'Generation Nowhere': rethinking youth through the lens of unemployed young men[1]

Craig Jeffrey*

Department of Geography, Box 353550, University of Washington, Seattle, WA 98195, USA

Abstract: Rising unemployment among educated young men is a key feature of neoliberal economic change. This paper reviews recent research on the strategies of educated unemployed young men in the global south to stress the importance of class, politics and environmental transformation for an understanding of contemporary youth geographies. Transnational reflection on the lives of educated unemployed young men provides an example of how human geographers might combine political economic analysis with recent theorizations of subjectivity formation and fluid identities.

Key words: class, gender, global south, politics, space, unemployment, youth.

I Introduction

Young men in college in Meerut, north India, have started a club called 'Generation Nowhere'. Generation Nowhere meets once a month to lament the declining value of north Indian degrees and the scarcity of local employment opportunities. Its members have typically spent over two decades in formal education. None possesses secure salaried work. In March 2005, I met one of the members of this club, Vedpal, sitting by a statue of Gandhi near the centre of the college. I asked him whether he maintained any hope of things changing in the future. Vedpal replied:

> Of course there is hope. The world runs on hope. But what can we do when 42,000 people apply for a single government post? The Indian government has given us the encouragement to become educated, but they have done nothing to encourage the creation of jobs. We are losing the will to live.

Rising educated unemployment is a key feature of the lives of young people in India and other areas of the globe, and of growing concern among governments, international organizations and activist groups. Education has failed to open up expanded employment opportunities for young people across large swathes of the planet. The spread of images of success based on prolonged participation in schooling and subsequent entry into professional or white-collar work has encouraged parents to invest time,

*Email: cjj3@u.washington.edu

money and effort in formal schooling. In the global south especially, but also in many northern contexts, widely different forms of neoliberal economic change have simultaneously undermined the opportunities for educated young people to obtain stable and well-paid work. Thus arises one of the most unsettling paradoxes of contemporary neoliberal economic transformation; at almost the precise moment that an increasing number of people formerly excluded from mainstream schooling have come to recognize the empowering possibilities of education, opportunities for many of these groups to benefit from schooling are disintegrating (Jeffrey *et al.*, 2004).

While the broad contours of these social issues are well understood, there have been few attempts to examine comparatively the strategies that young people adopt to negotiate educated unemployment. This paper acts as a corrective. I critically review recent research on the practices of educated young men in parts of the global south – Africa, Latin America, and Asia – and use this discussion to develop a new conceptual framework for understanding the geographies of marginalized youth. The paper addresses youth geographies most explicitly but it draws on ethnographically informed research conducted within a wide range of disciplines, including sociology, anthropology and political science. I place particular emphasis on research on South Asian youth, who comprise a substantial segment of the world's educated unemployed population (Ul Haq, 2003).

Recent geographical work on youth has contributed to interdisciplinary understanding of subaltern agency by showing that young people are active and creative social actors. Among the key achievements of this research have been examinations of young people's distinctive role in making, politicizing, and imagining space (Valentine *et al.*, 1998; Hyams, 2000; Thomas, 2005), transnational interconnections between young people's strategies (Katz, 2004), and

the role of age and generation in fracturing people's experience of space and political change (Aitken, 2001). But the continued Eurocentrism of most youth geographers restricts their capacity to analyse processes of global transformation. I argue in this paper that sustained reflection on the lives of young people in the global south highlights themes that are not often emphasized in youth geographies, especially issues of class, politics, and environmental transformation.

In addition, the paper contributes to human geography as a whole by demonstrating the key significance of a new generation of educated unemployed young men in processes of cultural, political and spatial change. At a theoretical level, the paper highlights the continuing value of Bourdieu's work for an understanding of political and economic dynamics. Distinct from reviews of Bourdieu's theoretical schema by other political and cultural geographers (eg, Cloke *et al.*, 1995; Crang, 1997), I argue that Bourdieu's work illuminates and helps explain the experiences and trajectories of educated unemployed young men in Africa, Asia, and Latin America. When brought into conversation with the work of Willis (1977; 1982), Foucault (1977), and Butler (1990), Bourdieu's theoretical concepts offer a useful foundation for studying marginalized youth more broadly.

The paper is concerned both with outright unemployment and *underemployment*, often defined as dependence on involuntary part-time work, intermittent unemployment, and/or involvement in poorly remunerated labor (Prause and Dooley, 1997: 245).[2] In other cases, scholars use underemployment to denote the underutilization of skills, especially educational capacities. Distinct from this search for key measures of underemployment, this paper considers how young men themselves come to perceive themselves as 'underemployed' or 'unemployed'. Employment or the absence of work often powerfully shapes people's subjectivities and political strategies, a point which emerges

strongly in ethnographies of unemployment (Campbell, 1993; Levinson, 1996) and in recent geographies of work (Castree *et al.*, 2003). The paper also links to recent critical labor geographies (Herod, 1997; Gidwani, 2001; Castree *et al.*, 2003; Chari, 2004) and to accounts of working youth in the global south (eg, Punch, 2000; Bello and Mertes, 2004; Katz, 2004; Dyson, 2006), by showing how the underemployed may actively shape broader labor regimes, for example, through negotiating new forms of fallback work within the informal economy or migrating in search of employment.

My discussion relates primarily to young men aged between 16 and 30. This definition of young people reflects how ideas of youth have been stretched in varied global settings. Young men's inability to move quickly from school or university into secure employment has created a generation of educated men in their later teens and twenties who often remain unmarried, are unable to establish financial independence, and are widely identified as 'young' (Ruddick, 2003). This generation is older than those featuring in much sociological and anthropological literature, but, like 'youths' discussed in other contexts, these young men commonly define themselves as distinct from adults, are engaged in an active search for employment, and remain preoccupied with questions of culture, style, and respect.

The paper is structured into a further five sections. Section II briefly reviews three key themes in the interdisciplinary study of western youth: the decline of class, rise of fluid identities, and erosion of young people's involvement in class-/party-based politics. This provides a framework for discussing educated unemployed young men in the global south, whom I introduce in the next section of the paper (section III). Sections IV and V – on class and politics, respectively – form the core of the paper. I use a review of recent studies of educated unemployed young men in Asia, Africa and Latin America to argue that class and formal politics remains central to the strategies of threatened youth in the global south and to argue for the continued value of a cultural production approach to young people's lives. The penultimate section focuses on the changing *geographies* of educated unemployment, and in the conclusion I draw out the wider implications of my review for youth geographies and human geography more broadly.

II Western youth

Recent geographies and sociologies of youth frequently emphasize three interlinked but distinct themes regarding young people's lives: the decline of class, fluid identities, and transformation in young people's political strategies. First, the notion that class has become less important in shaping young people's futures has become a powerful argument within contemporary geographical and sociological writing on youth (Jamieson, 2000). Studies proclaiming the decline of class include work on youth and space (Valentine, 2003), youth strategies in contexts of economic insecurity (Roberts *et al.*, 1999; Coté, 2002), and young people's transitions to adulthood (Dwyer and Wyn, 2001). Beck (1992) has been especially influential in arguing that the rise of the welfare state, increasing material wealth, and the emergence of more flexible, insecure, competitive labor markets led to a decline in the importance of class in western capitalist societies (see Wallace and Kovatcheva, 1998; Beck and Beck-Gernsheim, 2002). Beck argues that the increasing importance of individual skill and the emergence of new forms of social differentiation have reduced the power of class to determine people's life trajectories. In elaborating on what he calls the 'individualization of society', Beck also argues that young people now experience social and economic marginality on a personal basis and participate infrequently in collective forms of social and political expression. In

this view, young people's social networks are poorly developed, and, when they do exist, traverse class boundaries.

Beck's ideas about the decline of class as a basis for understanding young people's trajectories have been widely applied within youth geographies (Valentine, 2003) and sociologies of young people (eg, Dwyer and Wyn, 2001) and they have also influenced 'new anthropologies of youth' (Bucholtz, 2002). Scholars have shown how social and economic transformation has created what McRobbie (1994: 262) calls powerful 'splintering mechanisms' that frustrate efforts to link social outcomes to class. Indeed, evidence of a disruption in stable processes of class reproduction has provoked a search for new non-linear metaphors of youth 'pathways', 'trajectories', 'niches' and 'navigations' (Evans and Furlong, 1997).

