



Watson, A., & Beaverstock, J. V. (2014). World city network research at a theoretical impasse:: On the need to re-establish qualitative approaches to understanding agency in world city networks. *Tijdschrift voor Economische en Sociale Geografie*, 105(5), 412-426. 10.1111/tesg.12098

Link to published version (if available):
[10.1111/tesg.12098](https://doi.org/10.1111/tesg.12098)

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**‘Nice maps, shame about the theory’?ⁱ Re-establishing qualitative approaches
to researching world city networks**

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Abstract

From the late-1990s, the establishment of a new relational approach to studying world city connectedness in globalization has run parallel to the relational 'turn' occurring in economic geography. Early work built firmly upon a qualitative approach to the collection and analyses of inter-city datasets establishing the ground for a new research agenda that considered cities as being constituted by their relations with other cities, rather than by their attributes. Subsequent research, would take a strong quantitative turn, best demonstrated through the development of the inter-locking world city network (WCN) 'model' for measuring the connectivities of cities. In this paper, we develop a critique of the WCN model, arguing that this 'top down' quantitative approach has now reached a theoretical and methodological impasse. To address this impasse, we argue for the need to move away from structure towards agency where qualitative approaches is afforded more importance in theorising world city networks.

Key words: Relational economic geography; World city networks; inter-locking network; qualitative methods; agency; transnational corporations; producer services

Introduction

From the late 1990s, the establishment of a new relational ‘turn’ in the study of the theoretical and empirical dynamics of world city connectedness in globalization has run parallel to the wider relational turn occurring in economic geography. At the forefront of this turn was the Globalisation and World Cities (GaWC) research network (www.lboro.ac.uk/gawc), a virtual network of researchers, co-Directed by Peter Taylor and Jonathan Beaverstock (then of Loughborough University, in the United Kingdom) in 1997/8, with the express mission of studying cities ‘relationally’. Taking inspiration from the writings of Saskia Sassen (1991, 1994) on advanced producer services and Manuel Castells’ (1996) scholarship on *The Network Society*, the relational approach developed by GaWC (Jonathan Beaverstock, Richard Smithⁱⁱ and Peter Taylor) argued that cities were not defined by what was contained *within* them, but rather what flowed *through* them (Beaverstock et al, 1999a and b). Cities are understood as more than just basing points for global capital – they can be read more fundamentally as *process* (Beaverstock et al., 2000; 2002), defined by what flows through them: money, information, people, knowledge, and many other things besides (see, Castells, 1992). Given that GaWC was at the forefront of leading the ‘relational’ turn in economic geography, it is curious that their work was neglected by Boggs and Rantisi (2003) and other economic geographers (e.g. Yeung, 2003; 2005a and b) in their conceptual discussions of this turn in the early 2000s (reviewed later in this paper).

Early work by GaWC built firmly upon a qualitative approach to the collection and analysis of new inter-city datasets, compiling, archiving and mapping firms’ international office networks from London, and later New York city (see, Beaverstock et al, 1999a, 2003). Indeed, Taylor’s (1997) early work on hierarchical tendencies amongst world cities and Beaverstock et al’s (2000) relational approach to studying world cities both had the content analysis of newspapers (e.g. The Wall Street Journal), firm annual reports, and international office directories, at the heart of their methodologies to sketch out new approaches to mapping world city connections, based firmly on relational rather than attribute data. During this period of data collection, the proliferation of the World Wide Web

and the establishment of individual firm websites made this data mining, from an array of producer service firms, possible to an extent which had not been before in this field of study (see, Daniels, 1993).

In the period 1996 to the early 2000s, much of the published work on inter-city relations in globalization had qualitative approaches as the mainstay to data collection and analyses (content analysis of firm websites and newspapers/trade magazines; and semi-structured interviews) which produced 'grounded theory' on which was established the pioneering work on so-called 'world city networks' (Beaverstock, et al. 2002). These early relational approaches set the theoretical building blocks for the notion of a new global urban architecture that is the 'inter-locking' world city network, with the pioneering 'roster of world cities' as an urban paradigm shift from Friedmann's 'world city hierarchy' (see, Beaverstock et al, 1999a; 2002).

