

Regionalisation: opportunity or barrier?

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Abstract

The paper looks at the evolving regionalisation agenda in the United Kingdom, in particular:

- how the energy policy framework for the English regions is developing; and the shifting balance of powers and responsibilities between local, regional, and national level.
- how the Energy Saving Trust, the Government funded organisation promoting domestic energy efficiency, is responding to this agenda.

The paper starts with a review of the wider regionalisation agenda in the United Kingdom. The latest developments began when the Labour Government came into power in 1997, allowing the devolution of significant powers to Wales and Scotland.¹ This has been followed by increasing regionalisation within England itself.

The paper then looks at the implications for sustainable energy: Responsibility for energy policy overall is retained in Westminster (London). However, responsibility for associated policies – energy efficiency, housing, planning, etc. – has been devolved to varying degrees. This brings decisions closer to the people they affect; but takes them further from central Government and centralised organisations.

Yet the Government of the United Kingdom as a whole is committed to achieving its Kyoto target, and has a longer-term aim to make a transition to a low-carbon economy. The Energy Saving Trust – now with offices in the devolved countries, but not as yet in the regions – is there to assist with this.

The paper assesses the appropriate policy framework for regions to help deliver national targets on sustainable energy; and discusses the role and structure of a national energy agency within this framework.

Introduction

AIMS

This paper sets out to:

- show the benefits, and the risks, of regionalisation for energy efficiency
- identify issues of governance and delivery that need resolution to ensure effective regionalisation
- explain the role of a national energy agency in an increasingly regionalised environment

The paper may help develop thinking within other countries that are considering the role of regions, and the role of national or regional energy agencies, within their climate change programmes; and how policy, delivery, and support can be developed in parallel to maximum effect.

1. The United Kingdom comprises four countries: England, Scotland, Wales, and Northern Ireland. The relationship between Northern Ireland and London (Westminster) has a longer and more complicated history than that discussed here.

SCOPE

The paper describes the make-up of the United Kingdom as a whole, but then focuses in on the regionalisation agenda in England. This is because governance and policy arrangements for the Devolved Administrations have already been established, whereas within England they are still developing and decisions have yet to be made.

The focus is on domestic energy efficiency issues. But the paper also touches on other areas of small-scale sustainable energy of interest to the Energy Saving Trust, notably: small-scale renewable energy generation and cleaner road transport.

METHOD

The paper is based on a number of ongoing discussions, in particular:

- internal discussions within EST, including with EST's regional employee in the North-East
- bilateral discussions between EST and representatives of regional bodies
- discussions within the Regional Energy Group (REG) established by DTI² in 2004 – the REG comprises a nominated “energy champion” from each region, and a number of central Government departments and agencies, and meets quarterly to review progress on sustainable energy within the regions

These discussions will continue over the course of 2005, as Government deliberates the role of the English regions within the context of its interim review of the UK's Climate Change Programme (DETR 2000).

RELEVANCE

As the regionalisation agenda within England is so fast moving, thinking and actual policy may have developed between the writing of this paper and the ECEEE summer study in June 2005. There is likely to be a general election in May 2005, and we do not know how central Government priorities for the regions will develop. Nevertheless, this paper will remain relevant, not least for looking at how decisions are made in an uncertain policy climate.

The Regionalisation Agenda

THE PROS AND CONS OF REGIONALISATION

The Energy Saving Trust wishes to reduce carbon emissions as cost-effectively as possible. This means not only promoting cost-effective technologies; but promoting these cost-effectively. Promotion can happen through influencing funding, guidance, or legislation; or through influencing the behaviour of audiences – including consumers – directly. Mechanisms for the latter may involve marketing campaigns, the provision of information and advice, and the offering of grants.

Regionalisation, and devolution in general, has a number of key benefits in these areas:

- It allows for more effective, integrated delivery.
- It yields a variety of approaches, allowing faster learning and replication of success.
- Local and regional issues can be brought to the fore, thereby enthusing players to act to better their own area.
- People can see how their activities translate up into a regional, and then a national framework, and how their “small” actions are making a difference.

Given the above, using regional structures as a conduit for promotion of sustainable energy solutions in any number of ways has the potential to improve the cost-effectiveness of EST's activities.

