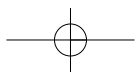
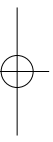
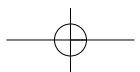
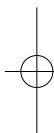
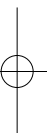


ΧΑΡΟΚΟΠΕΙΟ ΠΑΝΕΠΙΣΤΗΜΙΟ  
ΤΜΗΜΑ ΓΕΩΓΡΑΦΙΑΣ

Αναγόρευση της  
**DOREEN MASSEY**  
σε Επίτιμη Διδάκτορα του  
Τμήματος Γεωγραφίας

Αθήνα, Νοέμβριος 2012





Αναγόρευση της Doreen Massey  
σε Επίτιμη Διδάκτορα

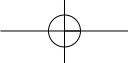
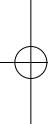
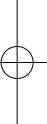
του Τμήματος Γεωγραφίας  
του Χαροκοπείου Πανεπιστημίου

Αθήνα, Νοέμβριος 2012

Award Doreen Massey  
an honorary Doctor's degree

at the Geography Department,  
Harokopio University

Athens, November 2012



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## ΠΡΟΓΡΑΜΜΑ

18:45 Τέλος Προσέλευσης

**19:00 Δημόσια Πανηγυρική Συνεδρίαση  
της Γενικής Συνέλευσης του Τμήματος Γεωγραφίας**

**Προσέλευση της τιμώμενης, των Πρυτανικών Αρχών και του  
Προέδρου του Τμήματος Γεωγραφίας**

**Έναρξη από τον Πρόεδρο του Τμήματος Γεωγραφίας  
Αναπληρωτή Καθηγητή Κοσμά Παυλόπουλο**

### **Προσφώνηση**

από τον Πρύτανη του Χαροκοπέιου Πανεπιστημίου  
Καθηγητή Δημοσθένη Αναγνωστόπουλο

### **Έπαινος της τιμώμενης**

από τον καθηγητή του Τμήματος Γεωγραφίας  
Κωστή Χατζημικάλη

### **Τελετή αναγόρευσης της Doreen Massey σε Επίτιμη Διδά- κτορα του Τμήματος Γεωγραφίας**

Ανάγνωση ψηφίσματος της Γενικής Συνέλευσης  
του Τμήματος Γεωγραφίας από τον Πρόεδρο Αναπληρωτή  
Καθηγητή Κοσμά Παυλόπουλο

Ανάγνωση της Αναγόρευσης και του Διδακτορικού  
Διπλώματος από τον Αντιπρύτανη του Ιδρύματος  
Αναπληρωτή Καθηγητή Απόστολο Παπαδόπουλο

Περιένδυση της τιμώμενης με την τήβεννο του Ιδρύματος  
και επίδοση τιμητικής πλακέτας από τον Πρύτανη Καθηγητή  
Δημοσθένη Αναγνωστόπουλο και την Αντιπρύτανη  
Αναπληρώτρια Καθηγήτρια Ευαγγελία Γεωργιτσογιάννη

### **Αντιφώνηση και ομιλία της επίτιμης διδάκτορας Doreen Massey**

με θέμα:

*«Ριζοσπαστική χωρικότητα και το ζήτημα της δημοκρατίας»*

**20:30 Λήξη Δημόσιας Πανηγυρικής Συνεδρίασης Γενικής  
Συνέλευσης Τμήματος Γεωγραφίας**

## **PROGRAMME**

**18:45** Last admission

**19:00 Public Ceremonial Assembly of the Department  
of Geography**

**Arrival of the honorand, the University's Chancellor  
and Vice-Chancellors, and the Head of the Department  
of Geography**

### **Opening**

By the Head of the Department of Geography,  
Associate Professor Kosmas Pavlopoulos

### **Address**

By the Chancellor of Harokopio University,  
Professor Demosthenes Anagnostopoulos

### **Commendation**

By Professor Costis Hadjimichalis, Department of Geography

**Ceremony to award Doreen Massey an honorary Doctorate  
at the Department of Geography**

Reading of the Geography Department's resolution  
by Kosmas Pavlopoulos, Associate Professor,  
Head of the Department of Geography

Reading of the award resolution and the honorary doctorate  
by Apostolos Papadopoulos, Associate Professor,  
Vice-Chancellor of Harokopio University

Dressing of the honorand with the University gown  
and presentation of an honorary plate by Professor  
Demosthenes Anagnostopoulos, Harokopio University  
Chancellor and Associate Professor Evangelia  
Georgitsogianni, Vice-Chancellor.

### **Response and address by Doreen Massey**

*"Radical Spatiality and the question of Democracy"*

**20:30 End of the Public Ceremonial Assembly  
of the Department of Geography**



**ΧΑΡΟΚΟΠΕΙΟ ΠΑΝΕΠΙΣΤΗΜΙΟ,  
ΤΜΗΜΑ ΓΕΩΓΡΑΦΙΑΣ**

**ΠΡΑΚΤΙΚΑ Γενικής Συνέλευσης 139/05.04.2012**

Η Γενική Συνέλευση του Τμήματος Γεωγραφίας, ύστερα από πρόσκληση του Προέδρου του κ. Κ. Παυλόπουλου, συγκεντρώθηκε σήμερα 5<sup>η</sup> Απριλίου 2012 ημέρα Πέμπτη και ώρα 12.00 μ.μ. στην αίθουσα Σεμιναρίων του Τμήματος για την πραγματοποίηση της 139<sup>ης</sup> συνεδρίας της.

Παρόντες:

Μέλη ΔΕΠ: Κ. Παυλόπουλος, Αικ. Λαζαρίδη, Χ. Χαλκιάς, Α. Παπαδόπουλος, Κ. Σαπουντζάκη, Ι. Παρχαρίδης, Π. Κατσαφάδος, Σ. Σκορδίλη, Γ. Κρητικός, Κ. Χατζημιχάλης, Θ. Μαλούτας, Ε. Στεφανάκης

**Εκπρόσωποι Φοιτητών: -**

Εκπρόσωποι Μεταπτυχιακών Φοιτητών: Χ. Λουκάκης  
Εκπρόσωποι Μελών ΕΤΕΠ: Χ. Γεωργαντοπούλου

**ΘΕΜΑΤΑ ΗΜΕΡΗΣΙΑΣ ΔΙΑΤΑΞΗΣ**

1. Ανακοινώσεις – Αιτήσεις
2. Αίτηση ανάκλησης του καθεστώτος μερικής απασχόλησης από τον κ. Στεφανάκη
3. Αίτηση μέλους ΔΕΠ για τριετή άδεια άνευ αποδοχών
4. Εξέλιξη μέλους ΕΤΕΠ Τμήματος
5. Πρόταση ανακήρυξης της Ομότιμης Καθηγήτριας Doreen Massey ως επίτιμης διδάκτορος του Τμήματος
6. Οικονομικά
7. Εκπαιδευτικά
8. Φοιτητικά
9. Διάφορα

Πρακτικά τηρεί η Γραμματέας του Τμήματος Ε. Γράνικα.  
Αφού διαπιστώνεται απαρτία αρχίζει η συνεδρίαση.

**ΧΑΡΟΚΟΠΕΙΟ ΠΑΝΕΠΙΣΤΗΜΙΟ  
ΤΜΗΜΑ ΓΕΩΓΡΑΦΙΑΣ**

**ΑΠΟΣΠΑΣΜΑ ΠΡΑΚΤΙΚΩΝ ΓΕΝΙΚΗΣ ΣΥΝΕΛΕΥΣΗΣ  
139/05.04.2012**

**ΘΕΜΑ 5<sup>ο</sup> : Πρόταση ανακήρυξης της Ομότιμης Καθηγήτριας Doreen Massey ως επίτιμης διδάκτορος του Τμήματος Γεωγραφίας**

Ο Πρόεδρος εισηγείται στη Γ.Σ. την αναγόρευση της κ. Doreen Massey, η οποία έχει στηρίξει σημαντικά το Τμήμα από τα πρώτα χρόνια δημιουργίας του, ως Επίτιμης Διδάκτορος στο Τμήμα Γεωγραφίας κατόπιν πρότασης του κ. Κ. Χατζημιχάλη.

Ο κ. Χατζημιχάλης αναφέρει ότι όπως επεσήμανε και σε σύντομη επιστολή του προς τον Πρόεδρο, η κ. Massey είναι μία διεθνώς γνωστή Γεωγράφος, η οποία μέχρι τη συνταξιοδότηση της πριν 2 χρόνια ήταν Καθηγήτρια και Πρόεδρος στο Τμήμα Γεωγραφίας στο Ανοικτό Πανεπιστήμιο του Ηνωμένου Βασιλείου. Είναι γνωστή και στο Πανεπιστήμιο από τα αρχικά σεμινάρια προετοιμασίας λειτουργίας του Τμήματος, τις διαλέξεις αλλά και τα σχετικά βιβλία και άρθρα της που χρησιμοποιούνται μεταφρασμένα τακτικά στα μαθήματα. Είναι διεθνώς γνωστή για το έργο της, με πολλές βραβεύσεις, μεταξύ των οποίων συγκαταλέγεται και η απονομή του βραβείου “Prix International Vautrin Lud”, που είναι αντίστοιχο του βραβείου Νόμπελ για τη Γεωγραφία.

Ως εκ τούτου, η κ. Massey υπερκαλύπτει όλες τις προϋποθέσεις που θα μπορούσε να θέσει το Τμήμα για να ανακηρύξει κάποιον Επίτιμο/η Διδάκτορα.

Η Γενική συνέλευση αποφασίζει ομόφωνα και εγκρίνει την εισήγηση του Προέδρου ως έχει.



