Archetypal Approaches To Implementation and Their Implications for Tourism Policy

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Abstract: Although recognized as an important area of tourism policy making, there are relatively few studies of implementation in tourism, especially with respect to relating tourism policy to the broader public policy and planning literature on implementation. Three archetypes of implementation analysis are presented that draw on the public policy field and these are discussed in relation to exemplar studies, approach to policy analysis, aims, themes, standpoint, underlying concept of democracy, and a number of other factors. The implications of these archetypes for the analysis of tourism are noted. It is concluded that implementation studies are significant not only for analyzing the gap between policy and action but also for highlighting struggles between policy interests and actors with respect to outcomes and the implications of using different policy frameworks.

Keywords: implementation; policy analysis; public policy; policy-action; policy outcomes; implementation gap.

Introduction

Implementation has long been recognized as being a significant issue in tourism planning and management (e.g., Baud-Bovy and Lawson 1977; Jenkins 1980; Getz 1986; Inskeep 1991; Pearce 1992; Hall 1994; Hall and Jenkins 1995; Hall *et al.* 1997; Tosun and Jenkins 1998; Bramwell and Lane 2000; Jefferies 2001). However, despite its importance there are surprisingly few studies in tourism that explicitly focus on implementation issues and difficulties (e.g. Go *et al.* 1992; Akehurst *et al.* 1994; Baum 1994; Ioannides 1995; Briassoulis 1999; Pechlaner and Sauerwein 2002; Zhang *et al.* 2002; Dredge and Jenkins 2003; Kerr 2003; Treuren and Lane 2003; Dodds 2007), and even fewer that draw directly on the extensive theory that exists outside of the field of tourism studies in the public policy and planning literature where it is a significant research theme (Aithiyaman 1995; Dredge and Jenkins 2007; Hall 2008).

The purpose of this paper is to provide an introduction to approaches to implementation that have been developed in public policy studies and cognate fields and identify some of their potential implications for the study of implementation in tourism. It does this by providing three archetype approaches to the conceptualization of implementation processes: 'top-down rational', 'bottom-up' and 'interactional network' models. However, before discussing

these archetypal approaches the paper will briefly discuss the definition of implementation.

Defining Implementation

Implementation is the process by which policy is translated into action. Implementation literature is often divided between business policy implementation which occurs in the private sector and which is often considered under issues of business strategy (Aithiyaman 1995) and public policy implementation which occurs in the government sector. However, such a divide is extremely artificial both in theory and in practice. In theory because there is an enormous amount of interplay between strategy and implementation literatures in different planning and policy fields (e.g., Schofield 2001; Barrett 2004; Wanna 2007). And in practice because many government agencies have either been corporatized (reorganized from a public departmental to a corporate business and organizational model even though they remain in state ownership) so that they act like private profit-oriented organizations or they represent hybrid public–private organizations – a change in approach that reflects the 'new public management' that developed in many Western countries in the 1990s (e.g., Wood and Jones 1993; Birkland 2005; Chen 2005; Wanna 2007). The public–private dimension being particular significant for tourism, given the usual mandates of

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government tourism agencies, such as national and regional tourism development and marketing organizations to promote the interests of the tourism industry (Dredge and Jenkins 2007; Hall 2008).

A good working definition of implementation can be taken from the seminal work by Pressman and Wildavsky (1979: xxi) in which implementation, 'may be viewed as a process of interaction between the setting of goals and actions geared to achieve them'. Indeed, much of the focus in implementation research is on closing the 'implementation gap' or 'deficit' between policy and action (Treuren and Lane 2003). Similarly, Mazmanian and Sabatier (1983: 20) define implementation as 'the carrying out of basic policy decisions, usually incorporated in a statute but which can also take the form of implementation executive orders or court decisions.' For O'Toole (2000: 266) policy implementation is 'what develops between the establishment of an apparent intention on the part of government to do something or to stop doing something, and the ultimate impact in the world of action'. Implementation, therefore, implies a linkage between policy and action (Barrett and Fudge 1981), with implementation arguably being the most important in terms of the actual outcomes of policies and programmes (usually conceived in socio-economic and/or environmental terms) as compared to the physical documents or statements of intention that represent the policy outputs (Northway *et al.* 2007), a point of difference usually lost in most studies of policy in tourism (Hall 1994; Hall and Jenkins 1995; Dredge and Jenkins 2007; Hall 2008).

