MAPPING THE FACTORS THAT INFLUENCE POLICY IMPLEMENTATION

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ABSTRACT

Various factors influence policy implementation. This article highlights some of the critical factors that influence the success of policy implementation. The study does not claim to provide a complete set of factors, but raises awareness about multiple factors. In some instances, it may be difficult to measure the degree of importance of certain factors. One almost ambiguous factor in policy performance is commitment. What determines factors such as commitment? What is the relationship between these factors? The article sketches the complexity and dynamic nature of the policy implementation process. Other factors besides commitment that are highlighted are the value of training, institutional environment, public/private partnerships, contextual factors and interorganisational co-operation. In any policy implementation study, one tends to find a myriad implementation variables. The key to implementation performance is understanding the specific situation where the policy initiative is to be put into practice. The dynamic nature and style of implementation is also shaped by different behaviours by the political and administrative role-players concerned.

INTRODUCTION

The study attempts to do backward mapping of factors that influence policy implementation. This attempt is not meant to offer a panacea for unsuccessful policy implementation, but is rather an attempt to contribute to the existing body of knowledge about policy implementation. The factors discussed here are therefore not a complete set – the article merely points out a number of critical factors that may play a role in different situations. Naturally, different situations, especially those not covered by this article, can bring new or other factors into play.

Throughout the world, there are various measures of what constitutes successful policy implementation. At the start of the article, an attempt is therefore made to define success

for the purposes of the article. It seems that success is an ideal to aspire to, and is useful but difficult to achieve. In most instances, success factors can be controlled by those who wish to implement a policy, but there are also factors that they cannot control.

In this article, various factors that affect policy implementation are identified. The importance of these factors varies. A number of different disciplines are interested in success factors. Although all these factors are not new, from time to time different situations might bring new or unique factors to the fore. The importance of commitment is highlighted, because its importance, together with that of a factor such as co-ordination, should not to be underestimated. The continual commitment of implementers to a particular policy initiative is critical for successful implementation. However, the involvement and the degree of commitment of policy implementers are not easy to judge, and it is therefore helpful to note what the drivers of commitment are.

Besides commitment, the following factors are also briefly emphasised in this article: the value of training, the institutional environment, public/private partnerships (PPPs), and the role of the implementers of a policy, contextual factors, and interorganisational co-operation. Ultimately, it is important to realise that the amorphous policy process consists of several variables. The article concludes that implementation is a complex and dynamic process, and that implementation behaviour is shaped by different political and administrative decisions.

Successful policy implementation

In order to map the factors of policy implementation, one first has to clarify what exactly the aim of policy implementation is. The desired outcome of policy implementation is success. Successful policy implementation is therefore a practice worth aspiring to. Successful policy implementation is a strategic action adopted by government to deliver the intended policy decision and to achieve the intended outcomes. Success in terms of policy implementation implies achieving the expected functionality required by an identified stakeholder. Success in this regard is then a baseline implementation initiative (Giacchino & Kakabadse, 2003: 140). According to this definition of success, in practice, only a few policies can be regarded as successful.

This article attempts to map the factors that influence policy implementation. The success factors are the elements of the project that, in most instances, the implementers can control to increase the chances of achieving a successful outcome. An organisation's environment also affects the organization very strongly, and the organization may not be able to control that environment. The success factors therefore include both the elements that an organisation is able to control and those it cannot control – the discussion of these factors draws on the findings of Giacchino and Kakabadse (2003:141).

FACTORS INFLUENCING SUCCESS

The literature on success factors has already identified a whole range of different success factors in fields of study as diverse as policy implementation, strategic management, administrative reform, change management and project management

Table 1: Summary of success factors

Success factor	Defined as…
(Effective) Approach	A well-researched and structured process to implementation. [Characterized by] clarity of vision, through attention to detail and fast decision-making.
(Positive) Attitude	An optimistic, team-oriented disposition and a persistent determination to succeed.
Commitment	A tangible and visible political and administrative will to deliver policy.
Cooperation	Collaborative behaviour between stakeholders to a policy, [characterized by] goal alignment, the development of strong personal relationships, and a high willingness to share skills and information.
(Effective) Planning	The detailed organization of activities.
(Effective) Resourcing	The focused deployment of skilled and motivated resources in quantities sufficient to provide a critical mass.
Enthusiasm	A heightened level of personal/team motivation, [characterized by] an intrinsic belief in the policy, the presence of incentives and visible political support.
Leadership	The ability to develop and command a following, [characterized by] clarity of vision and a legitimate mandate.
Location of political responsibility	The power emanating from the place or position that holds political ownership for the policy, and its ability to command authority over the deployment of resources.
Management style	The enthusiastic and optimistic behaviour of management, and their ability to adapt to prevailing circumstances.
Ownership	A perceived state of belonging to, and responsibility for, a policy implementation programme.

