

Doreen Barbara Massey

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by

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DOREEN MASSEY

In his remarkable book *Blind Spot*, the photographer, writer and critic Teju Cole writes of A ‘fluency in the dialect of geography’.¹ Although referring to the US poet Elizabeth Bishop whose work is characterised by a concern for the small everyday things of the world, especially scenes of work and production, to the Italian photographer and artist Luigi Ghirri who captures the oft-times surreal in landscape photographs examining the relationship between people and their environment, and to Italo Calvino the Italian journalist and author of stories of the wonders of the ordinary frequently heightened by the displacement of their protagonists, it is difficult to imagine a more appropriate—if terse—description of Doreen Massey’s powerfully formative intellect, imagination and practice.

What is more, such connections with the visual and literary arts are especially apposite: Doreen’s take on the world transcended particular disciplines and spheres of life to embrace them all. A clear manifestation of this inclusive understanding of the world was her founding in 1995 (along with Stuart Hall and Michael Rustin) of *Soundings*—a journal ‘working within the Gramscian tradition of conjunctural analysis as a way of understanding the intertwining of complex forces in any given political moment’.² *Soundings* includes, for example, frequent close engagements with architecture, art and artists as well as a continuing fascination with the natural environment. And, above all, perhaps, it also insists on relationships between the quotidian and the extraordinary. However, *Soundings* was—and still is—primarily a left political journal. Its point, to show the wide relevance of left thought to contemporary life and to bring that thought to bear on the current political conjuncture.

Doreen’s world was multi-dimensional and could, perhaps, begin to be understood only through the similarly multi-dimensional and open-ended qualities of Geography as a discipline. Her life was lived in and through Geography (as an academic discipline) and geography (as lived spatial relations). However, although this assertion is entirely appropriate, it is all too easily reductive and limiting. Teju Cole refers to what he calls ‘the shimmering boundary between the map and the territory’³ but for Doreen such a boundary shimmered with the formative relationships between them. Furthermore, the spatiality often associated with the notion of ‘dialect’ opens up the frame of the dialectic—with which she was thoroughly and critically aware—but, as befits her (geographical) world-view, it does so in a way which recognised and incorporated the kinds of multiples associated with dialects. The relationships between dialectic and dialect are an important reminder that Doreen’s over-riding intellectual

¹ T. Cole, *Blind Spot* (London, 2017), p. 24.

² Along with Stuart Hall and Michael Rustin, Doreen was one of the three founding editors. Not only conjunctural in the Gramscian sense, *Soundings* also publishes politically activist material across the literary and visual arts: <https://www.lwbooks.co.uk/soundings/about-soundings> (accessed 20 June 2018).

³ Cole, *Blind Spot*, p. 24.

and political motivation was always with the ways in which geography shapes society and, thereby, informs politics. Her multi-dimensional interests both shaped and were shaped by this politics and geography.

On this she was insistent. Her notion of geography was simultaneously territorial and relational. It recognised that territoriality and relationality were in continuous but forever changing and mutually formative relationship. Social and environmental life can be lived only through place-based spatial relationships. On the one hand, these relationships are distinctively, and always dynamically, formed as ‘territory’—with all that term implies about the interrelationships between the natural world and the social. But at the same time, places are also continuously shaped and reshaped by, as well as being formative of, the multitude of active links (flows of people, ideas, money, commodities ...) which extend across and well beyond them. Geography and geographies of life shaped by it are, thereby, heavily and influentially involved in the ways in which social, economic and political practices are conducted and, literally, *take place*. This notion of Geography simply cannot allow simplistic formal notions of dialectical reasoning to prevail. Geography and geographies are just too complex for that. They are inherently open—hence their vital formative influence in shaping not only social and natural science beyond Geography but of politics. ‘Geography’—in Doreen’s phrase—‘matters’.⁴

And for her this is no form of idealism. It reflects rather the geographical recognition that multiple alternative possibilities are always present, are continuously being formed and are, therefore, always of political interest and potential. But it also reflects the responsibility of the geography of social life—a responsibility to recognise the geographical constitution of injustice and to expose, understand and resist that which is unjust. The inherency of political responsibility within the making of geographies was a central trajectory of her work.⁵ Politics then is always open. It is so because the geographies—territorial and relational—through which lives are lived and unevenly developed imply a responsibility for political relations—for the relations of power continuously produced and embedded in uneven geographies and for the possibility of their transformation. An example of the practical implications of this conception of a formative responsible geography and politics and of Doreen’s influence on public policy was the deal between the Greater London Authority under Ken Livingstone and Venezuela whereby the former exchanged expertise for the

⁴D. Massey and J. Allen (eds.), *Geography Matters! A Reader* (Cambridge, 1984).

⁵See, for example, D. Massey, ‘Geographies of responsibility’, *Geografiska Annaler, Series B, Human Geography*, 86 (2004), 5–18; D. Massey, ‘Politicising space and place’, *The Scottish Geographical Magazine*, 112 (1996), 117–23.

latter's cheap oil—a deal later scrapped by Livingstone's right-wing successor as Mayor of London.⁶

‘... the pleasure in all this complexity also then asks you
to be responsible towards it’⁷

And it is here that the inseparability of Doreen's politics, geography, Geography and life is rooted. Her (geographically heightened) awareness of difference and of the ‘strong sense of injustice’⁸ associated with it did not and could not allow a separation between her Geography and her politics. As she put it herself:⁹

The fact that I have the characteristics that I have is the result of the geographies within which I am set. And those geographies ... are all full of power.

Not for Doreen the mere application of Geography to politics nor, conversely, the political selection of things geographical for study on the artificial grounds that they are thereby rendered ‘relevant’. For her ‘everything was political’¹⁰ and so the notion of ‘relevance’ would have no meaning as her politics was played out and, thereby, formed through geographies. Her work in Geography was driven by her politics and, at the same time, her political activism was always shaped by the formative influences of geography. Everything that she did formed, and was shaped by, this ‘seamless world’.¹¹

In related fashion, Doreen could not recognise any separation between ‘work’ and ‘life’. The phrase ‘work–life balance’ would simply have been irrelevant to her. Her work was her life and vice versa. But at the same time, this characteristic is all too easily reductive when applied to Doreen. She was a totally collaborative—if very demanding—colleague, writer and teacher. It was difficult—verging on the impossible—to emulate her total commitment to her work and to the politics which it informed and from which it gained its dynamic. During a clearly very uncomfortable inquisition concerning the slow progress being made by one of her former PhD students she

⁶R. Meegan, ‘Doreen Massey (1944–2016). A geographer who really mattered’, *Regional Studies*, 51 (2017), 1285–96.

⁷D. Livingstone and D. Massey, ‘Geography and geographical thought’, in R. Lee et al. (eds.), *The Sage Handbook of Human Geography Volume 2* (London, 2014), p. 742; video at <http://bcove.me/siljk2yb> (accessed 20 June 2018).

⁸Interview with BL, 21 September 2017.

⁹*Secret City*, 2012: secretcity-thefilm.com (accessed 20 June 2018).

¹⁰Interview with TM, 16 February 2017.

¹¹Interview with RA, 2 May 2017.

commented, ‘I do not expect anyone to work any harder than I do.’¹² Some comfort! A co-supervisor subsequently felt the need to visit the student at home to ensure that any consequent damage to morale was not too great. ‘Going home’ for Doreen ‘did not mean doing something different.’¹³ But equally, when chatting about a very well-known and influential academic, she regretted the tendency to use him as a role model as emulation would have been well-nigh impossible. ‘When’, she once asked, ‘does he do the washing-up?’

At the same time, although she was ‘never susceptible to the lure of bourgeois pleasures’, was ‘judgemental about not being serious’ and even that having fun was always ‘linked to being serious’,¹⁴ she was a vibrant, life-affirming and joyous companion. A former colleague remembered ‘dancing with Doreen until dawn’¹⁵ during an Open University residential summer school. Her capacity for uninhibited joy was realised most especially perhaps when, Manchester born and bred, she was able to watch her beloved Liverpool FC. Although this was a love born in part by childhood experience and her mother’s approval of certain of the club’s players, it was also informed by the uneven inter-urban economic and social geographies of the two cities. Her excursions to the Kop at Anfield were always shared with colleagues and friends not only because their company enhanced the pleasure but also because her long-standing and severe osteogenic problems and small physical stature made solo visits impossible. She ‘wished that she could switch off’¹⁶ and her visits to Anfield were amongst those moments which were as close as she got to be able to do so. And maybe she did not need to switch off. She was ‘never off duty’¹⁷ and hers was, after all, ‘a life made with friends and her work’¹⁸ comprised throughout by ‘intense intellectual discussion and seriousness of purpose’.¹⁹

The vibrant empathy with a community of others—clearly demonstrated by her delight at standing on the Kop and joining in all the singing and ribaldry—was widely recognised and immensely valued by the myriad audiences with whom she engaged in places ranging from church hall and pubs on wet Tuesday evenings to monumental international conference venues and the highest corridors of power. ‘Conversations’ best describes the style of Doreen’s innumerable talks and presentations which, even in the most formal of surroundings, were always open, direct, crystal clear and, no

¹²Interview with DC, 15 August 2017.

¹³Interview with RA, 2 May 2017.

¹⁴Interview with MH, 14 March 2017.

¹⁵Ibid.

¹⁶Interview with MB, 17 February 2017.

¹⁷Interview with MH, 14 March 2017.

¹⁸Interview with SC, 23 February 2017.