Nevertheless, one of the greatest difficulties in examining the relationships between policy and action that if they are examined from a dynamic, as opposed to a static or 'one shot', perspective, then policy and action appear inseparable. As Pressman and Wildavsky (1979: xxi) observed:

> *Our working definition of implementation will do as a sketch of the earliest stages of the program, but the passage of time wreaks havoc with efforts to maintain tidy distinctions… In the midst of action the distinction between the initial conditions and the subsequent chain of causality begins to erode… The longer the chain of causality, the more numerous the reciprocal relationships among the links and the more complex implementation becomes.*

Policy and implementation are, therefore, two sides of the same coin (Hall 2008). One cannot effectively consider action without considering policy/policies, and policy cannot be understood unless there is an awareness of how it will be actioned. Unfortunately, the field of tourism studies has not developed an effective understanding of this relationship in either theory or practice with much 'policy'

being idealized and prescriptive without an appreciation of its implementation and the various forces, interests and elements that will affect this process (Hall and Jenkins 1995; Treuren and Lane 2003; Hall 2008), perhaps particularly with the notion of sustainable tourism. Indeed, it is vital to see policy and implementation as being inseparable because, as Jordan and Richardson (1987: 238) observed, there are 'probably more policies which are never introduced because of the anticipation of resistance, than policies which have failed because of resistance.'

A wide range of practical questions, therefore, arise from the policy–action relationship and the extent to which a deficit or gap develops over time in implementing policies (Treuren and Lane 2003; Dredge and Jenkins 2007; Hall 2008):

- What resources and incentives (time, money, expertise) are required to effectively implement policy?

- Are institutional arrangements appropriate?

- Is there sufficient authority to successfully implement policy?

- Does there need to be a change to regulation or legislation?

- If there are multiple agencies and jurisdictions involved and/or private or non-government partners, how will efforts be coordinated and how do we ensure that every party understands policies and associated goals and objectives in the same way?

- Can all actors and stakeholders be included in the process and are they committed to the implementation process?

- Are policies written in such a way that makes them actionable?

- How accountable are actors?

- How transparent is the process?

However, such managerial concerns are themselves embedded in more theoretical issues. For example, the inherent complexity of many tourism policy issues means that there is usually no single solution and that a range of policy instruments will be adopted. The various measures range from voluntary instruments through to highly coercive mechanisms such as removal of property rights by compulsion (Hall 2008). However, there is no one 'perfect' instrument or measure to solve planning and policy problems. Multiple instruments are often used and even these will result

in 'imperfect' solutions. 'Any single solution is likely to address parts of the problem and will likely fall short of the objectives' (Dredge and Jenkins 2007: 171). Instead, there is 'a menu of potential mechanisms which may be selected according to the nature of the issue at stake and their political acceptability' (Selman 1992: 10), and although a number of technical-rational considerations such as effectiveness and efficiency are important (see Table 1), the selection of an implementation mechanism as with policies themselves, represents sets of political decisions that arise out of a process that connects interests, values and power (Hall and Jenkins 1995).