ΧΑΡΟΚΟΠΕΙΟ ΠΑΝΕΠΙΣΤΗΜΙΟ  
ΤΜΗΜΑ ΓΕΩΓΡΑΦΙΑΣ  
ΕΛ. ΒΕΝΙΖΕΛΟΥ 70, 176 71 ΑΘΗΝΑ – ΤΗΛ. : 9549100, FAX: 9577050

## Ψ Η Φ Ι Σ Μ Α

ΕΠΕΙΔΗ Η

**DOREEN BARBARA MASSEY**

**Ομότιμη Καθηγήτρια του Open University, ΗΒ**

ΣΥΝΕΒΑΛΕ ΚΑΘΟΡΙΣΤΙΚΑ ΣΤΗΝ ΕΡΕΥΝΑ ΚΑΙ ΣΤΗΝ ΜΕΛΕΤΗ ΤΗΣ ΑΝΘΡΩΠΟΓΕΩΓΡΑΦΙΑΣ, ΣΤΗΝ ΠΡΟΩΘΗΣΗ ΚΑΙΝΟΤΟΜΩΝ ΙΔΕΩΝ ΚΑΙ ΜΕΘΟΔΩΝ ΓΙΑ ΤΗΝ ΚΑΤΑΝΟΗΣΗ ΤΟΥ ΧΩΡΟΥ ΚΑΙ ΤΟΥ ΤΟΠΟΥ ΚΑΘΩΣ ΚΑΙ ΣΤΗΝ ΔΙΔΑΣΚΑΛΙΑ ΚΑΙ ΕΜΠΡΑΚΤΗ ΕΦΑΡΜΟΓΗ ΤΟΥΣ ΣΤΟ ΗΝΩΜΕΝΟ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΙΟ ΚΑΙ ΣΕ ΧΩΡΕΣ ΤΗΣ ΛΑΤΙΝΙΚΗΣ ΑΜΕΡΙΚΗΣ

ΚΑΙ ΕΠΕΙΔΗ

ΠΑΡΗΓΑΓΕ ΣΤΟΥΣ ΤΟΜΕΙΣ ΑΥΤΟΥΣ ΙΔΙΑΙΤΕΡΑ ΠΡΩΤΟΤΥΠΟ ΕΠΙΣΤΗΜΟΝΙΚΟ ΕΡΓΟ, ΤΟ ΟΠΟΙΟ ΕΧΕΙ ΤΥΧΕΙ ΔΙΕΘΝΟΥΣ ΑΝΑΓΝΩΡΙΣΗΣ ΚΑΙ ΔΙΑΚΡΙΘΗΚΕ ΩΣ ΑΚΑΔΗΜΑΪΚΗ ΚΑΘΗΓΗΤΡΙΑ ΚΑΙ ΕΡΕΥΝΗΤΡΙΑ

Η Γ.Σ. ΤΟΥ ΤΜΗΜΑΤΟΣ ΓΕΩΓΡΑΦΙΑΣ ΤΟΥ ΧΑΡΟΚΟΠΕΙΟΥ ΠΑΝΕΠΙΣΤΗΜΙΟΥ ΑΠΟΦΑΣΙΣΕ ΟΜΟΦΩΝΑ ΝΑ ΤΗΝ ΑΝΑΓΟΡΕΥΣΕΙ

### ΕΠΙΤΙΜΗ ΔΙΔΑΚΤΟΡΑ

ΤΟΥ ΤΜΗΜΑΤΟΣ ΓΕΩΓΡΑΦΙΑΣ ΤΟΥ ΧΑΡΟΚΟΠΕΙΟΥ ΠΑΝΕΠΙΣΤΗΜΙΟΥ, ΝΑ ΑΝΑΓΡΑΦΕΙ ΣΕ ΜΕΜΒΡΑΝΗ ΤΟ ΠΑΡΟΝ ΨΗΦΙΣΜΑ, ΝΑ ΑΝΑΓΝΩΣΘΕΙ ΚΑΙ ΝΑ ΕΠΙΔΟΘΕΙ ΣΤΗΝ ΤΙΜΩΜΕΝΗ ΑΠΟ ΤΟΝ ΠΡΥΤΑΝΗ ΤΟΥ ΠΑΡΑΠΑΝΩ ΠΑΝΕΠΙΣΤΗΜΙΟΥ ΣΕ ΕΙΔΙΚΗ ΤΕΛΕΤΗ ΠΟΥ ΘΑ ΓΙΝΕΙ ΤΗΝ 12<sup>Η</sup> ΤΟΥ ΜΗΝΟΣ ΝΟΕΜΒΡΙΟΥ ΤΟΥ ΕΤΟΥΣ ΔΥΟ ΧΙΛΙΑΔΕΣ ΔΩΔΕΚΑ

Ο ΠΡΟΕΔΡΟΣ  
ΤΟΥ ΤΜΗΜΑΤΟΣ ΓΕΩΓΡΑΦΙΑΣ

ΚΟΣΜΑΣ ΠΑΥΛΟΠΟΥΛΟΣ  
ΑΝΑΠΛΗΡΩΤΗΣ ΚΑΘΗΓΗΤΗΣ

**ΕΛΛΗΝΙΚΗ ΔΗΜΟΚΡΑΤΙΑ**  
**ΧΑΡΟΚΟΠΕΙΟ ΠΑΝΕΠΙΣΤΗΜΙΟ**

**Ψ Η Φ Ι Σ Μ Α**

**ΕΠΕΙΔΗ Η**  
**DOREEN BARBARA MASSEY**  
**Ομότιμη Καθηγήτρια του Open University, ΗΒ**

συνέβαλε καθοριστικά στην έρευνα και μελέτη της ανθρωπογεωγραφίας, στην προώθηση καινοτόμων ιδεών και μεθόδων για την κατανόηση του χώρου και του τόπου καθώς και στη διδασκαλία και έμπρακτη εφαρμογή τους στο Ηνωμένο Βασίλειο και σε χώρες της Λατινικής Αμερικής

και επειδή

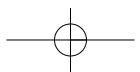
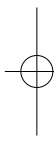
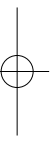
παρήγαγε στους τομείς αυτούς ιδιαίτερα πρωτότυπο επιστημονικό έργο, το οποίο έχει τύχει διεθνούς αναγνώρισης και διακρίθηκε ως ακαδημαϊκή καθηγήτρια και ερευνήτρια

Η Σύγκλητος αποφασίζει ομόφωνα να την αναγορεύσει

**ΕΠΙΤΙΜΗ ΔΙΔΑΚΤΟΡΑ**

του Τμήματος Γεωγραφίας του Χαροκοπείου Πανεπιστημίου, να αναγραφεί σε μεμβράνη το παρόν ψήφισμα, να αναγνωρισθεί και θα επιδοθεί στην τιμώμενη από τον Πρύτανη του παραπάνω Πανεπιστημίου σε ειδική τελετή που θα γίνει την 12<sup>η</sup> του μηνός Νοεμβρίου του έτους δύο χιλιάδες δώδεκα.

Ο Πρύτανης  
Καθηγητής  
Δημοσθένης Αναγνωστόπουλος



## Έπαινος για την Doreen Massey Του Κωστή Χατζημιχάλη

Είναι μεγάλη χαρά που έχουμε σήμερα μαζί μας για άλλη μια φορά την Doreen Massey. Στη συγκυρία της βαθειάς και πολύπλευρης κρίσης που βιώνουμε ως κοινωνία, ως δημόσιο πανεπιστήμιο αλλά και ως Τμήμα Γεωγραφίας, η παρουσία της εδώ είναι έμπρακτη συμπαράσταση. Τιμώντας στο πρόσωπο της την γεωγράφο, την καθηγήτρια, τη φεμινίστρια και την αριστερή δημόσια διανοούμενη, το Τμήμα Γεωγραφίας του Χαροκοπέιου Πανεπιστημίου τιμά και τον εαυτό του. Όπως της αρέσει να σημειώνει, η τιμή που της αποδίδεται σήμερα είναι σχεσιακή: περιλαμβάνει την αποδοχή του επαίνου και την ανταπόδοση του, κάτι που έχει υλοποιήσει άμεσα με τις παρουσίες της στο Τμήμα και γενικότερα στην Ελλάδα και έμμεσα με το έργο της, ιδιαίτερα αυτό που έχει μεταφραστεί στα ελληνικά.

Σε πρόσφατη τηλεοπτική συνέντευξη στο Κέντρο Πολιτισμού της Βαρκελώνης και στην ερώτηση τι σημαίνει γι' αυτήν ο δημόσιος χώρος, η Doreen απαντά, σε ελεύθερη δική μου μετάφραση, ότι:

«...είναι μια αρένα για να συγκροτηθεί με διαβουλεύσεις ο συλλογικός χώρος. Ο δημόσιος χώρος υπόκειται σε γεωμετρικές δυνάμεις, με συμφωνίες και αντιδικίες αλλά πάντα προϋποθέτει συλλογική χρήση και όχι ατομική. Καθήκον μας ως προσοδευτικών γεωγράφων και δραστήριων πολιτών είναι η ανάδειξη των δημοκρατικών πτυχών συγκρότησης του δημόσιου ως συλλογικού χώρου, χωρίς αποκλεισμούς και διακρίσεις».

Ας κρατήσουμε μερικές έννοιες-κλειδιά από τα παραπάνω: τη διαφορά μεταξύ δημόσιου και συλλογικού, τη διαβούλευση, τις γεωμετρικές δύναμης, τον χώρο χωρίς αποκλεισμούς και διακρίσεις. Είναι έννοιες που διατρέχουν το σύνολο του έργου της, χαρακτηρίζουν τη προσωπική της ζωή και εισάγουν στην πολύπλευρη προσωπικότητα που τιμάμε σήμερα. Δεν είναι φυσικά δυνατό να συνοψίσω σε μια σύντομη παρουσίαση τη δραστηριότητα της από το 1960 μέχρι σήμερα. Θα αναφερθώ συνοπτικά και επιλεκτικά σε ορισμένες δημοσιεύσεις, στην εμπειρία ως καθηγήτριας στο Open University (OU) και στη δράση της ως πολιτικά ενεργής πολίτιδας και φεμινίστριας-ακτιβίστριας, μέσα και έξω από θεσμούς.