¹⁹Interview with MH, 14 March 2017.

matter how abstract the subject, consistently elucidated by accessible examples. Her deep understanding of what she was talking about and ‘her way with words may have swept people along’ with her arguments.²⁰ She would frequently ask questions of her audience or seek confirmation from someone that she recognised that the point that she was making was accurate and appropriate. She was, in short, totally engaged both with the urgency of the topic of her talk and her audience, however big or small:

she was one of the most charismatic speakers I have ever heard. I remember her tiny frame absolutely filling one enormous lecture hall with energy and passion, extemporising from handwritten notes, intensifying the entire space. I can hear her voice now, and her laughter.²¹

Given all of this, it is hardly surprising that Doreen’s work has not only had enormous formative political and geographical leverage throughout the world or that it has been so widely and incisively celebrated. The widespread institutional recognition of her contributions offers a reminder of the breadth and extent of her scholarly interests. Doreen was a founder Academician of the Academy of Learned Societies in the Social Sciences (1999) and a Fellow of the Royal Society of Arts (2000) as well as of the British Academy (2002). In 1998, she became the first woman to be awarded the Lauréat Prix International de Géographie Vautrin Lud—the so-called ‘Nobel de Géographie’. She was awarded the Victoria Medal of the Royal Geographical Society (1994), the Anders Retzius Gold Medal of the Swedish Society of Anthropologists and Geographers (2003) and the Centenary Medal of the Royal Scottish Geographical Society (2003), and received honorary doctorates from the Universities of Edinburgh, Glasgow, the National University of Ireland and Queen Mary, University of London.

Two substantial books (a *Festschrift*²² comprised of eighteen chapters—and, so reluctant was Doreen to be honoured in this way,²³ compiled largely in secret to mark her retirement in 2009 as Professor of Geography at the Open University, a post that she had held for twenty-seven years; and a collection of more than twenty-five essays reflecting on ‘a critical life’²⁴) are the most formal of these responses. In the light of all of this material, to say nothing of the revealing biographical interview with Doreen conducted

²⁰ Interview with DC, 15 August 2017.

²¹ G. Rose, *Remembering Doreen* Blog 12 March 2016: <https://visualmethodculture.wordpress.com/2016/03/12/remembering-doreen/> (accessed 20 June 2018).

²² D. Featherstone and J. Painter (eds.), *Spatial Politics: Essays for Doreen Massey* (Chichester, 2013).

²³ Interview with DC, 15 August 2017.

²⁴ M. Werner, J. Peck, R. Lave and B. Christophers (eds.), *Doreen Massey: Critical Dialogues* (Newcastle upon Tyne, 2018).

as part of her 1998 *Hettner Lecture* in Heidelberg²⁵ as well as three outstanding and lengthy surveys of her work²⁶ and an extended appreciation of her major philosophical work *For Space* published in *M@n@gement*, an international journal of strategic management,²⁷ there is little point in rehearsing—far less knowledgably, it would have had to be said—its content here. What follows, therefore, is an attempt to record my own personal reflections on, and understanding of, her life—her geography, politics, birdwatching, football and companionship—set within the scholarly and political frames in which she lived and worked.

And this is an appropriate stance²⁸ to take as in many ways it was the ‘Twitter storm’²⁹ that followed her death in 2016 that perhaps best reflects the immediate and widespread influence that Doreen had on countless individuals and the multifarious ways in which her life and work connected so directly with theirs.³⁰ Without exception, these responses display not only admiration and respect but genuine affection for someone who, even if she was not known personally to the authors of the Tweets, seemed somehow to be so known. The reason for this deep and widespread connection with Doreen was not only that ‘her ideas ... have transformed huge swathes of human geography and beyond’ but that ‘she could ... be incredibly warm—to everyone and anyone’.³¹ This warmth translated into deep and lasting friendships even when Doreen’s political trajectory diverged markedly from those of her friends with whom, in at least one case, she continued actively to make many excursions: walking, visits to National Trust sites, eating out, holidays and modernising her tiny flat.³²

²⁵T. Freytag and M. Hoyler, ‘I feel as if I’ve been able to reinvent myself—a biographical interview with Doreen Massey’, in D. Massey, *Power-Geometries and the Politics of Space-Time: Hettner-Lecture 1998* (Heidelberg, 1999), pp. 83–90.

²⁶F. Callard, ‘Doreen Massey’, in P. Hubbard, R. Kitchin and G. Valentine (eds.), *Key Thinkers on Space and Place*, 2nd edn (London, 2011), pp. 299–306; N. Castree, ‘A tribute to Doreen Massey (3 January 1944–11 March 2016)’, *Progress in Human Geography*, 40 (2016), 585–92; Meegan, ‘Doreen Massey (1944–2016)’.

²⁷B. Sergot and A.-L. Saives, ‘Unplugged—Relating place to organization: a situated tribute to Doreen Massey’, Cairn.info.htm, 2016; <https://www.cairn.info/revue-management-2016-4-p-335.htm> (accessed 20 June 2018).

²⁸‘Appropriate’, certainly, but also ironic in the light of Doreen’s reluctance to engage with social media.

²⁹H. Wainwright, ‘“How we will miss that chuckle”: my friend, Doreen Massey’, reprinted in Werner et al., *Doreen Massey: Critical Dialogues*; see also <https://www.opendemocracy.net/uk/hilary-wainwright/how-we-will-miss-that-chuckle-my-friend-doreen-massey>; <http://www.redpepper.org.uk/tribute-doreen-massey/> (accessed 20 June 2018).

³⁰And this is to say nothing of the range of obituaries which appeared in the national and local media from *The Guardian* (27 March 2016) and *The Daily Telegraph* (21 March 2016), to the *Manchester Evening News* (13 March 2016) and the *Ham and High* (29 March 2016).

³¹Rose, *Remembering Doreen*.

³²Interview with KG, 24 April 2017.

‘You need passion and you need rigour too’

In a conversation videoed in 2013,³³ Doreen discussed ideas of geography and geographical thought with the geographer David Livingstone whose work has focused especially on the historical geography of ideas. During this conversation, Doreen would not allow the discussion to stay simply at the purely intellectual level. She constantly drew out the political inherent in all intellectual practice and railed against the over-use of the word ‘critical’ in contemporary geography.³⁴

Nobody ever does anything in geography that isn’t ‘critical’ ... [and] that evacuates the term of all meaning. ... We should really have a think in Geography about what a really serious critical Geography might be, and in what sense Geography can be an intervention that *does* make a difference. And it isn’t just establishing your own credentials as progressive and something to put on your CV. We’ve got to get beyond that You need passion and you need rigour too.

This passage sums up her approach to her work as a completely committed practice inseparable from wider concerns in life, oblivious to mere self-advancement and issues of academic or political identity, wholly serious, ‘challenging and determined’³⁵ and demanding ‘intellectual rigour’,³⁶ all of which might combine to make a political and hence social difference. This was how she lived and worked—with rigour and clear political purpose—and, whilst she did not expect more from her students and her colleagues, she did not expect less.

In her blog post *Remembering Doreen* Gillian Rose wrote ‘she wasn’t always an easy person to work with. She could be very critical; she could insist on things being done her way’³⁷—‘everything on her own terms’.³⁸ And she would make that expectation perfectly plain, even coming across with a ‘slight prickliness’.³⁹ Her ‘intense moral rectitude’, even ‘puritanism’, ensured a brutal ‘honesty’ and the ‘unvarnished truth’.⁴⁰ She would, for example, never write an endorsement of a book as she saw such practices not merely as mere advertising for publishers and almost always less than fully honest⁴¹ but also as an often gendered form of nepotism.⁴²

³³ Livingstone and Massey, ‘Geography and geographical thought’.

³⁴ Ibid.

³⁵ Interview with MB, 17 February 2017.

³⁶ Livingstone and Massey, ‘Geography and geographical thought’.

³⁷ Rose, *Remembering Doreen*.

³⁸ Interview with MH, 14 March 2017.

³⁹ Ibid.

⁴⁰ Interview with DC, 15 August 2017.

⁴¹ Ibid.

⁴² Interview with BL, 21 September 2017.

Writing with Doreen was ‘intimidating—it made you think very carefully about how you communicate, she was a stickler for grammar and punctuation’.⁴³ And fearing for the misplacement of apostrophes and other grammatical infelicities, supervisions with her could be ‘terrifying’.⁴⁴

The reality is that we [at the OU] were all a little bit intellectually awed by her. She did not shrink from using her powerful intellect when she thought it necessary, though only with those who deserved it and could cope with it.⁴⁵

This powerful aura was apparent in other circumstances too. During visits to meet the almost exclusively male executives at a number of large British corporations whilst undertaking research on industrial restructuring, Doreen’s diminutive stature and informal dress could so easily be patronisingly dismissed—and was—until she began the interviews when it became immediately clear to assembled executives that ‘we’re not going to mess with her’⁴⁶.

The insistent drive to ‘get to the bottom of things, to work things out’⁴⁷—phrases that were repeated in almost every conversation during the research for this memoir—were clearly acquired very early in her life. As a child on the Wythenshawe municipal housing estate south of Manchester on which she was brought up, she lived with her parents and her sister who recalls a meeting, called and chaired by Doreen—then around the age of seven—and held in her bedroom, to discuss the important issues of birds and birdwatching in their small back garden. At issue was the role played by the bird food placed in the garden by their mother for its avian visitors. As with so many apparently mundane matters in apparently ordinary life, for Doreen birds ‘were a means to become curious and to explore—they were a focus of thought’⁴⁸ and they remained an object of delight and a means of relaxation, though never without serious intellectual purpose, throughout her life. Everything she observed had potential significance. A family walk along The Street—the Roman road heading south-east from Buxton [*Aquae Arnemetiae*] south-east towards modern Derby—prompted the querying observation that ‘it’s got a bend in it’,⁴⁹ thereby challenging the common notion that all such roads were dead straight. Self-confidence in her ability came only in ‘what she worked out’. This helps explain her insatiable desire to ‘ferret things

⁴³ Interview with TM, 16 February 2017.