Table 1. Factors Influencing Selection of Policy Implementation Instrument

Factor	Criteria
Measure of effectiveness	An instrument must be capable of attaining its objective in a reliable and consistent fashion, whilst being adaptable to changing circumstances over time and sensitive to differences in local conditions
	An instrument should be compatible with other policy approaches
	Compliance costs need to be factored into policy considerations
Measure of efficiency	The instrument should be judged against costs relative to desired outcomes and the costs of other instruments.
	Compliance costs need to be factored into policy considerations
Political values	An instrument should be equitable in its impact across the target population of actors, i.e., of firms, organizations and/or individuals
	An instrument should be politically acceptable, easy to operate and as transparent and understandable as possible
	Compliance costs need to be factored into policy considerations

Source: After Hall (2008)

Although not initially acknowledged in tourism planning approaches such as the community tourism model (Murphy 1985), it has now become widely recognized that power is not evenly distributed within a community and that some groups and individuals have the ability to exert greater influence over the tourism development and planning process than others through access to financial resources, expertise, public relations, media, knowledge and time to put into contested situations (e.g., Hall 2003; Pforr 2006; Church and Coles 2007). This is significant because it also means that not only do groups and individuals influence policy, but they also influence implementation. The actions of interests to try and influence policy-making does not stop when a policy or plan is written but will continue throughout

the entire policy–action process. Such a situation reflects the importance of the 'rules of the game' that surrounds planning, policy and implementation as 'the definition of the alternatives is the supreme instrument of power' (Schattsneider 1960: 66). As (Schattsneider 1960: 71) commented, 'All forms of political organisation have a bias in favour of the exploitation of some kinds of conflict, and the suppression of others, because organisation is the mobilisation of bias. Some issues are organised into politics while some others are organised out'. Such issues are inseparable from the task of 'doing implementation' (Hall 2008), because 'any attempt to develop implementation theory must face the difficulty – once it moves away from the attempt to develop checklists of pitfalls for the implementation process… of becoming involved with the wide range of questions which have been raised in relation to policy making and in the study of organizations' (Ham and Hill 1994: 115).

Three Archetypes

Although there is a substantial body of literature on implementation within the policy and planning field (Schofield and Sausman 2004; Saetren 2005), approaches to implementation can broadly be categorized into three approaches or archetypes: 'top down', 'bottom-up' and 'interactive' or 'hybrid' (Figure 1 and Table 2). The last archetype refers to approaches that seek to reconcile the top-down and bottom-up frameworks (Birkland 2005), often with a stronger emphasis on specifying clear hypotheses, finding proper operationalizations and producing empirical studies to test these hypotheses (O'Toole 2000; Pülzl and Treib 2007). However, it should be emphasized that the approaches do have significant overlap and are not necessarily applied in a discrete fashion (Sabatier 1986; Pülzl and Treib 2007).

The Top-down Archetype

Top-down approaches suggest that there is a policy hierarchy in which policies are introduced at the 'top' by decision-makers in central government and then implemented by those at the 'bottom' of the hierarchy. Implementation is, therefore, conceived as the hierarchical execution of centrally-defined policy intentions (Pülzl and Treib 2007) (Table 2). Such an approach also suggests that it is clearly possible to distinguish between policy and implementation. This approach is often represented in undergraduate management and tourism texts which discuss the strategic planning process as a series of stages in which there is a clear division or dichotomy between implementation and policy (Nakamura 1987; Hall 2008). A significant exemplar of such an approach was Van Meter and Van Horn (1975: 448) who argued that 'the

