Planning the Industrial Town
The Case of Barrow-in-Furness

Hanna Burns
ABSTRACT
Burns, H. 2014, Planning the Industrial Town. The Case of Barrow-in-Furness, Department of Cultural Geography, Arbetsrapportserie, Uppsala University

This study investigates the consequences of the industrial presence and private sector involvement in urban planning applied to the specific town of Barrow-in-Furness, UK. Furthermore it investigates what the iron and shipbuilding industry has meant for the development of Barrow-in-Furness, in what ways it has influences today and what consequences their involvement has, all from an urban planning perspective.

Relating theories behind how a town as a built environment can be seen as a social construction and a result of the relationship between society and space and what push and pull factors are present, how the governance is performed with inter-organizational networks highly dependent on one another and in what ways the private sector, focusing on the actor BAE Systems, which is the main firm in the area, are involved in the governance and planning process.

By performing a case study in Barrow-in-Furness, using mainly interviews, this study has come to find that the shipbuilding industry has been a key factor for shaping the built environment, and is gaining increasing influence in Barrow-in-Furness in terms of governance and planning by the participation of BAE Systems in Public-Private Partnerships, on a local level as well as on a regional level. This affects the level of involvement and influence of the public sector and members of the general public, implying that the level of democracy and legitimacy in the governance and planning process may decrease.

Keywords: Urban Planning, Governance, Public-Private Partnerships, Barrow-in-Furness, Shipbuilding Industry

Advisor: Cecilia Pasquinelli
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1. INTRODUCTION

The town of Barrow-in-Furness is located on the southern tip of the Furness Peninsula in Cumbria in the North West of UK, with Morecambe Bay to the South and Duddon Estuary to the North. The area is home to many world class manufacturing companies such as the nuclear shipbuilding company BAE Systems. Barrow-in-Furness is also the main centre for commerce, retail and culture for South West Cumbria (Furness Partnership 2009 p. 9).

The town’s location by the sea and the iron ore resources in the area contributed to the establishment of steelwork and shipbuilding industry in the area. During the mid 1800’s the Furness Railway reached Barrow-in-Furness and created a starting point for the Iron and Steelworks Company. From there on the industry expanded and the port and docks became increasingly significant as the shipbuilding industry established in Barrow-in-Furness through Barrow Iron and Shipbuilding Company in 1870 (Trescatheric 1985).

Today, the borough is home to 71,000 people, the main attraction of the town at least historically being employment possibilities in manufacturing and mostly shipbuilding industries, nowadays by BAE Systems. Until 1990 the towns shipbuilding industry supported a third of all employment in the area. Since then there has been reductions in employment in the shipbuilding industry and generally in manufacturing sectors and by 1995 a total of 13,000 jobs were lost, representing 30% of all employment (Furness Partnership 2009 p. 10).

This economic decline caused problems of deprivation for Barrow-in-Furness. The town was ranked among the top 3% of the most deprived areas in the UK according to the Government's 2007 Deprivation Indices. The problems that Barrow-in-Furness has with deprivation are shown especially in the town centre where there is poor quality physical environment and housing is in low demand (Furness Partnership 2009 p. 10).

The town of Barrow-in-Furness is an example of a town whose urban landscape is influenced by the presence of the industry. Many historic events linked to the evolution of local industry have shaped the town whose growth came along with the industrial expansion. For instance the Island of Walney became populated in the early 1900’s as a result of the shipbuilding industry needing a space to accommodate their workers. The operating company at the time, Vickers, started building houses on Walney creating the residential area Vickerstown. The analysis of the urban planning process sheds light on the relationship between the shipbuilding industry with its private owned companies and the public planning authority.

1.1 Aim

The aim of this study is to highlight the main issues related to the planning of a town that is dependent on one industry and, as in the analyzed case, dependent specifically on a leading company. This research is engaged with an analysis of those issues that are faced by the borough council in the process of urban planning, since being representatives of the state and democracy: the local economic dependence on one private actor characterizes the context in which the borough council has to make decisions, by taking into account the need to keep the citizens employed and make the city an attractive choice for working and living in.
The case of Barrow-in-Furness is of special interest as the town is dependent to a significant extent on a private actor, i.e. BAE Systems, which is the predominant employer in the region: this forces the town to meet their demands in terms of planning for regeneration and redevelopment (McCulloch 1949).

Industrial towns in general have a high level of working class citizens lacking higher education, creating an unbalance between educated workforce and the working class, which to an extent can create certain social issues in the city, in terms of living situations and housing for example. This issue mainly refers to the difference in income between the two, but this in turn creates problems of segregation within the town where the working class more commonly live in residential areas closer to the town center, sometimes not considered as nice as the ones in the urban periphery and sometimes considered to be in deprivation (Pacione 2009 p. 51). The aim is therefore to highlight the issues facing the borough council in planning under the demand of a private actor, but also to highlight the relationship between the shipbuilding industry and the official institutions in terms of how the industry, or to be more specific, BAE Systems, are involved in the planning process and what ability they have to affect it.

1.2 Questions at issue
This study will investigate theories behind urban planning and landscapes, concerning governance and private involvement in the process. Focusing on the case of Barrow-in-Furness and BAE Systems, this research will investigate the following questions at issue:

- What does the presence of the industry mean for the spatial planning of Barrow-in-Furness?
- What roles do BAE Systems and Barrow Borough Council play in the governance of physical planning in Barrow-in-Furness?
- What are the consequences of their involvement for the process and the preservation of public interests?

1.3 Methodology
1.3.1 Qualitative approach
During this study I have chosen to use a qualitative approach throughout the process of answering my research questions. The word qualitative origins from the Latin word *qualitas* that refers to the nature, attributes and kind of things, situations or processes. The qualitative approach to methods is the most common within the field of social studies (Svensson & Starrin 1996).

The quality that this approach refers to is to explain the nature of a specific context meaning concepts of characteristics, symbols, metaphors and descriptions of the underlying social settings and the groups or individuals within them. I chose to use a qualitative approach during my study as I wanted to investigate the social settings and concepts within the context of the structures in Barrow-in-Furness by using words rather than numbers. As opposed to be using a quantitative approach when the focus would have been more on the amount, counts and measures of things (Berg & Lune 2012), I decided to adopt a qualitative approach which,
I think, was beneficial for my study. Although, when using a qualitative approach and methods I am aware that the collection of data may be at a smaller scale than if I would have used a quantitative approach when the data would have been broader as opposed to deeper as it is now. The qualitative approach may not involve as many people as a quantitative would have (for example I use qualitative interviews instead of quantitative surveys) but I gain a deeper understanding of the social reality by the experiences of the individuals participating in my study, as I used interviews rather than surveys (Bryman 2008).

One may argue that qualitative methods investigate the relationship between theory and practice in reality. Bryman (2008) presents a guide explaining an approach the qualitative research process with general steps to take, which I have applied to this study:

1. **General aims and research questions**: this forms a starting point for the study. I started by formulating what I was interested in studying in general and from there extracted a few main topics and research questions. During the study the topics and research questions have become refined and more detailed in order for me to be able to be focused and tackle the key issues in an appropriate way despite of actual time constraints.

2. **Sampling, the selection of relevant places and people**: this section refers to carefully choosing people and places that are relevant to the study in terms of aims and research questions. During this study I have used purposive sampling which insinuates that the places and persons I have chosen to include have a direct relation to my aims and research questions. I chose Barrow-in-Furness as it is an ideal place for studying the relationship and interaction between private industry and public institutions. As this study also investigates the effect on the urban planning process it was a clear choice to contact the town’s main private actor BAE Systems and to interview people at Barrow Borough Council involved in planning.

3. **Collection of data**: for this study it was necessary to collect empirical data in order to answer the research questions. After building a theoretical framework, the empirical research consisted in a field study according to which I spent a week in Barrow consulting the library and local archive center for information as well as performing interviews and performing observations on Barrow Island and in Vickerstown taking pictures of accommodation.

