International Best Practice in the Use of Public Service Obligations (PSOs)

to support air connectivity to remote, rural and island regions

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1. Executive Summary

This report examines how the **Public Service Obligation (PSO)** mechanism is used internationally to sustain essential air links for remote and sparsely populated regions, focusing on two mature European models — **Norway** and **Greece** — and how their experience can inform a re-framed approach for **Scotland**.

Across Europe, PSOs allow governments to guarantee connectivity where market forces alone cannot sustain regular or affordable air services. By defining clear service obligations and transparent compensation, they safeguard access to health care, education, and employment, supporting both social inclusion and economic vitality.

Norway operates a *centrally funded national PSO network* covering more than thirty-six regional airports and twenty-five route groups. It is embedded in national cohesion policy *(distriktspolitikk)* and ensures that no resident lives more than ninety minutes from scheduled air service. Over three decades it has delivered reliable connectivity, equitable fares, and pioneering work toward zero-emission regional aviation.

Greece manages a *co-financed archipelagic PSO network* linking the mainland with over two hundred inhabited islands. Its routes are jointly funded by the Greek Government and the European Union through cohesion instruments, sustaining affordable access for hundreds of thousands of island residents. Despite challenging geography, it achieves high transparency, stable costs, and measurable social benefit.

For **Scotland**, these cases demonstrate that PSOs are **strategic tools of inclusion,** not short-term subsidies. A unified framework—integrating current Scottish Government and local authority schemes—would deliver affordability, environmental progress, and national equityThe study also concludes that, following EU exit, the **UK Government** should assume the cohesion role played by the European Union in other nations, co-funding Scotland's lifeline air network to ensure that connectivity, sustainability, and opportunity extend to every part of the United Kingdom. This would essentially focus on the Highlands and Islands in a similar way to the previous Objective One EU funding intervention that supported the region.

2. **NORWAY** – Nationally Integrated Connectivity Framework

2.1 Policy Context

Norway's geography is defined by extreme contrasts: vast mountains, fjords, and an extensive coastline stretching more than 100,000 kilometres including islands. Overland transport is often constrained by topography and weather, making aviation essential for access to healthcare, education, and commerce.

Recognising this, Norway treats air services as a **public utility**, a permanent component of its regional-development and social-cohesion policy. The Public Service Obligation (PSO) system ensures that residents of even the most isolated communities enjoy the same level of connectivity as those in major cities. This principle is central to Norway's long-standing *distrikts-politikk* — regional policy designed to sustain population and opportunity throughout the country.

2.2 Historical Development and Legal Basis

Norway's PSO system emerged in the early 1990s following European air-market liberalisation. Prior to this, regional routes were supported through direct agreements between the Ministry of Transport and Widerøe, Norway's primary regional carrier.

When Norway joined the **European Economic Area (EEA)** in 1994, it adopted the EU's air-transport framework, initially Regulation 2408/92 and later Regulation 1008/2008, permitting PSOs on routes vital for regional development. This provided a formal legal foundation for transparent, competitive tendering.

The first formal PSO contracts were introduced in 1997 for northern Norway. Later tender rounds—2001, 2006, 2012, 2016, and 2020—refined service standards and procurement methods, producing the world's most mature and stable PSO regime.

2.3 Objectives and Network Coverage

The central policy objective, endorsed repeatedly by the **Stortinget (Parliament)**, is that *no Norwegian citizen should live more than ninety minutes from an airport offering scheduled air service.*

To achieve this, Norway sustains a network of **36 regional airports** and about **25 PSO route packages**, connecting small communities to regional hubs such as Tromsø, Bodø, Trondheim, Bergen, and Oslo. These routes serve approximately 1.2 million passengers each year.

Region	Typical PSO Routes	Primary Hubs
Finnmark & Troms	Hammerfest–Tromsø; Hasvik–Tromsø; Berlevåg–Båtsfjord–Mehamn–Tromsø	Tromsø
Nordland	Brønnøysund–Trondheim; Røst–Bodø; Mosjøen–Trondheim	Bodø / Trondheim
Western Norway	Florø–Bergen; Ørsta/Volda–Bergen–Oslo	Bergen
Inland Counties	Røros–Oslo (formerly Fagernes–Oslo)	Oslo

These links ensure that every settlement maintains direct access to public services and markets.