In the early 2000s, however, GaWC's research into world city networks would take a strong 'empirical' or 'quantitative' turn, driven by Peter Taylor's specification of a new, numerical inter-locking WCN 'model' for predicting the connectivities of cities (Taylor, 2001). The central tenet of this model is that the organisational networks of global service providers and other firms with worldwide reach can serve as a proxy for both embodied and virtual flows that link particular sectors of city economies across space. The development of this model has been trailblazing, not only in its approach to measuring the new connectivities of the world city order emerging in contemporary globalisation, but also in successfully addressing the paucity of relevant data and associated empirical deficit that had become the 'dirty little secret' of world cities research (Short et al., 1996). Indeed, this was one of the key aims of the GaWC research network upon its foundation (see, Beaverstock et al, 2000; Taylor, 1997). Although its main value continues to be in the measurement of world city networks constituted by advanced producer services firms, more recently the inter-locking WCN model has also been successfully employed to measure alternative globalisations, for example those being driven by global media (Kratke and Taylor, 2004; Hoyler and Watson, 2012) and international sports federations (Roels et al., 2012). However, despite these successes, the inter-

locking WCN model has also attracted many dissenting voices because of its Structuralist bias and predictive approach to measuring the strength of, essentially, one-sector (producer services) city-networks (Robinson, 2002, 2005; Smith, 2003a).

In this paper, we develop our own critique of quantitative approaches based on this inter-locking WCN model, arguing that these empirical approaches, which have dominated world city network research for over a decade, face an impasse in terms of their ability to take research on world city networks forward conceptually or methodologically. Our provocation is that GaWC's model-based phenomenal 'hit factory'ⁱⁱⁱ for providing measurements the spatialities of city-connectivities, has now reached the point of conceptually diminishing marginal returns or, to borrow from Roger Lee (2002), "Nice maps, shame about the theory"? The aim of our intervention is to make the case for the re-establishment of qualitative approaches for the study of inter-locking WCNs, in order to re-engage with 'theory-building' beyond the incremental. Such approaches, which have for too long been left in the shadow of their quantitative counterparts, can rescue quantitative WCN research from its theoretical impasse. A return to qualitative approaches (like Beaverstock et al, 2005; Cook et al, 2007; Henry et al 2002; Pain, 2008a, 2008b), we argue, can revitalise research on inter-city relations through theorising world cities and their relational networks 'from below' (Beaverstock, 2007), and by moving research away from Structural approaches towards more innovative conceptual and empirical approaches in which the *agency* of the individual is afforded more importance.

The paper is structured in three main sections. In the first, we provide a brief evaluation of the strengths and limitations of Taylor and colleagues' (see, Derudder et al, 2010; Taylor et al, 2012) inter-locking WCN model, briefly outlining both its key contributions and major critiques. In closing this section, we argue that the use of this model, and associated measurement of the world city network 'from above' has reached a theoretical impasse. What is new in our critique is that we strike right at the heart of GaWC's approach - their neglect or inability to understand the organization and strategy of their prime unit of analysis – the advance producer service firm. In the second section of

the paper, we re-visit the theoretical ground laid down by the relational turn in economic geography, arguing the need to take greater account of agency and power in our theorisations of inter-city networks. Here we consider the issue of the firm as a principal unit of analysis in economic geography. Building on this, in the third section, we set out our case for a return to a qualitative approach to theorising inter-city relations and world city networks ‘from below’. Such an approach, we argue, is necessary to fully unpack the complexities of world city networks; that is to take account of *agency*, process, and uneven power-relations in the formation of networks. We conclude the paper by examining the potential for a mixed-method template for the study and analysis of inter-locking world city relations which draws on both quantitative and qualitative approaches.

The inter-locking WCN network model at a theoretical impasse

The formal specification of the inter-locking network for world cities is given by Taylor (2001). The model is unusual in that it has three levels. At the nodal level are cities; at the net level is the global economy, consisting of all nodes and links; and there is also a sub-nodal level comprising of firms as the agents of world city network formation. It is considered that as advanced producer service firms have expanded worldwide in contemporary globalisation, office networks have become central to providing a seamless service to corporate clients. It is the working flows between these offices, for example in the form of internal communications, knowledge transfer and the movement of highly-skilled people that are considered to constitute the world city network (Taylor 2004; Taylor et al. 2011). The main measure of importance in this model is *network connectivity*.

