thereby to understand practices and institutional arrangements that either locked in ineffective governance or could open up effective governance. Sometimes these were two sides of the same coin. Possible intervention points were contested, and people worked through their differing perceptions of potential for change in different aspects of governance, and their differing assumptions about change. When a possibility petered out, discussion returned to the opportunity and to analysis of how governance played out around that opportunity. This search for intervention points also took account of what was happening at policy and operational levels. For example, was now the right time to pursue a particular pathway? Was there readiness amongst practitioners, policymakers and politicians? As an example of the focusing in process, Figure 5 maps the thinking around the opportunity 'Co-designing the partnership between community and government'.

Figure 5. Alternative ways to strengthen the community-government partnership.

Regarding this opportunity, community Landcare participants said they were locked into partnerships where they were informed and educated, but still essentially told what

to do by government programs. They wanted partnerships where they had an equal say in decisions and an equal share in the risks associated with programs and projects. But how could this be achieved? For thirty years, Landcare groups and networks had taken local action, and assumed (along the right-hand loop in Figure 5) that Landcare would be taken on by regional level as partners in planning. This had not happened. Marshalling evidence of the impacts of community action might be a way forward: on the left-hand loop, gathering evidence of Landcare's impacts and telling that story better might strengthen advocacy for people-centred policies that would compel government programs to do more than consult on their terms, when it suited them. This, however, was a long road, with many possible points where influence would fail. As the group struggled with this, a third pathway (shown by the arrows through the centre of the diagram) appeared: to take on the way priorities are set and projects designed—the nutsand-bolts of NRM planning—and co-design these between local and regional levels. The concept of 'co-design' had recently come into policy thinking in NRM in Victoria, and might prove attractive to funders and regional players—this was the pathway this group pursued.

Moving from what is to what could be began with systems maps that showed the structure of, and relationships between, parts of a system operating around a focal situation. Systems maps delineate a boundary, and internal structure of sub-systems, and an environment outside the boundary. By diagramming the systems and sub-systems that belong together, systems maps make it easier to understand what is happening (Armson 2011). Systems definitions then gave shape to what could be, in the form: 'A system to do <What> by means of <How> in order to contribute to achieving <Why>'. This template is disarmingly simple, with only one What, the primary activity that defines the purpose, and one Why. The 'What' must contribute directly to the 'Why' in

ways that are readily understandable. Verb forms are used for *What*, *How* and *Why*. Arriving at a systems definition is a deliberative process, moving between analysis of what is and what could be (Armson 2011; Checkland and Poulter 2006).

If the systems definition sets an aspiration, a human activity system (HAS) (Checkland and Poulter 2006; Armson 2011) is a design for how to shift existing players towards a new system. The notion of an activity system displaces the assumption of predictable cause-and-effect implicit in a program logic approach to project design. Systemic co-inquiry assumes that governance can change when human actors engage creatively in reshaping practice through design, action and learning. Figure 6 reproduces the systems definition and HAS developed by the 'Operationalising the Victorian Biodiversity Strategy' co-inquiry group. Protection of biodiversity is affected by many different government agencies, businesses and individuals, but most act without knowledge of what others are doing or intending, particularly in urban areas. The experiences of the group were that government set priorities using different criteria and different data to those used by urban communities active in local nature stewardship. The urban environment was a 'blank spot' in State agency planning and activities, despite 90% of Victoria's population living in urban areas.

Figure 6. A system definition and human activity system for connecting Victorians with nature

Participants felt that what was needed was change in the linkages between strategy-making, decision-making and community involvement. The *Operationalising the*Victorian Biodiversity Strategy' co-inquiry group decided it was necessary to shift the

system from government-led planning disconnected from community members who are active in caring for nature, to a system that involves all Victorians working together to take care of nature. This would require programs co-designed by citizens and local government agencies, working collaboratively to engage their local communities in nature stewardship. A project was developed and funded to initiate a network in which innovators co-designing stewardship programs would share what they were doing, supporting development of other co-designing citizen-local government collaborations who would join the network and share their learnings and resources. This network has moved knowledge and inspiration rapidly across multiple locations and organizations in municipalities in and around Melbourne, and continues as an expanding self-organizing governance network based on hub and spoke relationships (Gardens for Wildlife Victoria 2019; Mumaw, Gaskell, and Leskovec 2018).

