THE COLLABORATIVE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN TRANSPORT AND TOURISM IN SCOTTISH ISLANDS: FROM POLICY TO PRACTICE

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A thesis submitted in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy

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Abstract

Despite a ubiquitous interest, the concept of collaboration remains elusive. Regardless, the pervasiveness of discourse pertaining to it continues to infiltrate policy as public sector reform advocates for behaviour and practice driven by an ethos of “joining-up”. The interdependency of the transport-tourism relationship provides an opportunity to consider collaboration in a context where the benefits of integration can be substantial. Within island domains the reliance of tourism economies on efficient transport systems is intensified. Consequently this research presents an analysis of the scope, role and nature of collaboration between industries whose sustainability is to a large extent symbiotic and critical to local prosperity.

A review of the literature demonstrates a lack of focus on research pertaining to a stakeholder perspective of the transport-tourism relationship. Within the island environment, studies on this scenario of cross-industry engagement further diminish although the argument expressing the significance of transport in tourism is vociferous. Gaps were also identified in the conceptualisation of collaboration inhibiting a universal definition and thus a comprehensive understanding.

The primary research adopted a qualitative approach. Data was collected through a series of semi-structured interviews from stakeholders across transport and tourism who fulfilled pre-considered criteria. The key findings identify constraints to collaboration in the form of structural disparity while divergent industry objectives further impede practical integration. Despite this, the role of “islandness” neutralises barriers to engagement. The propensity to cultivate social capital within these boundaried geographies provides an environment naturally conducive to the creation of collaborative capacity. Consensual development of shared goals between collaborating parties manifested as intrinsic for the purpose of buy-in and commitment throughout the collaborative process. Similarly, an absence of leadership in practice resulted in highlighting the fundamental role it delivers within collaboration.

The empirical findings provide both practical and theoretical contribution. Further they present policy-makers with evidence-informed suggestions to address impediments which prevent the practice of collaboration.

Keywords: Collaboration, social capital, tourism, transport, policy, public management, islands, islandness, governance, destination management
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<td>AISTP</td>
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<td>APSC</td>
<td>Australian Public Service Commission</td>
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<tr>
<td>ATB</td>
<td>Area Tourist Board</td>
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<tr>
<td>ATP</td>
<td>Area Tourism Partnership</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CAG</td>
<td>Commonwealth Advisory Group</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CAQDAS</td>
<td>Computer-Assisted Qualitative Data Analysis Software</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CCT</td>
<td>Compulsory Competitive Tendering</td>
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<tr>
<td>CCGW</td>
<td>Community Council Working Group</td>
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<tr>
<td>CGG</td>
<td>Commission on Global Governance</td>
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<tr>
<td>CnES</td>
<td>Comhairle nan Eilean Siar</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CRC</td>
<td>Commission for Rural Communities</td>
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<tr>
<td>DMO</td>
<td>Destination Management/Marketing Organisation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>EETC</td>
<td>Economy, Energy and Tourism Committee</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ERDF</td>
<td>European Regional Development Fund</td>
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<tr>
<td>GBTS</td>
<td>Great Britain Tourism Survey</td>
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<tr>
<td>GDP</td>
<td>Gross Domestic Product</td>
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<tr>
<td>HIE</td>
<td>Highlands &amp; Islands Enterprise</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>HITRANS</td>
<td>Highlands &amp; Islands Strategic Transport Partnership</td>
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<tr>
<td>HOST</td>
<td>Highlands of Scotland Tourist Board</td>
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<tr>
<td>JUG</td>
<td>Joined-Up Government</td>
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<tr>
<td>LEP</td>
<td>Local Enterprise Partnership</td>
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<td>NHS</td>
<td>National Health Service</td>
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<td>Acronym</td>
<td>Full Form</td>
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<tr>
<td>NAO</td>
<td>National Audit Office</td>
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<td>NPG</td>
<td>New Public Governance</td>
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<td>NPM</td>
<td>New Public Management</td>
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<tr>
<td>OHTIA</td>
<td>Outer Hebrides Tourism Industry Association</td>
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<td>OIC</td>
<td>Orkney Islands Council</td>
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<tr>
<td>OTG</td>
<td>Orkney Tourism Group</td>
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<tr>
<td>PFI</td>
<td>Private Finance Initiative</td>
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<tr>
<td>PPP</td>
<td>Public-Private Partnership</td>
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<td>PSO</td>
<td>Public Service Obligation</td>
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<td>PSV</td>
<td>Public Service Vehicle</td>
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<td>RET</td>
<td>Road Equivalent Tariff</td>
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<td>SIC</td>
<td>Shetland Islands Council</td>
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<td>SME</td>
<td>Small and Medium Enterprise</td>
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<tr>
<td>SNH</td>
<td>Scottish Natural Heritage</td>
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<td>SNIJ</td>
<td>Sub-National Island Jurisdiction</td>
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<tr>
<td>SPT</td>
<td>Strathclyde Partnership for Transport</td>
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<tr>
<td>SRDP</td>
<td>Scottish Rural Development Programme</td>
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<tr>
<td>STA</td>
<td>Shetland Tourism Association</td>
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<td>STB</td>
<td>Scottish Tourist Board</td>
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<td>VfM</td>
<td>Value for Money</td>
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Chapter One
1. Introduction

1.1 Topic Relevance and Rationale for Study

This thesis provides an investigation of the scope, role and nature of the collaborative relationship between transport and tourism in Scottish island destinations. The islands of focus include: the Shetland Islands, the Orkney Islands, the Outer Hebrides, the Isle of Skye, the Isle of Bute and the Isle of Arran – a map is provided at Appendix One (page 380).

The interdependency of the transport-tourism relationship provides argument for the cultivation of collaborative relationships. The level of symbiosis between transport and tourism impacts upon access and integration and thus the desirability to visit a destination. Indeed from a political perspective the reform agenda has been driven by the need for joined-up processes of working across sectors and industries to increase competitiveness and sustainability. The remote nature of islands and their common reliance on tourism as a source of economic income would suggest that a high level of integration between the transport and tourism industries is vital. However there has been little research attention attributed to the transport-tourism relationship generally and even less so within island areas, irrespective of the intensified relationship these peripheries present. The scenario of rural Scotland serves as an interesting study environment since tourism has been distinguished as the most important income source for the majority of the isles (for context see Table 6 (page 73)). The allocation of transport subsidy within these localities demonstrates a perceived political importance of connecting and sustaining peripheral Scottish communities (Transport Scotland 2014b). However there is little in the way of research evidence which focuses on the extent and nature of relationship between transport and tourism in Scotland. While Scottish policy imperatives at a national level encourage a collaborative approach where feasible between the transport and tourism industries, the intention of this research is to consider the opportunities and challenges these industries face in practice at a local level. Therefore this research assists in developing insight into the field of
The term collaboration is increasingly pervasive, yet there remains substantial indecision in its identification, its creation and how to capture its benefits. It has, by many leading academics been suggested as a practice only to be considered when alternative strategies have been exhausted and participants are willing to absorb the additional costs associated with collaborating (Imperial 2005, Hansen 2009, Williams 2012, Agranoff 2012) – further details can be seen in Figure 1 (page 30). It has therefore been expressed that people often ‘fail into collaboration’ when alternative strategies have been unfruitful (Roberts 2000, Bryson et al. 2009, Denning 2009). However the surge of interest in collaboration reflects and has demonstrated the invaluable gains to be realised when people get it right. The transition from government control to a governance approach has done little to abate the trend in collaboration. In fact collaboration has been considered as a new form of governance (Denhardt and Denhardt 2000, Salamon 2002, McGuire 2006) and a new paradigm in governing democratic systems (Emerson et al. 2012). From a business perspective there has been a shift from focussing on a competitive advantage to one pursuing a collaborative advantage. Relational and social capital, key elements both required for and generated by collaboration, have gained ground as indicators of healthy and sustainable organisations. They have provided a means by which to respond to economies of scale from an angle alternative to financial superiority. This research attempts to identify the nature of collaboration between transport and tourism and within the distinct setting of island destinations.

The interdependent relationship between transport and tourism is one of critical significance. In island destinations, largely dependent on tourism economies, the need for good links to central hubs is escalated. While collaboration has been considered broadly as a strategic approach in tourism, a diminished interest on the integral relationship between transport and tourism attracted the researcher’s attention to this lesser studied but essential affiliation. The decision to focus on island destinations was
influenced by a number of factors. Within this context the transport-tourism relationship is intensified due to the dependence on mechanisms of public transport to support tourism access. Further the condensed scope allowed the researcher clarity of focus which heightened the transferability of the study. The specific variables which were determined necessary for inclusion made the research comparable to similar geographical locations but with the ability to contribute empirical findings to the broader study of collaborative relationships. The island scenario provided the capacity for instances of heightened social capital and an increasing need to maximise the potential of stretched resources, both of which provide an ideal environment for the cultivation of collaboration. The researcher’s background was also pertinent to the choice of study context. As a native islander, a recognition that transport services, links and systems are fundamental to the sustainability of rural communities has always been appreciated. An inquiry into the scope, role and nature of the relationship between transport and tourism in island destination was therefore visceral. The challenges and opportunities of the native gaining the ‘insider’ perspective is discussed more deeply in section 5.8.3 (page 166).

the focus of research across a variety of theoretical perspectives – see Table 4 (page 55). Within tourism, the profile of collaboration has been raised through research which examines stakeholder collaboration as a tool for resource maximisation (Novelli et al. 2006, Jamal and Stronza 2009), the use of collaboration as an opportunity to develop networks (Scott et al. 2008, Baggio and Cooper 2010, Zach and Racherla 2011), and a governance approach to the marketing and management of destinations (Baggio et al. 2010, Beaumont and Dredge 2010, Fyall et al. 2012).

Regardless of the prevalent message conveying the pivotal interdependence within the transport-tourism relationship, a specific focus on collaboration reflects the lower level of scrutiny attributed more generally to this area of study. That said, the importance of interconnection between the two industries generates its own quota of valuable commitment to the topic (Hall 1999a, Prideaux 2000, Sorupia 2005, Page 2009b, Lohmann and Duval 2011). A heightened acknowledgement of the ‘leisure’ carbon footprint has led to a plethora of studies concerning the environmental impacts of transport for tourism purposes (Gössling et al. 2002, Hamilton et al. 2005, Chapman 2007). Further, air transport has influenced the scope of direction given its dominance in mode of visitor travel (Bowen 2000, Bieger and Wittmer 2006, Becken and Hay 2007). Spatial patterns and systems have also featured (Leiper 1979, Cooper 1981, Tolley and Turton 1995, Lew and McKercher 2006), and policy implications have approached the consequences of working across sectors but often from a top-level policy-maker perspective. Few studies have scrutinised the transport-tourism relationship within the island context or the cross-sectoral implications from a local stakeholder perspective, hence the decision to guide this research in that direction.

From a methodological stance, previous transport-tourism studies have tended to focus on metric models of visitor flows, time-series analysis and other quantitatively driven approaches (Prideaux 2000, Becken 2005, Lumsdon et al. 2006, Boopen 2006, Khadaroo and Seetanah 2008). Indeed some key authors in the field have included aspects of qualitative inquiry (Palhares 2003, Guiver et al. 2007, Dickinson and
Robbins 2008) but rarely has this been the exclusive focus of transport-tourism studies. Research in this area from the locus of the stakeholder perspective is also limited. The majority of qualitative studies relating to this interdependent relationship have centred on the tourist experience with interviews routinely targeting passenger and visitor opinion (Moscardo and Pearce 2004, Thompson and Schofield 2007, Rigas 2009, Gopalan and Narayan 2010). Studies intent on eliciting stakeholder perspectives on tourism planning and collaboration tend to have a unilateral focus on the concerns of tourism or destination management. The cross-sectoral nature of the transport-tourism relationship results in these industries encountering distinct characteristics not identifiable within same sector relationships. For instance, a key challenge they have is in how to co-ordinate mutual objectives whilst traversing individual policy obligations. This is not something which affects same sector stakeholders making the transport-tourism relationship unique within the study of stakeholder dynamics in destination management.

The relative importance of transport to tourism in islands provides the advocacy for attention specifically on the capacity and dynamic of their relationship. The island context was able to provide distinct parameters by which the study was bound. The significance of work devoted to island studies can be seen in section 3.2 (page 72). The benefit of a qualitative methodology which conveys the viewpoints from ground-level informs policy-makers of the conceived daily implications stakeholders face in their endeavours to create attractive destinations and streamlined activity. Local or citizen participation is considered influential in generating policy initiatives which have a higher degree of legitimacy and therefore public engagement (Bingham et al. 2005, Cuthill and Fien 2005, Michels and De Graaf 2010). Furthermore, a diversity of stakeholders in policy dialogue provides the opportunity to consider broader implications and attempts to create more sustainable and well-designed solutions (Innes and Booher 2003, Dredge 2006b). Therefore this research should be of specific interest to national policy-makers as well as general stakeholder bodies, particularly those who are further removed from ground-level activity but require an insight into the fundamentals of local stakeholder dynamics.
1.2 Aim and Objectives

The research detailed within this thesis aims to investigate the scope, role and nature of the collaborative relationship between transport and tourism in Scottish island destinations. It will also demonstrate the extent to which practice is influenced by the collaborative discourse of policy. It develops the argument that greater integration between transport and tourism results in benefits for development potential and thus the small island economies which depend upon tourism as a lucrative source of income generation. Presented from the perspective of local level stakeholders, consideration is made as to the value and nature of collaborating. A discussion follows regarding the primary challenges and opportunities which are perceived to influence and impact the capacity for a collaborative presence within the context of the transport-tourism relationship in Scottish archipelagos.

The key aim of the research is supported by the following objectives, to:

1. Examine the literature on the concept of collaboration, including its place within policy and the background of the collaborative agenda; its perceived purpose; and its identifiable features.
2. Establish the interaction and relationships that exist between transport and tourism stakeholders in the given geographical region and the perceived value of this relationship in the broader context of its effect on tourism development in Scottish islands.
3. Ascertain stakeholder perceptions as to the rationale, feasibility and effectiveness of cross-sectoral engagement between transport and tourism in Scottish islands.
4. Identify the opportunities and challenges which are considered to impact upon collaborative practice between transport and tourism in Scottish islands.

The research advances, through empirical analysis, the theoretical understanding of factors which influence and inhibit collaboration between transport and tourism. It explores how elements within the internal and external environment provide opportunities and challenges for cross-sectoral engagement. An analysis of the consequences this has on island destinations accompanies the exploratory work.
Further consideration is made to the governance structures within these small peripheries and attention is paid to the effects of policy on practice.

1.3 Conceptual Linkages
Globally, political and economic leaders have given prominence to promoting the growth of tourism given its ability to create employment, grow gross domestic product (GDP) and attract foreign exchange (Fletcher 2008). Recognition of this has been significant in providing the stimuli to adopt tourism as a key economic generator for countries worldwide (UNWTO 2011). The small geographical units that islands provide are often burdened by resource scarcity due to their distance from central hubs and their small population sizes. The allure of the multiplier effect the industry offers, particularly in small regions where alternatives which provide a similar potential of trickle down income are rare, add to a desire for development. The benefit of using tourism as an economic generator in these scenarios allows inhabitants to utilise resources which are readily available to them. The diversity and richness of cultures and traditional lifestyles in islands are as much a pull for tourists as the remoteness of the natural environments (Graci and Dodds 2010, Brown and Cave 2010). In theory the importance of tourism’s value should afford significant political attention to its planning, implementation and monitoring. This has been reflected in the role of government and the influence of policy in tourism development (Hall 2011b). In order to spread the benefits of tourism there is a reliance on policy-makers to develop creative plans and provide the implementation for their fruition (Okech 2010). A closer focus on developing sustainable destinations has led to tourism facing a wider consideration than purely what economic contribution can be achieved.

Since the 1990s tourism planning and policy-making has been influenced by an identification of the need for multi-stakeholder participation in order to fulfill the goals of a sustainable destination (Hull and Huijbens 2011). Indeed the terminology of sustainability has become increasingly evident and directive in tourism policy-making (Hall 2011a). A distinct factor of scrutiny in islands associated with increasing the
destination profile has focused on effective transport systems and connections. Development potential has been aligned with managing carrying capacities thus protecting the social and environmental features which provide the very essence of what attracts visitors. A focus on preserving the valuable and lucrative commodity these environments provide has escalated tourism’s position on the political agenda and the supervision of it. A well planned and connected transport system has invariably increased the attractiveness of a destination (Boopen 2006, Gronau and Kagermeier 2007, Khadaroo and Seetanah 2008, Rigas 2009).

The consistency and dependability of access promotes the sustainability of peripherals by appealing to both industries (and thus the generation of income) and communities alike. Where there is an absence of viability in Scottish services, transportation is largely supported by subsidies with the purpose of safeguarding against inconsistency of service, particularly during periods of recession or, as is characteristic of island destinations, where seasonality occurs (Docherty et al. 2007, Thompson and Ferguson 2007). Details of the key transport service operators for the islands involved in this study are illustrated in Table 1 (page 10) with infrastructural maps available from Appendix Two (page 381) to Appendix Fourteen (page 393). This serves to demonstrate the level of connectedness afforded to each island destination. Whilst it should also be noted that some additional services exist within the regions, often seasonal and upon route which are commercially viable, the service providers outlined in Table 1 overleaf, are, in terms of capacity and regularity of schedule, considered the main operators. Their predominance is affirmed through the subsidy they each receive for the purposes of consistency in rural transport provision. The only deviation from this is Pentland Ferries who operate a purely private service. However they run year round and carry a significant volume of the overall passenger numbers from Mainland Scotland to Mainland Orkney so have been included in the transport descriptor overleaf as a key operator.
Table 1: Key Operators in the Provision of Scottish Island Transport Services

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Island</th>
<th>Bus Service</th>
<th>Inter-Island Ferry Service</th>
<th>External Ferry Service</th>
<th>Inter-Island Air Service</th>
<th>External Air Service</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Shetland Islands</td>
<td>Zetrans</td>
<td>SIC</td>
<td>NorthLink Ferries</td>
<td>Loganair</td>
<td>Flybe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Orkney Islands</td>
<td>Stagecoach</td>
<td>Orkney Ferries</td>
<td>NorthLink Ferries / Pentland Ferries</td>
<td>Loganair</td>
<td>Flybe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Outer Hebrides</td>
<td>See Appendix Nine (pg. 388)</td>
<td>Caledonian MacBrayne</td>
<td>Caledonian MacBrayne</td>
<td>Flybe</td>
<td>Flybe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Isle of Skye</td>
<td>Stagecoach</td>
<td>n/a (one island)</td>
<td>Caledonian MacBrayne</td>
<td>n/a (one island)</td>
<td>No air service</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Isle of Bute</td>
<td>West Coast Motors</td>
<td>n/a (one island)</td>
<td>Caledonian MacBrayne</td>
<td>n/a (one island)</td>
<td>No air service</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Isle of Arran</td>
<td>Stagecoach</td>
<td>n/a (one island)</td>
<td>Caledonian MacBrayne</td>
<td>n/a (one island)</td>
<td>No air service</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

While prominence will ultimately be given to the transport service provision requirements of the communities which inhabit the island destinations, a heavy reliance on tourism is likely to be reflected in the level of consideration given to this market. This raises another critical policy consideration - balancing the planning and provision of services for residents and locals who typically exhibit different patterns of activity and therefore different requirements. Consequently a more inclusive contribution of stakeholder involvement has transpired to ensure an eclectic collection of needs are both considered and met. Further discussion relating to this issue is made within section 6.2.4 (page 186).

In the past few decades there has been a gradual transition within the tourism policy literature from government mechanisms to those of governance. Policies and initiatives engendered by governments and public agencies both locally and nationally have been directed towards the empowerment of the tourism sector through a broader scope of stakeholder input (Wilson et al. 2001, Vernon et al. 2005, Bramwell and Lane 2011). A recognition of the relationship between policy actors, the extensive contribution by multiple industry representatives, and the capacity of the state to act have all factored in promoting the need for a wider sphere of engagement (Hall 2011b).
Within Scotland this has been reflected in the shift of responsibilities and funding allocation from the national tourism organisation, VisitScotland, to the increasing presence and legitimacy of local Destination Management/Marketing Organisations (DMO).

At the same time the profile of collaboration has been raised in recent years as a result of policy rhetoric and the desire of government to encourage joined-up thinking and working. An increasingly interconnected world and the challenges globalisation has brought demands solutions to problems which require collective redress. Within the public sector the narrative of collaboration has emerged progressively through the discourse of public management reform, revised performance measures, and as a result of the changing nature of organisational behaviour. Collaboration has predominantly been used as an approach which seeks to deal with “wicked problems” in society (Roberts 2000, APSC 2007, Andrews and Entwistle 2010). More on this topic is discussed within section 2.2.3 (page 27). These refer to challenges which are complex and cut across various stakeholder concerns thus requiring a collective response. However the encouragement of integration in working processes has been prevalent on a broader scope than the public sector alone (Sullivan et al. 2002, Wildridge et al. 2004, Clarke and Fuller 2010). A desire to establish greater alignment between objectives and essentially ‘achieve more’ through the pooling of resources has been a common primary driver. Within the private sector collaboration has been recognised as an alternative and less contentious method of gaining a competitive advantage (Gray 2000, Bleeke and Ernst 2003, Lank 2006). Particularly in scenarios where businesses cannot compete with economies of scale, sharing resources in instances where mutual benefit can be gained has allowed small businesses and niche markets renewed approaches to sustainability and the opportunity for cross-function. The repositioning of regulatory mechanisms and the shift of authority from government to governance structures echoes the transition for more participatory and collective decision-making processes (Nordin and Svensson 2011, O’Leary and Vij 2012). The broader scope of representation engendered by governance frameworks has also been strongly argued
to provide more balanced consideration due to the inclusion of a wider variety of perspective (Howie 2003, Beaumont and Dredge 2010).

The relationship between transport and tourism is considered as one of the most important within the wider tourism system (see Leiper’s Tourism System in section 4.7 (page 123)). The remoteness of a destination amplifies its dependence on transport connections which elevates the preservation of access as a key governmental objective within rural areas (Guiver et al. 2007). Islands, for the most part, cannot readily be reached by private modes of transport and visitor markets are often reliant on public services to access isolated destinations. This provides further impetus for state involvement in tourism management since the planning and regulation of these transport systems falls under the remit of public agencies.

In terms of the Scottish policy context, attention given to the distinct challenges interwoven within island transport-tourism relationships has been reflected in various recent public sector initiatives. A prominent example of such activity was demonstrated by Transport Scotland’s introduction of the Road Equivalent Tariff (RET) scheme (Transport Scotland 2013). This involved setting ferry fares on the basis of the cost of travelling an equivalent distance by road, thereby reducing some tariffs quite substantially. One of its key objectives was conveyed to be the encouragement of tourism development within the isles. VisitScotland’s (2013a) recent “Islands Visitor Survey” illustrated that tourism in the Outer Hebrides rose by 27% in the previous six years which was largely attributed to the contribution of government assistance in transport costs and the island’s participation in the RET scheme. This finding followed a government impact report which confirmed that tourism numbers had indeed grown with the introduction of the RET scheme and the tourism industry had, as was anticipated, been a major beneficiary of the initiative (Scottish Government 2011). This emphasises the impact transport services can have on tourism development. Furthermore it demonstrates a political acknowledgement that the well-being of tourism in these destinations is worthy of such scrutiny and assistance and
that the influence of transport on tourism is recognised as an important factor in its development.

While islands may suffer from limited resources and a dependence on additional support due to their distance from economic centres, their inherently small populations generate increased familiarity as close contact and overlapping roles at a personal and professional level affect community integration. The small defined spaces that islands occupy, the distinct boundaries which they possess, and a strong sense of pride in the traditions and institutions widely evident in island cultures inspire a tenacious identity. This has been commonly considered a quintessential island characteristic (Jackson 2006, Hepburn 2012) – more of these can be observed within Table 7 (page 76). A consequence of this territorial nature has been the demonstration of enhanced social cohesion and ultimately the propagation of augmented levels of social capital. Island areas are often afforded greater levels of autonomy with local agencies seeking heightened power over immediate affairs (Godfrey 2004, Scheyvens and Momsen 2008). This is in part because of their distance from central decision-making but also as a result of the idiosyncratic characteristics islands possess and the distinct custodial demands they make on a consistency and fluidity of functioning. Recent examples reflective of this can be seen within the current “Our Islands Our Future” (SIC 2013) campaign led jointly by the three island councils representing the Outer Hebrides, Orkney Islands and Shetland Islands. A belief that “Islands by their very nature are special places with special requirements” (OIC 2013) has encouraged these peripheries to work together in lobbying for their divergent needs and statuses to be recognised. Within the campaign literature the need for additional power is not only attributed to the distinct differences and therefore unique challenges experienced by islands. There is also a collective acknowledgement of the strong sense of identity and cultural pride experienced by local residents which has promoted a desire for local control and thus local decision-making power. There was therefore an expectation for elements of self-governance to be expressed within the interview discussions. It occurred to the researcher that a focus on the island scenario may have the potential to provide an interesting insight into a form of grass-roots management which would no doubt be
accompanied by its own specific advantages and disadvantages. How this would influence the transport-tourism relationship would depend on the effectiveness of local governance structures.

1.4 Scope and Value of the Research
Data was collected from stakeholders across both the transport and tourism industries from the following areas: the Shetland Islands; the Orkney Islands; the Outer Hebrides; the Isle of Skye; the Isle of Bute and the Isle of Arran – a map is provided at Appendix One (page 380). The decision to locate the study within the researcher’s native territory was the consequence of various influences. The researcher’s background and personal interest motivated the choice of focus on a local study. Intrigue in the economies of domestic islands and recent instances of political activity and funding allocation in island transport for tourism development also attracted attention to considering the immediate geographical environment. Further the constraints of time and resources had some influence on the study design.

Within the island literature, researchers have conveyed the value of using these boundaried geographies to determine findings from the specific territories they occupy. Islands have been enjoying increased attention within tourism studies due to an expansion in access resulting in people travelling further and to more distant horizons than ever before. A consideration of these isolated destinations as exotic and fascinating has enhanced the attractiveness (Sufrauj 2011). Islands are a crucial ingredient in Scottish tourism and often appear as a characteristic of prominence in its promotion. These modest destinations have featured heavily in the publicity surrounding VisitScotland’s ‘Years of Focus’. They are regularly cited as a critical element in selling Scotland as a destination rich in wildlife, culture and local produce (Scottish Government 2010a). During last year’s “Year of Natural Scotland” islands provided a key resource, particularly in the marketing of Scotland’s flora and fauna (Visit Scotland 2013c). The importance of these peripheries has been reflected in the assistance and recognition that they receive on a national as well as international basis.
given their value as unique and desirable tourism destinations. The significant financial contribution from the European Regional Development Fund (ERDF) for celebrations and events across the islands during “Scotland’s Year of Island Culture” provides demonstration. The aim of such funding was to encourage economic development, attract visitors and strengthen links between islands and the mainland. This is but one example of the hefty contribution ERDF provide in support of Scottish island communities. They propose the following overall vision for them:

The vision for the Highlands & Islands is of prosperous, inclusive and self-sustaining communities, where the unique cultures, traditions and environments are enhanced and the region makes a distinctive contribution to Scotland, the UK and the EU competitiveness through supporting people, places and prosperity. (Scottish Government 2008: 3)

The message of reciprocal prosperity conveys that irrespective of their insularity, islands present as a valuable commodity within the mix of Scottish geographical and cultural characteristics. However their worth pivots on connections and access. The significance of islands in Scottish tourism economies and their critical reliance on transport thus inspired the scope of this exploratory study to include the three prominent key variables – transport, tourism and islands.

Examples of collaborative projects which cut across stakeholders involved in both the transport and tourism industries in islands have demonstrated an attempt to improve the visitor experience through joint efforts. Holiday package initiatives organised on both a local and national basis and joint ticketing and interactive journey planning services have seen shared efforts focus on the more practical aspects where a mutual gain can be achieved. The co-creation of marketing campaigns where transport is expressed as more than a mode of travel but a key element of the visitor experience demonstrate the concept of reciprocity within the relationship – this is further
highlighted in section 6.2.6 (page 195). Greater unity has demanded involvement and input from stakeholders in both the transport and tourism industry for the success of joint endeavours. The value of collective efforts has been attributed to the sharing of resources and expertise that coming together has engendered. While some of these strategies are communicated through the press and via company websites and public reports, many valiant efforts fall under the radar since they remain local and often casual arrangements. Nonetheless these collaborative activities are often critical in sustaining small local businesses and were a vital element to explore, identify and analyse within this study.

Increased evidence of collaboration between islands has also been demonstrated, in part as a strategic approach to maximise resource output but also as a reaction to the economic climate and the funding constraints this has engendered. VisitScotland’s (2013a) “Islands Visitor Survey”, conducted between 2012 and 2013 was commissioned by Orkney Islands Council (OIC), Shetland Islands Council (SIC), Comhairle nan Eilean Siar (CnES), Highland & Islands Enterprise (HIE) and VisitScotland. The collective island survey was a consequence of stakeholder recognition that more could be achieved by working together than the individual areas could accomplish alone. Not only would the associated financial costs be shared but it would also allow the island locations the opportunity to compare a series of uniform results across these similar tourism destinations (Visit Scotland 2013a). A key element within the collection of this data involved the provision of transport operator information. This informed on the current dominance of arrival and departure points as well as how tourists travel around the islands and their perceptions of quality in terms of transport service provision.

While this research sits within the parameters of islands, it has a significance beyond island studies. It provides a contribution to the study of collaboration and to the governance of tourism, albeit within a specific context. However the collection and comparison between instances of basic research which consider the same phenomena
but from varied and differing positions, contexts and methodologies assists in building theory. This study presents further empirical findings relating to the opportunities and implications for collaborative behaviour and activity. The research also demonstrates a value in presenting the perspectives of islanders as the stakeholders contributing to the governance of these destinations rather than a focus from the central policy-making, and therefore invariably mainlander viewpoint. Given the lack of academic research concentrating on the transport-tourism relationship and the continued growth of interest in collaboration, this research may prove useful both from its situation in the island context and with regards to the governance structures and relational behaviour of these small geographies. At this crucial time when the tourism management of Scottish islands appears to be in something of a transition period, cross-sectoral engagement and co-operation will undoubtedly be increasingly evident in order to generate policies which are sustainable and democratically legitimate. The scope of this study aims to highlight individual industry perspectives as well as collective visioning thus proving informative to the future governance of tourism development within these isolated destinations.

1.5 Thesis Outline

The thesis chapters which follow begin with a critical review of the literature in the three key areas of concern; the collaborative agenda, the island context, and the relationship between transport and tourism. In order to contextualise its growing presence and relevance, the key drivers of collaboration are discussed before an analysis of the practice and behaviour of collaboration is provided. This is then followed by a justification of the island context and the defining features of islands pertinent to a discussion which considers the benefits and challenges of fostering collaboration within this geographical environment. From this chapter follows the final element contemplating a review of the literature, an examination of the transport-tourism relationship. A recognition of the value and complexity of the tourism industry is first addressed before the role of transport in its development and the part it plays in the whole tourism experience is identified. This then leads on to the methodological considerations applicable to the research with a detailed account of the study design.
and the rationale for the researcher’s choices along with the implications of them. The study is embedded in a qualitative approach featuring the application of semi-structured interviews in a bid to elicit thick description. Elements of this are demonstrated throughout chapter six which presents a discussion of the key findings reflective of the study aim and key research questions. Multiple interview excerpts deciphered through a thorough process of data analysis using Computer-Assisted Qualitative Data Analysis Software (CAQDAS) and verbatim interview transcription present the conclusions from the primary data and the basis for the discussion chapter. Finally, the conclusion brings the thesis to a close and makes a consideration of this study’s contribution to knowledge in the given field.
Chapter Two
2. The Collaborative Agenda

2.1 Introduction
This chapter intends to provide a background discussion as to the emergence of collaboration and the motivation for attempts to generate collaborative behaviour. Collaborative approaches have arisen from two directions. Some instances see collaboration emerge organically in response to a scenario which compels the potential outcomes collaborative mechanisms can provide. These are considered reactive scenarios. What they are predominantly reacting to are occurrences of problems with a complexity that requires the input and action of multiple parties. However collaborative approaches have also become a popular concept within policy objectives since collective decision-making and implementation has the capacity to maximise deliverables whilst minimising resource consumption. Of course this remains contingent upon the effectiveness of collaborative capacities and as such a thorough investigation of the components of collaboration are examined.

2.2 Key Drivers of Collaboration
This section will consider the predominant catalysts which have motivated a response of collaboration. There is argument in the literature that drivers of collaboration are a prerequisite to the impetus for it (Emerson et al. 2012). Consequently this raises a debate as to whether collaboration is indeed a reaction or a strategy. Bardach (2001: 152) indicates that it comprises both elements, “…it evolves partly as a reaction to an ordered sequence of underlying events and partly as a consequence of foresight and planning”. The idea of collaboration as a reactive measure is reflected in the broad discussion of it as an emergent process (Gray 1989, Jamal and Getz 1995, Makopondo 2002, Thomson and Perry 2006, Denning 2009). The extent to which collaboration is considered to facilitate a necessary solution is fundamental in sustaining the momentum throughout the lifecycle of a collaborative activity or the ethos of injecting collaborative behaviour into the culture of an organisation. The drivers discussed convey an emergence of collaboration within social, political, environmental,
organisational and economic contexts demonstrating the ubiquity of this method and the breadth of its application.

2.2.1 Globalisation and Managing Change

The concept of globalisation is a contentious phenomenon and the evidence and discourse surrounding it are hotly debated (Fairclough and Thomas 2004, Giddens 2006, Bevir 2009, Steger 2009, Kennett 2010, Ritzer 2010). The relevance of its discussion here is that it is considered to have been instrumental to political and institutional change and it is regularly discussed alongside other factors as a key driver of public sector reform (Kettl 2000, Painter 2007, Pollitt and Bouckaert 2011). Globalisation is answerable for expanding connections throughout the world both physically (through access and travel) and communicatively (via technology). Whilst Giddens (2006) puts the emphasis of the concept on a reference to interdependence, Verma (2012: 38) defines globalisation as “the emergence of a complex web of interconnectedness which means that our lives are increasingly shaped by events that occur and decisions that are made at a great distance from us”.

A greater level of speed and access to reach people, places and information along with an increased capacity in supply chain activity and the movement of humanity has led to dramatic changes in interaction throughout the world (Young et al. 2006). Globalisation has been suggested to have at its core a notion of shifting forms of human contact (Steger 2009). Citizens have become better informed, progressively sophisticated in their demands, and less inhibited in their mobility (McMahon-Beattie and Yeoman 2007, Williams 2009, Li 2010). No organisation can be wholly proficient in every context and working together has become an increasingly attractive strategy to maximise skills, resources, knowledge and experience in order to meet rising expectations. The impacts of globalisation have influenced industries, economies and societies across the globe with few left unaffected by the changes encountered (Thierstein and Walser 2010). A more knowledgeable customer has led to the need for heightened levels of competition and there has been a revolutionary response not only
within free markets but also from the public sector in terms of service delivery. Farazmand (1999: 511) suggests that for public administration it has meant “thinking globally and acting locally”. The development of a series of government reforms have intended to combat the challenges of a more connected and complex world by looking at the wider picture before tailoring a more immediate strategic approach.

New Public Management (NPM) has been described as one of the most significant approaches in reshaping government to cope with the challenges brought about by globalisation (Khan 2003, Pratt 2006). According to Fairclough and Thomas (2004: 392) “The shift to NPM [was] naturalised by the globalisation imperative”. There were increasing doubts that the public sector alone could maintain the delivery of service provision to the extent that a global world required (Robinson et al. 2010). Held (2000) discusses that globalisation demands public and private bodies to be enmeshed in forming decisions and regulation. Reflection of this ideology was demonstrated in approaches which ensued such as the Public-Private Partnership (PPP) agenda and New Public Governance (NPG). This was a significant reverse in the remit of previous cardinal doctrine which sought to make clear distinctions between the public and private sectors.

The other substantial change brought about by NPM was a shift on emphasis from process accountability to results accountability (Hood 1995). Collaboration and the trend towards partnership working has been considered by some as a consequence of globalisation and a mechanism through which to deal with the increased expectations and challenges encountered (Sullivan and Skelcher 2002, Wanna 2008, Hawkins and Little 2011). Lank (2006: 1) states that, “No organization is an island” and the constantly growing web of connections in the world today have lowered the transactional costs of collaborating due to the ease, speed and opportunity of finding suitable partners to work alongside.
Globalisation and technological change have caused a growth in the inequities of state and non-state resources encouraging the need for a transnational, multi-actor approach to governance (Faulkner 2011). Changes in power and authority and moves towards mechanisms of governance have called for a larger pool of stakeholders than government alone in achieving desired results. As such, many allege that as globalisation has intensified, the power of the state at the centre has diminished (Cable 1995, Lynch 2003, Goksel 2004). This has not necessarily happened at the expense of the state since deregulation and privatisation as fundamental principles of NPM provide a clear demonstration of willingness for state control transfer. In this vein it is argued that alteration has occurred in the form but not the function of the nation-state, from authoritarian to something more akin to mediator or facilitator (Panitch 1994, Barrow 2005, Vernon et al. 2005). Many of the macro scale problems affecting society today such as disease, crime and drug misuse have advanced as boundaries have diminished requiring collaborative redress which spans public authorities, government departments and geographical boundaries (Martell 2010). While globalisation has seen borders and barriers reduce as access increases, it is only one responsive factor, albeit significant, which influenced public management reform and a move towards collaborative approaches of working.

2.2.2 Public Sector Performance

A more connected world was not the sole problem contributing to a society that required a more integrated and holistic approach to service delivery. The fiscal challenges of the late 80s and the emphasis on a small state, led performance objectives to focus on efficiency and reducing government spending. However a decade on and the strategy had shifted from minimising the public sector to realising that more holistic performance-based objective setting was intrinsic. This was necessary to increase the competitive advantage of a nation’s economy and for societal betterment (Bouckaert and Van Dooren 2003):
Performance of an organisation or public program is the achievement of such organizations and programs in terms of the outputs and outcomes that they produce. There can be numerous measures of performance, and the concept can be considered to have a number of dimensions, including efficiency, effectiveness, equity and public satisfaction. (O'Toole and Meier 2011)

This was reflected in New Labour’s Best Value policy, a key component of the Modernisation Agenda and centred on responsiveness to community needs and the quality of public service provision (Entwistle and Martin 2005, Demirkaya 2006). The judgement of performance was no longer dominated by financial savings as a measurement of how well delivery was being achieved which had been at the heart of its predecessor, the Compulsory Competitive Tendering (CCT) regime. Now the inclusion of criteria such as quality of life indicators evidenced the trend towards assessing performance through social benefits as well as fiscal ones. The association of measuring value against softer characteristics such as social inclusion and equity of access was an attempt to highlight government’s pledge to put citizens’ needs ahead of service provider convenience (Cabinet Office 1999). This theme continued within the Value for Money (VfM) assessment mechanism:

In pursuing policy objectives, the public sector pursues Value for Money, defined as optimising net social costs and benefits. This public sector assessment of value is based upon the interests of society as a whole and is not an assessment of value to the public sector alone. (Lowe 2008: 4)

Achieving VfM was a primary objective of government in adopting PPPs (Grimsey and Lewis 2005). The partnership era which followed the strong drive for efficiency was seen as an effective way in which to deliver policy objectives that would require collective input (Falconer and McLaughlin 2000). Pursuing VfM under restricted budgetary conditions is nothing new and the recent period of austerity has done little

Combining and capitalising on the varying strengths and capabilities of different organisations and sectors has provided access to jointly constructed resources thus broadening performance abilities (Hardy et al. 2003, Gajda 2004, Bryson et al. 2011, Vigoda 2012). However realising the gross value of effective collaboration does not always translate into tangible and measurable outcomes since it is built upon and aims to forge ‘soft’ or affective factors, with the generation of social capital a common plaudit (Lank 2006, Gibbs and Humphries 2009). It is therefore imperative for participants to recognise the importance of these intangible aspects as valuable outcomes of the process when evaluating achievement since not all benefits can be effectively assessed through discernable performance objectives. Indeed many of the advantages to be gained from participating in collaborative activity are immeasurable unless one can quantify the depth of a relationship or the levels of trust and commitment developed. In some cases the course of engaging can deliver more than even the anticipated outcomes and thus the process itself can be as advantageous as the results. It is therefore not an activity which is a means to an end but rather the means (process) can generate equity as it transitions towards the intended outcomes.

However achieving the depth of relationship from which collaboration emerges is complex, time-consuming and can be resource intensive (Lasker et al. 2001, Huxham 2003, Walker 2004, Imperial 2005, Roloff 2008, Bryson et al. 2009, Kemmis and Mckinney 2011). Further, it is often hindered by fragmentation or inertia before any real benefits come to fruition (Huxham and Vangen 2003, Conklin 2006, McGuire
The value of intangibilities can be overlooked in the policy environment where public agencies are often driven by measurable outcomes and outputs (Leat 2009). Byrd and Gustke (2007) claim that the devotion to initiating collaboration is justified for two distinct reasons. First, there is the potential to enhance the capabilities of individual contributors providing a return greater than their invested equity. Second, collaboration can diminish the costs associated with general transactions and conflict resolution. They also propose that collaborative working tends to be more politically legitimate since it stands to include a number of participants and perspectives and broadens the channels of power distribution. This is a point highlighted repeatedly within the collaborative literature (Chrislip 2002, Fung and Wright 2003, Emerson et al. 2012), particularly in instances where citizen participation is considered a democratic prerequisite (Newman et al. 2004, Bingham et al. 2005, Cuthill and Fien 2005, Vernon et al. 2005).

Collaborative attempts have become commonplace as a response to the performance rationale (Savage et al. 2010, Bryson et al. 2011, Hawkins and Little 2011), not least according to Sloan (2009) and Camarinha-Matos and Boucher (2010) because the stakeholder engagement that working together engenders is pivotal to achieving sustainable results. Sustainability involves “Meeting the needs of the present without compromising the ability of future generations to meet their own needs” (World Commission on Environment and Development 1987). This is not something which can be achieved in isolation. A multi-stakeholder approach to governing, policy-making and implementation is proposed necessary in response to the complexity of societal problems that stretch beyond the capacity of any single organisation (Sullivan 2010). A propensity to build trust through relationships and an opportunity to learn from others are elements of collaboration which Sloan (2009) highlights will heighten performance capabilities. Imperial (2005) suggests a more tangible purpose for collaborating; to enhance performance through physical resource sharing via the amalgamation of finances, manpower or knowledge. However Moynihan et al. (2010) considers that rather than necessarily acting as a tool to aid performance, the complexity of collaboration means that its role in improving performance is
challenging to manage and measure. A difficulty in defining collaboration and the functions and responsibilities of those engaging in it may lead to inconsistencies in understanding the concept, process and outcomes. Furthermore it has been argued that the absence of a government presence providing a mediating role can result in power imbalances between key players in collaborative activity thus affecting democratic value (Brinkerhoff and Azfar 2006, Vigoda 2012). If performance models are to endorse the social elements that can be realised from working collaboratively there will be a propensity for values, fairness and ethics to underpin the philosophy and practice.

2.2.3 Addressing Complexity

Another key driver of collaboration in policy transpired through a need to combat complexity. Wood and Gray (1991) propose that reducing complexity and enhancing control over environmental factors is a key rationale for entering into collaboration. In the policy environment complex issues are often referred to as “wicked problems” – wicked in the sense of resistant to resolution (Martin and Murray 2010). Wicked problems have been described as unstructured, cross-cutting and relentless (Weber and Khademian 2008); complex rather than just complicated (Grint 2005); or quite simply as social messes (Horn 2001, Denning 2009, Ritchey 2011). Many issues to be tackled by government span departments. They are unable to be managed by, nor belong to one single agency (Sullivan and Skelcher 2002).

Because of the complexity of interlinking issues, the resolution attempt at one aspect of a problem may reveal or create further obstacles for others. To exemplify; unemployment can be linked with education, labour markets, social communities and cultures, crime, housing, class structures amongst other things. The implementation of a planned policy to tackle one aspect may well affect another agency’s capacity to address their own challenge. What one department or set of stakeholders may see as a solution to their version of the issue may very well impact upon how another agency deals with their remit of the same problem. Rittel and Webber (1973) first coined the
term “wicked problem” during research which highlighted the limitations of linear systems approaches and the inadequacies in responsiveness to ill-structured problems. They considered that in a pluralistic society there are no solutions to wicked problems in the sense of definitive and objective answers. To find a solution requires an understanding of the problem, but in scenarios where problems are immeasurable there is no absolute solution and thus no end game. The following characteristics – detailed below within Table 2, were distinguished by Rittel and Webber (1973) as descriptors of wicked problems:

Table 2: Characteristics of “Wicked Problems”

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<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>You don’t understand the problem until you have developed a solution.</td>
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<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Wicked problems have no stopping rule.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Solutions to wicked problems are not right or wrong.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Every wicked problem is essentially unique and novel.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>Every solution to a wicked problem is a “one-shot operation.”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>Wicked problems have no given alternative solutions.</td>
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Source: Rittel and Webber (1973)

Conklin (2006: 17) suggests that the mutual acceptance of a solution by all the involved stakeholders will only be achievable through collaboration which he goes on to describe as “creating shared understanding about the problem, and shared commitment to the possible solutions”.

strategies are perceived as being “the most effective in dealing with wicked problems that have many stakeholders amongst whom power is dispersed” (APSC 2007: 10). Within such strategies, public managers become only one of the stakeholder groups, considered to ideally play the part of capacity builders within collaboration (Weber and Khademian 2008). This affirms the argument made previously of government’s role in facilitation (Panitch 1994, Barrow 2005, Vernon et al. 2005). Grint (2005) considers that when the typology of a problem reaches wicked, the role of government is best conducted through leadership; organising processes and asking questions which summon a collective response. However collaboration requires leaders who are open to learning and innovation and who are willing to take risks and drive change (Worley et al. 2010). Risk taking is not something commonly associated with public administration. The survival of its bureaucratic nature is synonymous with the stability it provides. It is not government’s role to be the risk taker but rather to increase public value (Moore 1995). This presents another potential structural hurdle for cross-sectoral input and to what contributory parties can feasibly commit if capabilities are contradictory. However Morse (2010) and Bryson et al. (2009) argue that creating public value is in everyone’s interest so should be a common driver for cross-sectoral collaboration.

Wicked problems have posed a challenge to traditional forms of public administration which deal best with known and unchanging environments, where a problem can be established and a solution identified through a classically closed system approach (Allen and Sawhney 2010, Karre et al. 2011, Hun Lee 2011). These days’ problems in society have become progressively chaotic. What may previously have remained tame now has the propensity to develop into ‘wicked’ as the external world is increasingly affective and thus must be treated as an indivisible whole (Buchanan 1992). Irrespective of the role government play, Head and Alford (2008) believe collaboration to be the automatic reaction to mitigate wicked problems. However they suggest that there should be a more tailored response to the type of ‘wickedness’ which does not always necessarily entail the need for collaboration. For reasons previously mentioned, collaboration should not be considered as an easy option since, while it can be
extremely fruitful it is also fraught with difficulty. Roberts (2000: 12) believes that people “fail into collaboration” after authoritative and competitive strategies for addressing wicked problems have been exhausted and unsuccessful, “People have to learn what does not work before they are willing to absorb what they perceive to be the extra ‘costs’ associated with collaboration”. Perceived costs of collaboration are detailed in Figure 1 below. This depiction aims to give a flavour of the challenges facing collaboration but is by no means exhaustive.

**Figure 1: Costs Associated with Collaboration**

![Diagram showing costs associated with collaboration]

2.3 **Public Sector Reform as a Political Response**

A wave of government reforms in Britain in the late 1980s was necessary in shaking up the management, performance and delivery of the public sector and in making changes to the administration of policy. Whereby government had historically been designed to remain steady and constant while the world around it demonstrated an adaptive nature, the challenges presented within a modern society called for a role re-
think. The public sector was now required to adapt and respond to the changes which developed their local and international environments in order to raise performance (Matheson and Kwon 2003, Aspden and Birch 2005, Kearney et al. 2009).

Globalisation had brought with it significant competitive pressure and the disturbances of the global economy in the 1970s along with the creation of a welfare state meant that government had become bloated, unsustainable and inhibitive (Lister 1998, Pollitt and Bouckaert 2011, Christensen and Laegreid 2011). The initial response was in the form of efficiency measures. A business-like approach was implemented to transform government (Groot and Budding 2008, Pollitt and Dan 2011). However by the 1990s a change in identity was demonstrated as the reforms took on a demeanour of working together established through the emergence of partnerships and a government which was more joined-up. A renewed interest in governance ensued and within it the network model, primarily because it engendered the type of flexibility and integrative relationships the reforms at that time were seeking to achieve. This shift was partly due to the fragmentation and lack of accountability which was resulting from the initial outcomes of NPM (Ling 2002, Jun 2009); partly because the efficiency efforts failed to fully acknowledge social and cultural measures (Christensen and Laegreid 2007) and partly, as Pollitt and Bouckaert (2011) point out, for reasons still not fully known. However the spread of collaborative behaviour proceeded to penetrate the conduct and strategic direction of government (Agranoff and McGuire 2003). What evolved from an increasingly turbulent environment for policy-makers was an approach towards collective input incorporating collaborative working through governance mechanisms, often referred to as “collaborative governance” (Newman et al. 2004, Ansell and Gash 2007, Moynihan et al. 2010, Donahue and Zeckhauser 2011, Emerson et al. 2012). Collaboration has since been perceived as both an implementation tool and an outcome of public sector reforms.
2.3.1 New Public Management

NPM was the term given to a series of reforms which evolved over a period of time beginning in Britain during the 1980s. Prior to this and under post-war Keynesianism the role of the state had increased in an attempt to re-stabilise social economics. However the economic policies introduced and the high rates of taxation and inflation which transpired as a result were considered by some to weaken long-run economic performance (Hall 1993, Tanzi and Schuknecht 2000, Hutton 2011). Keynes’ approach to public administration sought to increase the involvement of government during periods of recession but decrease its role when the economy stabilised. However it proved easier to introduce the provision of a service than to retract it and his approach led to a rise in social expenses which could not be sustained (Greener 2009).

In 1979, high fiscal deficits and the transfer of power to a Conservative Government led to a neo-liberal approach intent on lowering government involvement and increasing the ownership and responsibility of the private sector (Boston 2011). The initial message accentuated that market incentives, competition and business processes would lead to better efficiency and responsiveness which had previously been seen as a deficiency in government practice. Marketisation and corporate management were perceived to provide solutions to the challenges of public sector and the efficiency of public services. Although the key ideas of NPM had economic and efficiency measures at its core, many have suggested that they were fundamental in paving the way for the ‘Best Value’ focus of the Modernisation Agenda which was later developed by the successive Labour Government (Newman 2002, Keen 2004, Pollitt and Dan 2011).

The NPM reforms stemmed from three main issues: the economic pressures which existed around that era; administrative challenges which were evident within the public sector; and the movement towards a cultural belief that considered reform and strategy renewal necessary (Christensen and Laegreid 2011). In order to meet the demands increasingly being placed on the public sector, government authorities were revamped to become more business-like. The key reform themes of NPM centred on privatisation
and involved, decentralisation, performance measurement, downsizing and managerialism (Hood 1991, Hood 1995, Hays and Kearney 1997, Levy 2002, Newman 2002, Kolthoff et al. 2006, Christensen and Laegreid 2007, Boston 2011, Pollitt and Dan 2011). A perception that the application of managerial and organisational structures found in private companies could lead to increased competency and competitiveness in the public sector fuelled implementation. It was considered that through this model the private sector would be more efficient in the delivery of public services and this motivated the drive towards reducing the size and role of the public sector, instead developing contractual relationship through CCT.

Although many of the NPM ideas reflected and were built upon the foundations of neo-liberal prescriptions, there was an ethos towards a closer alignment between government and business in terms of organisational forms and managerial autonomy. The emphasis was on decision-making driven by improvements in efficiency. The past political experiences of Keynesianism and Neo-liberalism had helped to convey that where extremes of government support (or lack thereof) had failed, a meeting closer to the middle could provide a broader benefit to society and to the achievement of public sector goals. This was conducive in shaping the ideas and characteristics of the NPM ideology (Boston 2011). A major criticism of NPM was the suggestion that it attempted to replace poor public management with private sector inputs as opposed to providing better public management (Bevir 2009, McQuaïd 2010). The response to this was seen in the creation of PPPs which sought to inject business-like behaviour into public management by conjoining efforts from the public and private sector rather than the transfer of responsibility which was evidenced during the CCT regime.

### 2.3.2 Public-Private Partnerships

A manifestation of the NPM ethos and one of its most prominent legacies evolved in the form of PPPs. The extensive evidence of them has been a small but significant aspect within government’s reform agenda. Whilst the emphasis of NPM was firmly focussed on the implementation of efficiency measures, the fragmented capacity this
provided government resulted in a failing to address cross cutting problems (Head and Alford 2008, Christensen and Laegreid 2011). Conklin (2006: 4) suggests that the “antidote to fragmentation is shared understanding and shared commitment”. The move towards partnership increased problem-solving capability through greater sectoral interaction and increased flexibility (Gray 1989, Wildridge et al. 2004, Graetz and Smith 2006, Klijn et al. 2007).

The PPP institution originated from the Private Finance Initiative (PFI) and has been widely used in the UK by both major political parties, albeit with adaptations to address their own political aspirations. PFIs were considered a way in which to improve the delivery of public services and the maintenance of public infrastructure through contractual agreements. The subsequent evolution of PPPs involved a shift of focus towards a desire to achieve VfM (Redwood 2004, Robinson et al. 2010, Heald and Georgiou 2011). For the public sector, they offered a chance to increase innovation and efficiency with a strong focus on customer needs in line with characteristics of the private sector. PPPs facilitated alliances between government and private sector operators thus increasing knowledge and expertise in order to better fulfil public sector goals. For the private sector they allowed an opportunity to spread risk, access financial aid and collect a steady income (McQuaid and Scherrer 2010).

The journey from the contractual and competitive PFI to partnership based PPPs has been described as both a continuation and an end to the NPM agenda. Although PPPs adopt a ‘softer’ approach to gaining private sector resources than the shifting of responsibility engendered by contracting, they are seen by some to maintain the basic political underpinning of bringing the private sector into public service delivery. However the focus of PPPs on the sharing of responsibility is considered too radical a change in concept to be considered a continuation of the transfer of obligation and marketisation profile of NPM (Greve and Hodge 2007).
The term ‘post-NPM’ began to proliferate as the focus of reforms moved to creating cohesion by building strong participative relationships with an emphasis on developing trust through value-based management (Dunleavy et al. 2006, Christensen and Laegreid 2007, Jun 2009). At the heart of these post-NPM reforms was a focus on treating what were considered “whole of government” issues using holistic and collaborative methods (Laegreid et al. 2008, Christensen and Laegreid 2011). Partnerships are commonly regarded as a form of collaboration (Sullivan and Skelcher 2002, Greasley et al. 2008, Robinson et al. 2010, Greve and Morth 2010), recognised as one aspect of collaboration (Hardy et al. 2003, D'Amour et al. 2005), or considered an outcome of collaboration (Thomson and Perry 2006). Carnwell and Carson (2009) believe that partnership is the phenomena and collaboration is the process. Within the public sector the use of partnerships has been suggested to inject collaborative capacity into governmental strategies and UK policy initiatives (Ghobadian et al. 2004a, Greasley et al. 2008, Erridge 2009). This ideology resonated perhaps most evidently in practical terms with the transition from the previously favoured CCT regime to the introduction of partnership arrangements. From this perspective it is argued that PPPs can be utilised as a tool to generate the evolution of collaborative relationships (Greve and Hodge 2010). As Warner (2001: 189) discusses “To effectively build social capital, local government must share autonomy with citizens, shifting its emphasis from controller, regulator and provider to new roles as catalyst, convenor and facilitator”.

Stakeholder involvement is considered an important aspect of the PPP initiative and there is a perception that the encouragement of integration between the public and private sector puts stakeholder involvement higher on the agenda, increasing the social inclusion of communities (Osborne 2010b). Although the initial purpose of PFIs was for the economic and efficiency benefits which could be realised, Klijn and Teisman (2004: 148) believe that a more abstract ‘added value’ has been generated from the use of PPPs in the form of synergy which they describe as “…the possibility of developing a product through the integration of various parts or combined efforts…”.
The counter argument is that PPPs simply acted as a mechanism by which to introduce characteristics of marketisation into the public sector (Ghobadian et al. 2004b). Some theories consider that the term “PPP” has been used as a rhetorical device, an opportunity to marketize the state using privatisation under the guise of ‘partnership’ (Savas 2000, Minow 2003). Faulkner (2004) believes that the language of partnership is used exploitatively as a mechanism to make a scenario appear more co-operative and aligned than is necessarily the case. Bardach (1998: 17) offers a justification for lip service which is often paid to the use of the term, “…collaboration is nicer sounding then indifference, conflict, or competition…” However advocates of the PPP initiative suggest that they go beyond the NPM drive towards efficiency and are a new entity driven more by an inherent need for cooperation and collaboration and less by the competitive characteristics associated with NPM (Entwistle and Martin 2005, Greenwald 2008, Thierstein and Walser 2010).

Another key debate which surfaced regarding government’s attraction to the PFI was that it enabled expenditure to be removed from the accounts resulting in a reduction of public sector net borrowing (Burkitt 2006, Flynn 2007). McQuaid and Scherrer (2010: 8) highlight that the real and advancing internal and external pressures felt by government prompted a move towards PPPs to “encourage ‘off balance sheet’ expenditure”. Such a practice proved to be both inefficient and inequitable with many projects running over in terms of time and money. Critics began to question the positive contribution made by PFIs and more latterly PPPs. Furthermore the ambiguity surrounding the PPP definition has led to confusion regarding its interpretation and therefore scepticism concerning its value (Bovaird 2004, Transportation Research Board 2009, Hodge and Greve 2009). The loose description of what government understand as the interpretation of a PPP proves to exemplify this notion:

Public private partnerships (PPPs) are arrangements typified by joint working between the public and private sector. In the broadest sense, PPPs can cover all
types of collaboration across the interface between the public and private sectors to deliver policies, services and infrastructure. (HM Treasury 2011)

Although there have been many successes; there is also evidence of failures regarding PFI and PPP endeavours, more notably: the UK Passport Agency causing severe delays in 1999 (NAO 2000); Railtrack PLC being placed in administration in 2001 (Butcher 2010); and the collapse of Metronet in 2007, established to modernise London Underground’s infrastructure (NAO 2009). Where PPPs have been successfully implemented, they have gained a reputation as an effective mechanism for sustainable approaches to long-term delivery (Robinson et al. 2010). Within Scotland the latest figures show that there are currently 89 operational PPP projects at a capital value total of £6062.7m (Scottish Government 2012). The private sector remains called upon to fulfil the shortcomings of the public purse and assist in responding to complex societal issues. As long as they are perceived to be providing the public sector with VfM (and themselves a healthy return), it is considered doubtful that the presence of PPPs will diminish (Ghobadian et al. 2004b, Robinson et al. 2010). However Bovaird (2004) and Cairns and Harris (2011) indicate that this rationale lies at the heart of many problems associated with PPPs. These collaborative attempts are based on a reaction to fiscal motivations and not a proactive desire to accomplish a mutual achievement.

2.3.3 New Public Governance
The aspect of ‘new’ in NPG refers not to the concept of governance as an original phenomenon. Instead it alludes to the current interest with the institutional shift from bureaucracy to the role of markets and networks in governance and the way in which they have both displaced and supplemented the authority of government since the reforms of the 1980s (Bevir 2009). Prior to this, government as the central and dominant actor in the traditional British political system followed the concept of the Westminster model where the state governed and society were governed (Rhodes 1997). Power was perceived to be firmly planted within the domain of public
administration (Stoker 1998, Richards and Smith 2002). However the nature of the state is far from static and its flexibility was emphasised during the Thatcher era. Government’s role diminished as the size of the state reduced and many more actors than government alone became engaged with the policy arena (Fukuyama 2004). This is not to suggest that government relinquished all control; rather they withdrew from the delivery of services opting to instead concentrate on making policy decisions (Osborne and Gaebler 1992, Bevir 2009).

The presence of the state and its involvement in the delivery and implementation of policy changed as the boundaries blurred between public and private sector input. Within these new patterns of responsibility, government control abated and the state moved from delivering services to negotiating service delivery through outsourcing. A new form of governance was emerging, undermining as it did so, the hierarchical structures of command and state sovereignty which had preceded it (Richards and Smith 2002). While globalisation was connecting the world, devolution sought to localise the treatment of the issues it created. These trends challenged government and instigated the governance agenda (Kettl 2000).