⁴⁴ Interview with BM, 4 May 2017.

⁴⁵ Email correspondence with MH, 8 March 2017.

⁴⁶ Interview with TM, 16 February 2017.

⁴⁷ Interview with MB, 17 February 2017.

⁴⁸ Ibid.

⁴⁹ Ibid.

out'.⁵⁰ Always based on immaculate preparation and 'taking nothing at face value',⁵¹ this relentless dedication and thoroughness fed all of her academic work which was characterised by deep but critical knowledge and understanding.

A thorough minute of the bedroom meeting was taken by Doreen and recorded in a notebook. This was a precursor of the many meetings at the Open University (OU) preparing course texts and selecting readings to go along with them.

It was pretty clear in these debates that, while all our views were taken into account, Doreen was the *prima inter pares*. Woe betide anyone who put forward ill thought out or weak ideas. She would very strongly defend her positions and ideas and criticise those she thought were weak, misguided or wrong. Doreen could be a tough taskmaster and I think all of us eventually had our abilities sharpened and developed.⁵²

The consequence of this was that for at least one of her colleagues, 'the OU was ... without question the most stimulating intellectual environment I have worked in',⁵³

'The way we are, and the way places are, is a product of
our interrelations with everywhere else.
And those geographies, those relations, ... are all full of power'⁵⁴

Of all the themes with which Doreen Massey engaged in her intellectual/political practice, the relationship between the two fundamental dimensions of existence—time and space⁵⁵—was what both drove her reformulation of geographical space and informed her politics based on what she called 'power-geometry'.⁵⁶ Although she suggested that it was her anger at the downgrading of space relative to time both within philosophy and, beyond Geography, in 'the rest of the social sciences' where space was treated as 'a kind of residual dimension' that provoked this work,⁵⁷ her annoyance was generated not by narrow disciplinary defensiveness but, as ever, by the political implications of the downgrading of space to 'a kind of flat, inert given'. She wished, therefore 'to bring space alive, to dynamise it and to make it relevant, to

⁵⁰ Ibid.

⁵¹ Ibid.

⁵² Email correspondence with MH, 14 March 2017.

⁵³ Ibid.

⁵⁴ D. Massey, Secretcity-thefilm.com/wp-content/uploads/2012/09/Secret-City-Transcript.pdf (accessed 20 June 2018).

⁵⁵ D. Massey, *For Space* (London, 2005).

⁵⁶ D. Massey, 'Power-geometry and a progressive sense of place', in J. Bird, B. Curtis, T. Putnam, G. Robertson and L. Tickner (eds.), *Mapping the Futures: Local Cultures, Global Change* (London, 1993), pp. 60–70.

⁵⁷ D. Massey, 'Doreen Massey on Space *Social Science Bites*', podcast, Social Science Space.html, 2013: <https://www.socialsciencespace.com/2013/02/podcastdoreen-massey-on-space/> (accessed 20 June 2018).

emphasise how important space is in the lives in which we live, and in the organisation of the societies in which we live'.⁵⁸

And this process of revival had to include but go beyond a mere economism: geographical space is far too complex to allow such a reductive approach. It is also too complex to allow any notion of de-territorialisation and the consequent displacement of place as a powerful component not only of geographical analysis but also of social practice. Places—territories which may be defined at a whole range of scales from the hyper-local to the international—offer the complex formative context of such practice. The particularities of place shape the material, environmental, political, historical, locational, ... contexts within which social practice *takes place* and so frame the boundaries of the possible. Places thereby contribute to differentiation and so de-legitimize any theoretical presumption of sameness. And places enable and constrain social practice—an example would be the possibilities of external economies of scale in financial practice enabled by clustering in places like the City of London. In these ways, place undermines any notion of inert space and so is central to the dynamisation of space.

These ideas began to be formulated in some of Doreen's early work at the Centre for Environmental Studies⁵⁹ but they started to take on the shape that would inform all her subsequent work in her extensive empirical research on industrial restructuring in the UK undertaken with Richard Meegan.⁶⁰ The notion that spatial factors were somehow independent of economic and social practice and could, therefore, be analysed as separate and autonomous causes of uneven development and the location of economic activity was blown apart by this work. It showed how corporate strategies responded to diverse forms of uneven geographical development by adopting a range of practices of profit-driven restructuring thereby causing place and space to be (re)constructed. This work and the subsequent two years spent as a competitively-awarded SSRC Senior Research Fellow at the London School of Economics (LSE) led in 1984 to the publication of her first single-authored book—the immensely influential *Spatial Divisions of Labour* appropriately subtitled *Social Structures and the Geography of Production*. The book had a profound transformative effect within economic geography and urban and regional studies setting both off on new trajectories by problematising the nature and significance of corporate geographies of production and their responsiveness to, and reshaping of, territorial and relational geographies.

⁵⁸ Ibid.

⁵⁹ From the outset, Doreen was inherently critical of the assumptions underpinning much of the work of CES. See, for example D. Massey, 'Towards a critique of industrial location theory', *Antipode*, 5 (1973), 33–9, reproduced from a piece initially published in the CES working papers.

⁶⁰ See, for example, D. B. Massey and R. A. Meegan, 'Industrial restructuring versus the cities', *Urban Studies*, 15 (1978), 273–88.

Revealing the use of space made by, and the transformative effects of, industrial capital it rewrote the way in which geographical space was thought and analysed. No longer could it be thought as being merely a passive stage on which economic, social and environmental practices were played out.⁶¹ Rather it was an influential and formative component of those practices. Furthermore, *Spatial Divisions of Labour* formed a vital stage in the development of Doreen's thought towards the notion that 'geography matters' in highly complex and politically challenging ways.

Places change. They do so through the interaction of internal and external relations in ways which not only constantly redefine what is external and what is internal to place but reshape places themselves. In so doing, the very forces and relations of change are transformed and then, in a complex and continuous iterative process, a further round of change is set off. This notion of the interrelationships between territorial and relational space is both space- and place-making. Flows of money, for example, circulate in and across places and so change them. But in so doing such flows are themselves used, changed, interrupted, controlled, redirected by the circumstances of place which then change in turn and so further change the flows. An example of this kind of thinking in Doreen's writing and developed in *Spatial Divisions of Labour* is the notion of rounds of investment associated with the dynamics of production and corporate organisation. Geographies of investment reflect the profit-seeking forms of organisation and structure pursued by capital and so reflect past rounds of investment which shaped places and constrained and directed current rounds. Place—territorial space—is, therefore, in continuous iterative interaction with relational space; the two notions are distinguishable in thought but inseparable in practice. Politically, this is a very powerful notion. However, a critique of it is that in seeking to project place and space on to a wider politics the specificities and sense of place may be downplayed.⁶²

But, for Doreen, the analytical drive of such thinking is directed towards the politics of geographical relations. And she shows that it has profound political significance.

If time is the dimension in which things happen one after the other, it's the dimension of succession, then space is the dimension of things being, existing at the same time: of simultaneity. It's the dimension of multiplicity. ... it is space that presents us with the question of the social. And it presents us with the most fundamental of political of questions which is how are we going to live together.⁶³

⁶¹ D. Massey, *Spatial Divisions of Labour: Social Structures and the Geography of Production* (London, 1984; second edition, Basingstoke, 1995).

⁶² Interview with BM, 4 May 2017.

⁶³ Massey, 'Doreen Massey on Space *Social Science Bites*'.

Before exploring the connections in her thought and practice between place, space and politics, it is worth pausing to note that in suggesting that how we are ‘going to live together’ is ‘the most fundamental of political questions’, she offers an insight into her own politics, grounded, left-orientated, shaped by place and highly committed—she was, for example, sceptical of one of her colleagues ‘for not being fully engaged with the struggle’⁶⁴—but always democratic.

Notions of simultaneity, multiplicity, (inescapable) togetherness and responsibility are both highly geographical and highly political. And these two qualities are closely interrelated. First, privileging time over space and thereby ‘denying the simultaneity, the multiplicity of space ... and turning all those differences into a single historical trajectory’—turning space into time—converts ‘contemporaneous difference ... into a single linear history’.⁶⁵ In the context of global uneven development this denies the notion of simultaneity, multiplicity and responsibility. All places are conceived as following the same trajectory from underdeveloped to developed with the implication that all should, therefore, necessarily conform to the norms of the developed. Aside from ignoring the possibility that alternatives are always present, such a formulation also denies the notion of power.

Space concerns our relations with each other and in fact social space, I would say, is a product of our relations with each other, our connections with each other. So globalization, for instance, is a new geography constructed out of the relations we have with each other across the globe. And the most important thing that that raises if we are really thinking socially, is that all those relations are going to be filled with power. So what we have is a geography which in a sense is the geography of power. The distribution of those relations mirrors the power relations within ... society⁶⁶

And, of course, this line of reasoning points to the geographical production and shaping of power itself. By virtue of their position in relational space, places are unevenly endowed with power. The geography of personal accumulation created by the multitude of local housing markets offers one obvious source of such power whilst its ability to reproduce itself within dynamic local markets serves to intensify its unequal distribution. Such unequal geographies of power operate at all scales from the local to the global. At the global level think, for example, of the power projected around the world by financial centres like the City of London⁶⁷ and spaces of offshore finance or by the headquarters of trans-national corporations and, at the national and

⁶⁴ Interview with MH, 14 March 2017.