Η Doreen Barbara Massey γεννήθηκε στο Μάντσεστερ σε μια από τις δύσκολες εργατικές συνοικίες με μεγάλη πυκνότητα εργατικών κατοικιών. Οι φιλεργατικές κοινωνικές πολιτικές του μεταπολεμικού ΗΒ της επέτρεψαν να ολοκληρώσει τη μέση εκπαίδευση σε καλά σχολεία μέχρι το Πανεπιστήμιο της Οξφόρδης όπου σπούδασε γεωγραφία. Στην Οξφόρδη, βιώνοντας την ταξική και την έμφυλη διαφορά με τους ελίτ συμφοιτητές της, ριζοσπαστικοποιείται και αρχίζει να δραστηριοποιείται πολιτικά και φεμινιστικά. Η πρώτη της εργασία είναι στο Center for Environmental Studies (CES) στο Λονδίνο, τη σημαδιακή χρονιά του 1968, όπου ασχολείται με τον περιφερειακό προγραμματισμό και την εφαρμογή μοντέλων βιομηχανικής χωροθέτησης.

Στις αρχές της δεκαετίας του 1970 πηγαίνει για μεταπτυχιακές σπουδές στο Πανεπιστήμιο της Πενσυλβάνιας στις ΗΠΑ. Η επιστροφή της στο Λονδίνο στο CES συμπίπτει με τις απαρχές της αποβιομηχάνισης του ΗΒ και σηματοδοτεί για την ίδια μια στροφή προς ριζοσπαστικές προσεγγίσεις της βιομηχανικής χωροθέτησης. Το 1973 δημοσιεύει στο *Antipode* το κλασικό κείμενο *Towards a critique of industrial location theory* και ακολουθούν τρία βιβλία σε συνεργασία με τον Richard Meegan σχετικά με τη βιομηχανική αναδιάρθρωση και

τις χωρικές ανισότητες. Οι εργασίες αυτές συνέβαλαν σημαντικά στον επαναπροσδιορισμό των ζητημάτων γύρω από τα οποία αρθρώνεται η γεωγραφική συζήτηση (στο HB και όχι μόνο), αναδεικνύοντας την εργασία (και την έλλειψη της) ως σημαντικό παράγοντα για την κατανόηση και ερμηνεία των περιφερειακών ανισοτήτων. Στην πιο πάνω συζήτηση, σταθμό αποτελεί το βιβλίο της *Spatial Divisions of Labour* (Massey 1985/ δεύτερη έκδοση 1995), όπου επεξεργάζεται παραπέρα τις χωροθετικές επιλογές των επιχειρήσεων από μια οπτική με επίκεντρο την εργασία (και τις διαφορετικές μορφές της), εισάγοντας την έννοια του *χωρικού καταμερισμού της εργασίας*. Χρησιμοποιεί μια «γεωλογική μεταφορά», όπως έχει αποκληθεί, για να αναφερθεί στις διαδοχικές φάσεις ανάπτυξης μιας περιφέρειας –οι οποίες αποτυπώνονται σαν γεωλογικά στρώματα- με βάση το ιστορικά διαμορφωμένο παραγωγικό της παρελθόν και τις μεταβολές του ρόλου της στο χωρικό καταμερισμό της εργασίας. Οι κοινωνικές σχέσεις, όπως υποστηρίζει η Doreen, δεν αναπτύσσονται απλώς στο χώρο, αλλά αποτελούν φορείς και παραγωγούς χωρικών σχέσεων. Το βιβλίο σήμανε αλλαγή παραδείγματος στην οικονομική γεωγραφία και όπως υπογραμμίζει ο Phelps (2008:83):

«...Αποτελεί ταυτόχρονα μια κριτική στη θεωρία της χωροθέτησης και της υπάρχουσας οικονομικής γεωγραφίας και μια νέα προσέγγιση για να αντιληφθούμε την άνιση οικονομική ανάπτυξη. Πρόκειται για ένα θεωρητικό επίτευγμα και ταυτόχρονα για μια εμπειρική και αναλυτική διερεύνηση της συγκεκριμένης θεωρητικής προσέγγισης.» (δική μου μετάφραση)

Μετά από μια σύντομη παραμονή στο τμήμα γεωγραφίας του Berkeley, το 1982 εκλέγεται καθηγήτρια στο ΟΥ όπου, όπως η ίδια λέει σε μια συνέντευξη (βλ. Massey 1998, σελ. 85), «...πίστευα ότι ήταν ένα μέρος όπου θα μπορούσα να είμαι διανοούμενη, δασκάλα και ερευνήτρια χωρίς να βρίσκομαι μέσα σε ένα πιο τυπικό πανεπιστήμιο». Στο Τμήμα Γεωγραφίας ήταν για πολλά χρόνια πρό-



εδρος και συνέβαλε στη διαμόρφωση ενός δυναμικού πυρήνα διδασκόντων και ερευνητών/τριών, καθώς και στη συγγραφή πολλών καινοτόμων διδακτικών βιβλίων. Τα ιδιαίτερα χαρακτηριστικά του ΟΥ επίσης σημαίνουν μια πρόκληση και μια δέσμευση για τη γεωγραφία της Massey. Οι προπτυχιακοί φοιτητές έχουν πολύ ιδιαίτερα χαρακτηριστικά: αφού πρόκειται για εξ αποστάσεως εκπαίδευση, συχνά μιλάμε για φοιτητές που δεν διαθέτουν μια συγκεκριμένη δυναμική σπουδών, και κατά, κύριο λόγο, αποτελούν εξαιρετικά διαφορετικές και διάσπαρτες περιπτώσεις. Μπορεί να είναι νοικοκυρές, άνεργοι, έγκλειστοι σε φυλακές ή ακόμα και στρατιώτες στα υποβρύχιά τους. Άτομα που δύσκολα θα μπορούσαν να είχαν πρόσβαση σε οποιοδήποτε από τα άλλα βρετανικά πανεπιστήμια με υποχρεωτικές παρουσίες. Έτσι, ο διδακτικός προγραμματισμός που αναπτύχθηκε από τη Massey βασίζεται στο να γοητεύσει τους φοιτητές ώστε να μελετούν και να ενδιαφέρονται για τη γεωγραφία. Γι' αυτό το λόγο η δημιουργία των εγχειριδίων σε απλή και κατανοητή γλώσσα με πολλά παραδείγματα και παράλληλα η δημιουργία των προγραμμάτων του ραδιοφώνου και της τηλεόρασης που συνοδεύουν τα βιβλία έχουν ουσιαστική σημασία για να προσεγγίσει αυτό το τόσο ποικίλο και τόσο απαιτητικό φοιτητικό κοινό. Σε συνεργασία με τον John Allen και τους άλλους συναδέλφους στο ΟΥ έχουν συντάξει μερικά λαμπρά εγχειρίδια-κλειδιά όπως τα: *Geography Matters!* (1984, και στα ελληνικά το 2001 από το ΕΑΠ), *The Economy in Question* (1988), *Geographical Worlds* (1986), *Uneven Re-Development: Cities and Regions in Transition* (1988). Πολλά από τα κείμενα και video του ΟΥ χρησιμοποιούμε και στο Τμήμα μας.

Η Massey επενδύει στο σύνολο της γεωγραφικής γνώσης από τις πιο περίπλοκες διεργασίες της φυσικής γεωγραφίας μέχρι τις πιο εκλεπτυσμένες έννοιες και διαδικασίες της οικονομικής, πολιτικής και κοινωνικής γεωγραφίας. Παρά το γεγονός ότι είναι αναγνωρισμένη ως οικονομική και πολιτική γεωγράφος, έχει ευρύτερες γνώ-

σεις γεωμορφολογίας, κλιματολογίας και υδρολογίας και είναι βαθειά γνώστρια των drumlins, αυτών των ιδιόμορφων ανάγλυφων σχηματισμών παγετώδους προέλευσης. Είναι επίσης γνωστή η προσπάθειά της για τη γεφύρωση του, περιττού για την ίδια, χάσματος μεταξύ φυσικής και ανθρώπινης γεωγραφίας. Υποστηρίζει όμως ότι ακόμα κι αυτή τη φυσική γεωγραφία πρέπει να την αντιληφθούμε στο πλαίσιο της κοινωνίας και του κοινωνικού, σε ένα πολιτικό και οικονομικό πλαίσιο, αλλιώς δεν κάνουμε γεωγραφία αλλά γεωλογία.

Το 1991, δυο χρόνια μετά τη πτώση του Τείχους του Βερολίνου και στην απαρχή της βίαιης έκρηξης των ιδιαιτεροτήτων του τόπου (εθνική καθαρότητα, διάλυση της Γιουγκοσλαβίας και της Σοβιετικής Ένωσης) και της ανάδυσης εθνικισμών και τοπικισμών, η Massey δημοσίευσε το «A Global Sense of Place». Ένα μη επιστημονικό άρθρο, με την αυστηρή έννοια, το οποίο φιλοδοξούσε να γνωρίσει στο ευρύτερο κοινό την έννοια των τόπων ως παραγόμενων σχεσιακά, των οποίων η ιδιαιτερότητα δεν είναι το αποτέλεσμα της απομόνωσής και της κλειστότητας αλλά των σχέσεων με άλλους τόπους. Το κείμενο αυτό έχει μεγάλη απήχηση και έχει μεταφραστεί σε πολλές γλώσσες και στα ελληνικά. Ασκεί έντονη κριτική στις παραδοσιακές αντιλήψεις, γεωγραφικές και μη, οι οποίες συνδέουν την ταυτότητα ενός τόπου με υποθέσεις περί αυθεντικότητας, μοναδικότητας και περιχαράκωσης. Υπογραμμίζει με πολλά παραδείγματα από τη δική της γειτονιά στο Λονδίνο, το Kilburn, ότι οι τόποι έχουν όντως χαρακτήρα, ταυτότητα και ατμόσφαιρα, αλλά αυτά δεν προέρχονται μόνο από εσωτερικά και αποκλειστικά τοπικά χαρακτηριστικά αλλά και από τις σχέσεις και ανταλλαγές με άλλους μακρινούς τόπους, με την παρουσία και συγκατοίκηση με τους «Άλλους» που ζουν και εργάζονται στο Kilburn. Απόψεις ενάντια σε τοπικιστικές, εθνικιστικές και ρατσιστικές προσεγγίσεις, τόσο επίκαιρες και στη δική μας Αθήνα.