A plethora of definitions for governance exist depending on the context in which it is used (Bovaird and Loffler 2003, Bevir 2009, Osborne 2010a). Kooiman (2003: 4) amongst others describes the rationale of governance to be embedded in collectivism:

No single actor, public or private, has all knowledge and information required to solve complex, dynamic and diversified problems; no actor has sufficient overview to make the application of needed instruments effective; no single actor has sufficient action potential to dominate unilaterally in a particular governing model.
Governance involves a spread of authority amongst a number of actors where no one is exclusively in charge and responsibilities are shared (Mandell 2008, McQuaid 2010). It is concerned with the way in which decisions are reached and the roles and relationships of those involved (Cooper et al. 2009). Whereas historically government dominated using the legality of formal authority to command, the exertion of shared power within a governance mechanism leads to control through multi-stakeholder decision-making, representation and participation. Public governance stemmed from the same issues as were responsible for other reform methods but this time with an emphasis on stakeholder interaction to influence public policy and decision-making (Bovaird 2004, Hill and Lynn 2004).

The move away from a bureaucratic approach to management and directive state control led to the notion that governance created more flexible forms of jurisdiction which focussed on less rigid and more dynamic designs (Newman et al. 2004, Pirson and Lawrence 2010, Emerson et al. 2012). Within a governance model, the networks and processes constructed to achieve results and relationships are deemed to be as important as the efficiency of outcomes and the focus rests on the interaction between organisations and individuals (Bovaird and Loffler 2003). The advocacy for a governance approach developed as a response to resolve problems which exceeded the sole capacity of public agencies and called for a more participative range of actors in policy-making and the management of society (deLeon 2007, Mandell 2008, Bevir 2009). Much discussion in the literature has alluded to the point that the job of government had become less about ‘rowing’ (command) and much more about ‘steering’ (facilitation) (Osborne and Gaebler 1992, Rhodes 1997, Denhardt and Denhardt 2000, Richards and Smith 2002, Hartley 2005). The complexity of society and therefore policy meant that government as a largely exclusive authority within public management had become unfeasible (Gajda 2004, Newman et al. 2004, Yang and Bergrud 2008, Faulkner 2011). However Pollitt and Bouckaert (2011) highlight that although the claim of governance is to represent a wider constitution than government alone, it is by no means an alternative to government and they remain a fundamental element. Agranoff (2006: 62) emphasises a key point here when
discussing the role of public managers in governance, “They [government] are able to inject legislative, regulatory, and financial considerations right into the network mix, which hardly marginalizes them”.

While collaborative governance is still planted firmly in the collectivism rationale, attention is drawn towards who should be involved. It unravels further the formality of relationships and the structure of authority within the governance framework. It does so by focussing on open and inclusive participation for legitimacy and representativeness in order to reach consensus (Kooiman 2003, Osborne 2010a). Ansell and Gash (2007) contend that rather than being tolerated, broad participation must be actively sought. This is a perception commonly upheld:

Collaborative governance is an interactive process in which myriad actors with various interests, perspectives and knowledge are brought together. The hope is that the resulting policies will be better conceived, more suitable to the local context, more workable and also more legitimate than would policies formed through more closed policy-making process. (Bevir 2009: 47)

Collaborative governance has citizen involvement and participation at its core (Newman et al. 2004, Bevir 2009, Robertson 2011). The extent to which it focuses on public inclusion will affect the legitimacy of decision-making and thus, policy (Emerson et al. 2012). Advocates of collaborative governance argue that the key value of this approach is in the generation of citizen empowerment where non-state actors consider themselves active partners in the policy process. Prabhakar (2003) suggests that a stakeholder society which is successful in instilling inclusiveness and responsibility amongst its citizens will lead to ties of mutual obligation heightening ‘ethical socialism’, which was an important ideology of New Labour. Collaborative governance tends to be embedded in a grassroots movement since the participation of native stakeholders is fundamental to the scenario. Decision-making is devolved as
issues are dealt with more autonomously at ground level (or from the bottom up) by local people living and working within the communities rather than centralised decisions (or from the top down) applied to distant settings (European Commission 2001, Vernon et al. 2005, Bousset et al. 2007, Gunningham 2009, Ahmad and Talib 2011).

Collaborative governance is based on aspects such as cultural norms and traditions and is shaped by local attitudes and beliefs, grown from the ground and only then written up and formalized (Easterly 2008). From this direction the role of central decision makers is as a supporting mechanism to the conceived needs of local stakeholders by local stakeholders (Thierstein and Walser 2010). The empowerment capacity is seen in the transfer of ownership, responsibility and accountability providing the means to determine one’s own future. A grassroots approach has been merited with achieving greater commitment, engagement and sustainability by allowing stakeholders the opportunity to have influence on the strategic direction and implementation of local initiatives and decisions (Ateljevic 2009, Jamal and Stronza 2009, Beaumont and Dredge 2010, Brown 2010, Duxbury and Jeannotte 2011). However Ansell and Gash (2007) note that power imbalances are a common issue in collaborative governance potentially facilitating a situation of manipulation by stronger actors. Legitimacy will only prevail if a balanced representation of stakeholders is involved in the decision-making process. The opportunity for democratic representativeness is often complicated and Bevir (2009) points out that collaborative processes usually prefer groups who are readily organised and well voiced with knowledge and finances to contribute.

2.3.4 Joined-Up Government

One of the key challenges of governance within the NPM era was the loss of a coordinated and unified system of management which saw policy silos develop and administrative systems fragment. Furthermore, weakened lines of accountability caused by a proliferation of autonomous organisations led to a public ethos of mistrust
in government. A loosening of government control and a strategic emphasis on collective governance had sought to allow a broader sense of ownership, involvement and the autonomy to recognise distinctions and act accordingly. However it had also created disconnect between congruent agencies. While environmental factors demanded the need for a certain level of flexibility, much value was being lost in the subdivision of planning and implementing common practices. Shergold (2005) argues that regeneration in the organisation of public services was necessary through a single, distinct and shared ideology between agencies which would induce a cohesive culture and common ethic. Thus what followed was a message of “working together”, alignment, and a drive towards interconnection and resource pooling (Hood 2005).

The principles of joined-up government (JUG) were to promote co-ordinated efforts in order to rectify duplication and confliction caused by fragmentation and departmentalism (Mulgan 2005). While the 80s saw decentralisation in the ownership and control of the policy process, the election of the Labour government in the 90s sought to counteract the weaknesses this had inflicted upon public administration. An integral theme to emerge from the publication of Labour’s 1999 White Paper Modernising Government and the discussion around how to achieve responsive public services was that policy-making needed to be “more joined up and strategic” (Cabinet Office 1999: 6). The ambition of the reforms which followed was to rectify fragmentation by improving the coordination of agencies and ‘joining-up’ policy-making and implementation (Ling 2002). As O’Flynn et al. (2011: 244) define it “joined-up government is the bringing together of a number of public, private and voluntary sector bodies to work across organizational boundaries towards a common goal”. Pollitt (2003) extends this description to include that the “joining-up” refers not only to action but also to thinking. He goes on to express that aspirations of a joined-up approach involve policies complimenting rather than undermining each other, the maximisation of scarce resources, synergy creation through collaborative working, and seamlessness in access provision to citizen’ services. Greater interaction between different sectors, public agencies and levels of government was promoted in an attempt to build relationships committed to targeting exclusion through a series of coordinated
initiatives. The pursuit of re-building public trust in government instigated the encouragement of citizen and stakeholder involvement in the policy process (Bevir 2009).

While the doctrine of NPM asked an essentially economic driven question - how can we align the public sector more closely to the private sector in order to fulfil efficiency measures, the doctrine of JUG was that of a sociological one (Bogdanor 2005). The NPM era of the 1980s encouraged government to become more responsive to efficiency performance. However it had failed to take account of the cultural and social implications which weaved through multiple policies and escalated the need for integration between government departments (6 et al. 2002, Hyndman and McGough 2008, Vigoda 2012). JUG was another response to efficiency demands that put pressure on government budgets and public service delivery but this time from a social ideology. It encouraged the co-ordination of governmental policies across departments and agencies with the intention to find better solutions to complex social issues, which could not necessarily be controlled under the managerial philosophy. Hood (2005: 19) indicates that “At the most general level, the doctrine [of JUG] holds that all or many parts of executive government should interconnect, complement one another, and pool related information”. Since the problems were effectively joined-up, spanning the boundaries of departments and agencies, so too would need to be the response. Resolution influenced organisational structures, budget allocations, targets, and the processes in daily work (Mulgan 2005).

2.3.5 Collaborative Public Management
While collaboration itself is not new there is arguably newness about it within public management. McGuire (2006) suggests that it is not the concept of collaboration in public management which is original but some of the ideologies which call for contemporary approaches to managing. As discussed within section 2.2 (page 20), the increasing complexity of society has been a significant motive for collaboration. O’Leary et al. (2006: 6) state that while there is a rich history of intergovernmental
relations, the past decade has “…seen an explosion of new developments in the area of collaborative public management”. Kettl (1996) believes that the interdependence necessary among public organisations has been the most important change in administrative functioning in the last century promoting the need for critical linkages between public administrators. The emergence of governance mechanisms has accentuated that these critical linkages are required to extend beyond the confines of public sector boundaries. Complex problems can rarely be effectively resolved by any one participant and thus collective input will be necessary (Vernon et al. 2005, Mandell and Keast 2009, Savage et al. 2010). With this in mind Agranoff and McGuire (2003: 4) describe the concept of collaborative public management as “…the process of facilitating and operating in multiorganizational arrangements to solve problems that cannot be solved, or solved easily, by single organizations”. O’Leary and Vij (2012) suggest that the interest in collaboration is ‘renewed’ as opposed to ‘new’. This is due to the evolution of governance from government and the pervasiveness of collaborative discourse running through the context, environment, processes, strategies, tasks and goals of government.

Having considered the narrative of collaboration in the literature surrounding public management it will now be analysed from the perspective of organisational theory.

2.4 An Organisational Strategy
The increasing discourse on collaboration has not solely materialised within the public management arena. Much of the sociological focus on collaboration has been within the academic field of organisational theory. The move towards more flexible and inclusive forms of working also applies to the way in which organisations behave in order to remain responsive. Organisations are faced by many of the same challenges which impinged upon government agencies and led to public sector reform. Daft (2010: 30) suggests that within today’s dynamic and chaotic environment organisations require a contemporary design which is flexible enough to deal with the unpredictability and interconnectedness of the world around us:
Managers can’t measure, predict, or control in traditional ways the unfolding drama inside or outside the organization… The new mind-set has spurred many organizations to shift from vertical hierarchies to flexible, decentralized structures that emphasize horizontal collaboration.

Therefore it can be seen that collaboration has also emerged to respond to the challenges faced by the contemporary organisational environment.

2.4.1 Organisational Theory and Changing Behaviour

Organisational theory is concerned with examining how organisations are structured, the behaviours and processes that take place within these structures and the management approaches which have developed over time in order to maintain and develop organisations. D’Amour et al. (2005) suggest that the most rigorous frameworks of collaboration tend to be built on organisational theory since it provides the ability to analyse the dimensions of both structure and process and how they influence collaboration.

Although in its most basic form an organisation can be defined as the act of people working together to meet collective goals, how this has been achieved has varied over the years. The strategic direction at the turn of the 20th century on an organisation-wide level was towards the development of what has since been termed the Classical approach. It was built on scientific and rational principles to develop solutions for organisational and managerial problems with an impersonal perception of employees as cogs within the bureaucratic machine (Kumar 2009, Alajloni et al. 2010). The concept of a tightly structured and standardised organisation had been introduced by Fredrick Taylor’s Principles of Scientific Management which saw him place a significant importance on employee selection (the best man for the job) and management control (Burnes 2009). Taylor’s apathetic theories towards organisational
management were upheld in the main by Max Weber around the mid-1900s. He made a connection between the routine efficiency of machines in industry and applied this to business in a bid to achieve precision (Brooks 2009). Weber perceived bureaucracy as the best way in which to accomplish maximum efficiency and his systematic study of it played a significant part in shaping the classic organisational theory of the twentieth century (Graetz and Smith 2006). However, this approach had the consequence of “eroding the human spirit and capacity for spontaneous action” and much criticism of it has since ensued (Morgan 2006: 17).

What evolved through Classical theory and the search for consistency was a transition from an ad-hoc management approach to rigidity of authority and structure which placed very little importance on the human element of employees (Burnes 2009). Whilst it provided clear guidelines for management to follow, the extent to which workers were viewed as merely practical tools led Bennis (1959) to describe the scientific and bureaucratic nature of Classical theory as an approach centred around “organizations without people”. The lack of attention given to the thought processes or interactions among employees merited its strongest objection (Graetz and Smith 2006, Rollinson 2008, Burnes 2009). This was still a concept upheld by Michael Porter (1980) some years later who, in his widely recognised Competitive Strategy, did not feature the impact and influence of stakeholders within strategy and considered that instead it should be determined solely by industry structure (Friedman and Mills 2006).

Whilst Classical theory was establishing itself in the organisational world another approach was attracting considerable attention which sought to overcome the facelessness engendered by scientific ways of working. It became known as the Human Relations approach based on its focus towards people and a belief that they are social as opposed to mechanical, and emotionally as well as economically driven (Burnes 2009). Built on the ground-breaking Hawthorne Studies of Elton Mayo, Chester Barnard proposed within his notable publication The Functions of the Executive in 1938 that organisations were not mechanical but co-operative social
systems (Brooks 2009). At the core of this theory was an emphasis on motivation and rewards; flexibility in place of rigidity; and the importance of communication and leadership (Burnes 2009).

Although the two approaches, Classical and Human Relations, came from different theoretical directions what they had in common was the opinion that there was one best way in which to manage. The response to this came in the form of contingency theory which centred on a belief that because organisations are distinct there is not one best way for all but one best way for each. Recognition developed through contingency theory that the internal and external variables of an organisation would determine the most fitting approach to take (Van De Ven and Drazin 1985, Venkatraman 1989). In today’s business environment where innovation and versatility are necessary to respond to customer needs there has been a move away from bureaucracy to a more flexible form of organisational working (Greiner 1998). Burns and Stalker (1994) developed the idea of the contingent approach with the introduction of organic versus mechanistic forms of organisational structure. They believed that the stability and predictability of the external environment in which organisations were functioning would be contingent to the type of structure it should take (Clegg et al. 2008, Daft et al. 2010, Mullins 2010). Where an organisation’s environment was standardised and routine they deemed a mechanistic organisational structure appropriate, reflecting the Classical approach. In the case of changeable and dynamic scenarios, a looser, organic structure would be called for, in keeping with the necessary flexibility of the business which was more akin to the Human Relations approach (Burns and Stalker 1994). The intention of Burns and Stalker was not to reject the preceding organisational theories but to highlight that their application would be conditional on the context and endeavour of the organisation (Burnes 2009).

Human relations are fundamental to collaboration. Collaboration is embedded in the social interactions which precede its existence, develop throughout the process, and are engendered by the outcomes (Hardy et al. 2003, Gajda 2004, Bryson and Crosby
Kreijns et al. (2003: 338) believe that social interactions are intrinsic to collaboration, “If there is collaboration then social interaction can be found in it, and vice versa, if there is no social interaction then there is no real collaboration”. The social (or relational) capital which develops as a result of collaborating is often highlighted as one of its most valuable consequences (Gray 2000, Welbourne and Pardo-del-Val 2008). Social capital has been broadly defined as “the ability of a people to work together for common purposes and to trust each other” (Coleman 1988: 98). It is perpetual in that as social capital is built, further engagement and interaction occurs through which trust, reciprocity and common rules and norms are cultivated (Pretty and Ward 2001, Erridge and Greer 2002). Kanter (1994) places significant emphasis on the inclusion of the human element within collaboration, citing aspects such as rapport, chemistry, trust and respect as fundamental factors for its success. She suggests that it is those social elements which will allow managers to leverage the utmost value from such initiatives. The quality of social relationships and the capacity for them to develop are commonly quoted as a direct antecedent for collaboration (Bryson et al. 2006). Welbourne (2008) posits “the real ‘true’ assets” of relational capital in collaboration to be rooted not just in the people involved but in the relationships they can develop.

### 2.4.2 From Competition to Collaboration

The study of strategic management is concerned with an explanation of differential firm performance and the goal of organisations to achieve sustainability via a competitive edge (Dyer and Singh 1998). The focus of this has traditionally centred upon two key outlooks; industry structure and competitive advantage (Demsetz 1973, Porter 1980, Dyer 2000). However what was missing from both these perspectives was an acknowledgement of the significant part relationships and social networks play in achieving individual firm advantage.
Cooperative strategy, and more specifically *collaboration* have gained credibility since the late 1980s following on from the preceding intellectual debate surrounding competitive strategy (Dyer 2000, Faulkner and De Rond 2004, Porter 2004). Porter’s (2004) theory of competitive advantage makes a consideration of aspects which relate to an organisation’s ability to ‘outdo’ its competitors. Although the key agenda of gaining a competitive advantage is concerned with an organisation’s ability to achieve superior profit returns, Johnsen and Ennals (2012) argue that the same outcome can be the driver of collaborative advantage. What differs is the approach. They posit that the term ‘advantage’ refers to the economic realm. Competitive and collaborative systems both distribute power and resources; the difference is that through knowledge exchange collaboration generates not only affiliations but personal commitment built through aspects of social capital. This helps participants to create mutually constructed and therefore shared meanings strengthening the legitimacy of outcomes. Within collaborative activities participants complement rather than compete with each other and provide voluntary as opposed to mandated contributions (Huxham 1993b). The advantage of collaboration or gaining a “collaborative advantage” is concerned with the attainment of *meta-strategy* and the achievement of this is often considered a benchmark. This reflects a situation whereby the collaborative initiative aims to achieve its own objectives over and above those held individually by the participating organisations. These ‘meta-objectives’ tend to hold broader, higher-level societal benefits that stretch beyond the distinct returns of the associated parties (Huxham 1993b, Grant 2004, Clarke and Fuller 2010). The purpose of establishing meta-objectives is to clarify a distinction between individual and shared responsibility within the collaboration (Huxham and MacDonald 1992). The formation of them provides participants with a common aim and a shared goal. Huxham and Vangen (2005) discuss that the advantages gained from the process of collaborating can be as valuable as any generated outcome. To this end collaboration has been described as a journey rather than a destination (Winer and Ray 1994, Gajda 2004).

The days of flat out competition have given way to the more resource friendly and less exhaustive method of collaborating to compete (Bleeke and Ernst 2003, Hansen and
This move has been influenced by a number of global trends. An increasingly connected and knowledgeable world, higher customisation of demand, the domination of economies of scale, and the impacts of economic recession have all contributed (Dyer 2000, Welbourne and Pardo-del-Val 2008). The ability of organisations to comprehensively out-perform each other is becoming infinitely more challenging. Consequently managers need to consider alternative ways in which to gain superiority. As Lank (2006: 1) points out “it is self-evident that no organisation can be the best, the quickest, the most cost-effective at everything”. Collaboration provides a means by which to access additional capacity in a less contentious manner. A focus solely on competitiveness within interdepartmental relationships has been suggested to heighten levels of conflict than is generally provoked by collaboration (Walton and Dutton 1969). Gray’s (1989: 5) definition of collaboration emphasises how concessionary shifts may be brought about since the nature of it seeks to engender compromise; she describes it as:

A process through which parties who see different aspects of a problem can explore constructively their differences and search for solutions that go beyond their own limited vision of what is possible.

Collaboration has increasingly been adopted as a mechanism to share knowledge and expand possibilities. Used as a strategy vehicle, it can be implemented as a tool to cultivate relationships and networks thus promoting the growth of social capital in a bid to progress business performance. Hansen (2009) conveys that collaboration does not replace competition; they are not forces of opposition. In fact, collaboration seeks to increase competitiveness. While the end goal is to perform competitively, collaboration is perceived as integral to a strategy which encourages this by instigating teamwork within. Therefore while competition may reflect the exterior, a collaborative approach is internally necessary.
A key advantage of collaborating to compete is the potential it offers in lowering transactional costs. In the past the focus of attention on business connections has centred on transactional relationships between organisations. However a shift reflective of the move from competition to collaboration makes strategic considerations towards the relational aspects as well as the commercial (Lank 2006). An ethical and political transition towards measuring success with factors not purely exclusive to financial gain has promoted the interest and value placed on relational and intellectual capital and other ‘soft’ aspects of business (Welbourne and Pardo-del-Val 2008, Parisi 2010). A core rationale for collaboration versus competition is the capacity to build social capital through engagement and integration (Cooke and Wills 1999).

Social capital is described as “... the goodwill that is engendered by the fabric of social relations and that can be mobilized to facilitate action” (Adler and Kwon 2002: 17). Woolcock and Narayan (2000) propose the action to be “collective” enabled through shared norms and networks. It is considered as one of the most significant gains to be realised through effective collaboration. The reason for this can be seen through the innumerable benefits perceived to evolve from increasing the levels of social capital, thus providing a secure argument for collaboration in strategy (Erridge and Greer 2002). Relationships built on foundational elements of trust, respect and mutuality are considered to naturally lead to a competitive advantage because of the institutional capacity these values generate (Gray 2000, Lasker et al. 2001, Bovaird 2004, March and Wilkinson 2009, Daft et al. 2010). The propensity for an organisation to achieve collaborative advantage is hinged upon its collaborative capacity. This has been defined as “The capability of organizations to enter into, develop, and sustain inter-organizational systems in pursuit of collective outcomes” (Hocevar et al. 2006: 7). It reflects the environment created for collaboration to occur and has been proposed as the key to collaboration although not the partnership entity itself (Alexander et al. 2003). Building collaborative capacity is part of a longer-term strategy to develop collective problem-solving processes which outlive the initial collaborative initiative and allow partners to return to the relationships and processes which have been forged.
2.5 Defining Collaboration

Collaboration, derived from the more specific term ‘collaborationism’ grew in popularity during WWII but with a derogatory association, in the main referring to a situation of betrayal by collaborating with the enemy (Gibbs and Humphries 2009, Innes and Booher 2010). These days collaboration has a much more positive connotation and refers to a scenario of gaining mutual benefit by working together (Jamal and Getz 1995, Huxham and Vangen 2003, Vernon et al. 2005, Bryson et al. 2006, Pesamaa and Hair 2008). This section aims to progress the discussion on the discourse of collaboration through an examination of the terminology. Table 3 below, provides a collection of proposed definitions of collaboration as perceived by authors in a variety of fields giving a breadth of scope so as to develop an overarching theory. The key concepts used to distinguish collaboration are also identified in order to provide clarity to a collective definition.

Table 3: Definitions and Key Concepts of Collaboration

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Definition</th>
<th>Source</th>
<th>Key Concept</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>We define collaboration as a cooperative, interorganizational relationship that is negotiated in an ongoing communicative process, and which relies on neither market nor hierarchical mechanisms of control.</td>
<td>(Hardy et al. 2003)</td>
<td>Interorganisational cooperation, ongoing communication, non-reliant on mechanisms of control</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Collaboration involves a number of stakeholders working interactively on a common issue or ‘problem domain’ through a formal cross-sectoral approach. Typically, this process involves an exchange of ideas and expertise and/or pooling of financial resources. The ‘problem domain’ refers to a complex issue that cannot be solved by a single agency acting on its own, but instead requires a multi-organizational response.</td>
<td>(Vernon et al. 2005)</td>
<td>Numerous stakeholders, interactive process, common issue or ‘problem domain’, formality, cross-sectoral, ideas exchange, pooling of resources, issue complexity warrants a multi-organisational response</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The collaborative effort [can be described as] the primary method for achieving ideal short and/or long-term goals that would not otherwise be attainable as entities working independently.</td>
<td>(Gajda 2004)</td>
<td>Goal achievement which requires collective input</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Collaboration is a process in which autonomous or semi-autonomous actors interact through formal and informal negotiation, jointly creating rules and</td>
<td>(Thomson et al. 2009)</td>
<td>Autonomy, interaction, formal and informal negotiation, jointly</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Definition</td>
<td>Source</td>
<td>Key Concept</td>
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<tr>
<td>structures governing their relationships and ways to act or decide on the issues that brought them together; it is a process involving shared norms and mutually beneficial interactions.</td>
<td></td>
<td>created rules and structures, culture of governance, shared norms and mutual benefit</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Collaboration conveys the idea of sharing and implies collective action oriented toward a common goal, in a spirit of harmony and trust.</td>
<td>(D’Amour et al. 2005)</td>
<td>Sharing, collective action, common goals, harmoniousness, trustworthiness</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Collaboration is a mutually beneficial and well-defined relationship entered into by two or more organizations to achieve results they are more likely to achieve together than alone.</td>
<td>(Winer and Ray 1994)</td>
<td>mutual benefit, well-defined, results require collective input</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Collaborating is defined as exchanging information, altering activities, sharing resources, and enhancing the capacity of another for mutual benefit and to achieve a common purpose.</td>
<td>(Himmelman 2002)</td>
<td>Information and resource exchange, enhancing capacities, mutual benefit, common goals</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A co-operative, interorganisational relationship that relies on neither market nor hierarchical mechanisms of control but instead negotiated in an ongoing communicative process. Whereas hierarchies are associated with a willingness on behalf of members to submit to both direction and monitoring of their superiors, collaboration involves the negotiation of roles and responsibilities in a context where no legitimate authority sufficient to manage the situation is recognised.</td>
<td>(Lawrence et al. 1999)</td>
<td>Interorganisational cooperation, non-reliant on mechanisms of control, ongoing communication, no legitimate or authoritative management of roles and responsibilities</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[Collaboration] is a way of working with others on a joint project where there is a shared interest in positive outcomes… [And] involves both horizontal and vertical forms of inter-organisational engagement.</td>
<td>(Sullivan and Skelcher 2002)</td>
<td>Joint working, shared interests, horizontal and vertical interorganisational engagement</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[Collaboration occurs when] something has to be achieved that could not have been attained by any of the organizations acting alone.</td>
<td>(Huxham 2003)</td>
<td>Issue complexity warrants a multi-organisational response</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A process through which parties who see different aspects of a problem can explore constructively their differences and search for solutions that go beyond their own limited vision of what is possible.</td>
<td>(Gray 1989)</td>
<td>Varied perspectives, constructive exploration of differences, enhancing capacities</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Collaboration provides for a flexible and dynamic process that evolves over time, enabling multiple stakeholders to jointly address problems or issues.</td>
<td>(Jamal and Stronza 2009)</td>
<td>Flexible and dynamic process, evolutionary, joint decision-making and working to achieve common goals.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The joint determination of the vision and long-term goals for addressing a given social problem, along with the adoption of both organizational and collective courses of action and the allocation of resources to carry out these courses of action.</td>
<td>(Clarke and Fuller 2010)</td>
<td>Joint visions and goals, issue complexity warrants a multi-organisational response, resource sharing</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Collaboration has been defined as interactions between organisations.</td>
<td>(Greasley et al. 2008)</td>
<td>Organisational interaction</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Definition</td>
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<td>Key Concept</td>
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<tr>
<td>Collaboration takes place when companies develop mechanisms - structures,</td>
<td>(Kanter 1994)</td>
<td>Interorganisational cooperation and engagement</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>processes and skills - for bridging organisational and interpersonal</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>differences and achieving real value from the partnership.</td>
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<tr>
<td>A process of joint decision making among key stakeholders of a problem</td>
<td>(Gray 1989)</td>
<td>Joint decision-making, common ‘domain’ goals</td>
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<tr>
<td>domain about the future of that domain.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Any joint activity by two or more agencies that is intended to increase</td>
<td>(Bardach 1998)</td>
<td>Joint working, interorganisational engagement,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>public value by their working together rather than separately.</td>
<td></td>
<td>enhancing capacities, increase public value</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>More or less stable configuration of rules, resources and relationships</td>
<td>(Sullivan 2010)</td>
<td>Joint working, interorganisational engagement,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>generated, negotiated, and reproduced by diverse yet interdependent</td>
<td></td>
<td>common ‘public’ goals, structural stability</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>actors that enable them to act together in the pursuit of public purposes.</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Collaboration can be defined as the active process of not only</td>
<td>(Bavkis and Juillet 2004)</td>
<td>Coordination and strategic action</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>coordinating activities but also developing, agreeing to and implementing</td>
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<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>a strategy.</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Collaboration is a process by which organizations with a stake in a</td>
<td>(Sink 1998)</td>
<td>Mutual stakeholder solutions, results require</td>
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<tr>
<td>problem seek a mutually determined solution [by pursuing] objectives they</td>
<td></td>
<td>collective input</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>could not achieve working alone.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Collaboration is a synergistic coordination in which the collaborators</td>
<td>(Denning 2009)</td>
<td>Synergistic coordination, enhancing capacities</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>create new observers, new possibilities, new futures, and new concerns.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Collaboration means joint working or working in conjunction with others.</td>
<td>(Wanna 2008)</td>
<td>Joint working, interorganisational engagement</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>We define collaboration as the linking or sharing of information,</td>
<td>(Bryson et al. 2006)</td>
<td>Information and resource sharing, enhancing</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>resources, activities and capabilities by organizations to achieve</td>
<td></td>
<td>capacities, joint working, results require</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>jointly an outcome that could not be achieved by the organizations</td>
<td></td>
<td>collective input</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>separately.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[Collaboration is] a whole that is greater than the sum of its individual</td>
<td>(Lasker et al. 2001)</td>
<td>Enhancing capacities</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>parts.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Collaboration, understood in positive terms, is a natural human activity,</td>
<td>(Johnsen and Ennals 2012)</td>
<td>Humanistic, social capital, joint working,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>related to how we link up with other people we relate to, or care about,</td>
<td></td>
<td>shared goals</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>or want to achieve something together with.</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

An operationalised definition is hence proposed with emphasis on the key aspects derived from an extensive examination of existing interpretations:
Collaboration is an **interorganisational approach** to achieving **common goals** through which **stakeholders** with a **shared interest** partake in **collective action** to bring about **mutually beneficial outcomes**. It brings together a **diversity of perspectives** to seek solutions which **enhance the capacities** of individual organisations in order to **tackle complex scenarios**.

### 2.5.1 Towards a Conceptualisation of Collaboration

A wide ranging and multidisciplinary literature on collaboration has led to conceptualisation based on various theoretical frameworks. These frameworks which underpin collaboration appear within a variety of organisational approaches across a diversity of fields as outlined below within Table 4.

#### Table 4: Theoretical Perspectives of Collaboration

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Theoretical Perspective</th>
<th>Source</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Strategic management theory</td>
<td>(Wood and Gray 1991, Kanter 1994)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Stakeholder theory</td>
<td>(Freeman 1984, Clarkson 1994)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Efficiency theory</td>
<td>(Williamson 1975)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Complexity theory</td>
<td>(Brown and Eisenhardt 1997)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chaos theory</td>
<td>(Stacey 1993)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Economic theory</td>
<td>(Child and Faulkner 1998)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
With each area of expertise proposing its own nomenclature contributes to a broad variation of meaning, implication and terminology surrounding collaboration. While this may add to the richness of meaning, the lack of a consistent framework has challenged the coherency of understanding (Huxham 2003, Thomson et al. 2009, O'Leary and Vij 2012). The absence of a commonly accepted definition of collaboration inhibits a foundation on which to build theory and so the concept to some extent remains an elusive one (Wood and Gray 1991, Gray 2000). However the ubiquity of its existence (or certainly the discourse around it) generates intrigue. A scope of applicability and engagement indicates that it is of significant interest if not of value. Carnwell and Carson (2009) suggest that recognition of the context in which it is found will help to distinguish the concept.

The academic literature surrounding collaboration describes successful instances to possess distinct antecedents, specific process dimensions and identifiable outcomes (Selin 1993, D'Amour et al. 2005, Thomson and Perry 2006, Bryson et al. 2011). These characteristics (which can be viewed within Table 5 which follows) attempt to distinguish it from other types of interorganisational activity (Hardy et al. 2003). Collaboration has been described: through its structure or form; as a process mechanism; with an emphasis on the outcomes it may generate; as a rationale or strategy; and by its attributes and antecedents. Table 5 overleaf, demonstrates a number of the perceived components of collaboration. However there is still much discourse to suggest that the term collaboration is hard to explicitly identify which is often candidly discussed highlighting its indisputable ambiguity, “…Collaboration is defined broadly to capture the full range of activities and the relationships among them” (Imperial 2005: 5).
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Component</th>
<th>Description</th>
<th>Reference</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>High levels of independence or autonomy</td>
<td>(Logsdon 1991, Carnwell and Carson 2009, Savage et al. 2010)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>A belief that some advantage can accrue in joining forces</td>
<td>(Doz and Baburoglu 2000, Mattessich et al. 2001, Savage et al. 2010)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Sufficient organisational and personal capacity</td>
<td>(Mattessich et al. 2001, Hansen and Nohria 2004, Simo and Bies 2007)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Role awareness</td>
<td>(Petri 2010)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Shared norms (reciprocity)</td>
<td>(Doz and Baburoglu 2000, Thomson et al. 2009)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Develop common (or at least compatible) aims</td>
<td>(Huxham 2003)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>History of prior relationship or past interaction</td>
<td>(Ring and Van De Ven 1994, Radin 1996, Bryson et al. 2011)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Complexity or crisis</td>
<td>(Selin 1993, Mattessich et al. 2001, Simo and Bies 2007)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Component</td>
<td>Description</td>
<td>Reference</td>
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<td>---------------------------------</td>
<td>-----------------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
<td>---------------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Openness and inclusivity</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td>(Ansell and Gash 2007)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Knowledge sharing routines</td>
<td>(Dyer 2000, Deale 2009, Munanura and Backman 2012)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Distinct and attainable goals</td>
<td>(Mattessich et al. 2001)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Joint decision-making</td>
<td>(Gray 1989, Thomson et al. 2009)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Negotiation and compromise between participants</td>
<td>(Ring and Van De Ven 1994, Mattessich et al. 2001, Imperial 2005)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Administration and Management</td>
<td>(Lasker et al. 2001)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Adaptability</td>
<td>(Mattessich et al. 2001)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Outcome (post)</strong></td>
<td>Trust</td>
<td>(Huxham 2003, Imperial 2005, McGuire 2006)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Development of social capital</td>
<td>(Gray 2000, Crosby and Bryson 2010)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Creation of intellectual and political capital</td>
<td>(Crosby and Bryson 2010)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Component</td>
<td>Description</td>
<td>Reference</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-----------</td>
<td>-----------------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
<td>------------------------------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Reduced duplication</td>
<td>(Hansen and Nohria 2004)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Greater problem-solving capability</td>
<td>(Hansen and Nohria 2004)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Outcome (post) cont.</td>
<td>Bridged gaps/less fragmentation</td>
<td>(Carnwell and Carson 2009)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Legitimacy</td>
<td>(Mattessich et al. 2001, Leat 2009)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Policy influence</td>
<td>(Lank 2006, Leat 2009)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Shared knowledge</td>
<td>(McGuire 2006, Arsenyan et al. 2011)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Cross-pollination of ideas</td>
<td>(Hansen and Nohria 2004)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Greater reach and scale</td>
<td>(Leat 2009)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Collaboration in the policy environment reflects an umbrella term which accounts for a multitude of forms of integrative working. The emphasis on holism and processes which are ‘joined-up’ has driven the political growth of collaborative discourse. It is a term regularly used interchangeably with other terminology describing general scenarios of “working together” which hinders a thorough and complete comprehension (Chrislip 2002, Himmelman 2002, Gajda 2004, Carnwell and Carson 2009). Elements of co-operation and co-ordination occur within the process of collaboration but independently do not have the same capacity of accomplishment or mutuality. Chrislip and Larson (1994: 5) believe that collaboration possesses a scope of potential which gives it precedence over other integrative scenarios:

It [collaboration] is more than simply sharing knowledge and information [communication] and more than a relationship that helps each party to achieve its own goals [cooperation and coordination]. The purpose of collaboration is to create a shared vision and joint strategies to address concerns that go beyond the purview of any particular party.
Perhaps the most fundamental attribute of collaboration versus any other form of integrative working is embedded in mutuality, reciprocity and a sense of reliance on each of the participatory members. Therefore a key precedent is the validity and legitimacy of partner involvement. Collaboration is often discussed as a whole greater than the sum of its parts (Lasker et al. 2001, Thomson and Perry 2006, Greasley et al. 2008); or as a process resulting in the pursuit of objectives which could not have been achieved by parties working alone (Lasker et al. 2001, Sullivan et al. 2002, Huxham and Vangen 2003, Hardy et al. 2003, Gajda 2004, Vernon et al. 2005, Imperial 2005, Bryson et al. 2006, Leat 2009, Mandell and Keast 2009, Savage et al. 2010). Agreement between collaborators is critical in the fulfilment of these objectives and this is commonly developed through the creation of shared visions, goals and norms. The evidence of sharing extends beyond a consensus as partners combine resources in a bid to realise their ambitions. These resources can incorporate both tangible and abstract components such as finances, knowledge and information, influence, human resources and expertise. Resource sharing allows parties to stretch the capabilities of what can be achieved beyond the reach of individual assets.

However for collaboration to be effective there needs to be an appreciation that once resources become collective, participant control diminishes. How these shared resources will be utilised also becomes a process of joint decision-making. Himmelman (1996) conceives that the willingness to share assets for the good of the collaboration but at the risk of compromising organisational autonomy is a distinguishing feature. However shared control is also a commonly perceived drawback of collaboration and power relations are an important element to be addressed from the outset (Jamal and Getz 1995, Bryson et al. 2006). Dependency theorists convey that the extent to which resources are desired will be reflected in the relinquishment of stakeholder power (Rowley 1997). Combining resources has been seen as contingent to generating ‘new’ possibilities otherwise referred to as the process of increasing capacity through collaboration.

Thomson and Perry (2006) argue that the ability to mutually create something greater than that which currently exists sets collaboration at a higher level than other forms of
integration. From a strategic perspective what this means for individual participants is the aptitude to expand individual capability to better meet ‘core’ aims and targets. Those who have considered collaboration from a policy perspective have appended a dimension of adding public value or purpose (Bardach 1998, Simo and Bies 2007, Sullivan 2010, Morse 2010). Others have considered collaboration necessary in the pursuit of “common good” (Cuthill and Fien 2005, Crosby and Bryson 2010). The sharing of resources encourages buy-in and commitment from partners, especially in the absence of contractual terms.

The study of interorganisational relationships traditionally focuses on one of two concepts – social exchange or resource dependency (Jamal and Getz 1995). Within collaboration both will often occur at differing stages of the relationship as each actor’s opportunity to give and receive stimulates a responsive action from its fellow participant. The reciprocal nature of this behaviour helps to engender trust and respect promoting a level of robustness for the future and longevity of alliances. For collaboration to present with legitimacy, the problem domain should engender a level of complexity whereby no one stakeholder, organisation or individual can be tasked with its resolution. Participants therefore remain symbiotically interdependent (Huxham 1993b, Thomson et al. 2009). The reciprocity this incites generates a self-reinforcing cycle as interpersonal transactions are alternatively exchanged (Cropanzano and Mitchell 2005). Dependence is such that “for actions of one to be effective they must rely on the actions of another” (Mandell and Keast 2009: 6).

Collaboration is frequently driven by necessity, not choice, and an element of reliance is crucial to offset the numerous costs associated – see Figure 1 (page 30). Participation can be laborious and resource intensive. Collaboration is no panacea or fast track to prosperity. Failure rates are high and the costs associated with involvement often eclipse the potential yields (Doz and Baburoglu 2000). The practice of collaborating is invariably considered difficult to achieve, time consuming and troubled by inertia (Lasker et al. 2001, Bryson et al. 2006, McGuire 2006, Savage et al. 2010, Kemmis and Mckinney 2011, Huxham and Vangen 2013). The benefits of collaboration outweighing the costs is not simple to calculate since the intangibility of many
components makes it difficult to translate all the attainable outputs. However it is important to consider that gains can result from the process as well as the outcomes. With reference to collaborative endeavours, Austin (2000: 77) emphasises, “value is in the eye of the beholder”, and this may well vary between the parties involved.

2.5.2 Cross-Sector Collaboration

Where the complexity of shared issues crosses sectors, collaboration has been increasingly assumed to strategically address the situation (Leat 2009, Dienhart and Ludescher 2010, Clarke and Fuller 2010, Morse 2010, Seitanidi et al. 2010). Bryson et al. (2006: 44) define cross-sector collaboration as:

The linking or sharing of information, resources, activities, and capabilities by organizations in two or more sectors to achieve jointly an outcome that could not be achieved by organizations in one sector separately.

Cross-sector collaboration can occur for numerous reasons from facilitating commercial transactions to the creation of public good through joint activity. For instance, cross-sector collaboration in the corporate world may be particularly focused on the attainment of power or growth. Alternatively within the public sector it may be driven by the propensity to share knowledge and resources in a bid to maximise returns from tight budgets. While one sector may be trying to gain influence, the other may be motivated by improving legitimacy. The literature on cross-sector collaboration tends to be associated with its effectiveness in solving complex social problems (Selsky and Parker 2010, Andrews and Entwistle 2010). The concept of being able to “do more with less” by joining forces and the potential social benefits attainable through and inherent in collaborative activities are ultimately what directs this focus.

Cross-sector collaboration has been likened to collaborative public management on the basis of its objective to solve societal problems which require multi-organisational
arrangements (Simo and Bies 2007). It has been increasingly utilised as a strategic vehicle to address and manage public problems that require collective input (Agranoff and McGuire 2003, Bryson et al. 2011, O’Leary and Vij 2012). In this context, Himmelman (2002) proposes that collaboration has two distinct forms giving it the scope to emerge from divergent directions: “collaborative betterment” (top-down, mandated out-with the community and brought into the community) and “collaborative empowerment” (bottom-up, beginning within the community and brought to higher authority). However with the opportunity to increase the responsive scope comes an intensified challenge to the process of working together, namely the propensity for different sectors to possess varying cultures, structures and processes depending upon their purpose and environment. For this reason, cross-sector collaboration often occurs when all other options have been exhausted (Roberts 2000, Bryson and Crosby 2008). The time taken to build close and functional relationships which traverse different sectoral structures often leaves it as an avoided approach unless necessity persists. Although collaboration which crosses sector boundaries permits a broader scope of resource and knowledge attainment, there will also potentially be more diversity in terms of objective fulfilment. A fundamental prerequisite of collaborative attempts is common or compatible goals and visions. That is not to say that personal ambitions are prohibited. On the contrary; involved individual parties will demonstrate self-interest given that motivation to engage is likely to spawn from personal shortcomings which they intend to remedy (Fennell 2006, Conklin 2006, Provan and Kenis 2008, Greenwald 2008). Having a ‘stake’ is what gives participants’ a reason to commit and the impetus to cooperate (Plender 1997).

Selin and Chavez (1995) argue that interdependence is not necessarily enough of a reason to collaborate and partners may be further enticed by the perceived benefits which can contribute to individual deficiencies. Working together should provide the propensity to achieve their own goals better than if they were working alone (Thomson et al. 2009). The considered value of collaborating helps to engender compromise between the desire to achieve personal objectives and commitment to fulfilling joint
ones. Huxham (2003) suggests the drive to accomplish mutual aims is inhibited by the accountability and loyalty people feel towards their own organisation first and foremost. However focussing purely on the attainment of individual goals begets a costly and futile exercise since this mentality generally leads to failure (Thomson and Perry 2006). Therefore central to cross-sector collaboration is an understanding by all involved parties that a balanced pursuit of collective as well as personal goals is critical in the accomplishment of mutual value.

2.5.3 Creating Capacity for the Collaborative Process
The feasibility for collaboration to develop within organisations will be to a large extent driven by the environment in which it finds itself and the one it is able to create for collaboration to emerge. Collaborative capacity refers to the state of readiness within each participating organisation and also to the collective environment created by these groups or individuals coming together (Huxham 1993b). A conducive environment and scope to build capacity are key determinants of collaborative effectiveness (Bryson and Crosby 2008). Shared values and norms and the capacity to engender trust and commitment between parties will influence the ease with which collaboration can be implemented and sustained (Thomson et al. 2009, Emerson et al. 2012). Where initiatives cross sectors or departments it will be even more crucial (and challenging) to ensure that a mutually compatible environment is provided (Bryson et al. 2006, Cairns and Harris 2011). Therefore a process which builds a solid foundation for working together is fundamental (Huxham 1993b, Foster-Fishman et al. 2001).

Collaboration has frequently been considered as a process rather than an outcome (Gray 1989, Mattessich et al. 2001, Makopondo 2002, Wildridge et al. 2004, Thomson and Perry 2006, O'Leary and Vij 2012, Graci 2013). However solutions to complex problems can be achieved by collaborating thus providing contradiction. Sullivan and Skelcher (2002) and Greasley et al. (2008) consider partnership to be the most recognisable form of collaborative arrangement. This indicates a perception that collaboration is not a definitive entity but rather it occurs within a structure which
facilitates its presence. Collaboration is an emergent phenomenon which is fluid, flexible and dynamic in nature (Bardach 2001, Hardy et al. 2003, Graetz and Smith 2006, Thomson et al. 2009, Emerson et al. 2012). For this reason it has often been reported that within the antecedent-process-outcome framework, the process dimension of collaboration is the least understood and the hardest to define (Thomson et al. 2009). Gray (1989: 5), based on the preceding work of McCann (1983) offers a framework comprising of three-phases through which collaboration develops: (1) problem setting, (2) direction setting and (3) implementing. This is somewhat comparable to Susskind and Cruickshank’s (1987) description of the consensus-building process which navigates three phases: pre-negotiation, negotiation and implementation. It is also similar to Jones and Wells (2007: 409) three stage participation model which consists of: “visions” (developing the shared view of the goal), “valleys” (doing the collaborative work which may be challenging), and “victories” (delivering outcomes and celebrating the process). Figure 2 below, provides an integrated illustration:

**Figure 2: Three-Stage Models of the Collaborative Process**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>STAGE 1</th>
<th>STAGE 2</th>
<th>STAGE 3</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Problem setting</td>
<td>Pre-negotiation</td>
<td>Valleys</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Direction setting</td>
<td>Negotiation</td>
<td>Visions</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Implementing</td>
<td>Implementation</td>
<td>Victories</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Adapted from Gray (1989), Susskind and Cruickshank (1987) and Jones and Wells (2007)
Gray’s (1989) influential model has since been applied and adapted to the development of a tourism partnership model by Selin and Chavez (1995) and to a collaboration process for community-based tourism planning by Jamal and Getz (1995). Within the problem setting phase, the involved stakeholders must agree on the context and definition of the issue. There must also be mutual agreement that it is important enough to require working together to reach a solution. Wildridge et al. (2004) add that commitment to collaborating takes place at this point, as well as a determination of appropriate players, a convenor, and all necessary resources. Waddock (1989) identifies three vital aspects which need to be treated at this initial stage; issue crystallisation, coalition building, and purpose formulation. These elements will direct the strategy and provide a constant and continuous influence throughout the course of the endeavour. A comprehensive and consensual understanding developed at this early juncture will assist in averting obstacles during implementation (Briedenhann 2007, Graci 2013). A common discussion within the literature pertains to getting the “right” people around the table (McGuire 2006, Ansell and Gash 2007, O’Flynn et al. 2011, Emerson et al. 2012). The identification and involvement of all necessary individuals and groups will have a significant impact on potential outcomes. Further, it will contribute to the legitimacy of the collaboration (Jamal and Stronza 2009).

The direction setting phase centres on rule making and establishing agreements between participants. Stakeholders devise structures which are created to support and sustain the problem solving activities with the aim of reaching mutual decisions (Munanura and Backman 2012). Various implementation options will be discussed and negotiations will take place as to how the group as a whole should proceed. Finally at the stage of implementation, stakeholders must commit to supporting and monitoring the chosen course of action. It is at this point that structures are considered to require more formalisation (Trist 1983, Jordan 2007). While the idea of imposing structural stability on flexible collaborative processes may seem a contradiction, Provan and Kenis (2008) argue that they are both necessary and possible to achieve. However frequent reassessment will be mandatory in order to contend with the
multitude of potential changes which may occur throughout the lifespan of the collaboration, thus highlighting the potential for high maintenance costs to occur. Interaction between members requires a commitment of time and effort throughout to ensure that the process as a whole moves forward and in the intended direction. Since the people involved in collaboration are its primary resource, the level of buy-in (Conklin 2006, Bryson et al. 2009, Deale 2009) and the attitudes of participants (Walton and Dutton 1969, Huxham 1993b, Foster-Fishman et al. 2001) are deemed pivotal to the effectiveness of the coalition. The process is threatened throughout by what Huxham refers to as collaborative inertia, a challenge with distinct application to collaboration, but perhaps more so as activities get underway and relationships as well as conflicts develop.

McCann (1983) suggests that processes involved in resolving or managing a shared problem are difficult to control and conceptualise. Participant roles are likely to interlink and overlap during the process of forming and implementing partnerships reflecting the complexity of the situation to be redressed. While Gray’s (1989) framework is commonly referred to in the collaborative literature and also within fields which adopt collaborative process models, it is not universally accepted and others have adapted it as they themselves see the collaborative process develop. Some consider collaboration to be more iterative in nature involving movement back and forth between stages (Mattessich et al. 2001, Thomson and Perry 2006, Emerson et al. 2012). For instance, Seitanidi and Krane (2009) argue that partnership selection and design occur within the implementation stage and cannot be determined until the partnership formation has been initiated.

Figure 3 overleaf, demonstrates the collaborative process as conceived by Ansell and Gash (2007) which presents as a cyclical framework identified to function at the core of collaborative governance. The addition of “assessments” is made as a central evaluative measure that supports the process and provides reassurance as participants’ transition through each stage. This was a key concept within Ring and Van de Ven’s
(1994) earlier process framework of collaboration which sought contemplation of the equity efficiency debate; in other words determining the level of reciprocity thus ensuring that the efficiency gained was worth the equity invested. Establishing a clear cut process for collaboration is difficult in that the interaction it demands is non-linear. However drawing upon theoretical aspects which are likely to influence practical efforts can help participants to develop a more favourable prospect (Ansell and Gash 2007).

**Figure 3: Process Framework of Collaboration**

Source: Adapted from Ansell and Gash (2007) and Ring and Van de Ven (1994)
2.6 Conclusion

The pervasiveness of collaboration, both in discourse and practice, has been driven by a number of factors. Ultimately the complexity brought about by problems which require multi-party resolution have demanded a level of interconnection reflective of collaboration. The fast changing environment provided by the impacts of globalisation has encouraged collaborative practice in order to keep up with consumer expectations. The speed of communication and scope of accessibility in a physical sense and with the diffusion of technology, has resulted in a better informed and increasingly connected society. These influences have very evidently impacted upon the private sector, reflected in a move away from competitive advantage to the less contentious strategy of collaborating to compete. However they have also demanded fundamental changes to the provision of public services and public management, demonstrated through the relentlessness of the reform agenda. The capacity of the state to act and a transition from forms of government to governance in the delivery of outputs and objectives has called for a broader pool of participation. Furthermore, a recognition that social as well as financial criteria are crucial in providing more holistic measurements altered the way in which performance indicators were drafted. Collaborative approaches to achieving efficiency and effectiveness were adopted in a bid to relieve pressure on government in the delivery of public services. This was illustrated through the PPP institution and its economic ambitions reflected within the VfM agenda. More latterly, elements of JUG also sought efficiency outcomes but with a more socially ideological basis.

Policy objectives which cut across departments and agencies require the co-ordination and collective participation engendered by collaboration in order to identify and implement sustainable and holistic solutions. This has also been the motivation of organisations involved in cross-sector collaboration. While it may provide a valuable approach in scenarios where little else has been successful and problems are considered “wicked” in nature, collaborative processes are not without their own challenges as Figure 1 (page 30) demonstrates. The art of collaborating brings with it, its own share of associated costs preventing it from performing as a panacea. However
the value of collaboration as a strategy approach evident within the public management context and also as a response to the changing nature of organisational and societal behaviour, is rooted within social interactions. The investment in social capital as a key resource for the delivery of objectives diminishes transactional costs and increases institutional capacity through ‘soft’ aspects generated by engagement. A definition and conceptualisation of collaboration is also attempted within this chapter. However the variation of the considered key concepts (see Table 3 (page 52)); the diversity of theoretical perspective within which collaboration has been identified (see Table 4 (page 55)); and the plethora of perceived components of collaboration (see Table 5 (page 57) demonstrate the ambiguity which stubbornly surrounds both theoretical and practical facets.
Chapter Three
3. The Island Context

3.1 Introduction
This chapter makes a consideration of the island environment within which the study occurs. It presents a discussion of the factors which have the potential to both assist and inhibit the evolution of collaboration since it is probable that these will contribute to the findings. Acknowledging the island context will thus support a more authentic analysis of the transport-tourism relationship and the influence of the given setting on the propensity for collaboration to develop. Island destinations are distinct entities with characteristics which differ greatly from urban areas. Further, there is a uniqueness inherent in islands predominantly due to their segregation and definitive boundaries which elicit disparity even from other ‘land based’ rural regions. An exploration of the idiosyncrasies pertinent to islands attempts to draw inferences which take into account the context of the situation under study.

3.2 Island Studies
Islands are enjoying growing recognition and attention in part because of the divergence in their characteristics but also for what can be learned from their distinct economic, social and environmental conditions presented in the confined spaces they occupy (Baldacchino 2006b, Hall 2010a). Around 10% of the world’s population live on islands. While this number is not huge, it is significant. Many of the world’s islands depend on tourism to a greater extent than their mainland counterparts. Briguglio and Briguglio (2005) suggest that this intensifies for smaller islands as tourism is very often their main source of economic generation. The figures illustrated within Table 6 overleaf demonstrate the significance of tourism to the islands involved in this study. It can clearly be seen that annual tourism arrivals are overwhelming in comparison to the population sizes of these peripheries.
Table 6: Tourism Spend Data and Passenger Flows for the Scottish Islands

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Island</th>
<th>Year</th>
<th>No. Visitors (V) / Trips (T) (Thou)</th>
<th>Island Population (Thou)</th>
<th>Spend (£m)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Shetland Islands</td>
<td>2013</td>
<td>65 (V)</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Orkney Islands</td>
<td>2013</td>
<td>143 (V)</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>31</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Outer Hebrides</td>
<td>2013</td>
<td>218 (V)</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>54</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Isle of Skye</td>
<td>2013</td>
<td>105 (T)</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>29</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rothesay (Isle of Bute Proxy)</td>
<td>2013</td>
<td>52 (T)</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Isle of Arran</td>
<td>2013</td>
<td>77 (T)</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>24</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: VisitScotland (2013) and Great Britain Tourism Survey (GBTS) (2013)

NB. Figures for the Isle of Bute were unavailable however figures for Rothesay were and have been provided as a proxy.

The discussion around an economic dependence on tourism in islands is relentless and one of the few ubiquitous characteristics amongst them regardless of their warm water or cold water status (Sharpley 2003, Harrison 2004, Nunkoo et al. 2010, Moyle et al. 2010, Hall 2010b, Hamzah and Hampton 2013). Despite this, the literature on tourism in small islands is limited with a significant concentration situated in the case study domain (Shareef and McAleer 2005). Baldacchino (2006b) considers the need for island studies to not only be focussed on islands themselves but also to acknowledge the relationship between islands and the mainland they neighbour. He further argues that “…there is much academic and public policy mileage yet to be made – especially by and for islanders who are active in academe or in the policy field – by looking critically and comparatively at island experiences…” (Baldacchino 2006b: 9). Lowenthal (1992: 19) alludes to the difficulty of providing comparisons since “islands are generally small, remote and historically diverse, [and accordingly] good comparative materials on them are hard to come by”.

Much of the focus on island tourism has thus far pertained to environmental and economic factors. Lim and Cooper (2009) argue that a concentrated interest in economic rather than social aspects has resulted in unfavourable repercussions such as mass tourism and overdevelopment. Research has also been focussed on the industry’s spatial structures, visitor patterns and the impact of tourism on destinations (Lockhart 1997: 9). However the growing importance and fascination with these small geographies is encouraging an expansion in the range and recognition of island studies (Baldacchino 2006b). In particular, greater attention is being bestowed on social factors since social capital has been associated with helping to counteract dependency and vulnerability (Scheyvens and Momsen 2008, Amoamo 2013). These characteristics are heavily associated with peripheral areas. While this progression is positive, Warrington and Milne (2007) consider there to be much scope for study regarding island governance and that it is a field currently under-researched. Hepburn (2012: 122) extends this to island politics more generally adding that “…islands are extremely valuable, yet largely overlooked, units of analysis for the study of territorial politics”.

3.3 The Islandness Debate
Islands are unique in nature often comprising distinct and contrasting characteristics from each other to the extent that Hache (1998: 35) has queried whether the diversity of islands allows them “…anything in common besides their watery surroundings”. As such it is difficult to define the term “island” other than to allude to the physical feature of them being encircled by water (Dommen 1980, Baldacchino 2006c, Stratford 2008, Hampton and Hampton 2009, Graci and Dodds 2010) and remaining above water at high tide (Ronström 2009). Stratford (2008) has added to this criteria that the physical size of what constitutes an island should be smaller than a continent. Others allude to agreement on this by discussing islands in comparison to continents (Selwyn 1980, Dommen 1980, Jackson 2006, Baldacchino 2006b). Size has been a prominent debate in distinguishing and influencing islands. Whilst the term ‘small island’ is often used by scholars in the field, there is contention as to what determines ‘small’. Hess (1990) considers small as an area of 10,000km or less, and with up to 500,000 residents while
Brookfield (1990) favours the figures 1,000, and 100,000 respectively. McElroy and Pearce (2006) have used up to 1 million inhabitants in studies on what they consider to be small islands while Srebrnik (2004) have set their limits to populations of 1.5 million. Perhaps the use of the term ‘isle’ which is commonly affixed to the conception of small islands could be adopted, although Royle (2007: 38) implies that even this term is up for negotiation, “[an isle] is a small island, except on those occasions where it refers to a large island, such as Great Britain or Ireland”. Peron (2004: 328) describes the size of a small island in a social context:

The notion of an island shall be discussed, deliberately restricting ourselves to small, inhabited islands: those specks of land large enough to support permanent residents, but small enough to render to their inhabitants the permanent consciousness of being on an island.

The description of islands evidently remains fairly broad. Considering that political, geographical, social and economic conditions will all contribute to the interpretation and definition of an island offers some justification as to why it is difficult to be more specific. Nonetheless there are shared qualities that apply to all, albeit temporal and changeable. The term “islandness” has been used pervasively within the literature on islands and island tourism. It pertains to aspects which are distinctly and specifically related to islands; these are identified overleaf within Table 7.
Table 7: Key Dimensions of Islandness

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Key Dimensions of Islandness</th>
<th>Geographical</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Separation from the mainland (Hepburn 2012)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Isolation (Armstrong and Read 2003, Jackson 2006, Conkling 2007)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Surrounded by water (Gillis and Lowenthal 2007, Stratford 2008)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Remoteness (Anckar 2004, Sufrauj 2011)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>The sea, the ocean, the coast, waves and water (Mezzana et al. 2012)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Boundaries (Fowles 1999, Conkling 2007)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Notion of the edge (Hay 2006)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><strong>Political</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Desire to be self-governed (Hepburn 2012)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Endogenous policy formulation and implementation (Armstrong and Read 2003)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Democracy (Anckar 2004)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><strong>Social/Cultural</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Strong sense of identity (Fowles 1999, Jackson 2006, Hepburn 2012)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Expression of identity (Stratford 2008)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Collective identification (Wynne 2007)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Vulnerable to outside influence (Kokkranikal et al. 2003)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Cohesion (Anckar 2004)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Sense of being in place (Conkling 2007, Stratford 2008)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Resilience (Jackson 2006, Scheyvens and Momsen 2008)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Close-knit community (Jackson 2006)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Intimacy (Anckar 2004)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Solidarity (Stratford 2008)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Simplicity (Kokkranikal et al. 2003)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><strong>Economic</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Fragility (Hepburn 2012)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>High transactional costs (Armstrong and Read 2003, Sufrauj 2011, Hepburn 2012)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Limited resources (Jackson 2006)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Resilience (Campling 2006, Campbell 2009)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Islandness has predominantly been associated with the conceptualisation of identity and a sense of place thus suggesting that island qualities manifest emotively rather than physically. The word island evokes imagery. Mezzana et al. (2012) have presented the islandness argument by suggesting that it is a tool for the social construction of reality. Indeed Stratford (2008) argues that the ontological resource islandness provides and the strong place-based identifications should be interwoven in the governance and decision-making of islands. This is perhaps because, as Baldacchino (2004: 278) emphasises, islandness has a pervasive presence amongst its geographies, “Islandness is an intervening variable that does not determine, but
contours and conditions physical and social events in distinct, and distinctly relevant, ways”.

The appeal of islands and a key feature of islandness has been recognised through the impression of isolation and the feeling of being separate or different brought about by the physical divide between the mainland and the island (Butler 2002a, Jackson 2006, Warrington and Milne 2007). Baum’s (1997) contribution is similar adding that the feeling of being detached from the mainland is an important psychological attribute of island tourism. Some perceive that it is the islandness trait which maintains island communities and improves their resilience in the face of adversity. Islandness has been alluded to as a valuable resource in fiscal and policy reform (Stratford 2008, Sufrauj 2011); an opportunity for islanders to remain in control of the future of their own economies and decision-making (Baldacchino 2006b, Kelman 2009, Amoamo 2013).