⁶⁵ Massey, ‘Doreen Massey on Space *Social Science Bites*’.

⁶⁶ Ibid.

⁶⁷ D. Massey, *World City* (Cambridge, 2007).

sub-national levels, of the power endowed upon place by the geography of national government and corporate geographies.⁶⁸

Such spaces generate the real politics of social relationships and of ‘living together’ as well as shaping the formal politics of political allegiance and the struggle for power—a struggle with which Doreen Massey was engaged throughout her life. At the same time, her understanding of the underlying geographies of the formation and dynamics of politics and power also elucidates the kind of radical policies needed to redress inequalities of political power—policies that once again she sought to identify and put into practice.⁶⁹

What is crucial in her ‘thinking relationally about politics’⁷⁰ is not merely that the ‘spatiality of society is part of what moulds and produces society—but also that we produce spaces that do have those effects’.⁷¹ Not only, then, is it true that ‘geography is integral to almost anything that happens’⁷²—in other words that ‘Geography matters’⁷³ in all the profoundly significant ways outlined above—but that those geographies and the power associated with them can be remade. And this implication of responsibility is an intrinsic and vital component of conceiving of geographical space in this way. Such a sense and practice of responsibility is both quotidian and endemic. It is politically inescapable.

‘there was a consciousness that location mattered,
that place mattered at a number of levels from the start’

In her conversation with David Livingstone,⁷⁴ Doreen described how she began to think geographically. Like Livingstone—a native of Northern Ireland—she was drawn to Geography and to the realisation of the inseparability of politics and geography by where she lived as a child.

⁶⁸ D. Massey, A. Amin and N. Thrift, *Decentering the Nation: a Radical Approach to Regional Inequality* (London, 2003). If *World City* addresses this issue at a global level, J. Allen, D. B. Massey and A. Cochrane, *Re-Thinking the Region* (London, 1998) does so at the regional/national level.

⁶⁹ *Ibid.*

⁷⁰ Interview with BL, 21 September 2017; see, for example, D. Massey, ‘The conceptualisation of space and place and why it matters politically’ (Norrköping, Advanced Cultural Studies Institute of Sweden, 4 October 2007).

⁷¹ Livingstone and Massey, ‘Geography and geographical thought’, p. 731.

⁷² *Ibid.*, p. 733.

⁷³ Massey and Allen, *Geography Matters*.

⁷⁴ Livingstone and Massey, ‘Geography and geographical thought’, p. 730.

I come from Manchester, ... from the North (of England) and I was very conscious of regional inequality. It was part of our daily discourse. There was this saying that ‘what Manchester thinks today London will think tomorrow’. Very much not just pride, but a kind of defiance about being dominated by another region.

The geographical and political significance of Manchester and its surrounding cotton towns was manifest in a variety of ways not least, as Doreen and her colleague Linda McDowell argued,⁷⁵ in their significance for the emergence of feminist politics influenced by the centrally important role of women in the cotton trades:

women in the north west played a significant part in the industrial history of the locality and so in the construction of that sense of place that distinguishes the north west cotton towns in general and Manchester in particular from other places.⁷⁶

This is another profound and politically charged example of how and why ‘geography matters’. And, for Doreen, it mattered too in a more local context:

I also came from a council estate—corporation housing as we used to call it then—which had a really bad name. ... at times it was seen as a place that you wouldn’t really want to put on your what we now call CV because that wouldn’t help you to get a job.⁷⁷

Notwithstanding this subsequent image and reputation of Wythenshawe, when ‘Doreen was growing up in the forties and fifties, its reputation was perhaps best captured in the term “respectable”’.⁷⁸ And despite the facts that its design had been closely influenced by the principles of the Garden City movement, espoused in Wythenshawe especially by Shena Simon,⁷⁹ and that its rents were beyond the very low paid, Doreen was always anxious to acknowledge the material benefits brought by the expanded provision of state housing following the First World War. She came quickly to understand the crucial importance of what she called municipal socialism in the provision of decent housing on open and well-designed estates of the sort exemplified by Wythenshawe for a working-class population otherwise denied access to healthy

⁷⁵L. McDowell and D. Massey, ‘A woman’s place’, in D. Massey and J. Allen (eds.), *Geography Matters! A Reader* (Cambridge, 1984), pp. 128–47.

⁷⁶L. McDowell, ‘North and south: spatial divisions in a life lived geographically’, in Wernerer et al., (eds.), *Doreen Massey: Critical Dialogues*.

⁷⁷Livingstone and Massey, ‘Geography and geographical thought’, p. 730.

⁷⁸McDowell, ‘North and south’.

⁷⁹Shena Simon was one of the three movers and shakers behind the development of Wythenshawe from the mid-1920s. Her husband, Ernest Simon, and the Labour Alderman W. T. Jackson were the others. Municipal Dreams in Housing, Manchester, *The Wythenshawe Estate, Manchester: ‘the world of the future’*: <https://municipaldreams.wordpress.com/2013/04/02/the-wythenshawe-estate-manchester-the-world-of-the-future/> (accessed 20 June 2018).

places in which to live.⁸⁰ After the Second World War housing densities on the estate were increased and the population grew to 100,000. Although Doreen felt alienated by the leafy fields south of the estate⁸¹—their incorporation into Manchester to provide the space for the estate had been resisted by rural Cheshire—no doubt their proximity helped to diversify the population of avian life studied so assiduously from her bedroom window.

And, from a very early age—and in an even more personally direct fashion—she came to value the immense redistributive power of the National Health Service created by the post-war Labour government. During her childhood she, her mother and sister made endlessly repeated visits to local NHS hospitals using municipal transport to enable the diagnosis and treatment of her life-long osteogenic problems. Told then that she would be in a wheelchair from the age of 40 she successfully determined to resist that fate for the rest of her life.⁸² This kind of resistant determination in the face of bodily fragility was also manifest in her drive ‘to be the best’.⁸³ She also recognised the two-way process of involvement in the Welfare State in the form of responsibility and respect for it—a view that shaped her stance on the left of democratic politics.

If Manchester’s historical geography was replete with powerful women, such women were a highly influential on Doreen’s more immediate geography too. She grew up in a ‘household of women’.⁸⁴ Her father was politically liberal—a gentle person who favoured discussion rather than confrontation. When not at work as the Groundsman of the Northern Lawn Tennis Club—founded in 1881 and moved south from Old Trafford to middle-class Didsbury at the turn of the century—for which he sought always to ‘employ lads from local Labour Exchange’,⁸⁵ he was a football referee and so often took himself off from the ‘maelstrom of a house’⁸⁶ full of the laughter and debates of his wife and daughters. The family would often visit the ‘the Northern’ but ‘always stayed only in the kitchen’—another marker of class position. In contrast to her father, Doreen’s mother was an avid reader and wanted her daughters ‘to improve’ so teaching them manners and how to speak and to eat in order to enable them ‘to get on’.⁸⁷ Much later, after they had both returned from University, she became a member of the Labour Party.

⁸⁰ *Ibid.*; McDowell, ‘North and south’.

⁸¹ T. Barnes, ‘Her dark past’, in Werner et al., (eds.), *Doreen Massey: Critical Dialogues*.

⁸² Interview with MB, 17 February 2017.

⁸³ Interview with NG, 4 May 2017.

⁸⁴ Interview with MB, 17 February 2017.

⁸⁵ *Ibid.*

⁸⁶ *Ibid.*

⁸⁷ *Ibid.*

Just beyond the home—at the state primary school in nearby Sharston—the abundance of women teachers quickly recognised that, as they told Doreen’s parents, ‘you’ve got a very gifted child here’.⁸⁸ As such, ‘perhaps she didn’t realise that other people were not as clever’⁸⁹ and this difference may well have contributed to a degree of separation and independence in Doreen. However, her intellectual gifts continued to be fulfilled when she passed the entrance examination for the still highly prestigious (and now independent) Manchester High School for Girls—a school with many significant alumnae including Christabel Pankhurst—which Doreen was enabled to attend as a consequence in part of the boost to spending by the post-war Labour government on public education including an increase in the number of publicly funded places.⁹⁰

Although suspicious of what she called ‘origin stories’,⁹¹ Doreen’s childhood and adolescent experiences offered a range of lessons in the significance of geography in the relationships of class and gender politics. It is not surprising then that there were ‘no alternatives to Geography’⁹² in her choice of subject for undergraduate study when she won a scholarship to St Hugh’s College, Oxford in 1962. A major attraction was that the ‘discipline itself opened up ways of thinking going well beyond the discipline’⁹³ and the tradition of the Geography taught at Oxford offered an integrative framework which informed not only her way of thinking but also fed the diverse interests that she maintained in the world ranging from geomorphology to feminist politics. Whilst the lack of theoretical depth may have made the subject less than intellectually stimulating, not least to Doreen, its broad and diverse content—unfamiliar to many geographers trained after the early 1960s—continued to inform her own understanding of a non-essential, non-foundational world. Geography, for her, was simultaneously both disciplinary and inter-disciplinary.⁹⁴ Indeed, the vital significance of the relationships between physical and human geography exercised her throughout her career.⁹⁵

⁸⁸ Ibid.

⁸⁹ Ibid.

⁹⁰ McDowell, ‘North and south’, includes a number of evocative photographs of Doreen during her time at Manchester High School for Girls.

⁹¹ Livingstone and Massey, ‘Geography and geographical thought’, p. 729

⁹² Interview with MB, 17 February 2017.

⁹³ Interview with RA, 2 May 2017.

⁹⁴ Ibid.

