countries to which they returned or from which they remained in engaged exile (see, for example, the multiple writings of Sam Selvon, George Lamming or Wole Soyinka). Careful engagement with these voices, with their profound sense of London's trans-nationality, would create the kind of contrapuntal geography advocated by Said and by a growing number of geographers (see Gregory 2005). In the contemporary context, a range of writers have commented on the shared experiences that impact both on London and on a range of places, including the spatially differentiated effects of global insecurity, of global population movements and of global environmental movements (see, amongst others, Bayet-Charlton 2003; Barkawi and Laffey 2006; Mbembe 2001).

Asking geographers to engage more publicly with this effective decentring of London – in terms of building a politics based on shared experiences that do not necessarily emanate from that city but that can be linked with aspects of its contemporary and historical role – does not diffuse the sense of place-centred responsibility advocated by Massey, but extends this to argue for a dialogic partnership between places in tackling problems that affect us all. For Massey, there appears to be a tension between the need to retain the importance of particular local places and the need to conceptualise spaces as open-ended and relational; the 'here' and the 'there' seem to jostle for attention as London attempts to deal with its different priorities and responsibilities, be they economic, social or political.

Massey accordingly attempts to discuss the 'struggle' between the global and the local using the case study of London to consider how a 'world city' is dealing with difference, diversity and inequality in positive ways that encourage ethical responsibility and political engagement. In particular, Massey is critical of the contemporary politics of migration, not least the varied 'hospitality' and 'generosity' we extend to new arrivals, but remains open to the possibility we should limit 'unrestricted migration' to help deal with development issues in the global South. As a response, she outlines new geographical imaginations where the 'local' is respected and carefully held onto as mutually beneficial within the interdependent relationships and networks negotiated between people and places.

As such, Massey still appears to be searching for a 'progressive politics of place' where places and identities can be conceptualised in celebratory, positive ways as hybrid, mixed and globally connected. This very connection supports the need for further detailed empirical studies examining the practices that constitute specific external geographies of cities (and places more generally) as well as the meaning of their wider economic, political, social and cultural networks by following key actors and connections (see Latour 2005). For example, a particular focus might be looking beyond the existing studies of elite migration and financial networking that contribute significantly to Massey's understanding of the spatial concentration of highly skilled professionals in London. Examining the trans-local networks of educational institutions (for instance) might also elucidate some of the ways in which these seats of learning shape external geographies of cities, thereby complicating the frequently invoked dichotomy between centres and peripheries, revealing the potential for a more balanced 'circulation of knowledge' (see Teferra 2005). At the same time, however, such a politics of place needs to take into account other circulations: for example, the circulation of drugs, or the exchange of bodies (and body-parts) among those that constitute the city's underclass – the Dirty, Pretty Things of Stephen Frears' 2004 film of London life. Cities consist of all sorts of networks in which people are differently interpolated as, for example, members of particular class, age, gender, ethnic and religious 'communities'.

Massey is accordingly grappling with ideas that many social scientists have been attempting to deal with, but she does so by paying particular attention to the specificities and politics of London. However, we conclude that there could be more of a focus on the multiple places its people inhabit, the networks they create and the politics they practice, noting that Londoners' lives may often cross but also be constrained by established categories of gender, sexuality, race and ethnicity.

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A global sense of flow?

Doreen Massey has made many contributions to geography over the years, but one feature stands out in her research: she has brought region and place centre stage in developing her radical/emancipatory arguments. This powerful strain in her thinking can be said to culminate in her in-depth treatment of contemporary London as a world city. Although we are told that the book is 'centred on London', she qualifies this by saying 'it is not really only about London', it is a set of ideas that 'arises from London' (p. 12). This is because to understand London you have to understand what goes on beyond London:

> Power relations of all sorts . . . run around the globe and . . . link the fate of other places to what is done in London. This is the other geography (of London), the external geography if you like, of a global sense of place. (p. 7)

At first viewing, this position is exemplary; it certainly appears to chime well with our focus on inter-city relations in contemporary globalization. But a little further thought shows this not to be the case: Massey's global sense of place is in danger of understating the global.