This relational quantitative approach developed by Taylor and other GaWC scholars (most prominently Ben Derudder, Michael Hoyler and Frank Witlox) has undoubtedly opened up new theoretical and empirical perspectives on the articulation of world cities within global networks of flows of capital, people and knowledge (Derudder, 2008). The approach of studying world city networks from ‘above’ has been crucial in establishing the importance of intercity linkages and connectivities in understanding pattern in the global economy. Over more than a decade, the

substantive work of GaWC has been based around this inter-locking WCN model - now a well-tested empirical foundation for research - to develop an enviable and world class track record of identifying numerical change in the structure and connectivity of the world city system. However, the inter-locking WCN model has received much criticism from both a conceptual and empirical stance for its Structural determinism and predictive approach to measuring the strength of connectivity networks, both by post-structuralist scholars advocating a actor-network approach to studying world city networks (Smith, 2003a and b; Smith and Doel, 2011) and by others interested in quantitative measures of world city connectivity (Neal, 2012).

It is not our intention in this paper to review these challenges, which have been well developed and debated elsewhere, or to delve deep into the specification of the inter-locking WCN model. Rather, we wish briefly to outline our own critique of the continuation of quantitative analyses based around the inter-locking WCN model. This critique centres not on any belief that the fundamental propositions of the model are flawed in some way; rather it is centred on our belief that world city research drawing on this model, in its continual incremental verification of Sassen's (1991, 1994) Global City thesis, has remained in something of a theoretical impasse since the mid-2000s. Specifically, the impasse to which we refer is the inability of quantitative model-based approaches to contribute any more to understanding of the world city network, above simply taking empirical 'snapshots' of a hierarchical network of inter-city relations at a point in time, based upon updates of firm's physical presences (changing office networks) and assumed relational connectivity power-relations between offices; and using these snapshots to identify hierarchical and connectivity changes in the global urban system over time (see, Taylor and Aranya, 2008; Derudder et al, 2010).

While we consider such studies as having significant value in mapping the changing pattern of contemporary globalization, this quantitative approach has very little to contribute to process- or practice-based discussions which attempt to explain why certain socio-economic processes are located and performed in particular cities; why changes in network connectivity are taking place; and the content and meaning of intercity flows and relations (Lai, 2012). It can say nothing, for example,

on the complexities of knowledge networks; it cannot explain geometries of power-relations; and it cannot attempt to understand how locational preferences might relate to traded and untraded interdependencies. Furthermore, in retaining a focus on the firm and its complex of offices/subsidiaries as the main unit of analysis, it can say nothing about the ways in which these firms penetrate new markets through more flexible modes of 'non-presence', for example: strategic alliances/networks; franchises; and business travel (Beaverstock, 2011). In concentrating on and emphasising the cities in the networks, the actual networks in which cities are entangled have remained hidden (Smith, 2007).

As we alluded to earlier, the inter-locking WCN model's inability to make a 'leap' forward in theory also rests on an inability to fully understand the complex strategy and organization of the main unit of analysis: the advanced producer service firm. In economic geography and business and management, extant studies of strategy in knowledge intensive business or professional services explore the value-added of 'professionals' in the firm (e.g. advertising creatives, consultants, lawyers, accountants, wholesale, investment bankers) rather than the return on FDI in the geographical spread of offices *per se* (see, Alvesson, 2004; Lowedahl, 2000).

As knowledge and expertise are embodied in the economic practice and performativity of labour, the firm's 'professionals' are the main assets to achieve its strategic goals. 'Professionals' earn fee income as opposed to the sunk costs of the office. Moreover, as these professionals work closely with clients, often in ephemeral project teams or in direct secondments, mapping a firm's global presence and strategic world-city connectivities using the office (and assumed power-relations) as the only unit of analysis can negate the significance of its 'non-presence' in a market, especially in a sector of the world economy which rests on the ability of the firm's internationally mobile professionals to deliver services at the point of demand i.e. in co-location with the client (see, Beaverstock and Hall (2012), Faulconbridge (2010; et al, 2008), Hodgson et al, (2011); Jones (2007)).

Linked to the downplaying of 'professionals' in favour of offices, the inter-locking WCN also does not adequately account for the different organizational structure of these firms, or their

nationality, which will bias HQ location (see, UNCTAD, 2004). Within the inter-locking WCN model, all producer service firms are of a constant structure (i.e. multinational), but in reality, they are complex organisations, within and between sectors, composed of an array of different organizational structures – wholly-owned entities, traditional partnerships, LLPs, PLCs, strategic alliances and international networks – where offices or subsidiaries often compete with each other in flat organizational structures (for accounting, see, TheCityUK, 2011; for Law see, Faulconbridge, 2008; for Consulting, see, Jones, 2003; for Advertising, see, Nachum, 1999; for Media, see, Castells, 2009). This renders the model’s assumptions about the level of any one office’s connections (‘valued’ from 0 to 5) extremely problematic.