Ιδιαίτερα σημαντική είναι η έκδοση του βιβλίου *Space, place and gender* το 1994. Παρ' όλο που τα περισσότερα κείμενα που περιλαμβάνει είχαν δημοσιευτεί και παλιότερα, στο βιβλίο αυτό αναπτύσσεται με ιδιαίτερα συγκροτημένο και προσιτό τρόπο μια επιχειρηματολογία που η Massey επεξεργάζεται σταδιακά από τη δεκαετία 1970, για το χώρο και τον τόπο. Όπως τονίζουμε στο βιβλίο με την Ντίνα Βαΐου (βλ. Βαΐου, Χατζημικήλης, 2012: 155), σημαντική συνεισφορά στην επιχειρηματολογία αυτή είναι η οπτική του φύλου στη μελέτη του χώρου και του τόπου. Όπως η ίδια έχει αναφέρει, αν και δραστηριοποιείται πολιτικά ως φεμινίστρια από τη δεκαετία 1960, για ένα μεγάλο διάστημα αναρωτιόταν «πώς να εντάξει τον φεμινισμό» στη δουλειά της. «Ανέφερα τις γυναίκες, έκανα σκληρά σχόλια για τους άνδρες, έκανα όλα αυτά τα κλασικά πράγματα, αλλά δεν έβαζα μια φεμινιστική θεωρία στη δουλειά μου. Οι συζητήσεις στις οποίες συμμετείχα στο γυναικείο κίνημα δεν είχαν σχέση με όσα συζητούνταν στη φεμινιστική γεωγραφία» (Massey 1998, σελ. 87). Έτσι, οι προβληματισμοί του φεμινισμού εισάγονται στη δουλειά της όταν προβληματοποιείται η έννοια του φύλου ως αναφορά στις γυναίκες (και ιδίως σε γυναίκες με συγκεκριμένα χαρακτηριστικά και επιλογές ζωής) και συνδέεται με τη συζήτηση για τη σεξουαλικότητα και την ταυτότητα. Μέσα από την οπτική αυτή, που επιτρέπει σύνθετες και αντι-ουσιακρατικές αναλύσεις για τη σχέση φύλου και χώρου, επανεξετάζει τους τρόπους με τους οποίους συγκροτείται ο τόπος και ο χώρος, καθώς και τη σημασία τους για την κατανόηση του φύλου και των έμφυλων σχέσεων.

Παράλληλα με την ακαδημαϊκή και ερευνητική της δραστηριότητα είναι ενεργά παρούσα, με αρθρογραφία, συνεντεύξεις, εκπομπές στο ραδιόφωνο και την τηλεόραση, για μια σειρά θέματα που απασχόλησαν στη Μ. Βρετανία το δημόσιο διάλογο σε μεταβαλλόμενες συγκυρίες (αποβιομηχάνιση και ανεργία, περιφερειακή πολιτική, ζητήματα τοπικής ανάπτυξης κοκ). Στα μέσα της

δεκαετίας 1980 προσκαλείται από την τότε κυβέρνηση των Σαντινίστας στη Νικαράγουα, ως σύμβουλος σε θέματα τοπικής και περιφερειακής ανάπτυξης (βλ. το σχετικό βιβλίο της, Massey 1987). Την ίδια περίοδο συμμετέχει και στο Greater London Enterprise Board (GLEB), μια μονάδα που συγκροτήθηκε στα πλαίσια του Μητροπολιτικής Διοίκησης του Λονδίνου, με αντικείμενο τη διαμόρφωση μιας στρατηγικής για τη βιομηχανική αναδιάρθρωση υπέρ των εργαζομένων (βλ. συνέντευξη στο ANTI, 1986). Είναι τακτική συνεργάτιδα πολλών εφημερίδων και περιοδικών και από το 1996, μαζί με τους Stuart Hall και Michael Rustin, είναι εκδότες του πολιτικού/πολιτιστικού περιοδικού *Soundings*.

Όταν το Εθνικό Αφρικανικό Κογκρέσο ήρθε στην εξουσία στη Νότια Αφρική το 1994, προσκάλεσαν τη Massey και δυο ακόμη Αγγλίδες καθηγήτριες να συμμετάσχουν στη συγκρότηση των ερευνητικών ομάδων για να συμβάλουν στον μακροοικονομικό σχεδιασμό. Οι τρεις τους δούλεψαν μαζί με την Πρόεδρο του Κοινοβουλίου της Νοτίου Αφρικής και συνέταξαν μια σειρά αναφορών που κατέληξαν σε προτάσεις φεμινιστικής παρέμβασης στα οικονομικά αναπτυξιακά σχέδια. Η δεύτερη δραστηριότητα της Massey στη Νότια Αφρική ήταν να συζητήσει με διαφορετικούς ανθρώπους για προβλήματα περισσότερο γεωγραφικά: τη συγκρότηση και το νέο ρόλο των περιοχών και την αποκέντρωση της χώρας. Το θέμα ήταν περίπλοκο γιατί μέχρι εκείνη τη στιγμή ο χωρισμός σε περιοχές (με τη μορφή των *Bantustan*) θεωρείτο καθαυτό μέρος του Απαρτχάιντ.

Το 2005 και το 2009 κυκλοφορούν δυο ακόμη βιβλία-σταθμοί: το *For Space* (στα ελληνικά το 2009) και το *World City*. Στο πρώτο οργανώνει και συστηματοποιεί μεγάλο μέρος των θεωρητικών και επιστημονικών προτάσεων οι οποίες υπήρχαν στη δουλειά της τα προηγούμενα χρόνια και έχουν αναδείξει το χώρο και τη χωρικότητα, όπως και τη σχέση τους με τα καινούργια κοινωνικά κινήματα. Στο δεύτερο, βασιζόμενη στη πολυετή

εμπειρία αλλά και στράτευση σε ζητήματα της ανάπτυξης του Λονδίνου εισάγει την έννοια της *γεωγραφικής ευθύνης* και υποστηρίζει ότι η χρηματική και οικονομική επιτυχία της πόλης σχετίζεται με την αυξανόμενη ανέχεια και ανισότητα στον κόσμο, στο ΗΒ αλλά και στο εσωτερικό της μητρόπολης.

Ο τίτλος του βιβλίου της *Για το Χώρο* νομίζω ότι έχει άμεση αναφορά στον Αλτουσέρ και στο *Για τον Μαρξ*. Όπως υποστηρίζει η ίδια η επαφή της με το έργο του Αλτουσέρ την βοήθησε να ξεπεράσει την ουσιοκρατία που υπάρχει σε πολλά κείμενα του Μαρξ και να αναπτύξει φιλοσοφικές και πολιτικές ιδέες που επηρεάστηκαν από άλλους στοχαστές όπως ο Αντόνιο Γκράμσι και σύγχρονους όπως ο Stuart Hall, η Chantal Mouffe, ο Ernesto Laclau και ο Michael Rustin. Τρία σημαντικά σημεία αναδεικνύονται στις σελίδες του βιβλίου:

1. Ο χώρος είναι προϊόν αλληλεξαρτήσεων, συγκροτείται μέσω αλληλεπιδράσεων από το παγκόσμιο ως το τοπικό. Με την έννοια αυτή ο χώρος και η χωρικότητα είναι αναπόσπαστο μέρος και προϊόν της διαδικασίας συγκρότησης ταυτοτήτων, όπως και πολιτικών υποκειμένων.

2. Ο χώρος είναι η σφαίρα της δυνατότητας να υπάρχει πολλαπλότητα, να συνυπάρχουν ξεχωριστές τροχιές, να υπάρχουν περισσότερες από μία φωνές/εκδοχές για «την πραγματικότητα». Η χωρικότητα είναι μία από τις συνιστώσες συγκρότησης της διαφοράς, η οποία δεν επιτρέπει να θεωρούμε τη ματιά της Δύσης ως συνολική και καθολική.

3. Ακριβώς εξ αιτίας των πιο πάνω, ο χώρος δεν είναι ποτέ μια παγιωμένη οντότητα ή ένα κλειστό σύστημα, βρίσκεται συνεχώς «εν τω γίνεσθαι». Από μια τέτοια οπτική, το μέλλον αναδύεται ως «ανοικτό», χωρίς δηλαδή να υπάρχει μια προδιαγεγραμμένη ή γνωστή κατεύθυνση προόδου, ανάπτυξης, εκσυγχρονισμού, πράγμα που απαιτεί διαφορετικές προσεγγίσεις της πολιτικής (βλ. Βαΐου, Χατζημικιάλης, 2012: 158).

Στο *World City* αναλύει την δεσπόζουσα οικονομική θέση του Λονδίνου στο ΗΒ αλλά και στον κόσμο και υπογραμμίζει ότι το Λονδίνο έγινε μια πλούσια μητρόπολη του παγκόσμιου καπιταλισμού έχοντας εγκαθιδρύσει ένα πλέγμα σχέσεων και ένα έλεγχο ροών σε παγκόσμιο επίπεδο, παλιότερα ως το κέντρο μιας αποικιοκρατικής αυτοκρατορίας και σήμερα ως κόμβος των χρηματοπιστωτικών δικτύων. Αυτά δημιουργούν μια ευθύνη στο Λονδίνο και στις ελίτ που ελέγχουν μέσω των γεωμετριών δύναμης τα δίκτυα και τις ροές. Οι έντονες ανισότητες με το Βορρά του ΗΒ και η άνιση γεωγραφικά ανάπτυξη με τον υπόλοιπο κόσμο δεν είναι ανεξάρτητες από την διαρκή ευημερία της Λονδρέζικης ελίτ και συγκεκριμένων περιοχών στο εσωτερικό του Λονδίνου. Τα άυλα παγκοσμιοποιημένα χρηματοπιστωτικά δίκτυα δεν μπορούν να λειτουργήσουν αν δεν είναι γειωμένα σε τόπους όπως το Λονδίνο. Δεν θα μπορούσαν να είναι παγκόσμια αν δεν είναι συγχρόνως και τοπικά. Μέσα από αυτές τις παρατηρήσεις μας καλεί να αναρωτηθούμε όχι μόνο πως ο κόσμος έχει υποταχθεί στην παγκοσμιοποίηση (δηλαδή στην παγκόσμια καπιταλιστική οικονομία) αλλά και πως έχουμε αποδεχτεί τον κυρίαρχο Λόγο και τις διηγήσεις περί παγκοσμιοποίησης ως μοναδικές αλήθειες.

