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Youth and Legal Institutions: Thinking Globally and Comparatively

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PROLOGUE

On a wet December morning in Bobigny, a suburb of Paris, a group of youth stand around a corner café, sipping espresso, sharing cigarettes, and discussing the aftermath of *l'émote*, their term for the autumn 2005 events that engrossed France and much of the world for nearly a month. There are only a few signs left of the disturbances in their immediate neighborhood. From the café, one can see a nearby school that has been set on fire and that is being repaired; the destroyed cars—also set on fire—have been removed, leaving only eerie black scars on the pavement. But the traces are enough to remind, and so the conversation turns back around to those two weeks, when the world was gripped by young Frenchmen—some immigrant, some native-born—who took to the streets in frustration and release.[1]

These particular young Frenchmen are impatient. "Is there anything that has changed?" they ask rhetorically. "It's 11 AM," another one instructs. "Come back at 3 PM, I'll still be here. No work, you see. Nothing. Only for the French." The last statement is particularly curious because these young men are of Algerian background, but they are all born and raised in France. Indeed, from their clothes, musical tastes, sport, and passions, one cannot discern an immigrant's guise. But they share a feeling of being stuck in *les banlieues*, those swaths of land tracts on the outskirts of French cities most notable for

their high-rise public housing developments and their entrenched poverty. (See the chapters in this volume by Bonelli and Terrio for rich detail and analysis of life for young people in these districts and their encounters with the police and justice system.)

Like the emotions and fires that spread quickly to fuel civil unrest and rebellion in the city suburbs—in Paris and beyond, discussions of their socioeconomic opportunities move abruptly and unforgivingly to the subject of their civic status. "Am I French?" one asks rhetorically, pointing to his clothes and then his skin. "I was born here! When will I count [as French]?!" For them, economic mobility, civic engagement, and the capacity to be a citizen are not separate; the conversation quickly and forcefully turns to the subject of French citizenship as they discuss the revolts. The opportunities to move into adulthood, provide for family and household, and realize dreams and aspirations seem blocked at every turn by the past and the present, by the branches of ethnicity, colonialism, and nationhood. The young man tugs at his olive skin, as if it is a prison from which he cannot escape while also a source of pride and meaning. Smiling, he turns and says, "Until we figure out who is French, the rest is bullshit."

These young French youth, and millions of others like them throughout Europe's urban centers, are part of a new wave of global citizens. Their ethnicity has no multicultural resting place, no melting pot ideal that promises an eventual embrace in the nation (we can, of course, debate whether, in practice in countries such as the United States, this cloak actually facilitates assimilation). They live in a Bantustan-like urban region set off socially and politically from the wider nation, but they also live in their skin, which places them closer to their country of origin than the heart of the city they inhabit. Finding a meaningful job in Paris, Brussels, Berlin, and so on, may be geographically proximate, but it is remote in its likelihood.

The conflagrations that swept French cities—and that were rumored to have reached other parts of metropolitan Europe—were French in character, but they had perceptible regional and global dimensions. French *banlieues* are comprised of families, the majority of whom have arrived recently from, or trace their background to, North and West Africa—that is, from countries such as Senegal and Morocco that have had historic and historically troubled connections with France. These are also neighborhoods that are impover-

ished, where families face exclusion from the social mainstream and yet simultaneously are publicly portrayed and viewed as taking advantage of the social welfare arm of the French state.

The immediate events said to have precipitated the riots were, from one perspective, identifiably "local" in character. In response to the death of two youngsters outside Paris at the hands of the police, in a context in which many youths daily encounter police harassment, youths took to the streets, burning police cars, vandalizing schools, and destroying public property—that is, they targeted the symbols of the State.

Yet the extra-local aspects of this are all too clear, not least because of the transnational character of the migrants, whether they are French citizens or not. The conflagration spread widely across French cities, a feat that is popularly believed to have been facilitated by communication advances such as cell phones and the Internet—used by a population that other French view as not quite "modern." And, of course, for those who lived a few miles away or in other parts of the world, the revolts were broadcast by a global media industry that spread highly engrossing, often provocative images of brown and black bodies intent on destroying everything in their path. What these large media conglomerates rarely conveyed were the challenges for youth (and their families and communities) seeking to find a place and a voice in a society imbricated within global economic structures that increasingly shape long-term employment prospects in France, as they do elsewhere.

Not least, *l'émote* reveals the comparative and global dimensions of the law enforcement and governance of marginalized young populations across the world, especially although not exclusively in urban and peri-urban settings. Issues of relationships of these populations to the police and justice systems are not new, but models of policing and of juvenile justice are both changing in more punitive directions and spreading through old and new transnational institutions, networks, and media. At the same time, other global institutions, networks, and media promote ideas and instruments for supporting the rights of young people in unprecedented ways.