A second theme of recent youth geographies concerns young people's identities, and Beck's theoretical ideas have been influential here as well. In addition to arguing that class is less important economically and socially, Beck maintains that class has become less relevant as a cultural identity. In this view, late capitalist transformations in the realms of politics, society and culture have led to the emergence of more plural, fluid, overlapping types of identification that rarely correspond with a person's class of origin. As Furlong and Cartmel (1997: 7) put it, 'whereas subjective understandings of the social world were once shaped by class, gender and neighbourhood relations, today everything is presented as possibility'. This argument bears some similarities to influential poststructuralist theories emphasizing the performative nature of individual subjectivities and the irreducibility of cultural styles to underlying class positions. Butler (1990) has been especially important in arguing that people's notions of themselves as political and gendered subjects emerge out of how they speak, dress, and move around: they are *not* the simple projection of background gender or class 'identities'. As Hyams (2000) demonstrates in her work

on Latina social strategies in the USA and McDowell (2003) shows in her account of working-class masculinities in the UK, this emphasis on fluid subjectivities need not imply a rejection of class analytics. Indeed, class remains a strong theme of much ethnographic work on youth identities in the west (see especially Jamieson, 2000; Thomas, 2005; Shildrick and MacDonald, 2006). But many youth scholars have used an emphasis on fluidity, hybridity, and flux to challenge what they construe as a restrictive focus on class within earlier work on youth (see Valentine, 2003; Blackman, 2005).

This emphasis on individualization and fluidity links to a third key argument running through much scholarship on young people. Many authors have argued that there was a marked decline in class- and party-political based activism among young people after the 1960s. Involvement in party politics has decreased (Cloonan and Street, 1998), young people are increasingly reluctant to vote in elections (Eisner, 2004), and political mobilization based upon class and ideology is waning (Furlong and Cartmel, 1997; Wyn and White, 2000). Wallace and Kovatcheva (1998: 255) use research in Europe to make the still bolder claim that all types of 'formal' political action have become less common among young people who are now active only in 'post-modern forms of protest – symbolic and cultural challenges to the dominant system of rules and regulations and dominant values and assumptions of good taste'. Scholars typically imagine these new forms of politics to be pursued through bodily display (Hyams, 2000), theatre (Kuftinec, 1996), dance (Redhead, 1993), new media (Valentine and Holloway, 2002), or non-material cultural forms, such as the 'transmission of styles and music' (Wallace and Kovatcheva, 1998: 207; see also Philo and Smith, 2003).

Some geographers and sociologists working in the global north contest this depiction of young people's political action by pointing out the continued importance of class politics (Martin, 2002; Philo and Smith,

2003) or demonstrating the inseparability of old and new political forms in the lives of young people (McDowell, 2003). But the stress within recent research remains on a shift in the nature of young people's political identifications and actions away from party- and class-based politics focused on the state and material concerns. As in the case of work on class structures and fluid identities, scholars making this argument about a decline in formal political engagement tend to present their conclusions as universally applicable to contemporary youth, usually imagined as educated, mobile, possessing access to phone and web technologies, and removed from immediate concerns over food and physical safety.

III Educated unemployment in the global south

Roughly 85% of the world youth population (aged between 16 and 30) live in Africa, Latin America, and Asia. It is possible to identify three broad analytic sets of young people within this population on the basis of their educational and employment status. First, there is an increasingly thin upper stratum of young people, mainly men, who acquire high-quality education in elite institutions and move smoothly into secure salaried employment, often within the professions or business. Contemporary concern in the west over the movement of jobs from Euro-America to areas such as India has provoked growing scholarly interest in this upper class, who are geographically concentrated within metropolitan regions of the global south and comprise a tiny fraction of the overall youth population. Recent research on these young men, and a still smaller set of young women among the elite, has focused on similar issues to those discussed in western youth research: the emergence of more complicated pathways to adulthood (Fernandes, 2004), the cultural politics of consumption (Lukose, 2005), and rise of identity politics centred on the body (Liechty, 2004).

A second set of young people in the global south lacks access to secondary-school education and engages in unpaid household labor or poorly paid manual, service or industrial work outside the home, often in gruelling and dangerous conditions. According to International Labor Organization statistics, 35% of women and 59% of men aged between 15 and 19 in the global south are engaged in paid employment,[3] and a very large section of the remaining young people are partly or wholly occupied in unpaid agricultural or domestic labor (eg, Reynolds, 1991; Miles, 1998; Dyson, 2008). The experiences and strategies of working children and young people have been described in research on child labor (Wiener, 1991), child trafficking (Dottridge, 2002), and young people's agricultural work (Nieuwenhuys, 1994; Dyson, 2008).

This paper focuses especially on a third analytic set of young people comprised of those who have completed secondary-school education but who have not moved swiftly into secure salaried work, and, within this set, on young men. The combination of a rapid increase in people's investment in education and a shortage of salaried employment for high-school and university matriculates has created a vast problem of educated unemployment among young people, which, while far from new, has become much more visible and intense in the 1990s and early 2000s in Asia (Jha, 2000; Ul Haq, 2003) Africa (Stambach, 1998; Silberschmidt, 2001; Bryceson, 2002), and Latin America (Levinson, 1996; Miles, 1998; Harriss, 2003). Widely different types of neoliberal economic reform have usually failed to generate substantial numbers of jobs for skilled young people in the global south, especially in poorer regions (Bryceson, 2002; Harriss, 2003; Ul Haq, 2003). Economic reforms have reduced opportunities for government employment, historically an important source of salaried work for educated young men, and have often failed to generate private-sector jobs (Chandrashekhar and Ghosh, 2002;

Harriss, 2003). At the same time, economic reform has led to the proliferation of images of success based on prolonged education and white-collar work. In addition, processes of economic restructuring have often increased the volatility of southern economies and therefore young people's exposure to cycles of boom and bust (Ferguson, 1999). These processes have occurred at a time when young people – especially young men – are becoming increasingly important demographically in many parts of the global south (Cole, 2004; World Bank, 2007).

Educated unemployment affects young women as well as men. Indeed, educated women seeking paid employment often suffer from a type of double subordination in poor countries, as young people excluded by economic and political structures from secure salaried work and as women seeking to challenge entrenched gendered ideas that restrict their access to paid employment outside the home (eg, Miles, 1998; Miles, 2002; Sangtin Writers and Nagar, 2006). But evidence from areas as diverse as Mexico (Levinson, 1996), India (Ul Haq, 2003), and Papua New Guinea (Demerath, 1999) suggests that young men comprise the majority of the educated unemployed and often experience their joblessness most acutely. This reflects strongly gendered schooling and employment strategies in areas of Africa, Asia, and Latin America, where parents tend to privilege boys' schooling over that of girls (Chopra and Jeffery, 2005) and prioritize finding paid work for their sons (Miles, 1998). The pressures operating on young men also reflect the emergence of transnational and regional discourses that construct young men in general, and unemployed men in particular, as wayward, dangerous, and/or apathetic (Stambach, 1998; McDowell, 2003; Jeffrey *et al.*, 2008).

A prominent characteristic of educated unemployed young men is their social heterogeneity. This set of men include youth from the urban middle class, who have often acquired a long string of educational qualifications but find it difficult to acquire the type of professional or managerial career they desire (Liechty, 2004) and prosperous members of the peasantry keen to capitalize on their rural advantage in the competition for white-collar jobs (Berry, 1985; Jeffrey, 2001). But the educated unemployed also include young men from poor backgrounds, who have often been able to acquire high-school qualifications while lacking the resources to obtain secure salaried work. It is therefore possible to refer to richer educated unemployed young men, who usually possess greater stocks of social connections and cultural confidence, and poorer unemployed young men, who tend to lack economic, social and cultural advantages.

IV Class and educated unemployed young men

Class fractures young men's experience of unemployment in the global south. Numerous scholars have remarked on the importance of money, social connections, and cultural goods in the efforts of young men to respond positively to economic insecurity. For example, in her research on urban Ecuador, Miles (1998) describes how educated unemployed young men from poor, rural backgrounds found it much more difficult to acquire status-saving fallback work than those from prosperous, urban backgrounds. As a result, many of the unemployed poor had been forced to migrate to the USA in search of what they regarded as meaningful work. Demerath (1999) reinforces this point by showing that young men from urban, richer backgrounds in Papua New Guinea were usually able to sustain modern educated unemployed masculinities for much longer than those from poorer backgrounds. Similarly, building on field research in urban Madagascar, Cole (2004; 2005) distinguishes between a relative elite among unemployed young men who were able to find reasonably secure fallback work in the informal economy and a more truly marginalized cohort of men

who more typically entered low-paid criminal work.