Critical reflections on the systemic co-inquiry design and conduct

The systemic co-inquiry described above is dynamic, and exciting, and some practice is changing. We now reflect on what we learned through this systemic co-inquiry in relation to governance and practice, and its theoretical and political implications.

Governance

The design led beyond articulating what was wrong in a situation of concern to a focus on the opportunities perceived by those participating. Over time all members of the consortium began to think of themselves as both facilitators and researchers. They framed their role as providing a platform that would support autonomous teams around each (sub) co- inquiry. The platform conducted a meta-inquiry into how systemic co-inquiry could be sustained, institutionalised and contribute to capacity and capability-building. The consortium developed a case, alongside the four pilot proposals, for

funding support for such a platform, that is for moving towards and institutionalising systemic governance or co-governance. Foster et al. (2019) conceptualised this function in another, similar, program as inquiring into governing; a second-order, reflexive institutional and praxis space capable of mediating between the arms of vertical (i.e. state driven) and horizontal (i.e. civil society-driven) governance. But who, other than government, might fund inquiry into governance? And if they do, are the dangers of being co-opted by government outweighed by the opportunity to inquire - this is in itself an area for more innovation and inquiry.

Methodological

We have seeded an approach to improving governance rooted in social learning, that brings together innovators from different organizations (government and civil) at different levels (local, regional and State). Beyond the first two workshops we were not able to sustain participation of Federal government personnel. We set aside the traditional approach to improvement of governance, in which agendas, models, processes and priorities are set by government actors and opened to community actors for 'consultation', often within a rigid timeframe that precludes meaningful contribution. Two aspects of the case study are worth comment: the creation of a 'safe space' for inquiry embedded in, but not constrained by, networks and hierarchies, and the use of systems thinking in practice (STiP) to support inquiry in the context of practice.

The case study describes systemic co-design as a process, but the systemic inquiry in NRM governance was also a 'safe space' for the creative work of systems thinking. The support and imprimatur of a key, high-level government actor early on assisted to validate the process, but essentially our approach was driven by an invitation to people frustrated with limitations in the practices and institutional relationships of

NRM, who nonetheless believed that things could be done better. Systemic co-inquiry provided those people with a way to work with others to learn how to move from problems to possibilities, in conditions of complexity and uncertainty, and then shape their ideas into the form of 'pilot project' proposals which NRM organizations and philanthropic funders could understand and to which they could respond.

Participants were recruited from networks across NRM governance, then formed as teams that linked these networks, and continued to test their ideas, influence opinion and broker connections within their networks, harnessing the potential observed for networks in systems change (Moore and Westly 2011). Some came from positions within hierarchies, negotiating support from those hierarchies for their participation, and lobbying for support for the proposals that emerged. Others came as interested civil actors, linked to volunteer networks without organizational constraints. In mobilizing support within networks and hierarchies, participants acted as organizational entrepreneurs (Huitema and Meijerink 2010; Davidson and de Loe 2016). Systemic coinquiry was therefore a place for inquiry, connected to, but not assimilated by, networks and hierarchies. The presence of a team of practitioners and researchers to sponsor and facilitate systemic co-inquiry legitimized that place for learning and delivered the guidance and practical support needed for inquiry. However, the inquiry was treated by some of these hierarchies as a 'project' (sensu Allan 2012), supported within the period of its initial resourcing but not beyond, precluding its effectiveness as an ongoing iterative approach.

The inquiry applied systems thinking in the context of practice. Rather than seeking a perilous certainty, we encouraged engagement with differing points of view that generated deeper understanding of what was possible, and commitment to pursue this. By approaching systems as constructs of human purposefulness, rather than as hard

objects, the inquiry supported design for change. The use of novel formulations of possible systems to articulate a vision left open the realization that ongoing articulation of purpose is always a matter for further inquiry and design. The use of Human Activity Systems set up action as a system of influence within a complex institutional context, rather than positioning action as implementation of a known program logic separate from uncertainty and human agency. Understanding any situation as a manifestation of practices and institutional arrangements underpinned by values and ways of thinking gave participants many different entry points to bring about change. Framing change as learning-in-action helped to engage people who were unfamiliar with theoretical language and suspicious of imposed approaches.