It has been argued that there is a correlation between islandness and size with smaller islands harbouring a more intense experience (McMahon 2005, Hay 2006, Barrowclough 2010). Brinklow (2013) proposes a pecking order of islandness where greater distance increases credibility. Baldacchino (2010) considers islandness to infiltrate and influence every aspect of island studies regardless of discipline or focus. Many have suggested that the aspects of islandness are what ultimately differentiate an island vacation from other forms of visitor experience giving island tourism a unique and unchallengeable selling point.

3.4 Island Governance and Identity

The small geographical remit of islands with clear boundaries and interwoven networks and associations enforces a sense of fellowship amongst islanders (Jackson 2006, Scheyvens and Momsen 2008). The definable spaces presented by islands lends their residents a greater sense of identity (Hay 2006, Kelman 2009, Amoamo 2013). Olausson (2009) considers feelings of belongingness and affinity to be consequential of islandness and a desire of islanders to maintain their own distinct identity. Lowenthal (1987: 29) proposes that the closeness of relationship between sense of self and place in islands is inextricable, “Smallness, isolation and their need, as dwarfs in
a world of giants, to assert their identities, induce their [island] inhabitants to link their personal identities closely with that of the place itself”.

An island’s geographical precision as a bounded entity has been frequently linked to the sense of place evoked by peripheral destinations (Fowles 1999, Baldacchino 2005, Hay 2006, Conkling 2007). The development of a strong island identity is key to facilitating governance by introducing common ground. In instances of islands, common ground in a physical sense has a perimeter allowing people to invest in a shared space which is inherently distinct. This helps to create the bonds necessary for mutual decision-making and the development of activities necessary for effective and collective governance. Furthermore the strength of identity stimulates ownership of territory and concern for a sustainable future, thus providing motivation for the development of a shared vision and mutually formed goals. In fact Scheyvens and Momsen (2008) suggest that the physical constraints faced by islands not only promote strong communities but forge identities through a collective resistance to outside forces. However the intricacy of internal relations ensures that they too suffer from complication. The complexity of relationships between people in small islands is elevated by the likelihood of role diffusion, role enlargement and role multiplicity (Baldacchino 2005). Overlapping duties and responsibilities, while beneficial for knowledge transfer, has also had the outcome of creating misunderstandings and conflict (Jordan 2007). However Baldacchino (2006a) argues that as governance structures expand outwards, downwards and sideways, overlapping lines of authority and power may in fact become normalised and inevitable to cope with the increasingly messy challenges of the future.

Identity and ownership have influenced the tenacity of residents who nurture a responsibility reflected in their propensity to be involved in local decision-making. The intense social platform islands provide gives way to heightened public scrutiny of the political system. However a consequence of major governmental decisions made at the core, especially in instances where implementation is ill-fitting in the particular
island environment, has engendered conflict and tension between core and periphery (Jordan 2007, Stratford 2008, Lacher and Nepal 2010). A realisation that a “one size fits all” policy approach fails to capture the diversity of islands has instigated what is known as “community visioning”. Community visioning (a term derived from the amalgamation of vision and planning) is described by Ames (1993: 7) as “a process by which a community envisions the future it wants, and plans how to achieve it”. This concept is expressed in an abundance of literature dedicated to the significance of community participation in rural areas. Jackson (2006) considers that the adoption of community visioning in various islands around the world can contribute to sustainable regional strategies although she argues that there is a need for them to be integrated into broader governance policies.

Islanders are often described as self-sufficient which manifests from an attempt to remain resilient in their isolation and to reduce vulnerability (Jackson 2006, Kelman 2009, Campbell 2009, Grydehoj 2011). However Saxena et al. (2007) advocate that sustainability is often unlikely to extend to an island’s economic scenario and so Baldacchino (2005) argues that this leaves them as anything but self-sufficient since ultimately they are dependent. Peripheral regions are inherently reliant on state support for the funding of development activities, training and infrastructure maintenance (Nash and Martin 2003, March and Wilkinson 2009, Ateljevic 2009, Su 2011).

Aside from fiscal resources, the nature of relationships which exist in island communities has been identified to possess richness in terms of social capital. This is commonly perceived to be where islands can counteract their shortcomings (Kilpatrick and Falk 2003, Scheyvens and Momsen 2008). Mutual visions drawn upon by shared histories, identity derived from cultural tradition and a clearly defined geographical perimeter provide reinforcement to relationships. Baldacchino (2005) suggests that the geographical physicality and social fabric reflective of islands is conducive to the facilitation of moral and participative communities who share much in common. The reliance on friends and neighbours and strong familial ties also feeds into high levels
of trust and respect amongst islanders (Macleod 2004, Lovelock et al. 2010, Everest-Phillips 2012). As such islands have been seen as naturally innovative in the development of governance mechanisms (Hay 2006, Stratford 2006, Baldacchino 2010, Amoamo 2013). This is driven by a desire to sustain, an aspiration for involvement motivated by identity and ownership, and a commitment to the public good evident in these close knit communities. Blackmore (2003: 347) believes that the sense of place intrinsic to island communities is reinforced by physical presence which should allow “each person in the community a sense of having a “right” to be there because they have earned that right through tenure”. He goes on to suggest that integration into the social fabric intensifies one’s sense of belonging.

It has long since been argued that smaller units, where grass-roots decision-making can be fostered, facilitate greater democracy (Dahl and Tufte 1973, CAG 1997, Larsen 2002, Campling 2006, Graetz and Smith 2006). Lassen and Serritzlew (2011) advance this argument to suggest that not only is democracy higher in small municipals but internal political efficacy is also increased. Everest-Phillips (2012: 46) extends this to governance mechanisms by proposing that “Small populations are, in general, better governed than larger countries”. Anckar (2004: 379) advocates the rationale for this to be that “the intimacy and the nearness inherent in small populations promote a general understanding and knowledge of local political problems”.

The disparity of island destinations compared to central regions has raised interest in how they should best be governed. The emanant message delivered through public sector reform has suggested best fit as opposed to best practice because of island diversity (Everest-Phillips 2012). It is also perceived that small groups can monitor and deal more efficiently with the free-rider challenge associated with instances of working together which undermines contributions to the public good (Glaeser et al. 2007, Helbing et al. 2010). Portes (1998) proposes that in the case of small populations with high community participation and where neighbours know each other, social control is high thus instilling a demand for conformity. Grydehoj (2011) considers that
governance strategies in small jurisdictions may be more democratic and representational than larger jurisdictions since the community and governing authorities will naturally be closer to each other. However in small islands which are non-sovereign states this will be dependent upon the level of devolution and the capacity for autonomous authority at a local level. It will also be reliant on the implementation of structures conducive to democratic governance.

While a smaller gap between authority and community may indeed provide benefits, the intimacy of relationships can also diminish the distinction between public and private and the impersonality necessary for professionalism in impartial decision-making (Jackson 2006, Everest-Phillips 2012). Aspects of personalist ambition, nepotism and cronyism have been raised as risks in need of vigilance in small regions irrespective of the propensity for them to be instinctively democratic (Newton 1982, Baldacchino 1997, Narayan 1999, Armstrong and Read 2002, Srebrnik 2004, Rich et al. 2008, Hanich and Tsamenyi 2009, Grydehoj 2011).

3.5 Jurisdiction and Autonomy of Islands

Levels of island autonomy is something which has received much interest in island studies. The extent to which it should exist has been heavily debated and depends upon a variety of influential factors including distance, ethnicity, economy and size (Bartmann 1996, Ackrén and Olausson 2008). The separateness of islands, particularly in the case of small islands has led in some instances to generous devolution agreements. However the success of island destinations with high levels of autonomy will be dependent upon effective governance mechanisms at a local level.

Research has demonstrated that non-sovereign sub-national island jurisdictions (SNIJ) who have some level of autonomy show more resilience and success than sovereign-island states (Baldacchino 2006a). Further McElroy and Pearce (2006) argue that dependent SNIJs are more economically and socially developed than those who are
independent. While levels of autonomy have been championed within island governance, the concept of ‘going it alone’ has been treated with caution. The rejection of independence by some islands has demonstrated a preference to maintain benefits associated with larger political entities (Hepburn 2012). What this indicates is that the relationship between islands and mainlands is critical to the functioning and prosperity of these territories.

Wynne (2007) considers that the durable bonds between islanders cement meaningful relationships between natives which in turn reinforce the bridges island communities construct with metropoles. Therefore the strength of internal relations will serve as important foundational support for external alliances to develop. The bonds depict the strong relationships within a group of people (intra-group ties), the social glue within a community (Maak 2007), or as Putnam (1995: 6) describes it, “those rooting for the same team”. These are found between islanders. The bridges, between islands and metropoles, are associated with the weaker (external) relationship amongst groups (inter-group ties), although Granovetter’s (1973) seminal paper points out the strength of these weak micro-macro bridges should not be underrated. The social capital generated by bonds often determines the scope for development of bridges by acting as an antecedent (Larsen et al. 2004). Without the bridging relationships creating vertical and horizontal links to life out-with the island vicinity, Croes (2006) argues that such a closed system poses a threat to the survival of these small entities. Narayan (1999) proposes that the cross-cutting ties bridging provides encourages less powerful or excluded groups to open up to economic opportunities. While close bonds may support the island during tough times such as periods of austerity when people will naturally be required to produce more with less, bridges help to connect to global systems enhancing the product value thus generating economic advancement (Croes 2006, Wynne 2007). Woolcock and Narayan (2000) describe the bonding as social capital leverage to “get by” whilst bridging represents the deployment of social capital to “get ahead”. Ultimately a combination is necessary and heed should be paid to both internal and external relationships (Adler and Kwon 2002, Maak 2007).
Dependence on a collective sovereignty maintains political relations with metropoles allowing an island to connect to a wider audience. This has sought to direct much focus on the centre-periphery relationship. Within tourism this is crucial in allowing markets to flow from central hubs to outer lying regions. Political affiliation provides avenues for island regions to access investment capital. It also means that consideration is extended to planning and connection of transport and communication systems. For island destinations to be truly sustainable requires consideration of what lies beyond. However as mentioned previously, islanders concerns first and foremost are for the issues pertinent to their own surroundings. Given that these can differ significantly from urban areas, some political strategies struggle to provide a solution to diverse problems with a blanket response. The ability to execute with a sense of autonomy and in relation to the needs dictated by the environmental conditions specific to the island has been a point of emphasis in the discussion around non-sovereignty. Political autonomy as well as effective decision-making has been proposed as a critical determinant of growth in small islands (Armstrong and Read 2003). The effectiveness of autonomy will be to a large extent influenced by the level of self-governance achieved at a local level and how these relationships are able to connect to the broader national context. Baldacchino (2004) considers that island natives have been increasingly successful in securing decision-making powers from metropoles thus providing a transition in local management from government to governance arrangements.

### 3.6 Political Structures and Decision-making Processes in Scottish Islands

The following section provides the context of political structures within the Scottish islands involved in this study. It outlines the key organisations that contribute to the functioning and decision-making of transport and tourism strategy and policy. The higher level political structures are relatively uniform due to the influence of national government arrangements. As authority filters down to a more localised level some instances of divergence develop with individualised governance structures emerging depending on the agencies available and involved. These individual governance structures assist in initiating strategies which are based on the needs of each individual
scenario within the respective island. Table 8 overleaf, illustrates a breakdown of the prominent parties involved in policy-making and implementation within the six island areas included in this research. It should be stressed that the stakeholders specified do not comprise an exhaustive inclusion of all and any partners contributing to the political and strategic management of transport and/or tourism either centrally or locally within the island destinations involved in this study. A multitude of stakeholders will provide varying levels of contribution at any given time within the different stages of progressing agendas and as they feel their input is necessary or called upon. The stakeholders detailed within Table 8 are however considered to have a significant and consistent influence on the decision-making, implementation and delivery of strategies at a national and local level within transport and tourism policy development in the islands.
Table 8: Breakdown of Local Agency Input into Scottish Island Transport and Tourism Policy-Making and Implementation

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Island</th>
<th>Local Authority</th>
<th>Operational Community Councils</th>
<th>Local Enterprise Agency / Local Office</th>
<th>Subsidised Transport (Transport Scotland)</th>
<th>RTP</th>
<th>Predominant Tourism Bodies</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Shetland Islands</td>
<td>Shetland Islands Council</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>HIE – Lerwick, Shetland</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>HITRANS</td>
<td>VisitShetland • Promote Shetland • STA</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Orkney Islands</td>
<td>Orkney Islands Council</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>HIE – Kirkwall, Orkney</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>HITRANS</td>
<td>VisitOrkney • OTG</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Outer Hebrides</td>
<td>Comhairle nan Eilean Siar</td>
<td>some</td>
<td>HIE – Stornoway, Outer Hebrides</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>HITRANS</td>
<td>VisitOuterHebrides • OHTIA</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Isle of Skye</td>
<td>Highland Council</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>HIE – Portree, Isle of Skye</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>HITRANS</td>
<td>VisitHighlands • Destination Skye &amp; Lochalsh</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Isle of Bute</td>
<td>Argyll &amp; Bute Council</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>HIE – Lochgilphead, Argyll</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>HITRANS</td>
<td>VisitBute • AISTP</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Isle of Arran</td>
<td>North Ayrshire Council</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>Scottish Enterprise – Kilmarnock</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>SPT</td>
<td>VisitArran</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
3.6.1 National and Local Transport Stakeholders

At a national level and funded by Scottish Government, Scottish transport is governed by Transport Scotland who are tasked with delivering the Scottish Government’s vision for transport (Transport Scotland 2014a). The purpose of Transport Scotland is to increase sustainable economic growth through the transport sector with a remit to cover all modes of transport. Of those transport services which are subsidised by the Scottish Government (through Transport Scotland), a Public Service Obligation (PSO) is applied to ensure a set level of service is satisfied (Baird and Wilmsmeier 2011). PSOs were imposed under European regulations in the mid-1990s for the purposes of maintaining lifeline services. The regulation provides the basis on which non-commercial but economically and socially necessary transport services can be subsidised to ensure continued and consistent operation (Transport Scotland 2014b). This is distinctly important within the island context since these peripheries are commonly challenged in the provision of viable transportation due to the small and often distant populations served. The involvement of central government is therefore critical to ensure the sustainability of transport services in environments where feasibility of these communities would otherwise be threatened. As illustrated in Table 8 (page 85), all of the islands involved in this study receive a transport subsidy.

While there is an evident dedication to transport functioning at a national policy level there is also much public sector activity devoted to encouraging a more localised allocation of input. Regional Transport Partnerships (RTP) are key organisations in linking national transport strategy to local implementation. There has been emphasis in this thesis on the specific challenges faced by island transport and the discussion that some scenarios would benefit from the prescription of individualised treatment divergent, for example, from urban regulation – see section 1.3 (page 8) and section 3.5 (page 81). RTPs were established in 2005 through the Transport (Scotland) Act with the purpose of strengthening the planning and delivery of regional transport in order for it to better serve the needs of people and businesses locally. RTPs bring together local authorities and other key regional stakeholders to take a strategic approach to transport in each region of Scotland (Transport Scotland 2014c). Appendix
Fifteen (page 394) provides a map which illustrates the breakdown of areas served by the individual RTPs. RTPs receive funding from their member councils which is in turn distributed in the form of grants and loans to implement the regional transport strategy. As such RTPs work closely with Transport Scotland to ensure that transport policy throughout Scotland is properly co-ordinated. The Scottish islands are predominantly served by the Highlands & Islands Strategic Transport Partnership (HITRANS) which has allowed them to generate a robust insight into the unique challenges pertinent to peripheral destinations. Only the Isle of Arran differs from the other island areas involved in this study who are instead associated with Strathclyde Partnership for Transport (SPT) as their regional partnership – see Appendix Fifteen (page 394).

3.6.2 National and Local Tourism Stakeholders

VisitScotland is the national tourism organisation for Scotland with a primary role to maximise the economic benefit of tourism to Scotland (Scottish Government 2014). Key priorities involve the global marketing of Scotland; supplying visitor information; and the provision of quality assurance to visitors and quality advice to industry members (VisitScotland 2014). While a large proportion of VisitScotland’s funding is received from Scottish Government, a contribution is also made by local authorities who purchase services from them. However in recent years there has been a growth in local level DMOs dominating the activities once executed by VisitScotland – for further details on this discussion, see section 4.5.1 (page 115). However VisitScotland still maintain a representation within all the island destinations included in this study and remain a key stakeholder both at a local level and as a national influential body.

Local tourism governance in Scotland has been heavily influenced by a proliferation of DMOs whose infiltration has not excluded the Scottish islands. Local DMOs have assumed some of the roles and activities previously and traditionally carried out by the national tourism organisation, VisitScotland. As such DMOs have become a common contributor to the development and delivery of local authority economic and tourism
development plans (for example see Comhairle nan Eilean Siar 2010, SIC 2011, OIC 2014, The Highland Council 2014). While it is difficult to quantify the level of influence and service provided by these individual and therefore fragmented groups, a reduction of local authority funding allocated to VisitScotland has contributed in many cases to a focus on the development of DMOs for local level representation of tourism marketing. DMOs are predominantly industry led and are therefore strongly associated with local community participation (Gretzel et al. 2006, d'Angella et al. 2010, Slocum and Everett 2014).

3.6.3 Local Authorities

Local authorities are instrumental in the management and governance of the individual destinations for which they are held accountable. Local government in Scotland comprises 32 unitary local authorities, responsible for the provision of a range of public services including those pertaining to transport and tourism (often located under the banner of economic development) (COSLA 2014). Those associated with the islands involved in this study are detailed within Table 8 (page 85). Each local authority is governed by a council made up of councillors directly elected by residents in the population of the area they represent. Furthermore, councils in Scotland are autonomous bodies, independent of central government and are accountable to their electorates for the delivery of services (Scottish Government 2013b). This presents an opportunity for the definitive issues associated with the local environment to be considered and an appropriate planning approach determined. Within the Scottish islands, the infrastructure of transport remains critical to the sustainability of the communities who inhabit these peripheries. Similarly tourism presents as a vital income opportunity and is therefore also a matter of critical importance in the governance of a sustainable destination (see Table 6 (page 73)). While local political systems possess a level of autonomy they remain reliant on budgetary allocations from central government and on national agencies for the holistic strategy considerations they provide. However, the decision-making on how allocated money is spent regionally is significantly influenced by local authorities. While much local level
planning and implementation is led by local authorities, some other key partners are significant in the direction and support they provide.

3.6.4 Community Councils

In conjunction with local authority decision-making, many of the islands within this study possess community councils in order to promote closer links between communities and service providers. These groups are the most local tier of statutory representation in Scotland, bridging the gap between local authority and communities (Scottish Government 2013a). Community councils are voluntary bodies composed of elected members which have been granted statutory rights of consultation. While they are not part of local government they can complement the role of the local authority by offering an avenue for citizen participation in policy-making decisions. Community councils present an opportunity for democracy by representing local views which can influence the planning and provision of local services (OIC 2013). However the level of activity which exists from one island to another varies and this is often reflected in: the perceived validity of these groups by their local authority; the level of grant allocation community councils receive from their local authority; and the state of engagement across peripheries and with their representative local authority (CCWG 2012). In some cases, albeit few, decisions are made through community councils as to how specific budgets are spent in the community, thus demonstrating the significance of these groups in some localities.

3.6.5 Local Enterprise Partnerships

Another significant stakeholder in the decision-making and delivery of policy objectives affecting both transport and tourism is local enterprise partnerships (LEP). The predominant party operating within the Scottish islands is HIE. HIE are the Scottish Government's economic and community development agency for the North and West of Scotland with the purpose of generating sustainable economic growth across the Highlands and Islands. With a priority to develop key growth sectors, HIE considers the tourism industry crucial to the economy of the Highlands and Islands,
and proportionally more so than it is to the rest of Scotland (HIE 2012). As such HIE represents a key stakeholder in island tourism in Scotland and a prominent source of funding support for enterprise considered to develop tourism within local peripheries. HIE is also considered a key partner of VisitScotland and the public bodies work together to align their tourism strategies for Scotland and to develop the Scottish tourism product (VisitScotland 2009). HIE also have a commitment to the development and maintenance of infrastructure and work with transport authorities to inform and influence decisions that affect Scotland (HIE 2014). Examples of this include HIE working closely with HITRANS on activities such as the TransTourism Project (HITRANS 2011) and their involvement with Transport Scotland to provide assistance with local level consultation on proposals such as the Scottish Ferries Review (HIE 2010).

3.6.6 The Importance of National and Local Alignment and Input

Higher level political input provides a holistic level of strategy and a valuable source of funding. Without this the islands presented would struggle to survive financially or to integrate their functioning with the broader national objectives. This highlights the critical role that national agencies provide in supporting the sustainability of Scottish island destinations. As political decision-making becomes more localised, the frameworks diverge in relation to the individual representation available at a local level. For example Table 8 (page 85) demonstrates that irrespective of their fragmented geographical distribution across the country, a relatively consistent approach is taken within the Scottish islands of those parties who provide coverage in terms of support and regulation. This however is not the case for the Isle of Arran which is governed by a different local enterprise and RTP agency than the other islands studied. This is a result of the geographical boundaries of local authorities. The Isle of Arran is administered by the North Ayrshire Local Authority who are consequently associated with Scottish Enterprise and SPT respectively. At a local level, the extent to which grassroots governance is successful will be largely related to the common ground shared between local organisations and stakeholders. However it is also important that local groups have the ability to inform higher level political bodies so as to ensure their
specific needs are both accounted for and capable of being met. Therefore the lines of communication between national and local stakeholders require reciprocity (for further details on this discussion see section 3.5 (page 81). Local political decision-making is an important contribution to destination governance since it is those working on the ground who are distinctly aware of the daily operational challenges faced and the possible opportunities available. The secondary data conveys that within the Scottish islands, provision has been initiated in generating opportunities to communicate and align the input of local decision-making with national policy objectives. However assuming a stakeholder approach in the collection of primary data provides the opportunity to investigate how this translates in practice and at a local level.

3.7 Social Capital in Islands
A repercussion of the spatial separation which islands experience has been observed in the social capital built from the challenges this presents. Relationships emerge as a coping mechanism to the vulnerabilities of island destinations. Weale (1991: 81) believes that aspects of islandness (see Table 7 (page 76)) are deeply engrained in islanders, “Islandness becomes a part of your being, a part as deep as marrow, and as natural and unselfconscious as breathing…” The small population sizes, close and overlapping connections, and strong cultural institutions present in island communities have been contributory to their perceived favourable environment for the propagation of social capital (Baldacchino 2005, Skelton 2007, Scheyvens and Momsen 2008). Baldacchino (2005) suggests that small island territories may be the best sites for observing evidence of strong social fabric. The advantages they gain through their distinct and diminutive structures include the potential to build strong identities and social cohesion. Kilpatrick and Falk (2003) argue that island communities are ideal settings for studying social capital because their infrastructure is readily isolated and clear boundaries provide parameters for delineation. Bowles and Gintis (2002) propose that it is the social as opposed to geographical structures which lend themselves well to the portrayal of social capital. They assert that the term “community” better captures an explanation of social capital through the mechanism of good governance since it focuses less on what people own and more on what groups do. This perspective reflects
the sizeable influence of communitarianism on the significance of social capital in communities (Woolcock and Narayan 2000, Hall 2011b).

There is undoubtedly a vast amount of literature stressing the difficulties islands face, indicating that first and foremost they are fragile and vulnerable entities; the geographical underdog. However there is also frequent argument pertaining to the belief that being an island can in fact facilitate rather than impede economic performance brought about by their innate ability to remain resilient. The prevalent reasoning is that challenges are considered to be offset by the ability of these small areas to generate social capital. Coleman (1988) acknowledges a propensity to enhance the public good as a motivation shared by most forms of social capital but also as a factor which differentiates it from other forms of capital. Given the strong association between islands and identity, a need to support its well-being is fomented by the ownership and responsibility people feel for their island and its people. This promotes the impetus to work collectively in order to deliver the public good dimension and in doing so generates the dynamics necessary for social capital to evolve. Social capital is pinnacle to collective action and considered both an antecedent and outcome of collaboration (Hall 1999b) – this was previously discussed in more detail in section 2.4.2 (page 48). The “goodwill” perceived to be generated through social capital is described as “…the sympathy, trust and forgiveness offered to us by friends and acquaintances” (Adler and Kwon 2002: 18). Social capital is a shared commodity, jointly constructed and experienced, which uniquely increases rather than decreases with use as trust and respect are gained and relationships deepen (Nahapiet and Ghoshal 1998, Maak 2007). The ancestral history of islands with communities frequently accommodating multiple generations reinforces this process of commitment and goodwill.

Thomson and Perry (2006) indicate that social capital as a component of collaboration is affiliated with norms and mutuality. The development of such relationships can be an invaluable resource since the costs incurred are, from a fiscal perspective, largely
free (Cooke and Wills 1999). Therefore the social capital which can emerge from collaborative interaction provides a strong appeal for government as the potential to generate cost effective resources is a good example of their desire to “do more with less”. But just as can be seen in the processes involved in collaborating, the costs endured in developing social capital are far from energy free. While they may not be of a premium in monetary terms, the investment and devotion necessary to generate social capital manifest themselves in a variety of other ways (Adler and Kwon 2002). Woolcock and Narayan (2000: 3) emphasise that “social ties can be a liability as well as an asset” and should not be pursued at the expense of another group or where negative consequences may transpire. It is important to consider the sustainability of such investment in the same way one would a fiscal scenario in order to prevent attaining desirable outcomes today which come at the cost of tomorrow. However since social capital, like collaboration, often transpires reactively rather than proactively, involved parties in peripheral areas are likely to be driven to succeed by the dependency they have on each other.

Baldacchino (2005: 32) refers to social capital in islands as “the resourcefulness of a people to respond positively, collectively and responsibly to an identified challenge”. Dyer (1997) argues that the short term costs of building trust are comparatively higher than signing a contract, yet transaction costs decline over time and remain lower as the commitment to relationships develops. Thus social capital is also considered as a mechanism to dramatically decrease the cost of transactions primarily as a result of trust building through the process of repeated interactions (Erridge and Greer 2002, Adler and Kwon 2002, Gray et al. 2003, Halpern 2005). However the cultivation of social capital, much like collaborative capacity, requires a provision or opportunity for it to develop or exist. Adler and Kwon (2002) consider opportunity, motivation and ability as central components within their conceptual model of social capital. This is exhibited overleaf in Figure 4.
Figure 4: A Conceptual Model of Social Capital

Appropriate network structures create an *opportunity* for social capital transactions which over time propagates trust. Portes (1998) argues that there requires to be adequate *motivation* for participants to assist recipients in the absence of certain or immediate returns. The requisite *ability* to perform within social capital transactions has been describe as complementary by Portes (1998) while Lin (1999) elevates the status of ability to constitutive. Nahapiet and Ghoshal (1998) suggest that social capital relations require shared norms and beliefs amongst participants and a culture which facilitates the generation of social capital. Instances of integration need to be recognised for the key role they play in the building of social capital. Platforms for social interaction, even at an informal level, are critical for allowing open lines of communication where parties can build the relationships that will be foundational to any future commitments. This has been observed as an oversight in policy in instances

Source: Adler and Kwon (2002)
where performance has been measured on outcomes rather than processes (Falk and Kilpatrick 2000, Grimsey and Lewis 2005).

3.8 Conclusion

The confined spaces represented by islands has been argued to provide an interesting domain for the analysis of populations within clear and distinct parameters. The discussion on island size has been expansive and the characteristics that islands possess have been queried to the point that often the boundaried nature is one of the only shared features applicable to all. However the abstract concept of ‘islandness’ as a key dimension of islands has been accredited with their survival, the appeal to visit, and the underpinning of the social fabric evident within these remote communities. The shared norms and beliefs of island communities increases the capacity for social capital and thus the propensity to behave collaboratively. This is also inspired by the mutual challenges consequential of the core-periphery distance and the scarcity and stretching of resources encountered by island inhabitants. A desire to achieve more with less stimulates the need to draw upon social resources which are effectively propagated within the realms of island domains. A sense of shared identity developed through mutually occupied and contained territories has brought about increased levels of ownership and involvement in decision-making. Overlapping roles and responsibilities reinforce self-governing approaches driven by the ‘visioning’ of communities. The considered closeness to the issues that island residents face legitimises their augmented presence in the management and future of these areas.

However equally important to levels of autonomy in the prosperity and sustainability of island destinations is the demonstration of strong relationships between islands and mainlands. This was expressed in terms of the bridges between islands and metropoles requiring proportionate attention to the local bonds amongst islanders. This was demonstrated not only politically in terms of overarching bodies associated with broader level governance but also through the vital connections necessary for a sustainable tourism industry, upon which many island destination are economically
dependent. Tourism is a key feature and critical economic generator for islands across the globe thus necessitating further study of industry within context. More generally, further scope of island research has been called for which expands the capacity beyond the more prevalent case study analysis and with a focus on the policy domain.
Chapter Four
4. Transport and Tourism

4.1 Introduction
This chapter examines the architecture of tourism, highlighting the complexity of design and the diversity of stakeholder involvement before applying it to the collaborative context. It provides an analysis of the island tourism governance mechanisms which have encountered a recent period of transition, adapted with the intention to ensure that destinations remain attractive and competitive. Further, it discusses the core element which transport provides in the tourism experience and the interdependent relationship between transport systems and the sustainability of visitor markets.

4.2 The Complexity of Tourism
The complexity of tourism derives from the repercussions of a necessarily intricate environment. The success of the tourism product is contingent upon a varied contribution of components and participants, each of which effectuate the experience. This concurrently makes tourism inherently difficult to define (Berno and Bricker 2001, Baggio et al. 2010). It is a constantly evolving system made up of nonlinear networks and relationships. Gunn (2004: 34) conjectures that “every part of tourism is related to every other part”. Thus, much research on tourism has sought to understand the phenomenon through chaos theory and complexity theory (Faulkner and Russell 1997, McKercher 1999, Russell and Faulkner 1999, Ritchie 2004, Farrell and Twining-Ward 2004, Zahra and Ryan 2007, Stevenson et al. 2009, Baggio and Sainaghi 2011). Chaos theory is widely identified as the study of nonlinear dynamic systems (Levy 1994, Gleick 1997, Marion 1999) with complexity theory generally conceived as a subset of chaos. Harvey (2001) advocates that while complexity theory focusses on the internal, chaos theory is interested in the external structuring of complex systems. Stacey (1993) describes the difference with an explanation that chaos theory provides a blueprint for the system overall while complexity theory is
determined by localised interaction. Thus while not the same, they are complementary with both engaging in an understanding of disorganised behaviour.

Tourism has consistently been referred to as a complex and dynamic phenomenon (Przeclawski 1993, Selin and Chavez 1995, Clarke 1997, Schianetz et al. 2007, Rodríguez-Díaz and Espino-Rodríguez 2008, Lim and Cooper 2009, Henderson 2009, Baggio and Sainaghi 2011). It has been deemed uncontrollable and debate has questioned whether it can in fact be managed at all. Yet complexity theory illustrated that the messiness of systems compelled by nonlinear dynamics was able to conceptualise a whole greater than the sum of its parts (Waldrop 1992, Gallo 1995, Kauffman 1996). Tourism involves interdependence and integration between many actors and sectors that do not individually have the resources to successfully fulfil all the requirements of tourists – thus demonstrating a whole greater than the sum of its parts. McKercher (1999) proposes that the non-linearity of tourism makes it extremely difficult to prove a direct cause and effect relationship between actions since tourist flows depend on a variety of factors prior to attaining destination attractiveness. His depiction of a Chaos Model of Tourism can be seen overleaf in Figure 5. This illustrates the interconnection possibilities between the traveller and each constituent element of tourism. It also demonstrates the possible connections between the main components themselves.
4.2.1 Tourism and the Policy Domain

The inability to establish linear relationships frustrates public sector bodies involved in tourism since the chaotic nature of the industry hampers a consistency in management techniques. Further it impedes a depth of understanding as to the dynamics of tourism and therefore minimises the accuracy of future predictions. Baggio (2008: 2) describes tourism as an industry “with no traditional production functions, no consistently measureable outputs and no common structure or organisation”. Tourism defies top down control because of the difficulties it provides its potential regulator. A divergence of environmental conditions and local needs will
and should influence individual strategies. Successful integration of the components involved in tourism is often dependent on what happens at the planning stage. Butler (2002b) argues that a development plan which is integrated rather than imposed provides more appeal to residents and greater potential for buy-in from local stakeholders. The delivery of a transparent and thorough strategy promotes a better understanding of future direction, a clearer consideration of influential factors, and assurance as to how decisions were arrived at. Vernon et al. (2005: 327) propose that “...sustainable tourism has to be holistic in its outlook in order to create a common vision and produce strategies that recognize the contributions of all stakeholders”.

The success of a destination is not only reliant on the creation of a shared vision, it also calls for a commitment and willingness to achieve that vision. Collaboration relies on those involved understanding that their efforts are interconnected. Situations such as this have led to stakeholders considering public sector bodies as having predominant value in guiding tourism development through regulatory means and other policy measures (Hall 1999b, Mair 2006, Briedenhann 2007, Cetinski et al. 2009, Zahra 2010). The umbrella function of local authorities offers the capacity to achieve cohesion between planning and implementation by first strategizing and then facilitating action between those implicated. Within stakeholder theory, government bodies are often seen in a parental role functioning as conflict resolvers and process guarantors (Freeman 1984). Their position, from a public management perspective, to treat complex problems has been previously discussed as that of facilitator in section 2.2.3 (page 27). Local authorities can act as a lynchpin, coordinating the multitude of small businesses involved in tourism. The significance of this role has been considered to the extent that without the support of rational policy and planning the actions of stakeholders are often futile (Nash and Martin 2003, Briedenhann 2007).

When the tourism system functions smoothly and relationships are complementary to each other, minimal intervention is deemed necessary. However the complexity of the system provokes a constant probability for change to disrupt harmony highlighting the
necessity for guidance and planning which takes into account the entire system. Gunn (2004) conveys that it is vital to understand the interrelationships which exist between tourism suppliers before tourism can be planned. The tourist experience is consumed as a series of connected services and events and consequently is evaluated as a whole. The dissatisfaction with one aspect of a trip can affect the perception of the complete visit (Mendes et al. 2010). Dmitrovic et al. (2009: 117) convey that “…achieving tourist satisfaction hinges on the collaboration and integration of multiple suppliers”. Accordingly, success is mutually dependent. Tung and Ritchie (2011: 1369) propose a definition of the tourist experience which conveys it as a socially constructed and connected concept, “An individual’s subjective evaluation and undergoing (i.e., affective, cognitive, and behavioural) of events related to his/her tourist activities which begins before (i.e., planning and preparation), during (i.e., at the destination), and after the trip (i.e., recollection)”. These elements are interwoven and the experiences encountered throughout will impress upon each other. This dictates a joined-up approach however in practice the complexity of relationships and requirements can prove to make this extremely difficult to manage.

The number of stakeholders involved in tourism raises difficulties in achieving consensual planning and agreement over strategic direction. The pervasiveness of tourism and what constitutes a tourism business or service remains ambiguous and indistinct from a general provision generating reluctance and an inability for any one sector to take responsibility. Consequently tourism is often a neglected industry when it comes to applying policy (Dodds and Butler 2010). A pernicious repercussion of varying perspectives has led to conflict of interest between the public and private sector in tourism development (Mathieson and Wall 2006, Holloway et al. 2009, Page and Connell 2009). Saxena (2006) speculates that this has instigated a fragmentation of governance demonstrated by multiple tourism groups reactively attempting to fill the gaps that policy leaves exposed. The result of this has seen evidence of self-interest and an absence of coherent strategy. While self-interest is an important motivational element for stakeholder involvement it can prove to be inhibitive to policy in instances where it overrides a larger collective interest (Dredge 2006a, Hall 2011b). Power
imbalances arising from a lack of public sector supervision were previously highlighted (in section 2.2.2 (page 23)) to affect the democratic value of collaboration. Indeed a holistically sustainable destination demands collaboration between the public and private sector and within these respective groups (Sharpley 2006, Hall 2008, Aylward 2009, George et al. 2009, Cheuk et al. 2010). However discussions often fail to progress beyond who should implement and control tourism policy. Disparate agendas result in disagreements pertaining to the level of protocol and the implications certain regulations may have on individual businesses (Ateljievic and Page 2009, Scott 2011). Some have suggested tourism’s permeation compels it necessary for consideration at a wider level and within a sustainability plan linked to economic, social and environmental factors rather than as a separate industry (Wilson et al. 2001, Jackson 2006, Saxena et al. 2007, Cawley and Gillmor 2008, Okech 2010). This reflects the argument to refrain from treating it in isolation within planning and policy frameworks, thus avoiding objectives which are contradictory or inhibitive to broader destination sustainability (Ioannides and Holcomb 2003, Grant 2004, Dwyer et al. 2009). However Stevenson et al. (2008: 8) perceive that the complexity of tourism leaves it, at a national and local level, “…discretionary, minimally funded and delivered on the margins of larger service areas”.

Hall (1999b) points out that the diverse nature of the tourism industry makes it difficult for government to fully comprehend. Identifying and understanding the social actors involved is perceived to offer considerable insight (Verbole 2003). Edgell et al. (2008: 2) propose that tourism “is not a single industry but instead an amalgam of industry sectors – a demand force and supply market, a personal experience and a complicated international phenomenon”. As such, in their seminal assessment of approaches used to study tourism, McIntosh et al. (1995) conclude a systems approach to be most fitting. They define a system as the formation of a unified whole through a set of inter-related groups which, when co-ordinated can be organised to accomplish a set of goals. Gunn (1994) proposes that within a functioning system, a change to one component of tourism (i.e. level of access provision) will affect every other aspect of the system as depicted overleaf within Figure 6:
Tourism spans boundaries and traverses industries and sectors. It adapts to reflect its external environment hence the interest in implementing a living systems approach in an attempt to understand it (Carlsen 1999, Tinsley and Lynch 2001). Living or open systems interact with the environment in which they find themselves and adapt or evolve to respond to changing environmental circumstances. Baggio (2008) describes the reorganisation at critical points of instability as “re-ordering” to deal with the changes taking place. Thus, tourism has regularly been described as an open system since it is inherently reactive to its surroundings (Leiper 1979, Culpan 1987, Jamal and Getz 1995, McKercher 1999, Farrell and Twining-Ward 2004, Scott 2011).
4.2.2 Tourism Stakeholders

Tourism activities scope accommodation, transportation, eateries, retail establishments, attractions, and other services and facilities a person may use whilst away from home (Goeldner and Ritchie 2009). Smith (1994: 582) illustrates the contribution of service providers as key elements of the generic tourism product by proposing that the industry constitutes “the facilitation of travel and activity of individuals away from their usual home environment”. The scope of suppliers involved in fulfilling the desires of tourists is thus broad since many will be associated with the travel upon which visitors may embark or the activities they may consume. Gyimothy (2000), in her analysis of service providers in the visitor experience, conjectures their role to be ancillary in allowing tourists to realise their anticipated experiences. The internal complexity for businesses engaging with visitor markets provokes the dilemma of striking a balance between a focus on personal sustainability and the knowledge that they are interdependent. Affording consideration to the broader scope of the destination will naturally come second to the attention stakeholders attribute to the well-being of their own affairs. However recognising that they are part of a broader canvas will ultimately determine the success of the destination and thus the probability of individual viability.

Contributing parties will have different requirements, goals and timelines which will not necessarily concur or happen simultaneously and attempts to satisfy personal agendas can lead to friction. Further, service providers who cater for the tourism market will, in many cases, be the same suppliers who serve local inhabitants, adding complexity to service delivery. The aspirations of tourists and residents will not necessarily correspond. Consider a native travelling to work who requires a fast, fuss-free service versus a visitor hoping to immerse themselves in the journey from place to place. Gratifying a spectrum of customers can prove challenging. The extent to which tourism is acknowledged for its primary benefit, the support it provides to economies, will motivate the likelihood of an entire host community enriching the tourist experience and the propensity for them to work collectively (Cawley and
Gillmor 2008). Practical efforts of transport stakeholder involvement in developing tourism has been evidenced in projects which cut across industry responsibility. Initiatives such as Caledonian MacBrayne’s (2014) “Island Hopping” and The Gaelic Rings (2014) project, evidence cross-industry collaboration to develop the tourist experience. Further, integrated marketing campaigns between transport providers and tourism bodies like Caledonian MacBrayne’s (2013) “Go Explore” and Northlink Ferries’ (2013) “Far isn’t Far”, provide additional examples of a desire on the part of transport stakeholders to promote the tourism offering. Mendes et al. (2010: 112) postulate that “…the experience of the tourist consists of a continuous flux of related and integrated services which are acquired during a limited period of time, often in different geographical areas”. They consider that the subjective way in which these services are perceived and consumed will influence the experience and memories of a destination highlighting the importance of synergy between the various elements. This accentuates the interdependency of the industry and demonstrates that many actors may be involved in constructing what is often termed the “tourist experience”. For this reason tourism has also been frequently applied to the framework of stakeholder theory (Jamal and Getz 1995, Sautter and Leisen 1999, Bramwell and Sharman 1999, Sheehan and Ritchie 2005, Easterling 2005, Byrd 2007, Nilsson 2007).

It was Freeman’s ground breaking work within Strategic Management: A Stakeholder Approach published in 1984 that propelled the concept of stakeholder theory forward in academia. His conceptual definition remains a classic (Goodpaster 1991, Rowley 1997, Sternberg 1997, Frooman 1999, Berman et al. 1999, Jawahar and McLaughlin 2001, Phillips et al. 2003, Friedman and Mills 2006). Freeman (1984: 52) defines stakeholders as “…groups and individuals who can affect, or are affected by, the achievement of an organisation’s mission”. However this has since been criticised for its ambiguity and, through a deconstruction approach, Mitchell et al. (1997) offer further precision by suggesting that stakeholder attributes centre on a possession of power, legitimacy and urgency. Donaldson and Preston (1995) contribute that only a group or individual who has a legitimate interest will be considered a genuine stakeholder. Gray (1985) adds that within collaborative decision-making legitimacy
involves a stakeholder having: a right and capacity to participate in the process; the potential to be impacted by the actions of other stakeholders and therefore justification to become involved so as to moderate these impacts; and the resources and skills (capacity) necessary to participate. Therefore for the purposes of this thesis and with guidance from the previously mentioned definitions, a stakeholder will be considered as a party who holds a legitimate interest, right and capacity for participation because of their ability to affect and be affected by decision-making. Stakeholder theory conveys that relationships are intertwined with the success of outcomes. Positive or negative effects endured by one party will impact upon the others indicating that stakeholder theory exists within an open system. Inclusivity remains a key concept of the framework. A breadth of participation and good communication are necessary to allow for constructive interchange and to acknowledge as wide a scope of participants and needs as possible (Wilson et al. 2001, Litman 2009). The consequences of this are an enhanced problem-solving capacity and increased legitimacy of policy-making by gaining a more complete and balanced picture (Faulkner 2011).

Stakeholder involvement in policy development has been associated with democratic decision-making and community participation (Byrd and Gustke 2007, Ansell and Gash 2007, Roloff 2008, Aylward 2009, Scott 2011). De Bussy and Kelly (2010) argue that precise identification of who should be involved in the process of policy formulation and implementation is persistently onerous. However it is a critical step in effectuating good governance since there is a limited capacity for stakeholder management (Mitchell et al. 1997, Cooper et al. 2009, Mainardes et al. 2011). Colebatch (2006) considers the challenge this presents since ultimately policy-making is an intersection of diverse agendas and not the accomplishment of some known goal. A consistent threat to stakeholder identification is the propensity for power to override other key attributes held by contributors. In order to equalise and manage the distribution of power among stakeholders, critics have argued that the local authority may be the most appropriate convenor (Jamal and Getz 1995, Middleton and Hawkins 1998, Nash and Martin 2003, Briedenhann 2007, Fyall et al. 2012). However this assumes that they will remain a neutral arbiter.
Whilst community participation remains critical to the development of legitimate and sustainable policy creation (Gladwin et al. 1995, Richards and Hall 2000, Fraser et al. 2006, Bousset et al. 2007, Kayat 2008, Dodds and Butler 2010, Panyik et al. 2011) the inclusion of innumerable stakeholders can lead to adverse outcomes. Nonetheless, local actors are closest to the situation and understand what it takes to deliver the activities associated with advancing strategic thinking through to implementation. In peripheries local knowledge is indispensable and local people are often best placed to understand the problems that exist and paths to resolution despite the fact that they may lack the resources to implement required action (Henegan 2002). It is therefore broadly considered for community participation to assist in the creation of sustainable local policies (Dredge et al. 2006, Byrd 2007, Shen et al. 2008). Murphy (1985) perceives tourism to be ingrained within communities which he proposes intensifies the more remote and close knit they become. Therefore tourism cannot be isolated from the communities in which they exist and removed from the issues those communities face.

Local input is fundamental to engendering a more cooperative reception when it comes to operationalising objectives (Vernon et al. 2005, Kayat 2008, Simpson 2008, Wray 2009). Butler (2002b) conveys that the integration of local stakeholders at the planning stage increases efficiency by speeding up the process through the provision of access to local knowledge and skills. Furthermore, he asserts that communities who participate at the early stages of decision-making help to avert problems which could arise within the operational phase since the process remains better informed. The movement through the stages of planning to implementation to operation to evaluation facilitates a collective experience. This evokes within participants, impressions of commitment and trust as relationships develop and actors become better acquainted. It has also been argued that allowing communities to develop consensus through involvement incites ownership and empowerment. Byrd (2007) considers these elements to be amongst the key steps to achieving effective collaboration within tourism. Therefore stakeholder identification is required to determine the relevance
and salience of appropriate players for the critical representation locals provide in the policy-making process.

4.3 The Economic Value of Tourism
The debate around tourism as an industry which is not easy to clearly distinguish also applies to its economic value. The boundaries surrounding who and what pertain to tourism are blurred which leaves it as a phenomenon difficult to accurately quantify (Fletcher 1989, Dredge et al. 2006, Clark and Chabrel 2007). With its permeation into many businesses and sectors there has been criticism of the perception for tourism to provide a panacea and what has been considered an over-inflation of its real value. Temptation to skew economic results to fit predetermined political expectations has also been demonstrated (Tyrrell and Johnston 2006, Crompton 2006). Graci and Dodds (2010) discuss a dependency on tourism in island destinations resulting from government’s suggestion that it is worth more than is actually the case with measurement in gross rather than net terms. However because of the complexity of the industry it is perhaps difficult to draw clear financial delineations as to what pertains tourism income. In island areas seasonality can disturb a consistent flow of visitors and it is therefore often the case for islanders to play a temporary role in the tourism industry or to juggle more than one job (Kokkranikal et al. 2003, Getz and Nilsson 2004, Baldacchino 2006c, Okech 2010). Within the service industry a restaurateur or shopkeeper may consider themselves as predominantly serving the local population however the visitor market often accounts for a significant proportion of their clientele, particularly during high season. This leads to a lack of clarity on what exactly is considered relative to tourism as the financial contributions remain ambiguous and many sources are indirect (Baggio 2008, Hall and Lew 2009, WTTC 2011).

Stakeholders hold varying perceptions as to the part they play and the level of involvement they possess. Although not always the main occupation, tourism can provide an attractive secondary income to many island natives due to the ease of incorporating tourism services into other industries. For example much has been made
of the connection between agriculture and tourism activities in rural areas generating a profitable diversification strategy (Connell 1991, Sharpley and Vass 2006, Wilson and Edwards 2008, Phillip et al. 2010). The food industry is another illustration of the development of intersectoral relationships within rural tourism since there is a strong traditional association with activities such as agriculture, fishing and the land (or destination) itself. Cross-industry activities present attractive opportunities for strategists in rural development since they provide a mechanism through which to embed cultural tradition into the tourism experience (Quan and Wang 2004, Hall et al. 2005, Garrod et al. 2006). A by-product of making connections between industries and sectors helps stakeholders to consider the broader impacts of tourism by gaining an insight into the challenges and opportunities faced by fellow organisations but in different circumstances. Establishing cross-sectoral relationships between stakeholders provides the potential to maximise what are often considered scarcer resources than might be found in central hubs. The potential scope of economic influence the tourism industry has on a community expounds reason for an expansive number of people to hold a keen interest in its robustness and a purpose for desiring input in the decision-making process (Moyle et al. 2010).

4.3.1 The Place for Tourism Economies in the Policy Environment
Central to effective tourism development and management is the communication of clear policy and appropriate architecture facilitating mechanisms to ensure capacity for its implementation (Conlin and Baum 1995). A key driver for the heightened place of tourism in policy objectives is the stake governments have in the industry due to the contribution it can make to local economies. The support tourism revenue provides peripheral areas is often intensified since it may be one of few options they have to generate a source of income. This motivates the rationale to secure tourism development increased scrutiny on the political agenda (Boopen 2006, Edgell et al. 2008, Scottish Government 2010c). As such, tourism has been a regular feature in policy objectives albeit often as an indirect recipient of attention delivered to other policy areas depending on what current ministerial objectives exist.
Page et al. (2010) point out that neglecting the political importance of tourism could compromise its economic significance while Moutinho (2011) argues that there is evidence of a failure within policy to acknowledge the contributions tourism provides to broader social and economic development. Although tourism expenditure can provide significant benefits through taxation revenue, its ability to support businesses through the utilisation of services demonstrates its value at a local level. The wider mutual benefits which are seen to be delivered to the community through tourism include aspects such as the development of infrastructure, services and facilities. The provision of elements like good quality public amenities and reliable transport services will indeed enhance the tourist experience however these improved provisions will also remain available to the local population as a long term legacy (Deloitte 2008, Visit England 2010). Understanding the broader contribution tourism can generate will determine the likelihood of government investment in infrastructure and services for its purpose, and thus the continuing holistic prosperity of a destination.

4.4 Collaborative Destination Management

While much collaboration in tourism has emerged as a response to complexity and the need for joint input, it has also been politically driven (Zapata and Hall 2011). The modernisation of the public sector saw the introduction of NPM and a wave of reform geared towards effectiveness within public services. This stimulated an increase in the public and private sector working together with an outsourcing of public services via partnerships. PPPs have proved to be a popular tool for inter-sectoral engagement in the development of destinations (Beaumont and Dredge 2010, Osmankovic et al. 2010). Lone actors do not possess the resources necessary to deliver tourism thus providing the impetus for collective working (Woolcock and Narayan 2000). Bagaric (2010) notes that the adoption of PPPs in destination management has resulted in increased service quality, accelerated economic growth and more effective management. An important role of PPPs in public services has been to increase capacity. Greater accessibility has led to a rise in consumer choice of where to visit and the propensity to travel to more remote destinations. The significance of presenting an attractive destination has grown, particularly for places that have carved out a heavy
reliance on tourism economies. As a result competition is inevitable and attaining destination attractiveness is paramount to establishing dominance in the marketplace (Youell 2003, Loureiro and Gonzalez 2008).

It is broadly considered that tourist satisfaction is increased by the collaboration of service provision within a destination (Butler 2002b, Petrou et al. 2007, Baggio et al. 2010) and more can be achieved when there is an integrative approach to destination management (Bousset et al. 2007, Clark and Chabrel 2007, Cawley and Gillmor 2008, McCool and Moisey 2008, Hall and Lew 2009, Baggio 2011). The strength of relationships among stakeholders will increase the ability of an area to achieve a competitive advantage (Jamal and Getz 1995, Novelli et al. 2006, March and Wilkinson 2009). This is strongly aligned with the earlier conversation in section 2.4.2 (page 48) within which Hansen (2009) posits that collaboration generates competitiveness. The concept of collaborative advantage and the attainment of something that could not have been achieved by organisations working alone reflects the interconnected nature of tourism and the interdependency which exists within the industry. Participation in collaborative activities provides the opportunity to develop networks and relationships which can serve as an interface for stakeholders with likeminded intentions (Pavlovich 2008).

Whilst contractual exchanges underpin much of the principal-agent relationship between government and service provider, there is less emphasis on the informal linkages which transpire through joint working processes. These are proportionately more evident in peripherals where personal and professional relationships frequently overlap and the significance of them should not be underestimated, particularly when applied to intersectoral relations (Saxena 2006, Petrou et al. 2007, Ilbery et al. 2007, Gazley 2008, O’Flynn et al. 2011). Informal relationships also hold acclaim within transaction-cost theory since they can provide a shortcut to leveraging resources without the need for lengthily protracted approval processes. A move from formal to personal and legal to psychological affiliations are considered to be fundamental to
sustainable interorganisational relationships (Ring and Van De Ven 1994, Thomson et al. 2009). While interaction in collaboration occurs through formal as well as informal relationships the latter are vital in building social capital and providing open and organic mechanisms of negotiation. With reference to Putnam’s (1995) work on the study of social capital, Lowndes and Wilson (2001: 630) consider that:

People learn to trust one another through face-to-face interaction in associations and informal social networks; norms of trust and reciprocity ‘spill over’ into society at large; a capacity is created for collective action in pursuit of shared goals.

4.5 Destination Governance

In the past decade and in line with wider political trends, the role of governance has had an increased influence on tourism policy and planning attracting much academic discussion (Svensson et al. 2005, Sainaghi 2006, Dredge 2006b, Beritelli et al. 2007, Beaumont and Dredge 2010, Bramwell 2011, Moscardo 2011, Erkus-Ozturk 2012). In an effort to progress the efficiency debate of NPM, a broader participation and liability through outsourcing and privatisation drove a reduction in the role of government which downsized the extent of their responsibility in tourism (Dredge et al. 2006, Beaumont and Dredge 2010, Zapata and Hall 2011). A diminished source of public funding for tourism in recent years has also increased the reliance on the private sector to support the industry (Bagaric 2010, Moutinho et al. 2011). The hollowing out of the state sought to disperse governing responsibilities among a wider range of non-government parties which culminated in the emergence of multi-level governance (Rhodes 1997, Jessop 1998, Pierre and Peters 2000, Kersbergen and Waarden 2004). This has not been an easy task as people have sought to understand the appropriate place for government in the mediation of contemporary tourism issues. What has transpired is a shift in their role from ‘manager’ to ‘facilitator’ or ‘enabler’ (Hall 1999b, Mair 2006, Briedenhann 2007, Cetinski et al. 2009).
Government interest in tourism is distinctly driven by the economic benefits which can be realised by the industry and through their duty to supervise and negating unfavourable scenarios of over-development and unfair competition. They are ultimately seen as the purse holders of potential funding for tourism activities and they possess a responsibility to ensure that development models for tourism are sustainable and consistent across social, economic, cultural and environmental policy domains. Thus while government bodies may have an amended function in tourism, their role is still one of significance. Bowles and Gintis (2002: 434) highlight that within the governance context, “face-to-face local interactions of community are not a substitute for effective government but rather a complement [to it]”. Local government holds an important position in cultivating the conditions necessary for good governance. Wallis and Dollery (2002) argue that the ability of local government to contribute to governance processes rests on their facilitation of institutional capacity, technical capacity, administrative capacity and political capacity.

The expansion of players necessary within a governance scenario has led to an emphasis of attention being paid to the social relations and social capital between government bodies, businesses and civil society (Larson 1992, Putnam 1993, Stoker 1998, Bowles and Gintis 2002). Dredge and Beaumont (2010: 8) describe governance to reflect the “…dynamics and interdependencies between politics, public policy and communities of interest”. Evans (1996) suggests that the synergies between these entities are more effectively achieved when the relations extend beyond complementarity and reflect “embeddedness”. Dredge et al. (2006) argue that while static tourism plans are redundant those which involve a living strategy with the capacity to remain adaptive to changing needs and conditions will prevail. This supports earlier conversation on the functioning tourism system in section 4.2.1 (page 100) and indicates symbiosis between planning and the complexity of the environment to which the plans pertain. Co-ownership and co-construction of fundamental strategy decisions and directions between stakeholders and communities will ensure that changes in elected representatives and political leadership refrain from resulting in major deviations. A governance approach provides a steering mechanism thus
acknowledging the perspectives of those who will be key to the implementation of any agreements.

4.5.1 The Role of the DMO in Tourism Governance

Great interest has followed the discussions surrounding the role of the DMO in the mechanics of local level governance. The growth in literature has endeavoured to understand destinations as *systems* through DMOs, and the operational dynamics which exist within these complex environments. Pearce (1992: 5) provides a description of the tourism industry which offers a concise rationale for the existence of DMOs:

> Interdependence, small size, market fragmentation, and spatial separation are all factors which may lead to a desire for combined action, a willingness to unite to achieve common goals, a need to form tourist organizations.

DMOs attempt to provide a co-ordinated effort to attract and guide tourism through the inclusion and input of local stakeholders. They are perceived as a means by which to invoke consensus-building and strategic planning in order to develop and sustain a competitive advantage (Dwyer and Kim 2003, Fyall et al. 2012, Pechlaner et al. 2012). Tkaczynski et al. (2009) argue that influencing consumer decision-making will depend upon the use of a consistent approach by all stakeholders operating within a single destination.

The abbreviation ‘DMO’ is often used interchangeably for destination *marketing* organisation or destination *management* organisation. The former are clearly labelled as to their prime motive with the obvious objective of promoting an area. However Destination *management* organisations also typically contain a marketing function since part of the management role is conceived to include publicising what the area
has on offer (Buhalis 2000, Presenza et al. 2005, Sainaghi 2006, Bornhorst et al. 2010, Osmankovic et al. 2010). Although many descriptions of the responsibilities of a destination management organisation exist, Baggio (2008: 4) asserts that they generally include, “…policy enforcement, strategic and operational planning, and marketing and developing the product offering (coordinating both public and private assets)”. Ritchie and Crouch (2003) and Maclellan (2011) propose that although the epitome of a DMO is based on the promotion of a mutually created image, the modern concept is to adopt the translation of the ‘M’ to represent management as opposed to simply marketing, thus stretching the boundaries of what it aims to achieve. A sustainable destination management system must consider the broader well-being of a region if it is to present a holistic approach to the governance of an area. Effective destination management requires a broad stakeholder input on the basis that as well as serving tourism needs, destination systems must also consider the communities within which they function (Howie 2003). Therefore an understanding of all the factors influencing and being influenced by tourism need to be established. As such DMOs have repositioned themselves to take into account both the buyer and host communities they represent (Gretzel et al. 2006).

The destinations within which DMOs operate have been described by Buhalis (2000: 98) as “…a geographical region which is understood by its visitors as a unique entity with a political and legislative framework for tourism marketing and planning”. This definition can be related back to the discussion around the significance of island identity and the perceived benefits of an established perimeter in fomenting ownership. The strong sense of place associated with islandness reinforces the concept of them as distinct destinations (Jackson 2006). Morgan et al. (2003) argue that in distinguishing one island destination from another, attracting visitors is about winning hearts and minds, and place promotion through distinct territory branding. Islanders generally consider the communal territory to be the island itself, not the country within which it functions on the periphery, even though jurisdiction may be centrally based. Hence the demand for self-governing abilities and some level of insular autonomy in order for local planning and strategy to draw influence from the consideration of local strengths,
weaknesses, opportunities and threats (Lim and Cooper 2009, Nunkoo and Gursoy 2012, Amoamo 2013). The process of ownership in destinations is multi-dimensional. Boundaries have been seen to provide clarity of territory in the island scenario and participation in decision-making can enhance democracy thus perpetuating ownership and in turn responsibility. Islanders perceive their accountability to be principally directed to the immediate destination – their island.

While the majority of DMOs may be led by the public facing cohort of industry much of their budget will be derived from public sector funding (Sheehan and Ritchie 2005, Pechlaner et al. 2012). Thus DMOs are commonly regarded to exemplify the use of PPPs within tourism since they involve the collective efforts from both public sector and private industry (Bagaric 2010, Osmankovic et al. 2010). The extent to which they do indeed feature participation from both public and private organisations determines the significance of role the DMO will play in destination governance since ‘governance’ is described as “the ways individuals and institutions, public and private, manage their common affairs” (CGG 1995: 2). DMOs are perceived as an amalgamation of what both sectors have to offer in their collective pursuit of destination attractiveness and destination sustainability. The strength of presence and scope of power and legitimacy a DMO has within a destination will be reflected in the recognition of it as a credible governance mechanism (Beritelli et al. 2007).

Within Scotland the relationship between industry and the role of the public sector has been tumultuous. The last decade has seen the re-structuring of the national tourism organisation (from Scottish Tourist Board (STB) to its current title, VisitScotland) and also a revision of the responsibilities for which it is held accountable. The changes involved have been significant. They pertained not only to the STB but also saw the consolidation of the Area Tourist Boards’ (ATB) structure from what had previously been 14 regional offices (reduced from 34 in 1994) to a single country-wide organisation in 2005. This process has been unsettling for industry members who have had to contend with an understanding of the new architecture and how this affected
them directly in terms of implementation and delivery. Further, the change in format has been considered ineffective in providing bridging between policy-makers and private sector businesses (Harwood 2009). VisitScotland have since created 15 Area Tourism Partnerships (ATP) with the intention of providing an improved link between the public and private sector and a vehicle with which to engage the industry. However in the years following the re-structure the initial feeling was that the demise of independent ATBs had created a void at the local level and this instigated the emergence of other forms of, predominantly industry led, management and marketing groups.