4. **Interpretation of data**: once the necessary empirical information was gathered, the theoretical framework enabled an interpretation of the collected evidence.

5. **Conceptual and theoretical work**: This refers to reading theory and previous research in order to get a background theory for the empirical part and being able to see the links between the theory and what actually happens in reality.

6. **Results and conclusions**: The final step is to be writing down the results of the empirical study in relation to the theory to then construct an analysis of the study and come to a conclusion. It is important to maintain sustainable credibility throughout the study in terms of references, introducing necessary information and being specific when answering the research questions (Bryman 2008).

### 1.3.2 Interviews

As mentioned earlier, I used interviews in order to gather the necessary information for this empirical study. As the aim was gaining understanding for the underlying structures and the
attitudes and experiences of the individuals within the context of the relationship between the private industry and the public institutions in Barrow-in-Furness, I carried out in-depth semi-structured interviews, which resulted in open yet “guided” conversations with the interviewees. In order to collect relevant information it was important for me to have a background on the investigated local context and to prepare questions, so that I constructed an interview guide to be able to stay on track during the interviews (Svensson & Starrin 1996).

This resulted in a semi-standardized interview when I implemented a number of predetermined guideline questions and topics, but trying to do so through a laid back social interaction that was more like an open conversations with room for follow-up questions and being a bit more flexible on a subject as opposed to a standardized interview with strictly specific questions (Berg & Lune 2012).

I used this approach during a group interview at Barrow Borough Council. Participants in the group interview were: the leader of Barrow Borough Council councilor David Pidduck, chair of the planning committee Anne Thompson and planning officer Helen Houston. Because all of the participants had different positions at the council they were involved in the planning process on different levels and therefore provided different perspective, knowledge and experience of it. This made it easier for me to better understand the planning process and the different parts of it rather than if I would have only had one interview. A group interview is beneficial from a non-standardized perspective as it opens up for conversation and discussion during the interview because of the higher number of participants (Bryman 2008).

Although I found that the conversation was open and that the different participants supplemented each other well with their different knowledge and experience, the interview was long and sometimes I found it hard to stay on topic. Perhaps it would have been easier to meet with them separately in order to be more focused on the questions and topics and then trying to relate their different knowledge and experiences to one another later during the interpretation process. Therefore it was beneficial that I recorded the interview, enabling me to listen for the specific topics I was interested in.

In order to get a different perspective on the questions and topics I wanted to have an interview with a representative for BAE Systems. Unfortunately a meeting was not possible and at first the company agreed to do an email interview. Generally an email based interview takes place in an asynchronous environment, meaning that there is not a face-to-face interaction as the interviewer and the interviewee does not meet and does not necessarily take part of the questions at the same time. This of course does not create the same kind of social interaction and open conversation as a regular semi-standardized interview, but it gives the interviewee time to carefully respond to the questions (Berg & Lune 2012).

I was in contact with the communications department at BAE Systems in hope of doing this interview. Unfortunately it wasn’t possible to receive a completed questionnaire which would have broadened the available empirical evidence for this research. I did further effort to be in contact with BAE Systems via email, and an employee accepted to answer some of my questions, mostly related to the work of the company and their employees, while not the questions related to the company’s relationship with the towns public institutions could not be answered.
1.3.3 Effects of prejudice

One of the purposes of doing a study like this is to question the traditional views and prejudices of the underlying social structures of the specific context. Trying to do this it is essential to separate what is actually a fact in the matter and what is an interpretation, which is not always easy to do and why you should always be critical of the information and consider the source in terms of their views and interests. For example, most of the councilors at Barrow Borough Council belong to the Labour Party and may in general not agree that the private sector should be involved in the planning process as much as they are, and the considered companies may have a different view on this as they are committed to ensure that their interests are being considered in the process. It is important to keep this distinction between the subjective and objective throughout the process of performing the study in order for it to gain accountability and reliability (Svensson & Starrin 1996).

As I have a personal relationship to both the town of Barrow-in-Furness and BAE Systems I am aware that I may have prejudices of my own in these matters. I have family living in the town and many family members have been employed by Vickers and BAE Systems. This means that I had background information about the layout of the town and its social settings in advance, but it also means that I may have had prejudices about Barrow-in-Furness. This may have affected the study if I had not been careful about the sources and the interpretations I made from the facts. I have aimed to set my own views aside and keep an open mind throughout the process. Although I realize that it may be impossible to completely set my own values aside and that it may have affected my research. Thus the effect is in my opinion limited to the selection of research questions one may argue otherwise.

2. THEORY

2.1 Urban landscapes and industrial cities as a social construction

During this chapter I will describe how the creation of cities and towns is the result of a social construction. I will present the forces within the society that shape the built environment, how and the extent to which push and pull factors within the society can influence the ways in which cities and towns emerges and grows. Furthermore I will explain how industries may play an important role for the layouts of the cities and built environments around them.

Behind the structure of the built environment there are complex processes of forces shaping it. One might therefore argue that the built environment is a result of social construction. The forces behind the social construction shape the built environment according to what the forces require and what push and pull factors are situated within them. Push and pull referring to how certain factors cause motion in the urban landscape by merely existing or acting in certain ways. The most important forces at issue are society and space. It is the interaction between them that ultimately creates a built environment. The concept of space requires attention to factors such as geographical location, how the topological landscape appears and what foundations it provides for exploiting the land (Pacione 2009 p. 160).

The built environment can be described as created and shaped to facilitate the needs of the industrial city. It was designed and created partly to answer to the demands of
merchandise and mass consumption that was ultimately created by industrialism. Within the society and built environment lie concepts of the public sphere that contains forces by private, individual and state interests that all take part in shaping the environment. In a town for example, the shape of the built environment may be different and varying from different kinds of towns and the social codes of the population. A town built around an industry and the social codes of its workers is probably different from a town built around a university and the academic social codes among its citizens (Banerjee 2001).

Behind the forces of the society there are patterns of consumerism. When the industrial profits starts to grow, the public receives access to more capital and higher wages, demand increases for more and better housing, increased levels of functioning infrastructure and more shopping and leisure choices. This creates a greater flow of capital and increases the patterns of consumerism. A theory that describes patterns of consumerism and how capital is key in the urban development is Harvey's circulation of capital that is divided into three different circuits (Harvey, 1985):

1. **The primary circuit:** This circuit refers to the structure of relations in the production process. The profits made in the primary circuit are either reinvested in the same circuit with aims to generate further profit, or in the event of overproduction and underconsumption it is channeled to the secondary or tertiary circuit.
2. **Secondary circuit:** This circuit is characterized by investments in fixed capital, such as built environment, in expectation of making profit. This profit consists of rental income from use value or future exchange value (sale prices).
3. **The tertiary circuit:** This circuit drives investments in science and technology that ultimately increases productivity and improves labour compatibility. The investments are mostly made by the state since individual capitalists are unlikely to take a long-term view of potential advantages.

These three circuits can be used to describe the urban developments in industrial cities. The primary circuit realizes a form of profit that is essential for the development of the industries and increasing wages for workers, which is key for the secondary and tertiary circuits that increasingly forces the society and the built environment to develop (Pacione 2009 p. 148).

How and where the public want to spend their lives in terms of housing and employment and what is available in terms of housing and employment possibilities are examples of key push and pull factors that from a social point of view shape the built environment. The general public requires employment and housing meanwhile employers require a base of workforce to employ, and there is a very complex balance between these two (McCulloch 1949.)