More fundamentally, beyond the firm, at a theoretical level further research based around the inter-locking WCN model can do little to advance understandings of world city networks in the urban system because the overriding emphasis is on measuring *structure* at the expense of *agency*. The lack of attention to agency in current world city research is rather surprising given that early conceptual statements by GaWC researchers (Beaverstock *et al.* 2002; 128) proposed the development of a “truly relational approach,” which recognises how, “world cities are brought into being through the conjoint actions of the attendants who maintain the world city network”. However, a more careful reading reveals that missing from their list of ‘attendants’ – firms, sectors, states and cities – are *individuals*. It is to this particular issue - the tension between structure and individual agency, and how this tension informs approaches to research, that we wish to engage within the next section of the paper. To do so, we revisit the ground of the relational turn in economic geography.

Revisiting the relational turn in economic geography

Over the last two decades, a ‘relational turn’ (Storper, 1997; Boggs and Rantisi, 2003) has occurred within geography, with relational approaches becoming ever more influential, not only in terms of what geographers study, but also how they study it (Murdoch, 2006). Increasingly space,

place and time have come to be seen in relational terms, as “co-constituted, folded together, produced through practices, situated, multiple and mobile” (Amin, 2002). The establishment of new relational thinking, *vis-à-vis* the theoretical and empirical dynamics of world city connectedness and relations in globalization, has run parallel to this wider relation turn in Geography. Within this ‘turn’, a number of shifts can be identified.

Firstly, it is apparent that within economic geography there is now a broad concern with economic actors and how their social network relations at different spatial scales shape the geographies of economic performance. As Boggs and Rantisi (2003) outline, at an ontological level the relational turn ascribes a greater role to the agency of individual economic actors than to economic structures. As such, there has been a broad shift in emphasis from structure to agency. This challenges models of scales based on top-down vertical imaginaries, and instead emphasises an ontology composed of more complex, emergent spatial relations. Marston et al. (2005: 424) argue for the discarding of vertical ontologies and, in their place, propose a ‘flat ontology’ that requires, “sustained attention to the intimate and divergent relations between bodies, objects, orders and spaces ... [which] ... must be rich to the extent that it is capable of accounting for socio-spatiality as it occurs throughout the Earth without requiring prior, static conceptual categories”. This social understanding of the economy is positioned in contrast to previous vertical conceptions of the global capitalist economy.

Leitner and Miller (2007) argue however that a flat ontology does not account for power hierarchies and the production of inequalities. They argue that these relationships create differential opportunities and constraints for practices of individual and collective agents. Moreover, economic agents operate within a context of institutions, norms and rules that condition their choices and relations (Boggs and Rantisi, 2003; see, also Sunley 2008). For Jones (2009: 498) socio-spatial relations are produced neither through structural determinism nor through a spontaneous voluntarism, but through a, “mutually transformative evolution of inherited spatial structures and emergent spatial strategies within an actively differentiated, continually evolving grid of institutions,

territories and regulatory activities". Thus, while in the relational turn there has been a broad shift from structure to agency, structure still matters, albeit it is viewed as the outcome of multiple actions and actants.

Secondly, and associated with the above, there has been a methodological shift (Boggs and Rantisi, 2003) from the macro-level of institutions and regulatory frameworks to the micro-level of agents and their inter-relations. In economic geography, the firm has generally been considered to be the elementary unit of collective commercial agency, largely unproblematised as unitary and coherent actors (Yeung, 2003; Maskell, 2001; Taylor and Asheim, 2001), with transnational corporations in particular assumed to be key actors in producing global shift (Dicken, 2011). However, more recently the relational turn has seen the centrality and reification of the firm being challenged. Grabher (2002), for example, has argued that the integrity of the firm as a basic analytical unit is being undercut by organisational practices that are built around projects involving a multiplicity of organisational and personal networks. This given, Grabher (2002) argues there is a pressing need for new relational conceptions of economic activity. For Yeung (2003: 451), the 'firm' is hence a, "messy constellation of multiple identities, contestation of power, and shifting representations," with Sunley (2008: 5). asserting that, "what we thought to be homogeneous units are, in fact, internally fractured and heterogeneous". Yeung (2003; 2005b) argues that monolithic 'black box' conceptions of this crucial analytical category need to be revised, and there is a need for a relational conception of the firm as social networks in which actors are embedded in on-going power relations and discursive processes.