Yet there are also downsides:

- There can be fragmentation, with no clear leadership and accountability from within the region. This can lead to the loss of a strategic framework, or later on, the loss of momentum.
- Variety of approach amongst the different regions can develop into unnecessary inconsistency, leading to confusion and lost economies of scale.
- Amidst the confusion, there can be duplication of effort, with the wheel continuously reinvented.

The aim of any devolution policy must be to reap the benefits, whilst minimising the downsides. This requires clear systems of accountability and oversight. It is how these systems are implemented, and the commitment to them, that will ultimately determine whether the policy will be a success.

THE EVOLVING REGIONAL POLICY FRAMEWORK WITHIN THE UK

The UK comprises four countries: England, Scotland, Wales, and Northern Ireland. When the Labour Government came into power in 1997, one of its first priorities was to arrange referendums that allowed the devolution of significant powers to Wales and Scotland.³

The General Regional Agenda

Since the late 1990s, a regionalisation agenda within England itself has been gathering pace. England has been divided into nine administrative regions, covering on average forty local authorities each. The powers and responsibilities of the authorities in these regions have been gradually increasing. Central government funding is increasingly being channelled through regional administrations, rather than direct to local authorities. This means that the regional administrations have had an ever more important say in what the priorities are for that region, and how those priorities would be met.

2. The Department for Trade and Industry, responsible for energy policy in Great Britain.

3. Northern Ireland already had significant devolved powers. However, uncertainties in the wider governance of Northern Ireland have led to the withdrawal of those powers, with the hope that they may be returned at some future date.

Recent Developments

London, one of the nine regions, was granted the opportunity to elect its own assembly and mayor, and these have now been in place for five years. In November 2004, a referendum was held in the North-East region to see if it would be interested in a similar arrangement. However, the result was a “no” vote – people were not convinced by the value of having an elected regional government, with the associated cost and bureaucracy. This “no” has halted the prospect of further regional referendums for many years. But it does not necessarily mean that regional administrations will disappear, or that their functions will not be expanded. This is an area of uncertainty for 2005.

Regional Bodies

In each of the nine regions, three regional bodies have been established to provide regional governance:

- The **Regional Assembly** is sponsored by ODPM.⁴ It is the focus for political leadership in a region, bringing local authorities together at a strategic level. It is responsible for setting regional policy and targets, for example: the Regional Spatial Strategy and the Regional Housing Strategy; and for scrutinising other strategies, for example: the Regional Economic Strategy; all underpinned by an Integrated Regional Framework.
- The **Government Office (GO)** for the Region comprises central Government representatives from a number of Government departments, which provide finance into a “single pot.” The GO tends to focus on ODPM issues. Its purpose is to explain the Government’s national objectives, and to scrutinise local and regional strategies and bids for funding, to ensure that Government objectives are being effectively delivered, with some degree of co-ordination.
- The **Regional Development Agency (RDA)** is sponsored by ODPM and DTI, with the purpose of promoting the economic prosperity of the region and the development of an appropriate skills base and supply chain. The RDAs receive some £2 billion in total each year, i.e. they are the key holders of regional funds.

Issues of Governance

There is an issue of governance that is worth noting, as it is “bigger” than any one policy such as energy policy. The issue is that local authorities, of which there are 409 across the UK, are democratically elected councils. However, apart from London, regional assemblies are not.⁵ So on issues of substance, local authorities will – perhaps rightly – try to serve the needs of their individual electorates, over any policies issued by the regional assembly. In effect, the question is: do the regional bodies have any real power? And if so, is that power that has been devolved from central Government, or is it power that is being taken away from local au-

thorities? In the absence of a written constitution for the United Kingdom, this is a grey and developing area.

In summary, then, the individual countries of the UK have significant devolved powers, and there is also a regional agenda within England. This agenda is evolving, and the institutions are in place for taking on more responsibility, but their power in practice is not clear, and their future role is uncertain. It is in this context that sustainable energy policy in England is being developed. The scenario may be somewhat different to that of many other European Member States, the regions of which will be historically and culturally defined, and will have a strong sense of identity and desire for self-governance.