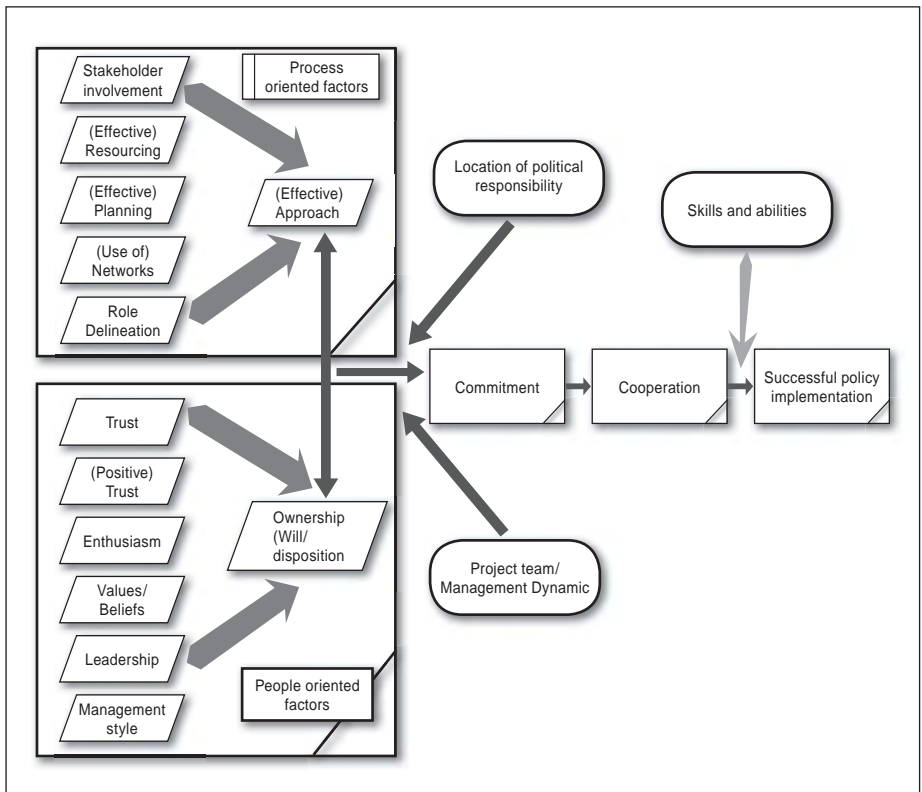| Success factor	Defined as…
Project Team/ Management dynamic	The presence of a group of individuals with different but complementary skills and expertise, working collaboratively towards a common goal.
Role delineation	The clear demarcation of responsibility between individuals, particularly between politicians and civil servants.
Skills and abilities	The capability and resourcefulness of individuals involved in implementation [characterized by] qualities such as extensive experience, adequate training and qualifications, and a practical approach to policy management.
Stakeholder involvement	Broad and active consultations with persons or entities likely to affect, or be affected by, the policy.
Trust	A high degree of confidence in persons involved in the implementation initiative, [characterized by] the belief that individuals will not sabotage the initiative, or cause deliberate harm.
(Use of) Networks	Utilizing one's personal-informed relationship with others to gain access to, or control over, resources.
Values/beliefs	People's conviction of the 'rightness' or 'goodness' of a policy initiative, because it is consistent with their personal values.

Source: (Giacchino and Kakabadse, 2003:144)

(Giacchino and Kakabadse, 2003:143). The success factors, of varying degrees of importance, are listed in Table 1. From the table, it is clear that both commitment and co-ordination fulfil a central role in successful policy implementation. While commitment is regarded as the core construct of policy implementation, it is directly dependent upon the co-ordination of all the people involved. Thus type and degree of co-operation that is required to drive success is a function of the commitment (Giacchino and Kakabadse, 2003:143).

The factors that determine commitment are often unclear. Commitment often depends on the implementer's unconditional ownership. Figure 1 depicts the perceived relationship between different factors. The question is what lessons can be learnt from the factors that will in all likelihood improve success. The next section of the article explores the importance of commitment.