Recent research in India shows how caste and class intersect to isolate and exclude educated unemployed young men from poor class and caste backgrounds. In many rural areas of north India, in particular, historic struggles between a dominant caste and various lower castes are now being replayed in the competition between young men for status-saving work within the informal economy (eg, Dube, 1998; Frøystad, 2005; Jeffrey *et al*., 2008). For example, Jeffrey *et al*. (2008) use ethnographic field research in western Uttar Pradesh (U.P.) to argue that class, in combination with caste, shapes the opportunities for young men to strategize effectively within the field of educated unemployment. In a village in which Jeffrey *et al*. worked there was a marked divide between members of the middle ranking and locally dominant Jat caste, who controlled access to land ownership and local political networks and had good educational qualifications, and Dalits, who usually lacked access to land and political assistance and possessed devalued educational credentials. Educated unemployed Jat men had been able to utilize social connections with fellow caste members in urban areas to obtain reasonably secure work in the informal economy or become managers on their family farms. As a result, their experiences of personal failure tended to be short-lived. By contrast, Dalit young men among the educated unemployed lacked the money, social contacts and cultural traits required to find face-saving jobs in the informal economy, and they tended to suffer from more profound feelings of humiliation than those experienced by Jats. Indeed, many of Jeffrey *et al*.'s Dalit respondents spoke in heartfelt terms of the caste discrimination they had experienced in their efforts to find work.

Class also acts independently of caste to marginalize the poor, as Parry (1999) has argued. In his ethnographic research around a steel plant in Bhilai, central India, Parry (1999) focuses on social divisions *within* a Dalit caste. He demonstrates that unemployed young men from wealthy, well-connected Dalit backgrounds were able to marshal their money and social contacts to obtain jobs in a local government steel mill. By contrast, Dalit families who did not possess a history of working in government found it difficult to acquire salaried jobs in the steel plant. Once working in the mill, young men from relatively prosperous Dalit backgrounds usually tried to distinguish themselves from poorer members of their caste by sending their children to English-medium schools, engaging in conspicuous consumption, and removing women in their families from manual labouring employment.

In the field of youth cultures, scholars working in the global south have described the recent emergence of vibrant cultural practices of unemployed masculinity which are not explicitly linked to the class position of young men. While the nature of these cultures varies widely across the globe, certain dominant motifs tend to appear across individual cases. In particular, and broadly consistent with the young men belonging to 'Generation Nowhere' in Meerut, several studies point to men's efforts to emphasize their *dislocation* from broader processes of spatial and temporal change, affiliation with local notions of modernity, and detachment from work understood locally as demeaning. Heuzé's description of the educated unemployed on the coalfields of central India encapsulates these themes:

> By remaining together in doing nothing, by refusing to participate in the domestic economy and to work in the fields, by dressing in city attire – college dress – and frequenting the main streets of Batipur and Bharu and the tea stalls located on the main road from Chandankiari to the mining basin, the educated unemployed assert themselves by drawing attention to the injustice meted out to them [...] Waiting has become an art and may become a profession for the majority of India's youth. (Heuzé, 1996: 105)

Such cultures of 'waiting' are well attested in several other accounts of the educated unemployed in India (eg, Parry, 1999; Anandhi *et al*., 2002; Jeffrey *et al*., 2004), Africa (Weiss, 2002; Cole, 2004) and Latin America (Miles, 1998; Harriss, 2003). In research in western U.P., Jeffrey *et al*. (2008) describe how young men seek to recover a sense of respect during this period of extended transition by cultivating urbane masculinities imagined as 'educated'. These young men emphasized their own refined speech, clean clothes, and distinguished comportment as 'educated people' and the alleged rough talk, filthy dress, and uncouth behaviour of illiterates. Jeffrey *et al*. (2008) emphasize the mischievous and playful nature of these youth cultures and their mutability.

But social class structures young men's ability to sustain cultures of unemployment. Unemployed identities tend to be expensive; consumer styles of unemployment drain young men's resources, and efforts to project an unemployed identity by claiming to be part of a 'Generation Nowhere' frequently entail refusing to engage in the demeaning paid work that *is* locally available, such as employment in manual labor. Parents are often willing to provide young men with trappings of an unemployed persona and forego the loss of income that accompanies young men's refusal to work in manual labor, and, in some cases, young women work in manual labor to support their brothers' idleness (eg, Anandhi *et al*., 2002). But, in the face of competing calls on household resources, many young men from poorer backgrounds are forced to abandon their efforts to cultivate a sense of their educated unemployment (Levinson, 1996; Demerath, 2000; Jeffrey *et al*., 2008). For example, Jeffrey *et al*. (2008) show that access to parental financial support influenced educated young men's ability to project themselves as educated unemployed in western U.P. Rich members of the dominant Jat caste had the resources to display an educated persona while the Dalit poor among the

unemployed could not afford to buy the cinema tickets and city clothes central to an educated unemployed style. Hansen's (2006) research on Indian taxi drivers in contemporary Durban, South Africa, parallels this account. Hansen describes how frustrated young men among the unemployed have increasingly entered the taxi business. Taxi businesses offer opportunities for young men to recuperate respect through projecting aggressive and self-confident masculinities onto the urban landscape and creating social nodes within networks of marginalized youth. But Hansen repeatedly emphasizes the importance of class in shaping the ability of these young men to pursue effective cultural strategies. Richer young men among the educated unemployed in Durban had purchased expensive, foreign-brand vehicles containing powerful music systems. By contrast, poorer members of the unemployed were usually compelled to purchase cheap vehicles for their taxi enterprises and some young men were too poor to enter the transport business at all.

These studies therefore provide a counterpoint to much of the recent scholarship on youth in the west, which has tended to de-emphasize class and stress instead highly fluid subjectivities. The work of Demerath (1999), Jeffrey *et al*. (2008), Hansen (2006), and others shows that class, caste, and other axes of social inequality do not *determine* how young men negotiate unemployment; young men's trajectories and cultures are diverse because they have varied aims in life, individual personalities, and respond to specific opportunities and constraints in different ways. But the distinctive histories of individual class/caste/racial or religious groups are crucial in shaping young men's ability to navigate economic uncertainty and unemployed young men are active in producing and reproducing these 'old' forms of difference and inequality.

At the theoretical level, these observations on the continued importance of social inequality in young men's lives highlight

the value of Bourdieu's work on class and cultural practice. Bourdieu (1984; 1986) emphasized that unemployed young men are differently equipped to compete for scarce resources and respect. In particular, Bourdieu stressed the importance of cultural capital – the range of goods, titles and forms of demeanour that are 'misrecognized' as legitimate within arenas of power – and social capital, defined as instrumentally valuable social bonds, in young men's capacity to devise effective responses to conditions of employment scarcity. Individuals' chances of success after leaving school or university frequently depend on the economic, social, and cultural capital at their disposal. Bourdieu also directed attention towards how various types of capital are inculcated in people's habitus: cultural dispositions written into a person's movements, reflexes, and tastes, which are structured by people's histories and also shape their future practices. In the case of competition for scarce employment, Bourdieu used the notion of habitus to highlight the ability of the rich to navigate markets for credentials and jobs with confidence and ease. Bourdieu emphasized richer young men's 'feel for the game', or *sens de placement*, and a corresponding lack of social skill and critical awareness among marginalized unemployed young men. It is this 'feel for the game' and the underlying social, economic, and cultural resources that facilitate such acuity that distinguishes richer sections of the educated unemployed in the global south from more enduringly marginalized men.