Traditionally when looking at plans of industrial cities, these tend to accommodate workforce of industrial nature close to the location of the industry. This concept immediately creates a zone of the built environment to be of a certain nature, the neighborhood where the working class citizens live. Not seldom are these areas characterized by low-income housing, pollution, sanitary problems and social issues. Members of the public of higher status do not tend to live in these kinds of residential areas. Generally higher-income citizens accommodate housing more towards the urban periphery and closer to the countryside in residential areas traditionally considered more idyllic (Carter 1981 p. 238 ).
In traditional industrial cities this means the creation of two main social classes, the capitalists and labour. The capitalists are generally those who invest in labour, the physical persons behind the industry that usually supply the capital and knowledge. This social class is generally of a higher-income standard. The labour are those who sell their skills to the capital in return for a wage and are generally more likely to be low-income takers, especially in manufacturing industries. This social class traditionally occupies the residential areas sited close to the industry in the city. Because the capitalist provide the risk capital and have a higher income level in general they are also the social class with the most power. Within the social constructions of these communities the capitalists would be the members of the population who had the power to influence the local politics and the policies affecting the community and its population, simply because they were the employers, who had access to capital. The city depended on them in order to expand and develop. This concept of divisions in social class and influence gives an unequal division of powers in the industrial communities, as the labour part of society depended on the capitalists as much as they did (Pacione 2009 p. 49). The division of capital and social class created urban zones different from one another. The areas in the urban periphery have more access to public open space such as parks, fields and playgrounds. This becomes more natural in these residential areas when their occupants have strong capital assets and have demands for more open space and bigger gardens. To be able to create green and public spaces in the central residential areas mostly occupied by low-income workers there is a need for push from another force. In this case that would be a push factor consisting in capital investment by someone, or a force, interested in doing this kind of development without an interest for economic profit, but rather for the good of the residents in the area. Commonly the state provides this kind of capital creating benefits of open spaces in the working class zones of the industrial city (Banerjee 2001).

To summarize, built environments such as cities and towns depend to a great extent on interactions between different factors as they emerge and are shaped. The relationship between society and space is key as the society will have requirements towards the space that the society is set in and the space may provide geographical and topographical conditions that will affect how the urban landscape can be built. Industries are an important factor that will pull people (workforce) to the area and thereby push the built environment to emerge. Industries also have a significant impact on the layout of the city in terms of urban zones and diversion between different social classes.

In order to construct the city and the built environment in a good way for all actors and citizens within it the forces described above need to be controlled and steered in “the right direction”. If the forces aren't supervised there is a risk that it creates an unequal space and setting of the city and the built environment with great segregation and difference of influence and power. Planning is required to ensure inclusion and a democratic development in the urban landscape. The planning institutions are departments of the government, elected by the citizens. Historically, the government has had the primary responsibility for governance or “steering” the forces in order to gain control. Thus, nowadays governance is more complex and relies on relationships between governmental authorities, private actors and other organizations which brings us back to other sectors having power and influence over the
community, mainly because they provide something the community needs, such as the private sector provides employment and capital for example.

2.2 Governance
During this chapter I will describe what governance is and how it is practiced within the society, partly from a historic perspective but mainly focusing on today. I will explain how the government is not the only institution involved in the governing process, but how it is a complex network with influence from many different sectors of the community, actors of different levels and how they depend on one another.

The word governance is an umbrella definition of the process of social and economic coordination, management and “steering”. It has historically been a definition of a hierarchy between the institutions with the power to govern. The state is the number one institution with this power, but governance can be performed in many levels of the society. It often refers to the distribution of power and influence between the actors within the society. Municipalities and councils, organizations, individuals and private actors for example. These institutions within the society have power and influence because they can provide resources towards the society. It might be capital, employment, knowledge, health or other services, and if you have resources necessary for the society that can be withdrawn from it, it also gives you power and influence over the society and you can have your say in the process. Nowadays, governance is most commonly performed within networks rather than hierarchies. Governance is inter-organizational and there is clear interdependence between the actors within these networks (Watts 2011 p. 312).

There needs to be an understanding between different “languages” and interest within the networks. The languages represent different understandings and knowledge which are all needed in the governance networks and processes, but it can also be seen as a struggle between differences in opinion, interests and ways to work and operate (Elander et al. 2005 p. 284).

Because of the network structures in the society governance is broader than government. The interdependent relationships also cover non-state actors. Therefore the boundaries between public, private and voluntary sectors are becoming increasingly opaque. The interactions between the network participants are game-like. They are rooted in the trust between the participants but there are rules to follow, agreed by the participants. As these networks become more consolidated the sovereignty of the state declines and the non-state organizations achieve greater influence in the governing process (Watts 2011 p. 313).

The local authority (often a municipality or borough council) plays a significant role in the urban governance. They are the key representatives of the state and central government and will implement the policies and interests of the central government on a local and regional level. They have been elected by the local community in a democratic process which means that they also have a responsibility to implement the interests and viewpoints of the local public. A decentralized system where local authority plays a significant role can be more efficient and more democratic than if the central government would have this responsibility, as the local authority generally has better knowledge about the specific local area and its interests and conflicts (Pacione 2009 p 172).
Bardhan (2002) argues that decentralization is reducing the role of the state in general by giving more power and influence to institutions on a local level. This may be considered as the government being more responsive and efficient, and increasing the level of democracy. However, it may be seen as more of a privatization process when the local authorities are not the only institutions gaining more power and influence over the local area. As other community sectors, such as local enterprise and private actors for example, take part of this as well arguably democracy does not increase but decrease. This is because of their involvement when they may have interests concerning their own profit and benefit rather than the wellbeing of local community as a whole.

The local authority has a better idea than the central government of what interactions are present within the specific area. They can therefore better manage to improve the relationships between public and private interest. None the less they have a better idea of the attitude among the citizens in the area than the central government has. The councilors and employees at the local authority are likely to be citizens in the area themselves. They have been elected democratically by the citizens and are therefore good representatives of the citizens and their interests (Elander et al. 2005 p. 290).

To ensure that the networks of governance work democratically and take the interests of the public into account, participants aim to practice “good governance”. This means that there should be transparency in the networks, their work should be able to be viewed and reviewed by the public. The public administration should have high accountability towards the citizens and public resources should be used within the means of efficiency. It is also important that the members of the public are involved in the decision-making process which is important for democracy and representation of public interests. Naturally respect for the rule of the law is of great importance when performing governance (Watts 2011 p. 313).

The use of the governance networks increases the extent of decentralization which in turn leads to a more democratic form of governance. Local authorities and actors receive greater influence in their own contexts by this kind of collaborations. By the construction of the governance networks the public has a greater chance of participation; this in turn puts pressure on the public to participate to a higher extent which also leads to a greater level of decentralization (Gilbert 1996 p. 26).

The aim is to involve all sectors of society in the decision-making process to achieve higher legitimacy and level of democracy in the governing processes and networks. To involve the public and the citizens in the decision-making process is of great importance, not only for democracy. It is essential that the citizens feel that they are involved in the process, that their interests are taken into account and that they have the ability to influence the process and their own situations. If the citizens feel that they are excluded from the decision-making process it may cause a distress on the public. They feel helpless and lose hope of the future and faith in the system, and also loss of ability to act. This in turn may create a downward spiral of despair among the citizens which then can cause the problems of deprivation to continue and worsen as they may feel unimportant and stop caring about their neighborhood for example. Therefore it is important with inclusion in the decision-making process, otherwise it loses its legitimacy towards the citizens. Many councils and municipalities have public meetings about upcoming planning projects where the affected citizens can speak their
mind and are being given a chance to influence the process and the project. By including the citizens in this way it makes them feel as part of a legitimate process (Gilbert 1996 p. 30).

Governance is developing more towards creating partnerships between public, private and voluntary institutions. The partnerships are designed to ensure that the decision-making process is collective and that as many interests as possible are represented in the process. This strengthens the institutions and hopefully creates a fair expression in the range of interests (Gilbert 1996 p. 32).

To summarize, governance on a local level is based on a complex network between different actors in the community. The central government is still important and so is the local authority but as decentralization increases it opens up for private actors and other organizations to take part in the networks. All the actors involved depend on one another in order to continue to act, and there is therefore a state of interdependence between the actors within the networks of governance. Thus, the question remains whether the involvement of private interest in the decision-making process is legitimate. How democratic is it? And how much influence are they given?