IMPORTANCE OF COMMITMENT

The key to any initiative is the commitment of everyone concerned to ensuring the successful roll-out of the initiative. It is therefore worth exploring the meaning of the term *commitment*. In essence, commitment refers to an ability to maintain the focus on an initiative from its inception through to its delivery. There are divergent views on how to create commitment to a policy initiative. One view is that political backing is needed, implying that commitment is mainly a top-down issue. Others regard commitment as something that has to be developed from the bottom up. The latter view

Figure 1: Relationship of factors influencing successful policy implementation

Figure 2: The various drivers of commitment
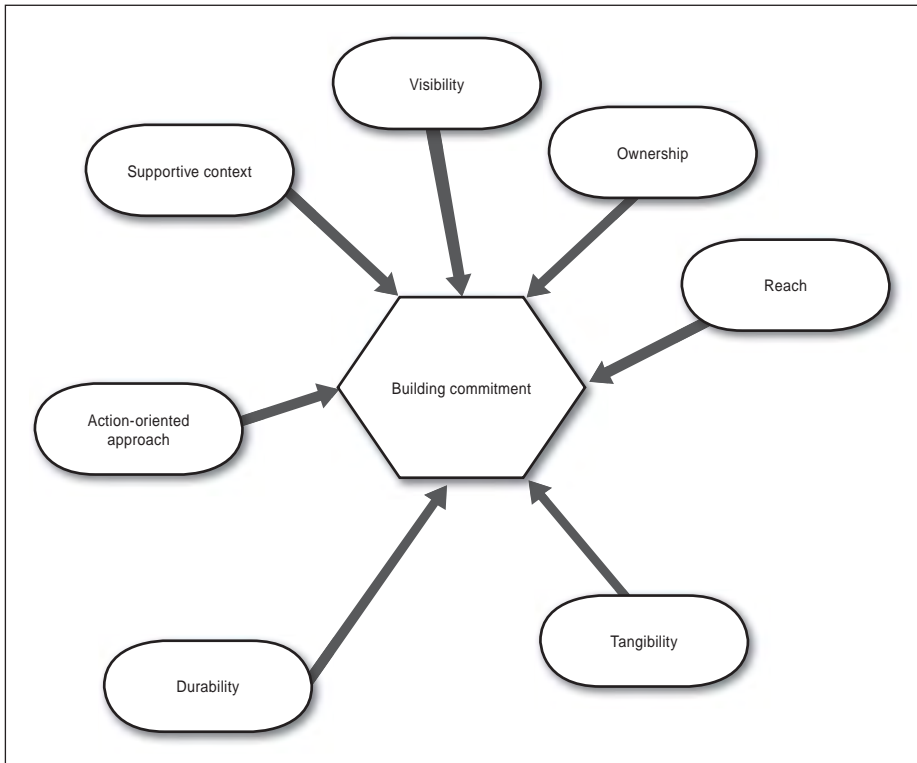
focuses on the attitude of the employees who have to implement the initiative at the ground level (Giacchino and Kakabadse, 2003:146). Figure 2 sets out various drivers of commitment.

The visibility of a policy tends to build commitment among both the officials who have to implement the policy from the bottom up, and the politicians who need to support it from the top down. People are more likely to commit to a high-profile programme. The higher the visibility and profile of a policy, the greater the pressure for change. However, this does not mean that a low-profile policy is necessarily doomed. Ownership of a programme reflects commitment at multiple levels, which in turn implies both administrative and political commitment. Commitment to a particular policy must reach as many stakeholders as possible.

The management of the different stakeholders involved, is therefore a critical aspect of maintaining commitment. Commitment to the policy must be made tangible in various ways. Policy leaders must be actively involved in implementation. Commitment must be ensured in both the long term and the short term. It therefore follows that commitment must be lasting. Commitment often fails because decisions are postponed or not made;

or when they are taken, they are taken too late and are ineffective. Hence, commitment implies timeous, action-oriented activity.

Successful policy implementation requires the implementers to muster support at the conceptual level before implementation. Such support could be created through various measures, such as political propaganda, educational and awareness programmes, public debates, and the publication of policies in Green and White Papers (Giacchino and Kakabadse, 2003:149).