At the same time, however, Bourdieu's schema rather implies that young men from subordinate groups will inevitably lose out to dominant classes and that they are incapable of meaningful political critique. A major strength of much recent feminist and poststructuralist work within geography and related disciplines has been to show that people are not trapped into acting in certain ways by their habitus (eg, Butler, 1997) and that gender and discourse mediate the

processes through which various forms of capital are traded and performed (eg, Reay, 1995; Mahmood, 2005; see also Ruddick 2003). In particular, Ruddick (2003) shows that discourses circulating within public culture influence how the habitus of young people is conceptualized. The next section of the paper uses a review of the political strategies of the educated unemployed in the global south to question both the socioeconomic determinism of Bourdieu's theoretical schema and the emphasis on depoliticization within western youth research.

V Political youth
In the political sphere, some educated unemployed young men in Africa, Latin America, and Asia display a cynical or apathetic attitude to party- and class-based politics (Osella and Osella, 2000; Weiss, 2002; Jeffrey *et al*., 2004). But most studies of the unemployed in the global south point to young men's active efforts to engage in political action, including party- and class-based politics.

Because educated unemployed young men in the global south come from rich as well as poor social backgrounds, unemployment is often a setting for reactionary political assertion. For example, in India educated unemployed young men from urban middle-class elites have been key players in protests against positive discrimination for lower castes. The decision of V.P. Singh to extend reservations in employment and education to so-called 'Other Backward Classes' (OBCs) provoked fierce opposition among upper-caste young men, especially those facing unemployment (see Balagopal, 1991; Béteille, 1992). In the last three months of 1989, over 150 young people, mainly men, attempted self-immolation in protest against V.P. Singh's announcement, and over 60 of these youths died from their burns (Dirks, 2003). More recently, the unemployed have been at the forefront of protests against the Indian government's move in April 2006 to grant OBCs a 27% reservation in central

and private institutes of higher education. In response to this move, young people formed an organization called Youth For Equality (YFE), which successfully enrolled large numbers of medical professionals in a nationwide strike. Young men from prosperous backgrounds occupy leading roles within the YFE, articulate their goals in the language of the upper classes in urban India (English), and circulate political messages on internet blogs.[4]

The involvement of richer sections of the educated unemployed in politics is also evident in studies of Hindu right-wing political parties in India (Hansen, 1996; Vicziany, 2005). For example, Hansen (1996) has described how the widespread exclusion of young men from secure employment in Mumbai in the 1990s encouraged unemployed young men from middle-class backgrounds to cultivate identities as Hindu nationalist political bosses. These men sought to re-build a sense of masculine prowess through acting as brokers between the urban poor and government officials and participating in anti-Muslim violence coordinated by the right-wing political party, the Shiv Sena. In 2002, educated unemployed young men from the urban middle classes played leading roles in anti-Muslim riots in Ahmedhabad, Gujarat, which were orchestrated by the Hindu right-wing Bharatiya Janata Party.

Educated unemployment is therefore one context in which an increasingly threatened middle class in areas of Latin America, Africa, and Asia try to stave off the threat of downward mobility and police the boundaries of their relative privilege. But activism among unemployed youth also marks the politics of the poor. Harriss (2003), for example, described the role of educated unemployed young men from poor backgrounds in political protests in Argentina in the early 2000s. Following the collapse of the Argentine economy in 2001, many educated young men joined older members of the unemployed as well as union members, indigenous leaders, women and younger children in tightly orchestrated resistance to the Argentine state and regional financial elites. Harriss shows that educated unemployed young men assisted in coordinating a nationwide network of picketers and developing popular assemblies. These networks and assemblies served as sites of political discussion and mobilization. Recent media reports point to how educated unemployed young men have staged similarly high-profile campaigns against neoliberal economic reform in Ecuador, Chile and Mexico (Preston, 1999), often through forming political ties with high-school students.

The involvement of educated unemployed young men in protests against dominant state formations is also well attested in studies of the anti-apartheid struggle in 1980s South Africa. Bundy's (1987) evocative account of 'pavement politics' in Cape Town in the mid-1980s, for example, charts the extraordinary influence of educated unemployed young men over processes of anti-state political mobilization. Bundy shows that, unlike other sections of the youth population, educated unemployed young men had the educational training, time and motivation to build political organizations critical of the state and instigate violent, often spectacular protests. Like Harriss (2003), Bundy identifies young men from among the urban lower middle and working class as prominent figures in the expression of unemployed politics. But, more than Harriss, Bundy stresses the role of the educated unemployed as 'organic intellectuals' (Gramsci, 1971) in working-class organizations: permanent persuaders and provocateurs.

The significance of the educated unemployed in processes of organized political endeavour is also a theme that runs through recent research on lower-caste political movements in South Asia. For example, Lerche (1999) and Pai (2002)

identify educated unemployed Dalit young men as pivotal figures in the rise of the pro-Dalit Bahujan Samaj Party (BSP) in north India. Dalits founded this party in 1984 with a view to improving the dignity of lower castes and their representation within politics and the bureaucracy (see Chandra, 2000; Jaffrelot, 2003), and the BSP became a major force in north Indian politics in the 1990s and early 2000s. During this period, it attempted to improve Dalits' access to jobs, reduce social discrimination against lower castes within government bureaucracies, and expand the flow of development resources to Dalits, especially the poor and those in rural areas (Jaffrelot, 2003). At the local level, educated unemployed young men from poor backgrounds have helped to communicate the BSP's ideas to marginalized people and establish self-help organizations and educational institutions for their community (Pai and Singh, 1997; Jeffrey *et al.*, 2008). In addition, these self-styled 'new politicians' act as brokers between rural people and the local state (Jeffrey and Lerche, 2000; Jeffrey, 2001; Jeffrey *et al.*, 2008). Recent research by Corbridge *et al.* (2005) suggests that the educated unemployed play similar roles in rural eastern India, and Krishna (2003) documents the rise of a cohort of educated unemployed youth acting as new politicians in Gujarat and Rajasthan even in the absence of strong party political support.

Recognition of the role played by educated unemployed young men from subaltern groups in processes of political transformation and critique casts some doubt on the value of Bourdieu's theoretical schema for an understanding of educated unemployment. Rather than being apathetic prisoners of their habitus, as Bourdieu's theory rather suggests, young men from marginalized backgrounds often win significant victories through their political activity, and occasionally their actions and strategies undermine powerful structures.

Indeed, Cole (2004) argues for the distinctive capacity of young people to challenge and transform structures of political domination, and she does so with especial attention to gender politics among the educated unemployed. Drawing upon Mannheim (1972), Cole (2004) claims that there is a certain distance in how each new generation perceives and acts upon their economic, social, cultural context. 'Youths' structural liminality – the fact that they are less embedded in older networks of patronage and exchange – makes them uniquely poised to take advantage of new social and economic conditions' (Cole, 2004: 576). Cole advances this argument through an ethnographic and relational account of the changing lives of young men *and* young women in urban Madagascar. Cole observes that many young men, most of whom have acquired a secondary-school education, have nevertheless failed to find secure salaried work in the urban economy. Instead, these young men have commonly entered poorly paid criminal activity. Cole contrasts these men with the increasing number of young women who have been able to earn substantial amounts of money through engaging in transactional sex with foreign visitors to Madagascar. This combination of limited but visible mobility among young women and profound insecurity and downward mobility among young men had precipitated a change in the regional politics of gender relations. An increasing number of young men – known locally as *jaombilos* – had become the dependents of wealthy young women. The *jaombilos* relied on their female partners for money and in return provided sex, companionship, and the image of a youthful style. *Jaombilos* tried to maintain and improve their position within these relationships through spending their partners' money on purchasing 'sexy clothes' and the latest consumer styles. Cole concludes that youth in Madagascar have responded to the risks and vicissitudes of postcolonial economic malaise through creatively rethinking their own biographies and the broader gendered structures framing their lives. This amounts to a triple call for youth

agency. First, Cole shows that young men are not programmed by their habitus into certain pregiven ways of talking, dressing and moving about. Second, she demonstrates that young men's strategies are not the pale reflection of adult cultural forms. Finally, Cole's work suggests that young men's cultures in the global south are not derivative of western youth cultures, an argument that lurks behind much of an earlier strain of writing on youth unemployment in the global south (see Coleman and Azrael, 1965; Dore, 1976).