2.3. Private actors and Public-Private Partnerships
In this section I will explain how the involvement of private actors in public affair (such as urban planning) has increased and become more important. I will explain the general interests of private actors and investigate more specifically how private actors are involved on a regional and local level in the UK, mainly concerning partnerships between public and private actors and what the consequences are as public and private interests sometimes may be different.

In general the interests of private actors operating in local communities are different from those of the local government authority representing the public. Historically private actors have had more power and influence in their communities than they have now, that is mainly because they had and still have access to capital along with other local elites. The ones who had the money also had the most power and influence (Shapely 2013 p). Considering that the private actors, in this case mostly industries and companies had a lot of power and influence in the communities they operated in, it says something about the aims they acted towards. Generally the interests of private actors are to maintain economic profits and maintain leading roles in the market economy, in order to achieve greater economic power over the markets they are involved in (McCulloch 1949).

Because the private actors have these interests mainly considering gaining and maintaining profits they sometimes neglect other important factors in the community usually concerning public good, such as health and labour ethics (McCulloch 1949, Siemiatycki 2007). Therefore there might be a somewhat cautious disbelief from the public concerning the intentions of private actors when they are involved in public matters such as town planning for example (Coulson 2013 p).
2.3.1 Public-Private Partnerships

It is common that private actors are involved in the planning process, either by participating in partnership for policy-making and/or by investing in projects. This is called Public-Private Partnerships, referring to both public and private actors being involved.

According to Siemiatycki (2012) the purposes of such partnerships is to balance government control of the public interests with the competitive forces of private actors into the delivery of public services in order to achieve efficiency. Hopefully, this will generate cooperation between public institutions and private sector actors and create win-win scenarios concerning local economic development. The government sector may also take advantage of the private sector’s access to capital in order to finance projects and manage the risks of investment. Whilst these factors are particularly beneficial in terms of efficiency and implementation of planning projects there is also a backside to the partnerships.

Blumenberg (2002) argues that the involvement of the private sector may undermine the potential of achievement for the participants as private actors sometimes fail to proceed beyond their narrow and specific self-interests. Furthermore Siemiatycki (2012) brings up the dangers of Public-Private Partnerships lacking accountability as they on occasion fail to provide adequate transparency towards the public concerning what actions are taken during the processes and how public resources are being used. Because of the private involvement in the partnerships members of the general public may be concerned that their interests are not put at priority as the private actors have interests of their own during the process. Therefore transparency is important throughout the process, in order for it to maintain legitimacy towards the members of the public.

2.3.2 Private Involvement Policy in the UK and Local Enterprise Partnerships (LEP)

In Europe, the United Kingdom is a case where Public-Private Partnerships have seen development in recent times as they have started using Local Enterprise Partnerships on a regional level. However, the involvement of private actors and partnerships between the public and private are not particularly new in UK, a starting point for this was during the Thatcher government in the 1970’s when some rather controversial policy changes were made in order to restructure Britain economically, socially, spatially and ideologically (Pacione 2009 p 172). They wanted to do this through a consensus of free-market individualism and aimed to receive economic growth and accumulation by releasing naturally competitive market forces to shape the urban landscape. Private actors gained more power and influence in what used to be public affairs, and this opened the gate to today’s models of governance where the private actors have a significant influence (Pacione 2009 p. 172).

The UK Local Enterprise Partnerships have only been in use since 2011. They were implemented by the current Coalition Government in order to support regeneration and economic growth on a local level by fulfilling a planning function. The Coalition Government has developed policies to encourage enterprise and stimulate private sector led economic prosperity (Pugalis & Townsend 2010 p 3). The LEPs are supposed to cover a specific economic area, for example Cumbria where there are a number of industrial towns with similar circumstances (Pugalis & Townsend 2010 p. 3).
As the LEPs were implemented the former Redevelopment Agencies (RDA) were removed. The RDAs were public agencies implemented by the government through the Regional Development Agencies act in 1998. There were nine different RDAs in the UK and they were each responsible for developing the economic prosperity in their particular region. The statutory purposes of the RDAs were:

- To further economic development and regeneration
- To promote business efficiency, investment and competitiveness
- To promote employment
- To enhance development and application of skill relevant to employment
- To contribute to sustainable development

They practiced these purposes by giving funding to regeneration and redevelopment projects in their particular area (The National Archives 2013).

The LEPs engage in developing policies and strategies for the economic growth and regeneration for the area. They are economic partnerships aiming to achieve economic development through civic engagement. Funding for any project approved by the LEPs comes either from the central government or the EU’s Structural and Investment Funds (Pugalis & Bentley 2013).

These economic partnerships are run by the private sector local enterprises in the specific area as opposed to the RDAs that were run by the public sector. Public institutions are included as well to a certain extent, but the final decision-making is taken by the private sector. When working towards regeneration, councils or local partnerships have to present any project they wish to realize in order to receive funding for it in case the project is approved by the LEP (Pugalis & Townsend 2010).

To summarize, even though the private sector runs LEPs in order to support regeneration and economic growth on a regional level, the general interests of private actors are towards acting in the best interest of their own business in terms of expanding it and maintaining economic profit. This may become problematic as private actors increasingly participate in partnerships with public institutions since the interests of public and private actors may be different. Public-Private Partnerships play an important role in urban planning as public and private actors may benefit from one another in terms of exchanging capital, knowledge and risk management. Throughout this trend of increasing private involvement the British central government implemented LEPs in 2011.

3. BARROW-IN-FURNESS CASE STUDY

This section will present the results of the empirical research carried out in Barrow-in-Furness (Barrow) when I visited the town and public library and also performed interviews at Barrow Borough Council. The theoretical framework presented above will help to interpret and frame the collected evidence.
3.1 Barrow-in-Furness’ industrial history

Before the town of Barrow was industrialized in the 19th century the main occupation of the villagers was farming and fishing. In 1820 the village of Barrowhead, as it was called before changing to Barrow-in-Furness in 1845, consisted of eleven houses and accommodated about 50 people. The village of Barrowhead also had two grocer’s shops and a blacksmith, anyone in need of something else had to go to the next town, which was the market town of Ulverston (Trescatheric 1985 p. 7).

Except for farming and fishing, people in the area worked in the mines of Furness extracting iron ore which was essential to the industrial development of Barrow. At this time a port already existed but only for the purpose of exporting iron ore to Europe (Barnes 1968 p. 91).

In 1846 the development of Barrow took a turn when the village became the terminus for the newly constructed Furness Railway which became the starting point for Barrow’s economic growth. Making it easier to transport iron ore from the mines, the railway was a necessity for the Iron and Steelworks that opened in 1859 (Trescatheric 1985). The railway and the steelworks industry made it possible for increased exporting of iron to Europe, creating a greater need for the port and docks which forced their development. The connection made possible by Furness Railways between the area’s iron raw material, the steelworks and the docks further increased the economic development of Barrow that now set off to a higher pace (Barnes 1968 p. 93).

By 1870 Barrow Iron Shipbuilding Company opened in the Devonshire Dock. This was the start of what became the most important industry in Barrow, shipbuilding. The economic development and the start of the shipbuilding industry in the 1860’s and 1870’s attracted workers from all over Britain, rapidly increasing the population, but sufficient accommodation wasn’t available for all the workers. In hope to attract skilled workforce the operating companies built housing for the workers on Barrow Island close to the shipbuilding industry. It was accommodating an average of more than seven persons per house. The condition of the houses have been described by local press at the time to consist from stagnant water, complete darkness at night and only one privy for 80 persons (Trescatheric 1985 p. 13).

The shipbuilding industry has been the main source of employment since 1870. The company then specified in constructing ships using the iron and iron ore available from the local area, and was therefore dependent on the local manufacturing iron and steelworks at the time (Barnes 1968).