2.4 Contracting and Tendering Structure

Each PSO route package is tendered competitively under EEA-compliant rules, overseen by the **Ministry of Transport.**

Key contractual provisions include:

- **Duration:** typically, 4–5 years.
- **Minimum frequencies:** 10–14 weekly rotations.
- **Approved aircraft:** normally 30–40 seat turboprops (Dash 8-100/200/300).
- **Fare regulation:** ceiling prices fixed by government decree.
- **Reliability:** strict penalties for cancellations or delays.

Contracts are awarded to the **lowest compliant bidder**, ensuring competition without compromising safety or reliability. Widerøe retains most packages due to fleet suitability and experience, but smaller carriers (e.g. Danish Air Transport, Lufttransport AS) have occasionally secured contracts for specific groups.

2.5 Fare Regulation and Accessibility

Each PSO route is subject to a **maximum allowable fare,** adjusted periodically to reflect inflation and operating costs.

As of 2024, the fare ceiling averages **NOK 1,350 (≈ £100)** one way. Residents of northern Norway receive additional reductions under the *RABAT* discount programme, funded by the state.

This ensures that travel remains affordable and equitable relative to rail or road alternatives, sustaining mobility for lower-income and elderly passengers who depend on air travel for essential trips.

2.6 Funding Scale and Trends

PSO funding has expanded steadily alongside rising service levels and inflation. It is one of the most transparent public expenditures in Europe.

Financial Year	Budget (NOK million)	Notes
2007	476	Baseline year
2011	693	Network expansion
2017/18	627	Contracted value
2018	726	Ongoing cycle
2021	690	Pre-pandemic budget
2021 (COVID emergency)	2,000	Temporary “minimum service” funding
2024	1,935	Funding for 50 % fare reduction
2025 (proposed)	2,427	Sustained high-level allocation

The 2025 PSO budget of **NOK 2.43 billion (≈ £183 million)** supports 36 airports and 25 route packages, representing roughly 80 % of total domestic regional air traffic. On average, subsidy per passenger ranges between NOK 1,000–1,500 (£75–£115).

2.7 Institutional Framework and Governance

Policy and funding responsibility rest with the **Ministry of Transport**, while airport infrastructure is operated by **Avinor AS**, a state-owned enterprise managing 44 airports.

Avinor’s model uses surpluses from large airports (Oslo, Bergen, Stavanger) to cross-subsidise smaller

regional airports, providing an implicit second tier of PSO support.

This structure allows small airports to operate sustainably without requiring additional direct subsidy, reinforcing the network's resilience. Local municipalities participate in consultation forums to help define service levels, ensuring responsiveness to regional needs.

2.8 Social and Economic Impacts

Norway's PSO network is vital to maintaining national cohesion and balanced development.

It supports rural employment, enables commuting between small towns and regional centres, and facilitates access to health care and education.

Studies by the **Norwegian Institute of Transport Economics (TØI)** estimate the social return on PSO investment at **1.5–1.8**, meaning that every krone invested generates up to 1.8 kroner in wider economic and social benefits.

PSOs have stabilised population decline in remote areas and enabled the decentralisation of government and university campuses, contributing to the viability of smaller towns.

2.9 Environmental Transition and Innovation

Norway's goal of z**ero-emission domestic aviation by 2040** places its PSO system at the forefront of global innovation.

Avinor and Widerøe are collaborating on **Widerøe Zero**, a programme developing all-electric and hybrid-electric aircraft for 9–30 passengers. Short PSO sectors—typically 100–250 km—are ideal for early deployment of battery or hydrogen propulsion.

The government plans to include **environmental performance metrics** in future PSO tenders, rewarding carriers that introduce zero-emission technologies ahead of target. Investments in renewable energy, ground-power units, and electric charging infrastructure are already underway at airports such as Bodø, Svolvær, and Ørsta/Volda.

2.10 Summary and Lessons

Norway's PSO regime demonstrates how a consistent national policy can sustain connectivity, promote equity, and stimulate technological progress.

Its defining features include:

- **Clear social mandate,** integrated with regional policy.
- **Transparent competitive tendering.**
- **Fare affordability and accessibility.**
- **Integration of environmental objectives.**
- **Predictable long-term funding.**

Although costly, the system yields enduring social and economic value and stands as the benchmark for how aviation can serve rural development while advancing toward net-zero goals.