Reading Cole's emphasis on agency alongside my account of the importance of class and politics in young men's lives suggests that the work of scholars associated with the UK's Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies (CCCS) – the so-called 'Birmingham School' – might usefully be placed alongside Bourdieu's corpus in conceptualizing young men's lives (eg, Willis, 1977; Hebdige, 1979; McRobbie, 1979). CCCS scholars, particularly Paul Willis, argued that educated unemployed young men are capable of critiquing and resisting hegemonic forms of capitalist, state and patriarchal power. Drawing especially on Gramsci, Willis (1982: 112) stressed how political strategies are often worked out through the involvement of young men in forms of 'cultural production': active efforts to deploy available symbolic resources in ways shaped by broader structural forces. More than Bourdieu, Willis was aware of young people's ability to negotiate structures. According to Willis, power struggles between unequal social actors are never predetermined, and subordinate groups often make small but important gains relative to dominant structures of power (cf. Hall, 1985). But Willis also anticipates the tone of many recent accounts of marginalized unemployed young men by stressing the compromised nature of youth efforts to transform society. Building on the work of the French Marxist thinker Louis Althusser (1971), Willis suggested that, even where they try to resist dominant structures, young men's cultural productions are only 'partial

penetrations' of those structures, critiques marked by the ideologies of the powerful. The notion of partial penetrations is beautifully illustrated in Cole's work in Madagascar, where young men were circulating critiques of male breadwinner norms even while reproducing other forms of masculine practice. In developing the idea of partial penetrations with reference to his own fieldwork, Willis stressed the value of a political-economy approach, one that refuses to reduce questions of youth cultural and political practice to the ineluctable working of global capitalism but remains sensitive to social inequalities which constrain young men's lives.

Willis's work is less strong on the changing *geographies* of young people's lives, however. The next section of the paper picks up this theme through a focus on what I call *new spatialities of youth*. In addition to offering counterpoints to mainstream studies of young people on the issues of class, identity, and political action, research on the strategies of educated unemployed young men in the global south highlights questions of spatial change that are not always explicit in western youth research.

VI New spatialities of youth

In this penultimate section of the paper I develop a conceptual framework for understanding young people's lives through an analysis of three closely linked but distinct emerging trends in the spatial strategies of educated unemployed young men in the global south: first, their tendency to develop social networks that cross regional and national boundaries – *new engagements*; second, their attempts to reorient their practices around novel technologies and landscapes – *new ecologies*; third, their efforts to escape, survive or critique emerging environmental threats – *new environmental subjectivities*.

The increasing reach of global media images, ideologies, and goods allied to new possibilities for movement in many parts of the world has often drawn young people

into translocal, interregional, or even global social, economic, and political networks (eg, Massey, 1998; Simone, 2001). This point is exemplified in Simone's (2001) research on what he calls the 'worlding' of African cities. Simone describes Nigerian and Ghanaian young people who have responded to a shortage of employment in West Africa by obtaining Islamic training in urban Saudi Arabia. Drawing on social links established within these Islamic schools and their Muslim identity, these young people negotiate entry into networks of economic activity centred on religious brotherhoods in the Arab Middle East. In particular, they use their Muslim identity to cultivate links with gulf state entrepreneurs, who offer them lucrative roles as brokers within illegal processes of trade (2001: 31). Simone thereby shows how young people's efforts to rescale their strategies often involves reaffirming rather than rejecting 'traditional' solidarities based on family, kinship, or religion. Osella and Osella (2000) make similar arguments in their account of educated unemployed Dalit young men in Kerala who have migrated to the Middle East in search of work. Osella and Osella argue that caste, kinship, and religious ties are often crucial to the success of ex-untouchable economic migrants, such that young men are in a key sense resocialized into ascriptive social groups at the very moment at which they appear to be escaping these structures. At the same time, Osella and Osella and Simone show that social inequalities and differences may constrain as well as enable new spatial strategies. For example, in his more recent work in urban Cameroon, Simone (2005) documents how class and location limit the possibilities open to unemployed young men to acquire even basic resources.

These observations recall Berking's (1995) work on the changing strategies of young people. Berking (1995) has argued that processes of individualization in the west have coincided with people's efforts to construct new social networks – what he terms 'ecologies' – of solidarity. The ecological metaphor is important for Berking because it expresses the creative, mutual, and vigorous quality of these processes of network-building between individualized but enduringly sociable actors. It is precisely such processes of what Berking calls 'solidary individualism' – of social and political interaction and networking among young people who nevertheless often feel increasingly isolated by processes of economic change – that emerges so clearly in recent accounts of the educated unemployed in the global south. The unemployed build, nurture, and sustain networks of mutual support in their attempts to acquire salaried work or manage the consequences of failure, and they increasingly do so across regional and national boundaries and in the face of strong feelings of personal failure. A focus on these *new engagements* highlights the continued importance of 'traditional' social differences and inequalities in young people's lives while also reaffirming youth agency.

Beyond Berking's primarily metaphorical use of then notion of ecologies, I use the phrase *new ecologies of youth* to signal the increasing and changing significance of the technological, built, and natural environment in the strategies of educated unemployed young men, and youth more broadly. As Ong (2005: 338) has recently argued, drawing on Deleuze and Guattari (1987), the proliferation of technologies across the world has generated 'systems that mix technology, politics, and actors in diverse configurations that do not follow given scales or political mappings'. Indeed, a remarkable feature of the cultural strategies of unemployed young men in the global south is their central preoccupation with 'hooking into' and in some important sense 'mastering' everyday technologies, such as the cell phone (Jeffrey *et al.*, 2008), gun (Hoffman, 2004), or car (Hansen, 2006). Cultivating successful masculinities in many

settings involves forms of self-disciplining akin to those described by Foucault (1977): the willingness and ability to mould one's body to dispersed technologies and practices. An educated unemployed young man often needs to learn to shoulder arms (Hoffman, 2004), leave his shirt hanging out of his trousers (Jeffrey *et al.*, 2004), or stand in line (Corbridge, 2004), for example, in order to achieve social distinction or acceptance. These technological capacities require the development of habits durably inscribed in the body (Foucault, 1977). To be successfully youthful is frequently to be so wholly steeped in an approved version of modernity and associated self-regulatory modes of movement, thought, and perception that the 'right practices' become *second nature* (Jeffrey *et al.*, 2008).

Closely related to this preoccupation with technological acuities is the stress laid by unemployed young men, and youth more generally, on renegotiating the urban or rural landscape or remaking landscapes to reflect their ambitions and achievements. For example, Demerath (1999) describes how educated unemployed young men in Papua New Guinea who migrated back to their villages rationalized their return migration and recovered respect through advertising their attachment to symbols of rural life and the village landscape. By contrast, Jeffrey *et al.* (2004) notes that desire to escape the 'dirt and dust' of rural environments suffused the practices of educated unemployed young men in north India. These case studies also show that ideas of what it is to be masculine or feminine mediate the process through which threatened youth perform modern technological accomplishment and rework local environments. The capacity to achieve a particular fashionable style of dress, for example, or demonstrate one's remove from village 'dirt' is often derived in large part from the link between these self-regulatory norms and models of masculinity or femininity. Hence, we can only grasp why young people follow particular

self-styled trajectories when we appreciate the relationship between gendered models of success and visions of technological/material achievement.

Weiss's (2002) work in Arusha, Tanzania, offers a case study of the significance of new gendered ecologies in the lives of young people in the global south. Weiss argues that one of the most important ways in which educated young men in Arusha have tried to negotiate the uncertainties of widespread unemployment is through establishing barbershops. These barbershops offer meagre incomes but they provide hubs for the dissemination of information, sites for the public presentation of self, and centres of male sociality (2002: 107). The barbershops also provide unemployed young men with opportunities to project their sense of marginalization within the global economy. With deliberate irony, young men often name the barbershops after the global locations from which they are excluded – such as 'Brooklyn barbers' or 'Paris barbershop' – and they also place value on the short western-style haircuts which they cannot afford to maintain. Intriguingly, however, young men also refer to a barbershop in Arusha as the 'stone': a discursive move that connects these institutions to the image of the village stone in rural Tanzania – a site of sociability, work, and pleasure – and to images of rock-like masculine endurance in the face of gruelling physical struggle. The barbershop therefore operates as both a mischievous comment on young men's distance from desired modernities and as a traditional, rural 'hard' and 'fixed' place of work within an urban economic environment characterized by fluidity and uncertainty. Assemblages of youth activity not only create their own spaces (Deleuze and Guattari, 1987), then, but also confer 'diverse values to the practices and actors thus connected together' (Ong, 2005: 338; see also Moore, 2005).