At the last count it was proposed that there are currently 286 DMOs and trade groups operating throughout Scotland (EETC 2012a). Research on the attributes of successful and sustainable destination management indicates strong support for incorporating a collaborative and unified approach. Fragmented efforts to promote and manage a destination can result in a duplication and contradiction of efforts. Gretzel et al. (2006: 124) report that this is not unusual, “Unfortunately, many DMOs engage in destination management that is based on broad zoning, development by chance, limited integration, little cohesion, and a very fragmented vision”. The message from VisitScotland (2009: 2) in response to the surge of independent tourism groups intent on filling the gaps that were perceived to have been left by the disappearance of the ATBs was resolute in its ambition to create a strong and singular national image for Scotland:

One of the key dangers that we must be aware of in Scotland is the dilution of effort. Different parts of Scotland must not compete against each other. VisitScotland does not support destination marketing organisations, whose sole purpose is the promotion of an area. These are too often focused solely on selling an area without necessarily having the supporting, consistent management of the quality of experience. Well intentioned attempts to develop destination management organisations can evolve into destination marketing
operations because of an inability to effectively manage local product delivery over a great number of independent businesses.

However the initial attempt of a top-down blanket approach which was centrally driven failed to be universally embraced locally. This led to an acceptance from VisitScotland that a broader acknowledgement of local input and the desires of local stakeholders would be necessary in achieving sustainability. The exact fit and optimal role of those involved is still a matter open to debate. A consequence of the visibility and prevalence of local DMOs has resulted in the Scottish Parliament’s Economy, Energy and Tourism Committee (EETC) (2012b: 13) recognising their significance and the need for more collective local level strategic input:

We detect a more open environment from VisitScotland in recent years to embrace the idea of more localised tourism partnerships, such as Destination Management Organisations (DMOs), being established. We urge VisitScotland to carry on in this vein and ensure that it embraces DMOs, city marketing bodies etc.

This demonstrates the significant voice of local industry providers when it comes to destination management. The importance of tourism economies and therefore industries has led to the desire for local stakeholders to possess greater influence on strategic direction and the utilisation of regional funding and resource allocation. As well as providing management frameworks, DMOs have served as a mouthpiece for local businesses that are dependent on a buoyant tourism industry. As such these organisations feel an obvious need for involvement in the decision-making process and have created civic groups which have become powerful lobbying outlets. However with varying viewpoints, conflicts between stakeholders are inevitable as individuals pursue political outcomes that primarily meet their own needs making state intervention in many cases a necessity (Briedenhann and Wickens 2004).
4.6 The Role of Transport Systems in Tourism Development

Effective transport systems are fundamental to destination development and therefore the ability to generate sustainable visitor markets (Prideaux 2000, Yeoman et al. 2007, Leslie 2009, Page and Connell 2009, Holloway et al. 2009, Gössling et al. 2009, Henderson 2009). Some would argue that they demonstrate *the* most important component of tourism since they provide its facilitation. The modes and networks in a transport system implement travel *to, from* and *within* a destination generating movement so critical that without it tourism as an activity would not exist (Sorupia 2005, Dickinson et al. 2009, Sznajder et al. 2009). Duval (2007: 6) conveys that “…the importance of accessibility is such that the ability of a destination to attract tourists is largely contingent on the availability and efficiency of transport needed to travel to that destination”.

Transport systems have a broad influence on the well-being of destinations. A consequence of their importance to both national and local economies is demonstrated in the careful monitoring they receive by governments (Prideaux 2000, Hull 2005, Halden 2011). The opportunity for access and a fluidity of movement to and from an area are intrinsic to its welfare and growth, and mobility has a substantial impact on a region’s competitiveness and prosperity (Duval 2007, Page 2009a). The attractiveness of transport provisions will go some way to determining the development potential of visitor markets (Hui and Wan 2003, Hall et al. 2005, Boopen 2006, Khadaroo and Seetanah 2008, Page and Ge 2009). The ease of accessibility is a significant motivator in a tourist’s choice of destination thus accrediting effective transport systems keen attention in destination planning and management (Sorupia 2005, Thompson and Schofield 2007).

There is relatively little understanding as to the impact transport systems have on the *direct* value of the tourism sector (Page et al. 2010). Consequently the influence of transport on tourism markets, tourism development and the economies they generate is often underestimated. It is generally assumed acceptable for visitors to adjust to
existing destination provisions regardless of their suitability. Services are predominantly designed for and focussed on the pursuits of residents (Holden and Linnerud 2011). However local populations are rarely the exclusive customer. The prevalence of visitor markets in a destination will be likely to influence consideration of the tourism consumer within transport planning. In rural areas, tourism revenue is often responsible for providing essential support to the sustainability of infrequent and largely unfeasible services (Lohmann and Duval 2011, Deery et al. 2012). This poses a predicament in determining the extent to which transport policy and planning should consider visitor markets. It is a laborious task for planning officers to differentiate between the needs and requirements of its entire clientele and to ensure the gratification of all parties. As such many areas fail to provide transport solutions which achieve the expectations of both groups. Seasonality adds further complexity to the scenario since it contributes to intermittent schedule changes upsetting the consistency of provision. Amendments made to intermodal transport can disrupt connections impinging upon the propensity to offer seamless travel (Duval 2007). Understanding the level of impact transport has on tourism development will allow for more informed decision-making and a better defence for the allocation of subsidisation.

Although complex, it is critical to ensure that transport services, particularly in areas with significant tourism markets consider the needs of both residents and visitors alike in terms of routes and frequency for systems to be effective to the broader scope of consumer. Well planned transportation will contribute to high levels of destination sustainability if services can remain attractive and consistent. Sustainable economic development requires a transport system adequate to cope with the demand of tourist flow without exceeding the carrying capacity of the area and effective destination management is therefore mandatory (Sorupia 2005, Page and Connell 2009).

Access also has a remit in enabling social development within communities by diminishing isolation and enabling people to reach employment, healthcare, schooling and social activities. While isolation can be prohibitive to the movement of local
people out of an area it can also curb the arrival of visitors thus impacting upon the potential to develop tourism markets and in turn a source of local income (Nash and Martin 2003, Payet 2010). The lucrative opportunity that tourism provides in generating revenue within islands relies upon the multiple parties involved in providing a range of services and products consumed by tourists. The extent to which this can be exploited will be dictated by the degree of engagement between stakeholders to create a product which is well designed and attractive to its consumers (Selin and Chavez 1995, Henderson 2009, Jamal and Stronza 2009, Gopalan and Narayan 2010).

With tourism proving a significantly valuable industry within island areas and ease of access perceived to have such an influence on destination choices, a comprehensive understanding of the relationship between the two would logically seem imperative. However research remains lacking, specifically between transport and tourism in Scotland (McQuaid and Greig 2003, Thompson and Ferguson 2007) even though the tourism industry is consistently cited as critical to Scottish island economies and considered a key growth sector for them (Scottish Executive 2006, Freeman et al. 2009, Scottish Government 2010b, HIE 2012). Payet (2010) expresses that rural transport may be characterised and driven by tourism requirements in regions where there is a high level of importance attributed to the revenue leisure visitors can bring to peripheral areas. In contrast, Thompson and Schofield’s (2007) study findings suggest that the tourism market in urban areas has little influence on public transport which is generally centred on the requirements of the local population. This presents an argument to support increased attention on transport services in rural communities and the influence of tourism markets since research outcomes indicate a correlation.

Despite the obvious and critical link between the two industries and the role of transport as a key agent in destination development, the relationship between them is considered marginalised in research (Cooper et al. 2008, Dickinson and Robbins 2008, Khadaroo and Seetanah 2008, Holloway et al. 2009, Page and Connell 2009, Gössling
et al. 2009, Cheuk et al. 2010). Within the Scottish context, accessibility via public transport is considered to be one of the biggest challenges for rural development (Thompson and Ferguson 2007, CRC 2008, Wilson and Edwards 2008). Furthermore, transport and accessibility in rural Scotland are commonly cited inadequacies within visitor feedback; namely a lack of integrative modes, high cost and poor infrastructure (OECD 2008, Scottish Government 2010a). These issues strengthen the justification for increased scrutiny.

4.7 Transport as the Transit Route

Leiper’s (1979) development of the geographical elements of tourism directs attention to the idea of a transit route region which acts as a conduit for travellers moving between their homes to their holiday locations and back again. He considers the transit route as the central concept within a three stage theoretical model which can be seen below in Figure 7.

Figure 7: The Geographical Elements of Tourism

Source: Leiper (1979)
The tourist generating region begins the process. This is the residential base, where the visitor experiences the “push” factors instigating their travels, and from where the journey to the destination begins. Interestingly Leiper (1979) points out that within the transit route region new destinations can be discovered en route which may not have been planned but are due to enticement along the way. This reflects discussion which has arisen to make an ontological application to the tourist journey with consideration of it as a significant part of the tourism experience and not just as a means to an end (Pearce 1992, Hall 1999a, Boopen 2006, Rigas 2009, Lohmann and Duval 2011). As Baum (1997: 21) considers the journey to an island, he conveys that, “There is something special and different about getting into a boat or an aeroplane as a necessity in order to reach your destination…”

The transit route region is suggested by Leiper (1979) to be the main transportation component of tourism since the efficiency and quality it possesses will greatly influence tourist flows. Through this stage tourists are delivered to their destination where they will stay temporarily until they return back through the transit route region to the generating region in a cycle. Some have criticised Leiper’s model for failing to consider the inclusion of travel undertaken within the tourist destination region, between accommodation and attraction (Prideaux 2000). Travel from a tourist’s home to the point of departure is also omitted, even though the ease with which this is carried out may impact upon the perception of the holiday as a whole. This reflects previous dialogue made within this thesis that tourism encounters are evaluated holistically, from the planning through to implementation and then the appraisal of what has been experienced as an afterthought. For further reference to discussion on this, see section 4.2.1 (page 100). Failing to acknowledge all mediums of travel at every stage of the tourist journey prevents a more complete overview of the influence transport systems have on the tourist experience. Leiper (1979) conveys that what is consistent throughout the transitional process from generating to destination region and within each of these regional components themselves is the interaction with a variety of
providers and contributors. How the experience is integrated will depend upon the ability of these suppliers to collaborate effectively.

4.8 The Relationship between Transport and Tourism

The relationship between transport and tourism is interdependent since they are reliant on each other to achieve destination attractiveness. While consistency and frequency are necessary in transport services to initially attract a flow of visitors, there also must be a reason to visit (Thompson and Schofield 2007). The numerous elements which combine to form a credible tourism experience involves the input of many individuals. Presenting the visitor market with the most enticing and efficient offer, allowing seamless movement and providing a balance of services and activities will translate into buoyant tourist markets. Dickinson and Dickinson (2006) argue that the impact of influence poor accessibility has on destinations can discourage visitors from attempting to reach these places altogether. Both parties stand to achieve the economic benefit distributed through tourism if they are able to demonstrate an attractive product. Their relationship is therefore reciprocal in nature since together they will reinforce and influence each other and the actions of one party will directly affect the other. This scenario presents an obvious rationale for collaborative behaviour. However the realisation of an effective relationship depends on a combination of antecedents and factors which will facilitate and then maintain an environment conducive to collaboration.

The complexity of interorganisational collaboration between transport and tourism requires stakeholder relationships to not only work across industries but also to traverse the public and private sector. Within Scotland the role of transport provision is heavily supported by the state with a high level of subsidies to rural areas (Docherty et al. 2007, Thompson and Ferguson 2007). Therefore the structural distinction of the transport industry, which is heavily influenced by public sector intervention, contrasts with the complex network of independent small and medium enterprises (SME) that
make up the tourism industry. This embeds a challenge greater than those notoriously faced by same sector or same industry collaborations.

Rural transport is characterised by isolated and low density populations that are often required to travel longer distances than their urban counterparts. Accordingly, transport manifests as a critical element in the sustainability of remote communities (Payet 2010). The ability of transport to significantly affect the vitality of peripheries in terms of social and economic performance raises the rural transport theme on the policy agenda thus ensuring access is maintained (Guiver et al. 2007). The safeguarding of transport routes and infrastructure is an imperative role for public sector since it is unlikely that many services in remote regions will demonstrate viability, much less profitability. However the policy relationship between transport and tourism is often non-cohesive with many political objectives acting separately from each other (King 2007, Weston and Davies 2007, Page 2009a). The processes governments follow in assessing and integrating transport provision with tourism development requires greater clarity and unity (Lohmann and Duval 2011). A clear delineation should be apparent as to how they reflect in the greater economic well-being of an area, giving consideration to destination growth and development prospects. The breadth of stakeholder participation and interconnectedness of problems across a variety of policy areas stimulates the need for a collaborative approach across sectors when it comes to managing service delivery in rural communities (CRC 2008, Kauppila et al. 2009). Affording attention to the destination holistically and pursuing policy objectives which are aligned will help to avoid conflicting goals which undermine rather than support each other (Christensen and Laegreid 2007, Emerson et al. 2012).

Cross-sector collaboration is often a pathway for organisations to engage across sectoral boundaries. The incentive of generating a greater capacity of potential by broadening knowledge and skills is perceived to diminish gaps within the extent of individual capabilities (Sullivan et al. 2002, Greenwald 2008, Dienhart and Ludescher
Remote areas are considered to face increased resource challenges, particularly in the context of service delivery. It therefore seems logical to pursue a collaborative approach in order to maximise the value and prosperity of rural communities while attempting to align how mutually encountered obstacles are overcome. The benefit of collaboration lies in the opportunity to expand capacity by broadening the scope of ability thus generating a more comprehensive understanding of and conjoined vision for the destination (Greenwald 2008, Dienhart and Ludescher 2010).

4.9 Conclusion
The fragmented and complicated nature of tourism systems promotes their study through the lens of chaos theory and complexity theory. This has helped to illustrate that the performance of tourism destinations are interdependent on each constituent part. Individually, actors remain under-resourced in their ability to create a comprehensive tourism experience. This results in an industry which is considered as a whole greater than the sum of its parts. A key part, and arguably one of the most fundamental elements, is a visitor’s ease of accessibility in reaching a destination. Efficient transport provisions within tourism systems are therefore critically important. The fluidity of movement to and from an area not only impacts upon the welfare of the resident communities but also determines the level of attractiveness as conceived by visitor markets.

The interrelatedness of stakeholders involved in tourism has made it difficult for governmental management, despite a desire for public sector input. Varying objectives, structures and output measurements has left tourism as an industry difficult to regulate and monitor. However the importance of planning in order to provide a level of co-ordination amongst contributing parties and for the creation of coherency within vision and strategy warrants the involvement of public sector agencies. Their value has been recognised within a facilitatory role. Public sector capacity is deemed to offer a more holistic overview of the mechanics of the entire destination with the potential to surpass a single industry or single sector focus. The critical source of income that tourism generates is a fundamental driver for the involvement of public
bodies. This also influences the creation of policy objectives that support the development of a sustainable tourism industry. The multiplier effect it delivers within these peripheral destinations provides the advocacy for a governmental input to ensure consistency and spread of revenue.

The capacity of access to significantly affect the viability of rural regions has also raised the theme of transport on the policy agenda. While an understanding remains unknown of the extent to which transport systems directly impact upon the value of the tourism sector, a need for consistent and frequent connections is undoubtedly critical in presenting attractive destinations. An appreciation of this has been illustrated through the involvement of public agencies in transport funding with subsidies safeguarding the consistency of access throughout the peripheral destinations studied. However the ambiguity of a tourism business versus a general public service provision has previously resulted in agendas which are disparate with various sectors developing disjointed control and implementation measures with regards to tourism management. This has been particularly evident in the discussion surrounding a differentiation between transport as a service provision and transport as a component of tourism and its role within the overall tourism experience.

Objectives which are required to cross industries as well as sectors such as is the case of the transport-tourism relationship generate scenarios of increased complexity. This has led to suggestion that tourism needs to be considered from an open system perspective likely to respond and change in line with its environmental circumstances therefore requiring a broad but flexible approach to management. It has also been demonstrated that policy development which is considered to be relevant and achievable requires community participation within decision-making in the form of legitimate stakeholder involvement. Which stakeholders should be involved depends on the criteria of the situation and their salience within it. This too must be carefully monitored in order to avoid inertia associated with excessive input becoming preventative of action.
The need for public and private sector input has been driven practically through the requirements for a joint response to issues which have a broad capacity of impact. The motivation for a collaborative relationship between public and private sector stakeholders has also been influenced by policy initiatives which have instigated integration for the purposes of responsiveness and an increased capacity to deliver. Although this has occurred as a reaction to the complexity of problems faced at a destination level, it also reflects the move from mechanisms of government to governance and the political acknowledgement of the state’s limited capacity. As a result, local DMOs have begun to play a more prominent role and are attaining increased legitimacy in the governance of destination management. This had led to a heightened recognition that the success of destinations will be contingent on the input and involvement of a varied set of stakeholders who contribute to the tourism product and experience. The ability to engage effectively, across sectors and industries will determine the capacity for sustainable and successful tourism development.
Chapter Five
5. Methodology

5.1 Introduction
While the previous four chapters have discussed the background to the research and the rationale for it, the methodology will now provide an identification of the research domain and the underlying assumptions of the methodological approach. Kothari (2004) asserts that the research methodology not only scrutinises the various steps adopted by the researcher in studying the research problem but it also examines the logic behind them. Therefore this chapter presents an explanation of the relationship between the various elements necessary for consideration in relation to the philosophical perspective of the researcher and practical aspects pertinent for contemplation before, during and in conclusion to the research. Silverman (2013: 104) highlights that when designing the research it is important to “reflect upon how your theoretical assumptions about the social world are shaping the methodology you favour”. A description of how the theoretical assumptions align with the design of the research is therefore a significant focus of this chapter. Justification will be offered as to the choices made in terms of the research design as well as the treatment adopted for the analysis of the data. Finally aspects pertaining to the quality of the research, including an acknowledgement of the identified limitations to the scope of the study brings the chapter to a close. The diagram presented in Figure 8 overleaf, demonstrates a schematic overview of the key methodological choices which guided this study; each of these will be discussed in detail.
5.2 Research Aims and Objectives

The aim of this research is to investigate the scope, role and nature of the collaborative relationship between transport and tourism in Scottish island destinations. The study will also demonstrate the extent to which practice is influenced by the collaborative discourse of policy. Three distinct themes shape the core and basis of this study: the collaborative agenda; the island context; and the relationship between transport and tourism. As conceptual notions emerged through the process of reviewing the literature, direction was provided to the form and format of the primary data collection. Further, the secondary data was used to build the conceptual framework in order to progress the theoretical understanding of the influences that contribute to effective efforts in stakeholder collaborative. A conceptual framework is proposed in Figure 9.
below, which illustrates the synthesis between the key concepts within the three major constructs underpinning this study.

**Figure 9: Illustration of the Conceptual Framework**

In order to fulfil the aim it was imperative for the researcher to have a comprehensive understanding of the concept of collaboration before embarking on an exploration of the challenges and opportunities faced by those involved in its practice. In this instance, and in accordance with the research design shaped by the research questions and the underpinning philosophical paradigm, it was considered crucial to ascertain a stakeholder perspective. Only then could the behaviour and rationale of those working ‘on the ground’ be explored. As per the fundamental questions of social research to be contemplated at the outset, it was imperative to ask the descriptive (what is going on) and explanatory (why is it going on) questions (De Vaus 2001, Saunders et al. 2012, Babbie 2013). First, it was necessary to establish the nature of the current scenario and
the extent to which stakeholders involved in the study interacted with each other. The process of the secondary data collection set out the rationale for transport and tourism stakeholders to engage and the interdependency of their relationship. While this was reflected in the primary data with many conveying the importance of the relationship between the two industries, also demonstrated was a sense of difficulty in achieving this practically. This led to the explanatory questions in order to determine the nature of these challenges.

5.3 Problem Definition and the Research Domain

The determination of the methodology and selection of an appropriate research design for this study was an iterative process as a deeper familiarisation with the literature sculpted the research problem and helped to define the research questions to be answered. Similarly as the research problem gained clarity and the research questions emerged, this helped to focus the direction of the reading.

The political agenda to develop joined-up working practices associates a collaborative approach with the resolution of many interlinked and difficult societal problems, especially those at the discretion of public sector management. Furthermore the literature conveys the significance of tourism economies in island destinations to the extent that in many cases tourism has become everyone’s business. As such it is interwoven throughout the public and private sector alike. The importance of visitors accessing these detached destinations demonstrates the requirement for a heightened relationship between transport and tourism. This drove the nature of the research problem which was to provide an exploration of the extent to which policy influences the practice of collaboration within the given context. The robust argument within the island tourism literature of the need for a transport-tourism relationship to present attractive destinations and to develop small island economies is largely aligned with the empirical evidence collected through this study. The debate within public management discourse to use collaboration as a tool or strategy to promote the optimisation of resources and increase performance potential strengthens the ideology
of it as a valuable practice. In environments commonly associated with resource scarcity and high transaction costs this argument intensifies. Of course collaboration, regardless of its value or the demand for it, is ultimately contingent on the predisposition of those involved and the level of readiness within the internal and external environment. As such there was further need to make an identification of the constraints and challenges, opportunities and motivations for collaboration, as according to the study participants.

If reality is indeed constructed through human activity and meanings are created through the interactions individuals have with each other as is proposed by the ontologically constructivist and epistemologically interpretivist stance of the researcher, then the adoption of verstehen is necessary. Verstehen is described by Ormston et al. (2014: 11) as “studying people’s lived experiences which occur in a specific historical and social context”. This was further elaborated upon by Hennink et al. (2011: 17) who propose that “it refers to understanding the life of the people whom you study from their own perspective, in their own context and describing this using their own words and concepts”. The importance of influential factors as perceived by the actors involved will impinge upon their interpretation of the feasibility for collaboration regardless of whether this is to fulfil a policy objective or to overcome an organisational obstacle. The determination of the problem domain therefore led to the following research questions:

1. What is the perceived nature of relationship between transport and tourism stakeholders at a local level?
   a. What motivates a transport-tourism relationship?
   b. How do the dynamics of island destination governance influence the transport-tourism relationship?

2. What factors drive instances of collaborative engagement between transport and tourism stakeholders?
a. To what extent do broader policy objectives and the role of the public sector impact upon collaborative behaviour/activities?

3. What factors inhibit practical efforts to collaborate?
   a. What is the potential to overcome these challenges/provide solutions?

Firstly it was considered pertinent to elicit stakeholder perceptions of the importance of a transport-tourism relationship since this was expected to correlate with the likelihood of synergistic behaviour. This question sought to verify the literature and established an extremely high rate of response in depicting the criticality of relationship. Nonetheless it was vital that this expression was validated and not assumed prior to exploring the level of collaborative practice within the relationship. Once this was established an investigation of the background context was performed which sought to tease out the broader factors relevant to the emergence or prohibition of collaboration.

Pilot interviews with those situated in the private sector demonstrated that reference to the political agenda often led to a withdrawal from the conversation as participants allayed scepticism and indifference in their ability to relate it to ground-level practice. Similarly discussion within the public sector arena around the emergence of collaboration as a political imperative led to a more institutionalised account of the scope and evidence of collaboration. What the researcher found to be more effective was to encourage the interviewee to tell his or her story which was subtly guided by the semi-structured questions bringing the steer of the interviews down the path of general influential factors. It was observed that when greater autonomy was given to the line of questioning, the more probing the researcher could afford to be within the chosen area of inquiry as trust and confidence rose in the researcher-research participant relationship.
5.4 Defining the Research Paradigm

The initial questions the researcher must ask themselves pertain to the nature of their philosophical assumptions and worldviews. These considerations, known generally as the research paradigm, will guide and inform the way in which the study is conducted (Creswell 2012). The research paradigm takes into account the researcher’s ontological, epistemological and methodological approach towards the study (Lincoln and Guba 2000, Bailey 2007). Having an understanding of the philosophical issues between theory and data will help to give a clearer perspective of the appropriate research paradigm to be used. Furthermore, the researcher’s philosophical approach will have a bearing not only on the research design but also on the way the data is collected, analysed and presented. The researcher’s perspective on the world will therefore be reflected throughout the entirety of the study and it is imperative that this is contemplated, understood and explicitly acknowledged at the offset as a matter of good practice within research (Creswell 2012). Denscombe (2007) considers the researchers’ assumptions as a strategy to drive the decision-making choices of the methodology, while Collis and Hussey (2009) describe them as a framework approach to providing solutions to problems.

Given that this is a study which attempts to explore relationships from the stance of those involved in creating and maintaining them, an approach based on social relativism was deemed necessary. Hirschheim and Klein (1989: 1199) convey this as a “…paradigm adopted for understanding social phenomena and is primarily involved in explaining the social world from the viewpoint of the organisational agents who directly take part in the social process of reality construction”. From the perspective of the researcher, Johnson and Onwuegbuzie (2004: 16) express relativism to refer to “…a respect and interest in understanding and depicting individual and social group differences (i.e. their different perspectives) and a respect for democratic approaches to group opinion and value selection”. A breakdown of the aims and research questions illustrates that gaining the ‘insider perspective’ and thus an understanding of the motives as well as the outlooks for stakeholder opinions and actions was essential to achieve the proposed study goals. The researcher considers that the study participants
possess affective dispositions as a result of consistent exposure to various and often differing external factors which influences their behaviour and as such their relationships. These external elements include aspects pertaining to factors such as beliefs, culture, background and ethics and shape how they construct their subjective realities. Further, from the position of a constructivist ontology, it is expected that previous experiences whether positive or negative are considered to be affectively consequential to a party’s future behaviour. If the ability or desire for participants to engage in collaborative activities is based on aspects incorporating both physical and emotional determinations and the nature of their immediate circumstances, then this renders a positivist approach unsuitable since it will be imperative to consider the impacts of unobservable and underlying mechanisms of social constructs (Mayntz 2004). Keegan (2009: 22) considers that the philosophy of positivism treats “social facts as existing independently of the activities of both research participants and researchers”. Indeed objectivity and a belief that an absolute truth is attainable are common ideologies of the positivist paradigm (Collis and Hussey 2009, May 2011). However for the purposes of this study and in order to make a comprehensive interpretation of the accounts delivered by the research participants, a distinct consideration will be given to the way in which they construct their realities and therefore convey them through associated meanings and explanations (Lewis and Ritchie 2005).

5.4.1 Ontology and Epistemology
Ontology is viewed as the starting point when contemplating the philosophical aspects of research (Easterby-Smith et al. 2008). It is concerned with the nature of existence and asks the questions of “what is reality?” (Walliman 2006) and “what does it mean to know?” (Gray 2009). The two main opposing ontological traditions come in the form of objectivism and constructivism (Bell and Bryman 2003). The former, objectivism, considers the world an objective and factual reality which exists independently of consciousness and that social phenomena are beyond influence. The latter, constructivism, asserts that the meaning of the world in which we live is constructed based on the interaction subjects’ have with it (Gray 2009). Schwandt
(2000) proposes that from a constructivist perspective, knowledge is not so much found or discovered as it is made or constructed based on human experiences and shared understandings. A qualitative approach recognises that people make sense of the world in which they live based on the interpretations of their actions and experiences and that multiple realities exist depending on the way in which one-person views the world from another (Bailey 2007, Hesse-Biber and Leavy 2011). Husserl (1927) posits that the essence of a phenomena can be intuited. Therefore the ontological stance for this study will be of a constructivist nature applied using a qualitative approach to the research method since the researcher acknowledges that people construct the world in which they live, and their reality, based on perceptions from their own personal experiences. Corbin and Strauss (2008) consider that reality and the world cannot fail to be constructed by the nature of human behaviour. They believe the way in which social reality is constructed is cyclical in that human action/interaction, emotions and responses create impacts, limits and the restructuring of action/interaction, emotions and responses.

Epistemology, meanwhile, is concerned with the aspects of knowledge and knowing. It considers the questions “how do we know what we know?” (Bailey 2007) or “what is considered acceptable knowledge?” (Winston 2012). The two main standpoints within epistemology come in the form of positivism and interpretivism (Rolfe 2006, Keegan 2009). As has been previously touched upon, the epistemological standpoint of positivists is that the world can be studied objectively and learning about the social world can occur independently of the researcher. The philosophical view of positivism conveys that reality is objective, external and measurable and it is the observations of external reality that deem knowledge to be significant with measurement its central method of assessment and evaluation (Easterby-Smith et al. 2008, Smith et al. 2009). Interpretivists, on the other hand consider that social action is inherently meaningful and before the researcher can understand why certain behaviour or interaction takes place, they must first understand the meanings participants ascribe to relevant phenomena (Schwandt 2000, Saunders et al. 2012). Naturally this provides a rejection of the positivistic idea that there is one reality, and instead an existence of many
realities are conceived possible depending on how people view and interpret the world. Interpretivism provides a critique of the idea of an objectively experienced universe in favour of the perception that, “people are active creators of their world and have a consciousness that communicates to them everyday experiences and knowledge” (Sarantakos 1993: 47). The interpretive perspective suggests that the way in which social actors interpret and construct the world around them will influence their conduct (Sarantakos 1993, Boeije 2010). A recognition of this was necessary within this study in order to elicit an explanation as well as a description of stakeholder behaviour before any conclusions could be drawn.

5.4.2 Methodological Approach
Selecting the appropriate procedure for data collection in order to understand the world based on one’s ontological and epistemological assumptions are the actions that fall under the rubric of methodology. The methodology is concerned with more than just the data collection methods; it considers the type of approach best suited to achieving the intended research outcomes (Bailey 2007). Guba and Lincoln (1994) describe it to be engaged with the inquirer determining how they may go about finding out what it is that they believe can be known. Within research there are two main methodological approaches, qualitative and quantitative. Quantitative inquiry has historically been the methodology of emphasis with predominance in mathematics, physics and chemistry where hypotheses are verified or falsified and precision and control are the focus (Guba and Lincoln 1994). This type of research lends itself well to being objectively analysed through deductive reasoning where theories are tested and confirmed. It veers towards the positivist paradigm and a belief that anything which cannot be measured and observed is impossible to know (Lewis and Ritchie 2005). However there has been a steady growth in qualitative inquiry on the basis that it is important to look at, not just the cause and effect of variables but also the how and the why when examining the creation and meaning of social experiences (Denzin and Lincoln 2000, Szarycz 2009). These were very important elements of criteria for consideration within the remit of this study since it seeks to interpret relational behaviour amongst stakeholders.
Qualitative analysis deems its foci as subjective in nature and seeks to obtain an in-depth, exploratory and holistic approach in order to achieve the ‘insider’ perspective (Mason 2002, Blaxter et al. 2006, Bernard 2006). Following on from and in line with the previous discussion on ontological and epistemological assumptions, qualitative research considers constructivism and interpretivism as its chosen theoretical paradigms, the belief being that the reality in which we live is constructed and interpreted (Gray 2009, Boeije 2010). Interpretive theorists consider reality as socially constructed and what people see it to be depends on their interactions and interpretations (Blaxter et al. 2006). Thomson and Perry (2006) describe that the act of collaborating aims to create mutual benefit through a shared discovery from a process built on interaction within socially embedded relationships. If the nature of collaboration is indeed an abstract concept dependent on and determined by those involved, then only once the researcher understands how collaboration is regarded from the subjective viewpoint of the participant can an attempt be made to attach meaning to its existence and value (Sarantakos 1993).

As has been previously discussed within this thesis in section 4.6 (page 120), research devoted to the transport-tourism relationship is lagging within the broader disciplinary remit of tourism studies, irrespective of its fundamental importance. Add to this the island context, itself a field of research which is growing in recognition but still with much scope to explore, and the researcher immediately recognised the need to take an inductive approach. Inductive reasoning involves interaction and close contact with the research participants permitting any emergent issues to develop (Lewis and Ritchie 2005, Merriam 2009). This enables the qualitative researcher to establish descriptions of characteristics and patterns through the way in which they collect and analyse the data (Gray 2009, Blaikie 2010). Research areas which lack empiricism or are under-theorised benefit from an inductive approach since this allows for theory building from rich qualitative evidence (Eisenhardt and Graebner 2007, Merriam 2009). An initial inductive reasoning also lays the foundation for future deductive methods to be applied since testable theoretical propositions will have been explored and derived.
5.4.3 The Rationale for an Interpretivist Approach

Positivist research has traditionally dominated the majority of business and management disciplines (Biggemann 2010, Myers 2013) although this has raised recent criticism and interpretivist studies have gained substantial ground in the last few decades (Lee and Lings 2008). The reason stems from a growing recognition of contextualisation and that without a consideration of the broader set of circumstances within which the phenomena are located makes the explanation of meanings difficult to understand (Welch et al. 2011). There has been question regarding the ability of the positivist paradigm and an objective stance to deliver comprehensive answers to issues (Gummesson 2002). Within public administration a focus on institutionalism and concepts of rules and norms has previously aligned research with the positivist paradigm as good administration was associated with efficiency and effectiveness. An acknowledgment that political phenomena are indeed social phenomena has led to a change in direction and a move towards a behaviouralism approach and the investigation of sense of action, practice or idea (Wagenaar 2011, Denhardt 2011). McNabb (2013) and Wagenaar and Cook (2003) indicate that this has encouraged postpositivist approaches into the research arena of public administration. While positivism is indeed still a viable tool, Giannatasio (2008) argues that in order to determine the root problems influencing the direction of policy actions and decision-making, empirical interpretation is also a necessary component of the analytical tool box. This is not a new argument (Jennings 1983, Bobrow and Dryzek 1987) but one which is gaining ground with the increasing evidence of interpretive studies in public administration and political science (Sapru 2011) and the need for polity in policy-making (Hajer 2003).

The positivist paradigm has also dominated the discipline of tourism (Jennings and Junek 2007, Tribe and Airey 2007, Brotherton 2008, Pritchard et al. 2011, Veal 2011) with a focus on quantitative measurements and analyses (Botterhill and Platenkamp 2012). Pritchard and Morgan (2007: 18) point out that “not only is our field’s publication shaped by positivist paradigms, many of the journal conventions, manuscript guidelines and submission criteria also continue to reflect the power that
objective scientific measures exert over the codification of knowledge”. A prominent study carried out by Riley and Love (2000) acquired much discussion in highlighting a significant imbalance between the publication of qualitative and quantitative articles in the field of tourism with a bias towards those underpinned by positivist science. However Becken (2011) indicates within her cross-industry study on tourism, oil and the relevance of power relations, that realities are constructed and knowledge is influenced by values. Acknowledging the dominance but limitations of the positivist paradigm in tourism studies she identifies the benefits of taking an interpretivist approach. This resonates, since collaboration is also affected by power relations in terms of stakeholder dynamics and through the generation of social capital. Therefore performance and activity within transport-tourism relationships are likely to be shaped by the subjectivity of perspectives, experience and opinions. Given the researcher’s argument for contextual factors to provide significant influence to the behaviour of participants, a qualitatively based study had the intent of capturing the meanings made from the lived experiences thus extending interpretivist methodological knowledge within this discipline.

5.5 Research Design and Methods

The research design aims to answer the research question/s pertinent to the study. It provides a connection between the purpose of the study, driven by the research questions, with the data collected and the process required to effectively bring rationale and approach together. Further it should provide a justification and explanation of the choices made (Easterby-Smith et al. 2008). Therefore the research design should be suitable for and directed by the nature of the research questions, the chosen method and the goals of the research. It encompasses all aspects involved in the proposed study from the conceptualisation of the problem, to the philosophical approach, through to the physical nature of how the data will be collected and analysed (Creswell 2012). It sets out the structures and features that will be used in a bid to achieve the desired outcomes from the research (Easterby-Smith et al. 2008, Gray 2009). Maxwell (2013: 5) presents an interactive model of research design which provides a visual depiction of how the key elements influence each other – this can be seen overleaf in Figure 10.
It attempts to illustrate how the conceptual (goals and conceptual framework) and operational (methods and validity) features fit together. Maxwell (2013) argues that the research is not initiated or controlled by the research questions but rather that they are at the centre of the design acting as a source consistently and most closely connecting all the other components.

The research design is a fundamental consideration for scrutiny at the very start of the study however the answers may not remain static and it is therefore open to adjustment. As knowledge is built around the problem domain and how it might be tackled it may be necessary to adapt the initial design (Lewis and McNaughton Nicholls 2014) as was the case early on within this study. The scope of the sample was modified as the
problem domain became more defined. Originally it was intended that the study population would involve stakeholders throughout the whole of rural Scotland, focussing on a geographical breakdown using the RTPs within Scotland. However after a consideration of the numerous governance networks and consequently stakeholder groups that would need to be involved in order to effectively provide some level of representation to each locality, it became apparent that this would render the study scope too broad. Further it would inhibit the ability to gain deep analysis since too many variables may have transpired. It was therefore decided to bring the island context into play. Not only did this help to focus the research but it assisted with the elicitation of rich and thick description necessary within qualitative inquiry (Starks and Trinidad 2007, Todres and Galvin 2008). This process was beneficial in aligning the researcher’s philosophical beliefs with the problem domain under research and the methods needed to fulfil the criteria of the study design. Although it provided an unsettling period for the researcher until it became clearer how the pieces would fit together, it was also an invaluable process in gaining increased clarity and confidence in the scope of the study and therefore the attainment and credibility of the goals.

As is common within exploratory and descriptive studies, a cross-sectional design was selected for the purposes of this research. Further aspects of the study criteria reflective of a cross-sectional design involved the consideration of more than one geographic location since a variety of island destinations were examined, with data collected at more or less a single point in time (Bryman 2012, Babbie 2013). This allowed for variation to be gauged and patterns of association to be identified and explored. Similarly with regards to the timing of data collection, the nature of this particular study was concerned with the present scenario, in line with what is captured in cross-sectional research (Blaikie 2010). It was important from the outset for the researcher to consider a study scope which was realistic regarding the necessary time frame and financial cost implications. The pragmatic planning of the research in terms of its design was also essential, thus ensuring that a reality of the research context and setting could be achieved within the constraints of the study parameters. The need for the research to be conducted in its natural environment meant that the researcher would
be required to travel to each of the island destination involved in the study. Similarly it was anticipated that the qualitative nature of the interviews would warrant a reasonable imposition of the participant’s time. Therefore it was an early consideration that a one shot data collection design would be employed rather than a longitudinal study.

5.5.1 Selection of Semi-Structured Interviews

The research methods are the tools used by researchers to collect the appropriate data (Hesse-Biber and Leavy 2011). In line with the interpretive nature of the research paradigm and the explorative context of this study, semi-structured interviews were adopted to carry out the primary data collection. The research design illustrated that to best fulfil the goals of the study would require a research method with the capacity to allow an understanding of “the lived experience of other people and the meaning they make of that experience” (Seidman 2013: 9). The strength of semi-structured interviews is in the process of open discovery the approach engenders in order to build theory (Collis and Hussey 2009, Butler-Kizber 2010). The face-to-face contact experienced between the researcher and the research participants meant that the attitudes as well as the reasons which pre-empted them could be explored as the personal and immediate contact allowed for the researcher to use clarification and elaboration probes (Smith et al. 2009). Used appropriately, these probes can have a significant impact on the study’s credibility and confirmability thus strengthening the quality of the research (Rubin and Rubin 2012). They further help to allay some of the criticism faced by naturalistic work which cannot address the concepts of validity and reliability in the same way as studies scientifically approached by more positivistic paradigms. Miller and Glassner (2011: 131) draw upon this: “…interviews reveal evidence of the nature of the phenomena under investigation, including the contexts and situations in which it emerges, as well as insights into the cultural frames people use to make sense of these experiences and their social worlds”. This resonates with this particular study given its attachment to the ontological position of constructivism which asserts that social reality is constructed and therefore the meanings they take are continuously under revision.
The general absence of a qualitative approach to transport-tourism studies and a lack of those presented from a stakeholder perspective as outlined within section 1.1 (page 2), directed the rationale for the chosen research design. Gaining the insider perspective was pivotal to this research and it was therefore considered that the flexibility of semi-structured interviews coupled with face-to-face contact would generate a greater opportunity to provide a more authentic representation of the points of view expressed. The necessary probing and potential deviation from the interview script in order to allow for the development of ‘story-telling’ within the stakeholder accounts was perceived to be more achievable through the flexibility of semi-structured personal interviews. The desired level of exploration would be difficult to accomplish through open-ended questionnaires since the opportunity to probe would be eliminated. Nor was it conceived that the same level of intimacy could be evoked through distance interviewing such as by telephone; internet or conference call; or via online forums. It was recognised that these scenarios would restrict rapport and the ‘natural’ encounter important in generating rich qualitative data (Irvine et al. 2013). Similarly observations were discounted on the basis that this method would be unlikely to answer the intended research questions without a considerable time commitment and repetitive visits to the island destinations which was beyond the possible resource scope of the study. Therefore although these alternative qualitative methods were initially considered they were rejected on the basis that face-to-face semi-structured interviews would provide a superior data collection mechanism in relation to the design of the research.

While focus groups were also considered, they were rejected by the researcher as a tool for the collection of primary data. Ultimately the island context of the study and the close proximity in which people work and live directed the researcher away from eliciting data in this environment. It was appreciated that participants may not feel completely comfortable to express their feelings or tell their story with the assurance that they could be authentic with their accounts. The dynamics of a group so closely involved with each other may have the ability to obscure any extreme or controversial
perspectives (Litosseliti 2003, Stokes and Bergin 2006). Further the researcher considered the risk of only the more dominant opinions within the focus groups being heard as professional and personal ties had the potential to introduce bias to the scenario (Stewart et al. 2007). Similarly the accounts given by some members may have had the influence of impacting the construction of other members’ perspectives on lived experiences (Smithson 2000), which would lead the researcher to ponder “whose story is being told?” (Merriam et al. 2001: 409).

5.5.1.1 Developing the Question Set
The interviews were driven by the use of a small number of questions derived from the key research themes (see Appendix Sixteen (page 395)) in order to guide the in-depth conversations around these topics. The purpose of the interview script (see Appendix Seventeen page 396)) was to guide rather than constrict the questions with the capacity to diverge when necessary providing an opportunity to further probe subjective meanings. May (2011: 135) argues that the richness of data drawn from semi-structured interviews lies in the ability to enter into a dialogue with the interviewee and thus pursue “…an understanding of how interviewees generate and deploy meaning in social life”. The researcher found it beneficial to prepare and employ an interview guide thus ensuring the questions would cover the scope intended within the time frame permitted. It also assisted in retaining some level of desired focus throughout the interviews (Jennings 2005, King and Horrocks 2010). However the list of questions remained incomplete since there was an expectation for improvisation to result as per the nature of semi-structured interviews (Myers and Newman 2007). The interview guide was driven by the secondary data collection carried out within the literature review and through a rigorous analysis of discourse pertaining to the topics under research within the narratives of documents such as strategies, policies, meeting minutes and business plans. Through a series of refinements, a loose set of thematic questions were generated which were considered applicable to each and all of the participants. It was deemed important that some level of uniformity would help to identify consensual and contrasting opinions (Turner 2010). However the nature of the
narrative developed within the interviews ultimately dominated the course of the conversation and the reformulation of questions as new directions emerged.

A careful balance was necessary throughout the interview process to prevent major deviation from the intended line of enquiry whilst allowing the participant’s story to develop. The researcher therefore found it necessary to spend time studying the prepared interview script prior to each interview to embed the context of questioning in order to concentrate as fully as possible on the rapport and free flow of the interview itself. The time the participants were willing to dedicate to their involvement within the study was invaluable and the researcher felt pressure to extract as much content as was feasible but without creating a scenario which felt urgent or contrived. Similarly the aforementioned probing method (see section 5.5.1 (page 146)) became increasingly beneficial as the participant relaxed into the conversation and it was the responsibility of the researcher to initiate an informal environment. Another constant reflection throughout the data collection process was for the researcher to ensure their own prior knowledge on the subject area and their native stance did not impact upon the interviews to the extent that it contaminated or led the discussion. Minimisation of this issue was aided by both the decision to conduct pilot interviews (see section 5.5.1.2 (page 149)) and the maintenance of a reflective journal (see section 5.8.3 (page 166)).

5.5.1.2 Gaining the Insider Perspective
Gaining the insider perspective attempts to provide an insight into the motivations and actions of people (Groenewald 2004, Chavez 2008). It involves the researcher exploring how the research participant makes sense of their world before attempting to provide a representation of this from the participant’s perspective. It therefore requires a method of data collection that will allow a sense of flexibility and freedom to probe participants further than the interview questions necessarily permit with a view to obtaining the richness of information sought by qualitative analysis (Smith et al. 2009). Semi structuring the interview questions allowed a deliberate line of enquiry
to be followed but with the scope to modify the initial question depending on the answer provided by the participant. This helped to tease out any interesting or important matters which arose.

The relationship between the interviewer and interviewee in semi-structured interviews becomes more evenly balanced than in the case of a more directive method of enquiry as the interviewer is making an attempt to see the situation from the mindset of the participant. The connection established between the investigator and the object of investigation plays host to an interactive and co-operative relationship (Decrop 2004). It is therefore important for the inquirer to initiate a sense of closeness in order to diminish the distance between their role as observer and the behaviour that is being observed (Karnieli-Miller et al. 2009, Seidman 2013). Smith et al. (2009: 59) consider that “In this relationship, the respondents can be perceived as the experiential expert on the subject and should therefore be allowed maximum opportunity to tell their own story”.

The degree of discussion pertaining to collaboration and collaborative activities within the interviews determined the feasibility for further probing. It was also considered that the language of public and private sector representatives would have the potential to differ somewhat which led to the significance of time spent conceptualising collaboration. Only then was it possible for the researcher to effectively identify evidence of collaborative activity by using participant descriptions comparatively with the key concepts and components of collaboration (see Table 3 (page 52) and Table 5 (page 57)). Although the use of the term collaboration and arguably behaviour derived from it (such as joining-up and partnership working) tends to be native to members of the public sector it was crucial not to rely on testimonial evidence of collaboration simply based on the use of its terminology. Early recognition of this issue determined the need for depth and richness of discussion to be initiated within the interviews thus allowing a more rigorous analysis of the practice of collaboration to be identified. This
issue was teased out during pilot interviews in order to develop a language appropriate and convenient to all interviewees regardless of their background.

Pilot interviews were conducted in order to test the functioning of the research instrument and to ensure any problems with the chosen sample could be addressed prior to commencement (Turner 2010, Yin 2011, Silverman 2013). It was important to verify that the questions were understood in the manner intended in order to maximise the value of time spent with the interviewee. This process also instilled a greater sense of confidence in the researcher’s ability to carry out the interviews effectively and identified questions which were perhaps in need of refinement in order to make the participant feel as comfortable as possible (Sampson 2004, Bryman 2012).

The importance of language within qualitative inquiry is highlighted by Holstein and Gubrium (1994) who indicate that “Language is viewed as the primary symbol system through which meaning is both constructed and conveyed”. Wertz et al. (2011: 135) advocate that within an individual’s description “knowledge of highly implicit meanings requires creative language with some important aspects of human experience best conveyed with evocative prose”. It was therefore the task of the researcher to ensure as far as possible that an appropriate level of questioning was adopted; that a relaxed and intimate environment was created conducive to an openness within the communication; and that rapport was established with the participant prior to the researcher’s arrival. This helped to introduce trust into the relationship before the activity of the interview took place (DiCicco-Bloom and Crabtree 2006, Dickson-Swift et al. 2007).

Some elements pertinent to grounded theory also exist within the context of this research however they lean towards a constructivist grounded theory as opposed to more classic principles. Charmaz (2008a) suggests that within constructivist grounded theory the researcher and participant co-construct a shared reality through an interactive process between the viewed and the viewer. Similar to other constructivist methodologies, this indicates that the researcher’s perspective is an active rather than
dormant part of the research process since the direction of theory will be a process
guided by both what is being divulged (interviewee) and through the nature of the
questioning and analysis (interviewer) (Charmaz 2008b). To clarify further, the
emphasis lies on the researcher as “…visible in the ‘frame’ of the research as an
interested and subjective actor rather than a detached and impartial observer” (Lester
1999: 1). Blaikie (2010) expresses this position as the “emphatic observer”
maintaining a level of objectivity but appreciating the necessity for the researcher to
be able to place themselves in the position of the social actor. He suggests that the
actions of social actors can only be understood by grasping their subjective meanings,
otherwise referred to as verstehen.

Within classic grounded theory, data is immediately generated from observations, the
predictions of which are then tested before further observation is made (Glaser and
Strauss 2009). However within this study, theoretical categories were not purely and
solely ‘grounded’ in the data. Rather they were allowed to emerge both from the data
and also guided by pre-existing conceptualisation. Conceptual perspective as well as
the categorisation of raw data were used in order to generate theory. The line of
questioning and the key categories and analytic codes adopted within the data analysis
process were influenced by the fundamental themes identified within the earlier
findings of secondary data. This is divergent with a defining feature of traditional
grounded theory – that preconceptions should be minimised, not encouraged (Mills et
al. 2008, Simmons 2011). However theoretical sensitivity towards the primary data
collection did ultimately shape the development of the conceptual framework and
therefore the discovery of ‘new’ theory. Aspects within the study reflective of the
principles of grounded theory were more evident as the process developed since
theoretical sensitivity embedded in ‘grounded’ data increased with the collection and
analysis of the primary data.
5.6 Sampling and Participant Selection

The primary data collection involved in-depth interviews via the compatible selection of purposive and snowball sampling. This helped to arrive at a decision on who to interview by combining the researcher’s knowledge of the topic area with those recommended through networking and suggestions delivered following the commencement of the interview process (David and Sutton 2004, Foard et al. 2006, Denscombe 2007, Marshall and Rossman 2011). Purposive sampling or criteria-based selection as it has also been referred to, involves choosing participants based on their suitability or ‘purposefulness’ for the study (Patton 2002, Yin 2011, Babbie 2013). Essential selection criteria or attributes are first determined which directly reflect the study purpose before appropriate units are matched. Only those with knowledge of and relevance within the study design frame were pertinent for inclusion therefore this type of non-probability sampling was mandatory. The initial selection of participants was established through an examination of the literature and continued to be directed by the emerging analysis of the interviews as they occurred. The criteria for participant selection included evidence of a strategy, business plan or web page narrative around:

- A remit in directing or contributing to the provision of transport and/or tourism within one of the island areas involved in the study.

- Discussion around transport, tourism and collaboration (but not necessarily together) and an interest, motivation or concern regarding each.

- An active role in participatory governance through engagement with transport or tourism groups and forums within the local destination.

To augment the accuracy of the sample selection a content analysis of supporting literature pertaining to each of the participant organisations was carried out. The purpose of this was twofold; first, a consultation of the organisation’s background through a deliberation of the narrative allowed an understanding of their aims, objectives and priorities to develop. This assisted in the tailoring of the interviews to ensure that the direction of the questioning would be appropriate and effective. It also
helped to legitimise the applicability of that particular participant for recruitment and the justification for identifying their value and relevance in the study. Second, a familiarisation with the organisation helped to demonstrate to the participant that due attention had been given to their individual remit and philosophy, in order to pre-empt rapport with the participant. Boeje (2010) argues that the aim of qualitative sampling strategies is to capture the perspectives and experiences of a wide range of stakeholders as opposed to replicating the frequency of them in the wider world. Therefore the selection of a sample considered to provide a broad representation of the population across the industries and sectors relevant to this study intended to reduce bias within the purposive sampling design. It was recognised that the acknowledgement of many and varied perspectives would be necessary in eliciting a thorough account of stakeholder perceptions through multi-dimensional understandings (Lynn 2002, Cho and Trent 2006, Frost 2009). This also sought to increase the validity and quality of the data through triangulation (Morrow 2005, Moran-Ellis et al. 2006, Flick 2009).

As initially acknowledged within this section, a snowball sampling technique was also administered. Snowball sampling permits existing identified study participants to assist in the recruitment of future participants based on their knowledge and insight within the situational context of the subject, thus the ‘snowball’ effect develops (Atkinson and Flint 2001, Groenewald 2004, Tracy 2010). The key benefit of the snowball sampling strategy was in its disclosure of potentially hidden participants who might not otherwise have been detected, other than through word of mouth (Morrow 2005, Babbie 2013). No obvious source for locating pertinent members of the population specific to this study was available, partly due to the distinct boundaries of the participant selection criteria but also because of the personalistic and informal nature of relationships often demonstrated within islands (Srebrnik 2004). Indeed the technique of snowball sampling has been broadly favoured within island studies for the entry it can provide in reaching these peripheral populations (Baldacchino 2006, Jackson 2006, Dodds 2010, Graci 2013, Hamzah and Hampton 2013).
A rigorous analysis was undertaken of existing documentation such as policies, meeting minutes and strategies in order to generate an initial purposive sample. This was further supported through the attendance of relevant local meetings and forums in order for the researcher to generate a solid background knowledge of the potential key players. An embeddedness within the locus of the study context assisted the researcher in avoiding the occurrence of community bias within snowball sampling, which involves the first round of participants having a significant impact on the ultimate sample (Biernacki and Waldorf 1981, Faugier and Sargeant 1997, Johnston and Sabin 2010). The background work carried out by the researcher also prevented what is referred to as “wrong anchoring” in snowball sampling - an inaccurate reading of the target population and thus the drawing of incongruous conclusions (Salganik and Heckathorn 2004). It was decided that the initial purposive sample would be substantially reinforced through the adoption of snowball sampling. This decision took into account the preliminary attention carried out in generating the purposive sample and acknowledged that generally obscured yet locally distinguishable participants could prove invaluable to the study.

Data was collected from participants across six island areas through a series of 34 semi-structured interviews. The most heavily populated of the Scottish islands were chosen in a bid to capture information from areas which have a greater capacity for community vibrancy and therefore tourism offering and tourism dependency. Details of the geographical context and island populations are available in Appendix One (page 380). Each interview lasted approximately one hour and all were undertaken via face-to-face contact. Appendix Eighteen (page 400) presents a diagrammatical breakdown of the interviews and Appendix Nineteen (page 401) provides further details on the individual participants involved in this study. Interviews were conducted until a level of saturation was felt to have been achieved; in other words until no new or substantial information was being uncovered and no further significant participants were emerging from the snowball sampling process (Sarantakos 1993, Hesse-Biber and Leavy 2011). Within non-probability sampling, Hood (2007) comments that at this point the data collection stage may be concluded since no new information is being
generated. Glaser and Strauss (2009) propose that saturation will only be achieved through collecting and categorising data from various groups until the researcher’s theoretical gaps have been filled which again aligns the study to elements of grounded theory method. Theoretical saturation is a key driver in determining when data collection may cease since enough ‘grounded’ data has been attained to permit the construction of a comprehensive theory (Birks and Mills 2011).

Since the sampling was non-probability and the pool of prospective interviewees was not large, it was key to the authenticity of the study that the researcher was able to connect with as many of those deemed relevant and necessary as possible. Golden-Biddle and Locke (2007) contend that authenticity will help the researcher to show that they have a thorough understanding of the phenomena within its environment. The participants were initially contacted by telephone as the researcher considered it fundamental that a clear explanation of the research background was delivered up front. Furthermore this allowed the potential participant the opportunity to ask questions and to identify with the researcher as well as the nature of the study. Audiotaping the interviews was a further component considered critical so was not immediately broached with the participant on the basis that the researcher wanted to build a level of trust before the request was made. Once an agreement of participation had been received, a follow up email was sent along with an information sheet (see Appendix Twenty (page 403)) and consent sheet (see Appendix Twenty-one (page 405)). At this point the importance of recording the interview was explained to the participant along with details of the secure and sensitive manner in which it would be treated. This provided time to reflect upon the request prior to the interview date. All of the participants agreed to be audiotaped and consequently every interview were recorded.

5.7 Data Analysis
The initial treatment of the interviews involved verbatim transcription. Coding and categorisation then took place in order to reduce and draw meaning from the data. The
software packages used to fulfil this process included voice recognition software, in this case Dragon NaturallySpeaking, and the common qualitative data analysis tool, NVivo. The application and process of these elements will now be described in further detail.

5.7.1 Transcribing the Interviews

In order to increase the trustworthiness of the qualitative data, the researcher chose, at a significant cost of time, to transcribe all interviews verbatim (MacLean et al. 2004). This refers to the word-for-word reproduction of verbal data, where the written words are an exact replication of the audio recorded words (Halcomb and Davidson 2006). Patton (2002: 463) proposes that verbatim transcripts reflect “the undigested complexity of reality” which Bazeley and Jackson (2013: 70) suggest need “coding to make sense of them, and to bring order out of chaos”. Poland (1995: 292) points out that “the very notion of accuracy of transcription is problematic given the inter-subjective nature of human communication, and transcription as an interpretative activity”. In an attempt to counteract this, verbatim transcription was considered necessary to avoid the loss of context thus helping to maintain the representation of the given account.

Transcribing word-for-word was further deemed important to provide evidence of the analysis process (Duranti 2007) and to support the analytic claims of the researcher (Ashmore and Reed 2000). It was recognised that the transcripts and their treatment within NVivo would go some way to providing a data-oriented and theoretical audit trail thus increasing the dependability and confirmability of the research (Halcomb and Davidson 2006, Lewins and Silver 2007). This is consequential of the capacity, through NVivo, to record all selected excerpts and thus identify consistent or comparative narrative but without removing excerpts from their context. The dependability of the researcher following appropriate procedures throughout the duration of the study makes it feasible to audit (Shenton 2004, Morrow 2005, Zhang and Wildemuth 2009). This process determines the confirmability that the researcher
has acted in good faith about how they arrived at the connections inferred between the data reported and the interpretations made (Bell and Bryman 2003). The ability to refer back at any time to the recorded interviews, the data transcripts and the categorisation of the data within NVivo, which was the treatment applied to all the participant data generated, provides an audit trail through the spoken narrative to its translation into words and the coding and categorisation developed from the accounts. Richards and Morse (2013) indicate that within qualitative analysis the researcher must demonstrate the journey of theory building from the data that provides the source of justification through to how discovery is reached. Therefore it was imperative for the theoretical conclusions drawn from the data to adhere precisely and accurately to the authenticity of the participant’s accounts and for the researcher’s inferences from these accounts to provide minimal deviation. The use of NVivo acted as a constant source of monitoring allowing the researcher to confirm the context of an excerpt before it was suitably compared, contrasted or deemed to offer new insights to whichever theory was under discussion. NVivo was also utilised as a tool to search the interview transcripts for further comment on a particular subject which helped to prevent any valuable information being missed from the discussion.

Once the decision had been made to transcribe all interviews, the researcher opted to use speech recognition software, in this case Dragon NaturallySpeaking, in an attempt to reduce the time commitment to this task. However as the process got underway, and the voice recognition software was ‘trained’, it became clear that the procedure of listening, speaking, checking and confirming was labour intensive. Nevertheless the method of speaking as well as listening to the recorded information proved to be exceptionally beneficial in allowing the researcher to become immersed in the data. It is often perceived as critical for qualitative researchers to develop their own transcripts since the process is regarded as analysis within the perspective (Davidson 2009). This is something with which the researcher associated since much value was gained from the time spent engrossed in the narrative in order to deliver accurate transcripts. Whilst appropriate software can assist with the analytic process of qualitative data, it does not perform the analysis and the immersion in and familiarity with the text material is
critical in order to avoid anecdotalism and a lack of scientific credibility (Butler-Kizber 2010, Silverman 2011). Although the saving of time did not transpire from the use of the voice recognition software, the researcher considered another advantage was in its capacity to minimise the physical strain that excessive transcribing exerts on one’s self (Matheson 2007).

5.7.2 Using NVivo to Analyse the Data
Because of the vast quantity of narrative to analyse, the researcher opted to use CAQDAS to aid with the data coding and in turn, the researcher’s ability to reduce and categorise the data collected prior to its analysis. It is widely considered that the use of a CAQDAS package can increase the transparency, reliability and rigour of data analysis in qualitative research (Welsh 2002, Bringer et al. 2004, Johnston 2006, Bazeley 2007, Sinkovics and Ghauri 2008). The software package that was used to analyse the data in this study was NVivo v9.2 due to its ability to encourage an exploratory approach in-keeping with the ethos of qualitative inquiry (Gibbs 2002). Bazeley and Jackson (2013: 2), in their evaluation of NVivo, identify with the purpose and benefits of its use in a statement which the researcher felt was particularly reflective of their own experience encountered:

The computer’s capacity for recording, sorting, matching and linking can be harnessed by researchers to assist in answering their research questions from the data, without losing access to the source data or contexts from which the data have come.

Bazeley and Jackson (2013) propose the key advantages of adopting NVivo in the analysis of qualitative data to assist with: managing data; managing ideas; querying data; visualising data; and reporting from the data.
Once the interviews had been transcribed, they were imported into NVivo ready to be coded and categorised thematically. A thematic analysis is commonly adopted within qualitative inquiry. It involves an inductive search for emergent themes which develop a description of the phenomenon and features which are considered important to the nature and meaning they assign to that phenomenon (Fereday and Muir-Cochrane 2008). Gibbs (2002: 11) refers to NVivo as a theory builder, “…not because on their own they can build theory, but because they contain various tools that assist the researcher to develop theoretical ideas and test hypotheses”. Rich text data is reduced to reveal features of shared understanding across experiences (Butler-Kizber 2010); this involves “the careful reading and re-reading of the data” (Rice and Ezzy 1999: 258). These emergent themes then become the categories for the analysis. The intricacy of this process can be seen in Appendix Twenty-two (page 406) which demonstrates a selection of the researcher’s deciphered nodes (or categories). The references illustrated pertain to the coded information within the interview transcripts, for example within the category entitled “Motivation”, there are seventy one items of coded information which relate to discussion on this topic; twenty two participants made reference to this topic of conversation.