3. **GREECE** – A High-Volume Archipelagic PSO System

3.1 Policy Objectives and Geographic Context

Greece possesses one of the most complex transport geographies in Europe.

With over **200 inhabited islands** scattered across the Aegean and Ionian seas, and limited ferry reliability in winter, aviation is indispensable for year-round connectivity.

For these communities, PSO-supported flights provide access to hospitals, schools, and government services and form an integral part of national cohesion policy.

The Greek Government recognises air transport as a **public service of general economic interest**, not a discretionary subsidy. PSO support ensures equal participation in national life for citizens of all regions, underpinning economic development, public-service delivery, and social stability.

3.2 Legal and Institutional Framework

Greece's PSO system operates under EU Regulation (EC) No. 1008/2008, which permits states to impose public service obligations on routes vital to economic and social development.

Under this framework:

- The **Ministry of Infrastructure and Transport** sets national policy, designates eligible routes, and authorises expenditure.
- The **Hellenic Civil Aviation Authority (HCAA)** manages tenders, monitors performance, and oversees payments to airlines.
- Competitive procurement is conducted through the **ESIDIS electronic tendering platform**, ensuring compliance with EU transparency and competition law.

Contracts generally last **four years** and specify:

- Minimum frequencies and seat capacities,
- Aircraft type and maintenance standards,
- Fare ceilings for residents,
- Punctuality targets (usually > 90 %), and
- Requirements for data reporting and audit.

3.3 Network Structure and Service Patterns

The Greek PSO network has evolved continuously since the late 1990s. As of 2024, it comprises **28 subsidised routes** and **10 open routes** that remain under obligation but are commercially viable.

The network is structured into three categories:

Category	Representative Routes	Policy Purpose
Mainland–Island Links	Athens–Ikaria; Athens–Astypalaia; Athens–Kythira	Maintain access to capital for health, education, and administration
Regional Hub Connections	Thessaloniki–Samos; Thessaloniki–Chios	Enable northern connectivity without backtracking via Athens
Inter-Island (Multi-stop) Services	Rhodes–Karpathos–Kassos–Sitia; Heraklion–Kasos–Karpathos–Rhodes	Support cross-archipelago travel and regional development

These routes guarantee at least three weekly rotations to smaller islands and daily service to larger destinations such as Paros, Naxos, and Skyros.

3.4 Contracting and Operators

Each tender specifies quantitative and qualitative obligations.

Carriers must meet reliability standards, maintain approved fleets, and offer resident fares capped between **€39 and €59** depending on distance.

Contracts are awarded to the **lowest compliant bidder**, balancing cost and service quality.

The principal operators are **Sky Express** and **Olympic Air (Aegean Group)**, which together operate about 90 % of PSO routes. Smaller carriers such as **ASTRA Airlines** or **Zefyros Airway**s serve multi-stop and niche routes.

The four-year cycle provides continuity while allowing periodic competition and modernisation.

3.5 Funding Levels and EU Co-Financing

Greece operates a mixed-financing model that combines national and EU resources. The European Union recognises lifeline aviation as part of its **territorial-cohesion policy** under Article 174 of the Treaty on the Functioning of the European Union (TFEU).

Average annual expenditure amounts to around **€18 million (≈ £15–16 million)**, sustaining over 400,000 passenger journeys each year.

EU contributions—mainly through the **European Regional Development Fund (ERDF)** and the **Connecting Europe Facility (CEF)**—support operational subsidies, environmental-transition measures, and regional airport upgrades.

These contributions are treated as **cohesion investments**, not as state aid, and are integrated into the **National Transport Infrastructure Programme 2021–2027.**

3.6 Oversight and Governance

Governance is conducted at both national and EU levels:

- The **HCAA** monitors compliance and audits financial claims quarterly.
- The **Managing Authority for Transport Infrastructure Projects** verifies EU expenditure and performance indicators.
- The **European Commission (DG MOVE)** and the **Hellenic Court of Auditors** conduct periodic reviews to ensure compliance with Regulation 1008/2008 and EU state-aid law.

Table 3.1 – Greek PSO Funding and EU Co-Financing (2012–2027)

Contract Period	Total Value (€ million)	Duration	Routes Covered	Funding Source	Notes
2012–2016	36	4 years	24	Greek State + EU (≈ 20 %)	First alignment with EU PSO regulations
2016–2020	40	4 years	26	Greek State + EU (≈ 22 %)	Improved transparency and audit regime
2023–2027	72.7	4 years	28 + 10 open	Greek State (≈ 75 %) + EU (≈ 25 %)	Major renewal and expansion

Penalties apply for service deficiencies or inaccurate cost declarations.