VALUE OF TRAINING

Substantial research has demonstrated the value of training in successful policy implementation. Although training is certainly not the only factor that contributes to successful policy implementation, the value of training cannot be underestimated. A study conducted on the education in respect of the HIV/AIDS policy has demonstrated that the training of teachers is indeed one of the strongest predictors of successful implementation of this policy – the teacher training is likely to improve the implementation of HIV and AIDS education and raise awareness among teachers about the HIV/AIDS problem and the importance of responding to it (Matthews *et al.,* 2006:392). Training may increase the implementers' self-efficacy so that they believe they are more capable of performing the work at hand. Implementers are more likely to proceed if they feel confident in their ability to overcome possible barriers to transforming an intention into practice.

Government's attitude towards the value of training is equally critical for successful implementation. According to Younis (1990:117), training is often neglected in developing countries. There seems to be no doubt that insufficient training in a country has a deleterious effect on development in general and on the success of policy implementation in particular.

INSTITUTIONAL ENVIRONMENT

The institutional environment is a factor in the success of policy implementation that is not easy to gauge, but that nevertheless plays an important role. Matthews *et al.,* (2006: 389) conducted an investigation into school education and its influence on the implementation of the HIV/AIDS policy. The findings of their study show that the atmosphere in a school is indeed important in the successful implementation of the HIV/AIDS policy. School in this instance has two dimensions, the academic climate and the social climate. The academic climate refers mainly to the learners' willingness to learn, the efforts by teachers to get the learners to learn and the expectations of the staff that learners will do well academically and that such good academic performance will lead to a successful life. The social environment refers to the parents and the community's involvement in the life of the school, the equal treatment of learners regardless of ethnicity or gender, the appropriateness of learner behaviour, and the appearance of the school buildings (Matthews *et al.,* 2006:389).

The interface between the institutional environment and HIV/AIDS education suggests that a person's behaviour and behavioural intentions are determined by three independent influences:

- the person's beliefs about the outcome of performing the behaviour in question;
- the person's perception of whether prominent exponents think he/she should or should not perform the behaviour, and the extent to which he/she is motivated to comply; and
- the person's beliefs concerning whether he/she has the necessary resources and opportunities to perform that behaviour successfully (Matthews *et al.*, 2006:389).

Giacchino and Kakabadse (2003:150) have identified two dimensions of location that co-exist simultaneously. The one dimension is personal and concerns decisions regarding the individual who is to assume the responsibility for the policy initiative. The other dimension is institutional and concerns decisions regarding the organization that is responsible for the policy initiative.

IMPLEMENTATION THROUGH PUBLIC/PRIVATE PARTNERSHIPS

Continuous successful policy implementation often requires substantial financial, institutional and technical inputs. Public organisations are therefore inclined to look elsewhere for resources and project finance. One way of dealing with the resource challenge is to develop partners such as private institutions or NGOs. In this regard, one can look at the existing models of public/private partnerships (PPP). The mobilisation of these resources consists of complex institutional arrangements among users and developers. PPPs require commitment between a public institution and an organisation outside the public sector. In this regard, successful policy implementation often results from a high level of co-operation and a realization that each party has a stake and interest in the other (Luthuli, 2005:144). The success of PPPs also depends on factors such as skills and financing. Not all policies are equally well suited to PPPs.

ROLE OF IMPLEMENTERS

A study done in Tanzania on the implementation of the Tanzanian Community Health Fund policy indicated the critical role of the implementers in the implementation process (Kamuzora and Gilson, 2007: 95). The role of the implementer as a factor is also mentioned by Lipsky (1980): the *street level bureaucrat* is the interface between the bureaucracy and the citizenry. These bureaucrats have a high margin of discretion in their personal interactions with clients, especially with regard to resource allocation decisions. In the case of the implementation of the Tanzanian Community Health Fund policy (Kamuzora and Gilson, 2007:95), it was clear that implementers influence how policies are experienced and how their impact is achieved. The apparently powerless implementers, at the interface between bureaucracy and citizenry, are difficult to control because they have a high margin of discretion and consequently re-interpret and reshape policy in

unexpected ways. In some instances, implementers may react against efforts to impose policy change on them. The support of the implementers is therefore critical to the success of a specific policy, or its lack of success. Observations by Maynard-Moody, Musheno and Palumbo (1990:845) suggest that programmes with greater street-level influence in policy processes were more successfully implemented. Policy guidelines therefore need to be clear and not confusing and actively need to engage the policy implementers in the programme. The use of participatory approaches in the design of the policy can also benefit the implementation process.