Here, we can employ Allen's (1999) insightful comparison of Sassen's (1991) and Castells' (1996) treatment of 'cities in globalization' as a heuristic device to engage with Massey. According to Allen *et al.*:

> Where the two accounts radically diverge . . . is over the source of the economic power and influence of global cities. For Castells, power is concentrated in

the networked space of flows, whereas for Sassen it is concentrated in those groups who exercise the command-and-control functions embedded in global cities. (1999, 202)

Massey makes numerous references to Sassen's research – but not Castells' (despite her use of the terms 'space of flows' and 'a world of flows': pp. 54, 154). This leads us to suspect that, like Sassen, Massey is thinking within a 'spaces of places' framework. For her, places – and London in particular – are porous and fuzzy, but there is always a sense of inside/outside in the way London is treated as either a source of global neo-liberalism or a point of resistance to it. This does not prevent the identification of the 'disjunction' between 'territorialised politics' and 'another geography of flows and interconnections' (p. 14) which so debilitates contemporary urban radical politics through being 'corralled, and thereby constrained' (p. 151), but it does limit how the 'flows and interconnections' are incorporated into both the geography and its resultant politics in order to confront the disjuncture.

We can see Massey's space of place thinking when she promotes a 'foreign politics' for local authorities (p. 184); when she focuses on 'trajectories' of cities in regions (p. 157); and when she calls for a 'geography of responsibility' (p. 179). Such thinking is particularly central to her key argument on the successful strategy of synecdoche through which the City and its interests are deemed to be the interests of London. This representation of the whole by a single part means that policy is all about London as a global city at the expense of the rest of London (and the UK). This is an example of what is happening in London having resonances in cities across the world. Massey also refers to Robinson's (2002) idea of 'ordinary cities' to banish the concept of 'world city', but this is a classic error of emphasis on place rather than process. Following Jacobs (1969) and Castells (1996), cities can be seen as process, an internal clustering and external networking process. This 'city-ness' is an extraordinary generic force that has expanded economies across the times and spaces of civilization, taking the form of 'world city-ness', the linking of business interests across the world, in the present. The major advantage of thinking in these terms is that unlike place, processes can occur simultaneously in the same location.

Thus London is a world city – it experiences this process more intensively than many other cities – but this is one of many processes that are London-as-process in the early twenty-first century. For radical politics, it is not a matter of un-naming it and hoping this lessens its power, rather it is necessary to understand world city-ness to better confront it. And this cannot be done one city at a time. This is the point of Castells' city process; it is a network mechanism. The network is manifest as a triple-level network: there is a sub-nodal level of business firms as the agents (network makers), a nodal level of the cities, and a network level of the network of cities in the world economy (Taylor 2004). Hence, it is not enough to argue, as Massey does, that 'the economy of a place is a product not only of internal interactions but also of relations with elsewhere' (p. 20). We need to know about the work done by American, Japanese, German, French and Spanish banks in London as part of their global strategies of financial work. We need to know how Clifford Chance became the world's leading law firm not just in its London base but through its global network of law offices. Put simply, the power of world city-ness is in the networks not the places.