The shipbuilding industry in Barrow has constructed warships and submarines since 1877 when Barrow Ocean Steamship Company took over the manufacturing. From this time on, the heavy engineering and submarine construction continued to develop at the docks in Barrow, and has done ever since, thus the operating companies has changed over the years, the historically most important one being Vickers that took over as Vickers Sons and Maxim Ltd in 1896. Vickers constructed warships, vessels and submarines for the British navy in 1901. The company also started constructing war aviation in 1909 (Barnes 1968 p. 101).

Vickers concerned themselves with housing for their workers and took over the Isle of Walney Estates Company in 1899 in order to build accommodation for workers on the nearby Isle of Walney. This resulted in the residential area Vickerstown that began developing in
1904 when the estates company started to build 930 terrace houses with small yards. The number of residents on Walney increased from there on creating a need for a better way to get across the Walney Channel to Vickers than by ferry or row boat. The Walney bridge was built in 1908 (Trescatheric 1985).

The peak of employment was reached in 1917 at Vickers, having 31000 employees at that time. After came a period of declines and layoffs in the industry after World War I when the manufacturing of warships and submarines declined and only 3150 employees remained in 1922. Vickers were able to get back on their feet and by the time World War II came, eighty seven submarines were constructed in the shipyard (Barnes 1968 p. 102).

After the war, Barrow suffered. They had been bombed during the war and the industries suffered from steel shortages and rising costs of raw materials. There was also an increasing competition in submarine manufacturing worldwide, mostly from Germany and Japan. These factors created a decline in Barrow’s shipbuilding and the town suffered from increasing rates of unemployment and social problems. The shipbuilding industry in Barrow has been able to survive and is today more stable than it has been historically. The number of employees is perhaps not as high as it once was but the town of Barrow has also developed creating more employment opportunities. The reasons to why the shipbuilding industry is able to continue its manufacturing in Barrow is because of their specific expertise in ship and submarine building and also the ability to construct nuclear powered submarines (Barnes 1968 p. 103).

The shipbuilding manufacturing industry has historically been significant for Barrow as a town in terms of employment and economic development. To this day Barrow remains a shipbuilding town with BAE Systems as the main actor (Furness Partnership 2009 p. 12).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Company Name</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1870</td>
<td>Barrow Iron Shipbuilding Company</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1897</td>
<td>Vickers Sons and Maxim Ltd</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1911</td>
<td>Vickers Ltd</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1927</td>
<td>Vickers Armstrong Ltd</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1955</td>
<td>Vickers Armstrong Shipbuilders Ltd</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1968</td>
<td>Vickers Limited Shipbuilding Group</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1977</td>
<td>British Shipbuilders</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1986</td>
<td>Vickers Shipbuilding Engineering Limited (VSEL)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1995</td>
<td>Marconi Marine (VSEL) taken over by GEC Marconi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1999</td>
<td>BAE Systems Marine</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2003</td>
<td>BAE Systems Submarines</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2007</td>
<td>BAE Systems Submarine Solutions</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2011</td>
<td>BAE Systems Maritime-Submarine</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 1. Timeline of operating companies over shipbuilding industry
Source: (Interview BAE Systems 2013)
3.2 BAE Systems
The now operating actor in the shipbuilding industry and docks in Barrow and on Barrow Island is BAE Systems. BAE Systems is a multinational company and a global provider of defense and security products, not only operating in Barrow but worldwide with 88,000 employees. BAE Systems does not only operate in shipbuilding, but in services within air, land and naval forces, although the focus at the location in Barrow is shipbuilding and nuclear powered submarine construction. The part of BAE Systems located in Barrow is BAE Systems Maritime-Submarines that took over Vickers Shipbuilding and Engineering in 1999 (BAE Systems 2014).

BAE Systems is the only provider of complex warships and combat managements to go along with them to the UK Royal Navy's surface fleet. The company has specialized in nuclear engineering, has a skilled workforce that work with a range of factors, from precision steel fabrication to state-of-the-art combat systems, giving BAE Systems a leading position in the market. The business is underpinned by a long-term partnership agreement with the UK Ministry of Defense establishing shared visions and common goals regarding the UK's complex defense sector.

With about 6,000 employees in Barrow, BAE Systems employs nearly every fourth person in Barrow's workforce, making the company the predominant employer in Barrow. Furthermore BAE Systems relies on local suppliers, logistics firms, engineering and maintenance firms creating hundreds of jobs outside of BAE Systems, but still dependent on the shipbuilding industry and the company (Interview BAE Systems 2013). Most of the employees at BAE Systems work in manufacturing in the shipyard while about 5-10% of the employees have degrees, mostly in engineering or finance. There are also a number of trainees and apprentices working in the shipyard towards getting a degree. BAE Systems keeps employing trainees and apprentices in Barrow and they are continuing to expand despite the global decline in the shipbuilding industry (Interview BAE Systems 2013).

3.3 The social construction of Barrow-in-Furness
In the history of the construction and development of Barrow there has been a clear interaction between society and space, visible in the town today. A heavy source of push and pull factors has been the iron and shipbuilding industry in Barrow. The built environment has evolved through facilitating the need of the industry, and by this built the town of Barrow from the village of Barrowhead. The railway was a factor that pulled and attracted both iron and steel industry and shipbuilding industry to Barrow, along with its geographical location by the sea and access to iron ore. The presence of iron and shipbuilding industry in turn pushed the town into development by attracting workforce creating needs for hospitals, commerce, housing and other infrastructure.

As the shipbuilding industry expanded the town did as well, both in terms of infrastructure and citizens. Since shipbuilding provided employment it attracted workforce and Barrow’s population increased. The industry’s capital increased as the use of iron increased and the shipbuilding expanded and so did the wages of the workers. The presence of capital within the industry and among the workers created new patterns of consumerism and Harvey’s theory behind circulation of capital may be applied (Harvey 1985).
When the workers started earning higher wages, demand also increased for commerce and infrastructure in the town. More people were attracted to Barrow and because of that other services were too, as a town of course needs more services than just an agglomeration of firms and workers. This is clear in Barrow today as the shipbuilding industry is still in operation employing a high number of the population, but there is education, a town center, a number of large supermarkets, public institutions to name a few, and more importantly other employment opportunities than within the shipbuilding industry, thus the shipbuilding industry still being the most important sector of the town. In this way the presence of capital and patterns of consumerism can push to create and develop built environment.

The shipbuilding industry is visible within the architecture in Barrow. Not only does the shipyard stand out in Barrow, but it takes up much space in the town. The residential areas built nearby are still there and still used for housing, although now not only for workers in the shipyard. The residential areas of Barrow Island and Vickerstown on Walney are both close to the shipyard and are perhaps not considered to be among the nicer neighborhoods in town.

Figure 1. Central Barrow-in-Furness
Source: Google Maps 2013
As mentioned earlier, residential areas initially built to accommodate industrial workers are usually located central and close to the industry, and have in general been characterized by low-income housing, pollution, sanitary problems and social issues. This may not be the case, at least not to the same extent now as in the early years of the industry, but as you can tell from the pictures the houses are run down and some of the problems still remain.
The development in the built environment in Barrow is obvious when looking at these town plans from the early years of the industry:

![Figure 4. 1850, 1873, 1895](source: Barrow Archive and Library 2013)

Looking at these town plans from the early years of the Iron and Steelworks and shipbuilding industry you can clearly see how the built environment emerges around the industries at a high pace.

### 3.4 The Borough Council

The Borough Council in Barrow is composed of a number of councilors elected by residents. The Borough is divided into wards, or areas of the borough. The residents of these wards elect councilors to represent them and the interests of the specific ward. The borough has many departments and committees working with different sectors of the community. In order to be consistent with the purposes of this study, I have chosen to look at the planning department on a more detailed level and leave the other departments.

In the planning department there is a regeneration team that consists from planning officers. When a company, for example, wants to expand or build a new project they initially have negotiations with the planning officers that make sure that the new development is consistent with current local policies and local area plans. The planning officers evaluate the application and if changes are needed in the plan. There are negotiations between the company, who is the applicant, and the planning officers of the regeneration team. This need to be done before the application can be reviewed by the planning committee, composed of the councilors who have been publicly elected. The planning committee is the one to have the power to approve or disapprove the application (Interview Barrow Borough Council 2013).