Since the introduction of route "bundling" in 2012—where strong and weak routes are tendered together—efficiency has improved and subsidy requirements have stabilised.

Local governments contribute to schedule planning, aligning flights with ferry timetables, hospital clinics, and school calendars.

3.7 Environmental Transition and Future Readiness

The average PSO route length of 100–300 km makes Greece an ideal candidate for early adoption of **electric and hybrid aircraft**.

Through **Clean Aviation Joint Undertaking** and **Horizon Europe**, Aegean Airlines and Sky Express are collaborating with manufacturers to develop and test low-emission aircraft for short sectors.

The 2023–2027 contract cycle includes **mandatory emissions-reporting clauses**. Airports such as Paros, Naxos, and Skyros are being upgraded for renewable ground power and future electric-aircraft charging, in partnership with the **Hellenic Electricity Distribution Network Operator (HEDNO)**.

These measures position Greece as a leader in sustainable regional aviation in southern Europe.

3.8 Social and Economic Impacts

The PSO framework delivers tangible social, economic, and demographic benefits:

- **Healthcare Access:** Patients from small islands can reach mainland hospitals and return the same day.
- **Educational Opportunity:** Students travel regularly to mainland universities.
- **Population Stability:** Lifeline air links reduce depopulation and sustain local economies.
- **Tourism Diversification:** Regular service extends the visitor season beyond summer peaks.
- **Economic Integration:** Producers access national supply chains efficiently.

Passenger numbers on PSO routes have **doubled since 2005**, while the average subsidy per passenger has remained stable, demonstrating long-term efficiency.

3.9 Summary and Lessons for Scotland

Greece's PSO framework illustrates how a geographically fragmented state can maintain year-round access across hundreds of islands through a transparent, rules-based system with moderate public cost.

The cohesion funding model—shared between national and EU budgets—provides a viable precedent for post-Brexit UK regional transport policy.

Its success rests on:

- Shared national–supranational financing.
- Transparent tendering and auditing.
- Efficient route bundling; and
- Integration of environmental and social policy objectives.

For Scotland, the Greek experience highlights how **joint funding and governance** can achieve stability and inclusion.

In particular, the EU's co-financing role offers a direct parallel for the **UK Government**, which could now assume a similar responsibility for sustaining cohesion within the United Kingdom.

4. **SCOTLAND** – Towards a Unified National PSO Framework

4.1 Current Context and Challenges

Scotland's Highlands and Islands share many of the characteristics that underpin Norway's and Greece's PSO systems: a dispersed population, complex geography, and dependence on air transport for social and economic participation.

Air services link communities to healthcare, education, and markets but remain costly and fragmented.

Support has evolved piecemeal through a combination of Scottish-Government PSOs, local-authority networks, and the Air Discount Scheme (ADS), producing uneven fares and service quality.

4.2 Existing Public Expenditure

Roughly **£27.8 million per year** of public funding already sustains Scotland's lifeline air services. Redirecting this existing spend into a unified framework would enhance efficiency and transparency without materially increasing total cost.

Funding Source / Scheme	Administering Body	Scope / Routes Supported	Est. Annual Cost (£ m)	Notes
Transport Scotland – PSO Air Services	Transport Scotland	Glasgow–Barra, Tiree, Campbeltown, Wick–Aberdeen, Dundee–London	**8.5**	2023–24 Section 70 Return
Orkney Islands Council – Internal Air Services	Local Authority	Kirkwall–North Ronaldsay, Papa Westray, Westray, Eday, Sanday, Stronsay	**2.0**	£6.82 m / 4-year contract (2025–29)
Shetland Islands Council – Lifeline Air Services	Local Authority	Tingwall–Foula, Tingwall–Fair Isle	**2.0 (est.)**	Comparable to Orkney
Comhairle nan Eilean Siar – Inter-Island Air Service	Local Authority	Stornoway–Benbecula	**0.6 (est.)**	Audit-based estimate
Argyll & Bute Council – Island Air Services	Local Authority	Oban–Coll, Oban–Colonsay, Oban–Tiree (+ airports)	**1.2**	Includes ~£0.5 m routes + ~£0.7 m airports
Wick PSO	Local Authority (with Transport Scotland support)	Wick to Aberdeen	**1.6**	£1m from Transport Scotland £0.6m from Highland Council
Air Discount Scheme (ADS)	Transport Scotland	50 % fare discount for eligible residents	**13.5**	2024/25 FOI data
Total Estimated Support			**≈ £29.4 million per annum**	