CONTEXTUAL FACTORS

A longitudinal examination of the policy-making process has shown that it is often a linear process of social actions based on rational steps that lead to desirable outcomes. In reality, policy-making and implementation is a dynamic, rather amorphous process that constantly shifts in content and emphasis. This process evolves in a broad political, social and cultural context (Trostle, *et al.,* 1999:110).

The amorphous nature of the policy-making process is demonstrated by a study on the implementation of malaria policy in three African countries, where drug resistance has necessitated the introduction of new malaria drugs. This study found that the factors that influence policy implementation often lie outside the immediate influence of those individuals and agencies most involved in championing the agenda (Durrheim, *et al.,* 2003:311). This study highlighted the contextual factors that influence policy design and implementation, such as the environment and local field implementers. The availability of efficacy data gathered through policy research is not synonymous with policy implementation. In the case of the new malaria policy, there seems to be a large gap between policy and practice. In the particular case under review, the research results were not properly communicated with political decision-makers. Official endorsement is therefore critical to implementation. In the malaria policy case, the training of health workers was also identified as an additional factor in the success or failure of policy implementation (Durrheim, *et al.,* 2003: 321). The lesson is that the modification of drug policies cannot occur in isolation. Malaria control requires integrated planning by related directorates in health institutions and effective communication with health officials (Durrheim, *et al.,* 2003:326). Figure 3 depicts the adaptation to a new malaria policy that is determined by a specific content.

INTERORGANISATIONAL CO-OPERATION

Interorganisational cooperation is often regarded as valuable to policy implementation, but the fact that there is interorganisational cooperation does not necessarily imply more effective policy implementation. Lundin (2007:629) conducted a qualitative study into the implementation of two policies in Sweden. The one policy was a complex policy and the other policy was regarded as less complicated. In his study, he defined a complex policy as a policy with a large scope that involves intensive action. The costs must also be

Figure 3: The amorphous policy process
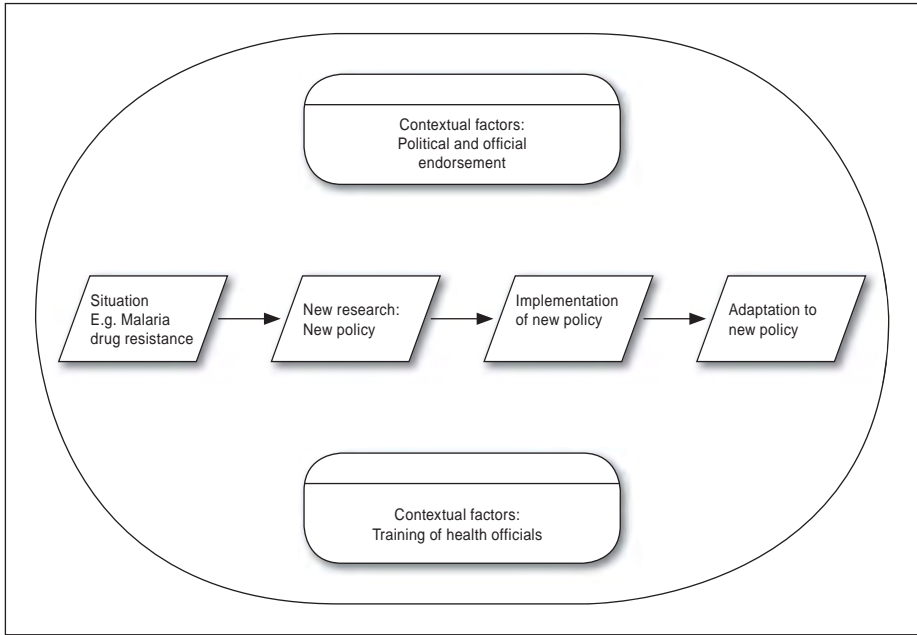
Source: Adapted from Durrheim, et al., 2003:320

considered in this definition – as complexity increases, the costs of co-operation are also likely to increase. The benefits of co-operation are very low if there is little complexity, but there will always be costs. The question is therefore if it is really important to have interorganisational co-operation for simple policies. According to the Swedish study (Lundin 2007:643), co-operation in respect of a complex policy has a positive effect on implementation, no matter how the variable is operationalised. With a simple policy, the effect of cooperation is insignificant.