Because the planning committee makes the final decisions regarding planning permission the members and councilors of the committee can have no contact with the applicant during the initial negotiations, and there can be no connection between the committee members and the applicants in order to avoid compromising interests. The committee members are there to
represent the public, and their personal or professional relationships, distant or direct cannot interfere with this (Interview Barrow Borough Council 2013).

There is a specific code of conduct to be used in the planning process. This is to ensure that there is complete transparency and no hidden agendas toward the public of Barrow-in-Furness. This is very important because if there was a connection between a member of the committee and the applicant it would make the process illegitimate and the borough council could be taken to court by the applicant or by any other citizen. In this case, if the borough council then lost, the costs would be paid with tax money, i.e. public money, therefore transparency towards the public is significantly important throughout the whole process (Interview Barrow Borough Council 2013).

Because BAE Systems is such a big actor in the borough it is important that the borough maintains contact and a healthy relationship with the company. Meetings are held between the borough council and BAE Systems at least twice a year. During these meetings the interests of BAE Systems acting and operating in Barrow are discussed. At present, this is mainly concerning employment and education for the public in Barrow and how this can continue to develop and expand (Interview Barrow Borough Council 2013).

The borough council which represents the national central government needs to comply with the policies and plans of the central government. This means that whenever there is a change in the policies of the central government the borough council in Barrow has to adjust their local policies and local area plans in order to be consistent towards the central government, creating a heavy amount of paperwork for the borough council. Of course, the main purpose of the borough council when writing policies and area plans is to represent the local community electing it. The policies and area plans are necessary in order for the borough council to be able to control redevelopment processes in terms of land use and planning permissions (Interview Barrow Borough Council 2013).

For example, at the time of the interview the planning committee was occupied with trying to receive funding for a new marina development located by the industrial docks. There will be a marina village and a business park in the area. Another big initiative at that moment was the development of producing renewable energy by wind turbines (Interview Barrow Borough Council 2013).

### 3.5 Partnerships

Barrow Borough Council was involved in a partnership called Furness Partnership. The partnership was initially formed in order to join together a range of private, public, community and voluntary sector organizations from and within the area. The aim was to work together more effectively for the good of the public in the borough. All the different sectors had their own priorities but were committed to work together towards their common visions. For example, Furness Partnership came up with A Sustainable Community Strategy for Barrow-in-Furness implemented in 2009. The strategy described a long-term approach to improving quality of life for everyone in the Barrow borough, and brought up eight key priorities presenting the issues and how to work towards improving them. The key priorities were (Furness Partnership 2009 p. 13):
• Worklessness: providing more and better jobs for local people
• Health: improving health and life expectancy for people living in the area
• Lifestyle and environment: developing a more attractive place to live
• Housing: offering higher quality housing choices
• Community safety: reducing levels of crime and peoples fear of crime
• Children and young people: ensuring that young people have the start in life that they deserve
• Learning: delivering better education for people at all levels
• Deprivation: giving extra help to those in the greatest need.

As a consequence to when the central government removed the RDAs, Furness Partnership ceased operating in 2010 (Interview Barrow Borough Council 2013).

The borough council felt that a partnership such as Furness Partnership was beneficial for the development and regeneration of the borough and wanted to continue operating in the same way. Because the borough is home to a cluster of advanced manufacturing it is considered beneficial for the local development that the different actors can have their say concerning their operation and development in the borough. This is important in relation to governance, the different actors in Barrow, both public and private depend on one another within the networks of governance and because of this interdependence it is beneficial for all actors to be involved. Therefore there is now a local partnership in operation within the borough. The aims and purposes of the local partnership are similar to the ones of Furness Partnership. They come together to discuss the issues faced at the moment in the local area and how to improve the local context. Decisions are made within the partnership regarding what do and how to continue redevelopment and regeneration in the borough. Central issues are planning projects and development of infrastructure (Interview Barrow Borough Council 2013).

Just as in Furness Partnership different sectors of the community are members. There are private, public, community and voluntary organizations involved. Some of the members are BAE Systems, the largest employer in the borough and the leading company in the town’s shipbuilding industry, Furness College which is a hub for technical and business education and the adjacent borough South Lakes are also members in the local partnership (Interview Barrow Borough Council 2013). As opposed to the LEP, the local partnership only involves actors on a local level, i.e. Barrow and the adjacent council of South Lakes. Their concern is Barrow-in-Furness and South Lakes whilst the LEPs concern is for the whole region of Cumbria and involves actors in the whole region, of course also from Barrow and South Lakes but not exclusively. Nor is the local partnership a sub-partnership to the LEP, but exists on initiative of Barrow Borough Council (Interview Barrow Borough Council 2013).

The partnership will discuss the boroughs issues and come up with plans to improve them. Any projects the local partnership wish to propose need to be presented to the LEP in order to receive funding for the project. In the case of Barrow, the chair of the local partnership is employed by BAE Systems and also happens to be the vice chair of the LEP, hence there is a direct link between BAE Systems, the local partnership and the LEP (Interview Barrow Borough Council).
3.6 Cumbria Strategic Partnership

The Local Enterprise Partnership for Cumbria is called Cumbria Strategic Partnership. It is a private sector run partnership appointed by the national government in order to deliver regeneration for the region of Cumbria. Though it is run by the private sector the public and the council are represented in the LEP as members (GOV.UK 2014). There are only six public sector members at the time and they change every year in a circulation structure. Therefore Barrow Borough Council is not a member at the moment (Cumbria Local Enterprise Partnership 2014).

The borough council has to submit bids about their planning projects to the LEP in order to receive funding that will come either from the central government or the European Union. There is often a bidding process where the LEP has their say about the project at issue before funding is received. Hence the LEP is the institution deciding whether or not the borough council will receive funding for the project. This, according to the council leader, gives the public actors power over the planning process as they are the ones having the final say: *They will be the ones who would make the decision if we would get funding* (Interview Barrow Borough Council 2013). “They” referring to the private actor members of the LEP (Interview Barrow Borough Council 2013).

The LEP has delivered a specific regeneration strategy for the region of Cumbria divided into four categories. These categories concern advanced manufacturing which is not only important for Barrow but the nearby industrial towns of Ulverston and Carlisle as well, energy development, rural development (tourism and food) and the M6 Corridor which is the main motorway in the North West and also refers to the concentration of businesses in the region. According to the council leader Barrow benefits directly from the first two categories in the strategy concerning advanced manufacturing and energy development. The benefits concerning advanced manufacturing are specifically important for Barrow as the town always wants to develop and expand its industries, especially important in terms of employment. In terms of energy development Barrow is prominent because of their high number of wind
turbines, the gas terminal and the knowledge about nuclear engineering found at BAE Systems. The strategy concerning rural development may also be beneficial for Barrow, but not as directly as the first two categories. Regarding the development of the M6 Corridor it may be more beneficial towards the other towns in Cumbria, especially Carlisle who also has large industries and advanced manufacturing. Carlisle is also located right on top of the M6, while Barrow is about 45 miles off the M6. Thus, Barrow may not benefit as much from this strategy according to the interviewee (Interview Barrow Borough Council 2013).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Local Partnership</th>
<th>Cumbria Strategic Partnership</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>BAE Systems</td>
<td>BAE Systems</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Barrow Borough Council</td>
<td>Nuclear Management Partners (Sellafield)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Barrow and District CVS</td>
<td>Lindeth Howe/Mountain Goat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Barrow Excellence Cluster Partnership</td>
<td>Larmont Pridmore</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cumbria County Council</td>
<td>Wallby Farm Park</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cumbria Constabulary</td>
<td>Energy4all</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cumbria Fire &amp; Rescue Services</td>
<td>Lake District National Park Authority</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NHS Cumbria Primary Care Trust</td>
<td>Carlisle Collage</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Furness Enterprise</td>
<td>South Lakeland District Collage</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Government Office North West</td>
<td>Allerdale Borough Council</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Employment Service – Jobcentre Plus</td>
<td>Councilor Stewart Young</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Morecambe Bay Hospitals NHS Trust</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>West Lakes Renaissance</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>South Lakes Council</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Furness Collage</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 2. List of members in the local partnership and Cumbria Strategic Partnership
Source: Furness Partnership 2009 p. 35, Cumbria Local Enterprise Partnership 2014