Table 2. Archetypical Approaches to Implementation

Issue	Top-down 'rational' models	Bottom-up models	Hybrid approaches: Interactional, network and governance models
Exemplar studies/Key works in public policy	Van Meter and Van Horn 1975; Bardach 1977; Sabatier 1986, 1987	Pressman and Wildavsky 1979; Lipsky 1980; Hjern 1982; Sabatier 1986, 1987; Ham and Hill 1994	Barrett and Fudge 1981; Rhodes 1981, 1988, 1990, 1994, 1996; Barrett and Hill 1984; Exworthy and Powell 2004
Policy themes	Hierarchy, control, compliance	Complexity, local autonomy, devolved power, decentralized problem-solving	Networks, multi-level governance, steering, bargaining, exchange and negotiation
Aims of policy analysis	To improve performance (achieve the top's goals); prediction/policy recommendations	To explain what actually happens as policies are implemented; description/explanation	To explain how policy is the product of negotiation and bargaining between interests; To understand the nature of contemporary governance; To relate implementation to the wider social and political structure as a result of stressing the significance of the relationship between policy content and policy context
Policy standpoint	Top: policy makers; legislators; central government	Bottom: implementers, 'street level bureaucrats' and local officials	Where negotiation and bargaining take place
Underlying model of democracy	Elitist	Participatory	Hybrid, though significant role given to structure and sub-governments
Primary focus	Effectiveness: to what extent are policy goals actually met?	What influences action in an issue area?	Bargained interplay between goals set centrally and actor (often local) innovations constraints
Breadth of focus	Relatively narrow: tends to concentrate on a single legislative policy area	Broad: starts with a policy problem and examines the actors and processes which cluster around it	Fairly broad: analyses the coalition of interests that come together to bargain out policy and its direction
View of non-central (initiating) actors	Passive agents or potential impediments	Potentially policy innovators or problem shooters	Tries to account for the behaviour of all those who interact in the implementation of policy
Distinction between policy formulation and implementation	Actually and conceptually distinct; policy is made by the top and implemented by the bottom	Blurred distinction: policy is often made and then re-made by individual and institutional policy actors	Policy-action continuum: policy seen as a series of intentions around which bargaining takes place
Policy perspective	Policy is an independent variable: a starting point and a benchmark	Policy is dependent upon the interaction between actors at the local level	Policy is dependent upon a process of bargaining
Administrative discretion	Can and should be controlled by sanctions and incentives (discretion creates policy 'drift' and failure)	Cannot or should not be controlled: it helps to get things done when objectives are complex and problems uncertain and changing	Generally good: it helps to get things done when objectives are complex, and problems uncertain and changing
Criterion of success	When outputs/outcomes are consistent with *a priori* objectives	Achievement of actor (often local) goals.	Difficult to assess objectively
Implementation gaps/deficits	Occur when outputs/outcomes fall short of *a priori* objectives	'Deficits' are a sign of policy change, not failure. They are inevitable	All policies are modified as a result of negotiation (there is no benchmark)
Reason for implementation gaps/deficits	Good ideas poorly executed	Bad ideas faithfully executed	'Deficits' are inevitable as abstract policy ideas are made more concrete
Solution to implementation gaps/deficits	Simplify the implementation structure; apply inducements and sanctions	'Deficits' are inevitable	'Deficits' are inevitable
Policy outputs and outcomes	Fairly predictable (if the implementation process is properly structured)	Fairly unpredictable: depends on actor (often local) interaction	Fairly unpredictable: depends on bargaining
Research methodology	Deductive: starts with a model of what should happen, then compares it with reality	Essentially inductive: starts with empirical observations of what actually happens then aggregates these in to single observations and theories	Deductive\inductive