Such network thinking requires empirical study to depict process patterns, which is where GaWC contributes (Beaverstock *et al.* 2001; Taylor 2004; Taylor and Aranya 2006). Drawing on such work, the big surprise is the lack of attention given to New York in Massey's attempt to understand London as a world city. Measuring power through networks, these two cities are the twin peaks: the NYLON dyad is 'Main Street, World Economy' (Taylor *et al.* 2002). Note that the unit of interest within the network is relational, city dyads. In 'space of places' terms, such city pairs are seen hierarchically as being in competition, but networks are inherently cooperative, they exist on mutuality. To take another dyad, London and Frankfurt's world city-ness is essentially cooperative despite the common assumption that they compete (Beaverstock *et al.* 2001). Although the 'neoliberal mantra' is that 'cities . . . must compete with each other' (p. 200), it is surely important to know that this is not the way businesses are using cities in the world city process. Therefore a 'progressive politics' cannot simply promote cooperation among cities when this is happening already through the agency of their 'opponents'! This is particularly important for the UK's other cities, which are also underrepresented in this 'external geography' of London. For Massey, London and the South East are pitted against 'the regions' (never Manchester and the North West, Newcastle and the North East, Birmingham and the West Midlands, etc.) so that city dyads are not to the fore. Massey does suggest these regions have 'a colonial relationship' (p. 107) with London and their cities have 'relatively little relational power' (p. 170), but these assertions are made without empirical knowledge of current network patterns: actually, under globalisation, these city-economies appear to be improving through new business networks (Taylor and Aranya 2006) and spatial initiatives like the 'Northern Way' (Harrison 2007; Taylor *et al.* 2007).

It is the politics of Massey's world city that is, perhaps, most fascinating in her argument. As previously noted, the dilemma of place politics in a network world is recognised: Ken Livingstone's attempt to rectify the 'London deficit' – 'a radical mayor' in 'a minefield' (p. 145) – is a wonderful example. Massey's final chapter is on the meaning of her argument for practical politics and it is both the most thoughtful and original chapter and also the most unsatisfactory. The paradox is a function of the subject matter – 'A politics of place beyond place'. There are some dyads here, such as London–Caracas (surely the future is not going to be inter-city barter!?), but there is no sense of overall political strategy. The ideas don't fit together as a political way forward. Previously, Massey (p. 154) had quoted Paul Gilroy's notion of 'cosmopolitan solidarity from below and afar'; we have lots of experience of mobilisation 'from below' through spaces of place but

little mobilisation 'from afar' through spaces of flows. And this is the rub: imagining such a project through our modern political lenses appears to be all but impossible.

To conclude, we return to Allen (1999, 203) and his assertion that 'the question' is 'whether the networks themselves "generate" cities as sites of power through their interconnections or whether cities "run" the networks through their concentration of resources and expertise'. He quickly retracts the crispness of the distinction saying that he 'probably overstates the differences' (p. 203) and we shall do the same here. There is much in Massey's arguments that is compatible with 'networks of cities', although her primary thrust is explicitly place-centred. The approaches are best viewed as complementary, as alternative formulations bringing relational theory into geography. For Massey (p. 171), there is a need 'to challenge the nature of the local place, its role within the wider power-geometries'; all we are adding is that for this to be at all achievable, we need to engage practically with global networks. Massey's alternative geography is a regional one, implying territorial reform; ours is a network geography, a revolution only slowly being invented.

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18 March 2015, Research Showcase, Loughborough University The Centre for Professional Work and Society held a Research Showcase which took place at the School of Business and Economics. The event launched 5 new books which have been written by the centre members. â€œUnderstanding Careers (2nd edition), Kerr Inkson, Nicky Dries and John Arnold, London: Sage. Members of the centre carry out distinctive work across many contemporary topics of importance to work, employment, organisations and society.Â Yet, the formation of professional identity and related employability remain surprisingly under-researched. Candidates will be working in the context of the Centre for Work, Organisation and Society, with researchers developing the topic areas of employability and identity. 2. Understanding the Student Psychological Contract in Business and Management.Â Many questions arise in contemporary work and organisational research in regard to accelerated technological change and corporate risks. Research at Loughborough University London. Loughborough University London continues Loughborough's success as one of the country's top research-led universities; bringing benefit to local and international communities through applied research and sociocultural, interdisciplinary thinking. Students who undertake a research programme with us will have the opportunity to work with top researchers and industry leaders, and gain first-hand experience of industry centred problem solving. You will be actively encouraged to engage with research communities across the globe and you will beco