Theoretical

Current NRM practices are habits of hand and mind, and current arrangements reflect where power sits. Even when all parties are dissatisfied, it takes more than a good idea to shift long-established patterns; that requires strategic action in the 'whole system'. We have demonstrated that players from civil society can continue to act, and not be immediately oppressed by extant institutions. The creation of a space aligned with, but not within, existing organizations and power structures provided both legitimacy and freedom. Participant designers/facilitators able to foster a fractal like (or polycentric) praxis network of 'systemic (co)inquiring' groups may be one pathway to transformative social change. Effective monitoring and evaluating and adaptive designing of the inquiry should become an essential part of the ongoing process.

The systems co-inquiry framing also re-unites, to some degree, interpretation of action, practice-orientation and deliberation. Systems thinking provided a way to enter into uncertainty that produced insights in support of ongoing concerted action. In this regard systemic co-inquiry can be seen as a further development in the action

research/systemic action research lineage of scholarship to which the authors have contributed.

Political

The platform enabled collaborative action that led to modest investment from numerous sources, around three emergent co-inquiries, although to date it has not been possible to fund the meta-inquiry. This is an ongoing challenge in a field that has been plagued over many years by on-going co-option of local understandings and self-organising actions by the state (Ison, Alexandra, and Wallis 2018). Through the State government (DEWLP) funding we know that the systemic co-inquiries influenced the development of policy, but there is no guarantee of ongoing implementation of systemic co-inquiry as a policy paradigm. Our approach was sustained without specific funding or programs, the initial step backed by a small university grant, with other willing to contribute as the benefits of the process emerged.

The systemic co-inquiry was only possible by keeping diverse stakeholders engaged, trusting the process and capturing and articulating the emergent outcomes. Our starting point outside established authority in NRM facilitated this, however, the overall approach is likely to fail unless sustained support (from, for example, employers, agencies, philanthropic bodies) for a new type of organization, based on enacting a paradigm of co-inquiry/co-design, can be created. Organizations that facilitate design, reflection and transformation, ahead of planning and projects, are needed to break the pendulum and treadmill effects, to mediate between the arms of vertical and horizontal governance while maintaining ongoing relevance and avoiding state capture. Our co-inquiry was underway when co-design became flavour-of-the-month in policy/government circles, and our observation was that the state continues to sees itself as 'initiator' for anything not part of its traditional role, and rather than being an

ongoing collaborator, handballing actual implementation of any new design to 'the community.' This does not bode well for state support for an approach that adds to the set of co-design possibilities, a commitment to rigorous inquiry, and to iterations of inquiry, design and action, rather than pursuit of single-shot solutions.

Relevance for DPA

There are clear links with DPA in the approach taken by the research consortium, in particular the will to build policy from practice outwards (see Cook and Wagenaar 2012), and to facilitate and foster insitutionalisation of social learning and systems thinking in practice (see Foster et al. 2019; Mackay 2018). DPA, which seeks to generate relevant and usable knowledge for policy actors, was originally described as having three related pillars - interpretation, deliberation and practice (Hajer and Wagenaar 2003). Practice in this context was considered to be pragmatic and purposeful, interpretive and holistic, interactive and moral and emotional, and with a systems understanding of community (Wagenaar and Cook 2003).

West, van Kerhoff, and Wagenaar (2019) propose practice as a starting point for transdisciplinary interventions in situations of dynamic complexity. DPA argues that knowledge emerges from practice. Inquiry in the midst of practice, by people attuned to the contingencies of a complex situation, is more likely to generate transformative action than inquiry that assumes that knowledge precedes, and is applied to, action. Complex situations change, and knowledge is but one manifestation of practice that develops and is improvised in those situations. These understandings are consistent with claims about practice arising from applied systems thinking in practice (STiP) research at the UK Open University (OU). From the cybernetic systems and cognition lineages that inform their work, practice is (i) always situated and embodied; (ii) requires an observer for all observing; (iii) understands that everything said is said by someone (we

live in language); (iv) accepts that all knowing is doing and that all being, knowing and doing is relational and (v) appreciates that all observers, practitioners, actors have a history, a tradition of understanding, out of which they think and act.