Μετά την έκδοση του *For Space*, στις πολιτικές δυσκολίες της εποχής προστέθηκαν οι αμφιβολίες σχετικά με την αναγκαιότητα και τη δυνατότητα να εξακολουθήσει να έχει ένα διαπρεπή ρόλο στο πανεπιστήμιο ή να επιλέξει μια ήρεμη και πρόωρη συνταξιοδότηση. Την εποχή εκείνη, το 2007, της έρχεται μια αναπάντεχη πρόσκληση να επισκεφθεί τη Βενεζουέλα και να συμμετάσχει στους προβληματισμούς για την ανασυγκρότηση της χώρας. Η έκπληξη της γίνεται εντονότερη, —όπως γράφει η ίδια στο «*When Theory meets Politics*» στο *Antipode* 2008- όταν ένα τεράστιο πανό σε κεντρικό δρόμο του Καρακάς έχει το σύνθημα «*La Nueva Geometría del Poder*», η νέα γεωμετρία δύναμης. Μια έννοια με την οποία ασχολείται τα τελευταία χρόνια και την

έχει αναπτύξει δημόσια, την οποία βλέπει τώρα ως πολιτικό σύνθημα να έχει ταξιδεύσει και να έχει επανα-επεξεργαστεί σε άλλους τόπους. Πως απευθύνεσαι σε ευρύτερα ακροατήρια; αναρωτιέται στο παραπάνω κείμενο. Πως αντιλαμβάνεσαι το ρόλο του δημόσιου διανοούμενου; Και πως αποφεύγεις τις δυσκολίες της θέσης και του ρόλου σου; Ευρύτερα πολιτικά ερωτήματα τα οποία βρίσκονται στον πυρήνα της γεωμετρία δύναμης, με τη triπλή έννοια της δύναμης επιβολής, της εξουσίας ως θεσμού και του κοινωνικο-χωρικού ελέγχου.

Η γραφή, ο λόγος και η επαφή που έχει κάποιος/α μαζί της είναι απλός και μη εξεζητημένος. Χρησιμοποιεί συχνά προσωπικές εμπειρικές παρατηρήσεις από την καθημερινότητα που συνδυάζονται με πολιτικές και φιλοσοφικές έννοιες για να καταλήξουν σε πρωτότυπες γεωγραφικές παρατηρήσεις. Η μέθοδος αυτή υλοποιεί με τον καλύτερο τρόπο το φεμινιστικό πρόταγμα «το προσωπικό είναι πολιτικό» και αναδεικνύει εκείνα τα μικρά και καθημερινά που άλλοι τα προσπερνούν. Παράλληλα έχει μοναδική ευχέρεια να γενικεύει, να δει τη μεγάλη εικόνα και να υποδειξει νέες θεωρητικές έννοιες και κατευθύνσεις. Σημαντικό ρόλο στη δουλειά της, σε αντίθεση με άλλους διάσημους συναδέλφους της, έχουν οι πρωτογενείς έρευνες πεδίου, με ποσοτικές και ποιοτικές μεθόδους, αμφισβητώντας πάντα τα έτοιμα διοικητικά όρια των τόπων και των περιφερειών τις οποίες μελετά. Τέλος, οι συχνές δημόσιες παρεμβάσεις της, οι συνεργασίες της με χώρες και κινήματα στη Λατινική Αμερική, οι συνεντεύξεις στη τηλεόραση, η συμμετοχή σε ντοκιμαντέρ όπως στο: *The future of landscape and the moving image*, η συνεργασία με την Tate Modern, κ.α. την καθιστούν μια από τις πλέον αναγνωρίσιμες διανοούμενες στο ΗΒ αλλά και στη Λατινική Αμερική.

Στο πρόσφατο θαυμάσιο βιβλίο τους για την Doreen: *Doreen Massey: Un sentido global del lugar* (η παγκόσμια αίσθηση του τοπικού), οι Καταλανοί συνάδελφοι Abel Albet και Nuria Benach υποστηρίζουν ότι παρά τη

σημαντική διεθνή προσφορά της Doreen και την επιρροή της στη γεωγραφική σκέψη, δεν μπορούν να μιλήσουν για μια πιθανή «σχολή Massey». Έχουν δίκιο. Ποτέ δεν είχε τη φιλοδοξία να δημιουργήσει ένα αυτοαναφορικό κύκλο μαθητών και συναδέλφων, αλλά πάντα η ακαδημαϊκή της ενασχόληση ήταν σε ομάδες και είχε σχέση με την πολιτική δράση. Η διδασκαλία της και τα βιβλία της δεν προωθούν μόνο τη γεωγραφία αλλά ένα κριτικό, αυτόνομο και υπεύθυνο τρόπο να «σκέφτομαι μέσω της χωρικότητας». Τα παραπάνω συνθέτουν μια συνολική φυσιογνωμία επιστήμονα, δασκάλου και δημόσιας διανοούμενης την οποία θα τολμούσα να ονομάσω «ο τρόπος της Massey». Ένας τρόπος χαμηλών τόνων αλλά με εσωτερική δυναμική και διεθνή αναγνώριση, που συνδυάζει τη διδασκαλία με τον πολιτικό και φεμινιστικό ακτιβισμό, ανοικτός και παγκόσμιος όσο και τοπικός, εδραιωμένος σε μια απλή καθημερινή ζωή. Γι' αυτόν τον "τρόπο" και για όλα τα άλλα σε ευχαριστούμε Doreen.

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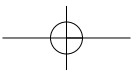
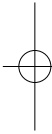
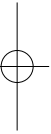


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## **Radical spatiality and the question of democracy**

**Doreen Massey**

It is a great honour to have been awarded an Honorary Doctorate here at the Geography Department at Harokopio University in Athens. I remember first coming here in 2000 to present a paper about the importance and the structure of the discipline. The Geography Department then was in its infancy, but I had known about plans for it for quite a while before, through my friend and colleague Professor Costis Hadjimichalis, one of the people who, as I understand it, was instrumental in its founding. So it was a joy to be one of the early celebrants of its birth. To be invited back now, to receive this degree from you, is therefore also much more than an honour: it is a deep personal pleasure.

I also visited in 2005, when the theme of my lecture here concerned London: a world city that is fiercely contested politically, that is a focus of networks of power that dominate both the wider nation of the United Kingdom and vast parts of our planet, a city that is, in all the aggregate statistics, immensely wealthy – and the places and the architectures of that wealth flaunt their success over the central areas, a city that is rightly proud of its street-level multicultural nature, but also a city that is driven by deep inequalities, and finally, and perhaps most importantly in the present context, a city that is a centre of global finance and that has been crucial in the invention, birth and dissemination of what we have all learned to call neoliberalism.

That was in 2005. The economic triumph of neoliberalism seemed then so assured, the bankers so confident, the ideology of markets so unarguable, the new class of the super-rich so convinced that the good times (for them) would go on for ever. There was a host of warnings from the Left (it is not true that no-one predicted this crisis), but they were ignored. And then, from 2007, economically it all imploded. The political challenges and opportunities that we face today are very different, and it is in this present context that I want to develop the theoretical propositions of this essay.

Yet some things endure. And I should like to take a moment to acknowledge the enduring friendship both of Costis Hadjimichalis, whom I have already mentioned, and of Professor Dina Vaiou, of the National Technical University of Athens. Their commitment and solidarity, their hospitality and warmth, and their intellectual contribution have been immensely important to me for decades. Among the many ways through which we came to know each other over the years were the Aegean Seminars which they organised – a mixture of intellectual exploration, personal friendship, social commitment, and much fun, that perfectly expresses Costis and Dina's contribution (and is also what we all need). What those seminars, and our longer and wider endeavours, have been about is trying to understand the world through a radical, and geographical, perspective. This is a perspective that has had to be actively forged; indeed the process is still going on. And among our commitments was a theme – very appropriate to the present occasion – that geography matters. That the spatiality of a society makes a difference to the way it works; that distinct societies and social settlements have distinct geographies; that building a new world means building new geographies too.

That geography really does matter could hardly be more evident in the present conjuncture (Massey, forth-

coming). The crisis of the Eurozone has its roots in geography and in the inability to take geography seriously. The failure to construct a financial architecture that could adequately work with the pre-existing economic uneven development between countries led to a further deepening of that economic inequality. Today, and with unconscious but deep irony, the hegemonic discourses explain the collapse of their geographically inadequate model by turning the blame on to individual constituent spaces (Spain, or Greece) while in fact it is the elites themselves who have produced the problem. In other words, having not taken sufficient care with uneven development (geography) in their construction of the euro they then set about politically constructing the inevitable disastrous result precisely in those terms. It is a geographical sleight of hand that is now having grave consequences.

First, it runs the risk of setting the peoples of different countries against each other: the people of Greece or Spain against the people of Germany, for instance. Second, and this is the purpose, in this geographical conjuring trick the real enemy disappears. The capitalist reality, which is that the struggle is between on the one hand the financial sector and the elites and on the other hand the majority of the people of all the countries, is effectively obscured. Third, by this means in turn the political frontier is converted from being one between classes and social and economic interests into being one between countries and peoples. And fourth, this entails the moulding of our political identities in terms of geography and nationality rather than in terms of class. (I'm not saying that geographical identities are never appropriate, but in this particular instance they are worse than inappropriate.) All of this follows from a lack of understanding of, and a political manipulation of, geographies. For sure, geography matters.