⁹⁵ See, for example, D. Massey, ‘Space-time, ‘science’ and the relationship between physical geography and human geography’, *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers*, NS24 (1999), 261–76; S. Harrison, D. Massey, K. Richards, F. J. Magilligan, N. J. Thrift and B. Bender, ‘Thinking across the divide: perspectives on the conversations between physical and human geography’, *Area*, 36 (2004), 435–42.

However, the class and gender dislocations displayed and practised in Oxford were all too apparent: Doreen recalled, for example, being dubbed as ‘only a mill girl’⁹⁶ on one occasion. This provocative confirmation of widely and deeply held class and gender positions and attitudes intensified, no doubt, by the journeys across deeply incised class boundaries as she moved back and forth between Oxford and Wythenshawe ‘stung her into action’.⁹⁷ Arriving in Oxford as a ‘working-class Tory’,⁹⁸ she became, in her own words, ‘a raving socialist’,⁹⁹ her political radicalism stimulated by the realisation of the profound political significance of such attitudes and practices for systemic social injustice. And for the rest of her life, any boundaries between her politics and her Geography were simply non-existent.

Certainly, it is fortunate that Doreen’s insatiable curiosity about the geography of the world around her prevented a debilitating disjunction between a highly traditional syllabus ‘without passion and political commitment’¹⁰⁰ and the politics and social relations shaping the lives of young working-class women like her who, in the early 1960s, would have been even more exceptional presences in all UK universities let alone Oxford. Her comments on the Oxford experience¹⁰¹ are more than a little reminiscent of those of Richard Flanagan twenty years later: Oxford was, he said, ‘a finishing school for a certain class’.¹⁰² However, despite her ambivalent response to her time at Oxford, in 2001 she became an Honorary Fellow of St Hugh’s College and her undergraduate education did expose her to the breadth of geographical study and the complexity of the relationships that lie at its heart. Although she rejected an academic life à la Oxford,¹⁰³ her profound understanding of geographical complexity underpinned her intellectual approach to, and engagement in, social, environmental and political life.¹⁰⁴

⁹⁶ Interview with MB, 17 February 2017.

⁹⁷ Ibid.

⁹⁸ Interview with BL, 21 September 2017.

⁹⁹ <https://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/obituaries/12200242/Doreen-Massey-radical-geographer-obituary.html> (accessed 20 June 2018).

¹⁰⁰ Barnes, ‘Her dark past’.

¹⁰¹ See, for example, Freytag and Hoyler, ‘I feel as if I’ve been able to reinvent myself’; Barnes, ‘Her dark world’; McDowell, ‘North and south’.

¹⁰² R. Flanagan, *Private Passions*, BBC Radio 3, Sunday 11 March 2018.

¹⁰³ Freytag and Hoyler, ‘I feel as if I’ve been able to reinvent myself’.

¹⁰⁴ An excellent example of the geographically inscribed complexity of her understanding is offered in Allan Cochrane’s discussion of the politics of London as a world city: A. Cochrane, ‘Where is London?’, in Werner et al., (eds.), *Doreen Massey: Critical Dialogues* (Newcastle upon Tyne, 2018).

‘There is no way in which your gut politics or your gut ethical position should get in the way of an absolute clear, intellectual rigour ...’¹⁰⁵

Doreen graduated from Oxford in 1966 with a first-class degree and a Special College Prize and then—and in retrospect rather curiously—had a short-lived career in market relations before being employed as Principal Scientific Officer at the Centre for Environmental Studies (CES) by its then deputy director, Alan Wilson. CES had been set up in 1967 with a UK government grant as well as funds from the Ford Foundation as part of the then Labour government’s drive to place scientific socialism at the heart of policy development.¹⁰⁶ Her early work at CES was heavily quantitative—and hence very different both from what preceded and what followed it. However, the abiding and motivating intellectual question in her mind throughout her life—‘What does this mean?’¹⁰⁷—and her single-minded concern to ‘think things through’ and to ‘puzzle things out’ enabled her to write a number of substantial and influential critiques of this work.¹⁰⁸ These qualities led to her appointment as an editorial assistant on the journal *Environment and Planning* (remaining as a member of the Editorial Board until 1986). And then, in 1971, they led her to take a year-long sabbatical at the Wharton School in the University of Pennsylvania to gain an MA in Regional Science with the doyen of the subject, Walter Isard, in order fully to understand the quantitative logic of her work at CES.

It is entirely without paradox that, whilst at Penn, she also took an elective course on French philosophy in French and Francophone Studies and so began a life-long interaction with the ideas of Louis Althusser who remained ‘a key influence’.¹⁰⁹ The Althusserian notion of overdetermination remained with her, informing both her academic and political work. In this, it is possible to see the influence of the inherent complexity of geographical thought which, as she never failed to note, ranges across the physical, natural and sociocultural sciences and so is not reducible in any simplistic fashion. It helped inform her view of the world in which ‘everything was important and fed into her bigger picture’.¹¹⁰ Thus she rejected top-down structural frames of analysis and this led at times to forthright debates with others of a more essentialist cast. Of particular significance here is her response to the charge that studies of

¹⁰⁵ Livingstone and Massey, ‘Geography and geographical thought’, p. 741.

¹⁰⁶ Barnes, ‘Her dark world’.

¹⁰⁷ Interview with MB, 17 February 2017.

¹⁰⁸ See, for example, Massey, ‘Towards a critique of industrial location theory’.

¹⁰⁹ Interview with TM, 16 February 2017; Interview with DC, 15 August 2017.

¹¹⁰ Interview with TM, 16 February 2017.

localities were unprogressive, even merely empirical. This Marxist critique¹¹¹ of what was a major multi-site programme in the UK, spawned under the influence of her work on spatial divisions of labour and funded by the ESRC during the late 1980s, elicited a sharp response from Doreen. Although she had not participated in the localities research programme and had reservations about what it delivered, the application of her thinking about territorial and relational space to rebut such arguments was devastating in its effectiveness.¹¹²

The linkage between the quotidian and the extra-ordinary was an inevitable and inescapable feature of her work. She ‘would always get on the bus with the locals’¹¹³ and so she comprehended the world as much from such apparently ordinary experiences as from her knowledge and love of philosophy: ‘Much of life for many people, even in the heart of the First World, still consists of waiting in a bus-shelter with your shopping for a bus that never comes.’¹¹⁴ As Emma Jackson puts it,¹¹⁵ Doreen intrinsically recognised ‘the need to keep one eye on global capital and another on the bus’. This distinctive quality of her thought—she was, perhaps, ‘Marxian not a Marxist’,¹¹⁶ recognising with the likes of Raymond Williams, the ordinariness and profound significance of culture—is central to an understanding of her work and lies at the heart of the indivisibility of her academic and political practice.

This way of comprehending the world combined with her notions of the mutually formative links between relational and territorial space led to another of her insights—a global sense of place¹¹⁷—which transformed both the study of places and regions and of the causes and responsibility for global uneven development. All places are at once the product of their internal, yet dynamic, qualities in interaction with the host of influences from elsewhere that criss-cross and so change them, and of their projection of influence on and the constitution of other places. Whilst momentarily distinctive, places can never be self-contained. It is not possible to understand them simply in terms of their internal qualities no matter how distinctive these may be. And so it is wholly inadequate to try to understand regional uneven development, for

¹¹¹ See, for example, N. Smith, ‘Dangers of the empirical turn: some comments on the CURS initiative’, *Antipode*, 19 (1987), 59–66.

¹¹² For one example see her response to the Marxist critique of locality studies as unprogressive: D. Massey, ‘The political place of locality studies’, *Environment and Planning A*, 23 (1991), 267–81.

¹¹³ Interview with MH, 14 March 2017.

¹¹⁴ D. Massey, ‘A place called home?’, *New Formations*, 17 (1992), 3–15.

¹¹⁵ Keeping one eye on the bus: a tribute to Doreen Massey, Emma Jackson.html: <https://cucrblog.wordpress.com/2016/03/14/keeping-one-eye-on-the-bus-a-tribute-to-doreen-massey-by-emma-jackson/> (accessed 20 June 2018).

¹¹⁶ Interview with TM, 16 February 2017.

¹¹⁷ D. Massey, ‘A global sense of place’, *Marxism Today*, 35 (1991), 24–9.

example, in terms of regions themselves as they are always the product of relational as well as territorial processes.

These ideas were fully worked through and applied in her study of south-east England, *Rethinking the Region*,¹¹⁸ jointly authored with colleagues from the OU. And this kind of analysis which implies an active form of responsibility was also applied to her understanding of uneven development at the global scale. Doreen was nothing if not an internationalist, recognising the power of globalisation not as a top-down set of processes but as engendered within and from places as relations of power—‘power geometries’ as she put it—which could, thereby, be resisted and countered. But she also recognised the potential for cultural imperialism in such work:

A lot of us do geographies of other places. What we forget is there are geographers in those places and they do geographies of us, and there has been quite a lot of a kind of an imperial assumption of the dominance of our knowledge and cultural imperialism, knowledge imperialism.¹¹⁹

Not surprisingly, although she was pleased by the use of her notions of ‘power geometry’ in Hugo Chavez’s Venezuela, she was fully aware of the need to be ‘a lot more aware of the geographies being produced elsewhere’.¹²⁰ She was capable of writing in Portuguese and was fluent in French and Spanish—and was frequently to be observed brushing up on both languages—but, at the same time, she realised that her internationalism was inherently one-sided, limited by linguistic barriers. Thus, although she engaged closely with the Geography and politics of Venezuela, Nicaragua, Brazil and South Africa and made frequent visits to them, often being interviewed by the media, serving on the editorial boards of local journals and giving papers in the local language, her published output on these places was perforce more limited.¹²¹

Whilst her quantitative work at CES might appear to operate in a different world from her subsequent culturally inflected work on class and gender¹²²—a cultural inflection which generated vigorous discussion with other more foundational critics¹²³—and her continued close involvement in a variety of political causes, it was her interest in scientific socialism which appealed to her practice of thought and offered an integrative link between them. ‘Thinking in a rigorous way’ and ‘analytic precision’¹²⁴ were inherent qualities of her work and she expected the same of others. In this

¹¹⁸ J. Allen, D. Massey and A. Cochrane, *Rethinking the Region* (London and New York, 1988).