Source: Derived from Van Meter and Van Horn 1975; Pressman and Wildavsky 1979; Barrett and Fudge 1981; Rhodes 1981, 1990, 1994, 1997; Barrett and Hill 1984; Ham and Hill 1984, 1994; Sabatier 1986; Jordan 1995; Schofield 2001; Exworthy and Powell 2004; Pülzl and Treib 2007; Hall 2008.
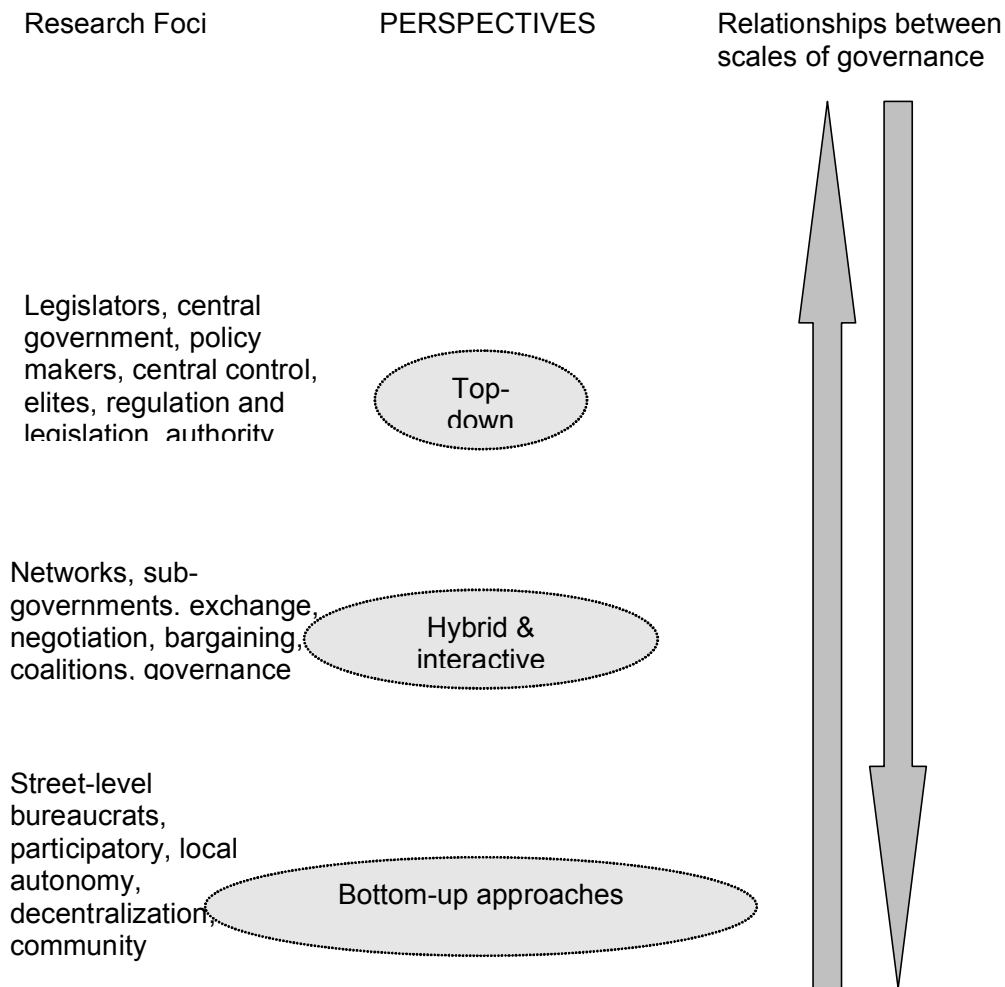
Research Foci PERSPECTIVES Relationships between scales of governance

Legislators, central government, policy makers, central control, elites, regulation and legislation, authority

Top-down

Networks, sub-governments. exchange, negotiation, bargaining, coalitions, governance

Hybrid & interactive

Street-level bureaucrats, participatory, local autonomy, decentralization, community

Bottom-up approaches

Figure 1. Three Archetypes of Implementation

implementation phase does not commence until goals and objectives have been established by prior policy decisions. It takes place only after legislation has been passed and funds committed'. Such an approach is often designed to provide advice on how measures could succeed by providing policy prescriptions which may include such things as providing more direct mechanisms, having clearer policies and objectives, and improving the overall structure of the process. From such a perspective policy is regarded as being 'owned' by those at the top (Ham and Hill 1994). For example, Mazmanian and Sabatier (1983) argued that studies of implementation should address four central questions:

- To what extent are the outputs or outcomes of the implementation process consistent with the objectives enunciated in the original statute?

- Were the objectives successfully attained? Over what period of time?

- What factors affected policy outcomes or caused the goals to be modified?

- How was the policy reformulated over time in the light of experience?

Mazmanian and Sabatier (1983) and Sabatier (1986) then went on to specify a series of six conditions for the effective implementation of policy:

- Policy objectives should be clear and consistent;

- Causal assumptions embodied within the policy must be correct;

- Legal and administrative structures must be sufficient to keep discretion within organizational bounds;

- Implementing agents must be skilled and committed;

- There must be support from interest groups and other critical policy actors;

- There must be no major socio-economic upheavals or disturbances.