In the present essay I want to take up again this theme of geography matters, but in a rather different way, and in response to another issue that has come to the fore-front at the current moment. This is the question of democracy.

It has become commonplace to argue over the last three decades of neoliberal hegemony that we have been witness to a serious evisceration both of the public sphere and of democracy. We have observed this in a thousand ways, and some of them will be taken up later in this essay. It has also been widely noted that some of this closing down of the potential for democracy has had a specifically geographical configuration. Indeed 'the privatisation of public space' has become a major theme both within some critical social sciences and among political protesters. It is a privatisation that selectively refuses access, and denies the right to gather, protest or demonstrate. London's contribution to the Occupy movement, to take one example, was deeply moulded by this denial – its original choice of location, outside London's Stock Exchange (hence the name LSX) – being refused precisely on the grounds that this square was now private property. (The subsequent move, to the steps of St. Paul's Cathedral, and on to land owned in part by the Church and in part by the (financially dominated) Corporation of London was in fact to prove highly propitious – see Massey 2012). To this, many other less recognised phenomena could be added. I would argue, for instance, that the weakened and often decrepit form of representative democracy that we have in many European countries has become, even more than before, spatially centralised on to major (capital) cities. This follows a certain spatial centralisation of capital, and of elites. The voices of poor regions, and of rural areas, rarely get heard. Reporters, of tv, radio and the print media, rarely venture to report seriously beyond the capital city, and so on. Indeed, in this regard much of the opposition to the ne-

oliberal regime has been just as guilty. In the so-called critical social sciences there is a persistent tendency to replace the term society with the word city. Everything is about 'the city'. There are reasons for this – for instance the argument that it is from the cities that alternatives are most likely to be articulated (but even then what of the Zapatistas and the Naxalites?). But it is both theoretically inadequate and in itself undemocratic (and smacks a bit of self-absorption too, since this is where many of the protagonists are based) to reduce the politically recognised world to that of the large metropolis. The general point, however, is unarguable – that 'democracy' in whatever terms has taken a severe battering.

It is in part as a result of this that there is a strong current within many of today's street-level protest movements, not for the reinvigoration of current forms of democracy (party politics and representative democracy) but for their complete rejection.<sup>1</sup> Instead, the proposal is for direct democracy, decision-making in assemblies, the pursuit of consensus and, at a wider level, the emergence of 'the common'.

Part of what I want to argue here is that these two approaches to democracy are implicitly founded on contrasting spatial imaginations, contrasting background assumptions about the geography of society, and that excavations of these spatial contrasts may contribute to the debates between them. However I want to begin with a wider argument: that there are deep connections, connections that go beyond the, perfectly correct, observations about public space and so forth, between democracy and the conceptualisation of space.

### *Space : coevalness and respect*

What I should like to propose, then, is that there may be deep relations between spatiality and democracy, rela-



tions that stem from the very conceptualisation of these two phenomena.

One of the characteristics of space that is probably undisputed is that it is the dimension of multiplicity. That is to say, if time is the dimension of succession (one thing after another), of development, and of becoming in the Bergsonian sense, space – in contrast – is the dimension of the existence *at the same time* of more than one thing, event, trajectory, etc. Space is the dimension of the simultaneity of a multiplicity of trajectories.<sup>2</sup> This is important. Space is in that sense the essential dimension of our thrown-togetherness.

A number of political implications follow from this. The first, simplest and most obvious is that it is space, as that dimension of contemporaneous co-existence, that is the ground for posing to us that most fundamental of political questions: how are we going to live together. It is, in that sense, the grounding dimension of the social (in its most general sense, referring not just to human society but to our condition of living in a non-human world too – that is, the social in contrast to the individual). The second, and consequent, implication is that it is space that poses to each of us the challenge of the existence of others, human and other-than-human. Taken seriously, this characteristic of the spatial dimension urges upon us an attitude of outward-looking-ness. It begins, thereby, to pose the challenge of democracy.

This sounds so bland. It is easy to agree without taking seriously its political implications. For what is at issue here is a radical contemporaneity: the acknowledgment of co-evalness. The anthropologist Johannes Fabian, who has written much about background conceptualisations of space and time within his own discipline, argues that 'coevalness aims at recognizing cotemporality as the condition for truly dialectical confrontation' (1983, p.154). Coevalness concerns a stance of recognition, of equality in mutual engagement. It is an imaginative space of in-

teraction that speaks of the power-relations in that interaction, and it is informed by an underlying conceptualisation of space as the dimension of contemporaneous multiplicity.

This is a challenge posed by spatiality that, as has often been noted, is frequently evaded. Fabian's critique is of a discipline (anthropology) which has a history of 'placing' its objects of study – in this case peoples in what we now call the global South – not only far away in space but also back in time. As he writes, 'The absence of the Other from our Time has been his [sic] mode of presence in our discourse – as an object and victim. That is what needs to be overcome' (p.154). However it is not only in anthropology that this happens. Constantly, in social and political discourse, and in the implicit imaginations of space and time on which they depend, the initiating recognition of equality that is required by radical contemporaneity is evaded. We speak of sequences such as developed – developing – underdeveloped, we implicitly imagine societies as 'backward', and so forth. It is the compression of contemporaneous heterogeneity into temporal sequence, of the multiplicity of space into a singular temporality. Its pervasiveness, and its political significance, is captured by Fabian in his Introduction when he writes, 'The radical contemporaneity of mankind is a project' (p.xi). It is, I suggest, a project fundamental to democracy.

There are two immediate implications of this evasion of this challenge of space. The first is that there is assumed to be only one temporality, one big historical path onto which different societies can be placed. The denial of the multiplicity of space entails also the denial of the multiplicity of temporal trajectories. It could be argued that the whole notion of 'modernity' and of 'the modern' themselves entail this convening of spatial heterogeneity into temporal sequence. In what follows, however, I shall

argue that it has become of particular significance during our three decades of neoliberalism.

The second implication of this evasion of the challenge of radical contemporaneity is that we do not, in the founding imaginative constructions of our interaction, recognise the others as of equal standing. We relegate them to the past (occasionally we may elevate them to the future) when what is required is simple acknowledgement of our simultaneous existence in our difference.

It is something of this that Jacques Derrida seems to be trying to catch when he aligns this recognition of the character of the spatial with an attitude of 'respect'. If Fabian concentrates (as I have done) on the denial of contemporaneity, then Derrida is focussing on the distance implied in the multiplicity of space and on rejecting *any* founding characterisation as more or less worthy of respect. Thus he writes, 'There is no respect..... without the vision and distance of a *spacing*' (1997, p.60, emphasis in the original; cited in Donald, 1999, p.166). There are many aspects of Derrida's conceptualisation of space and time with which I take some issue (see Massey, 2005), but this is a really important point. A real recognition of the radical contemporaneity of others as an essential aspect of spatiality demands an attitude of respect.

It is important to emphasise, however, that these notions of coevalness and respect refer to initiating stances in moments of interaction. In no way do they imply that there will not be antagonism. Indeed it is an argument of this essay that one necessary element of true political engagement is the drawing of clear frontiers of contestation. Still less does urging respect and a recognition of coevalness imply the development of some stance of liberal toleration. Absolutely not. The engagement may be one of fierce opposition, but before the fight, or at the

same moment, there is respect. Respect in that sense is one of the challenges posed by the dimension of space.

Much of this argument is already present in our debates; indeed I have myself often written about it. But I wanted to rehearse it here in order to draw it into new arguments. Most especially, this question of respect and coevalness is implicated in the question of 'voice', and of whose voices are heard, and whose are not. One, among many, of the essential preconditions for an adequate democracy at whatever level, from the household to the nation to the global arena, is that voices are equally heard. How one responds to what those voices say is another matter.

### *Space ; multiplicity, democracy and neoliberalism*

This matter of the essential character of space as the dimension of multiplicity is key, I believe, in the current conjuncture. It is a deep, but rarely remarked-upon irony of the present age that we are bombarded by 'choice', consumer choice, and dragooned into making a thousand 'choices' we don't give a damn about, while at the level that really matters – the question of, for instance, the kind of society in which we would like to live or what future we should like to build – we are told, implacably, absolutely, that There Is No Alternative.

For three decades, three neoliberal decades, the idea has become established, certainly here in Europe, that there is no other way. The notion has become established as the hegemonic common sense, in the Gramscian meaning, though as we shall see there are ironic contradictions here, that there is no alternative. The only way forward is that promoted by the elites. According to them, there is only one possible path to follow, only one basis on which to build a future. There is, in other words, *no co-existing multiplicity* of possible futures.

Now, it is clear that, in one sense this is quite normal. The battle to establish the hegemony of a particular political position, and a particular strategy for the future, is the very nature of political struggle (see below). Everyone, in political argument, claims their way to be the only one. Yet, I would argue, this strategy has been of a different nature, and certainly more successful, in this period of neoliberalism than has been typical of other social settlements.

There are many reasons for this success. However, one element is key: the establishment of the idea that 'markets' or 'the market' are/is a force of nature – a force external to society. This can be detected in many ways. There is the language that is used to describe the financial markets as they roam Europe attacking country after country – an external force, a wild beast maybe, certainly not the product of particular social strata and their economic and political interests. There is the understanding of 'human nature' and of the long histories of human societies as 'naturally', as part of their very nature, given to market trading : an understanding beautifully demolished by Karl Polanyi in *The Great Transformation* as long ago as 1944, but still living on as an effective underpinning of political discourses on the Right. There is that shrug of resignation and powerlessness by ordinary folk as something happens that they do not like: 'well, it's the market I suppose, isn't it'. A 'thing' one cannot gainsay. There is, within the academy itself, the pretension on the part of neoclassical economics to be a natural, or physical, science, rather than a social science. The degree to which these ideas, this ideological scaffolding, currently infuses the hegemonic common sense is astonishing. The assumption that markets are natural is so deeply rooted in the structure of thought, certainly here in Europe, that even the fact that it *is* an assumption seems to have been lost to view. This is real hegemony.