The involvement of educated un-employed young men in the global south in contemporary environmental movements

provides further reason for stressing the value of a spatial frame of reference in studying marginalized youth. Tsing (2004) describes how urban students, among whom educated unemployed young men were prominent, engaged in protests against deforestation and rural dispossession in Indonesia under Suharto. Tsing uncovers urban students' role in circulating ideas about indigenous and environmental rights and acting as intermediaries between the state and rural society. Similarly, Krishna (2003) has described the rise of a set of 'new politicians' among educated un-employed young men in western India who act as lobbyists for the rural poor in their efforts to address connected problems of environmental degradation and social oppression. The broader engagement of unemployed young men in environmental movements in the global south has been described in recent research on the World Social Forum (Bello and Mertes, 2004), anti-globalization protest (Routledge, 2004), and middle-class environmentalism (Mawdsley, 2004). These ethnographically informed analyses remind us that in certain settings in the global south the experience of educated unemployment has provided young men with the inclination, time, and energy to rethink their relationship to the environment, and thereby create *new environmentalist subjectivities,* often in ways that reflect their position within social hierarchies.

Of course, the 'new' engagements, eco-logies and environmental subjectivities I have outlined here are not wholly novel. Young people have for long been implicated in transnational strategies of resource mo-bilization, a point we learn, for example, from Rudner's (1994) work on the history of south Indian banking or Bayart's (1993) genealogies of African politics. Nor are young people's ecologies entirely innovative; there are many situations in which youth have had to adapt rapidly to environmental change, of which war (Hoffman, 2004) and urbanization (eg, Koditschek, 1990) are only the most visible

examples. Finally, there is a rich history of youth involvement in forms of environmental protest in India (Gadgil and Guha, 1995), Africa (Watts, 2003), and elsewhere. But processes of global and regional social and economic change – dynamics often grouped under the problematic heading of 'globalization' – *are* leading to a profusion of fairly novel cultural, political, and social strategies among young people, and the intensification of educated unemployment offers an important window on these trends.

VII Conclusions

Educated unemployed young men in their later teens and twenties have become major players in processes of global change. In this paper I have used a review of recent scholarly work on this cohort to identify three emerging key themes in the strategies and ex-periences of these men: first, the important but non-determining role of class inequalities in the social and political strategies of young men; second, the continued salience of politics in young men's lives; and, finally, the significance of gendered environmental ideas in the discourses and practices of unemployed young men and youth more generally.

Rather than simply adding the empirical complexity of recent work on educated unemployed young men into broader human geographies, I believe that the material reviewed in this paper can be used to re-evaluate geographies of youth, which have focused largely on the west (eg, Valentine *et al.*, 1998; Panelli, 2002) and which, as a result, have largely ignored and in some cases inadvertently misrepresented the lives of young people in the global south. In par-ticular, my account underscores a need iden-tified elsewhere (McDowell, 2003; Philo and Smith, 2003) to integrate theoretical emphasis on new fluid identities and forms of individualization with an appreciation of the durable social inequalities and formal polit-ical opportunities and structures that mark the lives of present-day youth. Rather more

than most anthropological, sociological, and geographical studies of 'youth at risk' in the west, I have insisted on *situating* an analysis of 'Generation Nowhere' with reference to the issues of social inequality, political transformation, and local environmental change that continue to loom large in the social imaginations of many young people in the global south.

From a broad human geographic perspective, comparative analysis of unemployed young men highlights three themes that have been stressed in recent political economies of global transformation: the salience of class inequalities in framing people's experience of rapid neoliberal economic change (Peck, 2001; Corbridge *et al*., 2005); the range of ways in which those marginalized by broader structures have tried to co-opt, resist, or rework dominant economic formations (Herod, 1997; Larner, 2000; Hart, 2003); and how economic restructuring has encouraged people to re-evaluate their relationship with their natural, built, and technological environments (Katz, 1998; 2004). The paper links in especially closely with recent critical geographies of labor by emphasizing the agency of underemployed workers (cf. Herod, 1997) and the connection between people's employment/non-employment and their subjectivities (Castree *et al*., 2003; Chari, 2004). Young men are not dwarfed by larger structures of class and capital but rather shape regional labor regimes, for example, by investing new meanings in their unemployment, negotiating over the social organization of their temporary jobs, and utilizing the time, space, and energy that unemployment sometimes provides to engage in political resistance (see especially Gidwani, 2001; Dyson, 2006; 2008).

My account also provides a basis for constructing a conceptual framework for understanding how young people navigate situations of intense economic insecurity. This framework can be glossed as a culturally and environmentally sensitive political-economy approach to the postcolonial geographies of young people, and it starts from the argument of Willis (1977) that young people engage in active forms of *cultural production*, shaped by their structural circumstances and available symbolic resources, which are implicated in broader processes of *social reproduction*. Drawing on Bourdieu's theoretical constructs, I nevertheless remain alive to the possibility that ideas of cultural capital, social capital, and habitus may also help explain the strategies and trajectories of young men. Finally, influenced by Foucault, I have stressed a need to temper the rather agency-centered nature of Willis's work with attention to the hold over young people's minds maintained by regionally inflected environmental sensibilities, particularly notions of masculinity. Our attempts to understand the lives of educated unemployed young men, and threatened youth more broadly, therefore depend less on the rigorous application of a single theoretical schema and more on the craft of holding in our minds simultaneously a set of meso-level theoretical concepts – cultural production, habitus, youth spatialities – that cast light on different aspects of young people's lives and demand an *ethnographic* approach to postcolonial youth geographies.

Notes

2. Henceforward the term 'educated unemployed' refers to both the unemployed and underemployed.
3. See http://www.prb.org (last accessed 11 February 2008).
4. See, for example, http://yfemumbai.blogspot.com/ (last accessed 11 February 2008).

References

Aitken, S. 2001: *Geographies of young people: the morally contested spaces of identity*. London: Routledge.

Althusser, L. 1971 [1970]: *Lenin and philosophy* (translated by B. Brewster). London: New Left Books.

Anandhi, S., Jeyaranjan, J. and **Krishnan, R.** 2002: Work, caste and competing masculinities: notes from a Tamil village. *Economic and Political Weekly* 37, 4403–14.

Balagopal, K. 1991: Post-Chundur and other Chundurs. *Economic and Political Weekly* 26, 2399–405.

Bayart, J.-F. 1993: *The state in Africa: the politics of the belly*. London: Longman.

Beck, U. 1992: *Risk society*. Newbury Park, CA: Sage.

Beck, U. and **Beck-Gernsheim, E.** 2002: *Individualization: institutionalized individualism and its social and political consequences*. London: Sage.

Bello, W.F. and **Mertes, T.** 2004: *A movement of movements: is another world really possible?* London: Verso.

Berking, H. 1995: Solidary individualism: the moral impact of cultural modernization in later modernity. In Lash, S., Szerszynski, B. and Wynne, B., editors, *Risk, environment and modernity: towards a new ecology*, London: Sage, 189–202.

Berry, S. 1985: *Fathers work for their sons: accumulation, mobility and class formation in an extended Yoruba community*. Berkeley, CA: University of California Press.

Béteille, A. 1992: *The backward classes in contemporary India*. Delhi: Oxford University Press.

Blackman, S. 2005: Youth subcultural theory: a critical engagement with the concept, its origins and politics, from the Chicago school to postmodernism. *Journal of Youth Studies* 8, 1–20.

Bourdieu, P. 1984: *Distinction: a social critique of the judgement of taste*. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul.

— 1986: The forms of capital. In Richardson, J.G., editor, *Handbook of theory and research in the sociology of education*, New York: Greenwood Press, 241–58.

Bryceson, D. B. 2002: The scramble in Africa: reorienting rural livelihoods. *World Development* 30, 725–39.

Bucholtz, M. 2002: Youth and cultural practice. *Annual Review of Anthropology* 31, 525–52.

Bundy, C. 1987: Street sociology and pavement politics: aspects of youth and student resistance in Cape Town, 1985. *Journal of Southern African Studies* 13, 303–30.

Butler, J. 1990: *Gender and the subversion of identity*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press.

— 1997: *Excitable speech: a politics of the performative*. New York: Routledge.