The top-down approach is closely related to the analysis of a governing elite and, therefore, is closely connected to broader concerns over the distribution of power (de Leon 1999). Bardach's (1977) book *The Implementation Game*, which acknowledged the essentially political character of the implementation process and promoted the idea of using game theoretic tools for explaining implementation, provided a classic metaphor for the implementation process. However, the approach has been criticized on a number of counts (Hall 2008).

- Testing a set of conditions for effective implementation against what actually happens provides very little explanation as to the policy and implementation process itself as almost any policy would benefit from more funds and greater interest and stakeholder support.

- Policy-making does not occur in a vacuum. It is not easy to isolate a policy from the influences of other policies. For example, in the case of tourism, policies are often layered on top of each other at different levels of governance as well as existing in conjunction with a range of other policies that, although not explicit tourism policies, also affect tourism phenomenon (Hall 2006, 2009). This is what Majone (1989) would describe as a crowded 'policy space'.

- By focusing only on one policy or piece of legislation there is a danger in accrediting everything that happens with respect to action in the policy area within the policy implementation structure in question when other factors or actors may be more significant. For example, Sabatier (1986) refers to a study of pollution control in Holland that concluded that the reduction in emissions were an unintended consequence of governmental energy policies and changes in the relative cost of fuels rather than pollution control legislation *per se*.

- The bottom is not always compliant to the top and may have considerable autonomy in its own right (Barrett and Fudge 1981). In addition, deviation at the bottom may actually be appropriate so as to give better effect to

the intentions of policies and ensure they meet specific local conditions rather than implementing a policy that does not achieve the desired outcomes, although it is still actioned in an efficient manner.

The Bottom-up Archetype

The bottom-up approach describes a range of literature that emphasizes that policy, legislation and regulation developed by those at the top is poorly connected to what actually happens on the ground (Majone and Wildavsky 1979; Pressman and Wildavsky 1979; Lipsky 1980; Sabatier 1986; Ham and Hill 1994) and that greater attention needs to be given to the action dimension of implementation as, in one sense, this is where policy is really 'made' (Table 2). This approach emphasizes that implementation consists of the everyday problem-solving strategies of 'street-level bureaucrats' (Lipsky 1980; Pülzl and Trieb 2007) and, therefore, focuses on a much more complex process of policy action and reaction. The archetype can be described as bottom-up because of the importance attached to the behaviours and motivations of the actors responsible for implementation as well as the constraints and structures under which they operate. This approach has considerable resonance with the community dimension of tourism planning and the consequent emphasis on public and stakeholder participation (e.g., Ioannides 1995; Singh *et al.* 2003), although the bottom-up archetype's perspective that policy implementation cannot be separated from policy formulation has not been readily recognized in tourism studies (Hall and Jenkins 1995; Dredge and Jenkins 2007).

Sabatier (1986) argued that those with a bottom-up perspective are more likely to start with a policy problem that requires a policy response than with the goals of the top-level decision-makers. This has led to a strong emphasis on accurate empirical description and explanation of the interactions and problem-solving strategies of actors involved in policy delivery (Pülzl and Trieb 2007). Furthermore, the approach also suggests that a policy will usually be given effect through a number of public, private and non-government organizations, rather than a single organization, a point that has become increasingly important given the growth of public–private partnerships. Rather than a focus on implementation failure, as per the top-down perspective, the bottom-up approach, 'accepts the difficulties faced by those at the bottom, applauds their attempts to overcome them, and notes the very positive contribution that they can make to the better delivery of services' (Jordan 1995: 13). 'Hence, policies are not so much determined by the statutes emanating from governments and parliaments but by the largely autonomous political decisions of the actors directly involved in policy delivery' (Pülzl and Trieb 2007:

94). However, the approach has several criticisms (Hall 2008):

- Some authors (i.e., Sabatier 1986) disagree with the lack of distinction between policy formulation and implementation because it fails to separate the influence and roles of elected legislators and officials (democratic accountability) and public servants (administrative discretion) as well as the notion of policy as something that can be evaluated, which means that there is nothing to differentiate analyses of implementation from analyses of policy. However, it should be noted that for those with a bottom-up rather than a top-down perspective the intractability of policy and action is not an issue.