This particular nature of the current hegemonic claim to be the only way forward has serious consequences for democracy. Most obviously, the re-situating of 'the economic' into the realm of the natural or the scientific removes it from the sphere of political and ideological contestation. It becomes a matter for 'experts' and for 'technocrats'. The recent imposition of technocrats into the governments in Athens and in Rome is just one of the most obvious examples of this. The widespread popular understanding of 'the troika' that governs European monetary policy as 'expert' rather than as both political and as working for certain interests rather than others is another. But there are subtler and deeper ways too in which this removal of economic questions from political contestation has been accomplished. In the United Kingdom, for instance, one popular view on the streets at the moment of the formation of the present government as a coalition of parties (unusual in the UK) was that: 'it is good if they stop their political squabbling and get together to sort this thing (economic crisis) out'. In fact of course what we needed was *more*, but *real*, political argument over the nature of the crisis, its roots in class and political interests, and radically alternative ways out. And of course the coalition government that emerged from this getting together is not 'expert' at all; as at the European level it is *politically* committed to a right-wing strategy, not only in which the poor pay for the crisis but in which the deepening of neoliberalism and the further dismantling of the public sector and the public sphere is avidly pursued. Yet all the while they told, and tell, us: 'We really don't want to do this, we know it hurts, but there is no alternative'.

There are many other examples that could be given but the point is that this assertion of the naturalness of markets and the economic, and the consequent rhetorical removal of that sphere from political debate is crucial in the assertion of, and the success of, neoliberal ideo-

logical hegemony. And it is an assertion that, in itself, is anti-democratic.

Of course, there are many ways in which the last thirty years of what we have come to call neoliberal hegemony have entailed attacks on democracy. At the local level, as already mentioned, there has been the loss of public spaces, a loss of the kinds of spaces propitious for the development of democratic subjects. And indeed privatisation in general is a way of reducing democratic control, whether it be of industries, services, or spaces. Or again, genuine democracy requires a reasonable degree of equality (in contrast to 'liberalism' – and the appeal to democracy when Western governments intervene in other countries is often no more than a cover for liberalism - see Massey, 2011). But neoliberal economic strategies produce increasing *inequality*. Indeed that redistribution from labour to capital was one of the *aims* of neoliberalism's introduction by the currently hegemonic strata.

There are therefore many who argue that neoliberalism in its very constitution represents a threat to democracy; and I agree with this. However, given the preceding discussion I would add two reasons for it, beyond those that are usually cited. The first is what was discussed above: the removal of the economic from the sphere of political contest, through the claim that markets are natural, and so forth. But that in turn, I would argue, has been – and is – central to the claim that there is no alternative. And what that claim represents is a denial of multiplicity. And that in turn is a denial of democracy. Keeping open the possibility of there being alternatives, and thus the possibility of political argument, is the essence of democracy. What are at issue here are implicit *spatial* imaginaries: the denial of the multiplicity of the present closes down the possibility of alternative futures, and thus the possibility of politics.

This is key at the present moment. For while there is most certainly an acute crisis of the *economic* model of neoliberalism, it has not yet been thrown into crisis at the *ideological* level (Massey, 2011). Certainly, there are challenges to this ideological dominance, from the indignados and Occupy through Melenchon in France and Syriza in Greece, to the radical experiments underway at both grassroots and governmental levels in Latin America. Indeed, the ferocity and mendacity of the attacks launched against every one of these initiatives themselves demonstrate the importance to the current elites precisely of maintaining their slogan that there is no alternative. And there has as yet been no serious fracturing of, nor the production of rupturing contradictions within, their ideological carapace. But *without* fracturing the hegemonic common sense it will be impossible to break the dominance of the current economic discourse: to establish the multiplicity of futures between which we can, and must, choose. And only if that can be achieved can a moment of conjunctural rupture, in the Gramscian sense, be arrived at in which a change in the balance of social and political forces may finally be possible.

### *Contrasting spaces of democracy*

The very establishment of real alternatives is, then, equivalent to the spatialisation of the political terrain. But we can go further. For one of the things at issue in this argument, I would like to propose, concerns our spatial imaginations *of* both society and democracy. In discourses, and political debates, about forms of society and alternative forms of democracy, these implicit spatialities are rarely brought to light. Yet making these spatialities explicit may help us to understand more clearly the alternatives before us.



It is perhaps easiest to begin with aspects of the implicit spatialities of the current neoliberal hegemonic position, since these are reasonably well recognised. The irony of the counterposition between the celebration of 'choice' within, and the lack of choice without, has already been pointed to. It is also ironic that, given neoliberalism's resonance with many aspects of what has been called postmodernism, and given that one of the most significant challenges posed by postmodernists has been to the modernist conception of Grand Narratives, the current postulation of the mantra of 'There is No Alternative' shares so much of the structural form of a Grand Narrative. Here there is only one possible model of successful development, and societies are evaluated, and imaginatively positioned, on a line measuring out their progress along that path. This is a classic case of the imaginary temporal convening of contemporaneous spatial heterogeneity (eg between societies) into a simple sequence; it is an annihilation at that level of the multiplicity of space. Given that this age of postmodernity is frequently described as 'spatial', in contrast to the dominance of the modern imaginary by temporality (Jameson, 1991), this is an irony indeed.

As has been argued, what is most required at the current moment is a blasting open of this closure and a challenge to the ideological hegemony through the assertion of radical alternatives.

One of the achievements of that street-level movement of indignados and Occupations over the autumn and winter of 2011-2012 was to do just that. And a sophisticated understanding and political use of space was critical in their success (see Massey, 2012, for a fuller discussion of this in relation to London). In London, Occupy LSX finally set up camp alongside and on the steps of St. Paul's Cathedral, but still amongst the buildings of finance

capital. Its very location was an assertion of the presence of a stream of thought that disrupted the assumptions of its surroundings. The incongruity of the symbolic humility of the tents, huddled between the soaring stone edifices, itself spoke of radical challenge. (I would argue that it instituted a political frontier – see below.) St. Paul's Cathedral, indeed, was thrown into confusion by the very requirement to *make a real choice* (in this age of meaningless choices), a dilemma that led to two senior clergy and one other member of the Church, who were more sympathetic to the (right to) protest, leaving their jobs. This was a dramatic eruption into, and disruption of, the smooth space of neoliberal capitalism. In that sense it posed a radical alternative, irreconcilable with the dominant ideology. It was posing questions we weren't supposed to ask : a kind of shock-tactics of the imagination – which is just what is needed, and what is essential for the operation of real democracy.

Occupy LSX enriched democracy in another spatially-aware way too. Out of merely a place of passage (public space in the very loosest sense of that term) it created a site for the nourishment, potentially at least, of engaged political subjectivity. It was, it told us, 'open' – open to passers-by, open to debate, open through the web to global connections and conversations. A place of engagement.

However, drawing upon this sense of openness and engagement, Occupy LSX also asserted, in the concluding line of its main explanatory leaflet (its Initial Statement): 'This is what democracy looks like'. This is a proposal that has been much in use in these circles at least since Seattle. The reference in London was to the democracy internal to the site, conducted through discussion and direct democracy. And certainly, this did exemplify one challenging alternative form of democracy. However, different kinds of democracy do different jobs. Moreover they imply and require different kinds of

spaces and places. This mode of direct democracy leading to consensus makes one of two assumptions. Either it assumes, and in spite of the invitation at the end of the Statement to 'come and join us!', the exclusion of the enemy with whom one could never agree (in other words, it is not really an open space) or – and if taken to be the *only* form of real democracy – it assumes that in the end there can be universal consensus, even with one's structural and political antagonists, a position that relies upon both the possibility of a full totality and essentialist immanentism. What it does not include is that kind of passionate *conflict* of values and ideas that are not simply reconcilable (the conflict with finance capital, with the 1%, the conflict between classes). Yet I would argue, along with many others (for instance, Chantal Mouffe, 2005) that this radical confrontation of political visions, the drawing of political frontiers, is what real politics (in the Mouffian sense of 'the political' in distinction from the daily practice of 'politics') is all about. *Real* choice.

The approach to democracy at Occupy does not contain, within its own space, its own society, such political choice. This approach is consistent with that proposed by Michael Hardt and Antonio Negri (2001, 2004), and it lies behind many of the experiments in democracy that have been developed within the social-forum movement also.<sup>3</sup> But in its claim to be the *only* form of democracy it entails a particular spatial imaginary of society as potentially reconcilable into a totality, stemming from universally immanent desires. Here, in this kind of consensual direct democracy, there is a dependence upon an image of society, of the 'place' of democracy, as potentially coherent. Here there are no internal frontiers of political antagonism, no radical heterogeneity. *Within* these societies/places/spaces there will be no engagement with – or, perhaps, no recognition of the potential existence of – the political antagonist.

It is, in contrast, the insistence upon the necessary presence of the possibility of radical heterogeneity – of the possibility of challenge from radically distinct political projects – that is central to that stream of political philosophy that derives from the work of Antonio Gramsci and that draws in particular upon the concept of hegemony. In this view, any apparent coherence or unity of a society or place is understood to be a political achievement – a constructed hegemony – which is not therefore in fact totalising but always open to the possibility of radical contest. There is no assumption of any potential unfractured wholeness. This is place as always multiple and always, at least potentially, contested. It is a view that, first of all, respects the inescapable challenge of multiplicity that is thrown up to us by the very existence of the spatial dimension, and its presentation to us of the existence of others. It is also a view that is in accord with arguments within geography that have challenged notions of place as settled coherences to insist upon the inevitable need for their negotiation. This is not, then, a smooth or coherent unity, but a space that is fractured (differentially over time) and struggled over. It is for that reason democratic : it is multiple.