4.3 Designing a Unified Scottish PSO Network

A coherent Scottish PSO framework should:

- **Integrate** all existing contracts into regional packages linking mainland hubs with island clusters.
- **Regulate fares** consistently through in-contract resident discounts or fare caps, replacing separate ADS administration.
- **Coordinate schedules,** using an Inverness-centred "hub-wave" to permit same-day inter-island and mainland connections.
- **Embed environmental objectives**, including fuel-use and emissions reporting, and trials of hybrid/electric aircraft aligned with Net Zero 2045.
- **Standardise monitoring**, ensuring transparency on reliability, load factors, and subsidy per passenger.

4.4 Governance – Regional Leadership and Subsidiarity

Operational delivery could be devolved to **HITRANS** and **ZetTrans**, jointly forming a **Scottish Lifeline Aviation Partnership** within Transport Scotland's policy envelope.

This would:

- Provide **local accountability** for decisions.
- Enable multimodal coordination with ferries and buses.
- Encourage innovation in community and low-carbon aviation; and
- Streamline administration across councils and agencies.

This model applies the principle of **subsidiarity**, consistent with the Islands (Scotland) Act 2018 and the Community Empowerment agenda.

4.5 Funding Model and UK Government Role

A unified network (on a similar schedule to the current air service network) is projected to cost **£30–32 million annually**, only slightly above current spending.

Consideration should be given to modelling the network with fixed fares and low resident travel rates (in line with Greece) to stimulate travel. Working with partners optimised schedules and the opportunity to introduce smaller aircraft potentially ready to convert to Hydrogen or Electric Hybrid Technology should also feature in the network planning.

A balanced contribution could comprise:

- **Scottish Government:** ≈ 23–25 m (existing PSO support + ADS).
- **Local Authorities:** ≈ £6 m (airport and operational support based on current expenditure).
- **UK Government:** ≈ £11 m (set at 25% of the total cost for a £40m annual spend in line with EU support to Greek PSOs).

Following the UK's withdrawal from the EU, Westminster has inherited responsibility for territorial cohesion once partly delivered through European cohesion funds.

A formal UK co-funding commitment would demonstrate that social inclusion and balanced development remain national priorities.

4.6 Network Coverage and Cost Envelope

The integrated PSO network would include:

- All **Loganair lifeline routes** from Glasgow to Stornoway, Benbecula, Barra, Tiree, Campbeltown, Islay, Kirkwall, and Sumburgh.
- **Hebridean Air Services** PSOs from Oban to Coll, Colonsay, and Tiree.

- **Inter-Island services** operated by Orkney Islands Council, Shetland Islands Council, and Comhairle nan Eilean Siar.
- An extended **Wick service** connecting both Aberdeen and Edinburgh, raising Wick support to **£2.4 m**.

Total estimated cost: **£30–32 million per year**, including oversight and environmental compliance.

4.7 Extending Network Reach and UK Connectivity

Beyond lifeline access within Scotla**nd, a forward-looking PSO system could reinforce UK-wide territorial cohesion** by integrating feeder services between Scotland and other parts of the United Kingdom.

This would convert Scotland's PSO network into a **national-scale connectivity framework** linking peripheral regions directly to major UK economic centres.

Proposed Route or Structure	Purpose / Benefit
London City – Inverness / Aberdeen / Edinburgh / Glasgow – Kirkwall / Sumburgh / Stornoway	Direct capital access into lifeline services; tangible demonstration of UK solidarity.
Manchester – Inverness / Glasgow – Outer Isles	Adds southern connectivity beyond London, diversifying passenger flows.
Birmingham – Inverness – PSO connections to the Islands	Provides central-England access; near-commercial viability strengthens the case for inclusion as a low-subsidy feeder.
Newcastle – Aberdeen / Kirkwall / Sumburgh	Strengthens east-coast energy-sector and academic ties.
Benbecula – Inverness	Improves access to Highland mainland hubs.
Barra – Benbecula	Enhances intra-Hebridean mobility and medical access.
Aberdeen – Stornoway	Establishes cross-Scotland connectivity for business and healthcare.