- The bottom may actually not have that much discretion with respect to some policies because of the way that some policies and associated regulation is structured.

- The normative perspectives of a bottom-up approach as to how policy implementation *actually* occurs should not necessarily be interpreted as being how it *should* occur.

The Hybrid and Interactional Archetype

A third approach to examining implementation is that provided by what can be described as hybrid or interactional perspectives that emphasize the complex process of negotiating and bargaining between policy actors at all levels of the policy and planning process (Barrett and Fudge 1981; Barrett and Hill 1984; Goggin *et al.* 1990; Hill 1997; Barrett 2004) (Table 2). This archetype is also sometimes referred to as the 'third generation' of implementation research (Goggin *et al.* 1990).

This hybrid approach has been enormously influential with respect to the development of notions of governance as a way of describing how policies are steered through political actor networks (Callahan 2007), which, although sometimes described as an additional approach to policy and implementation (e.g., Carlsson 2000), share a sufficiently common intellectual and policy heritage so as to be integrated for the purpose of the present discussion (Table 2). Barrett and Fudge's (1981) political perspective on the implementation process was that policy 'bargaining' continued as a seamless web rather than as part of a discrete process (Ingram 1989). Barrett and Fudge (1981) argue that there is a false dichotomy between the bottom-up and top-down approaches and that both operate simultaneously in that implementation is top down to the extent that legislation and regulations constrain the power of those below but that it is also bottom-up, with lower level policy actors taking 'decisions which effectively limit hierarchical influence, pre-empt top decision-making, or alter policies' (Barrett and Fudge 1981: 25). Barrett and Fudge also made the important point that bargaining over specific policies takes place within a much broader set of institutional arrangements (formal legal frameworks, political culture and behavioural norms) or 'rules of the game' or, as they described it, 'negotiated order'. Therefore, 'specific issues may be haggled over, but within broader limits. The limits themselves will vary both in and over time, and are themselves subject to negotiation in relation to the wider social setting' (Barrett and Fudge 1981: 24).

The Barrett and Fudge (1981) approach with its attention to the interplay of structure and agency draws considerable attention to the allocation of power in the policy–action process, as well as providing a useful account of the inherent complexity of implementation (Hill 1997; Barrett 2004). Therefore, the work of Rhodes (1981) with respect to the power relationships and interaction between different levels of government, along with associated concepts of networks and sub-governments, found great appeal in the implementation literature because it provided a comprehensive framework with which to understand relationships between policy actors. This was particularly the case in the European context where the EU provided a basis to undertake comparative international research rather than the internal national state focus of the first two approaches (Pope *et al.* 2006; Pülzl and Trieb 2007).

Rhodes (1997) suggests that policy networks are characterized by:

- interdependence between the organizations involved,

- continual interaction between the membership that exchanges resources and negotiates shared purposes,

- interactions that are governed by the 'rules of the game' and that develop trust,

- a significant degree of autonomy from state intervention

Rhodes (1988, 1990) identified several different types of network that varied along five key dimensions: the constellation of interests; membership; vertical interdependence; horizontal interdependence; and the distribution of resources. Five different configurations of networks – ranging from highly-integrated stable policy communities with a relatively small number of members to the relatively fluid affiliation of an issue network with a relatively large number of members – were articulated by Rhodes, showing the different levels of interdependency between actors in the network: issue network, producer network, intergovernmental network, professional network,

territorial network and policy community. Rhodes' work is significant in terms of understanding policy implementation in tourism not only because of its contribution with respect to the overall issue of governance (see Hall 2005) but also because it indicates that there is a series of fluid linkages between policy actors who operate within a policy sector or with respect to a planning issue (see also Dredge and Pforr 2008).