During the data analysis stage, codes were generated initially a priori led by the secondary data collected during the literature review to activate the process, but also from the primary data itself by distinguishing meaningful words, phrases and sentences to generate themes relating to the research questions. NVivo allowed the researcher to capture anything from large data sets of information right down to a minimum text unit of one word facilitating a fine-grained and thorough analysis of the data (Gibbs 2002). Annotation and memos were used to add additional thoughts of the researcher, akin to scribbling notes in the margins as a reflective component of the observer commentary to capture tentative hunches, ideas and themes (Ezzy 2002, Merriam 2009, Wiltshier 2011, Seidman 2013, Grbich 2013). Using NVivo as an analytic tool also helped to identify deviant cases within the data collected, which Meyrick (2006) and Sekaran and Bougie (2009) suggest can strengthen the merit of theoretical findings within the qualitative research.
5.8 Improving the Quality of Qualitative Research

It has often been argued that within qualitative research some of the scientific hallmarks, namely the measurements of validity and reliability, can be difficult to achieve due to the unfeasibility of a single and definite account of reality within a social context (Guba and Lincoln 1985). Skrtic (1985) and Butler-Kisber (2010) recommend that alternative criteria to validity and reliability should be employed in the form of trustworthiness and authenticity. They propose that within trustworthiness, validity can be broken down into credibility and transferability; and reliability can be achieved in the form of dependability and confirmability - see Table 9 (page 163). It is argued that the credibility of the researcher’s account and the outcomes generated from the research findings will determine the study’s acceptability to others. The opportunity to make judgements by using the richness of data from one study and applying it to another will offer the potential for transferability.

Transferability is perceived as more achievable and appropriate in qualitative research than representativeness, the nature of which would contradict the very intent of qualitative research, which is to attain a rich, deep insight into a specific scenario (Bell and Bryman 2003). However transferability can be problematic within naturalistic enquiry since it is argued that qualitative studies make a specific and detailed analysis of a small number of particular individuals and environments rendering it difficult to advocate that findings and conclusions can be applied to alternative populations and scenarios (Erlandson et al. 1993). This debate has been counteracted by the suggestion that each unique case or study remains an example of a broader group and therefore should not be instantly rejected. The potential for a study to resonate with other contexts and situations increases its value and the scope of interest in it (Tracy 2010). Nonetheless care should be taken to appreciate the relevance of the contextual factors which embody each case since it is often these which are catalytic to the derived outcomes and therefore fundamental to the foundation of the study. Marshall and Rossman (2011: 103) express that “a large sample in disparate and varied settings with diverse participants would also be seen as more useful since the ease of transferability
would be enhanced”. This argument led the researcher to incorporate a study design which would feature a number of island destinations and participants across sectors and industries in order to meet a level of diversity whilst remaining within the parameters of the problem domain and the research questions. Guba and Lincoln (1985) emphasise that a fair representation of the viewpoints of members within the social setting should be considered in order to increase the authenticity of findings.

5.8.1 Triangulation
Butler-Kisber (2010) considers that the production of interviews engendering rich field text, gaining the insider perspective, and triangulation through the convergence of differently sourced field texts are all aspects that can reinforce trustworthiness in a qualitative study. Creswell (2012) and Silverman (2011) describe triangulation as a validation strategy for qualitative researchers through the use of multiple or different sources, methods, investigators or theories in order to provide corroborating evidence. Data triangulation is concerned with using different sources of information (Tracy 2010); the ability to engage with its application was a determinant of the sampling strategy chosen for this study. The benefit of employing data triangulation in this particular instance was the opportunity it provided to achieve a differentiation between the place and space of participants in order to obtain slices of data across various elements (Bell and Bryman 2003, Flick 2009). The intention was to test rather than demonstrate the congruency of results with the perception that inconsistencies would offer a deeper meaning of the data and a greater understanding of the study environment, therefore increasing validity (Patton 2002, Merriam 2009). The inclusion of multiple stakeholder groups across industries, sectors and geographical locations sought to generate the construction of a more holistic picture and add weight to the argument that different realities exist to different people depending on their standpoint. Lincoln (1995) puts much onus on the importance of ensuring the voices of many perspectives are heard in qualitative research and considers the “fairness” criterion a measure of a balanced stakeholder involvement.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Quantitative Quality Criteria</th>
<th>Qualitative Quality Criteria</th>
<th>Qualitative Quality Criteria</th>
<th>Definition of Qualitative Quality Criteria</th>
<th>Provisions Made to Achieve Qualitative Quality Criteria</th>
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</table>
| Internal validity             | Trustworthiness              | Credibility                  | “How congruent are the findings with reality? Do the findings capture what is really there?” (Merriam 2009)  
|                               |                              |                              | “How believable are the findings?” (Bryman 2012)  
|                               |                              |                              | “How we ensure rigor in the research process and how we communicate to others that we have done so” (Gasson 2004)  
|                               |                              |                              | Triangulation, rapport, opportunity for refusal to participate, prolonged engagement with community of interest, triangulation of data, iterative questioning, reflective commentary, thick description, familiarisation with participant culture, reflexivity, open enquiry |
| External validity/ generalisability | Transferability              |                              | “The extent to which the findings of one study can be applied to other situations” (Merriam 2009)  
|                               |                              |                              | “Do the findings apply to other contexts?” (Bryman 2012)  
|                               |                              |                              | “How far can the findings/conclusions be transferred to other contexts and how do they help to derive useful theories?” (Gasson 2004)  
|                               |                              |                              | A conveyance to the reader of the study boundaries, identification of similar factors that are part of the theoretical model and consistent between different contexts. |
| Reliability                   | Authenticity                 | Dependability (or consistency) | “Are the results consistent with the data collected? Rather than demanding that outsiders get the same results, a researcher wishes to concord that, given the data collected, the results make sense – they are consistent and dependable” (Merriam 2009)  
|                               |                              |                              | “Are the findings likely to apply at other times?” (Bryman 2012)  
|                               |                              |                              | The provision of a detailed process report, in-depth methodological description, clear and repeatable procedures, a comprehensive but flexible research plan indicating any changes which have occurred, audit trail. |
| Objectivity                   | Confirmability               |                              | “Has the investigator allowed his or her values to intrude to a high degree?” (Bryman 2012)  
|                               |                              |                              | “Do the conclusions depend on subjects and conditions of the study, rather than the researcher?” (Gasson 2004)  
|                               |                              |                              | Triangulation, reflective commentary, data-oriented and/or theoretical audit trail, recognition of limitations, self-awareness, reflective journal to seek out and correct researcher’s prejudices. |
5.8.2 Scope and Limitations of the Study Design

As a result of refining the scope of the study, the research found itself limited to a focus on the actions and behaviour of stakeholders functioning specifically within the island context. Although this reduced applicability, it was necessary in the provision of a rigorous study. As has been previously discussed, islands reflect some interesting but also distinct characteristics which therefore restricts what may be transferable to other scenarios. While some of the outcomes pertaining to the transport-tourism relationship may relate to general remote and rural stakeholder relationships, within the parameters and context of this study it is not something which has been substantiated and would require further research to confirm or reject similarities. What this study does offer however is the scope to engage in further research of a comparative nature thus identifying how relationships within small geographical governance structures compare with those in more populated environments. This would allow for an expansion of knowledge on the extent to which collaboration occurs as a political, performance or complexity imperative and how this might be influenced by factors in the external environment. Further, while this study demonstrates elements which may be reflective of island groups in other destinations it is important to consider the wealth of variables which could apply to this scenario. For instance, small island groups around the world take on a variety of differences predominantly depending on their political, geographical and economic status. Aspects such as governance structures, climatic conditions, contributions of the tourism industry and the development of infrastructure will all be factors which could impact upon the findings of alternative island studies. Further discussion pertaining to island variances can be found in section 3.3 (page 74).

A further area which provided a potential limitation and a test to the internal validity of the research fell within the remit of participant selection. Given the nature of the geographical areas under study, the sample selection could not have been achieved with complete certainty that all the most relevant stakeholders were included. Islands have a tendency to operate at times on a more informal basis with significant players regularly associated with cultural and social standings – for further details, see section 3.7 (page 91). During the primary data collection participants were identified who were
regarded locally to have substantial influence on activity within the immediate surroundings. Yet there was often no record other than in practice of the fundamental role they were deemed to play in an operational capacity. However it is also important to consider that this is an inductive study where sampling follows a pattern of discovery rather than verification as in the case of deductive reasoning (Richards and Morse 2013). The incorporation of snowball sampling sought to counteract the challenge described by allowing those identified as pertinent to the study to propose any further members they believed held significance (see section 5.6 (page 153)). Participants were invited to make recommendations of relevant parties both prior to their interview (during the interview arrangement process) and also following the interview in order to give them the opportunity to consider the scope of questioning and who they may perceive relevant for the researcher to contact.

It was acknowledged that the methodological approach adopted would possess its own quota of strengths and weaknesses. Qualitative inquiry allowed an in-depth description of the phenomena to be made taking into account the complexity of the scenarios presented as well as the background information indicated to motivate the given perceptions. This was recognised as perhaps the most obvious advantage from adopting a research design which incorporated a qualitative approach since the intention of the researcher was to provide an emic perspective of people’s personal experiences. The potential impact of the local situation and conditions on the stakeholders’ needs required a responsive method of data collection which was supported by a qualitative line of inquiry. Responsiveness in this sense refers to aspects such as the necessary probing and deviation which is further discussed within section 5.5.1 (page 146). While statistical information could have presented valuable data regarding the chosen phenomena it would not have been possible to achieve the interpretation of social construction which underpinned the epistemological stance of this study.

A presence in the field and developing an understanding of the research participants in order to offer an authentic representation of the accounts given also assisted in increasing the congruency of findings with reality. It allowed the researcher to identify
and discuss contextual and setting factors in relation to the phenomenon of interest as the interview conversations progressed. However an intensified level of participation in the data collection process resulted in a greater time commitment, both in the effort invested in travelling to the various island locations and in the attention demanded to develop rapport with participants. The time expenditure necessary within this study also led to the consideration of a smaller participant sample size than may have been feasible had a questionnaire method been applied for the elicitation of quantitative statistics. However the purposive nature of selecting the sample and adherence to the strict selection criteria in accordance with the research design (see section 5.6 (page 153)) resulted in a modest but legitimate study population. Although this exploratory study focussed on generating rather than testing theory due to a lack of empirical research within the subject area, it has developed the opportunity to apply deductive methods to future investigation.

A final notable challenge was the apportionment of time dedication necessary within the data analysis stage of this study than had the researcher followed a quantitative approach. Transcribing the interviews and achieving a high level of embeddedness in the narrative were fundamental in maintaining accuracy and context in the results presented. The validity of qualitative studies is inherently subject to additional critique than the pursuit of those with a positivistic grounding. However the research would not have gained the depth of insider knowledge sought from evoking the stakeholder perception had an alternative methodological approach been adopted.

5.8.3 The Native Researcher
A further consideration of potential impact on the study is the native stance of the researcher. The importance of the debate regarding the advantages and disadvantages of the insider/outsider perspective is therefore acknowledged. While no longer an island resident the researcher was born and brought up in this environment; in fact on one of the islands involved in this study. According to Banks (1998) who developed a typology spectrum of cross-cultural researchers, there are various influential factors which impact the positionality of a researcher. These depend mainly on indigeneity and the extent of socialisation within the community. Since the researcher is
indigenous to the islands but has been socialised out-with for a number of years, this would place the researcher between the categories of indigenous-insider/indigenous-outsider. Other scholars have characterised “insiders” as “total insiders” or “partial insiders” depending on the degree to which identities and experiences are shared.

A decision was made in the early stages of data collection not to conceal the native background of the researcher but to allow it to be alluded to at an appropriate juncture within the interview. While it was not information offered beforehand since the researcher did not want to draw such attention to it that it may be significantly influential to the behaviour of the participant, if the opportunity arose and the intimacy of conversation warranted the sharing of this information, it was offered. The researcher was unsure of the repercussions of disclosing a native islander heritage, however for the most part it was considered to increase access and rapport as the participant acknowledged the legitimacy of the researcher:

Since you’re an islander yourself you will understand, mainlanders just don’t understand, they don’t understand the mindset, it is a different culture (R17).

...and being from an island you’ll be able to empathise with that... (R1).

This resonates with Banks’ (1998) indication that an indigenous-insider has the greatest ascribed closeness; able to endorse the perspectives of the community and with the legitimacy of the community to speak with authority. However the insider perspective has also raised concerns regarding a researcher’s subjectivity and their ability to ignore pre-existing expectations and idiosyncratic knowledge (Zinn 1979, Corbin Dwyer and Buckle 2009). Surra and Ridley (1991) question the ability of an insider researcher to remain “objective” and present data with “accuracy”. Regardless, there has been an advocacy within insider research that unique methodological advantages are possible when one has membership within the community (Adler and Adler 1994, Bonner and Tolhurst 2002, Unluer 2012). As such there has been a growth in the number of studies undertaken by researchers considered to have an “insider”
positionality which has increased its scholarly interest (Brannick and Coghlan 2007, Mercer 2007, Innes 2009, Taylor 2011). Fetterman (2010: 2) proposes that “the closer the reader of ethnography comes to understanding the native’s point of view, the better the story and the better the science”.

Naples (1996: 140) suggests that “insiderness or outsiderness are not fixed or static positions, rather they are ever-shifting and permeable social locations that are differentially experienced and expressed”. Indeed the degree to which insiderness is achieved at any given moment is related to a number of critical factors determined by circumstance (Labaree 2002, Mercer 2007, Couture et al. 2012). It will also be influenced by a researcher’s own constructed identity and their notion of self or positionality within the study (Eppley 2006, Kerstetter 2012). Aspects of positionality, irrespective of an insider or outsider stance will create methodological issues with which the researcher will have to contend. This therefore suggests a difficulty in distinguishing specific benefit or disadvantage to being either distinctly insider or outsider since the researcher’s conceptual role is non-linear in terms of its insiderness. Corbin-Dwyer and Buckle (2009) indicate that rather than a better or worse researcher, the insider status just pertains to a different type of researcher.

The insider/outsider dichotomy was reflected throughout the data collection process depending on the extent to which the researcher could relate to the participant’s narrated experience. This resulted in a varied proximity to the situation being discussed. Kerstetter (2012) explains the importance of recognising this shifting positionality and that researchers assume a responsibility in understanding where they stand in order to consider how their status may affect both the process of the research and its outcomes. For example while the researcher could perhaps relate to the strength of identity within island communities conveyed by participants, a lack of experience within the transport industry led to very little knowledge about the complexity of issues this set of stakeholders faced. While cultural insiderness was evident, industry insiderness was at times less so.

Although the researcher had a theoretical understanding about the insiderness debate,
in practice this fed through periodically rather than as a consistent backdrop to the data collection process. Similarly rather than immediate access and rapport as is often suggested within the insider researcher role (Brannick and Coghlan 2007, Taylor 2011), the experience was at times reflective of Chavez’s (2008: 482) account as being “…awkward, time- and energy-consuming and fragile”. On occasion it was felt that participants were curious as to why someone familiar with this context would ask such questions and it was therefore crucial for the researcher to highlight the value of individual perspective. However rather than deference in response, it was more common for the participant to follow up a statement with an acknowledgement that they were speaking to a considered fellow islander:

*Understanding of the islands is as a place to escape to, it's not very touched by human invention as it were, emm, there is a cultural aspect to it, there's a freedom being expressed within the islands and you’ll know that being from Orkney yourself...* (R12).

*Well you know yourself; transport has improved in Orkney in recent years* (R32).

*So you know, you are an Orcadian and you know that Orkney is very precious about their islands and how they are marketed* (R33).

The researcher considered that the process of dictating the interviews, transcribing them verbatim and analysing them through NVivo increased the time that was spent breaking down the meanings. This helped to avoid impulsive conclusions being drawn from the data and the researcher’s personal experiences of the situation under discussion imposing the observations made, as is often a consideration in the prevention of insider bias (Mercer 2007, Corbin Dwyer and Buckle 2009). That said, and in defence of the native researcher, Chavez (2008: 475) points out that little empirical evidence supports these assumptions about insider positionality. She suggests that they are predominantly theoretical and “In truth, little insider research
and a lack of development of an insider methodology have failed to systematically describe what insiders actually experience”.

However the researcher recognised the need to be critically aware of the effects of positionality and the use of critical reflection assisted the vigilance of nativeness (Whittemore et al. 2001, Breen 2007). A short journal was kept of the researcher’s reflection on each interview to consider anything which may (or may not) have been pertinent to the quality of the data collection and the potential effect of the researcher’s role and identity on the fieldwork. This included aspects such as any pre or post interview communication between the researcher and participant (rapport or resistance), the situational context of the interview (relaxed and intimate or rushed with interruptions), and the nature of researcher-participant relationship on the day of the interview (welcoming and enthusiastic or sceptical and uncomfortable) from the perspective of the researcher. The suggestions in brackets give an idea of either ends of the spectrum, of course anything in between was possible and recorded accordingly.

Keeping self-reflective journals is expressed as an extremely valuable method of reflexivity since it allows the researcher to understand how the insider status may influence the data collection phase (Couture et al. 2012). The transparency it engenders helps to deal with the issues of bias in qualitative research (Morrow 2005, Cho and Trent 2006, Ortlipp 2008).

Some further issues which occurred included the participant drifting off the course of the interview as they felt it necessary to explore more about the researcher’s roots, which family they ‘belonged’ to, and acquaintances they might have in common. Similarly, due to the close nature of island communities and the likelihood that interviewees may know each other given the small pool of participants, it was not uncommon for them to ask who else was involved in the study. In a bid to avoid damaging the relationship which had been fostered between the researcher and participant by appearing secretive, it was explained that this information could not be divulged since it would harm the ability to give each participant anonymity, just as would be safeguarded in the case of that particular individual. This justification seemed to be accepted and when offering further candidates through snowball sampling it
meant that participants gave the names of all those perceived relevant since they did not know who was already included. Consequently this allowed the researcher to validate that the pool of stakeholders involved was perceived to be a legitimate one.

5.9 Conclusion
This chapter has delineated the theoretical assumptions and design choices implemented by the researcher in order to appropriately contemplate the theoretical framework of the study and to ensure that the research goals were attainable. The research purpose seeks to investigate the scope, role and nature of the collaborative relationship between transport and tourism in Scottish island destinations and the extent to which practice is influenced by the collaborative discourse of policy. Given the imperative to identify and present the stakeholder perspective resulted in the adoption of a paradigm embedded in interpretivism as the researcher sought to understand the meanings and explanations participants ascribed to phenomena. This led to the selection of semi-structured interviews in order to elicit a thick description. Aspects of quality were discussed in relation to validity and reliability, or rather the alternative criteria of trustworthiness and authenticity as favoured by qualitative research. The use of data triangulation and transcribing the interviews verbatim sought to reinforce the trustworthiness of the study while critical reflection of the researcher’s positionality and using CAQDAS strived to increase transparency.

The chapter which follows presents the study findings and demonstrates the practical application of the methodology.
Chapter Six
6. Findings

6.1 Introduction

This chapter presents the key findings identified within the primary data collection which were considered pertinent to the research. Throughout the chapter the study respondents (R1 – R34) are quoted or referred to in terms of the points the researcher presents. Within the direct quotes, the respondent number is followed by further characteristics in order to provide context to the source of the response. Table 10 below provides a key.

Table 10: Key to Indicate Source of Participant Response

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Location/Island</th>
<th>Sh</th>
<th>Shetland Islands</th>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Or</td>
<td>Orkney Islands</td>
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<td>OH</td>
<td>Outer Hebrides</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Sk</td>
<td>Isle of Skye</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Ar</td>
<td>Isle of Arran</td>
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<td></td>
<td>SW</td>
<td>Scotland Wide</td>
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<th>Industry</th>
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<th>Tourism</th>
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Guided by the research questions, the data extracted intends to demonstrate dialogue which took place within the interviews to highlight the more prominent and relevant messages delivered. The verbatim context of the interview quotes allows the reader an accurate representation of the conversations which occurred. The results of the information presented in this chapter will be analysed through an interpretation of their meaning within Chapter Seven during the discussion of the findings.
6.2 Background to the Transport-Tourism Relationship

The findings chapter begins by discussing the discourse around the perceivable value of the transport-tourism relationship from the perspective of the participants. The level of importance attributed to this affiliation and the drive to strengthen collaborative working between the two industries is expected to correlate significantly. Therefore it is important to provide some context as to the environment and circumstances within which the study participants operate in order to aid the rationalisation of thinking and behaviour.

6.2.1 Importance of Tourism to Small Island Economies

There was consensus across the stakeholder groups that tourism is economically fundamental to each of the island areas examined (R2, R3, R4, R5, R6, R8, R11, R12, R13, R14, R17, R30, R31, R32, R33). This was critical to establish at a preliminary point as the extent to which value is attributed to tourism was anticipated to resonate in the commitment and drive for stakeholders to work together. The only case where this opinion faltered slightly was in the Shetland Isles who differ from the other islands studied due to their heavy reliance on the oil industry to maintain the buoyancy of the local economy (R23, R24, R27). This coupled with a more prominent geographical remoteness inhibiting the tourism development capacity through distance, and creating a more niche product curtailed the level of reliance associated with tourism income. However stakeholders still discussed tourism as an important industry for Shetland in terms of the sustainability it provides.

*I think we recognise that tourism is an opportunity for diversification in Shetland away from public sector which is the kind of dominant employer in Shetland, and emm, we've got opportunities in oil and gas and renewable decommissioning and that sort of stuff but there is a gap between where we are now and that stuff becoming, emm, guaranteed components of the economy, they're still quite speculative and tourism is something that, it's a... It's something that is available in Shetland just through our environment and the natural resources that we have (R24, Sh, Tr, Pu).*
It [tourism] hasn't been perceived as the most important industry up here for a lot of reasons and for a lot of years because obviously Shetland has benefited from oil and also fishing is a big industry up here. So there are these kinds of industries that obviously bring in large amount of capital into the islands and have provided a lot of employment opportunities, whether it is direct or whether it is by the fact that the Council has benefited from money from oil revenues and has been able to employ a lot of people... I think that emm, tourism, how tourism is seen now is that it is a sustainable industry. Emm, it's seen as an industry that isn't just going to be here for a finite number of years and the challenge really is to drag ourselves along to the understanding that we have to treat it seriously (R23, Sh, To, Pu).

Tourism across the island areas was discussed not only as a crucial economic generator (R4, R5, R8, R10, R13), but it was also deemed important for employment and job creation (R2, R3, R4, R5, R8, R13, R17, R30), for business development (R3, R6, R8, R12, R31, R32, R33) and as a sustainable way in which to develop the economy (R2, R17, R23, R24, R27). There were many associations with tourism’s ability to affect island communities at a very fundamental level, permeating the lives of those who live there.

Like all the other islands we will happily say tourism is a... It's the life blood (R5, Bu, To, Th).

It’s [tourism] part of the very fabric of this island community (R33, Or, To, Th).

Islanders fully understand the, emm, the critical importance of tourism to their economy. I mean it’s all about jobs and putting dinner on the table (R6, Ar, To, Pr).
Tourism was articulated by many respondents as a way of life in island areas, unable to be isolated from typical habitual behaviour of the communities who host these visitors and the businesses that serve them.

6.2.2 Sustainable Tourism – A Driver for Collaboration

Irrespective of its indicated value, many respondents commented that although tourism elicits considerable benefits, in the islands it tends to be seasonal in nature. This hampered the perception of it as a sustainably balanced source of income throughout the year (R2, R5, R10, R11, R12, R30, R32, R33). While a steady profit may be unattainable throughout a twelve month period, the earnings which can be achieved during high season were expressed to equate to revenue capable of sustaining communities year round. Furthermore, the seasonality of tourism is somewhat responsible for highlighting the importance of the industry to transport services (R14, R22, R31). The significant difference of demand between summer and winter months with a surge of extra passengers during peak season demonstrated to transport operators that tourism provides lucrative additional custom they would not otherwise receive.

*It's called a lifeline ferry, emm service provision and whilst it's true to say that, the vast majority of our revenue comes in between April and September from tourism... what the tourist income does is reduce the dependency on the contract fee as opposed to the subsidy. Emm, so what you basically have to do is to try and generate as much tourism income as possible in the summer months to try and offset, to reduce your dependency on the contract fee (R22, SW, Tr, Pu).*

*Well, if it wasn't for the tourism market over the summertime we wouldn't exist because 80% of our income is from May to September, the tourist season (R31, Or, To, Pr).*
Ferry operators know that, you know tourism is a key part of their business and if you look at the figures in terms of seasonality, where you are certainly carrying double the passengers and vehicles in summer than you are in winter, if not more than that in some cases (R14, SW, Tr, Pu).

Tourism stakeholders highlighted that extending the season remains one of the key objectives to achieve more sustainability within these communities through the income that could be developed from year round tourism revenue.

The issue now is really to stretch out the season (R32, Or, To, Pu).

We are always very, we have a very short season in Orkney and we are always looking at ways to encourage people to visit during the shoulder months and ways in which we can extend the season (R33, Or, To, Th).

Extending the season was something that all stakeholder groups considered favourably given that transport services are restricted by vehicle capacity and the schedule of services (R5, R13, R15, R22, R24, R31, R32, R33, R34). A commonly conveyed frustration was the volume constraints experienced during the summer months versus an enormous surplus of space in the winter time but with a commitment to consistent overheads throughout. A tourist season which could be expanded would have the potential to create a more viable flow of visitors with possible benefits for both the tourism and transport industries. It was therefore suggested (and demonstrated in some cases) that this could be remedied through the organisation of events and festivals to encourage people to visit out of season (R8, R27, R32).

Events are also something that we take quite seriously because we realise that it is quite a driver of tourism. They cause a big influx, a big surge of tourism... The big ones are Up Helly Aa which is in January and it does attract a big surge of visitors just at the time of year when it is generally pretty quiet...
Events are definitely a beneficial tool in helping to attract people to Shetland, they provide something that you can hang the Shetland brand onto, it also focuses the local people as well into colluding or collaborating coming together to do something partly through civic pride but partly because they realise that it provides an opportunity as well, you know, if they work together they can achieve something more and see the benefits very directly that come out of an event (R27, Sh, To, Pu).

Beyond an opportunity to extend the season, the organisation of events and festivals facilitated occasions to collaborate. A consequence of working together to accomplish the production of these instances emphasised the reliance of one industry on the other. Achievement would offer benefits for both parties however this would be contingent on mutual input (R3, R4, R7, R8, R9, R10, R21, R26). Furthermore it was through project work that relationships were considered to be built and nurtured (R3, R7, R17, R20, R21, R23, R27, R29, R30).

It's more through project work than actually meetings, there isn't, we don't have specific... It's more through projects that we communicate and really work together, when we have something to connect us and guide us and focus us (R23, Sh, To, Pu).

Events and festivals were commonly upheld to exemplify a demonstration of collaboration between transport and tourism. This was perhaps because they gave stakeholders the opportunity to reflect upon intensified situations where there would be a mutual dependency – that is, an attraction or purpose for visiting (the event itself) and access provision in the form of transportation links required to attend the event. This provides the combination that Thompson and Schofield (2007) indicate are necessary in the presentation of an attractive destination, as discussed within section 4.7 (page 123). In a sense, events and festivals provided concentrated occurrences of the relationship generally considered necessary between transport and tourism stakeholders.
If we get very big events, like when the tall ships were here two years ago then, emm, there were committees set up by the tall ships organisers so we had places on those... I was on the Transport Committee and the Chair of the Transport Committee was the biggest bus operator on the island so he had the network of bus connections and things and that fed into what we were doing with the ferries... It all works together... (R26, Sh, Tr, Pu).

A week on Saturday we are having the Arran Malt and Music Festival and, emm, this is our third year of doing such an event and, emm, and with that, you know we are attracting potentially up to 2000 people and so I know already that the car, the ferry is already booked and, emm, it's a very busy day for them, for the ferry and emm, the coach company, sorry Stagecoach, they, I've worked with them and they are running additional buses throughout the day, emm, so we've actually got six coaches arriving at 11:30am, emm, off that ferry, so it is a case of working together to make sure the event is successful (R3, Ar, To, Pr).

However as one respondent pointed out, organising an event successfully requires the commitment of all the links in the process chain to work together effectively, not just between sectors (transport and tourism) but also within sectors (transport operators) for the provision of a seamless experience.

The key operators on these routes do try to work together but it's challenging, particularly when you switch from a winter to a summer timetable, emm, Calmac, it's not unusual for them, when they see an usual spike in activity coming up, it might be that there’s an event on, they'll put an extra ferry on, it doesn't mean the bus company will be putting extra buses on (R4, Ar, To, Th).

However this inflexibility pertained more to incapacity than it did to apathy with transport operators’ committed first and foremost to their primary remit of fulfilling routine contractual provision such as school runs and scheduled services. Whether through the production of events and festivals or encouraging the islands to stay open
for business year round, extending the season was a task cited as involving collective input to develop a robust product not only from the tourism industry but also for the part that transport play.

We’d like to push for the season to be extended but then we kind of need other things to be happening on the island as well, we need things for people to do, we need West Coast Motors to offer the transport round the island, it’s kind of a chicken and an egg situation, what do you do first? (R10, Bu, To, Th).

### 6.2.3 The Transport-Tourism Relationship – Influential and Interdependent

The ‘chicken and egg’ causality dilemma was something mentioned by various participants in the context of transport and tourism development (R9, R10, R14, R24). Whilst one industry was considered largely dependent on the other, there were questions around which party required taking the initiative first in terms of development.

The important thing is for it [transport] to be viable they need to have the [tourism] product to sell and they need to have a high-quality product at the end of it, you can't put on a good transport system and then they turn up and the product’s rubbish, you know the two of them go hand-in-hand so if you're offering a big visitor experience, everything needs to tick the box so it’s like a chicken and egg thing, do they develop the product and then the transport or do you develop the transport to bring people into the area first, you know?! (R9, Ar, To, Pu).

This account reverberated throughout conversations with stakeholders who spoke about a tourist’s desire to reach a visitor attraction influencing the incentive to use public transport and the cumulative impact this had on service provision at a more general level (R1, R3, R11, R14, R20, R21, R29, R30, R31, R32, R34). The ability of the visitor market to increase the viability of services through the influx of passengers it generated was something touched upon by various respondents. However the
motivation to use public transport would be dependent on the desirability of the route and the convenience and regularity of the timetable. As one respondent pointed out the logistics of this is something to be considered at a planning level in terms of the flow between nodes.

*If we want to get people onto public transport, the way to lever them onto public transport is to have an attraction at the end (R1, Ar, Tr, Pu).*

Similarly, providing information to encourage people to use public transport and to inform them of the alternatives to private vehicles was also an aspect which was emphasised as important in promoting a shift towards public transport utilisation. There was evidence of a growing realisation that joined-up thinking between transport and tourism stakeholders could aid the provision of services to potentially increase the viability of transport whilst expanding visitor services.

*I think that there’s a growing recognition that, well okay, we don't want to stop people from driving but we need to do more to provide alternatives and we need to provide more information and make it easier for travel sustainability in tourism (RI4, SW, Tr, Pu).*

*We need it to be easy for our visitors to get out and about and to know what is where and how to get around the island (R30, Or, To, Pu).*

An example of a practical move towards creating this scenario was seen through the development of HITRANS’ “JourneyGenie”, a national project which recently received European funding under the TransTourism (2013) banner. This initiative required the incorporated resource input from a variety of stakeholders including transport providers, HIE and VisitScotland to design and implement an itinerary and journey planner. In accordance with the dialogue in section 2.5.1 (page 55), sharing
resources has the ability to stretch individual capability and achieve more than the reach of individual effort which this scenario reflected.

[The purpose of JourneyGenie] is to make people realise that the place is better connected than they thought; to spread the jam more widely, you know it’s not all just going to Loch Ness for example; and thereby if you get more bums on seats you’re more likely to keep services going, that might otherwise not be there... (R21, SW, Tr, Pu).

This online service, which was launched in the summer of 2013, aims to make public transport more accessible to visitors thereby encouraging its use, but with a wider objective of increasing the sustainability of rural transport systems. Additional to illustrating a need for stakeholder interaction across industries, what this project also highlights is the acknowledgement for a relationship specifically between transport and tourism to promote sustainable rural development. Further it identifies a scenario where benefit could only be achieved through a multi-participatory approach.

**Interviewee:** is it something you could have done without VisitScotland?

**Interviewer:** no. No it could not have worked without them.

**Interviewee:** or Traveline perhaps?

**Interviewer:** no. It could not have worked without either of them (R21, SW, Tr, Pu).

Respondent 20 described how the causality dilemma also presented a problem in terms of developing the provision of public transport in the context of tourism usage. A lack of demand caused by a reliance on private vehicle prevented the development of public transport. However without the patronage to sustain public transport it was not feasible to expand service provision to potentially diminish the dependence on car travel.
Arriving at the ultimate destination is generally still by car. So on the one hand that maybe reflects the fact that public transport isn't great, but it might also continue to make public transport no better than it is because there isn't the demand there, so I think that's a really difficult one to define (R20, Sk, To, Pu).

The accessibility and viability of public transport services to and within island areas was not the only perspective from which transportation was considered to influence and be influenced by tourism and the flow of passengers the industry provoked. Further discussion arose around how the physical location of visitor attractions shaped public transport frequency and timetabling.

We tend to pick a lot of the visitors up going to Mount Stuart House because that is the sort of prime location for tourism on the island. Emm, Kilchattan Bay which is at the South end of the island only had a bus, emm, once every couple of hours so we changed that and we put a service bus on once every hour, for them because Mount Stuart House is part of that route and any days that Mount Stuart House is open the bus runs in through the visitor centre (R11, Bu, Tr, Pr).

We have a real big surge in the summertime, emm, particularly for Skara Brae, people are wanting to go there the whole time... Previously service provision to Skara Brae was not very good generally so the inclusion of the service is definitely something that has been welcomed by visitors judging by the uptake of use (R34, Or, Tr, Pu).

And, in keeping with the recognised reciprocal nature of the relationship within island areas, as well as being shaped by visitor attractions, transport services were also perceived to dictate the routines and capacity of tourism operations.
It's [the bus timetable] always historically been like that so we've had to work around it. Emm, so our [distillery] tours, emm, they start at, the first one is at 10:30am, the next one is at 11:40am, emm, I try and have it on the half hour every hour but we've adjusted that for 10 minutes because the bus doesn't arrive until 10:33am, emm, and the same going back, I've actually adjusted the times of my tours so that if people are doing a certain time they can be finished for the next bus going back... (R3, Ar, To, Pr).

This highlighted the ability of one sector’s behaviour to have a significant influence on the other. Moreover, this relationship appeared to work in both directions providing an obvious rationale for the two industries, transport and tourism, to work in tandem. However what was perhaps more striking were the narratives which emerged detailing the relationship between an increase in transport capacity and the consequential effects on tourism development. Additional access had resulted in an overwhelming response demonstrated by a rise in passenger numbers, so much so that demand effectively expanded to meet supply.

It’s strange... In 2004 we replaced the ferries on Yell Sound, they are our two newest ones and each of them are bigger than the two which were on the route before combined, there was a 16 car and a 14 car ship before which combined was 30 car spaces. Each of the two ships that we have now is 32 cars so we were basically doubling the vehicle deck capacity, but within a couple of weeks we were actually starting to leave traffic behind. That was quite amazing (R26, Sh, Tr, Pu).

Our service began as something completely new, the capacity it provided was additional to what was available before but within no time, no time at all we were finding that particularly in the summer months we were running to full capacity which is an extra nearly 350 passengers per trip. Since we began our business, we have increased the number of sailings per day during the summer months to 4 crossings each way because of the demand, increasing the possible number of people arriving into the island by 1,400 people per day. Now since
population sizes have remained relatively stable you can’t say that that is not largely down to tourism... and the position that we are in now is that we cannot cope with the capacity in the summertime (R31, Or, To, Pr).

This suggests a strong directional link indicating that where an island area presents an attractive destination, increasing access provision naturally develops a capacity to expand the visitor market. However, irrespective of the recognition of a strong and influential relationship between transport and tourism, a clear caveat evolved conveying a resounding message that the needs of the local population were the priority in transport service delivery (R1, R5, R11, R14, R21, R22, R23, R24, R27, R28, R30). What also emerged was a dialogue around the challenges for transport operators to balance a local provision with one serving visitors.

If a key attraction is en route to the supermarket then that’s fantastic, you’re killing two birds with one stone so to speak, but the, the likelihood of such serendipity occurring, I should imagine is, is few and far between... In the real world they may well be at other ends of the emm, the island so it’s challenging when you’re trying to provide a service to fairly diverse markets, especially on such a, such rigid budgets (R1, Ar, Tr, Pu).

What we can weave into that [local] network, emm, is a kind of serendipitous benefit if you like to tourism, but it is difficult to put public money into tourist specific services when it just costs money rather than, and we can’t even breakeven, emm, so you've got that dichotomy between needing to develop the tourism sector and providing a local service (R24, Sh, Tr, Pu).

While the objectives of tourism stakeholders have visitors at the core, transport stakeholders conveyed the need to consider a wider remit of consumer diluting a focus on the visitor market alone. A theoretical contribution is made to this argument within section 4.6 (page 120).
6.2.4 A Dichotomy of Objective between Tourism Development and Island Transport

Theoretically, the tourism industry was revered for the source of income it could provide to transport operations; however in practice there appeared to be the perception of a low level prioritisation and commitment of focus on the visitor market within transport provision (R20, R21, R24, R29). The key challenge being that within island communities’ transport is naturally considered first and foremost a service facility for the local population (R1, R5, R11, R14, R21, R22, R23, R24, R27, R28, R30). The commitment to inhabitants was discussed at an emotional level with one transport operator accentuating the sense of an overriding responsibility towards local people.

*People at Kilchattan Bay having to come in for hospital appointments, doctor’s appointments and all that type of thing so we can’t let our own community down because of tourism, you know tourism is obviously good for us but you know... We can’t let them down (R11, Bu, Tr, Pr).*

Some considered that the inclination to serve locals over tourists is demonstrated within the timetabling which was indicated to reflect the activities of daily life as opposed to the movements of visitors.

*I think timetables would be very different and they would certainly be very different for peak points of the season, if they were purely looking to serve, emm, concerned with the tourist market, I think ultimately these service specifications are to the community’s needs first and foremost (R15, SW, Tr, Pu).*

*The Northlink timetables are definitely geared for locals... Who wants to get up and get the kids ready to leave the island at 6am or your other alternative is quarter to five at night, at either ends of the year it’s dark by then and if you*
don't know the roads driving south... No, the timetables are set up for what local people want and need and freight preferences too (R31, Or, To, Pr).

However another respondent disagreed with the majority view by suggesting that transport services in her area are in fact geared towards tourists’ needs.

If the buses were tying in with the local community then you would be able to get a bus home at five o'clock at night after your work and you can't. You're waiting until; you know you have to wait ‘til seven o'clock to get the boat bus home. So if they really fitted in with the locals, and if that was the case then you'd be able to get a bus that would get people into work in the morning and I mean, I give people lifts coming to work because they can't get a bus to get them into work at the right time and things. And I don't live anywhere particularly remote, you know I live in probably the fourth most populated area of the island so, emm, I don't think that tourism fits in around local provision. I think the schools, yes, it fits in around that, but no, I think it's designed more for tourists because it ties in with the boat (R4, Ar, To, Th).

These mixed perceptions conveyed that either a balance is trying to be achieved or that confusion has arisen as to the dominant market which is attempting to be served. A look at the policy objectives and many of the stakeholder responses were confirmed. Transport provision aims to service, first and foremost the island communities who inhabit these regions thus they are a service critical to tourism but the primary motivation and commitment is to the sustainability of the local population. As a result subsidised services are a commonality. The consequential benefit this has on tourism is in the higher frequency and lower fares than would be available without government support. However in some cases, albeit few and often those passing an attraction or en route to a port or airport, the relationship is reciprocated. The footfall visitors provide can help to sustain the provision of some operations which might not otherwise have the local usage to justify the regularity of service.
I think the Stromness-Kirkwall-St. Margaret’s Hope route is the only purely commercial service, the only commercial bus route in Orkney, the rest are subsidised to some extent but the improvement in that service and the regularity of the service must be purely indicative of viability. And when it is connecting Stromness which is a ferry port and St Margaret's Hope which is a ferry port as well then obviously it is a lot of the ferry traffic that is being targeted along with links to the airport bus services well (R32, Or, To, Pu).

Some respondents discussed the reluctance to raise the tourism agenda for transport since tourism remains a seasonal activity whereas people’s lives on the islands and their routines are perpetual throughout the year (R14, R24, R29, R34). Tourism was something which was regularly commented on as an industry required to “fit in” with the transport needs of the rural communities (R1, R14, R24); something which one respondent highlighted proves challenging.

Ultimately these service specifications are to the community’s needs first and foremost and then they have an awful awful time trying to balance the different needs of the other markets they serve (R15, SW, Tr, Pu).

However this is not to suggest that respondents did not value the importance of tourism as has been previously discussed. There was dialogue around the need to look more holistically at all the transport needs within a rural community and beyond those relative purely to local residents (R8, R20, R24). Given the nature of rural transport some of the routes and services are subsidised through government contracts. Whilst this was broadly regarded as a necessity to provide a consistent and dependable operation, one respondent suggested that the drawback of this resulted in an inhibition on incentives to look at service delivery on a wider basis.

We’ve tendered our school transport service this year to a different operator, Stagecoach had the contract before but a different operator won the contract this year and they’re running that under contract as we’d specified. But, what
I think hadn't been foreseen is that, in the past Stagecoach thought “We’re doing these services, we’ve got a spare bus, we’ve got a spare driver, there’s, there’s some demand, we’ll run some other services in the area with that bus in between the school contract and that provided a service for visitors”. The new operator wasn’t interested in doing that, so that route has disappeared and that has caused problems for some travellers. Now that to my mind, and hindsight is a great thing, it's easy to see afterwards! But that to me kind of suggests that, we looked only at, “Right we have a need to get the school service, we'll go out and we’ll get the school service” rather than saying “What are all the transport needs in that area and will we satisfy all of them with how we contract it?” So there's maybe something to be learned from that in terms of how that might be done in future (R20, Sk, To, Pu).

The counter argument to funding support stifling innovation came in the form of pressure to achieve dependable services regardless of their viability, or lack thereof in the absence of subsidisation.

_I don't think a company could survive here just on fares, you know because the fares don’t cover anywhere near the driver’s wages, nowhere near it, we just couldn't operate without the subsidies (R11, Bu, Tr, Pr)._

_We're trying to encourage, because of policy, more public transport. It's very expensive, it has to be subsidised... (R5, Bu, To, Th)._

_They are heavily subsidised as well as the ferries, the ferries are basically subsidised to the power of 10, so basically, I mean the total budget is about £13 million and we collect about £1.4 million in fares per year (R28, Sh, Tr, Pu)._

Assertion also persisted that while the subsidised services offer a provision for local
people they are also, by default, creating affordable and accessible transport opportunities for tourism which may not otherwise be available (R5, R28). One respondent (R29) suggested a difference between internal and external operators, proposing that those connecting to the mainland of Scotland were more attuned to considering the tourism market than service provision based on the islands themselves. It was perceived that visitors would need to be captivated to travel to that particular island, motivating the need to sell the product much more effectively. However upon arrival tourists would engage (or not) with public transport services irrespective of marketing attempts. This was partly rationalised on the basis that visitors were believed to plan ahead and could not therefore be enticed to use public transport if they had not already made the decision to do so in advance. Respondent 7 spoke in agreement with the idea that travellers to remote destinations plan ahead.

*People want to plan and book ahead when they visit rural areas like these, they know the provision might be more restrictive and you want to know when you're getting on a ferry, when you get off the ferry and when you're getting on the next ferry (R7, SW, To, Pu).*

The importance of external transport links, those permitting travel between the Mainland of Scotland and the island destinations, was something which respondents discussed as critical in presenting an attractive tourism product from the outset.

*Especially the ferries, we need them to be able to get people here in the first place... Emm, if there isn't transport, if there isn't a good transport link then people aren't going to come because we are so far away, you kind of need to have a good transport service so that more people come basically, so it's very important, it's probably the most important thing (R10, Bu, To, Th).*

When it came to considering the transport element in the tourism product, stakeholders from both industries strongly expressed their recognition that the importance of access and the quality of it is a critical component in the tourism experience and catalytic to
the development of tourism. A broad literary debate regarding this assumption is evident in section 4.6 (page 120).

6.2.5 The Transport Component in the Island Tourism Experience
Aside from transport systems and services providing accessibility for tourism, there was regular dialogue beyond the logistical dimension with the conveyance of the transport experience as having an emotive quality. This highlighted that a relationship between transport and tourism was more than service provision; the element of transportation within the tourism product was perceived as a key part of the overall experience. Baum (1997) previously articulates this sentiment within section 4.7 (page 123), although he proposes that crossing the water to an island gives an even more heightened sensation of uniqueness. Many respondents spoke about the journey to an island as an intrinsic part of the process, an embedded element in what tourism involves.

*It's part of the holiday, once they're on the ferry, they're on holiday (R12, OH, To, Pu).*

*They're not just the way people get to the islands; they're part of the holiday... You know the, the, a ferry is part of this whole experience, it's not just the bus to the airport, and the Calmac, you know black and white ferries with the red funnel, it's very iconic imagery... (R13, OH, To, Th).*

*It's about creating an experience which includes the sailing to Shetland (R25, Sh, To, Th).*

*In terms of the transport side, transport... It's all part of the visitor's experience and if you turn up and you can't get a bus somewhere or your train is late or not running or whatever then, you know it, it, detracts from the visitor*
experience so transport to me is a vital link to the whole enjoyment of coming to visit here (R9, Ar, To, Pu).

One respondent even considered the point from his own perspective, as an islander, going off on holiday himself.

It's [the ferry] part of the charm, it's part of the experience because on some summer’s day coming over the pond there, a sheet of glass, the views as well, you know getting to see Bute for the first time... “Is that Bute, or is that Bute or is that still the mainland?” It's the guesswork, I've done it myself! But that's the holiday started, you know our holiday starts sitting on that ramp [points to pier] every October, ready to go away. We go away for a fortnight and that's when our holiday starts. Our kids are hyper, I've handed the safe keys over, my mobile phone is switched off and I am mentally finished, and that's when my holiday starts, on that ramp over there, ready to go on the boat. The kids will get a wee treat on the boat, a can of fizzy juice or something like that... And it's exactly the same for people coming in the opposite direction (R16, Bu, Tr, Pr).

Some respondents pointed out that the service requirements stretch beyond that of the transport modes to the islands to incorporate the broader context of transport provision including transport flows and networks. Effective links in the transport system were highlighted as imperative for a good level of connectivity to and from central hubs and island entry points thus providing greater destination accessibility and in turn, destination attractiveness (R7, R9, R10, R20, R25, R32). This opinion is demonstrated conceptually within Leiper’s (1979) Geographical Elements of Tourism in Figure 7 (page 123).

There was also dialogue regarding the necessity of good transport infrastructure in the form of high quality provision of facilities at exit and arrival points; this was deemed an important aspect of the whole visitor experience (R7, R17, R27, R32). Respondent 33 described how a collaborative project involving transport and tourism stakeholders
had the intention of merging the journey of getting to the destination into part of the visitor experience.

*The idea behind that was, the foot passenger terminal was quite a bland almost a little bit industrial when you got there and when you are a foot passenger you have to be there so long before the ferry actually sets sail and there was nothing for them to do so the idea was that we would give them a taste of Orkney... Enable people to start their journey before they got on the boat really. There is a big screen with an Orkney video on a loop, there is a model ship that Northlink provided and we did massive floor to ceiling display boards, and if you look at the display boards they are meant to be a taste of things that lie across the Firth and you can see the beautiful scenery, the wildlife, emm... And you can walk around and there are George Mackay-Brown quotes, there are pictures of musicians playing fiddles and accordions, it's meant to evoke a feeling of “Oh, I can’t wait to get there”. It's to give them a feeling of Orkney and they can pick up brochures and spend their time planning, getting excited for what lies ahead because why wait until you get here (R33, Or, To, Th).*

Respondent 7 shared the idea that the transport journey should coalesce as part of the whole tourist experience, thus creating an ambience enriched by the contribution from both industries.

*From the minute they, they boarded the ferry, that was when their experience of Arran started, ideally they would have wanted it at the harbour side but that was a more difficult one. So the whole visit to Arran, the whole experience started on the ferry and they brought in volunteers and staff to man the ferry, they would give out samples to say “Look this is the beer, this is the cheese, this is the accommodation, do you know where you're going to stay?”, so it was about creating that visitor journey (R7, SW, To, Pu).*
Aside from a provision of access it became clear that tourism stakeholders understood the role of transport to be a significant element in promoting an attractive destination. What was also conveyed was an awareness that the journey to and from an island and the travel around it would be a critical consideration in a tourist’s deliberation as to where they would choose to visit. Transport was seen as a vital aspect within the various components which create the tourism product and working together was deemed the best strategy in achieving integration amongst a collection of stakeholders.

*It’s more just seeing that there needs to be better integration between, emm with offering the visitors all the different parts of the experience when they’re here, so going to the visitor attraction or staying in the hotels is only one part of it, what about eating out, what about activities you might do, what about travelling from place to place...? (R20, Sk, To, Pu).*

*It [transport] is part of the holiday experience, you have to sell it as that, the total package and it doesn't give a very good impression if you can't get around the islands, or if the standard of provision doesn't match the rest of what the destination can offer. As I said before it is not cheap to get here and when a visitor steps on that boat they are paying for a service and the only way to join up these services is to work together, to integrate with each other, to collaborate between us (R33, Or, To, Th).*

This echoes arguments made within the secondary data conveyed in section 4.2.1 (page 100) that tourism is consumed as a holistic experience and therefore evaluated as a whole. However discussion also highlighted that some stakeholder groups have more malleability than others and where the tourism industry can flex to some extent, transport systems are often embedded in more rigid structures. Whilst it may be feasible for other service industries involved in tourism to adapt, this was less the case in terms of transport. A change to one service provision can have a knock on effect which impacts a variety of links, some of which are often trying to meet more than one connection. Even the slightest adjustment can be disruptive, hence the need for other industries to try and work around the historic patterns set by transport.
There was a change of ferry schedule, I think there was a change of schedule because a bus schedule had changed and so the ferry schedule had to change to suit the bus schedule and the bus schedule had changed because the rail schedule had changed and, you know it goes all the way back... If the act of getting here is disjointed and not pleasurable then it's a rubbish start to the holiday, it's a really important thing... (R13, OH, To, Th).

6.2.6 A Blurring of Boundaries

The geographical context of islands displayed some uniqueness in terms of the transport-tourism relationship and the affiliation of the normally separate roles each perform. Respondent 14 suggested that in some cases the closeness of relationship between transport provision and visitor marketing has culminated in responsibilities becoming blurred.

It struck me last year that actually a lot of what Calmac has been doing is operating almost as a Destination Marketing Organisation. Emm, there are some interesting things there, such as I mean Calmac haven't emm, stuck to... You know VisitScotland membership organisation lists, up until where we are now, only promote businesses which are accredited members and they've got two stars or three stars or whatever rating. Emm, there's no restriction like that on Calmac so any tourism business can get their, you know their business and a brochure. So, that seems to me to be really significant and there’s a fair question as to how will that change in future if we've got a different ferry operator or if the ferry network is operated in a different manner, is it actually the role of the ferry operator to act as a kind of quasi destination marketing organisation? Or should they be more focused on the operating of a good quality ferry service and liaise with other bodies that take on that role? (R14, SW, Tr, Pu).

Similarly, Respondent 10 highlighted that local residents will always be reliant on
using ferry services for access to and from the islands. Therefore transport providers have recognised the importance of marketing their services to tourists since they are who provide an avenue to potential business growth capacity.

If you look at their Explore magazine which is their [Calmac’s] magazine, it's all directed towards tourism, because the locals have to use it [the ferry] so they don't really kind of have to push it to them, there's no way around it so they have to just open up their market to tourists (R10, Bu, To, Th).

Increments of the type of marketing behaviour ordinarily carried out by a touristic representative body also manifested through Respondent 5’s consideration of a ferry company’s drive to create tourist packages and attract visitors to the area with competitive offers. This account emphasised the development of reactive behaviour in the need to generate markets.

_Calmac recognised, they’d be the first to tell you they do a lot of sales and marketing and they are dependent on increasing tourism during the summer... Calmac used to just focus on its key operations but they are doing more and more packages with other tourism operators, emm, I'm trying to think of examples... These packages are all quite new, they never used to do this kind of thing in the past and again I think this is out of... You can call it innovation; I would say it is out of necessity, the need to generate markets and one of the ways to do that, the best way to do that is give people a competitive offer (R5, Bu, To, Th)._}

However Respondent 15 pointed out that although transportation is an intrinsic part of the tourism product and experience, as important an element as it may be, it is not why people travel to a destination. This rationale also accentuated the fact that where operators have a monopoly, marketing the destination is perhaps more effective than marketing the transport provision as by default the visitor will require to use the service to access the location. Respondent 25 agreed that marketing the destination as opposed
to the ferry service was a positive step in demonstrating a transport provider’s understanding of the part they play in the visitor experience and their logistical role in island dynamics.

What Northlink Ferries originally did compared to P&O Ferries is that Northlink realised the power in marketing the destination, so they weren't marketing ferries, they were marketing the destinations that they were serving and I think emm, worst-case scenario is that we could end up marketing ferries again whereas I think Northlink was about marketing an experience to Shetland. I think we're all in it together, we realise that we need the ferries, we have to work together (R25, Sh, To, Th).

6.2.7 Perceptions of the Relationship between Transport and Tourism

It is perhaps unsurprising that transport providers in island areas perceive themselves to have an elevated role in tourism. The reliance of these peripheral areas on visitor markets and the key role transport systems play in the operations and dynamics of island destinations provides the justification. The fundamental impact transport services have on tourism activity through the access they permit validates a motivation to escalate their involvement to a level which reflects the significance they are perceived to possess. A background discussion on this topic is presented in section 4.6 (page 120). Respondent 17 rationalised that the ferry to an island community is as intrinsic a connection as a motorway to urban areas providing evidence of the extent to which it is considered critical to these rural societies.

…The metaphor that I always find myself using all the time to them is, you know, the ferry run for us is like the M8 is between Glasgow and Edinburgh for people living in Edinburgh and Glasgow - it's that fundamental (R17, OH, Tr, Th).

A contrasting perspective from the Shetland Isles however illustrated that where distance is a key factor, the integration of the two industries is lessened even though
the perceived reliance on a relationship between the two does not diminish.

No tourism business would invest in, emm, infrastructure or products unless it was confident that there would be a market to access that infrastructure and those products. So that is a significant constraint in Shetland, that confidence doesn't exist because of that [transport] constraint on the market so the external ferry link has got a real influence on tourism development in Shetland (R24, Sh, Tr, Pu).

The remoteness of island destinations and the dependence that local communities themselves have on access provision served to advocate the importance of the role transport plays in presenting an attractive and accessible destination.

I think people recognise that transport has a great bearing on tourism and I think a lot of people's concerns start with transportation. I think the recognition is there and I think in a small community it’s bound to be because you realise yourself that you need it as much as a tourist needs it, that it's important. If you live in Banff you can drive to Aberdeen, if you live in the Hebrides you can't do that, you're reliant on transport so every form of transport is important to us and it's always going to play a part in our infrastructure and our future (R12, OH, To, Pu).

Similarly Respondents 13 and 31 attributed an intensified relationship between transport and tourism in island areas to the fact that they are disconnected from the mainland and are therefore infinitely more reliant on some form of established access provision to enable visitors to reach these destinations.

They [tourists] have to get here through one method of transport that is not their own private vehicle... [on the mainland] transport is just there you know,
people can gain access on the mainland but here we're that much more reliant on transport, public transport to actually get there! (R13, OH, To, Th).

It's very important because it's an island community so you either have to gain access by sea or by air, that's the only choice you have so being well-connected by those modes of transport is a major necessity (R31, Or, To, Pr).

The expectation for transport to be perceived at a higher level by tourism stakeholders than the other way around was driven by the secondary data collection. Whilst there was evidence of a strong awareness that transport is a critical element in the tourism product (R3, R4, R8, R9, R10, R12, R13, R15, R24, R25, R29), in the context of this study there was also substantial recognition of the importance of tourism to transport stakeholders (R1, R5, R10, R11, R13, R14, R15, R21, R22, R29, R31, R32). Some respondents discussed a need for transport and tourism to work “hand-in-hand” (R8, R9); naturally these perceptions translated across to the emphasis on relationships between transport and tourism.

We do a lot of partnership working obviously with the local council and in relation to transport, Loganair, Northlink, Orkney Ferries, Pentland Ferries, John O'Groats Ferries, Stagecoach, if it runs we engage with it because we need to know that these people are joined up and aware and understand what opportunities are available for their customers because a lot of them are visitors to Orkney (R29, Or, To, Pu).

We all recognise that we have to work together because if we don't we're going to fail and most of the time I feel it's quite a balanced relationship, we need the flights and the ferries as much as they need us, even if that is just for information (R33, Or, To, Th).
When asked about the level of importance attributed to the *relationship* between transport and tourism the following responses were included in the accounts given, firstly looking at the role of *transport* facilitating tourism.

*Very.* Very [important]. *Because we need them [transport operators] to be able to,* especially the ferries, *we need them to be able to get people here in the first place...* Emm, if there isn't transport, if there isn't a good transport links then people aren't going to come because we are so far away, you need to have a good transport service so that more people come basically, so it's very important, it's probably the most important thing (R10, Bu, To, Th).

*It's a no-brainer,* they are completely interlinked. *You just cannot separate them out* (R29, Or, To, Pu).

*It's [transport] a vital,* it's a vital tool for tourism, *you know if the transport’s not there then there’s no point in people coming here because they’ll never get to their destination you know* (R9, Ar, To, Pu).

*Hugely.* Hugely [important]. *Because an island community is separated from the whole,* we need to have transport, we need to have links with the transport managers, carriers, whatever it is to do with transport we need to be there and that goes as far as Scotrail, you know, because the journey maybe culminates here but you have to get to the start of the journey to ensure that the experience is a consistent one... I think it [transport] plays a great great part in what we do and what we have here in terms of tourism. *If it wasn't for the transport there would be questions about our viability* (R12, OH, To, Pu).

And also from those who considered the role of *tourism* to support transport.
There is no question that they [tourists] increase the viability of service, if you just look at Northlink’s current proposed changes to their timetable; the winter timetable is based on local use, the summer timetable... I don't need to say it, it’s proven; it's there in black and white. The commercial model proves the fact (R29, Or, To, Pu).

It's, it's, it's... An inextricable link, isn't it? (R13, OH, To, Th).

Certainly the transport providers in Orkney need tourism because you know, we don't have a big population and economies of scale don't exist to you have to try and take your business from wherever you can (R32, Or, To, Pu).

However a belief that transport and tourism are interdependent was not ubiquitous; geographical coverage and the cost of running services affected the perspective of tourism’s benefit to transportation.

Here, the tourism element does not contribute significantly to the patronage of services and therefore the income we can generate from them... when you look at it from the cold hard cash aspect, it's difficult to invest in services that are aimed at tourism when they don't recover their costs, particularly in the current environment (R24, Sh, Tr, Pu).

6.3 Issues in Governance
This section is devoted to a discussion of the various governance issues which arose from the conversations with stakeholders and demonstrated the key challenges of the industries both individually and in working together. Local concerns referred to policy and managerial problems which were perceived to inhibit the overall performance potential of the destinations.
6.3.1 Structural Disparity

Section 6.2 (page 174) evidenced some of the drivers for collaboration within the island areas studied and the prevalent opinion that a relationship between transport and tourism is not just beneficial but a necessity in achieving a sustainable and attractive destination. Furthermore, the relationship between the two industries was conveyed as significantly influential and interdependent. However a desire to achieve a high level of alignment and integration between transport and tourism faced some obstacles which unsurprisingly surfaced within the interviews conveying feelings of frustration (R4, R15) and constraining the extent of what could be collectively achieved (R5, R13, R17, R20, R22, R24). Respondent 15 described the relationship between transport and tourism as "Crucial, but somewhat, sometimes a bit disjointed", whilst Respondent 13 seemed unable to venture further than considering there to be mutual respect between the two industries.

I think the majority of the time the relationship between transport and tourism is something like... Mutually respectful, I think is the best way of describing it, you sort of see where they are coming from and they see where you're coming from... The two are often incompatible but you find a way of... (R13, OH, To, Th).

These incompatibilities were regularly specified to result from the structural antithesis between the two industries which was considered to prevent a closer working relationship between transport and tourism.