THE CURRENT SUSTAINABLE ENERGY POLICY FRAMEWORK FROM A REGIONAL PERSPECTIVE

What the Papers Say

The UK’s Climate Change Programme was published in 2000 (DETR 2000). Whilst it sets out the role of the Devolved Administrations of the UK, it says nothing about the role of regional government. However, the Energy White Paper published in 2003 (DTI 2003) acknowledges that this is an area of importance. In particular, the White Paper states that Government will “ensure that a strategic approach to energy is developed and implemented in each region.” Furthermore, Government “expect[s] this strategic approach to be developed by a partnership of regional chambers, RDAs, Government Offices, local authorities and other stakeholders, such as businesses, unions, and voluntary groups.”

There is also mention in the White Paper of the role of RDAs as drivers of regional economic development: “We will therefore strongly encourage RDAs to play a key role in the delivery of energy policy objectives at regional level.” However, this is as far as Government policy goes. The Climate Change Programme is currently under review, and it remains to be seen whether – in the context of the “no” vote in the North-East – the revised Programme will expand on or retreat from the above statements.

Existing Regional Policies

The current regional policy framework in relation to sustainable energy revolves around a few key strategy documents, namely:

- The **Regional Spatial Strategy (RSS)**. The RSS, developed by the Regional Assembly, is essentially a planning framework for the region. An objective of the RSS is “to contribute to the achievement of sustainable development” (ODPM 2004). The RSS should articulate a spatial vision of what the region will look like at the end of some 15–20 years, and set out a strategy for achieving that vision. So it will cover issues such as: what kinds of buildings and developments are required within the region; the broad location of these developments; the criteria for determining more specifically where these should be and

4. ODPM is the Office of the Deputy Prime Minister, a grand name for the central Government Department that is responsible for housing policy, local authorities, and regions.

5. The make-up of Regional Assemblies is required to be at least 60% elected local authorities. So they are chambers of elected representatives, but not elected chambers as such. In London, *both* the councils (London “boroughs”) and the assembly (the Greater London Assembly) are elected. So which has more “authority”? How can this authority be enforced? The answer is not clear.

for approving these; how they will be connected; etc. All local authority development plans (including local housing strategies and transport plans) need to be in conformity with the RSS. Getting sustainable energy issues into the RSS is therefore vital.

- The **Regional Housing Strategy (RHS)**. The RHS has traditionally been developed by the Regional Housing Board, but the responsibility is about to move over to the Regional Assembly. The RHS provides an analysis of the housing needs and markets of the region, establishes strategies for addressing these, and identifies priorities for action. The RHS covers the condition of the existing housing stock. Clearly, it is important to ensure energy efficiency and small-scale renewables have an appropriate profile in this strategy.
- The **Regional Economic Strategy (RES)**. The RES is produced by the RDA, and sets out a vision and strategy for the region's economic development.⁶ Whilst not initially interested in social or environmental issues, RDAs are gradually beginning to recognise that the "green agenda" can draw in new business – in the form of renewables, waste and resource efficiency, and environmental products; as well as keeping money circulating in the local economy. Furthermore, a new Tasking Framework set by central Government requires RDAs to offer more specific deliverables on sustainability related issues than before.

All three of these regional strategies are relevant to sustainable energy issues. If they do not feature sustainable energy, then for years local authorities may develop planning policies and implement planning decisions that conform only to minimum legal requirements. Sadly, the converse is less certain; if sustainable energy is clearly in these regional strategies but local authority plans do not conform with them, it is not clear what the region can do about it. This is why these strategies are developed in a highly consultative way, and end up being less forceful than might ideally be the case.

The Role of Local Authorities

Within the above regional framework, local authorities have a number of key roles in delivering sustainable energy. In practical terms, these are:

- Establishing and adhering to a local planning policy
- Managing and investing in their own social housing stock
- Negotiating terms for the transfer of stock to private social housing providers⁷
- Checking compliance with Building Regulations in the case of newbuild and extensions ("building control")
- Drawing in nationally funded energy efficiency grant programmes
- Running local environmental promotions

- Co-ordinating the variety of local grant schemes, promotions, and campaigns
- Providing local leadership
- Monitoring and reporting on progress on domestic energy efficiency

Some local authorities may argue that all of the above can be done perfectly well without any kind of regional bureaucracy above them. Yet local authority resources are limited – both in terms of staff and in terms of funding.

In summary, the explicit role of the regions within the Climate Change Programme is to date unclear, and the extent to which climate change considerations are taken seriously in regional strategies depends on the discretion of the regional bodies, and on the level of engagement with their constituent local authorities.

HOW MIGHT THE REGIONAL STRUCTURE BE MORE USEFUL?