The network approach highlights that implementation is best understood as a component of the whole policy and planning process. In this, there are considerable similarities between the notion of a policy community or sub-government and Sabatier's (1987) work on advocacy coalitions (Sabatier refers to policy sub-systems). However, one of the criticisms of the network approach is that it tends to offer a pluralistic understanding of the policy process in which emphasis is placed on the visible dimensions of the policy and implementation process rather than the role in which structure can influence individual agency (Lukes 2005; Church and Coles 2007; Hall 2007). Pluralism, for example, does not offer an adequate explanation for the way policy initiatives, such as privatization of state assets, both reflect existing inequalities and become structured in social institutions, thereby ensuring a policy regime that tends to become entrenched and resistant to further change (Collyer 2003).

Conclusions

Theory choice is ultimately driven by the questions posed and answers sought by the policy analyst (Majone 1989; Hall 2008). Different archetypes of implementation are based upon contrasting models, theories and ideas of the policy process (Figure 1, Table 2). Questions such as with respect to the effectiveness and the efficiency of the relationship between policy goals and outputs and outcomes (Table 1) can be reasonably well handled by top-down approaches, which is probably reflective of much of the writing on implementation in the tourism field (Dredge and Jenkins 2007). Questions regarding as to whether the outputs and outcomes were appropriate to the policy problem need to be dealt with by other approaches that lie beyond the narrow confines of the top-down approach. Indeeed, the utilization of comprehensive policy–action models of the policy and implementation process are vital if students of tourism planning and policy are going to understand actually how decisions are made, policies formulated and plans implemented, especially with respect to the ongoing role of individuals and interests (usually referred to as 'stakeholders' in current tourism literature) in affecting both policy formulation and implementation, and, therefore, the corresponding outcomes and outputs. However, there is a real gap in discussion of implementation theory and

applying it in practice (O'Toole 2004). Reasons include the difficulty of the theoretical challenge, the varied needs of practitioners and the complicating normative issues at stake. Nonetheless, O'Toole (2004) argues that several approaches can contribute to the efficacy of implementation action. Building on points of theoretical consensus is one strategy. A second is the systematic probing of points in theoretical dispute, to sketch out practical implications. A third is the development of a contingency perspective to determine which theoretical strands may be appropriate in a given case. Finally, O'Toole believes that a synthesis of perspectives, perhaps along the lines suggested in the third archetype of implementation (see Table 2 for a summary), is ultimately likely to be the most useful approach.

Given the increased growth of the 'congested state' (Exworthy and Powell 2004) as a result of the development of new forms of public–private institutional partnerships, corporatization of state agencies, and the development of new multi-scale policy problems, such as climate change and the environment, there is a need for an increased focus on implementation. This is arguably especially the case for a policy area such as tourism which has multi-scale and multi-public organizational characteristics and in which there has been relatively little theoretical appreciation of policy–action relationships and which, at times, appears to struggle to translate policy ideals such as sustainable tourism, pro-poor tourism, responsible tourism and community-based tourism into working practice. In this, tourism studies would be well advised to take heed of what Barrett (2004) regarded as some of the key contemporary research issues in studying implementation: (1) the very real analytical diffculties of understanding the role of bureaucratic discretion and motivation; (2) the problem of evaluating policy outcomes; and (3) the need to also focus upon micro-political processes that occur in public organizations, including public–private organizations that are so prevalent in tourism.

Although regarded as an important area for tourism policy, there has historically been little detailed analysis of implementation in tourism studies (Hall and Jenkins 1995; Dredge and Jenkins 2007; Hall 2008). Nevertheless, as this paper has argued, studies of implementation are significant for understanding tourism planning and policy processes and their analysis should, therefore, be seen not just in terms of being able to describe the gap that exists between policy and practice, but also in being able to illustrate the very real struggles that exist between actors and interests, often at different levels, over policy, planning and implementation outcomes (Hall 2008). As Birkland (2005), among many other commentators of implementation has noted, so long as tourism policies and programmes fail, or, at least, appear to fail, studies of implementation will remain important to policy-makers and to students of the tourism policy-making process.

8

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