Tourist operators don't necessarily have to comply with as many restrictions as transport operators, and the architecture that comes with transport systems. That’s perhaps the greatest challenge between a stronger working relationship between the two, the fact that they’re so structurally different, tourism is much more nebulous than transport can afford to be and sometimes this makes the fit difficult (R21, SW, Tr, Pu).
The regulatory parameters within which tourism functions were generally considered to be broader than those applicable to transport since the majority of tourism businesses are privately owned and therefore not financially accountable. Any amendments to operators of Public Service Vehicles (PSV) within the island destinations were required to go through complex and time consuming government processes in order to make the necessary changes.

*It’s not at all easy to make changes to the bus timetables, because you need to give eight weeks’ notice and that's the tourist season over by the time you have identified the need for a change, received approval and implemented it.* (R34, Or, Tr, Pu).

This contrasted with a private transport enterprise which conveyed that it was able to demonstrate more autonomy when it came to making decisions and perceived this to work well in terms of catering for the visitor market.

*Because we aren’t funded by the government we aren't tied, we have less constraints on what we can do so we can change fast to respond to public demand... you have to keep up with the market demand and change to suit what the market wants* (R31, Or, To, Pr).

However within rural areas the opportunities to establish viable transport innovations were limited due to the often vast distances covered and the low and inconsistent patronage achievable due to seasonality within tourism markets. There was evidence that the fluidity and interrelatedness of tourism, alternating between autonomous and collaborative behaviour, was at times difficult to align with state subsided and therefore state regulated transport provision. The capricious behaviour of consumers requires versatility within the tourism industry in order to provide an attractive and competitive offer however this did not necessarily fit with the conventional behaviour of public administration and therefore the scope and speed of implementing transport services. Whilst a relationship between transport and tourism was clearly deemed
important, it did not automatically translate to one which was effortless. A further barrier to engagement was identified in practice through the obligation of PSVs to comply with the rules administered by the Traffic Commissioner, responsible for transport licensing and regulation in Scotland.

_They [tourists] obviously want everything to link in properly for them but sometimes that doesn't quite work because we are operating a service, emm, and if the boat is running late then the boat doesn't make the bus and the bus can't wait for the boat to come in, because we are a registered service and we have to abide by the regulations set by the Traffic Commissioner... (R11, Bu, Tr, Pr)._ 

_I’ve seen the bus leave the pier as the ferry is backing into the harbour, just minutes away from people coming off the boat needing transport into Kirkwall. I appreciate that they’re accountable to higher authorities to keep to tight schedules but sometimes it makes little sense and looks really bad too, especially for visitors, it looks really inhospitable (R31, Or, To, Pr)._ 

The rigidity of structure faced by transport services through strict adherence with the Traffic Commissioner, although undoubtedly necessary for continuity of service in many cases, demonstrated a detrimental impact on the holistic effectiveness of an island destination. Furthermore, it had the potential to increase disjointedness. Island regions were considered as unique entities with distinct idiosyncrasies and challenges, unable to be homogenously compared to other areas, particularly those with large and regular transport networks. This belief was conveyed in a narrative around the requirement for local governance networks thus allowing decision-making to reflect the identified needs of destinations at a local level.

_One of the things that we’re looking to try and do is to say to the Traffic Commissioner, emm, through Transport Scotland, “You need to look at island services in a slightly different way than let's say...”...You could understand it_
on let's say a high-frequency with round about a dozen or eighteen vehicles on one route, because the next vehicle will be along in something like 10-15 minutes time, like LRT [Lothian Regional Transport]. But when there are only three services a day then you've got to think about that (R22, SW, Tr, Pu).

The opinion that the needs of islands are individually distinct led to the perception that local level governance was significantly important in driving development.

_I would say it's [development] probably more driven locally than it is by any other national agenda because what you'll find is island networks or groups or businesses will say that their needs are very different from that of the mainland businesses, they think that there's barriers, there’s greater barriers to be overcome to get people to islands destinations (R7, SW, To, Pu)._

The value of local knowledge feeding into national strategy and decision-making was touched upon by Respondent 14. This was deemed to have particular merit in assisting the creation of comprehensive and legitimate outcomes for the area holistically as well as for tourism development.

_It's about working on a day-to-day level with civil servants and developing that understanding and for the last three years there's been a huge amount of work on the Ferries Review and, you know providing that sort of detailed local kind of knowledge and understanding what the issues are, and part of that is very much about tourism and the needs of tourism if you want to grow the tourism industry... (R14, SW, Tr, Pu)._

Previous reference was made to the significance of local knowledge in the generation of sustainable policies in section 4.2.2 (page 105). There were two distinct arguments amongst respondents when it came to local governance and national agendas. While there was a perception that cohesion between local level needs and national agendas
was considered necessary in order to maximise what could be achieved collectively (R9), some stakeholders conveyed that individual requirements may not always reflect a national objective and the formulation of local policy may be necessary (R22, R24, R30, R32). However agreement emerged that finding the relationship balance between local and national stakeholders (reminiscent of the bonds and bridges observation in section 3.5 (page 81)) would allow for a wider recognition of each other’s goals and a broader capacity of what was possible.

*I think locally we have to be thinking what can we do on behalf of the national agencies and what nationally can they do on behalf of the locals (R25, Sh, To, Th).*

Similarly, it was proposed that where possible, themes aligned with national agendas should be weaved into local strategy, thus making them meaningful at a local level. Respondent 20 considered this to be relatively straightforward given that national objectives tend to be fairly broad to allow this scenario to happen. He further suggested that the essence is in interpreting how delivery of these national agendas can be efficaciously delivered locally.

**6.3.2 Desire for Local Identity in National Representation**

A common theme in the interviews was dialogue around tourism governance – namely the necessity for it but often the lack and inconsistency of it. There was in many cases no clear leader or authority for facilitation because of the tourism industry’s ability to touch so many different stakeholders. Some respondents discussed that they felt the restructuring of Scotland’s national tourism organisation from Scottish Tourist Board to VisitScotland impacted negatively upon areas at a local level (R5, R13, R25, R32, R33). A more centralised management structure and prominence of focus on a marketing role was considered to have diminished the individuality and diversity of Scottish islands by selling “Scotland” as a whole.
There was a period where it got quite messy when VisitScotland was going through their restructuring and Scotland was being marketed as “Scotland” and I think that I have always believed that islands like the Western Isles, Orkney, Shetland and... Islands are different and I think Scotland should be celebrated for its diversity, it's difference rather than having to package it as one entity and I think VisitScotland perhaps lost their way for a period (R25, Sh, To, Th).

It [the industry] lost confidence I think in VisitScotland... and we were fearful that, that our island wasn't actually being portrayed or all the assets that we have here weren't being portrayed within that advertising. It just looked like any other tourist brochure that was on the shelf in a visitor centre... (R32, Or, To, Pu).

The constraints of what the restructuring had involved were also felt from within VisitScotland.

It is difficult because I feel restricted and I have boundaries and limitations within VisitScotland but they obviously have a system across the board and a structure across the board but that doesn't necessarily mean that it works for each individual area and I have restrictions on what I can do (R12, OH, To, Pu).

The importance of island identity was regularly commented on by stakeholders for the purposes of differentiation (R13, R17, R23, R25, R32), as a key selling point (R17, R28, R32) and, from a more personal perspective, due to civic pride (R25, R27, R28). There was much discussion around the identities of islands and the perception that they each have their own unique personalities and distinctions (R1, R17, R23, R24, R25, R28, R29, R32). Respondent 33 conveyed that local level representation was considered a high priority by local industry members.
They [industry members] still wanted to retain a membership organisation that was based locally, that focused on local issues that gave the industry a local voice, rather than a national voice (R33, Or, To, Th).

Although this was endorsed by Respondent 25, also highlighted was the importance that it is not something which should be done in isolation.

The best people to market and understand the place is locally and you are better to actually do that locally and then work closely with marketing agencies to influence what it is they are doing, you can't work without them and I should be very clear about that, but it is about finding the right relationship with the national bodies (R25, Sh, To, Th).

While there was stress on the importance of local level governance there was also recognition of a balance by acknowledging the need to link in to the broader national context.

6.3.3 The Responsibility of Development and Direction of Strategy
The change in nature of VisitScotland removed from their objectives the developmental remit of the organisation (further details pertaining to the re-structuring of the national tourism organisation in Scotland can be viewed in section 4.5.1 (page 115)). They had previously been the predominant public sector body tasked with this responsibility in Scotland. The withdrawal of this obligation was something reflected upon during an interview with a VisitScotland representative and what this had meant at a local level.

Ourselves at VisitScotland, we have limitations within our parameters as it were. We are, we are marketing effectively, emm, and quality assurance. We’ll
advise; we provide a growth fund which gives added incentive for funding but not everything obviously gets through but, you know it's there for people to engage with. But these are our parameters so we can’t develop anything we can only advise on development (R12, OH, To, Pu).

Many of the island areas have established what they generally referred to as a DMO in the absence of the developmental function previously provided by VisitScotland (R5, R7, R12, R20, R21, R22, R23, R27, R33). DMOs emerged as a direct reaction to the abolition of VisitScotland’s commitment to this role indicating that development was an obligation perceived to have real value in destination management and was therefore considered necessary to retain, albeit in a different context. However even within the areas locally there was confusion as to how DMOs were broadly perceived. While some stakeholders conveyed that their remit was to provide a developmental role (R12, R13, R24, R25, R33), others considered that they were and could only be focussed on marketing.

_I mean I suppose we are a DMO, a Destination Management Organisation, we haven't been focusing on as a group what, on the things that get visitors here, that is VisitScotland’s job, you know it was their job to go out and market our area, they are a marketing organisation, but we felt it was our job as tourism businesses to influence what happens with the visitor when they get here, to add value to the holiday experience... I feel a bit like, you know, we're not a marketing organisation, what we have done is, we have put all the tools in the toolbox and now we can hand this over to our partner VisitScotland who can go out and spread a much stronger and clearer message about the island... (R33, Or, To, Th)._ 

_They’re marketing groups, they’re tourism marketing groups. That's, that's, that’s the way we, well, certain members of staff would argue differently... But no, ultimately they are fulfilling the role of, of marketing the member organisations. It's very difficult to see what their role is in terms of developing,
they could develop the marketing but in terms of product development and business development... (R7, SW, To, Pu).

While DMOs gave tourism industry businesses an opportunity to communicate collectively and deliver a stronger message, questions around their suitability in the role of development agency were raised in discussions regarding the reluctance of private industry members to invest in activities which were geared towards development. Respondents conveyed that whilst industry members may be amenable to spending money on marketing initiatives where they could see a fairly obvious return on investment, there was less willingness to fund developmental projects with a broader scope for utilitarian benefits.

Whilst there has been a group come along to try and set up as a destination organisation there, and do maybe some of the quality improvement, product development type work, they’re really struggling to get buy-in from the industry because what the industry are normally happy to part with their money for is marketing activity because that's where they see a fairly quick return. They’re generally less willing to put it in to product development type projects (R20, Sk, To, Pu).

In an ideal world, you would think that every business in this island would understand the value of tourism or economic development and would want to put a percentage of their income into a pot, that's the ideal world and we kind of strive for, to see how you can get industry actually matching public money to make the place better. When everybody is happy, when the private sector are doing fine, when tourism is doing okay, people don't want to put any more money in, they don't want to spend any money because they think “Well I'm full so why should I...” (R25, Sh, To, Th).

I'm just not sure that the industry as a whole are that interested [in developing tourism], if they're not seeing people rolling up at their front door, and that's
understandable, it's the same for us, if we are not bringing people to their door then they're not interested in what we do (R12, OH, To, Pu).

“How are we going to make some money out of this?” That's what industry wants to know (R13, OH, To, Th).

The rationale behind this was reflected in the fact that a lack of economies of scale prevented small businesses from being able to commit any significant funding to projects which were considered unlikely to be directly and immediately recouped.

Businesses here do not have deep pockets, because of where they are, seasonality, there’s no big business really, emm, outside of tourism here. There’s a few hauliers and so on but, you know there is none who would put money into tourism projects (R12, OH, To, Pu).

One respondent conveyed their feelings through a specific example; an issue with repercussions for many but where they did not perceive themselves as responsible for providing a solution to what was effectively a shared developmental issue.

If you were to sort out signage on the island, you would really help businesses but who on earth is going to pay for it? No tourism business will. From my own business, I wouldn't pay for signage to be improved because it's a tiny, it's a tiny irritation to my guests but for the greater good it's really important (R13, OH, To, Th).

Respondent 25 suggested that encouraging people to part with financial resources in a bid to realise collective benefits from investing in development was about engaging stakeholders to visualise the potential outcomes that could be sought.
But you still need to find another key that unlocks the door where people want to put in the money, there's other areas of the world that do that well when people actually realise a common vision and by amalgamating some of their money, and putting something on the table then they can make it better (R25, Sh, To, Th).

Although the intention of DMOs appeared to be the provision of a mechanism through which the capacity of tourism management at a local level was re-balanced, Respondent 14 considered there to be an inadequacy in key strategy elements.

There’s definitely, there is definitely a need there for the tourism industry I think to become more focused and strategic... Nobody has really been dealing with destination planning and destination development, and that’s the key difference between what happens here and what I’ve seen in Sweden, you know in their resorts; what happens in the South of Germany in the Black Forrest and what happens in Switzerland where, you know, the destination organisations, yes, they do a marketing role but they’re also much more closely involved in the planning role and identifying key infrastructure that needs put in place (R14, SW, Tr, Pu).

Other organisations which were cited as having a key part to play in the development role of the island communities included HIE (R7, R8, R12, R14, R33), economic development departments within local authorities (R5, R7, R9, R30, R32, R33) and community development or community councils (R7, R8, R14, R30). This highlighted a recognition of public sector agency representation in destination development. Respondent 4 suggested the inclusion of the public sector was inevitable due to the resource capacity they were likely to be able to contribute.
Well that's just the way it has to be. You know they [public sector] are the ones that hold the money so we have to work with them you know, and I don't mean that in a derogatory sense, I'm happy to work with everybody and anybody... (R4, Ar, To, Th).

While industry members brought first-hand experience of dealing with the market and the requirements of the tourists, this emphasised the perception that the public sector delivered value in providing resources which were not evidently available from the private sector. These were predominantly associated with fiscal assets and the ability to be altruistically focused. This indicated a need for collective input from both sectors in order to achieve the variety of resources required to provide the most favourable environment for destination development and destination sustainability. During the interviews, there were many businesses within the public, private and third sector recognised as having involvement in the planning and implementation of projects that directly or indirectly benefited tourism (R4, R5, R7, R9, R13, R20, R27 R32, R33). This is unsurprising given the prevalent suggestion within the literature of tourism as a complex entity contributed to by many, as reported in section 4.2 (page 98). However the detection of clarity in leadership and a collective strategic direction for the tourism industry locally were less evidently conveyed by stakeholders. Without a dedicated and identifiable tourism organisation which could commit to holistic development with a consistent and sustainable means of funding, resulted in the industry failing to receive the quality of management it was considered to deserve.

_I think the different areas would say they are all different and to a certain extent they are different in terms of geography, in terms of emm, critical mass of businesses but they are all trying to do the same thing and the way that collaboration and tourism groups are emerging, it's probably not in the best place it should be because destination management organisations or tourism groups in the Highlands and Islands, they emerged on the back of the Area Tourism Partnerships or marketing groups as such, so there was no sort of, strategic framework on, on how these groups have been set up (R7, SW, To, Pu)._
These groups [DMOs], they’re not sustainable, there’s no long term funding commitment and too many individual and personal agendas (R29, Or, To, Pu).

One respondent described tourism as an indirect beneficiary to whatever development happened to take place within the community generally.

...Any development that takes place now you try and from a planning perspective, you try and link it if you can to how it will impact or benefit visitors... it's [tourism] a consideration but it's not a valid planning reason if you see what I mean (R32, Or, To, Pu).

Similarly, another respondent discussed how, although not exclusively designed for them, their service provision could be adapted to meet the needs of tourism stakeholders.

We have a role with our Business Gateway service to do business development workshops. Because of the way Business Gateway is set up and resourced it tends to do them in a very general sense, they are not specific to the tourism industry or any other tourism, emm, business sector. But we know that the business, the tourism businesses want some specific courses so we said “Okay, well we can bring a bit of what we do closer to a bit of what you want” and we've got some extra funding from other sources and we've delivered a programme of tourism specific workshops (R20, Sk, To, Pu).

There were many bodies discussed as having involvement in aspects of economic development, of which tourism is a key stimulus in the island areas studied. However planning and development activities specifically for tourism tended to function erratically since long-term strategic focus was deemed to be deficient. Organisations
cited by various stakeholders as having had, at some level, funding input into tourism included: LEADER, HIE, local authorities, VisitScotland, charitable trusts, Business Gateway, Lottery funding, Scottish Natural Heritage (SNH), Chamber of Commerce, local level development and marketing organisations, Creative Scotland, DMO membership funds and Scottish Rural Development Programme (SRDP) (R4, R5, R9, R13, R20, R27, R33).

*We got funding, or they got funding for, emm, a specific, emm, tourism initiative (DMO) which was, funded by LEADER, emm and VisitScotland (R10, Bu, To, Th).*

*The DMO is a funded body by the Council and HIE (R33, Or, To, Th).*

*There was some money, leftover if you like within the tourism, the local tourist board budget and the Council have been supporting us with that... we’ve secured in the past 18 months two chunks of predominantly LEADER funding, emm, we had a recent project that got £150,000 from LEADER, the Council, SNH and HIE (R13, OH, To, Th).*

*We went from a position of no action, no money, nothing, emm, to funding from the Council, Highlands & Islands Enterprise, LEADER and the VisitScotland growth fund and some monies from local marketing associations (R5, Bu, To, Th).*

Although there appeared to be a variety of sporadic avenues for funding contribution, there was no clear and consistent mechanism for delivery and obvious recipient for funding distribution pertaining to tourism development. This was perhaps due to a large extent because the island areas were unique in their approaches to destination management. While one island area may have what was considered a successfully operating DMO another had a variety of groups all contributing to tourism governance.
locally but with no clear superior. Respondent 7 purported that this led to confusion when it came to support from local government. Whilst modifications had been made to organisational delivery for destination management with a transfer of some remit from VisitScotland to DMOs, the structural mechanisms for tourism funding had remained largely unchanged and this was conveyed as restricting both clarity and a joined-up approach. The issue of structures was again raised as an emergent challenge to contend with but this time in the context of roles in tourism as opposed to regulatory obstacles.

The local authorities, the provision of visitor information at a local destination level while delivered by VisitScotland is reliant on funding from local government to deliver that and it's all through service agreements, they will agree what they're buying from VisitScotland. So what you've got is you've now got these destination groups emerging as being the front-runners for the businesses, but the structures are not, are not changing... So the structures, I think if you're looking at the role of these groups I think they have to work within the existing structures and until those central government structures change you're always going to have this, well who actually is the front runner? Is that the national tourism agency or is it the private sector? And how do the two of them meet? And how they should meet is through a destination management organisation but to have... For that to be effective requires the correct strategy, in place the correct stakeholders round the table and everybody signing up to the strategy and in my view I don't think that's completely in place within the Highlands and Islands region so... (R7, SW, To, Pu).

6.3.4 Challenges for Local Level Leadership

The importance of involving industry members in the ownership of tourism and the leadership of the tourism remit was something touched upon by various respondents and something about which they appeared to be quite emphatic.
The industry has an interest, they want to see development, emm, they want to work with the various bodies to ensure that these developments happen so the industry is always at the forefront of moving things forward... The public sector plays a role, but probably the industry has a greater role. We need to work in partnership with them in order to deliver for them and in order to assist them to deliver for themselves (R12, OH, To, Pu).

I think you're finding more and more that local organisations, industry led organisations are taking ownership and responsibility of how their local area is being marketed and developed (R13, OH, To, Th).

It is crucial that there is buy-in from the industry (R29, Or, To, Pu).

We are reliant on the industry guys to kind of lead on this and show us how it's done (R5, Bu, To, Th).

This resonates with previous discussion made within section 3.4 (page 77) of the significance of community “visioning” within island localities and the ownership and responsibility that participation helps to engender. The argument is also evident within the dialogue in section 4.2.2 (page 105) which recognises that community stakeholder involvement has resulted in local policy objectives which are more legitimate and sustainable than mandated criteria. The most commonly discussed approach to applying tourism leadership at a local level and via the industry was through the formation of a DMO (R7, R12, R20, R22, R23, R33). The introduction of DMOs was indicated as a positive move towards a mechanism through which a more joined-up approach and source of leadership could be realised by the industry.

In recent years as you're probably aware of from other places if not from here, there's been a rise of destination organisations and at the time we wrote the original strategy in 2006, they were more or less unheard of in Scotland and
now we've got some fairly well established ones and quite active ones. So now when it comes to the delivery, the industry delivering certain things, there may be is at least a more representative industry body that might be able to lead on that (R25, Sh, To, Th).

DMOs were also perceived as a way for local businesses to maximise what they could achieve individually by pooling their assets.

There's been, over the last few years, there's been an increased number of local marketing associations developing, which are basically local businesses, emm, working in a collaborative way to pool resources and do local marketing (R5, Bu, To, Th).

Many contributors to local DMOs were already involved in the tourism industry and so participated on a voluntary basis driven by a motivation to advance tourism issues which ultimately affected their own individual business.

We have a Board of Directors, there are 12 directors and they are all voluntary but they are all figure heads within tourism so they all have tourism businesses so it's not just a Board of Directors that just you know, have no involvement, they are driven by the fact that what we do can impact their own personal businesses so it is good for the local area, but it is good for them too (R33, Or, To, Th).

However industry members as leaders were considered to be challenged by a lack of resources, namely time and money. A regular point raised by respondents was that the seasonal nature of the tourism industry made it difficult for industry stakeholders to expend the necessary commitment for collaborative projects during the summer months (R2, R10, R12, R13, R29).
Obviously once you get to the start of the season everyone is really busy so nobody has time to push anything through so if they don’t get it done by then, it doesn’t get done (R10, Bu, To, Th).

From an industry perspective I think there’s difficulties because like I said they have their own businesses to run, how much focus can they actually give to the whole idea when they’re focused upon their own businesses I think that’s a very difficult one to achieve... They [industry members] have their own jobs so they can only give a finite amount of time to actually progressing projects, they have limited resources, limited funding (R12, OH, To, Pu).

An organisation like ours is pretty much run by voluntary people who are running their own businesses as well, so it's difficult... (R13, OH, To, Th).

Where it is higher-level stakeholders we’re paid to be round the table, it is our day job and that is easy for us to do. Where we bring the industry together with us as stakeholders it becomes much more challenging because they have to come in their own time, so it has to be worth their while, there has to be buy-in, and it is crucial that there is buy-in from the industry... They need to take ownership of it, it is very very difficult... Any voluntary group, because that is basically what it is, emm, because they are not paid to be round that table, it is the same in the voluntary sector you know, unless you are very committed and you are getting something out of it personally it is very difficult (R29, Or, To, Pu).

A level of disconnect was demonstrated between the idea that industry should lead and the reality of what was realistically able to be accomplish. Much dialogue was dedicated to discourse around the importance of the industry leading tourism locally. Yet it was often not perceived to have the capacity or resources to carry tourism
forward even though there was an expectation for this to be the case. Further discussion indicated that the apparent transition from public sector to industry management and the lack of clarity this period created had to some extent left the leadership of the industry in a state of ambivalence.

*What the industry were looking for was [a leadership] commitment from the council and there is a sense of, it's not a statutory obligation for the council, it's not their remit, it's somebody else's to deal with (R5, Bu, To, Th).*

The ambiguity surrounding leadership in tourism governance was an observation conveyed throughout the island groups studied. It was also considered that a comprehensive direction was less evident than it needed to be. Leadership is strongly expressed within the literature as both as an antecedent and process component of collaboration (see Table 5 (page 57) and section 2.5.1 (page 55)). Furthermore Grint (2005) argues (in section 2.2.3 (page 27)) that scenarios enshrined in complexity possess a heightened demand for leadership. Given the universal perception of tourism as a significantly complex entity illustrated by both McKercher (1999) and Gunn (1994) within Figure 5 (page 100) and Figure 6 (page 104) respectively, advances the debate for clear direction and monitoring within tourism collaboration. Therefore strong leadership could be suggested as fundamental to its accomplishment. However a high level of stakeholder involvement and no distinguishable blueprint for identifying an appropriate candidate to lead challenged decisiveness.

*I think it [leadership] has been necessary for a long time, but, you know it does take somebody to... To grab the issue and initiate it and there has not been a lot of that. There have been dabbles with that over the years, emm... (R15, SW, Tr, Pu).*

*For that [destination management] to be effective requires the correct strategy in place, the correct stakeholders round the table and everybody signing up to the strategy and in my view I don't think that's completely in*
place... Somebody needs to take a lead on it, it needs to take, it needs someone to take the lead (R7, SW, To, Pu).

Whilst industry input was clearly perceived as critical to the governance of tourism, it was evident that it would not work in isolation. There was still the need for a facilitation role from a body or bodies that had the ability to look more comprehensively at problems and the capacity to deliver or implement solutions at a broader level. It was within this remit that the value of the public sector was recognised.

There's certain things in there that will... Only the local authorities can attend to, emm, and address whereas, emm, only the kind of leaders and chief executives would address because it's going up to Scottish Government level. And there's other things that the... The industry can address, you know so it's all bringing that together... (R9, Ar, To, Pu).

What was reflected in the interviews was that governance at a local level was considered to present as an amalgam of forces, a collection of organisational input with the advantage in the ability for stakeholders to come together. There was discussion around the provision of public sector support in the form of resources, funding and facilitation (R5, R7, R15). However a common message which was conveyed was the aspiration for the public sector to then be able to hand responsibility back to what they considered the predominant leaders – the industry. One respondent (R9) with a public sector role described their key objective to be involved in activating industry members, “...our job is to mobilise industry to get them moving and be involved in the strategy and mobilise them to help deliver the strategy.” Respondent 7 suggested their public sector role was about helping to create and develop a tourism organisation to such a level that it could function autonomously, without public sector assistance. The idea being that this would create a more sustainable entity and so their involvement would occur in the earlier stages of the lifecycle to initiate and facilitate before allowing the group to flourish as a standalone.
Once we were presented with the business plan for Visit Arran, we withdrew as an organisation. We withdrew from, from financially supporting them, because we felt that there wasn't a rationale for us to intervene anymore because the focus if you like, you could split it, it was maybe 80% marketing, 5% product development and 15% just running costs. So we, that's not what we're about, we're not a marketing, we're not a national marketing agency we're a business development, a sector development... but actually we had fulfilled our role, because if we hadn't have intervened then they wouldn't be where they are now... but now they are operating within their means and still delivering...(R7, SW, To, Pu).

Respondent 18 discussed that the end game was not solely obtaining funding but being able to deliver objectives with the help of the financial resources secured. Whilst it may be possible to tap funding sources it was important that the benefit of them could be applied practically and that those implementing them had the capacity to do so.

I think we are, I don't know about other local authorities but I think we're falling into that trap of, emm, going out and getting funding for things but you've got to have the, you've got to deliver it too (R18, OH, To, Pu).

Although much dialogue advocated a need for industry leadership, the delivery of the tourism product was something which would undoubtedly incorporate a number of stakeholders. Irrespective of communication demonstrating a reluctance in accepting DMOs as the prominent manager of the industry for reasons previously discussed, there was little doubt that the input of industry members was critical to the delivery of the tourism product. The formation of DMOs afforded the consolidation of these industry representatives a greater legitimacy and credence.
There's always been a degree of working with the industry but much more of it now is working with these destination organisations which are seen to be quite representative of a decent sized area and have a bit of critical mass in terms of number of members and so on (R20, Sk, To, Pu).

However it was also conveyed that DMOs operating as successful and sustainable entities would require commitment, endurance and the assistance of public sector bodies. Respondent 7 pointed out that there are no short cuts to the transition period.

I think you have to look at where, where these island destinations are in a life-cycle. So... But what you've got now, you've got Tourism Hebrides, emm, Orkney Tourism Group, you've got these groups saying “Well actually we're a Destination Management Organisation, we need the money, you know, we need public sector intervention to get us to where...” But what they don't see, is they don't see that period of 10 to 15 year intervention (R7, SW, To, Pu).

Respondents (R5, R7, R9, R25) regularly discussed the need for both public and private sector input; that it should be about working together and bringing individual strengths to the table to create something greater than could be achieved separately, with a message of “stronger together” conveyed by some stakeholders (R5, R33).

It is about finding the right relationship with the national bodies rather than, you know... You have to go through that period of strife, and it was about actually trying to say “Hang on a minute, we need you”, and I am very open about that, we need to work with the national tourist boards but we have to find the relationship, the key that unlocks the door to that... I think you must work with national tourism organisations and you can help them come up with campaigns that better suit island groups, you know... Island groups working together, all of that makes sense (R25, Sh, To, Th).
We are looking at that, that bigger, that bigger picture and that's going to help us... If you like, play a lead role or an influencing role or a facilitating role with our network of local authority manpower... So that won't be delivered and led solely by a group of tourism businesses who want to improve the marketing of the island, that needs the commitment of other stakeholders whether it be local authority, Creative Scotland and all of this (R7, SW, To, Pu).

### 6.3.5 Geographical Distinction

Requirement to work together was debated on a level broader than the inclusion of public and private sector representation. Respondent 9 discussed a desire to initiate collaboration between territories in order to promote recognition of a region through marketing a wider geographical coverage and for the provision of a collective product.

*It doesn't make sense to take your own wee bit and try and promote it worldwide... Emm, in such a wide geographic area you can't be parochial about it. Arran is unique because they have emm, you know over the years they have got their act together very much in terms of promoting Arran and the fact that it is an island you know, it does have its own uniqueness, emm, so it's probably I think a wee bit further ahead of the game than Ayrshire and Arran, but they recognise over there that we can't do it all on our own and we need to be part of the whole Ayrshire offer because that is what it is, it's part of the Ayrshire offer (R9, Ar, To, Pu).*

However stakeholders local to island areas considered their ‘island’ status as a unique selling point and something which set them apart from other geographically similar destinations. Respondents discussed that because island areas have a clear geographical boundary they felt it allowed for greater simplicity in reaching agreement over what constitutes the local product and consensus as to the direction it should follow in terms of development (R7, R13, R20, R30). The aspect of having concurrent policy agencies was something which Respondent 13 touched upon by suggesting that
this allowed stakeholders across sectors to have, as a starting point, a mutual focus identifiable by the distinct geographical coverage and perimeter.

*I think in the Outer Hebrides we’re quite fortunate at a political agency sort of level because we're, we're one geography, the Outer Hebrides, we're one council area, it's one Highlands & Islands Enterprise area, it's one SNH area, it's one VisitScotland area, so actually it's the same people covering the same area for all the bodies but other areas, they might fall under two or differing agency areas overlapping and it becomes a nightmare. So for us it is actually quite easy because it is the same old faces each time, it's always the same person and on that sort of basis it is easier to work together (R13, OH, To, Th).*

In such a definitive space, respondents highlighted that it was not unusual for some stakeholders to perform dual roles (R13, R23, R24, R26, R33, R34). Sectoral overlap would therefore naturally occur. This is something which the literature review established to be commonplace within islands given their small size. Further it was professed in section 3.7 (page 91) that overlapping connections can have increased propensity to cultivate social capital due to the familiarity this engenders. Respondent 30 likened the scenario to being part of a family:

*I do think that there is a pride, because it is a manageable area with a clear border, you know, we know that it is all about Orkney, it keeps it manageable, this is our patch for HIE, the Council, NHS, you know, we all have just Orkney which is good and we have something in common and are part of the family (R30, Or, To, Pu).*

In contrast, Respondents 7 and 20 focussed on the difficulties which can be faced in mainland areas with regards to ownership and identity.
The island communities that have these tourism groups, whether they call themselves a DMO or a marketing group, they seem to be more, probably on a more sustainable footing because they are... It's quite clear what their agenda is, and that is to market the island so if you look at Visit Arran it's quite clear what the tourism offering is there, what the boundary is, so the island itself defines the boundary. When you look at the mainland it becomes a bit grey, what is the destination? What is the boundary that we are working to, where does it start and where does it stop? (R7, SW, To, Pu).

The whole of the Northern Highlands is the one place where there maybe is a bit of uncertainty or competition about what are the right boundaries... There was a group and still is a group, North Highland Tourism, that sort of cover Caithness, Sutherland, and all of Ross-shire but in practice they grew up out of a project in Caithness, East Sutherland their sort of heartland of members and so on is there, and they struggle to get as much buy-in from the West, particularly Wester Ross, who have another group which is quite well-established so, there's a few tricky issues in that area... Somewhere like the Cairngorms, because there's a, there's a definition to it by its now being a national park or Skye because it's an island, it's a recognised entity, emm, I think that's definitely the case, it becomes more difficult in other areas... (R20, Sk, To, Pu).

However not all of the peripheries demonstrated co-ordination in terms of agency remit and geographical clarity. Respondent 4 expressed that Arran, because of its positioning in the Scottish geography, finds itself split between different local agencies. This was regarded to provoke disjointedness between agencies thus hampering effectiveness.

We are also in a bit of a catchment I should say that to you Christine, because although we are an island we are with an urban authority, North Ayrshire, but we’re with a different enterprise company with Argyll and the Isles Enterprise whereas everybody else is with Highland and Islands Enterprise, so North Ayrshire work with Scottish Enterprise and we get left out of the loop. We get
sort of stuck in the middle; we are neither one thing nor the other... we don’t belong, we’re just in the middle, so it's really confusing and very frustrating, so we’re working with Argyll and Bute Council on LEADER programme funding which we got for the marketing for example, which is great. But they have a totally different system from North Ayrshire Council who are not supporting us in that context at all and it's really difficult (R4, Ar, To, Th).

6.4 Collaboration

This section is concerned with dialogue regarding both the theoretical and practical application of collaboration within the given context. It begins with the consideration of collaboration and its terminology as associated with public sector language. However elements of it identified with being an emergent process were also offered by the interviewees. The distinguished scope for collaboration is debated before conceived challenges to and motivations for collaboration are established.

6.4.1 The Collaborative Discourse and Terminology

Within the research process and during the data collection stage, it was deemed important not to enforce the term collaboration or assume it would even be used by the interview participants. Instead the researcher would be required to elicit whether or not collaboration was evident through the conversations which developed during the interview process. It was anticipated that in some instances the term collaboration may be adopted but without necessarily pertaining to the depth of involvement practice is perceived to require. Similarly, it was considered that the term may never be used but through discussion the illustration of practical examples might emerge. A number of terms were used to convey different levels of stakeholder engagement. One of those was indeed the term collaboration despite some respondents referring to it as a “buzz word” (R6, R23). The majority of respondents who freely used the expression during the course of their dialogue were stakeholders from within the public sector (R5, R7, R9, R15, R17, R20, R27). Some respondents, regardless of whether they themselves worked within the public or private sector, indicated that they perceived the term collaboration to be associated with public sector language.
Collaboration is not emm, people pay lip service to it quite a lot but, you know... We want to do collaboration, we realise we've got to do it, it’s a government-y type word “Yes we are all collaborating together” (R27, Sh, To, Pu).

It's public sector speak... I mean, collaboration is a means... I am very sceptical about it because I've noticed things that come out from Scottish Government and it, it seems very much to me that the objective is to get people to collaborate which is a load of nonsense because you can collaborate and still not get stuff done. You know, the objective should be to get people to succeed, emm, collaboration is one way of doing it but it is not an end in itself and to me some of the policies are... Fine, you know, but it's not the be all and end all, it's one way of doing things (R6, Ar, To, Pr).

Previous conversation in section 1.3 (page 8) asserts that the level of desire for the achievement of the intended outcome is catalytic to the commitment required for collaborative processes to triumph. Respondent 5 considered that “desire” would override any policy request (R5). In many cases the terminology of collaboration was used tentatively to describe general instances of people working together.

Emm, still on the kind of how people collaborate sort of thing, I think quite a few of us are now working closely with, particularly the destination organisations (R20, Sk, To, Pu).

On occasion and when pressed to explain why the interviewee necessarily considered that a scenario constituted collaboration as opposed to another form of working relationship such as a partnership or organisational integration, some respondents simply changed the descriptor. This implied that either, there was a failure to see a perceivable difference between various terminologies associated with joint working; alternatively, the respondent in retrospect felt the activity did not equate to collaboration; or, because they were unsure of what exactly constitutes collaboration.
Interviewee: it is [collaboration]. That's exactly what I would call it.

Interviewer: so what brings it to... What brings it to the extent of being collaborative in nature?

Interviewee: [pause] I think, I think it'll be a partnership and you know, the partners need to see the value of it. It'll work in that sense, as a source of good information (R15, SW, Tr, Pu).

One occurrence challenged the observation of collaboration being the language favoured by public sector respondents. It came from a stakeholder involved in a standalone independent company who described their organisation from the outset as a collaborative business before going on to explain why they believed it to be so and what collaboration meant to them. Within the account collaboration was conveyed as permeable rather than an opted for activity or process.

It's not an activity really it's much more of a descriptor, it's a way that you would look at something and analyse it, it's not like you often think “Right, I'm going to collaborate now” (R6, Ar, To, Pr).

Collaboration was expressed as something which could not be demanded but rather it would emerge through the relationships that were fostered. Section 2.5.3 (page 64) makes reference to collaboration as an emergent phenomenon developed through the process of activity. In terms of the dialogue around collaboration and the capacity to derive a definitive meaning from the term itself, there was a reluctance and inability for stakeholders to differentiate between general collaborative behaviour and affixing the term to a specific instance of activity. It appeared that many respondents required the tangible evidence of a collaborative project to occur before they could testify to the demonstration of collaboration.
We have had so many people collaborating on the production of the tourism brochure (R33, Or, To, Th).

...so that's a collaborative event... (R4, Ar, To, Th).

...We got a lot of European funding, so that helped us to kick start a lot of people's marketing and to get people to start marketing collaboratively (R30, Or, To, Pu)

...Northlink has been very good in the past and have worked on collaborative promotions with other partners... (R30, Or, To, Pu).

I wouldn't say there isn't collaboration either, there are collaborations, you know certain... I know for example one hotel owner knows all the guides to ring up for different things, so a lot of people locally are used to talking to one another and using each other's services... (R27, Sh, To, Pu).

Respondent 29 made the point that using collaborative projects to exemplify collaboration helped to identify the benefit of its existence in collective working processes. It was expressed that collaborative projects provided architecture through which to assess the effectiveness of its application and demonstrate its value.

I think it was a coming together, yes there was money in “Orkney” the brand which drove collaborative working through projects like the Orkney Craft Trail and the Orkney Village which was taking Orkney producers and the Tourist Board, people like ourselves away out of Orkney to promote Orkney, and those very successful collaborations which we talked about then in the press and on local radio and talked it up, made people more interested in collaboration. They could see us being very visible in the community saying “This is a good
thing and a good way to work together” and being very... I suppose evangelical about it in a way (R29, Or, To, Pu).

Respondent 23 also perceived that using project work gave context to the relevance and distinction of collaboration and that by pinning the practice of working together to something tangible increased the focus.

It's more through project work than actually meetings, there isn't, we don't have specific... It's more through projects that we communicate and really work together, when we have something to connect us and guide us and focus us (R23, Sh, To, Pu).

The comment indicated that collaboration emerged from working together, generated organically, almost as a by-product to achieving the set objective rather than as an approach applied to a scenario. This may account for the difficulty of distinguishing the collaborative language from practice, particularly with the infiltration of the terminology in the vernacular of the public sector. Respondent 7 exemplified this by repeatedly referring to occasions of “collaboration” but when pressed to describe what that meant to him, found it difficult to express and rounded off the response by returning the question.

Interviewee:  I think there is, there is examples of collaboration within the islands.

Interviewer:  and in terms of the examples that you are aware of, how does collaboration present?

Interviewee:  well I mean we’ve touched on Arran... The whole... Arran is pretty... You know the examples are pretty straightforward there. Emm... [long pause]... Ha, well!
Interviewer:  I don’t want to put you too much on the spot but it is interesting that...

Interviewee:  yes, it is, because actually when you... Because the more you think about it, if you were to sort of say “Yes, there is collaboration on the islands...” ...Well I suppose... Back to, to, to ferries, emm, I think you can, can... There are examples there. For example, emm, the Islay Whisky Festival, Calmac put on extra sailings, so... Do you consider that to be collaboration? (R7, SW, To, Pu).

Verbal indication that the term collaboration was being used pervasively but not necessarily meaningfully was contradicted by Respondent 27 who advised that collaboration is happening but that it wouldn’t necessarily be referred to as such. He argued that it is interconnected with community behaviour and so does occur, just not under the guise of the term collaboration.

People do collaborate but they wouldn’t describe it as collaboration, it's not the word they would use, they would describe it as, I don't know, community spirit or just community... (R27, Sh, To, Pu).

6.4.2 Collaborative Capacity
The importance of creating a capacity for collaboration was reflected in many of the interview conversations. The findings which relate, are broken down into three individual sections: aspects of geographical and physical proximity which influence the capacity to collaborate; respondent’s perceptions of stakeholder communication and the contribution of informal relationships in stimulating scenarios of closer working; and the value but complications of establishing stakeholder networks. A comprehensive background to the topic of collaborative capacity is provided within the literature review in section 2.5.3 (page 64). The findings from the primary data will now be considered in a bid to compare practice with theory.
6.4.2.1 Geographical and Physical Proximity

There was an emphasis within the interview discussions on the physical placement of members and the impact this was considered to have on the capacity to collaborate. Dialogue arose around the importance of stakeholders who make key decisions about an area being situated locally within the region (R13, R17). The legitimacy of their input was considered to be reflected in the extent to which they were immersed within the concerns of the local vicinity and close to those with whom they would ultimately need to engage.

*I argue a lot with people about ferries on the mainland because it's all mainlanders that are in charge of the ferry operations and I really think that is so wrong (R17, OH, Tr, Th).*

*...It has to be really important [local knowledge] because it's on the ground stuff isn't it? You know, there's always an argument that says “If Calmac serves basically the Western Isles of Scotland then why is it based down in Gourock? Why doesn't its Board of Directors live somewhere that uses the ferry?” (R13, OH, To, Th).*

It was perceived necessary for stakeholder groups involved in collaboration at a local level to have a comprehensive understanding of the situation. For that to happen it was deemed important that participants were based locally. Therefore much significance was given to the relationships created between *local* stakeholders.

*Relationships are key to the whole thing, local relationships. It is absolutely key that people get on with people and you respect differences. What is good about this place is that you can have your differences but you still ultimately, your final decisions are based on what's good for the place... (R25, Sh, To, Th).*
For us as an organisation they are [local relationships] really important, emm, you know particularly out in the islands... engagement with the businesses and with the community organisations on the ground is a key part of that. I mean, one of the things that we've done over the last couple of years as part of the Strengthening Communities’ role is developed what we call Community Account Management, and that's emm, effectively developing kind of Account Manager roles, so somebody in each of our area offices locally will take responsibility for an island, or part of an island community and they will work them and with the key local organisations (R14, SW, Tr, Pu).

However Respondent 27 argued that although island communities are perceived to work well together at a local level, input from national agencies gives broader scope to development possibilities. The following account was the response given when asked if local stakeholders worked well together.

*They click to it, they know how to do it. It's done in quite a determined way. The downside of it is that they have the view... They only have their own view and they sort of only trust the views of other Shetlanders so it’s a bit myopic and so they sometimes don't see the other opportunities that are there because it's not something that they are particularly accustomed to looking at, emm... So that is where we try and come in, and try to give them another view from the outside world (R27, Sh, To, Pu).*

The notion that stakeholders were best placed within the local vicinity connected to another key point raised in terms of creating an environment conducive to collaborating. Face-to-face dialogue is commonly expressed as a fundamental aspect of collaboration. The ability to physically engage with those who are involved in instances of working together is a key element within the *process framework of collaboration* depicted in Figure 3 (page 68). The idea of stakeholders being based locally not only gave them the legitimacy of involvement but it also meant that people were able to engage with one and other on a personal level and often in a casual
manner. Respondent 21 highlighted that this was important to engender what is consistent considered essential to the foundations of collaboration – trust.

> It's about making people trust you if you're doing something quite radical, because if you're doing something quite radical you’re not going to trust the voice down the end of the phone necessarily, so we've done quite a bit of person-to-person communication (R21, SW, Tr, Pu).

Face-to face contact was something conveyed to be important when it came to generating collaborative relationships.

> It took a lot of encouragement and a lot of face-to-face discussion to get people to set aside the competition element and work together (R29, Or, To, Pu).

> If you want to be creative or have workshops and so on it’s not... You need to have the face-to-face contact (R5, Bu, To, Th).

> We've had quite a lot of face-to-face meetings to make sure people are onside... (R21, SW, Tr, Pu).

Respondent 16 proposed that informal relationships gave the opportunity to communicate on a more relaxed level. It was articulated that this had the potential to diminish misinterpretation and the social interplay helped to foster relationships.

> Informal relationships are important because they help to build friendships between people in the community and then if there's a problem or a discussion needs to take place then it doesn't necessarily have to be a written letter, it can just be a wee informal chat to say “Here, what's this?” or “How do I do this?”
And it makes things a lot easier, especially in small communities (R16, Bu, Tr, Pr).

Respondent 30 intimated that being situated in such close proximity to each other often meant that personal and professional lives were intertwined. Consequently this allowed stakeholders to integrate in congenial surroundings as well as in a more formal environment and demonstrated a sense of belonging to the community.

You tend to see people out and about as well, you go to an exercise class and there is somebody there who you spoke to earlier in the day in a professional capacity so it is quite nice that you also end up mixing on a social level (R30, Or, To, Pu).

A preference for stakeholders to be close at hand was a general requirement for engagement and many respondents raised the point of physical proximity. Respondents 20 and 30 reflected on the fact that a tangible presence allowed them to interact more easily and immediately than if they were in disparate locations.

I think the other thing is, while we're still kind of at a strategic level, although I'm based in this office this isn't a council office, I am based here because VisitScotland are based here and part of my role is liaising with them so it's a fairly kind of unique approach actually basing one of our officers with another organisation to improve the way we work together and I think that does help, again probably the biggest difference is a greater understanding of what each organisation is doing, but there are so many things that we work on jointly that, it can be good just in terms of, bouncing ideas off each other to get a different view on things (R20, Sk, To, Pu).

I think we're pretty good at getting together; even physically our officers are next door to the Council offices so it is very easy for us to go and see each other
face-to-face. Obviously we have closer relationships with some departments over others because... We need to. We are actually co-located here in this office with the Economic Development team from the Council; we are actually in the same building so that has helped things as well (R30, Or, To, Pu).

Respondent 23’s account regarding the use of a shared space pertained to an ease of communication and an organic flow of information between colleagues.

Obviously they are only a small team, they use the same call centre as us and our staff talk to their staff and it just circulates around like that (R23, Sh, To, Pu).

While some environments would be feasible to create, others would include factors difficult to control. Shared values, visions and norms have long been upheld as antecedents to collaboration in order to provide common ground for participants involved in joined working – see Table 5 (page 57) for further reference. However Respondent 17 suggested that regardless of how motivated people are to achieve mutual outcomes, divergent personalities can hamper progression of groups which are otherwise driven by the same goals.

Emm, where there is a, a joint... Not a joint vision but a, a shared vision, emm... And where that can be articulated, I can see that collaboration has worked very well. Emm... And again, the more you drill down into it though, ultimately again it comes back to personalities and whether the personalities can communicate with each other (R17, OH, Tr, Th).

An environment favourable for collaboration to occur was expressed to demand a fine balance. Many of the elements deemed necessary for collaboration were perceived by Respondent 20 to impede integration if they were delivered in conflict. Aspects such as passion to drive the outcome and leadership to direct it were proposed to be
detrimental if they could not be harnessed. The ability to achieve equilibrium between the personalities involved in collaboration was cited as pivotal to ensuring harmony within stakeholder groups.

_Emm, in some cases that [collaboration] comes down to the kind of personalities within, invariably within any group, some of it is achieved by having somebody who is passionate about it, driving it forward and if you've got two people who are driving two different things forward that can sometimes, cause a bit of conflict (R20, Sk, To, Pu)._ 

This was something considered by Respondent 29 to be heightened within island communities where close knit relationships exist.

_Sometimes it takes longer in small communities where the personalities are stronger... and it's very difficult, and I can't work with everybody in tourism, I'm no saint, I'm the same as everybody else! (R29, Or, To, Pu)._ 

Ultimately there was suggestion that the most successful relationships between organisations involved in collaboration are those which possess the most common ground.

_The producers that we work with best are the ones that are, kind of, of a similar size, a similar nature, a similar outlook, that you get on well with and then you work better together, it's inevitable, it's human nature I suppose (R6, Ar, To, Pr)._ 

### 6.4.2.2 Stakeholder Communication

Communication was conveyed as critical in developing relationships between stakeholders (R3, R4, R5, R8, R9, R10, R13, R14, R15, R16, R19, R21, R22, R25,
R29, R30, R33). It is an aspect cited as a key concept of collaboration within Table 3 (page 52). Communication mechanisms are deemed necessary within stakeholder relationships to enhance problem-solving capacity through a clearer comprehension of the situation – see section 4.2.2 (page 105). Respondent 30 referred to engendering good communication as “groundwork” to successful partnerships while Respondent 25 believed that achieving honesty and authenticity within relationships started with communication. Opportunities to network informally were proposed to be important. It was the informality of relationships which was often recognised to establish deeper long term relationships (R4, R6, R8, R13, R16, R17, R20, R26).

Informal relationships are important because they help to build friendships between people in the community (R16, Bu, Tr, Pr).

They're [informal relationships], they're, vital because emm... It is having, having the relationship where you can be, emm you know, tell somebody something straight, without having to beat around the bush and you know... (R17, OH, Tr, Th).

Some respondents considered that the informality of relationships which they were able to develop was linked to the intimacy of contact and familiarity between rural inhabitants.

I would actually say it's the opposite way in a rural community, sometimes things can be more accessible because of the informal ways of working... I think people are more inclined to go that extra mile, or emm, try and help each other because you know, community spirit’s there and... (R19, Bu, Tr, Th).

Just knowing who's who, who to go to and if that person can't help you they will know somebody who can, it's just vital, invaluable, being able to just pick...
the phone up. I'm sure it's far easier to do our job here than it would be in a big city, you know (R30, Or, To, Pu).

Respondent 4 considered that the effectiveness of communication in rural areas was demonstrated in the ability to counteract hearsay.

But also that’s the downside of a small island I suppose is that everybody, on the positive side of things it’s that everybody knows everybody and everybody knows that, great, but that's also a downside because everybody knows everybody and everyone knows everything but in actual fact sometimes they don't! So we get a lot of misinformation, you know so you have to be very clear, communication is key (R4, Ar, To, Th).

The benefit of informal encounters was often expressed as offering the chance to learn more about each other and the constraints faced by individual organisations. This reflects previous comment in sections 4.2.1 (page 100) and 4.8 (page 125) suggesting that good communication has the advantage of providing a clearer illustration of the holistic picture and therefore the creation of more meaningful policies and achievable strategies. Not only was communication perceived to help understand the limits of neighbouring businesses but it also provided the opportunity to consider how stakeholders could work together to benefit each other.

I think they’re, I personally, I believe that forums and meetings and personal communication is the best way of working, it gets people together, it improves peoples understanding, you know on all parts, you know it's, I think it's important that emm, in calling for a transport operator to do something that people are aware that you know, it has implications. Yeah, you know, “I want another ferry then”... Yes but that means an extra 8 crew members or an extra 14 crew members and... But it's important that you have the dialogue. And it's important that people get a say, “I want another ferry then”... Yes, well it would cost this... (R15, SW, Tr, Pu).
I think the more you understand about the other body’s issues, challenges whatever, the more you understand about the business the more you can think about, finding another way to get what you want (R13, OH, To, Th).

I think when there has been occasions of disgruntlement much of the time it has been a logistical thing, it's not an unwillingness on their part and this is where communication is so important because you know, you're not going to like everything, nothing is ever going to be perfect but to understand the reasons why, that breaks down those barriers (R33, Or, To, Th).

Furthermore informal networks provided a non-pressured environment which allowed people to think creatively and “bounce ideas” off each other (R20, R33). Respondent 24 recognised effective communication to be necessary in order to comprehensively address how changes may affect others before implementation takes place.

It's better coming together with ideas and you work up your debates through one body and that body then presents a view of the disparate groups within the islands whether it be hauliers or seafood providers or tourism businesses, a change in one thing for somebody might impact somebody else so there's always got to be compromise and knowledge and consideration of how the change will affect other groups and sectors (R24, Sh, Tr, Pu).

This echoes the literary argument in section 4.2.1 (page 100) which claims that policy frameworks which are inclusive of a broad array of factors help to avoid contradiction of objective at a destination-wide level.

6.4.2.3 Platforms for Stakeholder Integration
The topic of stakeholder interaction was consistently discussed throughout the data collection process. Participants expressed a number of reasons to work together which
predominantly focussed on a perception that it would increase the value and capabilities of their own organisation. Difficulties in stakeholder interaction were relayed in terms of geographical spread, which in archipelagos was often across a series of islands (R5, R13). Similarly frustrations materialised in gaining industry buy-in and a willingness to commit a consistency of time and effort (R2, R7, R10, R12, R13, R29). Dealing with close knit communities in rural areas and an awareness of how some decisions would impact upon other stakeholders was deemed to be challenging because of personal relationships. Nonetheless Respondents 13 and 25 described that judgments should be made for “the greater good”. Respondent 13 initially highlighted the benefit of familiarity to provide continuity between stakeholders however he also pointed out that it made impartiality all the more difficult.

So for us it is actually quite easy because it is the same old faces each time, it's always the same person and on that sort of basis it is easier to work together and it's an island community as you know and all that sort of stuff, it just makes things a bit easier, we all tend to know what affects what and what the consensus is for the direction of our future. It also makes it a bit more difficult to make difficult proposals; because it’s “Oh that's poor Fred that you talking about…” Sort of thing... And it's almost “Yeah but, sod Fred it's for the greater good that we are...” …type of thing. But you can't really say that there... You've got to be really really careful about... (R13, OH, To, Th).

The aspect of heightened familiarity between island stakeholders was seen within the tourism literature as a valuable resource in the creation of social capital in section 3.7 (page 91). However there was also debate evidenced around the need for effective governance structures to facilitate impartiality in decision-making since personal relationships were a potential threat to democracy – see section 3.4 (page 77). Respondent 25 proposed that in this scenario *compromise* is the key to a positive outcome.
Usually when it is a small community you've got to understand that you might have to go and, go to people that you know as friends, people that you have got respect for, you have got to, to, to emm, you will have a debate and ultimately everyone around the room is working and living in the community and you have to find a compromise and compromise is probably the keyword, there is always compromise happening here but I think everybody knows that you try as hard as you can to get what you want but you know when the time is right to just accept that, for the greater good... (R25, Sh, To, Th).

However for the most part, the dialogue around stakeholder interaction centred on the criticality of connections between people. The key advantages of interaction between stakeholders was discussed as providing a channel of communication and information (R5, R10, R13, R15, R20, R22, R23, R28, R29, R30, R33) particularly at an informal level (R6, R8, R16, R17, R26, R30) which Respondent 6 proposed offers greater spontaneity. Other benefits gained through stakeholder interaction and reasons to engage were: for product development (R3, R10, R22, R24, R25, R29, R33); for support between organisations and across sectors (R3, R5, R8, R11, R15, R16, R20, R24, R25, R29, R30, R33); to break down silos and develop shared agendas (R13, R15, R24, R25, R29, R32); to avoid duplication (R12, R15, R22, R23, R24, R33); to be able to see things from another perspective (R8, R16, R20, R23, R25, R29, R30, R33); to develop relationships (R3, R8, R15, R20, R22, R25, R26, R29, R30, R33); to strive for a joined-up approach (R3, R7, R13, R20, R22, R29, R33); and to share expertise (R5, R15, R24).

ATPs was regularly referred to as a forum for multi-stakeholder groups to gather for the purpose of collective deliberation and for the progression of local tourism priorities.

The ATP is a gathering of everybody who has an interest in tourism whether its local authority, the Enterprise, Scottish Enterprise and Highlands & Islands Enterprise, the DMO or the industry association whatever there is and VisitScotland, plus other partners who have an interest, say in Stornoway for
example we have the Stornoway Harbour we have Scottish Natural Heritage, various bodies like that they'll come together and sit round the table and discuss moving tourism forward (R12, OH, To, Pu).

However, although ATPs were intended to drive an integrated approach to tourism management at a local level following the demise of ATBs, not all of the island areas involved in this study had maintained engagement with this particular group. Whilst Arran predominantly conducts the remit of an ATP through Visit Arran, Shetland has established Shetland Tourism Association (STA), which is used to channel stakeholder interaction pertaining to tourism. When asked how stakeholders within these areas come together the following responses were given.

That's where Visit Arran comes in because we represent about a hundred participating businesses on the island which includes accommodation providers, manufacturers, retail outlets, all sorts of things so that, emm, the idea being that they see us as a voice to take things forward for them (R4, Ar, To, Th).

VisitArran is the main thing that's got businesses working together and sort of focussed, you know, really showing tourists what Arran's got on offer (R2, Ar, To, Pr).

There is no, there's no, there's no ATP here, what we've got is the STA, that's our body... (R23, Sh, To, Pu).

We have helped to create the Shetland Tourism Association which is basically a trade body for the tourism group, we've helped to bring them together to act as a, emm... I mean they can be a lobbying group, they have influence, you know. For them to actually get together and if they don't like what's happening then say, you know (R25, Sh, To, Th).
What this again proved to highlight was an absence of consistency across island areas in terms of the management and development of tourism and the approach taken to consensual decision-making. For those who did have involvement in an ATP, it was described as beneficial: for information transfer (R5, R8, R12, R30, R33); to demonstrate a commitment to joint working (R5, R7); as a channel through which to lobby, implement actions and raise concerns (R12, R30, R32, R33); to instil a mutual focus and direction (R7, R30, R32); and for the collective identification of mutual issues (R8, R20).

Whilst the ATP was commonly referred to as a forum to discuss the collective issues surrounding tourism at a sectoral level, some respondents were sceptical as to the real value it actually achieved.

*I think you need to have the right people round the table who can move it forward... That's a struggle, a lot of people are very focused on the ATP being the answer to all our prayers, it's not, it's just there as a body to bring people together, but it's not actually doing anything (R12, OH, To, Pu).*

Respondent 30 proposed a common challenge associated with each area in terms of delivering from the ATP is that it has no executive responsibility. It is therefore dependent on collective engagement and a continued commitment from participants to drive it forward.

*It's a difficult one and I think lots of areas struggle with ATPs because, they have no executive responsibility. We don't have any budgets, collectively, people around the table have individual budgets and the organisations they belong to, but collectively there is no executive responsibility (R30, Or, To, Pu).*
The same concerns were raised by Respondent 15’s experience of forums that failed to have a mechanism through which any real evidence of underpinning could be identified. Whilst referring to another forum, this time through Highlands of Scotland Tourist Board (HOST), which resulted from the amalgamation of various Highland Tourist Boards (including Skye & Lochalsh Tourist Board), he discussed how momentum was lost because of an inability to demonstrate progress or rather the means by which to facilitate progress.

*It, it [forum] was useful initially and you started taking on Board issues and then you know by the third meeting, people had said what they had as their issues, and then it just became really turgid because it wasn't doing anything, it didn't have a budget to get anything done, it didn't, it couldn't advance a, a project, there wasn't something to underpin it that people saw of value... (R15, SW, Tr, Pu).*

Respondent 29 enriched this argument by conveying that ATPs were not always successful in advancing strategy issues. However the opportunity the platforms provide for people to engage with each other was proposed to create a conducive environment for the development of personal relationship. Likewise Respondent 20 discussed that the value of the ATP is not in the delivery of the strategy but in the opportunity it presents for stakeholder integration.

*Where I think they’re [ATP meetings] good is in terms of identifying the main issues, things like developing the strategy or the action plan, that group in itself doesn't really deliver very much but what it does tend to do is to bring the different partners together who then, partly assisted by the fact that they know each other better, then work on different projects. So for example I have met a lot of the destination organisation people through that, and now I am working with some of them individually on projects that they are doing, one or two things we do with them jointly as well (R20, Sk, To, Pu).*
6.4.3 Practical Challenges to Collaborating

The key challenges raised amongst respondents of effectuating collaborative behaviour pertained to the fragmented nature of the tourism industry and the pervasiveness of impact on and involvement of a variety of stakeholders. Furthermore, irrespective of the benefits of a mutual strategy, the implications of designing and implementing it were also expressed. These issue will now be discussed.

6.4.3.1 Fragmented Industry

When it came to working together, a common observation noted by respondents from both transport and tourism backgrounds emerged in the form of fragmentation as an obstacle. While the discussion of tourism respondents centred on the complexity of multi-stakeholder participation, transport respondent’s conveyed a more structurally disjointed scenario.

Tourism was an industry described to have a wide impact upon many stakeholders across sectors and throughout adjacent industries (R3, R5, R16, R17, R22, R23, R29, R30, R32, R33).

It [tourism] affects just about everyone, there is a knock-on for everybody, even, even the actual life within the islands (R23, Sh, To, Pu).

The industries and businesses that tourism touches upon is immense, it's part of the very fabric of this island community, even things like taxi drivers, to the ice cream, to the cheese, to the crafts, to retailers, to restaurants, you know, it touches upon everything (R33, Or, To, Th).