A number of issues need to be resolved in terms of the balance of local, regional, and national activity. What seems clear is that the debate should take place in a constructive rather than a guarded manner, i.e: rather than discussing who should receive what powers, we should ask the question: who is best placed to do what, and how can they be helped at other levels?

In particular, given the wide range of local authority functions, how might the regions be better able to help them deliver these? Suggestions for the role of regional activity include:

- The regional bodies, in particular with a consensually developed RSS, could avoid NIMBY-ism amongst local authorities within the region.⁸ This may apply in particular to larger developments such as wind farms.
- The regional bodies could engender a sense of the bigger picture with local authorities, by showing how each of the forty-odd local authorities within the region contributes to regional sustainable energy targets. This is less easy to do at national level with 409 local authorities.
- The regional bodies could establish an appropriate monitoring mechanism of local authority activity on sustainable energy within the region.
- By paying attention to the activities of local authorities and other players, regional bodies can identify synergies, allowing more effective delivery.
- Regional bodies can develop standards and targets that are appropriate to most of the region, whilst still affording economies of scale. This cannot be done by central Government which, when setting legal minimum standards, must ensure that these can be met in every corner of the country.

6. In addition, the RDA produces its three-year Corporate Plan, setting out RDA priorities and the allocation of RDA resources.

7. Registered Social Landlords (RSLs) account for a large percentage of social housing stock. They are regulated by the Housing Corporation, which is funded by ODPM. Many local authorities have transferred their housing stock, or are doing so, to RSLs, on the basis that RSLs can focus exclusively, professionally, and flexibly on the management of that housing, while for the local authorities, this task can be a burden detracting from more strategic activities.

8. NIMBY="not in my back yard."

- The regional bodies are in a position to develop support schemes appropriate to the region. They may do this entirely individually, or draw on centralised support and tailor this to their particular needs.

All of the above might be of use to local authorities, but it has not, as yet, been articulated by Government or others and sold to them.

A key question remaining in relation to the above is: who is responsible for delivering on sustainable energy within the region? The answer at the moment is: nobody. And it is not clear whether Government should nominate one regional body to take the lead; or whether it should leave this decision to each region. In this situation, there are regions where there is no leadership, and sustainable energy is not being taken forward in a strategic, pro-active manner. – The systems accountability to avoid the downsides of devolution are not yet fully in place.

The Role of the Energy Saving Trust

THE ENERGY SAVING TRUST

The Energy Saving Trust is a non-profit distributing organisation, set up by Government and industry in 1993 after the Rio Earth Summit, with the aim of reducing carbon emissions through the promotion of sustainable energy measures. The role of the EST has since expanded to cover the full range of small-scale sustainable energy solutions, i.e: domestic energy efficiency; small-scale renewable energy; and cleaner road transport.⁹

TRADITIONAL EST ACTIVITIES

EST's support programmes can be broadly categorised into the provision of information; advice; and grants – all delivered to a number of different audiences, ranging from consumers to local authorities to businesses. The programmes have generally been delivered through a central function, with site visits where necessary. The one exception to this is the network of Energy Efficiency Advice Centres (EEACs). The EEAC network was established when it became clear that consumer advice is best delivered at local – or at least, sub-regional – level, rather than through one national telephone hotline. There are 52 EEACs within the UK, providing householders with advice on energy efficiency.

EST IN THE DEVOLVED ADMINISTRATIONS

By 2000, EST had offices in each of the Devolved Administrations. Each of these started off with one employee, and has expanded to varying degrees, depending on the requirements of that country. Funding for EST energy efficiency activities in England, Wales, and Northern Ireland comes via DEFRA, the Department for the Environment in Westminster, London. However, funding for EST Scotland comes direct through the Scottish Executive, i.e: Scotland wished to have more direct control.

The benefits of having offices in the Devolved Administrations are numerous: EST understands better both the

needs of the individual country; and the priorities and perceptions of the Administration. Programmes can be tailored to suit the individual country; or can even be designed just for that country. Inevitably there are downsides, in particular: the cost of maintaining additional offices and the complexity of management associated with far-flung offices. However, the pros by far outweigh the bads.

EVOLUTION OF EST ACTIVITIES IN THE REGIONAL CONTEXT

The regional bodies within England certainly do not carry the same weight as the Devolved Administrations for the individual countries of the UK. Nor are they clambering for more support or more responsibility in delivering sustainable energy. – Politically, therefore, it may be possible for EST to ignore the regionalisation agenda for the time being.