As Dicken et al. (2001) assert, networks are neither purely organisational forms nor structures – rather they are, "relational processes, which, when realised empirically within distinct time- and space-specific contexts, produce observable patterns in the global economy" (Dicken et al., 2001: 91). Thus, a relational perspective on economic geography explicitly draws attention to the importance of economic actors and how, when and where they act and interact in space (see, also, Bathelt and Glückler, 2003). Viewing networks as relational processes also requires us to

recognise that while networks are manifested at a multiplicity of geographical scales, they do not consist of unbounded flows and connections; rather they are at the same time embedded within particular territories (for more on the debate regarding relationality and territoriality, see, Amin, 2002, 2007; Jones, 2009). Dicken et al. (2001) argue therefore that an understanding of the global economy must incorporate multiple scales of economic (along with political, cultural and social) relations, and that too often a particular (for example local) or bifurcated (for example global-local) geographical scale is used in ways that “obscure the subtle variations within, and interconnections between, different scales” (2001: 90). In network formation and networking processes, there is a complex intermingling of geographical scales. A relational view of social actors and their networks, they therefore argue, must always be sensitive to the geographical scales at which they operate. As Jessop et al. (2008) argue, territories, places, scales and networks must be viewed as mutually constitutive and relationally intertwined dimensions of socio-spatial relations.

Thirdly, the relational turn has seen a shift away from the firm, as an abstract entity, as the key analytical focus, towards a focus on social actors (Ettlinger, 2003; Yeung, 2005a and b), in particular individuals within firms and how their interests coincide with or diverge from the material interests of the firm, and the implications this has for firm practices (Boggs and Rantisi, 2003). Empirical work has demonstrated that individuals may form networks within and outside firms that can either advance the interests of their employers (see, Amin and Cohendet, 1999) or prioritise personal interests over those of their employers (see, Christopherson, 2002). As Boggs and Rantisi (2003: 112) emphasise, “the logics that inform workplace practices cannot be understood solely in narrow economic terms or in terms of one single rationality, and accordingly, cannot be unconsciously equated or conflated with those of the ‘firm’”. However, as Granovetter (1985) argues, individuals do not act atomistically without context. Rather, their identities and resource capabilities are co-constituted by their relations with other actors (Boggs and Rantisi, 2003) and their decisions are always shaped by the structure of social relations with other actors and shared institutional conditions (Bathelt and Glückler, 2005).

These relational resource capabilities include power. Power is also a collective capacity, created and embedded through network relations, for which actors are dependent upon a set of related actors – that is to say that it is that power *relational effect*, and outcome of social interaction (Allen, 2003). Bathelt and Glückler (2005) outline how those actors who are viewed as having power are able to build and develop their networks by enrolling other actors; Allen (1997) and Taylor (1996) have termed this as ‘power as relationships’. Dicken et al. (2001) and Yeung (2003; 2005a and b) suggest that a central component of a relational analysis is recognition of the existence of differential power relations within actor-networks. Powerful and active actors play a key role in driving networks and making things happen. Their ability to do so is dependent upon their control of key physical, political, economic, social, and technological resources. However, while the control of resources is necessary in order to have power, it is not a sufficient condition for the ascription of power to an actor. The increasing adoption of Actor Network Theory approaches in economic geography has revealed how power is the relational effect of the capacity to influence, and the exercise of this capacity, through actor-specific practice (Yeung, 2005a and b; Dicken et al., 2001; Allen, 1997). Power can therefore be defined as a relational and emergent concept manifested through practice.

In this section of the paper, we have followed Boggs and Rantisi (2003) in identifying three key shifts associated with the relational turn: a putative shift from structure to agency; a shift from macro-scale to micro-scale analyses; and a shift from analysis of the firm to the mapping of complex social networks. These form the theoretical, conceptual and methodological framework for the new relational economic geography, and have been highly influential in terms of shaping research in the sub-discipline. It is perhaps surprising, then, given the ‘relational turn’ in the study of world cities, that research has remained stubbornly and entirely at odds with these shifts; rather than grappling with agency, it is widely criticised for its Structuralist underpinnings; rather than attempting micro-scale analysis of networks, it considers networks predominantly at the macro-scale; and rather than focusing on social actors, research focuses almost exclusively on the firm as main analytical unit. It is

relational only in the sense that it is concerned with flows between cities (and even then, only expected/assumed connectivities); it is not concerned with actual or real flows shaped and constituted by the relationships between individuals, or how such relationships give actors power and influence. As such, while the relational turn in world cities research has run parallel to the relational turn in economic geography, it has not mirrored it. In the following section of the paper, we propose an alternative research agenda, based around qualitative approaches, which engages with the theoretical, conceptual and methodological shifts of the new relational economic geography in a meaningful way.