IMPORTANT VARIABLES OF POLICY IMPLEMENTATION

The mere fact that there is no single theory on policy implementation makes a review of the literature quite significant. Table 2 depicts different views of what different authors regard as important variables in policy implementation. Table 2 was adapted from a study by O'Toole (1986:185). This list of factors, comprehensive but not complete, includes aspects such as flexibility of goals and procedures, financial and other resources, attitudes and perceptions by implementers, alignment of clientele and timing (O'Toole, 1986:189). It seems that some of these views are contradictory. This suggests that the success or failure of a particular policy may be linked to the situation. The important variables presented in Table 2 can (*cf.* Annexure) serve as a checklist for the implementation process.

Table 2: Variables viewed as important in the implementation literature

Author(s) and Variables	
Ackermann and Steinmann (1982)	Resources , interorganizational structure Stimulus, policy, programme, implementation: contextual, organizational, environmental, perceptual variables.
Alexander (1985)	Goal ambiguity.
Altenstetter and Bjorkman (1976, 1977) Ball (1976)	Decisional clarity, consensus, and reiteration: personnel attitudes, enforcement resources, reputational authority, homogeneity of issues, public, cost of abatement, role of local media.
Baum (1976, 1981)	Clarity of directives , accuracy with which decisions are communicated, interests of subordinates, subordinate policy preferences, authority, insulation, sanctioning, persuasion, branch of government, structure of interorganisational interdependence, Sabatier and Mazmanian checklist.
Berman & McLaughin (1976); Berman (1978): McLaughin (1976)	(Local) institutional context has major impact, especially organisational climate and motivations of participants (materials development, staff training, planning, frequent meetings); federal policy, technology, and resources: little influence.
Berman (1980)	Important variables depend on context (organisational, political, social and legal). Clarity of policy goals, number of actors participating, implementers' degree of resistance, ineffectualness, or inefficiency; degree of control exerted from top.
Bowen (1982)	Clearances, number of actors, persistence, time.

Author(s) and Variables	
Bowman (1984)	Tension, contextual factors (e.g. economic context).
Browne and Wildavsky (1984)	Formal policy (clarity of objectives and priorities, validity of theory of causality, sufficiency of financial resources, sufficiency of power); learning/ adaptation.
Browning, Marshall, and Tabb (1981, 1984); Browning and Marshall (1976)	Local context primary (especially orientations of local targets, ideology of local dominant coalitions), statute secondary; time.
Bryner (1981) Bullock (1980)	Clarity of statute, level of general political support. Clarity of statutory standards or objectives, degree of agency support, 'presence or absence of programmatic bias favouring the attainment of the agency's responsibilities, 'attitudes of the agency's sovereigns'.
Bunker (1972)	'The degree to which an organisation (a) is consensually clear about its task, (b) is appropriately differentiated into parts related to its pertinent sub-environments, (c) is integrated by information exchanges and effective conflict management devices, (d) has clear knowledge about its performance , and (e) is self-reflective and able to make corrective adjustments in own behaviour'; issue salience, power resources , agreement.
Chase (1979)	Operational demands, resources, authority, support: 44 'factors for consideration'; structure of interdependence

Author(s) and Variables	
Cleaves (1980)	Complexity of the change mechanism, degree of change, number of actors involved as targets, number of goals, clarity of goals, duration.
Davies and Mason (1982)	The economy, resources, legitimacy.
Durant (1984)	Extent of behavioural change required, complexity of joint action, socio-political environment, 'non-compliance delay effect', 'implementers' dispositions, validity of policy's causal theory, 'adequacy and credibility of enforcement resources'.
Edwards (1980)	Communication (transmission, clarity, consistency), resources (staff, information, authority, facilities), disposition or attitudes of implementers, bureaucratic structure (standard procedures, fragmentation), complexity.
Elmore (1976, 1977, 1978, 1979-80, 1985)	Structure of power relationships and incentives, discretion, resources.
Goodwin and Moen (1981)	Sound technical theory, constituency support, socioeconomic environment, learning.
Grindle (1980, 1981)	Content of policy (interests affected, types of benefits, extent of change envisioned, site of decision making , program implementers, resources) and context of implementation (power, interests , strategies of actors involved, institution and regime characteristics, compliance and responsiveness).
Gross *et al.* (1971)	Implementers' clarity about innovation, needed skills and knowledge, availability of materials, compatibility of organisational arrangements with innovation, degree of staff motivation.