Yet, as discussed at the beginning, there are genuine, delivery benefits to a sub-national approach. It could be argued that, given its mission, EST should not wait for the regions to ask for support, but rather, should show leadership. This would mean committing resources to influence the regional bodies to take climate change more seriously, and to promote existing EST support services to them.

Some EST activities have already been developed with a sub-national approach, as follows:

- Half of the fifty-two EEACs have been given an expanded role under the Local Authority Support Programme (LASP), to support the collaborative development of local authority strategies and projects. Essentially, the LASPs work on a sub-regional basis.
- EEACs in each of the nine English regions have a representative, who speaks for the EEAC network at regional level. Generally this representative is drawn from one of the EEACs themselves.
- EST has run a two-year pilot in the North-East, on the employment of a regional co-ordinator. The role of the co-ordinator has been to ensure that small-scale sustainable energy issues have adequate profile in various regional strategies; and to pull together the key partners within the region on relevant issues. But the role of the co-ordinator has also been to act as an EST representative in the region. This pilot seems to have been successful, and in 2005/6, EST intends to offer all English regions a little funding, which they can use to develop more co-ordinated activity. Whether to role out the EST employee position in all regions is still a question for debate.
- EST has received go-ahead to pilot the establishment of a Sustainable Energy Network (SEN). This would be a network of Sustainable Energy Centres, with one or possibly two within each region. The centres will be responsible for overseeing EEAC activities and ensuring that advice on energy efficiency, small-scale renewables, and cleaner road transport, is given in a joined-up and effective way. In addition, they will adopt the LASP role for the whole region, bringing more co-ordination to the design and delivery of sustainable energy projects throughout the region.

9. See www.est.org.uk.

The latest evaluation results on these programmes will be available in spring 2005. However, it is unlikely that any evaluation will be conclusive – given the evolving state of the regional agenda, it is not possible to undertake a controlled longitudinal evaluation; and in any case it will probably take several years for a programme to have a significant, lasting impact. EST (and its funders) will have to make a judgement on whether it wishes to take a risk and lead the regionalisation agenda, or take a different risk and simply follow it. Whether a national energy agency should lead an agenda, or respond to evolving policy, is itself an interesting question of principle.

ISSUES FOR EST TO ADDRESS

Cost-effectiveness of Activities

Given that the main driver for EST's activities is reducing carbon emissions, the obvious question is: Will further investment by EST into the regions deliver more carbon savings than if that same investment was made elsewhere, i.e. in the expansion of existing EST programmes? For example, should funding go into an additional LASP in the South-West, to help local authorities deliver better, more coherent, projects next year? Or should that funding be invested into a regional post, to ensure co-ordination at regional level, including the inclusion of sustainable energy issues in regional strategies?

The answer is difficult to predict. It depends on a number of issues, including:

- what is already happening in each region, i.e. the extent to which EST programmes are running in the region, how much additional work is required overall, the receptiveness of the region to further assistance, etc.
- the relative value of short-term and long-term gains, i.e. existing programmes may guarantee fixed carbon savings in the immediate future, whereas more intensive regional work now may secure a policy and delivery framework for more sustained, carbon savings a few years down the line.

Control of Activities

Traditionally, EST has been the custodian of central Government funding, and we have determined the criteria for how this is disbursed. The criteria have been set according to EST's own understanding of its short-term and long-term organisational goals.

By definition, devolution means allowing decisions to be made at a more regional or local level. EST needs to decide on the extent to which it wants to allow this to happen on EST funded activities. Should regionally funded programmes be allowed to pursue any activities in pursuit of carbon reductions, as seen fit by regional stakeholders? Or should all activities be consistent with EST's own thinking? The implications are significant:

- Regional activity may evolve differently to EST's organisational – strategic – priorities. For example, one region may decide to invest heavily in newbuild, while another may wish to cease the provision of free energy efficiency advice. EST needs to be clear on whether it would allow

this to happen under its funding regime; and if so, whether it would allow this to happen only if it saw sense in it, i.e. the region was able to demonstrate this is the right approach.

- Activity in different regions may evolve in different directions. This lack of consistency among the regions would become increasingly difficult to manage. Ultimately, it would lead to break-up of the concept of a “national” programme. There is value in having national programmes, but regions individually may not recognise this.