Such through-ticketed PSO packages would use common fare rules and service standards, offering seamless travel from southern UK origins to remote Scottish destinations.

While the wider scope may marginally increase cost, the **cohesion, tourism, and productivity gains** would outweigh the fiscal impact.

This approach mirrors Greece's EU-funded integration of island routes with continental hubs and provides a practical platform for **UK–Scottish partnership** under a shared "Union Connectivity" agenda

The UK Government PSO support could allow the ambition of strengthening the Highlands and Islands connectivity to major Scottish centres and UK regional centres including Birmingham, Manchester, Newcastle, Leeds-Bradford and Southampton to be included within the PSO network.

5. Conclusion

The Norwegian and Greek examples show that the Public Service Obligation (PSO) model can be far more than a subsidy mechanism—it is a deliberate policy tool for territorial cohesion and social equity.

When designed strategically, PSOs embed aviation within national infrastructure planning, ensuring that even the smallest communities remain connected to opportunity.

For Scotland, integrating the current mixture of PSOs, local-authority schemes, and the Air Discount Scheme into a single framework would transform a dispersed collection of supports into a coherent, outcome-driven network aligned with modern environmental and social objectives.

5.1 Strategic Benefits

A unified Scottish PSO framework would deliver:

- **Economic stability and diversification –** Reliable air links sustain tourism, enterprise, and service-sector jobs across fragile economies.
- **Population retention –** Affordable connectivity encourages residents and skilled workers to remain in rural and island communities.
- **Environmental leadership –** Embedding decarbonisation requirements accelerates transition to hybrid-electric and hydrogen aircraft.
- **Administrative clarity –** Unified monitoring and procurement bring transparency and measurable value for public money.

5.2 National Cohesion and Post-EU Governance

Before the UK's withdrawal from the European Union, regional air networks such as Greece's benefited from EU cohesion funding through the **European Regional Development Fund** and the **Connecting Europe Facility.**
These programmes embodied the EU's principle that *no citizen should be disadvantaged by geography.*

That same principle now belongs wholly within the United Kingdom.

Responsibility for social and territorial cohesion has transferred to the **UK Government**, which should therefore assume a co-funding role alongside the Scottish Government to maintain and expand lifeline air services.

The opportunity also exists to frame PSO policy within a wider **UK connectivity perspective.**

Extending eligibility to cross-border or feeder routes—linking **London, Manchester, Birmingham, or Newcastle** with Scotland's regional airports—would make visible the UK Government's role as the domestic guarantor of cohesion.

These routes would mirror the integrated networks co-funded by national and European authorities in Greece and give tangible effect to the "levelling-up" principle across the United Kingdom.

Such collaboration would reaffirm shared responsibility for equal access to opportunity in every part of the country.

5.3 A Shared National Purpose

The Highlands and Islands are not peripheral—they are central to Scotland's identity and to the fabric of the United Kingdom.

Connectivity to and within these regions should be regarded as **core public infrastructure**, not discretionary expenditure.

Through partnership between **Transport Scotland, HITRANS, ZetTrans,** local authorities, and the **UK Government**, a modern PSO framework can unite:

- **Social equity –** ensuring universal access.
- **Regional accountability –** empowering local leadership; and
- **Environmental innovation –** placing Scotland at the forefront of sustainable regional aviation.

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By extending that framework to link seamlessly with the wider UK network, Scotland can serve as the **northern hub of a cohesive national system**, demonstrating that lifeline aviation can advance both sustainability and unity.

This approach ensures that no community is isolated and that every citizen—from Barra to London—remains connected to the shared prosperity and purpose of the United Kingdom. Government fully funds rail services which are limited in the Highlands and Islands outwith the Highland Mainline and Aberdeen – Inverness line. Support for air services is equivalent to that already afforded by Government to rail services elsewhere in the country. Investing in the routes to the Highlands and Islands re-asserts Scotland and the United Kingdom's opportunity to lead the transition to low carbon aviation which will be lost to nation's including Norway who secure low volume air services operated by smaller aircraft that are nearest in readiness to the technology switch to hydrogen and hybrid electric alongside their Government's ambition to decarbonise these journeys. Like Norway a PSO network in Scotland can add contractual clauses to set and secure the future direction towards a transition to low carbon aircraft.

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