3.7 Model of governance
The model of governance representing the analyzed case is rather complex. There are a number of key components to be remembered in this model. Of course the central government plays a significant part in this. There are laws and policies set by the central government that has to be followed by all members of the community. And the central government represents public interests since elected through a democratic process and public elections. The central government may arguably be named as the most powerful actor within the governance model, as it has the power to make changes that radically affects the rest of the community (Watts 2011 p. 313). An example of this power impacting Barrow was the central government’s decision to remove RDAs and replace them with LEPs, this directed more power to the private sector. One may argue that this action enhances the governing role of the central government as they have the power and ability to implement this shift in national policy. Meanwhile the result being that the private sector receives more power as they are in charge of the LEP, the role of the central government therefore seems to decrease (Pugalis & Townsends 2010).

Then in the Borough Council the councilors have been elected by the public in Barrow to represent their own wards in the town. The function of the borough council as the local
authority is to implement the policies and strategies provided by the central government on a local level. As they have been elected by the local community they also have to represent the interests of the public, and is therefore the institution with the most public representation in the local area. The Borough Council develops policies and projects concerning redevelopment and regeneration for the benefit of the public in Barrow (Pacione 2009 p. 172).

Furthermore there are the different operating partnerships in Barrow, the local partnership and the LEP. Members from many different community sectors have influence on the governance structure, because they are able to have their say and be a part of the decision-making process regarding regeneration and redevelopment in the area. As mentioned before, the members of the partnerships may be public, private and voluntary, giving power and influence to all these community sectors (Interview Barrow Borough Council 2013).

There is a clear network structure within the model of governance in Barrow, the nation and public being represented by the central government and the borough council. The private actors are represented by their involvement in the partnerships and given significant power and influence by this, especially in the LEP which is run by the private sector having the final say in the decision-making. BAE Systems being the largest employer in the borough therefore has significant power and influence in the borough, partly through their participation in the LEP and the local partnership, but also through their continuous meetings with the borough council (Interview Barrow Borough Council 2013).

These “governance networks” in Barrow are inter-organizational, meaning that different sectors of the community are involved. There is a clear interdependence between the different actors within the networks as they are all dependent on each other in order to realize their interests. For example, BAE Systems is dependent on the town of Barrow, the public and the borough council in order to operate in the area and realize profit. They need a location to operate on and they need employees to work in the shipyard. The public in Barrow and thereby the borough council are dependent on BAE Systems in return as they are a large employer and generate economic growth in Barrow. This is just a simple example; the interdependence relationships are more complex in reality.
This explains the structure of the local governance network in Barrow in a basic way. It states the network as inter-organizational and shows the interdependence between the actors. Central government may arguably be indirectly involved but as the local network is a product of decentralization it is excluded from the figure.

3.8 Involvement of private actors
In the case of Barrow it is clear that the private actors in the town are actively participating in the governance and planning processes. BAE Systems being the largest employer in the borough and a key actor in generating economic growth to Barrow is important for the processes. Meetings are held at least twice a year between BAE Systems and Barrow Borough Council where they exchange their interests in terms of needs and demands from one another so that both parties can be satisfied in any future development. At the moment, BAE Systems aims to continue to expand the company in Barrow and continues developing the manufacturing and engineering. The council’s interest towards BAE Systems is that they will take on trainees and apprentices and hopefully, as they expand and grow larger, employ more people (Interview Barrow Borough Council 2013).

When the borough council realizes a planning project, funding can come from agencies. Whereas, not seldom private actors invest in the projects. As they invest in the project they also receive influence over the project that might change the nature of the project. Therefore in the end the project may not be exactly as the original plan was made by the borough council but more in a way that the private investor is satisfied with (Interview Barrow Borough Council 2013).

In general a private actor will be putting their own business and interests first, mainly concerning profit and expansion for the specific company. Now that they are also involved in partnerships such as the LEP and the local partnership they must also step outside of their
businesses and focus on what is best for the whole community. They must be careful not to only think about their own interests in order for there to be complete transparency from the partnerships towards the public. This has been difficult for some of the private actors as they are not used to having this kind of responsibility towards anyone but their own business and there might be a conflict of interests in what is best for the community and what is best for their company (Interview Barrow Borough Council 2013).

For example, the ongoing project with the Waterfront Marina in Barrow may be a source of difference in opinions and interests between the different actors in the partnerships. While the citizens of Barrow may be happy about the regeneration project and the improvement of the site, which is nearby the shipyard docks, in terms of improving the area and creating a nicer place for the citizens to enjoy, BAE Systems may not be happy about the area adjacent to the shipyard being exploited as they may have plans of expansion for the future. These are differences that are faced within the partnerships when discussing upcoming planning projects.

3.9 Towards the public

It is important that there is complete transparency in the work of the borough towards the public in Barrow; therefore there is a strict code of conduct to be followed during the planning process so that the public can take part of what is going on and who is involved. As mentioned before, the citizens of Barrow has chosen councilors by election to represent them and their wards in the borough (Interview Barrow Borough Council 2013).

The policies and local area plans are made by the council and in this case also the local partnership in order to fulfil the needs and interest of the public in Barrow based on the town’s circumstances such as the presence of the shipbuilding industry, the need for controlling land use and unemployment for example. The aim of the council is to follow the policies whenever planning for a new project, but the public does not always agree with or have the background information to the policies, therefore projects may sometimes be realized despite the disagreement from the public as they do not always understand why a policy or a projects is done in a certain way. The council leader says that in these rare cases the public often expresses their satisfaction with the project after it has been realized (Interview Barrow Borough Council 2013).

When planning for a new project it is important that affected members of the public can express their opinion, not only by electing councilors every few years, but being able to take part in the process and speak their minds about the projects. Therefore the council holds public meeting regarding upcoming plans where members of the public are welcome to listen and discuss if they want to. Many people attend these meetings and discussions tend to get heated as the projects often directly affects certain members of the public, residents of an area undergoing redevelopment for example. Certain buildings may have to be demolished or rents might increase. The use of wind turbines is also a source of heated discussion (Interview Barrow Borough Council 2013).

Another important part of involving the public in the planning processes is to involve children as well. An example of this is when the pupils at St James’ School in Barrow were involved in constructing a new park in the area. The children were asked to write letters to the
council expressing what they wanted in the park. The council discovered that children's ideas were similar to what the council had in mind for the park. The experience that the council got from this project was that it brings the community together when everybody can have their say in the process and that they are generally satisfied with the way that the project (in this case the park) turned out, as an interviewee expressed it: *It hasn’t been vandalized!* (Interview Barrow Borough Council 2013).

It is also an important job for the borough to look at the assets of the town, of course in this case there is the shipbuilding industry involving engineering and manufacturing. The borough council feels that it is important for Barrow to “grow your own”, regarding the education of young people. Therefore they work closely together with BAE Systems and the educational institutions in Barrow, mainly Furness College, in order to develop and improve the education in terms of the students having the skills required for working in the shipbuilding industry. Since it is important for Barrow to keep young people from moving away and to keep expanding the shipbuilding industry, the development and improvement of the education is a key priority. They work together with BAE Systems to create job opportunities, trainee positions and apprenticeships for young people. They also aim to connect with young students and show them the benefits you can get in Barrow by studying engineering. This is especially important at the moment as Barrow gets competition from other manufacturing and industrial towns in Cumbria, and they want to prevent young people from leaving Barrow by making it an attractive choice for them to stay (Interview Barrow Borough Council 2013).