Re-establishing qualitative approaches: ‘grounding’ theory in world city networks

As noted earlier in the paper, we consider the inter-locking WCN model to have now reached a theoretical and methodological impasse. The impasse to which we referred is the inability of the model to contribute new conceptual understandings of world city networks beyond the empirical verification of Sassen’s (1991, 1994) writings, especially due to the fact that it cannot reveal anything about the *processes* and *practices* which constitute these networks. Put simply, the model’s Achilles heel is its inability to account for *agency*. Standing at odds with the new relational economic geography, it says nothing about social actors, their agency, or their micro-networking practices. If world cities are to be understood as more than simply ‘basing points’ for global capitalism – if following Castells (1996) they are to be read more fundamentally as *process* (Beaverstock et al., 2000) - then it is time to rekindle the founding qualitative, process- and practice-led approaches to studying inter-locking world city networks.

Taylor et al (2011; 2012) and others (e.g. Derudder et al 2010) have given the academy the new world city-geographies of contemporary globalization (i.e. the ‘nice maps’). But, it is imperative that scholars use the armoury of the qualitative tradition to ‘ground’ theory, which can then be used as frames to explain economic-urban change at a meta-scale and, more importantly, become a

catalyst to inject new ideas for the inter-locking WCN protagonists to re-map and explain the 'skeleton' (see, Taylor, 2004) of the global urban system, from 'below' and 'above'.

Central to such an approach is the issue of *agency*. Given the Structuralist underpinnings of much of the current research of world city network, many scholars working at the macro-level of the global economy have tended to, "downgrade and underestimate the importance of everyday human practices" (Smith, 2003a; 38). Human agency often comes to be viewed only as an effect of globalising processes (trade, production, communications) rather than as a vital logic that effects global phenomenon (Ong, 1999). This has resulted in abstract and inhuman accounts of world city network formation (Smith 2003a), and a separation of scales between 'the global' and 'the individual'. Making such a distinction between scales is of course highly problematic; the complex 'space of flows' between cities in globalisation is composed of multiple scalars of movement, performance and unequal, uneven and partial connections and flows (see, Thrift, 1998; Smith, 2003b). Thus, in conceptualising and measuring the world city network from above, the WCN inter-locking model fails to capture the complex processes of agency-driven networking and connectivities between cities in contemporary globalisation.

To understand this complexity, we suggest that there is a pressing need to conceptualise world city networks 'from below', or put another way, to theorise world city networks not as macro-systems, but rather as micro-systems. Links between world cities are constituted by billions upon billions of micro-networks of multifarious and infinite social connections and people and information flows. These micro-networks generate a multitude of different micro-world city networks operating simultaneously and at different speeds in the time-spaces of contemporary globalisation (Beaverstock, 2007a and b; 2011). In our conceptualisations of world city networks, it is crucial that we understand them as being constituted in this way. A micro-systems conceptualisation is thus necessary to fully unpack the complexities of world city networks, given that global-level networks are made and re-made through the actions and agency of individuals – that is to say they are an outcome of *process and practice* – and shaped by the uneven power-relations between various

actors. It is, “people who make up networks, people who make the ideas in networks, and people who put those ideas into practice” (Smith, 2003a; 32). As Smith and Doel (2011) assert, agents are not simply relays, they are transformers – their actions *make* a difference. Recognising the centrality of individual action in network formation is to central understanding world city networks ‘from below’.

While Taylor’s (2001, 2004; Taylor et al, 2012) three-level model of the world city network made the important step of identifying firms as key agents in the formation of world city networks so as not to reify cities (which of course have no agency in themselves), it falls into the trap of reifying ‘the firm’. Much like cities, the global firms that constitute the world city network do not have agency in themselves; rather they are given agency through individuals within the firm – from “the dominant managerial elites” (Castells, 2000; 443) that make strategic business decisions to the hyper-mobile expert labour who inter-face with clientele across the globe on a daily basis (see, Beaverstock, 2011). Paradoxically, while cities are nodes in a relational network, they are at the same time sites of situated yet transitory practices and performance. Such a relational approach, centred firmly on process and practice, replaces the static conception of firms as being based in particular locales, with concepts generated around the dynamic practices that constitute economic action and *produce* firms (see, Jones, 2008a) in places. The global reach of large firms –understood as constellations of network relations, or as ‘circulatory networks’ (Amin, 2002) - is then located in a particular kind of economic space: one of *practices*.