¹¹⁹ Livingstone and Massey, ‘Geography and geographical thought’, p. 738.

¹²⁰ Ibid.

¹²¹ See, for example, D. Massey, ‘Nicaragua: some reflections on socio-spatial issues in a society in transition’, *Antipode*, 18 (1986), 322–31.

¹²² See, for example, D. Massey, *Space, Place and Gender* (Cambridge, 1994).

¹²³ D. Massey, ‘Flexible sexism’, *Environment and Planning D: Society and Space*, 9 (1991), 31–57.

¹²⁴ Interview with BL, 21 September 2017.

she pursued an intellectual trajectory similar in some respects to others—Bill Bunge, David Harvey and Kevin Cox are prominent examples¹²⁵—who had moved from the inaccurate and wholly misleading precision of the so-called ‘quantitative revolution’ in Geography to a Geography informed by Marxist thought. However, although she admired the hyper-rationalist work of a number of sociologists, for example, this attraction to rationality was combined with ‘a cultural sensibility’¹²⁶ no doubt derived in part from her non-essentialised geographical view of the world. Influenced by Althusser’s notion of overdetermination, her receptivity to Marxian ideas reflected her own non-reductive thought. And this, in turn, was shaped by her geographically informed understanding of the complexity and historically and geographically variable nature of relationships within and between environmental and social life.¹²⁷

Unsurprisingly, then, she was very keen to promote non-quantitative work within CES and she was instrumental in persuading the Centre to appoint Richard Meegan as a non-quantitative research associate with whom she undertook large-scale empirical work on a variety of highly influential and transformative research projects concerned primarily with the relations between industrial restructuring and the changing uneven geography of the British economy as well as with the methodologies appropriate for such investigations.¹²⁸ The publications from this research are classics of their kind whilst the book-length treatment of the relationships between politics and methodology—itself a typically Masseyan conjuncture—remains staple fare over thirty years after its publication.

Much of the writing-up of this empirical research supported by Doreen’s SSRC-funded Fellowship was completed in an office close to Trafalgar Square after the closure of CES in Chandos Place. As with all her collaborative projects, the writing was shared, with Doreen’s contributions all written out in long hand. ‘Everything was hand-written’ as this technology made for a ‘more natural transmission of thought from head to arm to pen’¹²⁹ and it was then sent to Manchester to be typed by her aunt.¹³⁰ This remained Doreen’s way of writing—with her aunt’s role taken over eventually by secretarial colleagues.

¹²⁵ I am grateful to Felix Driver for reminding about these similarities.

¹²⁶ Interview with DC, 15 August 2017.

¹²⁷ Interview with RA, 2 May 2017.

¹²⁸ D. Massey and R. Meegan, *The Geography of Industrial Reorganisation: the Spatial Effects of the Restructuring of the Electrical Engineering Sector under the Industrial Reorganization Corporation* (Oxford, 1979); D. Massey and R. Meegan, *The Anatomy of Job Loss: the How, Why and Where of Employment Decline*, (London, 1982); D. Massey and R. Meegan, *Politics and Method: Contrasting Studies in Industrial Geography*, (London, 1985). This joint work fed directly into one of Doreen Massey’s most influential papers published in 1979: ‘In what sense a regional problem?’, *Regional Studies*, 13 (1979), 233–43.

¹²⁹ Interview with RA, 2 May 2017.

¹³⁰ *Ibid.*

Her appointment to the Chair of Geography at the Open University in 1982 was not only a ‘brave’¹³¹ decision but innovative,¹³² far-sighted and self-evidently highly effective. By that time, she had spent twelve years at the CES and two years as Senior Research Fellow in the Department of Geography at the London School of Economics as well as holding many part-time appointments, including several as an external examiner, a number of lecturing posts and acting as an external assessor at the Open University. Doreen had also produced many influential publications: five books including two edited collections, seventeen journal papers and nine chapters in edited books.¹³³ So maybe not so ‘brave’ an appointment after all? However, she had never held a full-time academic post, had no PhD and had only part-time teaching experience.

‘The appointment undoubtedly appeared unusual to outsiders’. However, despite caution and even timidity amongst the higher echelons of the OU, ‘within the faculty it fitted well with the exciting sense that we were building an innovative group of collegial researchers and teachers with the desire and ability to break old boundaries between and within disciplines. Indeed, that had been one of the founding tenets of the OU as a whole and had been successful in other faculties.’¹³⁴ Stuart Hall had joined the OU in 1979 and Laurence Harris in 1980 whilst David Potter was centrally involved in ‘creating a ground-breaking interdisciplinary foundation course’¹³⁵ in Social Science. When it became apparent that Doreen might be attracted to the post, it was not only the ‘power brokers’¹³⁶ at the OU who were enthusiastic but also the group of youngish social geographers on the faculty keen to develop the relationships between Geography and other social sciences. Nevertheless, the university ‘made the appointment conditional upon Doreen passing a medical’.¹³⁷

Loving ‘team work and being around ideas’, she was ‘in her element at the OU’ whilst at the same time the structure and processes of learning and teaching at the OU enabled her ‘to prepare very well for everything as she always needed time to think’.¹³⁸

¹³¹ Interview with RA, 2 May 2017.

¹³² Doreen was only the seventh woman ever to be appointed to a Chair in Geography in the UK: see R. J. Johnston and E. V. Brack, ‘Appointment and promotion in the academic labour market: a preliminary survey of British University Departments of Geography, 1933-1982’, *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers*, NS8, 100–11. I am grateful to Felix Driver for drawing my attention to this. It reveals just how iniquitous was the gendered academic appointments process as well as demonstrating its stupidity and capacity for self-harm.

¹³³ For a selection of her publications see B. Christophers, R. Lave, J. Peck and M. Werner (eds.), *The Doreen Massey Reader* (Newcastle upon Tyne, 2018).

¹³⁴ Email correspondence with SO, 16 March 2018.

¹³⁵ *Ibid.*

¹³⁶ *Ibid.*

¹³⁷ *Ibid.*

¹³⁸ Interview with NG, 4 May 2017.

Before writing anything, everything—structure, direction, argument, coherence—had to be thought through. Nothing would be committed to paper until she had the whole fully secured in her mind. For these reasons she would have found the day-to-day uncertainties of face-to-face teaching—to say nothing of the vicissitudes of administration and management—very difficult to deal with: ‘she was not a good manager as she could become obsessed about stuff which did not matter’. But ‘she was a leader’: she ‘shaped the agenda and way of thinking’.¹³⁹

However, although ‘it was very clear who was the intellectual leader’¹⁴⁰ and that ‘she was often way ahead of the rest of us’,¹⁴¹ she always accepted her position as one member within the course team. The parameters of an essentially collaborative project and group discussions ‘always involved negotiation’.¹⁴² She wanted to ensure that the courses dealt with issues that were socially and politically important. But in her identification of importance, issues of ethnicity and religion were more awkward to deal with than those of class and gender—although her analysis of class was made from a feminist perspective.¹⁴³ So there was always ‘a lot of intellectual struggle about whether certain issues should be dealt with’. ‘One could never wholly relax’ and, despite her ready sense of humour, one always ‘had to be alert’.¹⁴⁴ She could be ‘abrasive’, even ‘combative’, and ‘she was very demanding especially of people close to her but who maybe led more complicated lives’.¹⁴⁵

Although working with others was central to her *modus operandi*—and the legendary informal hour-or-so-long seminars journeying between north London and Milton Keynes by car or train with the likes of Stuart Hall and Laurence Harris were occasions of intellectual wonder for postgraduates making the same journey in the same vehicle¹⁴⁶—she also worked long and hard on her own in her ‘little flat’,¹⁴⁷ the windows of which she famously regarded as her most treasured possession.¹⁴⁸ Here was another space—the flat itself located in a district, Ariel Road, in which she felt at home and at ease as she ‘loved the mixture of Kilburn’.¹⁴⁹ Echoing her relationship with Wythenshawe, Kilburn formed a community around her from which she gained

¹³⁹ Interview with RA, 2 May 2017.

¹⁴⁰ Interview with MH, 14 March 2017.

¹⁴¹ Interview with RA, 2 May 2017.

¹⁴² *Ibid.*

¹⁴³ Interview with DC, 15 August 2017.

¹⁴⁴ Interview with MH, 14 March 2017.

¹⁴⁵ Interview with RA, 2 May 2017.

¹⁴⁶ Interview with DC, 15 August 2017.

¹⁴⁷ Interview with SC, 23 February 2017.

¹⁴⁸ R. Lee, ‘Doreen Massey’, *The Geographical Journal*, 182 (2016), 311–12.