Author(s) and Variables	
Gunn (1978), Hogwood and Gunn (1984)	Nature of policy, implementation structure, outside interference, control over implementers, resources, valid theory.
Hambleton (1983)	Policy message; multiplicity of agents, perspectives, and ideologies; resources; politics of planning.
Hargrove (1983)	Type of policy (distributive, regulatory, redistributive).
Hays (1982)	Local political conflicts, degree of mediation of local agency.
Hucke (1978)	Conditions in agency's implementation field.
Ingram and Mann (1980)	Degree of policy demand, accurate causal theory, incentives.
Jones (1980)	Complexity of programme, organisational capabilities.
Kirst and Jung (1982)	Time.
Larson (1980)	Policy goals, implementation procedures, complexity, changes in economic environment.
Lazin (1980)	Administrative linkages.
Levitt (1980)	Timescale for introducing legal powers, public expenditure policy, opportunity cost , policy as a 'sacrifice victim,' outside pressure, policy instruments , certainty of benefits from action, policy formulation as an end in itself , stability of interorganisational relationships, elements of surprise and power after governmental change, images, consultation, learning, public opinion, trends in interest groups' perceptions, media, international policy-making.

Author(s) and Variables	
Luft (1976)	Incentives.
McLanhan (1980)	Goal specificity, degree of centralisation, interests-group participation, public accountability.
Majone and Wildavsky (1978)	Objectives, resources, theory underlying policy, constraints emerging in the implementation process.
Mandell (1984)	Multilateral brokerage role.
Marvel (1982)	Number of levels of government involved.
Mazmanian & Sabatier (1981, 1983); Sabatier and Mazmanian (1979, 1981, 1983); Sabatier and Klosterman (1981)	Tractability of the problem (four variables); ability of stature to structure implementation (seven variables); nonstatutory variables (five); initial implementation success.
Mead (1977)	Background economic and social forces, funding level, incentive structure, weakness of provider institutions, administrative weakness, political constraints.
Mechling (1978)	Technical uncertainty, internal conflict.
Menzel (1981)	Statutory deadlines, configuration of intergovernmental and institutional relationships, supportive relationships among clientele, organisational structure and management rules, enforcement styles, timing.
Mitnick and Backoff (1984)	Elaborate incentive system model, including characteristics of sender, sender-receiver relation, receiver, organisational setting, and distal environment.

Author(s) and Variables	
Montjoy and O'Toole (1979) ; O'Toole and Montjoy (1984) ; O'Toole (1983)	Policy specificity, resources, agency goals, routine, world view, structure of independence, technical requirements of the task, facilitator, perceived risk for implementers.
Moore (1977a and 1978b)	Incentives, number of clearances, specificity of criteria, resources.
Mueller (1984)	Degree of change required, level of community support, fixers.
Murphy (1971, 1973, 1974, 1976)	Degree of support among implementers, adequacy of staff, strength of monitoring, law and tradition, constituency pressure.
Nakamura and Smallwood (1980)	Specificity of policy, technical limitations, actors, arenas, organizational structures, bureaucratic norms, resources, motivations, communication networks, compliance mechanisms.
Nixon (1980)	Clarity and consistency of communication.
O'Brien (1980)	Overlapping and conflicting provisions of law.
Pesso (1978)	Rules, supervision.
Porter (1976)	Task technology, type of interdependence, environment.
Pressman and Wildavsky (1984)	Multiplicity of participants, perspectives, decision points, intensity of preferences, resources.
Raelin (1980, 1982)	Power, authority and mandate distributions; quantity of organisations; network leadership; level of competition and conflict.

Author(s) and Variables	
Rawson (1981)	Clarity of organisational goals, support of organisational leaders, degree of discretion over means an ends, new vs. established organisations.
Rein and Rabinovitz (1978)	Goal saliency, complexity, nature and level of resources, number of levels, number of agencies, number of participants.
Ripley and Franklin (1982)	Type of policy.
Rogers and Bullock (1976)	Perception of legal standard, degree of agreement with legal standards, perceived costs and benefits for the implementers, environmental factors, degree to which law clearly defines who is responsible, whether the law specifies the type and amount of compliance required , perceived sanctions, whether beneficiaries are cohesive and able to take strong actions.
Rosenbaum(1980)	Specificity (four variables) and enforceability of statute (four variables).
Ross (1984)	Implementation strategy, tractability of policy problem, content of policy, structure of broader sociopolitical and policy systems, number of actors, extent of power diffusion, persona; and institutional dispositions of actors, clarity , adequacy of resources, support of leaders, institutional routines.
Sapolsky (1972)	Environment, resources, skills at bureaucratic politics, ability to manage complexity.
Scharpf (1977,1978); Scharpf *et al.* (1978)	Level of conflict, available capacity for conflict resolution, structural or organisational variables.