### *Conclusion*

Different kinds of democracy, then, do different jobs, and they are each open to different deficiencies. A system of political parties and representative democracy without a public sphere of engagement with the potential for the formation of an informed citizenry can result merely in an empty formalism. Consensual small groups of the like-minded may fail to engage in their practices of democracy with radically different political projects.

In practice, of course, different forms of democracy are rarely found in pure form. And they may not even

live up to their own potential. Actually-existing representative democracy in many European countries has over recent years totally failed to produce the political frontiers between different visions that, in principle, it has the potential for.

What it seems wisest to conclude is that we need many different forms of democracy to co-exist in a society, performing different kinds of roles in different kinds of spaces. A society is not really 'democratic' only because of its formal structures but also as a result of its more general 'texture'. And that means lots of different spaces, and different kinds of spaces, of engagement.

Finally, behind that again, lies the need for a more general stance. An attitude that infuses people's engagement with the world. An attitude that recognises multiplicity and the existence of others with their own, different, trajectories; an attitude, in that sense, that is outwardlooking. An attitude that acknowledges co-evalness – an achievement more difficult than is commonly recognised – and that enters into any engagement with a stance of respect. And all these attributes, I would argue, are in one way and another tied up with the hard discipline of developing a radically spatialised imagination.

### *Notes*

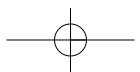
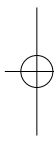
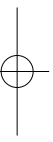
1. There are many other reasons too, the rejection of any forms of 'constituted' (as opposed to 'constituent') power being one of them – see Hardt and Negri, 2001; and Holloway, 2002.

2. This is only one element. On the conceptualisation of space more generally see Massey, 2005.

3. There has, of course, been much critical debate about this form of democracy. See Featherstone, 2012, especially chapter 17, for a discussion.

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## CURRICULUM VITAE

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#### University Education

- 1963–1966 Oxford University, St Hugh's College  
(Irene Shrigley Scholarship 1963; Special  
College Prize 1966), B.A. Hons (Oxon)  
Geography, First Class.
- 1971–1972 University of Pennsylvania, Department of  
Regional Science, Wharton School  
(University Fellowship)  
M.A. (Penn) Regional Science.

#### Present Positions

- 1982 – *Professor of Geography, Faculty of Social  
Sciences, Open University.*
- 1986 – Trustee, *Lipman - Miliband Trust.*
- 1987 – Honorary member, *Colegio Mexicano de  
Geografos y Posgraduados.*
- 1991 – Member of Consejo Editorial of  
*Investigaciones Geográficas*, UNAM,  
Mexico.
- 1993 – Member of Advisory Council for the  
*Review of International Political Economy.*
- 1995 – Joint Founder and editor of *Soundings*,  
*a journal of politics and culture.*
- 1998 – Advisor to Society and Environmental  
Forum of the *Royal Geographical Society  
with IBG.*
- 2001 – Member of Editorial Board of *Geografiska  
Annaler Ser B.*
- 2001 – Member of Inaugural Board of *National  
Institute for Regional and Spatial Analysis*,  
Ireland.



- 2004 – Member of Editorial Board of *New Political Economy*.
- 2004 – Member of Editorial Board of *Boletín de la Real Sociedad Geográfica, Madrid*.
- 2004 – Member: Advisory Board, *Habitation, Environment, Community*, a collaboration of Article Press and ixiá.
- 2005 – Member: Advisory Board of the *Architectural Humanities Research Association*.
- 2007 – Member, Conselho Editorial, *Terra Livre*, Brazil.
- 2007 – Member of Editorial Committee, *Work, Organisation and Labour Globalisation*.
- 2008 – Member of Editorial Board of *Culture Unbound: Journal of Current Cultural Research*.
- 2008 – Honorary Vice President, The Geographical Association.
- 2009 – Member of Editorial Board of *Global Media Studies*.

### Awards and Honours

- 1994 Awarded Victoria Medal of the *Royal Geographical Society*.
- 1998 Awarded the Prix Vautrin Lud ('Nobel de Géographie')
- 1999 Founder Academician : The Academy of Learned Societies in the Social Sciences.
- 2000 Fellow of *Royal Society of Arts*.
- 2001 Honorary Fellow, St. Hugh's College, Oxford University.
- 2002 Fellow, *British Academy*.
- 2003 *Anders Retzius Medal in Gold*, awarded by the Swedish Society of Anthropologists and Geographers.

- 2003 *Centenary Medal* of Royal Scottish Geographical Society.
- 2006 Honorary DSc, Edinburgh University.
- 2006 Honorary DLitt, National University of Ireland.
- 2009 Honorary Doctor of Letters, University of Glasgow.

### Previous positions/appointments

- 1966–1968 AGB Research Ltd. (market research firm): executive in computer department.
- 1968–1980 Centre for Environmental Studies: Principal Scientific Officer (Sabbatical 1971-1972)
- 1968–1986 Member of Editorial Advisory Board, *Environment and Planning A* (previously Assistant Editor)
- 1969–1980 Architectural Association, Planning Department: occasional lecturer, external examiner.
- 1972–1976 Polytechnic of Central London, Planning Department: part-time lecturer on post-graduate and post-experience courses.
- 1973–1975 Vice-President, *North West European (Multilingual) Regional Science Association*.
- 1973–1979 Member, *Labour Party National Executive Committee*, subcommittee on *Town and Country Planning*.
- 1974–1986 Editorial Advisor, *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research*.
- 1975–1977 Polytechnic of Central London, Planning Department: external tutor.
- 1975–1980 Member of *Committee of British Section of Regional Science Association* (Chair from 1975-1977)

- 1976–1977 Open University: unit consultant author to the Fundamentals of Human Geography course (D204)
- 1976–1980 London School of Economics, Department of Geography (Planning Studies): visiting academic, part-time lecturer.
- 1977–1979 King Alfred's College, Winchester School of Arts and Sciences: assistant external examiner in Social and Environmental Studies.
- 1977–1979 Member of Editorial Committee, *Capital and Class*.
- 1980 Open University: member of Panel of External Assessors for the Foundation Course in the Social Sciences (DI02)
- 1980–June 1982 London School of Economics, Department of Geography: Senior Research Fellow.
- 1980–1983 Social Science Research Council: Fellow in Industrial Location Research.
- 1981 From March to June 1981, Visiting Professor at the Department of Geography, University of California, Berkeley.
- 1982–1993 Head of Geography Discipline, Faculty of Social Sciences, Open University.
- 1982–1985 Chair of the Urban and Regional Research Group, Faculty of Social Sciences, Open University.
- 1982–1988 Member of the Environment and Planning Sub-Committee of the *Economic and Social Research Council*. Member of the Steering Groups for Initiatives on the Changing Urban and Regional System, and Economic and Social Life.

- 1982–1987 Member of Board, *Greater London Enterprise Board*.
- 1982 – 2006 Member of Advisory Board, *Society and Space*.
- 1984–1986 External Examiner, *Queen Mary College*, University of London.
- 1985–1986 Visitor to *Instituto Nacional de Investigaciones Económicas y Sociales*, Managua, Nicaragua.
- 1985–1988 External Examiner, *School for Advanced Urban Studies* University of Bristol.
- 1986 Member of Advisory Committee of *The Centre for Local Economic Strategies*.
- 1986 Associate member of *The Institute of Development Studies*.
- 1986–92 Member of Editorial Board of *Antipode*.
- 1988–90 Member of *ESRC* Research Development Group in Industry, Economy and the Environment.
- 1988–90 Member of *ESRC* Research Grants Board.
- 1988 Member of Academic Group, *Joint Institute for Social and Economic Research*.
- 1989–90 Member of Editorial Group of *South East Economic Strategy*.
- 1990–93 Member of Editorial Committee, *New Left Review*.
- 1991–94 External Examiner, University of Liverpool.
- 1993–95 Member of Advisory Board to project on “The future of public parks in the UK”, *Comedia* and *Demos*.
- 1993 – 1999 Member of the Management Board for the *Pavis Centre for Sociological and Anthropological Studies*.

- 1994 – 2004 Member of Editorial Advisory Board, *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers*.
- 1995–97 Member: *HEFCE Research Assessment Panel* for Geography.
- 1998 – 2002 Member of Editorial Board of *Catalyst Think Tank*.
- 1999 – 2001 Member: *HEFCE Research Assessment Panel* for Geography.
- 1999 –2008 Member of Editorial Board of *Cultural Studies*.
- 2001–02 Member of International Evaluation Panel, *Academy of Finland*, Research Programme for Urban Studies.
- 2002 *Center for Advanced Study in the Behavioural Sciences*, Stanford, eligibility for Center Fellowship.
- 2002 – 2004 Member: Research Advisory Group, *Royal Geographical Society with IBG*.
- 2002 – 2004 Member of the Committee of Academicians, of the *Academy of Learned Societies in the Social Sciences*.
- 2004 Member of Jury for RIBA Awards for Architecture, and submissions for Stirling Prize, North West Region.
- 2004 – 2005 Member: Steering Group of *Valuing Places*, a project of the Geographical Association.
- 2004 – 2008 Member: Standing Committee for Anthropology and Geography, *British Academy*.
- 2004 – 2008 Member: Social Sciences Steering Group, *British Academy*.
- 2005 – 2008 Member: International Scientific Advisory Committee for Helsinki Metropolitan Area urban research and for the professorships of urban studies,

2007 University of Helsinki, Finland.  
 Visiting professorship, Advanced Cultural  
 Studies Institute of Sweden (ACSIS),  
 Linköping University, Norrköping,  
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## Main Publications

### Books

*Environment and Planning*, 1975, special bi-lingual issue  
 containing papers from a conference of the  
 North-west European Regional Science Associa-  
 tion (editorship)

*Alternative Approaches to Analysis*, London Papers in  
 Regional Science, Vol.7, Pion, 1975 (joint editor-  
 ship with P.W.J. Batey)

*Capital and Land: landownership by capital in Great  
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*The Geography of Industrial Reorganisation*, the spatial  
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- City Worlds* (edited with John Allen and Steve Pile), Routledge with the Open University, 1999.
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