Campbell, B. 1993: *Goliath: Britain's dangerous places*. London: Methuen.

Castree, N., Coe, N., Ward, K. and **Samers, M.** 2003: *Spaces of work: global capitalism and geographies of labour*. London: Sage.

Chandra, K. 2000: The transformation of ethnic politics in India: the decline of Congress and the rise of the Bahujan Samaj Party. *Journal of Asian Studies* 59, 26–61.

Chandrashekhar, C.P. and **Ghosh, J.** 2002: *The market that failed: a decade of neoliberal economic reforms in India*. Delhi: Manohar.

Chari, S. 2004: *Fraternal Capital: peasant-workers, self-made men, and globalization in provincial India*. Palo Alto, CA: Stanford University Press.

Chopra, R. and **Jeffery. P.**, editors 2005: *Educational regimes in contemporary India*. Delhi: Sage.

Cloke, P., Phillips, M. and **Thrift, N.** 1995: The new middle classes and the social constructs of rural living. In Savage, M. and Butler, T., editors, *Social change and the middle classes*, London: Routledge, 220–40.

Cloonan, M. and **Street, J.** 1998: Rock the vote: popular culture and politics. *Politics* 18, 33–38.

Cole, J. 2004: Fresh contact in Tamatave, Madagascar: sex, money, and intergenerational transformation. *American Ethnologist* 31, 573–88.

— 2005: The Jaombilo of Tamative (Madagascar), 1992–2004: reflections on youth and globalization. *Journal of Social History* 38, 891–913.

Coleman, J. and **Azrael, J.R.** 1965: *Education and political development*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.

Connell, R.W. 2005: *Masculinities*. Berkeley, CA: University of California Press.

Corbridge, S. 2004: Waiting in line, or the moral and material geographies of queue-jumping. In Lee, R. and Smith, D.M., editors, *Geographies and moralities: international perspectives on development, justice and place*, Oxford: Blackwell, 183–98.

Corbridge, S., Williams, G., Srivastava, M. and **Véron, R.** 2005: *Seeing the state: governance and governmentality in India*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Coté, J. 2002: The role of identity capital in the transition to adulthood: the individualization thesis examined. *Journal of Youth Studies* 5, 117–34.

Crang, P. 1997: Cultural turns and the (re)constitution of economic geography. In Lee, R. and Wills, J., editors, *Geographies of economies*, London: Arnold, 3–15.

Deleuze, G. and **Guattari, F.** 1987: *A thousand plateaus*. Minneapolis, MN: University of Minnesota Press.

Demerath, P. 1999: The cultural production of educational utility in Pere Village, Papua New Guinea. *Comparative Education Review* 43, 162–92.

— 2000: Negotiating school- and village-based ideologies in Papua New Guinea: recalibrating expectations at the edge of the world-system. *Education and Society* 18, 11–24.

Dirks, N. 2003: *Castes of mind: colonialism and the making of modern India*. Delhi: Permanent Black.

Dore, R. 1976: *The diploma disease: education, qualification and development*. Berkeley, CA: University of California Press.

Dottridge, M. 2002: Trafficking in children in west and central Africa. *Gender and Development* 10, 38–42.

Dube, S. 1998: *In the land of poverty: memoirs of an Indian family, 1947–1997*. London: Zed Books.

Dwyer, P. and **Wyn, J.** 2001: *Youth, education and risk: facing the future*. New York: Routledge.

Dyson, J. 2006: Faces of the forest: children's work in the Indian Himalayas. In Behera, D., editor, *Childhood in South Asia*, Oxford: Pearson Education, 32–51.

— 2008: Harvesting identities: youth, work and gender in the Indian Himalayas. *Annals of the Association of American Geographers*, 98, 160–79.

Eisner, J. 2004: *Taking back the vote: getting American youth involved in our democracy*. Boston, MA: Beacon Press.

Evans, K. and **Furlong, A.** 1997: Metaphors of youth transitions: niches, pathways, trajectories or navigations. In Bynner, J., Chisholm, L. and Furlong, A., editors, *Youth, citizenship and social change in a European context*, Avebury: Aldershot, 54–78.

Ferguson, J. 1999: *Expectations of modernity: myths and meanings of urban life on the Zambian copperbelt*. Berkeley, CA: University of California Press.

Fernandes, L. 2004: The politics of forgetting: class politics, state power and the restructuring of urban space in India. *Urban Studies* 41, 2415–30.

Foucault, M. 1977: *Discipline and punish: the birth of the prison* (translated by A. Sheridan). New York: Pantheon.

Frøystad, K. 2005: *Blended boundaries: caste, class and shifting faces of 'Hinduness' in a North Indian city*. Delhi: Oxford University Press.

Furlong, A. and **Cartmel, F.** 1997: *Young people and social change: individualization and risk in the age of high modernity*. Buckingham: Open University Press.

Gadgil, M. and **Guha, R.** 1995: *Equity and ecology: the use and abuse of nature in contemporary India*. Delhi: Penguin.

Gidwani, V. 2001: The cultural logic of work: explaining labor deployment and piece-rate contracts in Matar Taluka, Gujarat – parts I and II. *Journal of Development Studies* 38, 57–74.

Gramsci, A. 1971: *Selections from the prison notebooks* (edited and translated by Q. Hoare and G. Nowell-Smith). London: Lawrence and Wishart.

Hall, S. 1985: Signification, representation, ideology: Althusser and the poststructuralist debates. *Critical Studies in Mass Communication* 2, 91–114.

Hansen, T.B. 1996: Recuperating masculinity: Hindu nationalism, violence, and the exorcism of the Muslim 'other'. *Critique of Anthropology* 16, 137–72.

— 2006: Sounds of freedom: music, taxis and racial imagination in urban South Africa. *Public Culture* 18, 185–208.

Harriss, R.L. 2003: Popular resistance to globalization and neoliberalism in Latin America. *Journal of Development Studies* 19, 365–426.

Hart, G. 2003: *Disabling globalization: places of power in post-Apartheid South Africa*. Berkeley, CA: University of California Press.

Hebdige, D. 1979: *Subculture: the meaning of style*. London: Methuen.

Herod, A. 1997: From a geography of labor to a labor geography: labor's spatial fix and the geography of capitalism. *Antipode* 29, 1–31.

Heuzé, G. 1996: *Workers of another world: miners, the countryside and coalfields in Dhanbad*. Delhi: Oxford University Press.

Hoffman, D. 2004: The civilian target in Sierra Leone and Liberia: political power, military strategy, and humanitarian intervention. *African Affairs* 103, 211–26.

Hyams, M.S. 2000: 'Pay attention in class … [and] don't get pregnant:' a discourse of academic success among adolescent Latinas. *Environment and Planning A* 32, 617–35.

Jaffrelot, C. 2003: *India's silent revolution: the rise of the low castes in north Indian politics*. Delhi: Permanent Black.

Jamieson, L. 2000: Migration, place and class: youth in a rural area. *Sociological Review* 48, 203–23.

Jeffrey, C. 2001: A fist is stronger than five fingers: caste and dominance in rural north India. *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers* NS 25, 1–30.

Jeffrey, C. and **Lerche, J.** 2000: Stating the difference: state, discourse and class reproduction in Uttar Pradesh, India. *Development and Change* 31, 857–78.

Jeffrey, C., Jeffery. P. and **Jeffery, R.** 2004: 'A useless thing!' or 'nectar of the gods'? The cultural production of education and young men's struggles for respect in liberalizing north India. *Annals of the Association of American Geographers* 94, 961–81.

— 2008: *Degrees without freedom? Education, masculinities and unemployment in North India*. Palo Alto, CA: Stanford University Press.

Jha, P.S. 2000: *A jobless future: political causes of economic crisis*. Delhi: Rupa and Co.

Katz, C. 1998: Disintegrating developments: global economic restructuring and the eroding of ecologies of youth. In Valentine, G., Skelton, T. and Chambers, D., editors, *Cool places: geographies of youth cultures*, London: Routledge, 130–44.

— 2004: *Growing up global: economic restructuring and children's everyday lives*. Minnesota, MN: Minnesota University Press.

Koditschek, T. 1990: *Class formation and urban-industrial society: Bradford 1750–1850*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Krishna, A. 2003: What is happening to caste? A view from some north Indian villages. *Journal of Asian Studies* 62, 1171–93.