The fragmented nature of tourism naturally led to respondent’s discussing the need to have consideration for and integration with a much larger pool of stakeholders than just those directly associated with a tourism business. The crucial determination of all appropriate players who may have an impact on the process and outcome of
collaboration is identified within the secondary data in section 2.5.3 (page 64). Similarly inclusivity of stakeholder participation is advocated for effective governance mechanisms in section 2.2.1 (page 21). Respondent 22 championed the DMO model used by Arran, attributing its success to extensive inclusivity and its range of stakeholders involving not only those pertaining directly to tourism organisations but across industries which are dependent on or influenced by the visitor market.

Arran have got it right, their model in terms of a DMO is bang on because it just doesn't involve the tourist providers it also embraces the local economy, the likes of the dairy, the ice-cream factory, the brewery, the distillery, the cheese maker and that is absolutely right. That is the model that works (R22, SW, Tr, Pu).

However logistically, the scope of vested interest clearly emerged as a perceived obstruction. Participants discussed challenges to progressing occurrences immersed in integration (R10, R12, R18, R20). The difficulties associated with the inclusion of multiple parties was highlighted as a barrier to implementing action.

It's quite difficult when you're dealing with so many different providers on the ground, emm, to actually get changes; it's kind of difficult (R18, OH, To, Pu).

Even at the very early stages of communication around how to advance, the incorporation of too many or unnecessary parties was established as a key barrier in progressing situations.

Emm, it can become, too... wide. You can get too many people being involved in the discussion and the discussion goes nowhere (R12, OH, To, Pu).
One respondent emphasised the problems associated with being unable to issue responsibility to specific stakeholders. Even once a tourism strategy had been formed, assigning deliverables to the “tourism industry” had posed a challenge in identifying who would be legitimately accountable for delivering action.

If it was, in a sense, the role of one organisation to deliver it, that was quite straightforward. What was harder were ones that either needed a lot of partners or were maybe ones that it was written that it was the industry's responsibility to do it, because of course, what is the industry? It's so broad, it's quite a fragmented industry so, you can't just say “The industry will do this” and then hope it will happen, there needs to be some kind of coordinating before it will, and that I think proved to be one of the more challenging things (R20, Sk, To, Pu).

Fragmentation was also an aspect raised as problematic within transport governance. Respondent 22 considered that the direction of recent changes in the devolved control of Scottish transport have been positive in creating increased streamlining and uniformity. However he believed that a lack of holism across executive responsibility has led to problems of disjointedness within the industry.

And of course it has changed within the last 2 to 3 years because Transport Scotland have taken over emm, a lot of the functions within Scotland as far as devolved transport is concerned... It's one of the great things about Transport Scotland and the joined-up thinking, I think it will come but to be honest emm, right at the moment there are too many sort of conflicting issues going on with the likes of different franchises happening, operators are operating to different rules and regulations... The whole umbrella thing has to be developed, there is no one single person that thinks in terms of the overall provision, there are too many different departments, looking at different things and working in different directions, it needs to be brought together... (R22, SW, Tr, Pu).
At a local level, Respondent 26 discussed that organisational restructuring had effectively disjointed transport management.

*We are more fragmented now than we were, the Council went through a very big restructuring just over a year ago and before that we had one transport section, that was within infrastructure, that was ferry operations, bus operations, air transport, transport planning, that was all within one section, but now there is a bit of a disconnect. I think it works now because of the people rather than because of the structure, emm, because it is still the same people that were there when we were all together so we know what is going on (R26, Sh, Tr, Pu).*

This account highlighted that the strength of former relationships cultivated between stakeholders is what has allowed for continuity in integration, irrespective of structural complexity.

### 6.4.3.2 Strategy Considerations

At a strategy level, respondents emphasised the importance of refining stakeholder involvement to those who have the ability and resources to realistically deliver action or initiate the progress of a strategic plan (R12, R13, R20). Ultimately, respondents spoke about the need for having “*the right people*” involved (R4, R5, R7, R12, R17, R23). Respondents’ dialogue focussed on the importance of inclusiveness within strategic planning (R7, R16) but with most discussion making the key point that inclusion referred to representativeness (R12, R16, R23) as opposed to extensiveness otherwise it becomes what many referred to as a “*talking shop*” (R5, R12, R27, R29). However even a “talking shop” was deemed to have a performative function in its ability to encourage communication.

*There are certain advantages, certain functions that are, that even a talking shop can perform, you know, the partnership has lobbied airlines, ferry companies in respect to service connections etc. and lobbied Government as*
well, so it has that function but what it does is that it pulls everybody together to make sure that everybody is working towards the same aims and objectives and that the various organisations are pulling together to achieve a mutual focus (R32, Or, To, Pu).

Further complications of multi-stakeholder involvement within strategy were raised in terms of the complexity of documentation and scope of endeavour. The following comment developed from conversation around an action plan attached to a tourism strategy.

...It had somewhere around 80 actions in it and it became apparent quite quickly that it was way too many, emm, it was too many things to be concentrating on, we needed to be more focused but also there were too many partners involved in a lot of them without it necessarily defining well enough what was a priority or the role for any individual partner (R20, Sk, To, Pu).

Strategies and action plans however were expressed as important tools to maintain cohesion (R9) and focus (R24, R32), ensure a common vision (R12, R13, R14, R25) and provide a frame of reference by which to judge progress (R5, R23, R30). However it was highlighted that a gap is considered to exist between the physical construction of a strategic document and the actual fulfilment of objectives. Strategies were not necessarily perceived as conclusive to achievement.

* I think it's a very good, it is very good to have a general strategy or plan, emm and it puts into perspective some of the objectives that we are looking to achieve but it doesn't necessarily, it's not a pathway to achieve them if you see what I mean (R23, Sh, To, Pu).
Yes, the strategy will be delivered, emm, insomuch as that it will be written, constructed, and an action plan created, but how those actions are then delivered... It will be interesting to see (R29, Or, To, Pu).

One respondent also pointed out that too much attention directed towards the strategic reporting could detract from the purpose of the strategy’s existence.

What happens is when you come back to meetings with that [the strategy] you end up... Maybe not being so progressive and more reporting on activity to date rather than actually really engaging with the project and seeing what has been done and what needs to be done, how have things changed to impact upon the project and maybe there’s not enough time given to that, I think maybe we stall at just talking rather than becoming active (R12, OH, To, Pu).

6.4.4 Motivation to Collaborate
Motivations to collaborate which dominated the discussion were focussed on the ability to address current economic constraints and to maximise resources by implementing collaborative behaviour. The idea of being able to “do more with less” is a common strategic objective of collaboration which was previously discussed in section 2.2.2 (page 23) and has subsequently been reflected within the primary data collected. A more comprehensive consideration now follows.

6.4.4.1 Economic Austerity
There were various reasons expressed for the desire to collaborate irrespective of the probability for participants to engage to the extent that collaboration would realise a mutual aspiration. One of the more prominent reasons leading stakeholders to convey a need to collaborate was found within the current conditions of the economic climate. Discussion developed around how budgetary constraints are perceived to have influenced people working together (R5, R15, R24, R29) with higher costs (R8, R11, R29, R30, R31), lower budgets (R2, R13, R15, R24, R30, R32), and changing consumer spending habits (R29, R30) cited as key challenges requiring collaborative
input. A tougher environment in which to do business resulted in a stakeholder consideration that pooling assets and understanding the strength in collective effort would lead to a greater scope of possibility than could be achieved by lone endeavours.

...Now there is no money or much less money that doesn't change what we want to achieve, it just changes our approach to it, it just changes perhaps the timescale over which we can achieve it but themes remain the same because we established those as important features of our future so... Working together is unquestionably important; this can't be achieved by organisations sort of like, shrinking back into their own agendas. Even more so we have got to collaborate, and even more so we have got to share and understand what we each have to offer and what we want to achieve and even more so we've got to, be willing to work together (R24, Sh, Tr, Pu).

This account reflects the fundamental concept of collaboration associated with achieving more together than can be accomplished alone – see the definitions of Winer and Ray (1994), Huxham (2003) and Sink (1998) within Table 3 (page 52). There were various ways that people discussed pooling their assets in order to gain more from individual resources in a bid to ultimately advance their own scenario. The economic downturn was considered to have put strain on personal budgets and this influenced the idea that amalgamating funds to achieve similar objectives would stretch financial resource capacity in order to maintain performance and sustainability.

I think generally speaking people are becoming aware that their budgets are under pressure and they’re now prepared to have a look at emm, joining their budgets with other budgets to continue to deliver and improve performance (R15, SW, Tr, Pu).

Respondent 29 evidenced this idea when discussing how challenged resources had led to the pooling of assets. Budgetary constraints encouraged three of the islands areas within the study to collaborate on the production of a visitor survey in order to gain
more whilst expending less. But there was stress on the point that it may never have come about had they not found themselves in a fiscal dilemma.

*I mean make no mistake; it was driven by budgets because for Orkney to do their own survey would have cost £50,000. Now we could not justify that in 2012, but working together, by having VisitScotland putting some money in and each of the island groups together, it increased the pot enough to cover it all and I do think that some of the parts will be greater than if we had done our own separate surveys (R29, Or, To, Pu).*

The respondent went on to discuss that the collection of uniform information within the survey would enable the islands for the first time to compare and contrast their visitor markets. The experience had also encouraged the participants to consider further ways in which they could work together to perhaps present a joined-up product incorporating multiple island destinations. Similarly the respondent also suggested that the process would help to initiate and build relationships between stakeholders across island areas.

Respondent 24 perceived that budgetary reductions had provided the motivation for stakeholders to give a broader consideration of every available asset. Financial challenges inspired organisations to reflect on all the resources at their disposal, not just those of a fiscal nature.

*We are suffering from the funding challenge that we now face but we have to think about how do we as organisations work with what we've got in terms of people, not necessarily budgets but people and time (R24, Sh, Tr, Pu).*

*Another resource we've got now is expertise and time so we shouldn't focus on money being the only resource that we need or the only resource that is*
available with time and expertise and innovation, you can work around what you can do if the team is committed to a broader set of goals (R24, Sh, Tr, Pu).

I think it's understanding what organisations can do, where the skills lie and actually just tapping into them so it's not rocket science... (R25, Sh, To, Th).

Some respondents discussed that collaboration which had evolved in an age of austerity was a reaction to the situation and not a proactive decision (R5, R7, R15, R23, R29). The impetus for working together in the face of adversity was perceived to be less of a planned choice and more of a strategy driven by the emergent challenges generated by resource constraint.

I think a lot of the partnership working is coming out of necessity, we all understand that since 2008 there has been an age of austerity (R5, Bu, To, Th).

I think the recession has maybe forced people to work together (R29, Or, To, Pu).

When you have tougher times there is more of a will to engage and I think you tend to look into every nook and cranny and see what resources you have and what is going to affect what, so I think there is definitely more engagement happening... (R23, Sh, To, Pu).

The idea that people “fail into collaboration” (see section 2.2.3 (page 27)) correlates with the inclination to collaborate through necessity. Collaboration in some cases was regarded as an activity which specifically arose in instances of complexity.
I think that collaboration is through necessity, I think businesses recognise that they have to work together to present a better picture of the visitor experience (R7, SW, To, Pu).

Responding to challenges forces people to work together (R15, SW, Tr, Pu).

However some stakeholders raised concerns that collaboration resulting from political pressure was not the ideal environment in which to cultivate an activity immersed in social capital. For it to truly work, a desire within the actors involved was expressed to be foundational to fully gaining buy-in.

In terms of partnership working, I think even if it's just a policy, it is irrelevant; you need to have a particular desire to do that (R5, Bu, To, Th).

I can see it [collaboration] happening at various different levels but I see it happening for various different reasons too. Some of it is enforced collaboration, emm, that's not, that hasn't been a happy experience shall we say (R17, OH, Tr, Th).

Other respondents conveyed that rather than being forced into it, challenges had, in their experience, instigated a greater willingness to work together (R23). Resource scarcity was perceived to have focused the mind and brought about greater drive and innovation providing a shift in mind-set which may never have surfaced had people not been pressurised to do so (R24). However this pressure referred to obligations in responding to organisational responsibilities rather than feeling compelled to collaborate by a political imperative.
6.4.4.2 Resource Effectiveness

A key driver for working collaboratively was in the resource effectiveness that sharing provided.

*You've got to share information, you've got to... pass things on, if you don't pass anything on or share information, it falls apart, everything falls apart* (R16, Bu, Tr, Pr).

...*we have got to share and understand what we each have to offer and what we want to achieve*... (R24, Sh, Tr, Pu).

Sharing applied to a variety of resources with finance a major influence. Match funding was frequently evidenced as a route to obtaining a consolidation of capital for destination development in a way which exemplified a commitment to projects across sectors (R4, R5, R7, R15). It also highlighted the reliance that the involved stakeholders or organisations had on each other.

*I call the whole funding package, a house of cards because there were a series of funding streams but only one was secured, and that was the Council one. The Council one was only £25,000 but it's all about match funding, it's all about multipliers... if any of the other ones don't come off the whole thing caves in...* (R5, Bu, To, Th).

The sharing of financial resources was often a key element in joining organisations for the purposes of working together on an activity which would deliver mutual benefit. It also raised the stakes in terms of the level of commitment participants were willing to provide as private businesses would often be investing personal funds. In instances of public funding there would be accountability to deliver from the economic input provided.
They themselves [local stakeholders], through the business leaders, locked themselves in a room and said “Okay, how serious are we about growing tourism?” and they said “Really serious” so within one meeting they were able to unlock something in the region of about £55,000-£60,000 of private sector investment to use as match funding to lever in public sector money... (R7, SW, To, Pu).

It becomes quite difficult because we get very closely audited by our own local people and then the European partner to make sure that we are working entirely above board and everything is procured fairly and squarely (R21, SW, Tr, Pu).

You know we have a strategic plan and that is what we are going to deliver. Emm, so from a funder’s perspective, they give you a hard time... (R13, OH, To, Th).

Working together was not only perceived as a favourable selling point to receive funding. There was also recognition that sharing financial resources would stretch a pot of funding further than what each individual organisation’s capital could achieve (R15, R29). Other significant resource benefits which were perceived to be gained through working together were identified as: mitigating duplication (R22, R24, R33); expanding individual resource potential (R12, R16, R17, R23, R24, R29); streamlining efforts (R13, R15, R33); encouraging innovation (R24); and maximising impacts through collective delivery (R5, R6, R7, R8, R30, R33). Collective working was emphasised to present a more complete offer. Furthermore, the integration of individual efforts was proposed to support the delivery of a more sophisticated product.
We created, helped create Hebridean Harbours’ Collaboration, to market the Outer Hebrides as a sail destination so that's all the harbours getting together, and now there is emm, several harbours including ourselves that are looking at putting pontoons in, so that... And, in the past I think there has been too much of a, empire building and you know, this is my area, but you know, we've got the message out and I think it has sunk in that you know, we're not in competition... working together you can give a bigger, a wider mix and you can give island itineraries. Because it makes it easier for somebody, a yachtsman to come across the Minch if they know that they can go from harbour A to harbour B to harbour C and you can get an entirely different experience in each place, you know. The islands are each very unique and different (R17, OH, Tr, Th).

It's vital [working together], it's got to be. You can't have people pulling in different directions; if we work together we are able to do things like offer packages... (R16, Bu, Tr, Pr).

It is contended that a collaborative approach is required for tourism destinations to remain competitive and attractive. This proposition is explicitly demonstrated in section 4.4 (page 111). Many of the empirical arguments reflected theoretical suggestion that lone actors do not possess the selection of resources necessary to present a comprehensive tourism package.

6.5 Conclusion
This chapter began by illustrating the significant recognition of tourism as an economic contributor within the island areas studied. The importance of tourism was deemed necessary to establish from the offset since the extent to which it was conceived a valuable commodity would reflect the level of willingness to commit effort. This was indeed evidenced and the pursuit of a sustainable tourism industry was identified as a key driver for collaborative behaviour. The interdependent relationship between transport and tourism meant that the development of one industry would be reliant and influential on the other. The challenge of transport’s role in tourism was demonstrated
by the dichotomy of their objectives. Goal division between fulfilling the needs of resident communities while facilitating the desires of visitor markets proved impractical.

The key part transportation plays in visitors reaching islands was acknowledged along with the emotive quality the journey provokes. The role of transport as a component of the whole visitor experience was discernible by many respondents. As such it was also highlighted that service providers have become increasingly adept in destination marketing. This illustrated a blurring of boundaries in the duty of destination management (of which marketing is a key element) and thus another example of interwoven roles. However challenges perceived to constrain engagement between the two industries were also discussed. The isolation of islands was considered to escalate the community’s relationship with transport systems. This naturally translated to the prominence of transport within tourism development. However the structural antithesis of the industries was perceived to provide barriers for transport and tourism demonstrating closer working practices. While the tourism industry was considered to be more malleable, the transport industry was constrained by regulation given its reliance on subsidies. Other structural issues which surfaced in terms of local destination arrangements originated from changes to governance mechanisms. VisitScotland’s move to a more centralised management framework resulted in many respondents conveying a dissatisfaction with the representation of their individual territories. A consequence has been the emergence of DMOs assuming an escalated role in the local management and development of tourism. However accounts conveyed that constraints have been demonstrated in the capacity of these industry led groups to strategically and practically move from the discussion to implementation of ideas.

The final key theme within the findings relates to the theoretical and practical considerations of collaboration. Many respondents associated the terminology of collaboration with public sector language. Some found affirmation of conveying collaborative behaviour with the identification of distinct instances through activities. Accounts demonstrated a reflection on collaboration as a phenomena to emerge from
scenarios of general engagement and thus with a potential to develop retrospectively. The closeness of relationships within islands resulting from small populations, familiarity and role overlap were aspects highlighted as catalytic in cultivating collaborative capacity. A strong sense of identity coupled with a distinct geographical boundary effectuated heightened ownership and increased stakeholder engagement. Similarly opportunities for informal communication and platforms for stakeholder integration were credited with the instigation of generating additional capacity through which to collaborate. However the fragmented nature of the industry and the threat of excessive stakeholder participation constraining progress were cited as key challenges in moving from discussion to action. However elements of organic collaboration emerged from the mutual challenges faced by the island communities, namely a recent period of economic austerity and the necessity to maximise potential through resource sharing.
Chapter Seven
7. Discussion

7.1 Introduction
This thesis presents an investigation of the scope, role and nature of collaborative relationship between transport and tourism in Scottish island destinations and the extent to which practice is influenced by the collaborative discourse of policy. The previous chapter presented the findings from the primary data collection of the qualitative research undertaken. This chapter intends to make an interpretation of the findings through an analysis and discussion of the data gathered via the stakeholder interviews. Three key themes from this exploratory study emerged within the findings and these areas will now be discussed in further detail and in relation to the background literature presented in previous chapters. The first two sections will be centred on the predominant focus of this study, the concept and practice of collaboration. Initially a deliberation of the conceptualisation of collaboration will be made through an analysis of the perspectives of study participants and the language they used to convey their perceptions, as per the qualitative approach adopted. Following on from this will be a discussion pertaining to the practicalities of a relationship between transport and tourism within the context of this study. Due consideration will be given to the externalities which influence and impact upon the expressions of behaviour and the reasoning behind actions. It is important to consider the influential factors affecting the ability to collaborate since these will dictate the environment conducive to a capacity to collaborate and therefore the predisposition to engage in collaborative behaviour. In relation to this, the final theme discusses the influence and consequences of local level governance and leadership and their place in the propensity for collaboration to emerge in the circumstances presented.

7.2 Collaboration - The Need for Emergence, Ownership and Clarity
While there has been a growth in the discourse of collaboration, pertinent to the study was the identification of its comparative practice. The public management literature has become increasingly embedded in dialogue driven by the partnership agenda and within the objectives of this study were the criteria to first explore the collaborative agenda within public policy before establishing how the language of collaboration transpires in practice. The intention being to consider whether the collaborative
discourse of policy does indeed impact the scope, role and nature of relationship between tourism and transport or if collaborative behaviour is perceived to be motivated by an alternative driver. Both the secondary and primary research convey collaboration to be considered a predominantly emergent response to complex problems, the success of which will pertain to the degree of participant commitment and ownership. Further an ambiguity surrounding the concept and therefore process and preparation of collaboration was highlighted. These issues will now be further discussed.

7.2.1 The Emergent and Reactive Disposition of Collaboration

The effective mechanism that collaboration can provide in responding to complex societal problems has paved the way for government to see it as a solution to many issues which require a collective response (Bryson et al. 2006, McGuire 2006, Weber et al. 2007, Mandell and Keast 2009, Morse 2010). While the impetus to look at the discourse and practice of collaboration came from its prevalent use in public policy and literature, in the context of this study collaboration was shown within the findings to evolve as an emergent response to the difficulties faced by stakeholders. Bardach (2001) proposes that while collaboration can evolve as a reaction to a problem it also has the potential to emerge from planning and foresight. However the latter was much less evident within the findings from this study. Even in instances where planned collaborative projects were embarked upon, such as the development of “JourneyGenie” to raise passenger awareness and aid the dispersal of visitors; or the organisation of events to extend the season, the impetus was fundamentally a response to pressure. The level of complexity and chaotic nature of the type of problems collaboration seeks to address (innately referred to as “wicked problems” – see section 2.2.3 (page 27)) tends to evade the rationality of foresight. Rittel and Webber’s (1973) proposed criteria for wicked problems (see Table 2 (page 28)) emphasises the difficulty if not impossibility to prepare an advanced solution to what is very often an unknown problem until it occurs. Since collaboration is pervasively considered an effective approach to dealing with wicked problems then this too would suggest its appropriateness in scenarios which demand a reactive response as opposed to proactive implementation. Graefe et al. (2010) convey that proposing collaboration as a foresight activity is hampered by the fact that it is therefore not reactive. They further consider that this leads to a diminished level of commitment and engagement, both of which
are expressed within section 2.5.1 (page 55) and Table 5 (page 57) as critical success elements in collaboration. Although study participants identified various drivers of collaboration, the motivating factors tended to emerge reactively. They developed organically in response to complex issues which were out-with the reach of what one could individually achieve. There was less evidence of collaboration developing with strategic prudence or because ‘policy’ encouraged its use.

7.2.2 Increasing Social Capital as a Repercussion of Emergent Issues
Motivations for collaborative working identified within the findings section at 6.4.4 (page 252) were recognised to necessitate a reaction to immediate challenges. Similarly they appeared catalytic in establishing processes of working together. Many have felt the squeeze of tighter budgets within an austere economic climate across both public and private sectors. Understanding has developed that in order to support the local tourism industry and the income it provides, stakeholders cannot become passive in the attempt to create an attractive destination. Where budget sharing has been a strategy past and present, the current financial constraints disclosed within the context of this research have sought to inspire stakeholders to consider their full range of resources. This is discussed in section 6.4.4.1 (page 252). The benefit this has in terms of collaborative capacity is that it encourages an appreciation of what potential partners can bring to the table beyond fiscal offerings thus attributing value to a diversity of participant competencies (Foster-Fishman et al. 2001, Adler and Kwon 2002, Weber and Khademian 2008, Sullivan 2010). Collaboration is embedded within relational capital and the ability to develop strong and trusting relationships. A move towards highlighting the value of factors such as time and expertise initiates a focus on a partner’s holistic worth. This is a critical aspect of collaboration since a partner’s value and propriety will influence the extent to which there will be willingness to compromise throughout the process (Wildridge et al. 2004, Carnwell and Carson 2009, Leat 2009). Compromise was evidenced within the findings in section 6.4.2.3 (page 241) as a vital component of effective stakeholder engagement. It lays the foundation for commitment and buy-in, both of which are necessary for collaboration to succeed (Mattessich et al. 2001, Thomson and Perry 2006). The higher the reliance partners attribute to each other for the purposes of goal achievement, the greater the likelihood they will remain bonded and the collaboration intact for its lifespan. This idea is most evidently explained within the literary discussions on collaborative motives.
underpinned by the theoretical frameworks of social exchange theory and resource dependency theory.

Island areas are challenged by their remoteness and therefore limited resources (Briguglio 1995, Kerr 2005, Moyle et al. 2010, Sufrauj 2011). However disproportionate levels of social capital also emanate since people realise they need to use each other in order to maximise what is possible with what they have. By their very nature of small size and distinct boundaries, islands inherently host small populations. This results in an inevitability of overlapping roles and familiarity between community members. Section 3.7 (page 91) presents a background in support of this which was delivered through the literature. Further it was empirically demonstrated in section 6.3.5 (page 224) that consistency of engaging with the same people allowed stakeholders to build relationships and reach consensus with ease. The distinct physical boundaries islands have was also asserted to present greater opportunities for social capital to develop and to identify common ground – see section 6.3.5 (page 224). While Jordan (2007) argues that overlapping can contribute to misunderstandings and conflict, Baldacchino (2006a) proposes that it is an inevitability of island areas in coping with the messy challenges they endemically experience. Further, McGuire (2006) asserts that familiarity breeds trust since prior ties lead to greater levels of confidence amongst partners. The emergence of social capital and thus the potential for collaboration to develop is considered to correspond with the degree of trust between partners (Nahapiet and Ghoshal 1998, Adler and Kwon 2002, Erridge and Greer 2002, Walker 2004, Maak 2007). It is therefore unsurprising for island communities to provide illustrative models of organic and emergent collaborative activity.

7.2.3 The Emergent Need for Strategy
Within the collaborative literature much discussion alludes to the fact that collaboration must evolve as an emergent process because of its inability to remain static (Gray 1989, Vernon et al. 2005, Jamal and Stronza 2009, O'Leary and Vij 2012). Both primary and secondary research indicated that effective collaboration is less likely to succeed in a scenario whereby it is premeditatedly ‘applied’. This is because it is a process generally adopted through necessity which thus generates the buy-in
necessary for it to survive its duration. Statements made within the findings in section 6.4.4.1 (page 252) reverberated the message of participant integration as reactive to circumstance. In fact many of the study participants perceived that rather than a driver of integration, collaboration materialised as a repercussion through the process of working together. The reflective identification of collaboration further indicated its proclivity to manifest emergently since in these instances recognition of it did not occur until after the event.

The demonstration of collaboration as a remedial tool reactive to a complex scenario is a commonly held perception (Gray 1989, Makopondo 2002, Thomson and Perry 2006). Emerson et al. (2012) indicate that the practice of collaboration and the evidence of it will ultimately occur from the prerequisites for it, thus associating collaboration with responsiveness. If collaboration is indeed a response to a wicked problem, which is consistently the advocacy for its presence, then this provides the embodiment of it in the concept of a reactive measure. It is emergent in reaction to a current problem which requires an immediate solution. Within the primary data, a key example of a reliance on collaboration as a response to an emergent problem was identified in the development of DMOs. These materialised reactively through a dissatisfaction with the re-structuring of the national tourism organisation – see section 6.3.3 (page 208). Yet providing a solution to a problem reactively accentuated challenges encountered from failing to strategize. DMOs have in many cases been championed in terms of returning ownership to local stakeholders. However it was also highlighted that because they transpired emergently with little in the way of a strategic framework there were questions raised around their sustainability. A lack of planning has prompted concern for their future security in terms of funding and agendas. Debate pertaining to this occurs in section 6.3.3 (page 208).

While a strategy may not be in place at the point of realisation that collaboration is necessary, it is crucial that an imminent and mutual plan of action is devised as a matter of priority (Lank 2006). This initial phase of the collaborative process is termed the “assembling stage” by Wang and Xiang (2007). Immediate key tasks involve participant selection, since even the scope of partner choice will influence and direct what can be achieved (Evans 2001, Wang and Fesenmaier 2007). Similarly clarity
around issue identification is important to establish at this early juncture in order to generate consensus. This initiates the necessary preparation of sorting and streamlining which gives way to the “ordering stage”. However it is important to note that in-keeping with the nature of collaboration, the collaborative stages are often considered neither linear nor static (Thomson and Perry 2006, Ansell and Gash 2007, Emerson et al. 2012) (for further information see section 2.5.3 (page 64) at page 64). Collaborative strategy is intrinsic to establishing the meta-strategy that a process of collective working intends to achieve. This gives the initiative a sense of identity (Huxham 1993a, Clarke and Fuller 2010). Further, the creation of strategy at an early stage is critical for goal clarity, participant selection, co-ordination, and performance monitoring (Hardy et al. 2003). These components are proposed as antecedents to collaboration, listed within Table 5 (page 57).

The conversations which developed within the interviews expressed that where collaborative working occurred, emergent challenges would ultimately be understood best by those directly involved in responding to them. Section 6.4.3.2 (page 250) saw respondents indicate the need to have “the right people” involved, which were those considered to have the most legitimacy in delivering action or initiating strategic progress. Further it was recognised that stakeholders on the ground, within the vicinity of where the problems occurred would also be more knowledgeable about local resources and relationships. It was argued that they would have the capacity to present insightful and therefore viable solutions, thus delivering the rationale for returning decision-making back to the local community through the channel of DMOs. Indeed within the literature there is an emphasis towards the effectiveness and authenticity of emergent or bottom-up collaboration (Jones et al. 1997, Vernon et al. 2005). This is further discussed in section 7.4.1 (page 280).

7.2.4 Clarity of Language for Preparation of Process
Scepticism by some respondents was identified with labelling a joint working process as “collaboration” even when it could be recognised through reference to the operational definition (see page 55) that they were in fact engaged in collaborative activity. An assessment of the interview conversations demonstrated that aspects reflective of collaborative behaviour were evident in instances where the participant
did not allude to recognition of collaborative engagement. Thomson and Perry (2006) contend that as parties interact over time, collaboration evolves indicating that although it might be present it may not be obviously apparent. Similarly Bardach (2001) suggests that the dynamic behaviour of collaboration renders it extremely hard to analyse providing further reason for uncertainty. This is consequential of its often transient nature and reflects the notion that collaboration can be identified retrospectively. An association of the term with public sector discourse was conveyed by various respondents who recognised “collaboration” as the language of government. Demonstration of this is made within the findings in section 6.4.1 (page 227). This indicates a misconception of the concept when compared with literature’s proposition (within section 2.2 (page 20)) of it as emergent and organic. Furthermore, dubious opinions were expressed by respondents where collaboration was perceived to emanate from political pressure. While instances of partnership have enjoyed a place in resolving complex societal issues, they have also received their quota of bad publicity (Bovaird 2004). Failed endeavours have roused apprehensions particularly when public services and public finance is at stake. Within the collaborative literature it has been widely expressed that despite the best intentions, efforts are susceptible to failure due to the spectrum of potential threats (Wildridge et al. 2004, Hocevar et al. 2006, O’Flynn et al. 2011) - see Figure 1 (page 30). Regardless, collaboration is regularly adopted as a policy response with the discourse of it occurring pervasively throughout the rhetoric of a diversity of public sector agendas (Miller and Ahmad 2000, Head and Alford 2008, Weber and Khademian 2008, Andrews and Entwistle 2010). Bryson et al. (2009) and Roberts (2000) emphasise that people often fail into collaboration given the probability of high costs and the level of investment in terms of time and commitment. Therefore it is an approach which is often preceded with the advisory that it should only be approached when participants cannot achieve what they need to without collaborating. This relates back to previous discussion in section 7.2.1 (page 264) which considers it to be difficult to use collaboration as a strategic plan of foresight.

In order for collaboration to achieve effective outcomes much preliminary work is necessary in creating a capacity conducive for collaborative relationships to thrive (Mattessich et al. 2001, Foster-Fishman et al. 2001, Hocevar et al. 2006, Simo and Bies 2007). The lax attitude adopted towards collaborative terminology has led to a
situation whereby the overuse of the expression has diminished the clarity and in some cases the value of the practice - see section 2.5.1 (page 55). Collaboration is frequently considered as an umbrella term for all and any forms of joint working, thus creating the following problems. First, using the language of collaboration without true recognition of what the process involves or the obstacles likely to be experienced sets the practice up for failure. The omnipresence and ambiguity of the collaborative discourse leads to a disregard and dilution of the necessary preparation for embarking upon collaboration. Second, applying collaboration to a setting, irrespective of the need for joint working, remains futile since collaboration should be built upon the willingness of those directly involved. Sentiment of this was conveyed within the data collection – “In terms of partnership working, I think even if it’s just a policy, it is irrelevant; you need to have a particular desire to do that” (R5: Section 6.4.4.1 (page 252)). Carnwell and Carson (2009: 3) point out that “Much use of the [collaborative] terminology is policy driven”. However collaboration is a process inherently required to come from within, with the insight of those involved committed to the journey through the enticement of achieving a mutual vision. This acts as the carrot. The stick ought to emerge from the position of the complex problem to be solved rather than through obligation to and pressure from a third party directive. Although public policy has shifted focus from competitive to collaborative strategy, it is important that there is a constructive rationale for using collaboration both in discourse and practice. As was argued within organisational theory, contingency theory challenged the “one best way” idea and replaced it with a realization that the best way would be as a prescription to the specific scenario (Burnes 1996). Innes and Booher (2010) believe that since wicked problems are complex in nature and responsive to their fluctuating environments, the application of an appropriate solution will be contingent on the scenario it seeks to rectify.

Collaborative relationships experience a higher level of intensity than alternatives within the partnership spectrum (Winer and Ray 1994, Himmelman 1996, Sandfort and Milward 2008). As Gajda (2004: 68) points out “Most collaboration theorists contend that efforts fall across a continuum of low to high integration; the level of integration is determined by the intensity of the alliance’s process, structure, and purpose.” As the level of inter-reliance increases so too does the level of risk and the potential for innumerable threats to penetrate the relationship - see Figure 1 (page 30)
for examples of costs associated with collaboration. Given that it is those involved who are required to provide the mandatory capacity, logic would suggest that it is also necessary for these parties to initiate the requirement for and engagement with collaborative working. After all they will ultimately be the ones tasked with sustaining the relationships. As such, ownership is stressed as a key feature in the attainment of legitimate and sustainable collaborative goals (Mattessich et al. 2001, Wildridge et al. 2004, Lank 2006, Ansell and Gash 2007). The extent to which strong relationships can be nurtured will underpin the likelihood of achieving these outcomes.

Collaboration also offers the potential to achieve more meaningful and long lasting accomplishments than other milder forms of partnership, hence the rationale for engaging with it. As Pollitt (2003: 38) argues within his discussion on the costs and risks of collaboration, “More modest forms of joining up may be safer, but yield less dramatic results”. The fundamental message is not to dissuade the use of collaboration but to disseminate the importance of preparedness in engaging with this approach. Interview conversation pertaining to the discourse of collaboration demonstrated some confusion as to what collaboration is and therefore what it involves. This exchange can be seen within section 6.4.1 (page 227). Although an extensive collaborative discourse is observable within policy, not everyone is keen to use the term. In fact one respondent conveyed that although collaboration is happening they claimed that it would not readily be referred to as such and that people would be more inclined to term it as some form of community engagement – see section 6.4.1 (page 227). This is perhaps due to the context of the study and the strong sense of community inherent in island areas. Were the study to centre on public sector representatives only or perhaps focussing still on stakeholder collaboration but within urban areas it is quite possible that the discourse would be somewhat different.

7.2.5 Affixing Tangibility for Measurement Purposes
Identification of collaborative activity emerged as the interview discussions progressed. The conversations involved the respondent making an analysis of how they work towards goals in order to convey a representation of their actions and what evokes them to behave the way they do. Respondents demonstrated a reliance on affixing the term collaboration to a specific project or activity - see section 6.4.1 (page
This gave collaboration tangibility thus providing a source of measurement in terms of goal achievement and to assess what had been possible as a result of collaborating. Within public services, performance has been a key focus of measurement which encompasses a broader scope of sustainability and societal well-being measures than finances alone. Similarly a key outcome of collaboration is found in the ‘soft’ factors with the ability to create social capital often found to feature extensively as a consequence of collaborating - see section 2.2.2 (page 23).

If participants in collaboration are indeed keen to measure the benefits of collaborating then it is crucial that they are receptive to considering that the advantages are more than reaching the end game. This notion is supported in literature with frequent declarations that collaboration is a journey, not a destination (Gajda 2004) or that collaboration is a means to an end, but not an end in itself (Linden 2010). Archer and Cameron (2013) describe the process of collaborating to encounter distinct stages and different terrain. They indicate that a partnership’s ability to endure this journey should be reflected in an evaluation of what has been achieved. As such celebrating the small gains throughout the collaborative process is considered to be an invaluable source of motivation to proceed (Foster-Fishman et al. 2001, Chrislip 2002, Thomson and Perry 2006). Recognition of this is perceived as a key task of leadership within collaboration and a critical phase of the collaborative life cycle (Mattessich et al. 2001, Rubin 2009, Linden 2010, Crosby and Bryson 2010). This highlights the significance of the leadership role in collaboration, more of which will be discussed in section 7.4.2 (page 282). Deale (2009: 65) makes an adept articulation of applauding small steps: “An important point to remember is to honour how project participants climb out of the “valleys” and make incremental gains because these smaller parts of the “vision” will eventually add up to the “vision” in its entirety”. Kanter (1994) markedly draws a comparison of relationships between organisations with relationships between people since she posits that collaboration is essentially a connection between individuals who mutually agree to come together. She divides the collaborative process into six distinct phases: Selection and courtship; Getting engaged; Setting up housekeeping; Learning to collaborate; Changing within; and Managing the trade-offs. This serves to impress the point that collaboration reflects intense scenarios with the outcome potential dependent on the effort invested. Given the arduous nature of collaboration and the necessary dedication of effort, it is crucial that participants are well prepare for and
able to reflect on the achievements made within the entirety of the collaborative process.

7.3 Rhetoric versus Reality within Theory and Practice

The pervasive message of collaboration has been discussed throughout this thesis as a key political approach and strategy to resource sharing and collective working. However the primary data collection confirmed that while there is an obvious rationale and as such willingness to collaborate there are also distinct obstacles. Ironically some of the most apparent constraints were voiced as those pertaining to government regulation, delivered from the same body advocating the need to collaborate.

The limitations of the current PSO system were deemed to lack a consideration of a rural area’s complete societal needs. This is further discussed in section 6.4.2 (page 232). The significance of the tourism industry expressed within the interviews reflected the general high reliance of island communities on tourism economies. However the specifications of the PSO did not state a clear responsibility to consider this passenger group, even as subordinate to immediate community needs. This remains irrespective of the fact that the income tourism provides was articulated as fundamental to island sustainability. Similarly respondents argued that although island destinations are bound by the same regulation as central regions they face diverse challenges advocating the need for a greater degree of autonomy. This notion was described both within the literature on islands in section 3.5 (page 81) and within the findings in section 6.3.1 (page 202). The constraints of adhering to the rules administered by the Traffic Commissioner had the potential for greater impact given the infrequency of many rural routes. Despite these constraints the social capital evident in islands was seen, yet again to aid island communities in resolving their problems. The need to apply locally constructed solutions to resolve local problems was indicative of the message in support of local level governance.

7.3.1 The Interdependency of Transport and Tourism in Island Destinations

Throughout the data collection process, a clear message developed of recognition that in order to benefit collectively from the income the tourism industry was able to
generate, stakeholders would need to work together. Tourism was expressed as an industry fundamentally ingrained in the small island economies. Stakeholders in both transport and tourism conveyed an understanding that gaining maximum prosperity would require significant engagement not only between themselves but throughout industries and sectors within the communities. A strength of message was delivered that sustainable decision-making would incorporate the input of a broad array of local participants. Only through a conjoined effort was it perceived that they could provide a package which would offer the full range of products and services to attract and cater for their visitor markets. This reflects the common emphasis on the description of tourism as a complex system interdependent of each of the components which combine to create the tourism experience (Cooper et al. 2009, March and Wilkinson 2009, Baggio and Sainaghi 2011, Zapata and Hall 2011). Further, it provides a practical demonstration of the commonly held theory for the incentive to collaborate - in order to tackle issues which lie beyond the purview of single organisations (Winer and Ray 1994, Sink 1998, Huxham 2003, Imperial 2005, Leat 2009, Savage et al. 2010).

Within the findings discussion in section 6.2.2 (page 176) and 6.2.3 (page 180), participants advanced the dialogue of tourism industry importance by providing a rationale for distinct instances where collaboration would ultimately enhance each individual offering. This presented as a robust antecedent for involvement in collaboration and the impetus to engage in collaborative relationships. The desire to remain sustainable led to an appreciation that transport and tourism stakeholders would require to combine efforts. Similarly the interdependency of relationship and the ability for each to influence the capacity of the other predicated the need for integration. As Mattessich et al. (2001) discuss within their proffered critical success factors of collaboration, the extent to which participants share a vision will motivate their willingness to interface. The greater the belief that the involvement of each party is necessary in realising the collective goal helps to embed willingness and underpin the legitimacy of the relationship. Furthermore, the drive provided by the shared vision and the dedication to achieving it will determine the levels of participant compromise, trust and support as outlined overleaf in Figure 11:
Whilst there was an expectation of enthusiasm for the economic significance of visitor markets to be delivered by tourism stakeholders, recognition was also demonstrated by those pertaining to transport – see section 6.2.2 (page 176). Not only was there acknowledgement of the direct financial benefit generated by tourism but credit was also paid to the multiplier effect and the ability for tourism to influence the broader prosperity of an area. Osti et al. (2011) consider there to be a direct and reciprocal relationship between users and producers of the tourism product. This was underpinned by earlier research in which Ap and Crompton (1993) suggest that direct beneficiaries from tourism are likely to embrace the industry and activities it involves. It was frequently acknowledged that the transport-tourism relationship within island scenarios is exaggerated given the hefty dependence that visitors to island destinations have on public transport services. A focus directed towards this can be observed both within the literature review in section 4.6 (page 120) and within the primary data in section 6.2.7 (page 197). There was emphasis of reliance on the tourism contribution and the custom it provides to local transport services. This was expressed by transport stakeholders as beneficial to the viability of operations. At times tourism was conveyed to have such an impact on the sustainability of these island destinations that it was considered difficult to extrapolate the workings of the industry from the mechanics of the island communities more generally. This is likely to be in part due to the difficulty in distinguishing what constitutes ‘tourism’ but also as a result of the affinity which is
demonstrated between islands and tourism given their predisposition to evoke an idyllic or exotic perception and therefore visitor markets. Previous reference is made to this notion in section 1.4 (page 14). An island’s small size coupled with substantial tourism flows effectuates extensive transiency within populations. Ambiguity of the industry parameters remains a perpetual idiosyncrasy of tourism irrespective of the nature it takes, i.e. urban or rural, niche or mass. Nonetheless it proved to highlight the level of importance apportioned to tourism and the range of influence it possesses in peripheries.

Within the island destinations there was a noticeable reliance on transport as a key component of the tourism product. This does not deviate from the general perception that access and transport systems are critical for the sustainable development of destinations (Prideaux 2000, Khadaroo and Seetanah 2008, Dickinson and Robbins 2008, Okech 2008, Page and Connell 2009, Holloway et al. 2009, Gössling et al. 2009, Henderson 2009, Leslie 2009). However visitors to islands have a substantial dependence on public transport services specifically, since private vehicle access is limited. This serves to accentuate the tourist as a significant contributor to transport operations in peripheries with robust visitor markets. The symbiotic relationship between transport systems and tourism markets in islands is therefore reciprocal in nature. Together they will reinforce and influence each other and the actions and effectiveness of one party will directly affect the other as highlighted by respondents within section 6.2.3 (page 180). A need for alignment between the two industries and a relationship between stakeholders which was close enough to permit joined-up processes to working was a pervasive message.

### 7.3.2 A Divergence of Objectives

While there was a clear rationale, and as such eagerness derived from the realisation that integration could bring about significant and unique benefits, participants also alluded to the challenges encountered. These were borne from an allegiance to serve, first and foremost the local community as demonstrated within the dialogue in section 6.2.4 (page 186). On occasion, this raised the capacity issue and constrained the speed and scope of what the two industries were able to achieve. Most participants
considered that while tourism is perceived as critical to local economies it was not more important than the sustainability of the functioning community. Further, seasonality influenced what the fundamental service provisions were able to commit to since there would be ebbs and flows in the visitor numbers. The viability of some routes would not be practical during low season. While this was at times frustrating when there was the potential for demand to exceed supply, the allocation of services still required to primarily fulfil resident’s needs. This indicated that while tourism is considered a significant income generator within the islands, the predominant message was for the security of community transport first and foremost. As such PSOs remain strongly focused on societal needs. Yet discourse asserted that benefits could be sought in identifying instances where community service routes might align with those attractive to visitors. In particular discussion in section 6.2.4 (page 186) conveyed the need to make a comprehensive deliberation of transport that considers all the markets to be served.

The wide stakeholder participation characteristic of the tourism industry has resulted in the perceived value of public sector bodies in a role of supervision (Bagaric 2010) and coordination (Hall 1999b, Briedenhann 2007, Kozak and Baloglu 2010, Zahra 2011). While service providers are engaged in business activity, the holistic functioning of a destination still requires to be addressed. The level of importance attributed to the transport component in the tourism product demonstrates a rationale for the stipulations of the PSO to consider a broader remit of consumer. The difficulty to commit resource to tourism, regardless of the discernable profitability of the visitor economy was expressed in section 6.2.3 (page 180). However if the tourism industry is indeed pivotal to the broader sustainability of island destinations then there requires a recognition of service provision to a wider pool of consumer. While many rural services are subsidised indicating that they are not viable, consideration given to the transport element within the tourism experience has the benefit of presenting an attractive destination. This can in turn provide wider returns to the locality. Argument conveyed within the literature that the tourism experience is judged in its entirety gives credence to the importance of holistic strategy. This should include attention given to the transport element in the tourism product.
7.3.3 The Impediment of Structural Disparity in Cross-Sector Collaboration

The second key barrier presented through a structural disparity. The empirical findings of the study demonstrated that whilst there was much ambition to engage with each other, working across sectors in this scenario presented architectural obstacles. Discussion highlighted that some stakeholder groups have more malleability than others. Where the tourism industry has the opportunity to flex given its position predominantly within the private sector, transport systems were deemed more complex when it came to implementing modifications. The subsidisation of transport services results in authoritative decision applied from a central body, Transport Scotland. In return for funding they are required to regulate local service operation for the purposes of accountability through a PSO. There is an obvious need for this to be the case in order to protect a level of quality and consistency within transport schedules. However some respondents expressed that the rigidity of this regulation has resulted in instances of unfavourable consequences within the context of islands. The argument provided was that the characteristics of islands cannot be equated to those of urban areas where services generally have an increased regularity. Yet transport stakeholders functioning within the islands conveyed that they are answerable to the same rules because of the centralised authoritative body. Further debate focused on a need for management of transport to reflect the nature of the distinct environment islands provide. Much of the transport regulation is required to consider that changes to service provision could have a contagion effect impacting a variety of links. This means that even the slightest adjustment may prove disruptive to the interconnectedness of services. This was indeed articulated in section 6.2.5 (page 191). Therefore transport planning must acknowledge a perspective broader than purely within one vicinity in order to maintain a wider integration. However the predicament also illustrates that it may be advantageous for the routes within these boundaried perimeters to be regarded independently from those connecting externally to the mainland since their function is somewhat autonomous by comparison.

7.3.4 The Significance of a Shared Goal as a Collaborative Driver

The persistence of structural and regulatory obstacles experienced by the transport-tourism relationship resulted in restrictions as to what could be collectively achieved. Internal structures and processes are critical determinants within the capacity of organisations to collaborate (Huxham 1993a, Gajda 2004). Their significance can be
observed further within Table 3 (page 52) and Table 5 (page 57) which illustrate the key concepts and components of collaboration. This study context demonstrated barriers to structural alignment from a regulatory dimension. The public sector are commonly considered to provide a valuable role in the support and facilitation of destination management (Hall 1999b, Mair 2006, Briedenhann 2007, Cetinski et al. 2009). Within the context of collaborative public management Agranoff and McGuire (2003) believe the underpinning of responsibility to be involved in process implementation. Yet this instance emphasised the challenge endured by cross-sector collaboration, particularly where there was nonalignment, for very practical reasons it should be noted, of top-level objectives. Despite this, there was identification of an overriding local stakeholder commitment to participate in collective decision-making and activity for the purpose of destination attractiveness. Evidence of this arose through discussion in section 6.3.3 (page 208) and 6.4.2.3 (page 241) pertaining to engagement with communication platforms such as ATPs and DMOs. This reflected the prominent idea of collaboration as an activity driven by goal consensus (Gray 1985, Provan and Kenis 2008) and built on shared visions and values (Hansen and Nohria 2004).

It was asserted that effective stakeholder interaction would depend on the inclusion of multiple parties in order to consider and incorporate their various perspectives and influences. Collaboration has long since been regarded as a mechanism to solve complex and cross-cutting problems – see section 2.2.3 (page 27). Generating engagement between those close to a problem and combining their insights, complementary strengths and resources is deemed to offer value in finding sustainable solutions (6 et al. 2002). Collaborative forums sought to give the industries an opportunity to integrate. These platforms offered the capacity to develop social capital. Social (or relational) capital is often highlighted as one of the most valuable outcomes of collaboration – see section 2.4.2 (page 48). The potential to construct social capital provides a strong motivation for tourism organisations to enter into a collaborative relationship (Gray 2000, Welbourne and Pardo-del-Val 2008). It promotes the development of key resources such as trust, reciprocity and shared goals (Erridge and Greer 2002) and Kanter (1994) suggests that the emergence of these relational elements allow managers to leverage the utmost value from collaboration. Welbourne (2008: 488) posits “the real ‘true’ assets” of relational capital in collaboration to be
rooted not just in the people involved but in the relationships they can develop. The relationships which evolved through stakeholder interaction were regularly upheld as fundamental to consider possible solutions to joint problems which were collectively constructed.

7.4 Local Governance and Leadership

A desire for local level governance was expressed on a variety of occasions during the interview process – see for example section 6.3.2 (page 206). This was to be expected given the nature of ‘islandness’ discussed within Table 5 (page 57). An advocacy for local governance was responsive to the characteristics of islands and the specificity of challenges they face warranting the prescription of distinct solutions. Some recognised that a united approach would demonstrate the credibility necessary to effectuate policy change. Stakeholders acknowledged a need to engage through collaborative governance frameworks. However an aspiration to achieve this did not necessarily mean that it translated smoothly in practice. A lack of leadership served to emphasise the value of the public sector role in tourism management, or rather the impact felt by the absence of it.

Destination sustainability in islands requires alignment between a divergence of policy agendas and strategies, both locally and nationally, since jurisdiction in Scotland is ultimately disseminated from a central core. How national agendas can be translated to fit local objectives is an important question. Within this study it was often considered critical to include local participation since ultimately these stakeholders would be tasked with implementation. The discourse which follows illustrates that sustainable tourism management demands cross-sectoral input.

7.4.1 Community Identity and Empowerment

Another area in which island regions had trouble conforming to a consolidated design surfaced during the period of restructuring within Scotland’s national tourism organisation from STB to VisitScotland. As per the background literature on islands, the definitive borders surrounding these communities elicits a strong sense of individuality. Island regions possess parameters which provide physical boundaries
encapsulating distinct identities (Baldacchino 2005, Hay 2006, Conkling 2007). Consequently a desire for the expression of identity is considered a key dimension of islandness (Fowles 1999, Jackson 2006, Stratford 2008, Hepburn 2012). The relevance of identity in terms of engendering integration is that it introduces common ground. Common ground allows people with different goals and agendas to discover a source of mutuality and therefore a rationale to work together (Gray 1989, Wildridge et al. 2004, Hansen 2009). This is the basis for the development of a shared vision, fundamental to collaboration (Selin and Chavez 1995, Chrislip 2002). Huxham and Vangen (2005) propose that identifying common ground accentuates a shared commodity and helps to stimulate compromise thus building trust between parties.

A consistent message was delivered within the data collection that respondents considered islands to have unique personalities which differ from each other. The discourse pertaining to the desire for a local identity and thus distinct representation is evident in section 6.3.2 (page 206). This was driven by civic pride and the aspiration to promote an exclusive product in order to remain distinct from other island regions and therefore competitive in nature. The belief transpired that representation of the local area needed to be definable, not unified. Yet at that time the central governance of tourism was being directed towards amalgamation through a conscious effort to create a national image for Scotland (Maclellan 2011) - for further details, see section 4.5.1 (page 115). The result of this was seen locally to undermine the distinct identities considered a valuable resource within islands. Governments’ desire to “join-up” marketing processes throughout Scotland resulted in the generation of collaboration as local stakeholders sought to retaliate. Rather than collaborative approaches materialising through a policy objective, in this case they emerged responsively to the dissatisfaction of governmental decision-making. The territorial nature of local inhabitants was demonstrated through their reaction to the managerial alterations of the national tourism remit. An unwillingness to accept the intended policy decision encouraged industry members to find an alternative channel of local representation which resulted in the establishment of DMOs. A repercussion of this was the generation of community empowerment as citizens increased their influence in decision-making and the delivery of tourism policy.
Stakeholder engagement and citizen involvement in decision-making is frequently proposed to result in communities which are empowered and therefore responsible and accountable for the repercussions of actions. This approach is increasingly likely to generate solutions which are locally supported and implemented (Buchy and Race 2001, Robertson 2011). As such local empowerment and tourism sustainability in small islands have been closely associated (Di Castri 2004). Community empowerment is also considered influential in capacity building for collaboration (Cuthill and Fien 2005, Cole 2006, Vigoda 2012). However Brinkerhoff and Azfar (2006) argue that for communities to be truly empowered requires cooperation with public agencies since they will be instrumental in the provision of organisational capacity.

Many of the island communities are still very much in a transition stage where tourism management is concerned. The repercussions of a turbulent period has brought about increased citizen participation but also recognition of limitations in terms of what each party can achieve individually. This is further discussed in the subsequent sections.

7.4.2 In Pursuit of Local Leadership
Beyond marketing, interviewees conveyed that it is imperative for local decision-making to be evident since the idiosyncrasies of islands demand a governance mechanism applicable for and prescribed to each individual scenario. DMOs had the objective of enabling stakeholders to manage and guide the industry from a grassroots level through local governance mechanisms. They were also an attempt to find a source of local leadership during this uncertain transition period. The recent changes in tourism policy stimulated an impetus for industry concern and therefore industry involvement. Similarly perceptions were presented in section 6.3.4 (page 216) from public sector stakeholders that industry members are considered experts in their field and should ultimately lead the way. In tourism, leadership is perceived as contributory to successful development within peripheral regions for the motivation and direction it provides to collective stakeholder groups (Wilson et al. 2001, Stronza 2008, George et al. 2009). Yet in the context of this study it was an aspect cited as less evident than it needed to be. While there was opposition to what was happening at a central level,
activities were emerging sporadically and in many cases without much strategic direction. The key problem with this was discussed in terms of projects which had little planning and although started strong often dissolved as the season began which in the process dissipated valuable sources of funding. While the industry were keen to lead driven by self-interest they were also curtailed by the time they could dedicate.

Leadership is a key dimension of collaboration and has been cited as an antecedent to successful collaborative efforts by some (Ansell and Gash 2007, Weber et al. 2007) and escalated as catalytic to collaboration by others (Mandell and Keast 2009, Morse 2010). It has also been linked to the success of collaboration across sectors (Bryson et al. 2006). Leaders in cross-sector collaboration are characterised by their boundary-spanning abilities and their aptitude to appreciate and understand varied perspectives (Lasker et al. 2001). This resonates with the expressed need for holistic consideration and is indicative of the rationale for a reliance on the public sector within this role. As Briedenhann (2007: 584) argues, “Above all local authorities are seen as ‘the enabler’ of successful rural tourism projects that diversify the local economy and generate employment and entrepreneurial opportunities”. However she follows this up by stating that “There is evidence of widespread disenchantment with the efficacy with which this role is fulfilled”. The changes which have taken place within tourism policy in Scotland in recent years are evidently yet to settle into a model which reflects the stability and sustainability sought by both local and national stakeholders.

7.4.3 The Important Role of Bridges as well as Bonds in Island Jurisdiction
While island stakeholders conveyed a desire for local level input into governance and decision-making, there was acknowledgement that it could not be isolated from broader policy to be fully sustainable. Alignment with national agendas was recognised locally to maximise what could be achieved and supported collectively. However co-ordinating national agendas with local requirements was at times considered difficult. Nevertheless there was an impetus to try and make an interpretation of how the broader objectives could be efficaciously delivered to increase the scope of capacity and level of support available. The role of public sector agencies in destination management was acknowledged for the purposes of effective tourism delivery. This reflects Wynne’s (2007) discussion in section 3.5 (page 81)
within the social capital literature of the important role of bridges as well as bonds in island jurisdiction. Stakeholders became particularly aware of the absence of public sector involvement as they attempted to move from the discussion to implementation stage within the framework of a DMO. Respondents considered that individual agendas and time constraints influenced the ability to proceed from communication to action. There was also dialogue which indicated a concern over the lack of broader level planning and development. Difficulty was demonstrated in reaching agreement and generating the necessary funds and time commitment for local projects addressing issues of a more altruistic designation.

The important role of government as ‘facilitator’ or ‘parent’ with the ability to consider contemporary issues from a broad political stance has been frequently identified within destination management (Nash and Martin 2003, Hall 2005, Mair 2006, Briedenhann 2007, Cetinski et al. 2009). Secondary data which reinforces this viewpoint is expressed in section 4.2.1 (page 100). There is a distinct perception that public agencies have a fundamental role in collaborative governance (Ansell and Gash 2007, Rainey 2009, Emerson et al. 2012) although it is equally well highlighted that government alone cannot “solve” collective problems (Weber and Khademian 2008).

The nature of tourism presents a managerial dilemma since it ultimately involves the organisation and direction of multiple private businesses and public services. Within this study, the research has shown that these two entities can have substantially divergent objectives creating difficulties in coordinating the complexities of management. However given the significant contribution that the tourism industry delivers to island communities both as a direct source of business income and also indirectly through employment, job creation and business growth, a higher level of strategic management is critical. The argument for parity between access, products and services before a tourism package has completeness advocates the input of broader management able to consider a destination holistically. There is also a need to achieve balance across the scope of what a destination has to offer, thus ensuring a consistency in terms of the speed of development.
Comparing the Primary and Secondary Data

Collaboration was discussed in existing literature to transpire as an emergent process (see section 2.2 (page 20)) and this was indeed also seen to reflect the development of collaboration within the context of this study. The motivation for collective activity was perceived to predominantly arise from scenarios which were considered reactive to the behaviour of the external environment (see section 6.4.4 (page 252)). Similarly many of the antecedents determined necessary for collaboration from the secondary data were distinguished from the interview dialogue. Most notably, those mentioned included goal sharing (see section 7.3.4 (page 278)), a level of autonomy (see section 7.4.3 (page 283)), interdependency (see section 7.3.1 (page 273)), and willingness (see section 7.2.4 (page 268)). However it was also demonstrated that a lack of leadership, another theoretical key component of collaboration, posed a significant challenge to the implementation of decision-making resulting in instances of collaborative inertia (see section 7.4 (page 280)). This provided confirmation that leadership is indeed a critical element within the practical application of collaboration as outlined in Table 5 (page 57).

The islands frequently demonstrated elements pertaining to islandness as illustrated within the key dimensions of islandness at Table 7 (page 76). There was evidence of challenges unique to their peripheral locations due to distances from central hubs and national decision-making agencies. However increased levels of social capital and a strong sense of identity proved to offer the cohesion necessary for the stimulation of local level collaboration (see section 7.2.2 (page 265)). While there is an emphasis in public management literature on the need for joined-up processes of working and collaboration (see section 2.3.4 (page 41) and section 2.3.5 (page 43)), practical attempts to integrate were hindered by national policy regulation. The conformance with the regulation set by the Traffic Commissioner, the limitations of PSOs and a disparity of structures and objectives between transport and tourism were considered to impede greater levels of collaboration at a local level (see section 7.3 (page 273)). While funding allocation administered by Transport Scotland remains critical to the sustainability of rural transport so too is the income generation provided by tourism. However rather than national policy objectives striving to align the robustness of destination functioning, conversations allayed that they were instead inhibiting the
potential of what could be achieved locally. The discussion within the secondary data at section 3.6 (page 83) outlining the political structures of islands, presents a framework for governance between national and local level decision-making. However the primary data highlights some persistent structural challenges faced by the islands in terms of practice. Acknowledgement of tourism income generation was something recognised by grass roots transport stakeholders (see section 7.3.1 (page 273)) although at a national level the tourism industry was not something seen to particularly influence transport policy. This is perhaps a reflection of the intensified relationship specifically between transport and tourism in islands which is geographically modest in the broader remit of national transport planning and policy. However it emphasises the importance of local level input into national policy objectives if the sustainability of these peripheral destinations is to be a legitimate consideration.

7.5 Conclusion
The emergent nature of collaboration as a reactive tool to problem resolution demands personal commitment to the relationship and the process. The reciprocal dependency of participants instigates buy-in which helps to offset the challenges involved. The island context was seen to provide naturally high levels of social capital supported by the propensity for overlapping roles and responsibilities, thus increasing familiarity. However within the study context collaborative relationships and activities were threatened by the absence of strategic frameworks and a lack of leadership. This was detected to be consequential of the responsive disposition collaboration engendered.