While there is continued interest in, and scholarship on, DPA its three pillars appear to have uncoupled, and moved in different directions (see Li and Wagenaar 2019b; Foster et al. 2019). The dissociation of the three pillars entrenches the tendency of DPA to maintain traditional forms of research practice within the linear model of 'knowledge transfer', with negative implications for the science of policy analysis and for all societies grappling with the new normal of the Anthropocene (Ison 2018). Li and Wagenaar (2019a, 580) conclude that there are many reasons for the failure of DPA to be taken up as a coherent program of theory and practice, noting that the "continuing hegemony of positivist, reductionist and control-oriented social science is an important one". But they also apportion blame to DPA itself for the absence of a set of operable procedures that potential practitioners can take. They suggest that "Currently people who are in principle sympathetic towards DPA have a hard time figuring out how to actually do it."

In this paper we reflect on our experience of using a systemic co-inquiry as a means to transform NRM to a form of systemic governance or governing. Describing and critiquing our use of systemic co-inquiry provides new insights to address challenges for future DPA, expressed by Li (2019) as: (i) how to render the DPA approach more operable, (ii) the absence of "analysis," and (iii) the lack of purposeful and designed practice. This particular case demonstrates how 'new wave' DPA can be made operable, include analysis as deliberation, and generate purposeful, designed pilots. What remains in doubt, however are the means to initiate and sustain a wave of

governance reform that opens up spaces for institutionalising new-wave DPA understandings and practices (see also Foster et al. 2019).

Conclusion

The case presented in this paper is situated within the broader 'problematique' of how to operationalise relational policy and practice development as part of a shift towards systemic/adaptive co-governance. We have demonstrated systemic co-inquiry as a practice; a pragmatic and purposeful way of approaching policy that is interpretive and holistic, and that by being interactive enables moral and emotional elements to be brought into planning. As such it can be considered to be part of the interventionist conception of DPA, that re-emphasises the centrality of practice, and gives direction to the interpretive and deliberative elements. It is, perhaps, an approach to nurture, but questions remain. In particular: What additional, complementary work is needed to create the new structures that will support on going social learning and systemic coinquiry? Did the constant need for funding influence the shape and direction of the systemic co-inquiry to its detriment? And perhaps most importantly, did we really jump off the treadmill, or simply spin it a bit faster?

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ⁱ NRM Regions Australia, https://nrmregionsaustralia.com.au/what-is-nrm/ Accessed 20th
August 2019.

ii It can be argued that a NRM framing conserves the human-nature dualism, as do recent shifts to natural capital and the framing of parts of the biosphere as assets for human exploitation, or interventions to conserve ecological functioning. The shift to NRG does not escape the dualism but does introduce a practitioner(s) who, in the shift from management to governing, creates possibilities for a shift towards praxis i.e., theory-informed practical action (see Ison Alexandra and Wallis 2018).

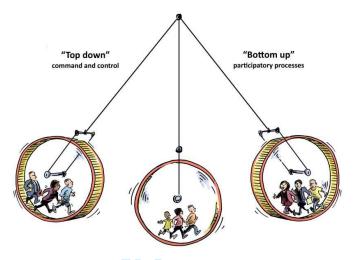


Figure 1. The pendulum swing of governance and the constant treadmill of activity that achieves little

