

**WORLD CITY: Doreen Massey.
(Polity Press 2007)**

“If cities are crucial to neoliberalism, as is so often argued, then battles precisely over this rôle must be potentially significant to any challenge to its hegemony. The politics and economies of cities, and social struggles over them, are of crucial importance in defining the kind of world that is currently under construction.”

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Politics of place:

Global is also locally produced –

- London is not just function of globalisation. London is no victim!
- Global is as material and practised as local. Local is not ‘nicer’ than global

Imperialistic mindsets (cosmologies)

- Global mind-cosmology makes us all think we are subordinate to the structures. We are asked to become better subjects of global capital/economy.
- We must have other mind-sets – all is not economy! There is an alternative. For example, there is the convivial culture of post-imperialist cosmopolitanism. (However, London can celebrate the arrival of workers from its empire but they subsidise London’s sustainability at their own expense)
- ‘Synechdochal’ (one part standing for the whole) Some mind-sets blank out other players (e.g. only economics is means of production) or political cosmology (we are developed and they developing) London is field of multiple actors and trajectories. Multiplicity of space denied – TINA
- ‘Diversity’ implies simple plurality so that tensions within are denied.

- Geography entwined with inequality and our implicit mind-maps of power. Urban Space is relational and riven with tensions

1980s confrontation Thatcher vs. GLC

This battle was over different visions of the city.

- 1960s manufacturing employment peaks in UK. Mid-century decline.
- 1970s collapse of Bretton Woods and oil prices sees dissolution of postwar social democratic settlement in UK.
- Either socialism or neoliberalism: Wilson & Heath expand Welfare State and modernise industry and National Plan to upgrade North (Unemployment increased in North but power to decide went South (all these policies fail))
- **1970s inner-city problems:** caricatured/blamed as unemployable. Places must compete against one another for jobs.
- **1980s a class war victory for neoliberals** with victorious class being reworked in the process (a new economic elite).
 - Cities defeated by rate-capping;
 - miners and press defeated the unions;
 - GLC had led the fight so it was abolished.
 - Canary Wharf financial centre.

Creation of a super-rich has expanded and resulted in inequality between people and north-south in UK and world.

Virtual tax-haven for super-rich – honey pot London.

Westminster adjacent to City (power elite)

Average CE pay £2.5 : average countryside £22,060 pa.

20 years to 2000: London manufacturing fell 63%; finance grew 81%

Global City

Jerusalem = religious world city; Sydney = lesbian/gay networks; Hollywood & Mumbai film capitals.

London has re-invented itself as economic Global City of power. (w Paris, Tokyo, NY) Thus highlighting of urban economy at the expense of other aspects of what a city is or can be.

- In London: 30% global foreign exchange; 40% global foreign equity market; 70% Eurobonds; 250 foreign banks; 550 foreign companies listed on stock exchange. International markets in insurance, futures, metals, pensions, banking, maritime.
- Deregulation: October 1986. Colonisation by private capital of industries (utilities) and services (welfare state) formerly provided by government.
- Promotion of competitive individualism & self-reliance. Undermining of 'public good'
- Land and property interests vital (no longer as pre-requisite for industry but as source of income in itself with high property costs assisting)

Imperial Inheritance

- Dominant global infrastructure historically offered 1980s advantage economically, politically, socially, culturally, physically, spatially.
- Also been the willing object of American embrace, dealing Eurodollars (dollars owned by non-americans) as offshore extension of New York as worlds biggest international trading centre. This loose-canon money destroyed Keynesian/Bretton Woods system.
- Imperialist Traditions much valued by elite. Key personnel all within central London with its exclusionary convivial bars and clubs. Undemocratic; exclusionary; colonial (subaltern, subordinate, relationships) demeaning (creates supplicants) we have been collecting the tribute ever since.

London vs UK

Does London float free from rest of UK? No. In fact London exports

- economically 28.5% to rest of UK (12.33% goes abroad)
- Financial services: 40% rest of UK (31.46% abroad)
- Business services 33% (13% abroad)

London elite vs the Poor – sustainable?

- **Social Cohesion at risk. London is a wealth and poverty machine.** The far right respond to these real questions - not sustainable!?
- Highest incidence of child-poverty; gender pay-gap; means-tested benefit pensioner poverty; homelessness and overcrowding, in UK
- More than half all immigration in UK is to London. Eastern-Europeans flee neoliberalism of the East. Graduates migrate into London because job expansion is managerial, locals losing out (and exporting Poland losing too).
- Social Housing sales etc increase cost of living in London so poor have less after costs than elsewhere. Public sector and service personnel hard to house.
- Special measures are wheeled in: key workers' housing; London weighting; affordable housing; gentrification to inject elite into inner areas. Underneath the male fat cats cause the problem.

Downside of Global for London:

- Inequality
- Intensification of poverty in London
- Unstable social reproduction without inflow of skills (tensions!)
- Drains other nations and Regions
- Perpetuates North South divide
- It claims to be cultural mix yet inequalities
- Consumption and greed are good?
- 'Top' global cities are not those voted best to live in.
- Spatial concentration of elite reinforces their isolation from realities elsewhere
- London's identity is reduced to its economy & attendant factors

New Labour:

- City Mayors and Regions designed to roll out neoliberalism from London.
- Assumed that London is the only single driver of UK. (driver is economic?)
- This changed rules of game – want money - go to regional agencies.
- Set regions against one another, as part of mind-set, and always supportive of London's expansion.
- Social and political ties or drivers ignored.
- Social exclusion of areas if they could not join mainstream.

Space and Place:

- Politics of place – elections are on local basis but this is inadequate in world of flows.
- We are responsible for past not for what we have done but what it has made us. Are we responsible for what our present space is making of others' place? Radical Hospitality is for those inside our gates and those who remain outside.
- Need to progress from guilt to solidarity in regard to heritage of old empire. We must all become internationalists – even at very local level subsidiarity will not do (all must have international affairs at our heart not just central governments)
- Most Londoners were born elsewhere or owe allegiance elsewhere. Skills import offers progress for individuals but could our government pay restitution to despoiled countries? (obligation rather than aid)
- International links/partnerships? Fair trade etc. This requires cooperation between cities rather than competition! (TINA be damned) Where does London end?
- Global Waste and warming emanating from London. Also London is HQ of two of largest oil companies, BP and Shell.

London's wealth is not just because of new global factors but because politicians have steered us towards

- Financialisation,
- deregulation and
- marketisation.

Extras:

London Deficit: pays more tax etc (but because rich live there!) and does not calculate human drain to London.

Within London the Living Wage campaign (2001 telco)