A micro-systems understanding of the networking of cities in globalisation not only then challenges the development of global-level abstract and inhuman conceptions of the world city network, but also challenges Structuralist approaches in which the (sub-nodal) firm is the main unit of analysis. As Jones (2008a) argues, the Structuralist legacy in economic geography has resulted in the conceptualising of structures as wielding agency beyond the scale of the individual, with agency and power being apportioned as the property of the firm. This, Jones (2008a; 76) argues, means that,

“The actual practices of social interaction: decision-making, deal brokering, personal relationships, and so on – are left in the untheorized ‘background context’ of a theoretical story being told around a black-box conception of collectivized agency”.

The impasse in an advancement of theory accounting for the nuances of the world city network has been reproduced by a reluctance of the key proponents of the inter-locking WCN model to focus their energy on researching agency in networks (Beaverstock, 2011). This lack of attention to agency in research on the world city network is at least in part due to the difficulty of researching agency compared to structure. While the GaWC ‘hit factory’ has demonstrated the relative ease with which large global-level quantitative data sets can be assembled in the internet age, the study of individual agency requires far more intensive methods of data collection. Thus, here we make the call for the re-establishment of qualitative approaches to researching inter-city relations, and the development of innovative empirical approaches in which the agency of the individual is afforded more importance.

Qualitative approaches are a necessity if we are to understand the individual agency that is not well captured at the firm level; to understand how actors beneath the scale of the firm as an organisation interact in complicated ways and how actors associate with each other to produce economic outcomes (Jones, 2008a). Put simply, such approaches are necessary because they take us beyond counting. Qualitative approaches can be sensitive to the degree of complexity of associations between different actors and agents in the global economy; involve a commitment to understand the perspectives of social actors being studied; and allow for the development of a sociology of practices (Amin, 2002).

In making the call for the re-establishment of qualitative approaches to studying the world city network, we are of course aware that qualitative approaches did not disappear in the face of the quantitative ‘turn’. In the shadow of global-level quantitative analyses, high-quality micro-level qualitative research has been progressing. For example, GaWC’s highly influential study of London and Frankfurt’s relationalities on the eve of the introduction of the Euro in the early 2000s showed

significant evidence of agency between firms, individuals and practices (see, Beaverstock et al, 2005; Pain, 2008a). The interviewed-based study of banking (retail and wholesale) and professional services in City of London and Canary Wharf demonstrated very clearly the importance of actual relations between London, New York and European and South East Asian financial centres in sustaining the City's financial services cluster (see, Cook et al, 2007; Beaverstock et al, 2002).

We view these mixed-method studies, drawing on in-depth interviews, and archival and textual analyses, in tandem with questionnaire surveys, as exemplars for 'grounded' theory in establishing new understandings of world city networks. Indeed, it can be argued that the genesis for the entire inter-locking network approach was derived from the interview based study of bankers and professional services 'professionals' in London, Singapore and New York in the aftermath of the Asian financial crisis (see, Beaverstock et al 2002).

But, one very fertile area of research in which a qualitative approach has been particularly pronounced in the implicit grounding of new understandings in inter-city relations has been in the field of highly-skilled transient international labour migration associated with the notion of 'transnational' or 'global' work in producer services' firms (see, Beaverstock, 2007b; Jones, 2008b) which (re)produce micro-networks between firms, clients, cities and financial services clusters. World city networks scholars concerned with the agency of transnational 'elites' (also see, Faulconbridge, 2008; Sklair, 2005), have not however only been fixated with mobile elites in advanced producer services. Research has focused, for example, on the agency of mobile high technology workers (see, Harvey, 2011), academics (see, Jons, 2011) and business educationalists (see, Waters, 2009) in the making of micro-world city networks, couched in the discourses of organization studies, transnationalism and transnational urbanism. More recently, the 'mobilities' turn (Sheller and Urry, 2005) has made interesting interventions into understandings of the functioning of organizational spatial relations between firms and cities in the guise of theorising business travel (see, Faulconbridge et al, 2009), the stretching of business education knowledge over

time and space (see, Hall and Appleyard, 2011) and talent management and the competitiveness of countries, regions and cities (see, Boeri et al, 2012).