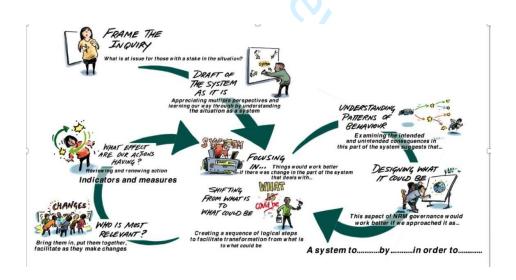
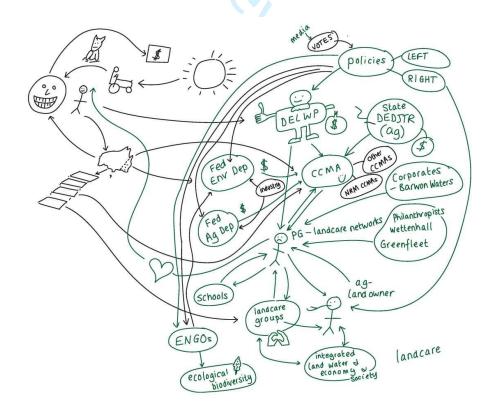
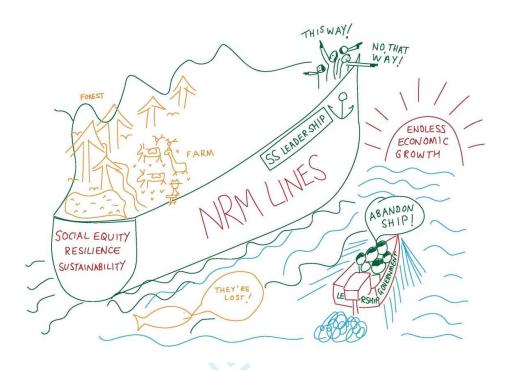


Figure 2. The design for the systemic co-inquiry, adapted from Mackay (2018)



Figure 3. Five opportunities in the Systemic Inquiry into NRM Governance





Figures 4a & 4b. Rich pictures from Workshop 1.

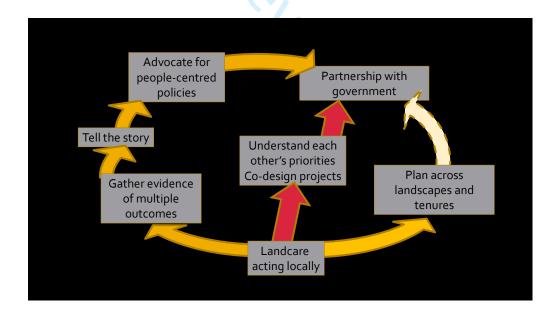


Figure 5. Alternative ways to strengthen the community-government partnership.

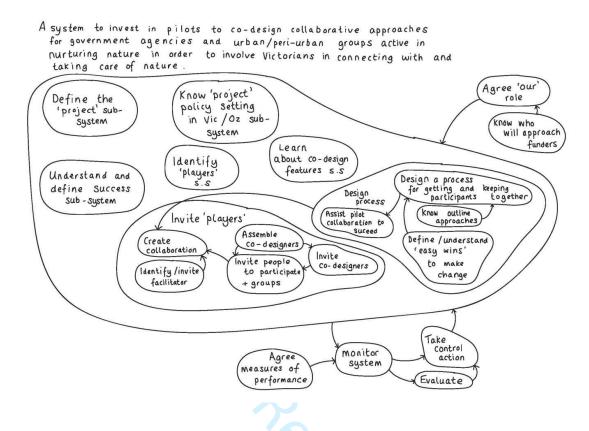


Figure 6. A system definition and human activity system for connecting Victorians with nature

Jumping off the treadmill: transforming NRM to systemic governing with systemic co-inquiry

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Notes

(See endnotes)

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Moragh Mackay, PhD is a practitioner-researcher in the field of collaborative governance. Moragh's work continues to focus on the practice of collaborative governing through application of systemic co-inquiring and mindfully employing practices that support participants to develop systems capability beyond the direct engagement in workshops and meetings. The NRM systemic co-inquiry discussed in this paper and the methodological application of the systemic co-inquiry process emerged from Moragh's PhD research. Moragh currently works in a government authority specifically designed to facilitate the transition of a region from dependence on the fossil fuel industry as coal fired power stations have and continue to shut down; where systems thinking and collaborative governing are everyday practice.

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