Organisational Reputation

EST is currently the central agency responsible for taking forward UK Government objectives on domestic energy efficiency, and also areas of small-scale renewables and cleaner road transport. It is obvious that there are benefits to EST reaching out and working with the regions. However, there is the danger that within individual regions EST is seen to become just a(nother) regional organisation, competing for profile. It would be unfortunate if EST were to lose its status, and genuine value from being a UK-wide organisation, in this way.

The three factors of cost-effectiveness; control; and reputation are crucially important when determining EST's future strategy for the regions. It is not clear that the three will be aligned, and it is also not clear what relative value a national energy agency should place on each.

POSSIBLE WAYS FORWARD FOR EST IN THE REGIONS

This section looks at how, in practice, EST could respond to the evolving regional agenda. The starting point for a future EST, as set out in EST's business strategy, is that it will retain a central headquarters; and that it will establish a Sustainable Energy Network, providing one or more Sustainable Energy Centres to each region. Each SEC is on contract to EST on the basis of a tender, and will arrange for the provision of advice and better co-ordination of activities on a regional basis. The SEC will engage with the regional bodies in these areas, but it cannot represent EST corporately.

There are a number of ways in which EST regional activity could be developed from here. The following are all scenarios under which EST could be considered to be adopting a more “regional approach,” in increasing order:

1. EST headquarters retains functions more or less as currently. There is very limited corporate EST representation to regional bodies. Essentially, EST uses SECs to deliver on a regional basis, but does not engage with the regions beyond this.
2. EST headquarters builds internal capacity to assist regional policy development and promote EST on a corporate and programme basis, including consulting regional bodies on national programmes and establishing systematic programme communications with them (as with local authorities). This option is the next obvious step for EST, but merely reacts to the existence of a new regional audience rather than taking advantage of their full policy function.

3. As (2), but in addition, EST hires a variety of consultants to operate within the regions on specific projects. These may entail promotion of specific EST programmes to larger organisations in the region; strategic advice for large-scale regeneration projects; etc, as and when required. The consultants complement SEC activities, and are directed centrally from EST headquarters. This is a flexible way of engaging in the regions, but misses out on a longer-term, corporate engagement.
4. EST recruits an employee in each region, to assist regional policy development and promote EST on a corporate and programme basis. This is similar to the role of the Devolved Administration employees when they first started out, and parallels the role of regional Government Offices on behalf of Government. The employee is able to monitor the effectiveness of, and issues arising from, SEC activity, but the point is that the role is essentially complementary to that of the SEC, which is still on contract to EST.
5. EST sets up an office in each region. This both represents EST corporate, and takes on the role of the SEC. The benefits are numerous, but it would be replicating and upsetting many organisations that already exist and doing a good job in most regions.

With all of the regional approaches above, there would be a balance of activities with EST headquarters. On one extreme, the structures would simply be used to promote EST programmes and policies. On the other, individual programmes could be developed and delivered within each region, using EST headquarters merely for support. Clearly, the more solid the regional structure, the more scope for the development of regional activities.

Decisions on these issues will be made over the course of 2005/6, and perhaps longer. These decisions will crucially depend on what is already happening within each region. – The answers may be different in regions that have organically spawned a variety of organisations and activities, to regions where relatively little activity has evolved.

Conclusions

This paper has not provided answers to the questions of the regions, and the role of national or regional energy agencies, within a country's climate change programme. However, the following conclusions can be drawn:

- There is potential value in a regional approach to policy. But the downsides need to be avoided by implementing clear systems of accountability and oversight.
- Lack of clarity on issues of governance at the most fundamental level can significantly, and detrimentally, affect the resoluteness with which policies on sustainable energy can be implemented.
- In an evolving policy context, a national energy agency needs to make a judgement whether it will follow the development of policy; or whether it will try to lead it. The risk with the former is that the agency will always be playing "catch-up" and trying to fit in with what has been decided by others. The risk with the latter is that the

agency may over-commit to structures that turn out to be temporary or weak.

- In an evolving regional context, a national energy agency needs to strike a balance between doing things cost-effectively; retaining control; and ensuring its own corporate reputation remains intact, for the greater good.

Annexes

Map of United Kingdom

References

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Annex: Map of the English Regions within the United Kingdom