The pervasive use of the collaborative terminology has the propensity to dilute meaning and generate vulnerability within relationships. Therefore it is crucial that consideration is given to the antecedents and process requirements of collaboration before participants will demonstrate readiness and resilience. While government promotes the adoption of collaborative practice and behaviour there was evidence within this research of disparity between sectoral structures and objectives hampering what could realistically be achieved. This suggests that further attention to the facilitation of collaboration is required.
Another key message conveyed was the desire for local level governance. The establishment of DMOs as an alternative framework for the delivery of tourism policy validated the degree to which local stakeholders were willing to extend their involvement. However the transition from central to local responsibility highlighted the value of the public sector role in holistic destination management.

The following chapter offers conclusions which can be drawn from a consideration of all the information which has preceded.
Chapter Eight
8. Conclusion

8.1 Research Overview

This study was set out to investigate the scope, role and nature of the collaborative relationship between transport and tourism in Scottish island destinations and the extent to which practice is influenced by the collaborative discourse of policy. It provides an exploration of stakeholder perceptions as to the rationale, feasibility and effectiveness of cross-sectoral engagement between the two industries whilst identifying opportunities and challenges considered to impact upon collaborative behaviour.

Tourism is prevalent throughout archipelagos across the globe for the source of income it can provide and a consistency of access between mainlands and islands is fundamental. Where transport systems connect the isolated geographies that islands present, the relationship between transport and tourism is escalated. Transport connections assist in maintaining the prosperity and sustainability of the communities who reside in these detached locations. A significant element of their well-being relates to viable economies, often stimulated in islands through the income generated by tourism. Therefore facilitating the movement of visitor markets will ultimately provide benefits to the destination more broadly. The transport-tourism relationship within the context of islands, regardless of the intensified dependency, has received little attention driving the impetus for this study.

While the political discourse of and advocacy for collaboration has developed omnipresence within the last few decades, it is a strategic approach destined to be labour intensive by the very nature of effort required to generate effectiveness. The commitment necessary within collaborative attempts has rendered many of them unsuccessful. Their triumph is a careful balance of symbiosis between all of the contributory parties. The collection of what each individual can deliver, provides the notion of a whole greater than the sum of its parts. However relationships which permit the capacity for collaboration demand a delicate equilibrium to be maintained.
Collaboration can present valuable alternatives in scenarios where social capital is naturally high but tangible resources are less so. It is also considered an effective approach to dealing with complex problems which require multi-organisational input. These ideas will be debated and examined within this chapter’s discussion.

Three key themes provided the framework for this research: the collaborative agenda; the island context; and the relationship between transport and tourism. An initial exploration of the problem domain generated the need for answers to the following research questions which were previously discussed in section 5.3 (page 134):

1. What is the perceived nature of relationship between transport and tourism stakeholders at a local level?
   a. What motivates a transport-tourism relationship?
   b. How do the dynamics of island destination governance influence the transport-tourism relationship?

2. What factors drive instances of collaborative engagement between transport and tourism stakeholders?
   a. To what extent do broader policy objectives and the role of the public sector impact upon collaborative behaviour/activities?

3. What factors inhibit practical efforts to collaborate?
   a. What is the potential to overcome these challenges/provide solutions?

These questions will now be examined in relation to the information derived from the literature review and the empirical findings in order to propose responses which are the analytical outcome of a comprehensive primary and secondary data analysis. As well as a synthesis of this information, reference will be made to the theoretical and policy implications that the study identifies before recommendations are proposed. The chapter concludes with the contribution it makes to knowledge within the respective fields involved in this study and proposals for future research.
8.2 Research Conclusions

The following research questions emerged as the research problem gained clarity. The researcher identified the focus the study should take in order to meet criteria which would deliver a valuable contribution to knowledge in an area of study with much currency but also with scope for further development. The research questions provided the capacity for the study of a broad problem area (collaboration) but within an industry (transport and tourism) and geographical (small Scottish islands) context thus providing distinct parameters. Each of the questions will now be treated in turn.

8.2.1 What is the perceived nature of relationship between transport and tourism stakeholders at a local level?

The necessity for a relationship between transport and tourism was consistently resounded from both industries, although it was frequent for this to be immediately followed with discussion portraying the barriers to a closer working relationship between stakeholders. A strong message demonstrated the crucial means of income tourism is considered to provide to these small destinations. Tourism’s capacity to present ubiquitously was regularly indicated. Reference was made to the impact visitor markets have on the majority of local businesses and services thus offering widespread multiplier effects (for context of the tourism contribution to the island economies, see Table 6 (page 73)). There was also testament made to the significance of transport systems and the part they play in not only sustaining the viability of island communities but also the pivotal role they provide in facilitating tourism. Within island areas PSVs are regularly subsidised since many journeys are not viable. However participants conveyed that in some cases the supplementary passenger numbers generated by the through flow of visitor markets demonstrates an opportunity to recoup operational costs. In some instances additional service provision has been validated, a repercussion of which also proved to benefit the mobility of local residents. This is particularly important within island communities since limitations exist on entry to markets given their distance from central hubs, their often high-transactional costs and therefore constrained economic opportunities. Tourism was seen to benefit the local economies within the island destinations whilst providing a secondary advantage in the contribution and support provided to transport service usage.
The interdependency of the relationship between transport and tourism was a fundamental ideology delivered throughout the interviews. The behaviour and performance of one industry was expressed to impact significantly on the other. It was acknowledged that in order to present an attractive destination, transport and tourism providers would be required to work together to maintain balance and present a cohesive package. This illustrated a shared goal between participants within the scope of this study offering consistency with theoretical discussion in section 2.4.2 (page 48) which suggests a shared goal or interest is a fundamental antecedent to collaboration. The significance of a shared goal as a collaborative driver is also further debated in relation to the study findings in section 7.3.4 (page 278). The level of consensus and desire to achieve a common goal was indicated to engender the buy-in necessary for participants to remain committed. Articulation in section 6.4.2.1 (page 233) indicated that where instances of collaboration has been most clearly demonstrated emanate from scenarios where a shared goal provides the motivation.

Beyond general instances of collaborative behaviour, distinct activities were demonstrated through joint initiatives such as “JourneyGenie” (2013b), Caledonian MacBrayne’s (2014) “Island Hopping” initiative and The Gaelic Rings (2014) project. Integrated marketing campaigns between transport providers and tourism bodies were also evidenced; specifically, Caledonian MacBrayne’s (2013) “Go Explore” and Northlink Ferries’ (2013) “Far isn’t Far” promotions. The impetus for transport-tourism collaboration was immediately clear and set the foundation for the research to establish the role and nature of it within the given context of the island environment (see Table 11 overleaf). Irrespective of a clear driver for collaboration, certain factors were disclosed to inhibit the ease with which it could be practically achieved. These issues are further discussed within section 8.2.6 (page 300) which provides a comprehensive picture of what influences the scope of a transport-tourism relationship in Scottish islands.
### Table 11: Identified Scope, Role and Nature of Collaboration

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Study Aim: To provide an investigation of the scope, role and nature of the collaborative relationship between transport and tourism in Scottish island destinations.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Scope</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- Large capacity for social capital to develop (islandness, small boundaried territories, shared goal, familiarity generating many antecedents to collaboration).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- Curtailed by lack of leadership, non-alignment of regulatory structures and objectives, issues in progressing decisions to implementation due to a lack of leadership.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- Requirement for some level of autonomy given the distinct challenges faced by islands (see section 3.4 – page 77 for further details).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Role</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- To provide an attractive tourism experience by demonstrating cross-industry integration and therefore a comprehensive product offering (presenting an attractive destination).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- Shared responsibility in the delivery of destination attractiveness (shared goal).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Nature</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- Emergent until initial foundations are in place.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- Emphasis on local participation/governance.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- Often informal, influenced by overlapping roles and familiarity.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- Blurred boundaries of responsibilities (shared goal, islandness).</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

#### 8.2.2 What motivates a transport-tourism relationship?

Beyond the discussion relating to the meanings participants made of the relationship between transport and tourism and the critical importance this was perceived to have, there was reference to specific drivers for collaboration which were motivated by instances of shortcomings. These deficiencies were identified within the scope of each industry individually and discussion ensued as to how capabilities could be mutually increased through cross-sectoral engagement. The pressures brought about by external environmental factors often posed a common variable in instances where it was argued that collaborative action could improve the situation. There was a predominant
association that collaborative engagement as a response mechanism, could alleviate resource constraints.

Notable instances of identified pressure which were discussed by respondents included economic austerity and the budgetary cuts which had ensued as a repercussion. Similarly a desire to “do more with less” in terms of resource maximisation sought to motivate engagement. Information pertaining to these arguments can be observed in section 6.4.4.1 (page 252) and 6.4.4.2 (page 257) respectively. As such, the nature of collaboration was identified to be emergent in that it occurred to remedy problems which were unplanned and not within the internal control of organisations. Ambition to maintain service levels and thus destination attractiveness encouraged stakeholders to consider that capabilities could be increased and resource output minimised by working together. Islands are considered to be inherently resilient in order to survive the additional vulnerabilities they face by their isolated locations. The high levels of social capital generated within these peripheral communities demonstrated a recognition that all resources need to considered and that includes those which are intangible in nature. Further discussion pertaining to this argument occurs at section 6.4.4.1 (page 252).

Collaboration was commonly expressed as a tool to reactively deal with complex issues. However it was indicated that collaboration had the propensity to be incrementally reinforced as relationships developed with each instance of engagement. Building on past experiences of integration fomented a capacity for collaboration to advance from being responsive to proactive in nature resulting from established foundations of social capital. As such, relationships became a valued resource. Specific elements which were disclosed as emerging from evolving rapport (underpinned by face-to-face contact – see section 6.4.2.1 (page 233)) included the generation of trust, respect and consensus – all of which are considered critical antecedents to the development of collaboration (see Table 5 (page 57)). Therefore, since reoccurrence of collaboration was seen to perpetuate further occasions of it, habituation with practice was considered to motivate cross-industry collaboration. The innate possession of characteristics in island communities such as cohesion and solidarity
along with the overlapping of roles and responsibilities provide a greater opportunity and capacity for collaboration to occur. Therefore the transition from reactive to proactive occasions of collaboration are likely to be heightened in peripheries. This was indeed the message conveyed within section 6.4.2.1 (page 233).

A reflection was also expressed with regards to internal motivational factors to collaborate. Some perceived that the extent of participant desire to achieve an outcome which would depend upon multi-participant engagement was fundamental to occurrences of collaborative success – see section 6.4.4.1 (page 252). Desire was considered to generate the commitment necessary to remain engaged throughout the process and persevere in the attainment of the shared goal. The debate which emerged from these discussions suggested that collaboration driven by policy imperatives would struggle to develop the level of willingness that a personal incentive would engender.

8.2.3 How do the dynamics of island destination governance influence the transport-tourism relationship?
Distinct within this study was an aspiration for stakeholders to perform well within their territories stimulated by the tenacious sense of identity that islanders conveyed throughout the interviews. Messages related to performance were delivered by transport and tourism industry representatives alike as both indicated a common goal to increase destination attractiveness. Discussion in section 6.2.6 (page 195) refers to a blurring of boundaries between separate industry responsibilities. Transport providers in the islands demonstrated a heightened reliance on visitor markets to help support the viability of service provision emphasising their interdependency with the tourism industry. Aspects of loyalty towards and responsibility for the immediate territory engendered a perceived need to assert a collective ownership. Further the shared goal of promoting destination attractiveness was reinforced with transport services marketing the islands rather than the provision indicating a mutual responsibility. A sense of ownership was seen to relate to the island destination.
Further evidence reflecting the demonstration of ownership surfaced from the resistance expressed during VisitScotland’s intention to centralise the management and marketing structure of Scotland. Retaining a local representation, facilitated through the development of DMOs, drove a willingness to collaborate stemming from a strong sense of self in place and a need for identity in image. A collective identify and the expression of it are regarded as key dimensions of islands recorded within Table 7 (page 76). Therefore this research illustrates that the role of ‘islandness’ also proved to incentivise collaboration. Perceptions of responsibility and ownership were recognised to emerge from a strong sense of identity with the island. Responsibility and ownership can both be seen within Table 5 (page 57) as key components of collaboration but this time within the process phase.

There was advocacy delivered by respondents that a local and comprehensive stakeholder input is necessary for effective destination management. A strong message within the islands asserted the importance of transport-tourism integration and the need for stakeholders across these industries to work “hand-in-hand” for the purpose of delivering a comprehensive tourism offering. An aspiration for multi-stakeholder input is not new in the argument of local and citizen participation delivering higher legitimacy and therefore the likelihood of increased public engagement. For further details relating to the place for citizen participation in governance, see section 2.3.3 (page 37) and section 7.4.1 (page 280). However interview discussion teased out further benefits of de-centralised decision-making. Specific competencies associated with good governance were conceived to develop from the act of being present in the destination. It was contended that decision-making which involves those who face the challenges on the ground allows for a more comprehensive understanding to develop and thus the potential to generate more sustainable solutions. Conversations which reflected the importance of local participation can be observed in section 6.4.2.1 (page 233).

Within this study the cultivation of social capital was assisted by the close physical proximity between individuals and the overlapping roles and informal relationships which consequently developed. Dialogue pertaining to the island context also
identified that the boundaried parameters characteristic of islands were revealed to enhance social capital since concurrent policy agencies encouraged familiarity between partners as well as the collective issues they faced. The generation of social capital appeared perpetual; as it was generated stakeholders recognised its value and were encouraged to partake in further occasions of engagement. This is reminiscent of the concept presented in section 2.4.1 (page 45) that social capital is built. Its construction over time is strengthened by a series of layers of past experience which, as relationships deepen, diminish the threat of many costs associated with collaboration (detailed in Figure 1 (page 30)).

Close relationships were repeatedly cited as critical to collaboration both within the literature and throughout the interviews. The closeness described within the primary data tended to be attributed to regular contact, the ability to trust partners and the need for face-to-face contact. These are characteristics naturally apparent within island destinations because of their diminished sizes and boundaried geographies. Aspects such as close-knit communities and collective identification assist in peripheral areas attaining closeness. However appreciating the need for close contact between collaborative participants can and should be prescribed to scenarios beyond islands. Previous academic argument has expressed that collaboration appears at the high intensity end of the partnership spectrum (see section 7.2.4 (page 268)). Therefore it is important to acknowledge intimacy within collaborative practice and the attention necessary to nurture such relationships. Cultivating the social capital required to generate collaborative capacity has the potential to provide a valuable and durable resource and should therefore demonstrate a key focus of governance mechanisms.

8.2.4 What factors drive instances of collaborative engagement between transport and tourism stakeholders?

Transport and tourism stakeholders were ultimately driven to collaborate for the benefit of each industry individually. There was a clear acknowledgement that interdependence would result in a whole greater than the sum of its individual parts. Further, a consideration of the meta-objectives, in this case directed at increasing overall performance of the destination, meant that engagement would provide holistic
benefits. The sustainability of the destination would ultimately impact upon both the transport and tourism industry and as such this transpired as the constant goal they shared. The capacity for the broader destination to shape and be shaped by the performance of the transport-tourism relationship was reciprocal – see section 6.2.3 (page 180). Therefore integration was underpinned by a mutual interest. Sharing of assets and resources reduced duplication and fragmentation, both aspects cited to threaten effective destination management. Sharing also minimised pressure on limited resources which presents as a challenge commonly intensified within peripheral areas. A consolidation of effort was conveyed to demonstrate greater possibility of what could be achieved. Consequently sharing and what could be achieved from it was identified as a key factor driving cross-industry engagement.

There were also distinct practical elements detected in enabling closer engagement. The provision of scenarios to expand the capacity to collaborate were advocated as vital. Representatives across the industry groups identified value in platforms for integration where participants were from a scope broad enough to consider destination issues rather than individual industry or sectoral obstacles. From this perspective it was considered that a more comprehensive sense of the complexity could be established which increased the potential for effective outcomes to be determined. It also allowed stakeholders to identify divergent objectives and how they could be better aligned at a local level. Interaction allowed for opportunities to be identified where participants could work together in order to achieve more from their respective resources. The island scenario regularly brought up conversations which pertained to the benefits of sharing office space or the history of a shared relationship. These discussions are available in section 6.4.2.1 (page 233). This was in part due to the size of the islands and the familiarity engendered between local level stakeholders. As well as gaining a greater understanding of each other’s limitations, the cross-pollination of ideas was conveyed to naturally develop from instances of personal engagement. Informal exchanges were credited with allowing greater openness of communication since the potential repercussions of more formal activity did not apply. Through these informal networking opportunities relationships developed organically helping to instigate aspects of trust and respect necessary in building the capacity for collaboration. Therefore the development of a capacity conducive to collaboration
presented as another key driver. While collaborative capacity was widely evident in the island scenarios, attention should be given to the significant role of personal integration in the attainment of successful circumstances of collaborative behaviour.

8.2.5 To what extent do broader policy objectives and the role of the public sector impact upon collaborative behaviour/activities?

Policy initiatives were not directly attributed to the generation of collaboration; nor did participants refer to political objectives as an explicit driver of collaboration. In fact respondents conveyed scepticism in associating collaborative practice with a political rationale. However respondents did diffusely demonstrate the benefit of public agencies in assisting the development of collaborative behaviour. While political imperatives were considered to fall short of driving the level of willingness required for effective collaboration there was an expression within the interviews that the facilitatory role of the public sector in initiating platforms for integration was welcomed. Stakeholders expressed that this gave them pivotal opportunities for building interorganisational relationships.

The ATPs which were introduced by VisitScotland in 2005 were cited as platforms which brought together all parties interested in the future of local tourism. While much of the participation within the groups was indeed dominated and to some extent led by industry members the existence of the groups and the facilitation of ongoing activity through them was assisted by a public sector body. In the areas where an ATP had been relinquished (namely in Arran and Shetland), an alternative forum has been created (respectively Visit Arran and STA). The ATP was deemed to underpin many of the preliminary criteria necessary for a collaborative capacity to develop – see 6.4.2.3 for further details. It was conveyed to offer a setting for resource sharing and the agreement of a problem definition followed by a platform for the discussion of solutions through joint activity. ATPs were considered to provide a place for open debate and decision-making across a diversity of sectors and industries which inspired unity and consequently legitimacy. These decisions were then taken forward as actions or used as lobbying proposals. Indeed the incentive to collaborate was fundamentally driven by the desire for a well-functioning destination which would in turn increase
the sustainability of the island as a whole. The sense of ownership demonstrated by these peripheral areas appeared to generate a greater acknowledgement of the need to work together. There was emphasis within the interview discussions on pursing benefits for the “greater good” and an appreciation that a failure to work together and look at problems more holistically would diminish the potential of what could be collectively achieved. The ATPs were conceived to provide the opportunity necessary in bringing together a collection of stakeholders in order to consider issues from a broader perspective. However some ATPs were also criticised in section 6.4.2.3 (page 241) for having little executive responsibility. The efforts invested in decision-making were deemed to be of minimal value if they could not be implemented. The scope for stakeholders to apply decision-making is fundamental in fully pursuing joint working initiatives – see Table 5 (page 57). Failure to progress ideas through to actions results in circumstances of inertia where activities become turgid. Respondents discussed the need for the synergy created within these groups to be underpinned by a commitment to progressing decisions and a budget to support activity.

Additional examples of public sector assistance delivering effective holistic management were demonstrated in instances where concurrent policy agencies shared the same geographical remit. Where this was the case respondents considered it easier to align local political objectives which took into account a more inclusive examination of cross-cutting issues. Overlapping roles as well as problems which span sectors and industries were frequently expressed to occur in islands due to the small remit of the territories being governed. In this sense relationships were cultivated through familiarity with a consistency of representatives thus promoting the development of social capital as was previously discussed in section 8.2.3 (page 295).

8.2.6 What factors inhibit practical efforts to collaborate?

While decision-making relating to tourism has a predominant focus on the needs of the visitor, transport stakeholders face the responsibility of delivering to a diverse consumer group. They encounter the dichotomous challenge of serving locals and guests whose agendas and routes do not necessarily coordinate. This disparity has been discussed at length throughout this thesis and pertinent argument can be seen from the
literature review in section 4.2.2 (page 105) and resulting from the primary data in section 6.2.4 (page 186). Further challenges influencing tourism’s integration with the transport industry were evident in the case of PSVs’ compliance with the regulations set by the Traffic Commissioner. The conformance to statutory rules was much less applicable to the tourism industry given the essence of its structure as a series of multiple small and often fragmented private businesses and services. So while tourism enterprises were more malleable, capable of adapting to serve their market or respond to a given circumstance, changes to transport services involved more complex processes stilting what could collectively be achieved. Examples which were demonstrated in the interviews are available in section 6.3.1 (page 202).

While there is a logistical rationale behind the requirement to manage service provision, respondents argued that the challenges unique to island destinations need to be appreciated. Long distances with few passengers render journeys costly resulting in an infrequency of service provision. As such opinion was raised of an unfairness to apply the same stringency of regulation to Scotland-wide transport provision given the uniqueness of obstacles encountered within islands. Recent lobbying efforts of small island representatives indicate a desire for these insular destinations to have their distinct idiosyncrasies acknowledged. In certain cases this was expressed by stakeholders to require divergence from national regulation. A lack of autonomy and flexibility in responding to the unique challenges faced by island destinations was conveyed as a local challenge to a greater opportunity of transport-tourism engagement. Although stakeholders were mindful of the importance to invest in bridges as well as bonds when it came to developing and maintaining relationships, there was advocacy that some areas of national policy did not provide a good fit within the realms of island capabilities.

Irrespective of a resounding recognition across industries of the critical role a transport-tourism relationship performs, this did not translate to it being easily attainable in practice. While collaboration can assist in responding to complex cross-sectoral issues, the constraints of delivering to diverse objectives and within incompatible regulatory structures can prove preventative. Although the discourse of
public policy is extensively seen to encourage collaborative behaviour, public administration in this instance inhibited practice. Despite the legitimate reasons for the safeguarding measures of transport services, it was argued that the lack of a comprehensive understanding of holistic destination challenges prevented optimal performance. The inability to align operational capacity, and therefore the implementation of mutual decisions, was proposed to diminished opportunities for collaboration between the transport and tourism industries.

The fragmented nature of the tourism industry also rendered its management difficult. Given tourism’s ability to touch innumerable businesses and services across the islands resulted in a diversity of involvement in stakeholder engagement. Each group brought with them distinct intentions and concerns which proved time and energy consuming to ensure compromise was achieved. While this was not a challenge specific to the relationship between transport and tourism it did impinge upon it since the chaotic nature of stakeholder involvement affected everyone intent on presenting an attractive destination. Leadership is repeatedly expressed within the literature as a key dimension of collaboration. Within Table 5 (page 57) leadership is identified as both an antecedent and process component of collaboration indicating the significant role it plays. Where problems are complex, leadership is considered to be most suitably conducted by government – see section 2.2.3 (page 27). However the presence of leadership was expressed within the interviews as necessary but lacking.

8.2.7 What is the potential to overcome these challenges/provide solutions?

As has been discussed, the divergence of regulation faced by transport and tourism was considered to pose problems for the two industries to adapt and align in a more coherent manner. Consequently participants conveyed that they have been compelled to lobby central government. The unity this has engendered at a local level has led to heightened social capital as cross-sectoral stakeholders developed a definition of the problem and an awareness that resolution required a collaborative approach. A strong message throughout both the literature and the empirical data was the requirement for willingness to drive stakeholder commitment throughout the collaborative process.
This study demonstrated a desire to perform well both within the remit of industry objectives and also for the mutual capacity invested in the destination.

The issues involved in managing tourism locally have generated acknowledgment of the critical role that the public sector can provide in their ability to deliver the necessary attention and scope to the management of cross-cutting strategy considerations. The recent obstacles faced by industry members pursuing increased ownership of tourism decision-making sought to highlight this, namely through the lack of leadership they were able to commit. Industry members demonstrated a difficulty in delivering the necessary attention to fulfil a consistency of function once the visitor season had begun. While comprehensive stakeholder input is necessary in determining future directions it is also labour intensive to move ideas into actions. A failure to facilitate the implementation of decisions has resulted in occurrences of collaborative inertia; these were alluded to in section 6.4.2.3 (page 241). Providing sole ownership and leadership of tourism governance to one sector demonstrated inadequacies in bringing decision-making to fruition. A shared understanding of role identification is fundamental to progress in an environment which remains necessarily dynamic.

While industry representatives considered themselves to have an enhanced understanding of market expectations given their regular interaction with visitors, the recent adjustments in local tourism governance have illustrated that it requires a cross-sectoral as well as a cross-industry contribution. Increased patterns of joint working have engendered a greater understanding of the strengths and weaknesses that the public and private sector each possess. However participants maintained that they have had to go through a particularly difficult transition phase in order to appreciate the available advantages involved in collaborating. In this study, collaboration was demonstrated to emerge as a reaction to the changing nature of tourism at a central level. This disruption evoked the provision of local level solutions and a realisation that multiple stakeholder input would be necessary in responding to the given challenge. However a consequence of having to generate these reactive relationships was the social capital which developed as participants sought mutually beneficial solutions. The identification of a shared problem has accentuated the interdependence
between stakeholders in transport and tourism as they recognised each other to be critical in achieving favourable outcomes.

8.3 Theoretical and Policy Implications and Recommendations

The nature of the business environment is increasingly turbulent as the speed and scope of consumer expectations rise. In instances of resource scarcity and complexity collaboration has demonstrated an opportunity to increase the mutual capacity necessary in dealing with volatility. For this reason the continued persistence of collaborative engagement as a political strategy seems inevitable. However collaboration is naturally easier to achieve where organisational structures are compatible. It becomes increasingly complicated across sectors and industries. The structural and regulatory disparity between transport and tourism provided evidence of this challenge. Adequate organisational and personal capacity is a core antecedent to the generation of collaborative engagement – see Table 5 (page 57). However an insufficiency of scope to thrive was perceived to inhibit practice within the context of this study. Although higher level collaboration could be administered as was seen in examples such as the RET imperative and “JourneyGenie”, local level stakeholders expressed a difficulty in engaging with each other to the point that significant projects could be developed and implemented. There was argument that policy regulation within transport acted preventatively and curtailed a greater fluidity of action between local transport and tourism functioning.

The disparity of objectives between transport and tourism stakeholders and their varying focus on consumer markets is an issue which will likely affect the relationship between these industries more broadly. However within the case of the island destinations studied, their distance from central cores and thus central decision-making in the form of Transport Scotland and the regulations set out by the Traffic Commissioner was seen to provide additional challenges. The individualised constraints facing the operations of islands demonstrated an intensified need for local input with regards to considering the idiosyncrasies they possess – for further details see section 1.3 (page 8). Although islands are susceptible to unique obstacles they also possess their own specific quota of strengths. Acknowledging the advantages they
demonstrate will undoubtedly contribute to overcoming some of the more practical challenges they face. The propensity for islands to exhibit overlapping roles and responsibilities illustrated increased familiarity amongst stakeholders. Furthermore it provided an expansion of knowledge on local issues offering a wider access of perspective due to the small size of these localities. The sense of identity displayed throughout the island destinations reflected a common characteristic of islandness and generated willingness to commit to collaboration for individual benefit as well as that of the “greater good” (see section 6.4.2.3 (page241)). A strong sense of identity was assisted by the distinct borders islands possess which creates clear territorial parameters and thus physical boundaries of ownership and the remit of the shared goal. However perhaps the most obvious advantage available for islands to exploit in pursuing collaborative relationships materialized through their predisposition to generate social capital. The opportunities to develop familiarity and engage in face-to-face communication which in turn instigated increased levels of trust became evident through the delivery of the interview conversations.

There was a heavy emphasis on the significance of local organisations in the governance and development of transport and tourism in the island communities – see section 6.3.3 (page 208). Stakeholders directly linked with the provision of guidance or funding such as LEPs, local authorities and community councils were cited by participants as important to local development. This corresponds with the secondary data discussion at section 3.6 (page 83) which highlights the purpose of these organisations to provide support on the ground and to act as a conduit between national and regional objectives. While instances of linking national and regional strategy were evident (see section 6.2.3 (page 180)) there was also concern articulated that misalignment between local requirements and national regulation has led to the inhibition of a closer working relationship between transport and tourism. In particular, reference was made to the difficulties of national transport regulation flexing to cater for island tourism needs – see the discussion at section 6.3.1 (page 202) and section 7.3.3 (page 278). Dialogue conveyed an understanding that there is requirement for island inhabitants to nurture not only the bonds between local communities but also the bridges to metropoles. To this end a recognition was expressed that increased communication would be necessary between local and national stakeholders in
developing answers to satisfy both party’s obligations. A greater consideration that islands are idiosyncratic and therefore unable to necessarily fit into a framework suitable for the scope of national requirements will be integral in generating higher level transport regulation which has legitimacy within rural destinations. This is further reinforced because of the critical role tourism plays in Scottish island economies (see Table 6 (page 73)).

Within this research collaboration was identified as an effective tool to react to emergent issues. Theoretically collaboration has been discussed as an emergent process both within this thesis and in the broader surrounding literature. It has been described as reactive and organic in nature. There was evidence throughout the study of its disposition reflecting this description. Instances which demonstrated collaborative behaviour developed in response to squeezed budgets and as a result of changing managerial structures which incited the need for local level representation and ownership. Collaboration was deemed to increase the capabilities of individual participants through an outlay which pertained to time and effort rather than financial capital. As social capital grew the labour intensity involved in initiating collaboration was considered to diminish as elements of trust and respect materialised and mutual understandings developed. The creation of social capital through previous endeavours assisted in making future collaboration both feasible and desirable. The subsidy commitment necessary in sustaining island destinations provides an incentive for government recognition of the lucrative opportunity collaboration offers. Indeed extensive expression to encourage collaboration amongst stakeholders is increasingly evident within policy literature and it continues to represent a significant political ambition. However creating the required capacity appears to present challenges. Generating readiness for collaboration has been given significantly less attention than the discourse.

The shift towards the governance of local tourism driven by industry (in the form of investment and reliance on a DMO), highlighted inadequacies in bringing decision-making to fruition. Although desire for local stakeholder input was persistent, a lack of leadership constrained what participants were able to achieve irrespective of the
social capital initiated. The value of public sector support was clearly identified in the role of ‘facilitator’, ensuring platforms of communication were available and maintained. These networking instances provided opportunities for multi-participation and allowed stakeholders to consider comprehensive problem resolution as well as the development of legitimate and aligned policy measures. Stakeholder engagement also promoted the attainment of shared agreements and an appreciation of stakeholder limitations, thus increasing the scope for compromise. While policy objectives can promote the collaborative agenda, this study demonstrated that they are less likely to engineer it. However the public sector can provide value support and facilitation to collaborative processes.

The willingness to become immersed in collaborative relationships was perceived to be driven by a motivation beyond a political objective. Throughout this study the catalyst for stakeholders to work collectively was repeatedly cited as a desire to maintain the prosperity and sustainability of the destination. Collaboration demonstrated the potential to deliver collective meta-objectives in the form of superior destination performance influenced by a robust transport-tourism relationship. The destination represented the shared goal and thus the impetus for transport-tourism collaboration. The perceived consequences of pursuing such a relationship were considered to optimise individual as well as collective capabilities.

An inherent sense of identity manifested from participants, facilitated by the closeness of relationships within the island communities. Local affiliations were further reinforced by the familiarity amongst participants engendered by close proximity, overlapping roles and informal relationships. The level of rapport influenced the willingness and commitment people were prepared to invest in joint endeavours. The heightened propensity for social capital to develop within island territories presents government with an opportunity to achieve greater yields. Many of the antecedents necessary in cultivating collaboration were demonstrated within the island locations detailed in this study. However less evident was the necessary capacity to support the process stage of collaborative activity which was reflected in the extent to which outcomes could be achieved. Therefore it is increasingly important that the social
capital, upon which collaborative activity depends, is nurtured. The favourable role of public agencies must be recognised for the scope they possess in enabling this to happen. This involves:

- Creating a level of autonomy (where possible) which considers the idiosyncratic challenges distinct to islands. While it is important for strategy to align to national political objectives, scope to develop local decisions which apply to immediate challenges have the capacity to present legitimate and sustainable solutions.

- Assistance in facilitating multi-stakeholder decision-making driven by local level input. This involves initiating platforms for networking and thus the instigation of inter-organisational engagement to promote social capital.

- Supporting the capacity for structural alignment (where feasible) to create opportunities for joint-working and more streamlined activity. If local level collaboration is expected to transpire then facilitation mechanisms permitting a close and collective level of engagement are mandatory. Networks are vital for the effective development and implementation of mutual decisions.

- Clearer acknowledgement of local tourism policy and imperatives within the broader political objectives of the island destinations. This will assist in avoiding disparity of individual goals and encourage clarity and alignment across sectors and industries operating within the parameters of the destinations.

As a result of the research conducted within this study, Figure 12 overleaf, presents a conceptual model of the key considerations necessary to generate instances of readiness within transport-tourism collaboration.
While the above figure provides a wide scope of applicability, Table 12 overleaf, presents the key characteristics demonstrated within the context of this research study which was unsurprisingly heavily influenced by the island environment and the characteristics of islandness. As such, the external and organisational environment within which each destination operates will provide broad variation even though consideration of the above components should remain universal in the pursuit of effective transport-tourism collaboration. A focus on the drivers of collaboration will ultimately underpin the purpose for investment and the extent of participant commitment (see section 2.2 (page 20) for further details). Drivers can assist in recognising the strengths and opportunities within destinations and what assets can be mobilised in order to achieve a capacity conducive to generating effective collaboration. An acknowledgement of the strengths possessed and opportunities available can, in turn, feed back into the drivers as the potential scope of what can be achieved expands. Furthermore, opportunities, once activated, can translate into strengths. However a critical consideration throughout the process must be an
awareness of the potential threats and weaknesses capable of inhibiting collaboration. Threats to collaboration have the ability to penetrate the collaborative capacity (see section 2.5.3 (page 64)) and affect the ability to generate effective collaboration. This is reminiscent of Jones and Wells’ (2007: 410) discussion of the “valleys” stage within collaboration which they describe “…may be full of challenges” – see Figure 2 (page 65). An understanding of what may provide constraints throughout the process will help to minimise many of the costs associated with collaboration (see Figure 1 (page 30)); diminish potential inertia; and create a greater sense of readiness to collaborate.

Table 12: Characteristics Presented within Scottish Islands

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Drivers</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Increase performance capacity (destination attractiveness)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Maintain sustainability (via tourism economies)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Resource optimisation (isolated environments)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Overcome complexity (fragmentation, budgets, transaction costs, effects of globalisation)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Need for Interdependence (intensified relationship between transport and tourism)</td>
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</tbody>
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<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Strengths/Opportunities</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Increased levels of social capital (islandness)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Strength of identity (reinforced by boundaried perimeters)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Strong sense of place (clear ownership remit)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Geographical boundaries (identity and ownership)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Level of autonomy (generated by remoteness)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shared/common goals (destination attractiveness)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Local governance mechanisms</td>
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<table>
<thead>
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<th>Threats/Weaknesses</th>
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<tr>
<td>Structural disparity (between transport and tourism)</td>
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<td>Fragmentation of the tourism industry</td>
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<tr>
<td>Divergent objectives (between transport and tourism)</td>
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<td>Lack of local leadership/leadership capacity</td>
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<td>Misalignment between local and national policy</td>
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8.4 Contribution to Knowledge

This research has provided further exploration into the study of collaboration theory. A contribution to knowledge was made through an attempt to advance the
conceptualisation of collaboration. A synthesis of information detailing the necessary antecedents and process mechanisms of collaboration were identified (see Table 5 (page 57)), before their relevance within the study context was investigated. This provides validation of the key concepts based on empiricism. The research has also established factors perceived to inhibit the generation of social capital and in turn collaboration. Description has been provided throughout the thesis to convey the adverse repercussions and missed opportunities impediments to collaboration are considered to have posed. Similarly the motivations for collaboration were also identified which sought to develop an understanding of the nature of drivers instigating collaboration. The importance of this analysis progressed the argument in literature of collaboration as an emergent process, generated in response to complex issues. However it was further able to advance the discussion since the findings of the primary data suggested that the construction of initial social capital provided a base relationship between stakeholders which could be built upon to incite subsequent proactive strategic approaches. This presents a rationale to support the development of collaboration as a valuable organisational commodity, particularly in instances where tangible resource capital is constrained. Reinforcement and development of current ideology surrounding collaboration was therefore offered.

The research presents recommendations for policy and governance approaches derived from the primary data findings. While political imperatives were not perceived to invoke the level of stakeholder engagement demanded by collaborative processes, public sector agencies were illustrated to remain critical in the function of facilitation. This finding provides policy with a more robust identification of its vital yet distinct role in supporting collaborative endeavours. The consequence of generating successful collaborative relationships provides the capacity to increase destination sustainability and performance thus diminishing state resource dependency which further justifies a governmental interest in this study.

The research also contributes more generally to the field of tourism studies and builds upon previous research efforts which examine the role of transport in destination management. Affirmation was demonstrated of the significant relationship between
transport and tourism in islands. In the case of this study tourism was paramount to the economic viability of the islands with transport systems a pivotal catalyst to performance capacity. The research findings highlight challenges which are likely to pervade the transport-tourism relationship in any scenario where structural conflict is evident. The qualitative nature of the study sought to expand the scope and strengthen theory from a less common methodological approach within transport-tourism research. As a branch of tourism studies, advancements in the knowledge of tourism governance were also made, more specifically to the nature and requirements of island governance for the benefit of efficient destination functioning. Developing recommendations for governance from the perspective of ground-level stakeholders provides legitimacy to the direction of future policy and emphasises factors which are considered to be important in creating an environment conducive to local level delivery.

The research parameters have allowed for a greater intensity of scrutiny within the island environment. As such a contribution has also been made to island studies and the increasing trend of “islandness” within this field. A rigorous examination of the key dimensions of islandness has been performed, a composition of which is illustrated within Table 7 (page 76). Elements of islandness were evidenced to have significant influence on the propensity for social capital to develop between transport and tourism stakeholders within this study. While distinct challenges were demonstrated to face island communities what also emerged from the research was the unique strengths they possess. These should be utilised so as to counteract the additional obstacles threatening the sustainability and performance of island destinations.

Finally a contribution to the limited arena of native research has been made through the choice to focus on the geographical context of the researcher’s home territory. The opportunities and implications that were perceived have arisen expand the scope of consideration for future indigenous analysts.
8.5 Areas for Future Research

The boundaries of this research were necessary in order to establish meaningful results, however they pave the way for future studies to expand the scope both within the remit of collaboration theory and within the locus of the transport-tourism relationship. The research which has been undertaken raises issues with particular currency. Relationships forged within local tourism governance presented in the scenarios of this study remain in relatively early stages of development. Many of the DMOs are still in a period of establishment. In instances where tourism funding allocation has been redistributed it is as yet unknown how effective a new source of delivery in assigning resources and achieving objectives will be. Stakeholder groups are still in the process of understanding redefined roles, identifying the parts they each play in the broader picture and appreciating what they can do in terms of both personal and practical scope. Re-visiting the island destinations at a later stage of the lifecycle would provide an opportunity to assess how the amendments to the structure and function of local tourism governance have influenced the effectiveness of destination management on a longer term basis. Longitudinal research may prove helpful in identifying how governance mechanisms are able to deal with emergent changes. Conducting research over a period of time may also offer insight into how the dynamics of stakeholder groups adapt to assess the potential for collaborative relationships to evolve from reactive responses to proactive strategies.

While this study focussed on the contribution of local level participants, gaining further understanding of a centralised stakeholder perspective would enhance the proficiency of decision-making for island governance. An examination of the objectives of core government bodies in dealing with remote regions would present a comparison of the conceived obstacles faced from an alternative direction. A broader perspective of comprehension would thus help to determine a more extensive delineation of the management challenges encountered.

Additional knowledge could also be gained by adapting the geographical context of this study to build on current assumptions within collaborative theory and island studies. Cross-organisational stakeholder relationships are vital for the sustainability
of rural areas irrespective of the industries involved. Undertaking research to examine the extent of social capital generation within rural destination which are not islands would assist in testing the robustness of theory that associates islandness with collaboration. This would help to clarify whether social capital is indeed a key feature of islandness or if it is more broadly engendered as a survival mechanism for areas challenged by resource scarcity and therefore a likely reliance on soft elements of business. Similarly an exploration of the transport-tourism relationship more generally in rural areas would serve to establish how PSOs affect the transport-tourism relationship. Transport services within rural Scotland inherently require subsidisation. Where these links cross water the operational connections become all the more vital since passengers do not have the same capacity to use private vehicle in gaining access. Comparative research looking at rural mainland areas where visitors have the ability to drive to their destination would develop the scope of the public-private component latent within this study. Having considered the transport-tourism relationship from an intensified level of dependency further research could help to establish the influence of reliance on collaboration.
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Appendices
### Appendix One - Map and Population of Scottish Islands

#### Scottish Government Urban/Rural Classification, 2009-2010

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</table>

**Source:** Scottish Government (2010)
Appendix Two - Air Route Map for Direct Flight Connections to/from Sumburgh (Shetland Islands)

Source: Flybe (2014)
Appendix Three - Air Route Map for Direct Flight Connections to/from Kirkwall (Orkney Islands)

Source: Flybe (2014)
Appendix Four - Air Route Map for Direct Flight Connections to/from Stornoway (Outer Hebrides)

Source: Flybe (2014)
Appendix Five - Air Route Map for Direct Flight Connections to/from Benbecula (Outer Hebrides)

Source: Flybe (2014)
Appendix Six - Air Route Map for Direct Flight Connections to/from Barra (Outer Hebrides)

Source: Flybe (2014)
Appendix Seven - Bus Route Map for the Shetland Islands

Source: Zetrans (2014)
Appendix Eight - Bus Route Map for the Orkney Islands

Source: Stagecoach (2013)
A variety of operators contribute to bus service provision throughout the Outer Hebrides including: MacLennan Coaches, Lindsay Coaches, DA Travel, Hebridean Mini Bus Service, Town & County Coaches, Hector MacNeil, Hebridean Coaches, South Harris Coaches, Galston-Stornoway Motor Services Ltd, MacMillan Buses, MacDonald Coaches, Grenitote Travel Ltd.
Appendix Ten - Bus Route Map for the Isle of Skye

Source: Stagecoach (2014)
Appendix Eleven - Bus Route Map for the Isle of Bute

Source: West Coast Motors (2014)
Appendix Twelve - Bus Route Map for the Isle of Arran

Source: SPT (2014)
Appendix Thirteen - Ferries Route Map for Services to the Shetland Islands and the Orkney Islands

(Operators: yellow = SIC/OIC, blue = NorthLink Ferries, red = Pentland Ferries)

Source: Transport Scotland (2012)
Appendix Fourteen - Ferries Route Map for Services to the Outer Hebrides, the Isle of Skye, the Isle of Arran and the Isle of Bute

(All services operated by Caledonian MacBrayne)

Source: Caledonian MacBrayne (2014)
Appendix Fifteen - A Map of Scotland’s Regional Transport Partnerships

Source: Scottish Government (2013)
Appendix Sixteen - Key Research Question Themes

Main Themes (derived from literature)

1. Collaboration - terminology and practice
   a. Term meaning
   b. Associated terms
   c. Awareness
   d. Evidence
   e. Value
   f. Between transport and tourism

2. Relationship between transport and tourism
   a. Evidence
   b. Nature of relationship
   c. Value
   d. Environment
   e. Roles

3. Stakeholders
   a. Key stakeholders
   b. Community involvement
   c. Expectations

4. Rural Development
   a. Economy
   b. Service provision - integration
   c. Challenges
   d. Opportunities

5. Governance
   a. Government support
   b. Consensus
   c. Local vs. central
Appendix Seventeen - Interview Questions Script

Transport (private sector):

1. Can you tell me about your business and your role within it?
   a. Which stakeholders do you perceive as valuable in achieving the objectives of your business?

2. How important do you feel transport and access are for your local area?
   a. What about in terms of tourism?

3. To what extent do you feel there is a relationship between transport and tourism in your area?
   a. Can you tell me about these relationships? (formal/informal, political/necessity, term usage)

4. In what way, if any, does your business work with tourism businesses/stakeholders?

5. Which of these terms would you say best describes the relationship your business has with tourism businesses/stakeholders? (post-its) (communicative, integrative, collaborative, partnership, network, alliance, cooperative, coordinated) Any others?
   a. What prevents you from using the term ‘collaborative’/what initiated you to use the term ‘collaborative’?

6. What does collaboration mean to you/involve?

7. Do you feel there are platforms for transport and tourism businesses/stakeholders to work together?
   a. Are they necessary?

8. What have you seen to be the challenges for transport delivery in your area?
   a. How could these be overcome?
   b. Does decision making tend to be centrally or locally driven?

9. What do you think are the challenges for transport and tourism businesses/stakeholders to work together?
   a. How do you think these could be overcome?
   b. Is there a need for them to be overcome?

10. Are there any local examples of achievements/success of transport and tourism working together that you are aware of?
    a. What makes you perceive them as successful?

11. How important do you think a relationship between transport and tourism is in island communities?

12. Do you feel the need to work with the tourism sector in order to fulfil your own business/organisational objectives?
Transport (public sector):

1. Can you tell me about your organisation and your role within it?
   a. Which stakeholders do you perceive as valuable in achieving the objectives of your organisation?

2. How important do you feel transport and access are for your local area?
   a. What about in terms of tourism?

3. To what extent do you feel there is a relationship between transport and tourism in your area?
   a. Can you tell me about these relationships? (formal/informal, political/necessity, term usage)

4. In what way, if any, does your organisation work with tourism businesses/stakeholders?

5. Which of these terms would you say best describes the relationship your organisation has with tourism businesses/stakeholders? (post-its) (communicative, integrative, collaborative, partnership, network, alliance, cooperative, coordinated) Any others?
   a. What prevents you from using the term ‘collaborative’? /what initiated you to use the term ‘collaborative’?

6. What does collaboration mean to you/involve?

7. Do you feel there are platforms for transport and tourism businesses/stakeholders to work together?
   a. Are they necessary?

8. What have you seen to be the challenges for transport delivery in your area?
   b. How could these be overcome?
   c. Does decision making tend to be centrally or locally driven?

9. What do you think are the challenges for transport and tourism businesses/stakeholders to work together?
   d. How do you think these could be overcome?
   e. Is there a need for them to be overcome?

10. Are there any local examples of achievements/success of transport and tourism working together that you are aware of?
    f. What makes you perceive them as successful?

11. How important do you think a relationship between transport and tourism is in island communities?

12. Do you feel the need to work with the tourism sector in order to fulfil your own business/organisational objectives?
Tourism (private sector):

1. Can you tell me about your business and your role within it?
   a. Which stakeholders do you perceive as valuable in achieving the objectives of your business?

2. How important do you feel the tourism industry is to your local area?
   a. What about the provision of transport and access?

3. To what extent do you feel there is a relationship between transport and tourism in your area?
   a. Can you tell me about these relationships? (formal/informal, political/necessity, term usage)

4. In what way, if any, does your business work with transport businesses/stakeholders?

5. Which of these terms would you say best describes the relationship your business has with transport businesses/stakeholders? (post-its) (communicative, integrative, collaborative, partnership, network, alliance, cooperative, coordinated) Any others?
   a. What prevents you from using the term ‘collaborative’/what initiated you to use the term ‘collaborative’?

6. What does collaboration mean to you/involve?

7. Do you feel there are platforms for transport and tourism businesses/stakeholders to work together?
   a. Are they necessary?

8. What have you seen to be the challenges for tourism development in your area?
   a. How could these be overcome?
   b. Does decision making tend to be centrally or locally driven?

9. What do you think are the challenges for transport and tourism businesses/stakeholders to work together?
   a. How do you think these could be overcome?
   b. Is there a need for them to be overcome?

10. Are there any local examples of achievements/success of transport and tourism working together that you are aware of?
    a. What makes you perceive them as successful?

11. How important do you think a relationship between transport and tourism is in island communities?

12. Do you feel the need to work with the transport sector in order to fulfil your own business/organisational objectives?
Tourism (public sector):

1. Can you tell me about your organisation and your role within it?
   a. Which stakeholders do you perceive as valuable in achieving the objectives of your organisation?

2. How important do you feel the tourism industry is to your local area?
   a. What about the provision of transport and access?

3. To what extent do you feel there is a relationship between transport and tourism in your area?
   a. Can you tell me about these relationships? (formal/informal, political/necessity, term usage)

4. In what way, if any, does your organisation work with transport businesses/stakeholders?

5. Which of these terms would you say best describes the relationship your organisation has with transport businesses/stakeholders? (post-its) (communicative, integrative, collaborative, partnership, network, alliance, cooperative, coordinated) Any others?
   a. What prevents you from using the term ‘collaborative’? /what initiated you to use the term ‘collaborative’?

6. What does collaboration mean to you/involve?

7. Do you feel there are platforms for transport and tourism businesses/stakeholders to work together?
   a. Are they necessary?

8. What have you seen to be the challenges for tourism development in your area?
   a. How do you think these could be overcome?
   b. Does decision making tend to be centrally or locally driven?

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   b. Is there a need for them to be overcome?

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    a. What makes you perceive them as successful?

11. How important do you think a relationship between transport and tourism is in island communities?

12. Do you feel the need to work with the transport sector in order to fulfil your own business/organisational objectives?
Appendix Eighteen - Diagrammatical Breakdown of Interviews

Semi-Structured Interviews (n=34)

- Shetland Islands (n=10)
- Orkney Islands (n=10)
- Outer Hebrides (n=10)
- Isle of Skye (n=6)
- Isle of Bute (n=10)
- Isle of Arran (n=7)

Tourism Stakeholders (n=19)
- Public Sector (n=10)
- Private Sector (n=3)
- Third Sector (n=6)

Transport Stakeholders (n=15)
- Public Sector (n=10)
- Private Sector (n=3)
- Third Sector (n=2)

NB. Island breakdown figures do not total number of interviews (i.e. n=34) since some participants hold authority/information which pertains to more than one island destination and were therefore included as representative of each location they cover.
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<th>Sector</th>
<th>Position</th>
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</tbody>
</table>

NB. While only 34 interviews were carried out in total, some participants hold authority/information which pertains to more than one island destination and have therefore been included to represent each location they cover.
Appendix Twenty - Information Sheet

Information Sheet

An Investigation of Collaborative Working between Tourism and Transport in Scottish Island Communities for Rural Tourism Development

My name is Christine Currie and I am currently carrying out a Ph.D. research project within the School of Arts, Social Science and Management at Queen Margaret University in Edinburgh. The study aims to investigate the scope, role and nature of collaborative relationship between transport and tourism in Scottish island destinations and the extent to which practice is influenced by policy.

Terms relating to collaboration and collaborative working are pervasive in government policy, however before collaboration can act as a tool for assistance it may face a number of obstacles in practice. The findings of this research will be valuable in assessing the extent to which collaboration exists, the form it takes and the challenges and opportunities encountered by those involved. However, in order to bridge the gap between policy and practice and to achieve maximum legitimacy, I feel it is of particular importance that the research is presented from the perspective of those directly involved.

The data collection stage of the research will involve eliciting the perceptions, experiences and opinions of a variety of stakeholders involved in the operation and development of transport and tourism in Scottish island communities. As such you have been selected from a consideration of relevant participants and I would like to invite you to take part in a short interview. The process should take no longer than 40 minutes, participation is voluntary and you may withdraw from the study at any point without giving a reason. As each collection of participant responses will reflect their own opinions and experiences, there are considered no right or wrong answers, the intention of the interview process is to gain an understanding of each individual situation and perspective.

All data will be treated with the utmost confidentiality and will be anonymised as much as possible. Your name will be replaced with a participant number, and it will not be possible for you to be identified in any reporting of the data gathered. Should you be willing to participate, the responses collected from your interview will only be used for the purposes of this study but the (anonymised) results may be published in a journal or presented at a conference. The researcher is not aware of any risks to the participant associated with this interview.
If you would like to contact an independent person, who knows about this project but is not involved in it, you are welcome to speak to Dr Peter Falconer. His contact details are given below.

Contact details of the researcher

Name of researcher: Christine Currie

Address: School of Arts, Social Sciences and Management
Queen Margaret University
Edinburgh, EH21 6UU

Email / Telephone: ccurrie@qmu.ac.uk / 0131 668 3388

Contact details of the independent adviser

Name of adviser: Dr Peter Falconer

Address: Reader in Public Services Management
School of Arts, Social Sciences and Management
Queen Margaret University
Edinburgh, EH21 6UU

Email / Telephone: pfalconer@qmu.ac.uk / 0131 474 0000
Appendix Twenty-one - Consent Form

Consent Form

An Investigation of Collaborative Working between Tourism and Transport in Scottish Island Communities for Rural Tourism Development

I have read and understood the information sheet and this consent form. I have had an opportunity to ask questions about my participation.

I understand that I am under no obligation to take part in this study.

I understand that I have the right to withdraw from this study at any stage without giving any reason.

I agree to participate in this study.

Name of participant: _____________________________

Signature of participant: _____________________________

Signature of researcher: _____________________________

Date: _______________

Contact details of the researcher

Name of researcher: Christine Currie

Address: School of Arts, Social Sciences and Management
Queen Margaret University
Edinburgh, EH21 6UU

Email / Telephone: ccurrie@qmu.ac.uk / 0131 474 0000
Appendix Twenty-two - Demonstration of NVivo Nodes (categories)
## Appendix Twenty-three - Glossary

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Term</th>
<th>Definition</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Best Value policy</td>
<td>Government policy which came into force in 2000 in the UK affecting the provision of public services with the aim to improve local services in terms of both cost and quality.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bottom-up approach</td>
<td>The participation of local actors in decision-making about the strategy and in the selection of the priorities to be pursued in their local area. Originating from the lowest level of a hierarchy or process to the top.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Carrying capacity</td>
<td>The number of visitors a destination can sustain without damage to the environment, community or visitor experience.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Closed systems approach</td>
<td>An isolated system that has no interaction with its external environment.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Collaboration</td>
<td>An interorganisational approach to achieving common goals through which stakeholders with a shared interest partake in collective action to bring about mutually beneficial outcomes. It brings together a diversity of perspectives to seek solutions which enhance the capacities of individual organisations in order to tackle complex scenarios.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Collaborative advantage</td>
<td>The development of synergy between organisations towards the achievement of common goals. The advantage of collaboration is often associated with meta-goals or meta-objectives which can be achieved through collaborating.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Collaborative capacity</td>
<td>The capability of organisations to enter into, develop, and sustain inter-organisational systems in pursuit of collective outcomes.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Collaborative governance</td>
<td>Collaborative governance is an interactive process in which actors with various interests, perspectives and knowledge are brought together in the hope that resulting policies will be better conceived, more suitable to the local context, more workable and also more legitimate than would policies formed through more closed policy-making process.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Collaborative public management</td>
<td>The process of facilitating and operating in multiorganisational arrangements to solve problems that cannot be solved, or solved easily, by single organisations.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Communitarianism</td>
<td>A theory or system of social organisation based on small self-governing communities.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Compulsory Competitive Tendering</td>
<td>A requirement for public agencies to put certain services out to competitive tender. Public sector managers are required to give the work to the contractor who best meets specified criteria, in particular, cost reduction.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cross-sector collaboration</td>
<td>The linking or sharing of information, resources, activities, and capabilities by organisations in two or more sectors to jointly achieve outcomes that could not be achieved by organisations in one sector separately.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Departmentalism</td>
<td>A strong emphasis upon division into departments especially at the expense of the whole.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Term</td>
<td>Definition</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Destination</td>
<td>A physical space/geographical area which contains tourism products and services to be consumed by the tourist as part of the experience.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Destination Management</td>
<td>An organisation responsible for the holistic management of tourism at the destination level which encompasses a range of tourism development, planning and marketing activities.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Organisation</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Free-rider</td>
<td>A party that enjoys a benefit accruing from a collective effort but contributes little or nothing to the effort.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Globalisation</td>
<td>The emergence of a complex web of interconnectedness in society which means that our lives are increasingly shaped by events that occur and decisions that are made at a great distance from us.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Good governance</td>
<td>Good governance has 8 major characteristics. It is participatory, consensus oriented, accountable, transparent, responsive, effective and efficient, equitable and inclusive and follows the rule of law. It assures that corruption is minimized, the views of minorities are taken into account and that the voices of the most vulnerable in society are heard in decision-making. It is also responsive to the present and future needs of society.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Governance</td>
<td>The process of decision-making and the process by which decisions are implemented by people or a state in an effort to govern.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Government</td>
<td>A body that comprises a person or a group of persons who run the administration of a country.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Grass roots</td>
<td>People or society at a local level rather than at the centre of major political activity.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Intermodal transport</td>
<td>Involves the use of two or more modes of transportation in a journey.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Islandness</td>
<td>A complex expression of identity that attaches to places smaller than continents and surrounded entirely by water. Identifications include strong perceptions of island-self and mainland other, as well as connections to island communities and environments. They embrace water, sky and land, flows and boundaries, edges and interiors, isolation and access.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Joined-up Government</td>
<td>The alignment and co-ordination of different agencies who comprise formally distinct organisations working together in pursuit of shared objectives.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Keynesianism</td>
<td>Relating to the economic theories of John Maynard Keynes, especially those theories advocating government monetary and fiscal programmes designed to increase employment and stimulate business activity.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lifeline ferry</td>
<td>A ferry service may be defined as ‘lifeline’ in circumstances where there is no realistic alternative method of transporting people, vehicles and goods to and from an island. Lifeline services aim to support economic activity across the islands and to allow island populations access to basic services such as health care, education and employment opportunities.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Term</td>
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<tr>
<td>Meta-objectives</td>
<td>Higher level objectives than those benefiting only the organisations involved. These are often objectives for society as a whole rather than just the participant organisations.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Modernisation Agenda</td>
<td>Based on The Modernising Government White Paper published in March 1999 the emphasis of the modernisation agenda is on the UK Government delivering better results, and more responsive and high quality public services that match what people need. There is a focus on users rather than organisational structures; and applying new technology to make government simpler and more accessible.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Multiplier effect</td>
<td>Describes how an increase in some economic activity starts a chain reaction that generates more activity than the original increase.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Open systems approach</td>
<td>Flexible systems that can adapt and change through interaction with their external environment.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Private Finance Initiative</td>
<td>A procurement method where the private sector finances, builds and operates infrastructure and provides long term facilities management through long term concession agreements.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Public good</td>
<td>A good that is both non-excludable and non-rivalrous in that individuals cannot be effectively excluded from use, nor can use by one individual reduce availability to others. It is an item whose consumption is not decided by the individual consumer but by the society as a whole and it is normally financed by taxation.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Public-Private Partnerships</td>
<td>A government service or private business venture which is funded and operated through a partnership of government and one or more private sector companies.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Public sector reform</td>
<td>A deliberate action to improve the efficiency, effectiveness, professionalism, representativeness and democratic character of the public sector, with a view to promoting better delivery of public goods and services, with increased accountability.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Public Service Obligation</td>
<td>An obligation imposed on a carrier to provide a set level of service on a particular route in order to ensure that the service satisfies fixed standards of continuity, regularity, capacity and pricing.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Scottish Ferries Review</td>
<td>An analysis of the current lifeline ferry services and networks in Scotland with the aim to inform the Scottish Government’s long term strategy for lifeline ferry services in Scotland.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Seasonality</td>
<td>Periodic, repetitive, and generally regular and predictable pattern in the levels of demand where most or all activity originate in a particular season or month.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Social capital</td>
<td>The pattern and intensity of networks among people in a particular society and the shared values which arise from those networks enabling that society to function effectively.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Stakeholder</td>
<td>A party who holds a legitimate interest, right and capacity for participation because of their ability to affect and be affected by decision-making.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Term</td>
<td>Definition</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Top-down approach</td>
<td>Approach in which the desired results or objectives are decided upon first and then methods to achieve them are selected. This involves starting with higher level authority before the plan passes down the hierarchy or management levels.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Transport systems</td>
<td>The co-ordination of the movement of people, goods and vehicles in order to utilise routes most efficiently.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TransTourism Project</td>
<td>The TransTourism partnership develops and implements solutions for transport services adapted to rural tourism areas in the Northern Periphery. The project aims to demonstrate innovative, sustainable transport and transport information services that are environmentally beneficial and economically viable for rural tourism areas. The new services will improve accessibility by public transport and encourage lower car dependency for tourism activities in the project areas leading to longer term economic and environmental benefits.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Welfare State</td>
<td>A concept of government in which the state plays a key role in the protection and promotion of the economic and social well-being of its citizens. It is based on the principles of equal opportunity, equitable distribution of wealth, and public responsibility for those unable to avail themselves of the minimal provisions for a good life.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wicked problem</td>
<td>A problem that is difficult to solve because of incomplete, contradictory, and changing requirements. Because of complex interdependencies, the effort to solve one aspect of a wicked problem may reveal or create other problems. The term “wicked” is used to denote resistance to resolution.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Up Helly Aa</td>
<td>A variety of fire festivals held in Shetland annually in the middle of winter to mark the end of the yule season. Up Helly Aa is a famous event that celebrates Shetland's Viking heritage, culminating in the dramatic burning of a replica Viking galley.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