Kuftinec, S. 1996: A cornerstone for rethinking community theatre. *Theatre Topics* 6, 91–104.

Larner, W. 2000: Neoliberalism: policy, ideology, governmentality. *Studies in Political Economy* 63, 5–25.

Lerche, J. 1999: Politics of the poor: agricultural labourers and political transformations in Uttar Pradesh. In Byres, T.J., Kapadia, K. and Lerche, J., editors, *Rural labor relations in India*, London: Frank Cass, 182–243.

Levinson, B.A. 1996: Social difference and schooled identity in a Mexican secundria. In Levinson, B.A., Foley, D.E. and Holland, D.C., editors, *The cultural production of the educated person: critical ethnographies of schooling and local practice*, Albany, NY: State University of New York Press, 1–56.

Liechty, M. 2004: *Suitably modern: making middle class culture in a new consumer society*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.

Lukose, R. 2005: Consuming globalization: youth and gender in Kerala, India. *Journal of Social History* 38, 915–35.

McDowell, L. 2003: *Redundant masculinities? Employment change and white working class youth*. Oxford: Blackwell.

McRobbie, A. 1979: Working-class girls and the culture of femininity. In Women's Study Group, editors, *Women take issue,* London: Hutchison.

— 1994: *Postmodernism and popular culture*. London: Routledge.

Mahmood, S. 2005: *Politics of piety: the Islamic revival and the feminist subject*. Princteon, NJ: Princeton University Press.

Mannheim, K. 1972: The problem of generations. In Altbach, P. and Laufer, R., editors, *The new pilgrims: youth protest in transition*, New York: David McKay and Company, 101–38.

Martin, G. 2002: Conceptualizing cultural politics in subcultural and social movement studies. *Social Movement Studies* 1, 73–88.

Massey, D. 1998: The spatial construction of youth cultures. In Valentine, G., Skelton, T. and Chambers, D., editors, *Cool places: geographies of youth cultures*, London: Routledge, 119–29.

Mawdsley, E. 2004: India's middle classes and the environment. *Development and Change* 35, 79–103.

Miles, A. 1998: Women's bodies, women's selves: illness narratives and the 'Andean' body. *Body and Society* 4, 1–19.

Miles, R. 2002: Employment and unemployment in Jordan: the importance of the gender system. *World Development* 30, 413–27.

Moore, D. 2005: *Suffering for territory: race, place, and power in Zimbabwe*. Durham, NC: Duke University Press.

Nieuwenhuys, O. 1994: *Children's lifeworlds: gender, welfare and labor in the developing world.* New York: Routledge.

Ong, A. 2005: Ecologies of expertise: assembling flows, managing citizenship. In Ong, A. and Collier, S.J., *Global assemblages: technology, politics and ethics as anthropological problems*, Oxford: Blackwell.

Osella, F. and **Osella, C.** 2000: *Social mobility in Kerala: modernity and identity in conflict*. London: Pluto Press.

Pai, S. 2002: *Dalit assertion and the unfinished democratic revolution: the Bahujan Samaj Party in Uttar Pradesh*. Delhi: Sage.

Pai, S. and **Singh, J.** 1997: Politicization of Dalits and Most Backward Castes: study of social conflict and political preferences in four villages of Meerut District. *Economic and Political Weekly* 32, 1356–61.

Panelli, R. 2002: Young rural lives: strategies beyond diversity. *Journal of Rural Studies* 18, 113–22.

Parry, J.P. 1999: Two cheers for reservation: the Satnamis and the steel plant. In Guha, R. and Parry, J.P., editors, *Institutions and inequalities, Delhi: Oxford University Press, 128–69.*

Peck, J. 2001: Neoliberalizing states: thin policies/hard outcomes. *Progress in Human Geography* 25, 445–55.

Philo, C. and **Smith, F.** 2003: Guest editorial: political geographies of children and young people. *Space and Polity* 7, 99–115.

Prause, J. and **Dooley, D.** 1997: Effects of under-employment on school-leavers' self-esteem. *Journal of Adolescence* 20, 243–60.

Preston, J. 1999: University officials yield to student strike in Mexico. *New York Times* 8 June. Retrieved 11 February 2008 from http://www.nytimes.com/library/world/americas/060899mexico-student-strike.html

Punch, S. 2000: Children's strategies for creating playspaces: negotiating independence in rural Bolivia. In Holloway, S. and Valentine, G., *Children's geographies: playing, living, learning*, London: Routledge.

Reay, D. 1995: 'They employ cleaners to do that:' habitus in the primary school classroom. *British Journal of the Sociology of Education* 16, 353–71.

Redhead, S., editor 1993: *Rave off: politics and deviance in contemporary youth culture*. Aldershot: Avebury.

Reynolds, P. 1991: *Dance, civet cat: child labor in the Zambezi Valley*. Athens, OH: Ohio University Press.

Roberts, K., Fagan, C., Foti, K., Jung, B., Kovatcheva, S. and **Machacek, L.** 1999: Youth unemployment in East-Central Europe. *Sociologica* 29, 671–84.

Routledge, P. 2004: Reflections on the G8 protests: an interview with General Unrest of the Clandestine Insurgent Rebel Clown Army. *ACME: an international e-journal for critical geographies* 3, 112–20. Retrieved 12 February 2008 from http://www.acme-journal.org/Volume3-2.htm

Ruddick, S. 2003: The politics of aging: globalization and the restructuring of youth and childhood. *Antipode* 35, 335–64.

Rudner, D.W. 1994: *Caste and capitalism in colonial India: the Nattukottai Chettiars*. Berkeley, CA: University of California Press.

Sangtin Writers and **Nagar, R.** 2006: *Feminist thought and activism through seven lives in India*. Minnesota, MN: Minnesota University Press.

Shildrick, T. and **MacDonald**, R. 2006: In defence of subculture: young people, leisure and social divisions. *Journal of Youth Studies* 9, 125–40.

Silberschmidt, M. 2001: Disempowerment of men in rural and urban East Africa: implications for male identity and sexual behaviour. *World Development* 29, 657–71.

Simone, A. 2001: The worlding of African cities. *African Studies Review* 44, 15–41.

— 2005: Urban circulation and the everyday politics of African urban youth: the case of Douala, Cameroon. *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research* 29, 516–32.

Stambach, A. 1998: 'Too much studying makes me crazy': school-related illness on Mount Kilimanjaro. *Comparative Education Review* 42, 497–512.

Thomas, M. 2005: Girls, consumption space and the contradictions of hanging out in the city. *Social and Cultural Geography* 6, 587–605.

Tsing, A.L. 2004: *Friction: an ethnography of global connection*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.

Ul Haq, M. 2003: *Human development in South Asia 2003: the employment challenge*. New Delhi: Oxford University Press.

Valentine, G. 2003: Boundary crossings: transitions from childhood to adulthood. *Children's Geographies* 1, 37–52.

Valentine, G. and **Holloway, S.L.** 2002: Cyberkids? Exploring children's identities and social networks in on-line and off-line worlds. *Annals of the Association of American Geographers* 92, 302–19.

Valentine, G., Skelton, T. and **Chambers, D.**, editors 1998: *Cool places: an introduction to youth and youth cultures*. London: Routledge.

Vicziany, M. 2005: Dalit responses to unemployment in contemporary India. *Journal of South Asia Studies* 28, 154–79.

Wallace, C.S. and **Kovatcheva, S.** 1998: *Youth in society: the construction and deconstruction of youth in East and West Europe*. Oxford: Macmillan.

Watts, M. 2003: Development and governmentality. *Singapore Journal of Tropical Geography* 2, 1–34.

Weiss, B. 2002: Thug realism: inhabiting fantasy in urban Tanzania. *Cultural Anthropology* 17, 93–124.

Willis, P. 1977: *Learning to labor: how working class kids get working class jobs*. Farnborough: Saxon House.

— 1982: Cultural production and theories of reproduction. In Barton, L. and Walker, S., editors, *Race, class and education*, London: Croom Helm, 112–42.

World Bank 2007: World development report 2007: development and the next generation. Retrieved 11 February 2008 from www.worldbank.org/wdr2007

Wyn, J. and **White, R.** 2000: Negotiating social change: the paradox of youth. *Youth and Society* 32, 165–83.