¹⁴⁹ Interview with SC, 23 February 2017.

crucial quotidian ‘feedback’.¹⁵⁰ The flat had been acquired via a mortgage scheme backed by the London Borough of Camden¹⁵¹ and, as with the complete lack of separation for Doreen between life and work, it was a place of work as much as of residence. It was a frugal—even ‘ascetic’¹⁵²—space leavened with some art¹⁵³ but lacking many everyday items such as, for example, a TV which she was eventually cajoled to acquire¹⁵⁴ but only after many years of abstinence—of which, of course, she was unaware.

It was from this space that all her own writing emanated and in which much of the politics—and especially the re-framing of debate on the left—in which she was engaged was conceived and developed. Although academic and political colleagues would visit Ariel Road for work—to write joint papers and books, establishing *Soundings* and the *Kilburn Manifesto*, for example—much of her work involved applying her ‘fierce concentration’¹⁵⁵ to whatever she was currently thinking, reading or writing. Her insistence on working things out thoroughly for herself led to a profound sense of academic integrity—‘she was never a jumper on a band-wagon’.¹⁵⁶

The diverse positive effects of this intensity and demanding seriousness of purpose and independent style of collegiality were manifest in other ways too. The remarkable range of course-based publications emerging from the collaborative work at the OU were distinguished by a singular style—highly innovative in conceptual and theoretical terms, yet always grounded in material realities and crystal clear in expression. Whilst the work involved in these publications served to reveal the ridiculous contradictions embedded in Research Assessments in that it may well have limited the OU Geography’s research rankings,¹⁵⁷ they also had remarkable transformative effects on others both near—‘I could never have made the move from planner to academic without the work with Doreen’,¹⁵⁸ ‘she got us to do stuff that we didn’t want to do and think things we didn’t want to think’¹⁵⁹—and far in their use by the students of the OU and in their adoption by many other universities around the world.

The dedication to, and dedication of, her work was far from being confined to the OU. In her close involvement with *Environment and Planning*, *New Left Review* and then *Soundings* and the *Kilburn Manifesto*, Doreen was ‘incredibly hard-working’ and

¹⁵⁰ Interview with MB, 17 February 2017.

¹⁵¹ Ibid.

¹⁵² Interview with KG, 24 April 2017.

¹⁵³ Ibid.

¹⁵⁴ Interview with TM, 16 February 2017.

¹⁵⁵ Interview with BL, 21 September 2017.

¹⁵⁶ Interview with DC, 15 August 2017.

¹⁵⁷ Interview with SC, 23 February 2017.

¹⁵⁸ Interview with TM, 16 February 2017.

¹⁵⁹ Interview with RA, 2 May 2017.

‘scrupulous’.¹⁶⁰ And this degree of commitment was necessary as the *New Left Review* was ‘a bit of a fiasco’¹⁶¹ in the late 1980s and early 1990s when Doreen became a member of the editorial committee whilst *Soundings* and the *Manifesto* were co-created by her from scratch.

Being Doreen Massey: ‘a public figure in a private space’¹⁶²

Two central characteristics of ‘being Doreen Massey’¹⁶³ were her continuing wonder at the world around her and her sense of responsibility for it. Both were strongly shaped by the powerful intersections of geography and politics through which she understood the world. This wonder and responsibility were always closely placed in her work. Not for her a displaced view of the world from some distanced or detached prospect. She always saw the world from somewhere—a somewhere which was itself always fully located in territorial and relational space. She was ‘committed to locality’.¹⁶⁴ This meant that her politics and geography were always thoroughly grounded and so subject to the transmission of meaning. They were thereby directly related to specific material realities rather than some generalised version of such. For her, a place-based class politics is ‘generative’.¹⁶⁵

If Wythenshawe and Ariel Road, Kilburn, were two especially meaningful places for Doreen, so too was Anfield—the home of Liverpool FC. ‘No moments were wasted’¹⁶⁶ in her life and so football—the songs, the shouting, the spectacle, the community of fans on the Kop—offered a joyful release. At the same time, of course, for Doreen the experience was soaked in class politics and geographical identity. Communal participation in football was a ‘common currency’¹⁶⁷ combining politics and geography. For Doreen who ‘could talk to anybody’,¹⁶⁸ the football terraces were another place that enabled her to connect directly with the world around her.

Although she did not wish to be a celebrity, she was keenly aware of the extent to which her work had been formatively influential and filed her papers in the form of an

¹⁶⁰ Interview with SC, 23 February 2018; Interview with BL, 21 September 2017.

¹⁶¹ Interview with SC, 23 February 2018.

¹⁶² Interview with NG, 4 May 2017.

¹⁶³ Interview with MB, 17 February 2017.

¹⁶⁴ Interview with SC, 23 February 2017.

¹⁶⁵ Interview with BL, 21 September 2017.

¹⁶⁶ Interview with SC, 23 February 2017.

¹⁶⁷ Ibid.

¹⁶⁸ Interview with KG, 24 April 2017.

archive for posterity.¹⁶⁹ She ‘fed off’¹⁷⁰ the reactions to and enthusiasm for her public appearances and she coped with the demands of fame and her active involvement in public debate with the sense of responsibility which informed her politics—trying always, for example, to reply to all the contacts made with her and realising only gradually ‘that she could say “No”’¹⁷¹ to at least some of the countless invitations that flowed constantly in her direction. She was a consistently active and constructive spokesperson for the discipline of Geography and, notwithstanding the immense reach and influence of all the OU courses on which she worked, far from only at the level of higher education and research.¹⁷² However, she did consider her retirement very carefully and was clear that whilst the intellectual engagement with politics would most definitely continue, ‘she had no thoughts about carrying on with academic work’.¹⁷³

Although she was greatly influenced by the writings of Louis Althusser and by other colleagues, not least Stuart Hall, Chantal Mouffe and Ernesto Laclau, as well as occasional group discussions with academics when their interests coalesced with hers,¹⁷⁴ and although she sustained close political relationships with the likes of Ken Livingstone and Ed Miliband she always maintained a degree of separateness.¹⁷⁵ The so-called Ariel Road Group was a loose grouping including amongst others Stuart Hall, Michael Rustin, Hilary Wainwright, Robin Murray and Ken Livingstone, the discussions of which—much informed by the political consequences of the abolition of the GLC—led to the formation of *Soundings* and, later, to the *Kilburn Manifesto*. But although these groups were self-evidently powerfully formative and vital to her, she did not ally herself definitively with a particular group of activists or scholars. So she retained a degree of independence—one of her close collaborators described her as ‘quirky and independent’¹⁷⁶—and was able to work productively with others on specific issues on which they found common ground whilst at the same time she might disagree with them fundamentally on wider issues and political positions.

In short, ‘whilst being an intellectual’ her approach to political activism was shaped by a desire to retain ‘a chance to have a direct input to strategy’ by identifying

¹⁶⁹ Interview with NG, 4 May 2017.

¹⁷⁰ Interview with SC, 23 February 2017.

¹⁷¹ Interview with KG, 24 April 2017.

¹⁷² Her active involvement in the support and progressive transformation of Geography in schools was recognized when she became Honorary Vice President of the Geographical Association (1989–1993).

¹⁷³ Interview with RA, 2 May 2017.

¹⁷⁴ *Ibid.* Such groups were loose and often labeled by using the names of the places from which their members came or the routes they had to travel to get to the places in which they met.

¹⁷⁵ See, for example, D. Massey, ‘The world we’re in: an interview with Ken Livingstone’, *Soundings: a Journal of Politics and Culture*, 36 (2007), 11–25.

¹⁷⁶ Interview with KG, 24 April 2017.

a ‘feasible left alternative’.¹⁷⁷ This stance informed her collaboration with Ken Livingstone in the Greater London Enterprise Board and the development of the *London Industrial Strategy*, for example, and with the Labour Party in which she served on a number of sub-committees of the National Executive Committee as well as with her drive to produce the *Kilburn Manifesto* and to establish *Soundings*. They reflect Doreen’s role as a public intellectual—not so much an activist—and her desire to rethink and energise left politics through intense intellectual and practical engagement with questions not only of political thought—as in *Soundings*, for example—but in the *Manifesto*, with the detailed development of practical, left-orientated and post-neo-liberal policies for all the spheres of activity of a modern state.¹⁷⁸ Both of these publications are ongoing.

However she also ‘needed political heroes’ and was, perhaps, ‘unduly kind and blind to the weaknesses’ of those who, like Hugo Chavez, enthusiastically understood the world politically in line with her own views.¹⁷⁹ She was ‘always conscious—and self-aware of needing to be involved in the struggle of the oppressed’.¹⁸⁰ At the same time, however, and, although she was an ‘uncompromising and staunch socialist’ and ‘class politics’ formed the bedrock of her political position—a position that put her at odds with some of her academic collaborators¹⁸¹—she was fully aware of the difficulties of pursuing socialism within the context of a democracy in which left-wing views are so easily demonised and ‘would not have been for political suicide’¹⁸² by rigidly adopting positions which seemed to undermine the possibility of electoral legitimacy.

And this put her at odds with some of her political collaborators too.¹⁸³ Rather than wishing to be directly politically active, she wanted to ‘be in a position to make a difference’ to influence the political community to which she belonged by ‘thinking politics differently’¹⁸⁴ through geography, ‘searching for the most appropriate form of organisation for the struggle’ and by ‘trying to work out the most appropriate way to draw together different social groups’¹⁸⁵ rather than to impose a particular way of thinking and acting. The *Kilburn Manifesto* was a manifestation of this urge to ‘articulate a different way of thinking for the left’.¹⁸⁶

¹⁷⁷ Interview with MH, 14 March 2017.

¹⁷⁸ D. Massey, S. Hall and M. Rustin (eds.), *After Neoliberalism? The Kilburn Manifesto* (London, 2015).

¹⁷⁹ Ibid; Interview with RA, 2 May 2017.