Author(s) and Variables	
Scheier (1981)	Decision and control processes, resources, relations with environment, supervisory expectations, routines, technical requirements, communication flow, work group norms, behaviour skills, incentives, cognitive supports.
Skelcher, Hinings, Leach, and Ransom(1983)	Structure of interorganisational linkage.
Smith (1973)	Various tensions among idealized policy, implementing organisation, target group, environmental factors.
Sorg (1983)	Individual implementer behaviours.
Thomas (1979)	Local propensity to accept a programme, blend of policy incentives with conditions, how the issue develops.
F. Thompson (1982)	Discretion in policy; agency consensus, ethos and leadership; type of pressure from environment; capacity of oversight actors.
J. Thompson(1982)	Hierarchy, socio-economic variables.
Van Meter and Van Horn (1975), Van Horn (1978, 1979a, 1979b), Van Horn and Van Meter (1976)	Policy standards, resources, enforcement, communications, characteristics of implementing agencies, political conditions, economic and social conditions, dispositions of implementers.
Weatherley and Lipsky (1977)	Resources, coping behaviours of street-level bureaucrats.
Weiler et al. (1982)	Availability of baseline data, extent to which individual programs are affected by required standards of performance, agency attitudes, resources.
Weimer (1983)	Time, civil service system, bureaucratic environment.

Author(s) and Variables	
Williams (1980, 1982)	Bargaining and fixing, institutional arrangements, staff competence, marketlike pressures, information process, resources.
Yaffee (1982)	Statute (prohibitive character)

Source: Adapted from O'Toole, 1986:196

THE COMPLEXITY OF POLICY IMPLEMENTATION

Thus far, a couple of factors that influence policy implementation have been highlighted. In the beginning of this article an attempt was made to define success with regard to policy implementation. The questions are really whether all factors can be identified and whether it is possible to develop one clear-cut definition of successful policy implementation.

All the studies into the performance of policy implementation indicate the complex and dynamic nature of the subject matter. Investigations have constantly been plagued by the problem of too many variables (Goggin, 1986:329). According to Goggin (1986:329), three clusters of independent variables can be identified. The first is the form and content of the policy itself. The second cluster is the capacity of the organisations responsible for making the policy work. The third cluster refers to the qualifications of the people in charge of policy operations.

Implementation involves different behaviours in both the administrative and the political dimensions. The exact manner or style of implementation is a result of certain implementing decisions that shape implementation behaviour. The success or failure of implementation is due to behaviour during the course of implementation (Goggin, 1986:330). Interestingly, Goggin (1986:330) remarked that the process should be divorced from the product. Thus, a distinction should be made between performance and the consequence. Successful policy implementation is therefore no guarantee for performance success. The consequences of these views are that there are various types and degrees of policy implementation success and failure. The least successful implementation is a stalemate situation. One can refer to it as no implementation at all. Another form of implementation is where the policy is regarded as perfect, but the practice does not conform to expectations. A third form of implementation is where so many adjustments have been made during implementation that the eventual result is no longer what was originally intended (Goggin, 1986:331).

CONCLUSION

It is clear from the article that although commitment as a factor is critical, it is not always clear what determines commitment. Certain drivers for motivation have been identified that provide a sense of the context of motivation. Critical factors for policy implementation were

identified, and the relationship between those factors was explored. Many different factors were highlighted, but among them, the low cost approach of training remains noticeable as a popular way to contribute to successful policy implementation. Training seems to be a non-controversial solution to often highly complex implementation problems.

The survey of the literature on policy implementation no longer paints a bleak picture of policy outcomes that are not achieved. All the developments in policy implementation research point to a broader base of knowledge. Policy implementation research has reached a mature stage, but this does not imply that there are no longer weaknesses or issues that need to be addressed. Further investigation into policy implementation remains varied and engaged.

According to O'Toole (2004:310), theories about policy implementation are almost embarrassingly plentiful, but theoretical consensus is not yet on the horizon. However, as has been pointed out, there are some broad categories of factors that merit attention. The findings of policy implementation research over the years have had a cumulative effect – almost a snowball effect. It is now clear that policy implementation varies from one situation to the next. There are many unanswered questions about implementation, such as questions about types of implementation, causal patterns associated with outcomes, and the relative importance and unique effects of various factors that influence policy implementation.

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