As demonstrated in the above examples, qualitative approaches provide a means of collecting *process* and *practice*-based findings on different inter-city attributes and relationalities, which can add significant originality and knowledge to understanding the dynamics of the world city network, 'from below'. Such studies have enriched our understandings of the flows and networks of capital, people and knowledge that transform cities in globalisation, and demonstrate how qualitative approaches can take our theoretical understanding of the dynamism of world city networks forward in more than an incremental manner. The greater use of qualitative approaches to the study of the agency of world cities and their multiple networks can offer fresh perspectives on intercity relations by examining the content of networks and the rationale and practices of financial actors, rather than relying on aggregate firm-level data (Lai, 2012). But, they are not only important in this respect; process-based findings are essential if geographers and world city scholars are to be able to intervene with policy formation and debate, both at the individual city and wider urban-system scale.

Concluding remarks

In this paper, we have argued that the highly influential inter-locking WCN model has now reached its maximum value as a conceptual tool for explaining changes in the global urban system. The mapping and re-mapping of world city connectivities, based on analysing incremental changes in advanced producer service firm offices networks and assumed connectivity functions and relations, continue to advance understanding of pattern or structure in contemporary globalization, generating 'nice maps'. But, there is an urgent need to inject a new and original lease of theoretical life, drawn from analyses of agency, into conceptualisation of the WCN, if they are to make a substantial leap forward and address our 'thin on theory' provocation.

In particular, we have suggested that there is a need to embrace the innovations of the new relational economic geography in our conceptual approaches to studying inter-city relations. The alternative research agenda for which we argue aims to move research away from the abstract level of the firm as the main unit of analysis, by considering the organisational agency of the individual, the 'professionals' that make the advanced producer service firm 'tick'. As Samers (2002: 399) suggests, a theoretical move to studying world cities from below, "seems a necessary task, lest our understanding of 'global cities' be confined to simply ranking them, outlining business networks, or categorizing their characteristics".

Importantly, we wish to emphasise that in making the call for a new research agenda based around the re-establishment of qualitative approaches, we are not suggesting that there is no longer any place in world cities research for research based on quantitative methods. The research being undertaken by the scholars of the inter-locking WCN model continue to provide valuable insights into temporal change in the structure of the world city network. The use of an increasingly varied 'tool-kit' of quantitative analysis techniques is allowing for various nuances of the world city network to be revealed, including world regionalisation (see, Taylor et al, 2012; Hoyler and Watson, 2012); shifting hierarchical and regional tendencies (Liu et al, Forthcoming); and world city cliques (Derudder and Taylor, 2005). Furthermore, building on earlier work by Alderson and Beckfield (2004), quantitative network analysis techniques are being usefully applied to world city networks to measure the centrality and power of cities within urban networks (Neal, 2011, 2012; Watson, 2012).

Rather than one approach taking dominance – as has occurred with quantitative methods over the last decade – we suggest that a combination of quantitative *and* qualitative methods, focused at either the firm level and/or the level of the individual, will allow for the most holistic understanding of world city networking processes. In doing so, we are left with sense of *deja-vu*; in a methodological 'statement of intent' produced in 2000 at the beginning of the GaWC project (Beaverstock et. al 2000) the importance of a mixed-method approach was emphasised but not sufficiently advanced in subsequent research. If one reads the preface to Peter Taylor's (2004) *World*

City Network, it is clear that in developing the inter-locking network model, Taylor only ever intended quantitative analysis to be one strand of GaWC's work on the world city network. It was intended to provide extensive research into the patterning of the world city network that would give the context for intensive (qualitative) studies of inter-city processes. Innovative and intensive qualitative approaches can complement, refine, and challenge the results of extensive model-based quantitative measurements of the world city network.

In closing, we not only make the call for the re-establishment of qualitative approaches that can provide more nuanced understanding of world cities and their networks, but lay down the challenge for world city researchers to develop an innovative mixed-method 'template' for the study and analysis of world city relations in, now, a highly volatile world.

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ⁱ We borrow the phrase, 'Nice maps, shame about the theory'? from Roger Lee (2002)

ⁱⁱ Richard G. Smith, now Co-Director of the Centre for Urban Theory and Senior Lecturer at the University of Swansea, United Kingdom, was also instrumental in the theoretical and empirical development of GaWC in its pioneering phase, 1997/8 to the early 2000s

ⁱⁱⁱ We use the term 'hit factory' in this context to draw parallels between the innovative, dynamic and internationally-famed approach of GaWC's quantitative analyses and output, and Stock Aitken Waterman, a UK songwriting and record producing trio, who produced a phenomenal track-record and assembly-line of 'hit records' and acclaimed artists (like Kylie Minogue), with similar song structures, which led to them being referred to as the 'hit factory' in Anglo-American and European music.