¹⁸⁰ Interview with MH, 14 March 2017.

¹⁸¹ Interview with DC, 15 August 2017.

¹⁸² Interview with SC, 23 February 2017.

¹⁸³ Interview with RA, 2 May 2017; Interview with DC, 15 August 2017.

¹⁸⁴ Interview with BL, 21 September 2017.

¹⁸⁵ Interview with MH, 14 March 2017.

¹⁸⁶ Interview with BL, 21 September 2017.

And this stance was equally true of her academic work. Characterised less by empirical enquiry than by (re)interpretation, she would read such research ‘and tell you what it said’ in her own terms. ‘She thought in different ways about stuff you’d taken for granted’ and she thereby ‘shaped research agendas and ways of thinking.’¹⁸⁷

Because she had always worked things through so thoroughly and was, thereby, ‘confident in what she worked out’¹⁸⁸ and was ‘secure in her own sense of conviction’¹⁸⁹ she ‘could cope with everything on a platform’¹⁹⁰ but she was less confident in other circumstances or even with friends ‘on the other side of the tracks’—in ‘the Hampstead or Oxford scene’,¹⁹¹ for example—and she found class difference and the ‘social graces and self-confidence of the metropolitan middle class’¹⁹² difficult to deal with, certainly at a personal level. She had ‘zero interest in food’ as a cultural signifier—seeing it as a ‘bourgeois concept’¹⁹³ and ‘didn’t do cooking’¹⁹⁴—at least in spending time thinking about food and cooking as a marker of consumption. However, she was more than well-aware that cooking good and simple food mattered and cut across relations of class. Attracted by its Partnership scheme, she shopped at Waitrose and was discriminating in her choice of wine when eating out.¹⁹⁵ However—and in large part because of her deep sense of personal responsibility to others and ethical use of her funds, not least in using her savings to fund the foundation of *Soundings*—she was ‘a big saver and used a financial adviser’.¹⁹⁶ In a broader context—and although ‘she did not suffer fools gladly’¹⁹⁷—she was reticent in her perforce extensive dealings with the medical profession and was ‘badly let down’¹⁹⁸ by the NHS in her treatment after one of the falls that incapacitated her for several months. But the deeper cause of such diffidence was that she did not put herself first. Facing several winter weeks with no central heating in the flat she put up with the delays to the necessary repairs saying that ‘it was not that cold’.¹⁹⁹

Although an essentially ‘private person’ and ‘difficult to get to know’²⁰⁰ her

¹⁸⁷ Interview with RA, 2 February 2017.

¹⁸⁸ Interview with MB, 17 February 2017.

¹⁸⁹ Interview with MH, 14 March 2017.

¹⁹⁰ Interview with SC, 23 February 2017.

¹⁹¹ *Ibid.*

¹⁹² Interview with MH, 14 March 2017.

¹⁹³ Interview with KG, 24 April 2017.

¹⁹⁴ Interview with SC, 23 February 2017.

¹⁹⁵ Interview with KG, 24 April 2017.

¹⁹⁶ Interview with SC, 23 February 2017.

¹⁹⁷ Interview with KG, 24 April 2017.

¹⁹⁸ *Ibid.*

¹⁹⁹ *Ibid.*

²⁰⁰ Interview with BM, 4 May 2017.

friendships, most of which were rooted in political or academic relationships, were deep and loyal.²⁰¹ And they would remain so even in the face of a divergence of professional, academic and/or political interests. Her loyalty would remain despite her disapproval—which she would make perfectly plain—of, for example, the career choices made by certain of her colleagues.

Nevertheless, although she was ‘very focused on geography and politics’ ... she ‘had a much wider hinterland’ and so was not ‘politically categorical in friendships’.²⁰² She loved travel and was always prepared to be able to indulge this passion often delighting in seeing at first-hand geomorphological features at which she had wondered in school and university textbooks. Journeys with Doreen were an education as she was able to maintain an almost continuous commentary on the physical and historical geography and the avian identity of the places encountered as the train or the car sped by the landscape.²⁰³

Although her flat was ‘immaculate’²⁰⁴ and a ‘sanctuary’²⁰⁵ for Doreen, it was only sparsely provided with home comforts and she had very few material possessions—most such did not enter her perception of relevance—but she was interested in design and the visual arts. At one point she was persuaded that it really would be a good idea to bring her tiny galley kitchen at least minimally up to date. And once committed to such a course of action Doreen applied the same ferocious commitment and concentration to it as she did to her wider work searching enthusiastically for appropriate wall tiles to bring some colour to it and as a reminder of times spent in Mexico. But the politics of domestic refurbishment was always present: Doreen held on to her old cooker and would not countenance the installation of expensive designer mixer taps.²⁰⁶

And here we are back where this memoir began: with the small things of the world, with everyday scenes, especially of work and production, and with the wonders of the ordinary from which Doreen Massey developed a geography and a politics which transformed the ways in which space and time are thought. Far from being a much-travelled academic star—and despite the global significance of her work and its transformative effects on Geography, social science and politics—Doreen chose to hold

²⁰¹ Interview with KG, 24 April 2017.

²⁰² Ibid.

²⁰³ Interview with KG, 24 April 2017; Interview with TM, 16 February 2017.

²⁰⁴ Interview with DC, 15 August 2017.

²⁰⁵ Interview with KG, 24, April 2017.

²⁰⁶ Ibid.

only two long-term permanent posts throughout her career: the twelve years at the CES (1968–1980) and the thirty-four years as Professor of Geography in the Faculty of Social Sciences at the OU (1982–2016), the last seven years as professor emeritus. These two posts were separated by a two-year stint as an SSRC Senior Research Fellow at the LSE. Once again, the importance for her of working from place is apparent in this relatively stable geography. The span from the quotidian to the extraordinary—or rather, perhaps, from recognising the extraordinary in the quotidian—is what enabled her remarkable Geography and her politics.

Her always grounded understanding and ways of thinking and communicating, transformed theory and practice in contemporary geography. Beyond that she insisted on the spatialisation of social science, thereby transforming thinking about the nature of place, space and time. Her internationalism was inherent in the way in which she thought about the world, but she was never imperialist and was insistent that making geographies always entailed direct, immediate, personal and political responsibility. Through her insistence that geography and politics are not only inseparable but mutually formative, she changed the way in which politics is thought. Widely honoured by major scholarly societies and institutions, she refused the award of an OBE.

And all of this took place within the context of her graduating in an essentially descriptive Geography founded in the idiographic. Despite several decades of quantitative locational research emanating from scholars such as August Lösch in Germany and taken up by regional scientists—including Walter Isard—and geographers in the USA and Sweden, the idiographic approach in Geography remained predominant. By the mid-1960s, however, it was under serious challenge. Its predominance was about to be radically—even violently—transformed by what became known as spatial or locational analysis. Peter Haggett's book *Locational Analysis in Human Geography* was published in the UK in 1965, the year of Doreen's graduation. This book mounted a fundamental challenge to idiographic Geography—in some ways replacing Geography with Geometry. Whilst elements of locational analysis had by the mid-1960s begun to find their way into urban geography (central place theory) and economic geography (industrial location theory and network analysis) it had by no means revolutionised or displaced the thinking underlying idiographic Geography which remained concerned with the nature of the geographical—essentially regional—unique and so 'with asking biographical questions about the phenomena we observe'.²⁰⁷ This changed dramatically from the mid-1960s onwards with the geographical pursuit of what Haggett called 'the search for order ... asking questions

²⁰⁷ Ibid.

about the order, locational order, shown by the phenomena studied traditionally as *human geography*'.²⁰⁸

It was with the ideas and objects of analysis deriving from locational analysis that Doreen worked at the outset of her career in CES. And, as her sojourn in Pennsylvania testifies, she took this approach seriously—even if only the better to offer a critique of it. Those critiques fed into the development of her own distinctively formulated and culturally inflected version of an overdetermined Marxist political economy that shaped her conceptions of space as an integral and actively formative element of social and environmental relations. From this perspective, geographical space could not be separated from these wider relations and so it could not be understood and analysed purely in locational terms. Yet her recognition of the significance of idiographic Geography in revealing the distinctive complex qualities of place also helped inform the ways in which she worked with this approach thereby contributing so powerfully to her understanding of space and time and to her revelations of just how profoundly Geography and geography matter.

These are major achievements, the substantial reverberations of which continue to ripple way beyond Geography and into politics, social science and cultural studies. Founded in a grounded concern for place they reformulate both the idiographic contemplation of the regionally unique and the search for 'locational order'. They show how territorial difference is both distinctive and short-lived and how locational order is intimately related to wider social and economic relations which both shape and use geographical space and are shaped by it. But this profound reformulation of the nature of geographical space is far from all. The inseparability of Doreen's politics and Geography reformulated politics in active geographical terms focused on the power of place, on the relations of power exerted in and through space, and on the responsibility—not least through contributions to political analysis and the formulation of policy—for addressing uneven geographies of power. Like her powerful insights which transformed understanding of the nature and significance of geographical space, these concerns remain influentially ongoing in major publications—*Soundings* and *The Kilburn Manifesto*—in the creation of which she was both a prime mover and a subsequently powerful shaper.

The hope must be that contemporary politics will change as much and as progressively as the profound difference that she made to thought and practice in Geography and social science.

²⁰⁸ P. Haggett, *Locational Analysis in Human Geography* (London, 1975), p. 2, emphasis in original

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Note: The identities of respondents so central to the writing of this Memoir have been anonymised.

Note on the author: Roger Lee is Emeritus Professor of Geography at Queen Mary University of London.

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