4. DISCUSSION

The analyses presented in this section will answer the initial research questions by relating the empirical results to the proposed theoretical framework.

- *What does the presence of the industry mean for the spatial planning of Barrow?*

When visiting Barrow and while doing this study, it was obvious that the presence of iron and shipbuilding industry in Barrow has been a key factor in the town’s development. The village of Barrowhead started to grow into a town in the mid 1800’s because of the development of industry in the area. The access to iron ore in the local area, and the presence of Furness Railway which was arguably the starting point of Barrow’s economic growth, have been key factors and forces for the development of iron and shipbuilding industry in Barrow. From this point on, the society with the iron and shipbuilding industry as key shaped the built environment that emerged around the industry. One may argue that the industry has been both a push and pull factor in the development of the built environment in Barrow. As the iron and shipbuilding industry has grown in Barrow, so has the built environment and the town around it. The industry pushing the built environment to emerge around it and continue to grow while at the same time being a pull factor in terms of attracting workforce and more people to the town as it grew, forcing it to grow even more when housing and services were needed. This development is evident by looking at the town plans from 1850-1895 on page 21.
Being an industrial town (rather than a town by a different nature, university town for example) Barrow has a specific structure and plan of the built environment. The presence of the industry has created different social classes within the town. Relating back to Pacione’s (2009) theory about the diversion between the social classes capital and labour in industrial cities, this has been clear in Barrow as well when you look at the layout of residential areas for example. The labour class being represented by workforce selling their skills for wages and living in the central residential areas close to the industry, these residential areas historically being characterized by low-income housing, pollution and sometimes social problems. Such areas are clearly visible in Barrow today on Barrow Island and in Vickerstown on Walney (see pictures on page 20). The higher social class, being the one behind the investments in local industries, generally lives in the urban periphery in neighborhoods with more green and open space and larger houses: this is also the case in Barrow.

The development of iron and shipbuilding industry in Barrow pushed the town into emerging and growing as I mentioned earlier. Here we can apply Harvey’s (1985) theory behind circulation of capital. The shipbuilding industry gave work to the citizens giving them more capital for them to spend, creating needs for other services in town. This in turn made the town more attractive and more people came to live and work. This was beneficial for the shipbuilding industry and it continued to grow creating circulation of capital.

Today the shipbuilding industry - and particularly BAE Systems - is still key for the development of Barrow as they are the predominant employer and continues to grow. Many enterprises in Barrow also depend on BAE Systems and its presence since there are many businesses in engineering and manufacturing connected to BAE Systems, local suppliers for example. This is also visible in the education available in Barrow, being characterized by technology and engineering.

- **What roles do BAE Systems and Barrow Borough Council play in the process of governance and physical planning in Barrow?**

This study has proven that the shipbuilding industry, and especially BAE Systems, currently plays a significant role in Barrow. This is a private actor, who provides work as the predominant employer in town and is source for most of the towns economic growth; therefore one may argue that the local community depends on BAE Systems (meaning, the citizens, the council and other actors in town, such as local suppliers for example).

The town of Barrow has emerged because of the shipbuilding industry and Barrow would not probably exist if it was not for its industrial heritage. The local industry and BAE Systems are the core of the town in terms of resources.

Barrow Borough Council represents the local community of Barrow and also the central government. It has been elected by the public to represent their interests and at the same time implement central government policies. This kind of decentralization is used as the borough council has a better idea of the local interests, in terms of what the citizens but also the local enterprises want.

BAE Systems and the Borough Council are the main actors in town (of course others are present) and they participate in partnerships with one another both on a local level through the
local partnership and on a regional level through the LEP. As far as the evidence showed, BAE Systems has a significant influence in Barrow, both in terms of governance and in planning projects. The chair of the local partnership is employed by BAE Systems and is also the vice chair of the LEP so that there is a direct link between those who formulate the idea behind the planning project (in the local partnership) and the decision-makers (in the LEP): this framework gives BAE Systems high level of influence over the outcome of planning projects.

Those connections increase the influence of private actors as they participate in partnerships both on a local level and in the LEP, meaning private actors can have their say from early stages in the planning process and throughout the rest of it.

This involvement of private actors and other actors within the community as well, both in partnerships and acting towards one another is in my opinion an example of governance networks. All the actors have influence over the governance network and they all depend on one another creating a network of interdependence between the actors involved in governing for Barrow.

- What are the consequences of their involvement for the process and the preservation of public interests?

One may argue that the increased involvement of BAE Systems and other private actors have reduced the possibility for members of the public to influence the process of planning and governance in Barrow. When private actors are involved in this way it is important that there is complete transparency towards the general public in order for the process to be legitimate. As Bardhan (2002) argues, this level of decentralization involving private actors to this extent may actually decrease democracy instead of increasing it, by giving private actors much influence and by that neglecting the influence of the general public.

As one of the interviewees said during the interview (Interview Barrow Borough Council 2013) it will be difficult for some private actors to see the greater picture and beyond their own interests when participating in the local partnerships or the LEP. They have to focus on the greater good rather than on their own profit, but we cannot forget the mission of any firm, i.e. making profit, which is also the reason why economic actors are interested in participating in the local partnership.

The general public does have influence as well as they have the power to elect councilors to represent them in the council and they are able to participate and speak at public meeting with the council about planning project, but this will perhaps only influence the actions taken by the council. As the council is only one actor in the governance network the general public may not feel involved in the process which, according to Gilbert (1996), may cause problems. Citizens feeling left out may lose faith in the process causing them to not care which may in fact increase deprivation and social problems. As proven by the council; citizen involvement in the process, such as involving children in the construction of a park for example, makes the citizens more positive towards the project and brings the community together. Therefore the involvement of the council is important for democracy. A democracy that in this case may be
questioned based on the level of private actor involvement in the planning process and governance.

4.1 Conclusion

It is clear that the shipbuilding industry is key for the existence of Barrow. It has caused the town to emerge around it and is still the main resource in town. The iron and shipbuilding industry has shaped the physical layout of Barrow’s built environment by the relationship between the society, as the industrial town of Barrow is, and space which is the town’s geographical location and circumstances. The needs of the shipbuilding industry has been the key push and pull factors for shaping the built environment of Barrow, creating different zones of residential areas for different social classes for example.

The shipbuilding industry has been a push factor also when it comes to capital. The development of the shipbuilding industry created a circulation of capital in the town that was important for the urban development. By these means the development of Barrow’s built environment may be described as the result of social construction.

An important part for the urban planning of Barrow is the governance process. It consists from inter-organizational networks meaning that different actors are involved in the process, not only the government. Within the networks there is a clear state of interdependence between the actors as they act together and depend on one another. In the case of Barrow two important actors in the governance network are Barrow Borough Council as the local authority and BAE Systems as a private actor.

During this study it has become obvious that the involvement of private actors in public affairs is increasing, often be the use of Public-Private Partnerships which is an example of an inter-organizational and interdependent network. In Barrow the use of Public-Private Partnerships is significant as the borough council and BAE Systems are involved in both the local partnership and the regional LEP.

Although, the level of decentralization present in Barrow may be argued to be more of a privatization process rather than increasing the level of democracy and involvement of the general public, because of the general interests of private actors. One may argue that this causes the members of the public to feel neglected by increasing influence to the private actors.

What this study has come to find is that the level of democracy in the governance process and thereby the planning process may be compromised by the involvement of private actors as they may misuse their responsibilities towards the public. It is possible that the private actors neglect the public good and focus on their own interests when involved to this extent. But the question still remains how the development of regeneration can continue to the same efficiency without the involvement of private actors and their access to knowledge, technology, capital and risk management. The level of democracy may increase, but what will the ultimate consequences be for the local society that in this case is in fact is so dependent on a private actor? There is an evident need for further research in this field, which is crucial to understanding the path of development of our towns and cities.
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