Our volume engages this dynamic. In doing so, it intends to bring fresh reflection on the structural aspects of marginalized youth's pathways, their deferred aspirations, that are occasionally revealed in rebellion—whether these outbursts take the form of protest, delinquency, or violent revolt. We also call

attention to those daily interactions that take place in less dramatic institutional arenas—such as the courts, schools, social service facilities, churches, and public spaces—where a wide range of actors work in less noticed ways to shape youth, and sometimes help them make successful transitions to adulthood.

INTRODUCTION

This volume addresses the impact of globalization on young people by focusing on a critical but poorly understood dimension of global social processes: the role of legal institutions and discourses as they shape the life experiences of young people. The legal arena is a central sphere in which youths integrate into the social fabric and through which their possibilities for meaningful transitions to adulthood, active civic engagement, and self-expression arise. The use of the law as a vehicle to deal with youth integration has been a longstanding challenge in advanced industrialized nations.[2] And, in developing and postcolonial societies, it is via new constitutions and national legislation that questions about the rights of young people are taken up.[3] In these nation-building projects, the interests of young people are framed by drawing on local traditions and notions of universal rights and ideas of citizenship.

In recent years, this arena has been re-aligned as ideas and practices about justice, rights, and maintaining order travel the globe. The contemporary promotion and transmission of zero tolerance and redistributive justice programs across international boundaries, the near ubiquitous acceptance of United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child, and the transnational migration of street gangs between industrialized and developing countries are some of the most prominent examples of socio-legal practices that reach across societies, cultures, and states. Although these global legal phenomena are typically based in the work of courts, police, and prison systems, they also directly involve international aid and advocacy organizations (that support practice and implementation), media actors (who disseminate information, create knowledge, and shape public opinion), and other institutions that have daily impact on young people's lives—families, schools, political organizations, and so on.

The global structures and flows that dominated the front pages of newspapers during the Paris riots, the youthfulness of the faces on the television

screens, while always locally inflected, are consequential for young people in cities throughout the world. This includes the American ghetto, where highly localized social phenomena are part of wider systemic processes (see chapter 5 by Venkatesh and Murphy in this book). Among other things, the riots made it impossible to avoid United States–Europe comparisons on issues of socioeconomic exclusion, cultural difference, security, and the life chances of young people. Numerous European inner cities face challenges long associated with the United States, including entrenched urban poverty, inadequate integration of ethnic minorities into the labor force, and the fragile legitimacy of their respective criminal justice institutions.

Yet the similarities among and the connections across the Atlantic do not erase or make meaningless the distinctiveness of each locality in terms of their cultural, political, and historical landscapes—a point that recent research on global processes has made quite evident, and that complicates any simplistic notions of homogenization.[4] Indeed, a central contribution of the chapters in this book is to provide an analysis of local patterns, to show that local specificities are not rendered entirely derivative or epi-phenomenal by virtue of their placement in encompassing social structures.[5] Whatever utility remains in framing key social questions under the rubric of "globalization," calling attention to the structuring role of external influences (whether they enable or constrain local ideas and action) need not replicate the hubris of past systemic/functionalist analyses in which the spirit and curiosity of life lived locally is reduced to the dictates of institutional logics operating here, there, and everywhere. What the authors in this volume emphasize are the overlaps, interminglings, and clashes of such logics in ways that matter for how young people are governed and protected.

The relationship between governing and protecting, between controlling and enabling the lives of the young is the central focus on this book. And it is here where globalization, as it affects youth, "happens" via legal discourses and institutions. Although the antecedents are clear, the 1990s accelerated two trends related to youth and the law, clearly in tension if not outright contradiction. At national levels, we have seen a punitive turn in juvenile justice and the treatment of young people in public space. So-called success stories and the ideologies behind them (e.g., the "broken windows" approach to policing) have been part of neoliberal trends in the global political economy. These

trends include the ways in which urban security issues have become central to city governments starved for investment, and a general breakdown in social welfare policies within which juvenile justice issues have been embedded. John Muncie's chapter articulates this broad trend while rightly calling attention to local differences as well as to how older welfare approaches and more recent criminalizing ones can be juxtaposed within national legal and governance regimes.

At the same time as these criminalizing approaches have increased, the 1990s also witnessed an explosion of new legal instruments, discourses, and organizations around the rights of children and young people. Emanating out from the Convention on the Rights of the Child that took shape within the international space of the United Nations, the protection—even the empowerment—of young people through legal means has been one of the more powerful sites for rights talk and rights mobilization.[6] The chapters in the final section of the book address these developments, including the limits of law-based strategies to achieve the goals of protection and empowerment.

It is this moment, one in which the pushes and pulls of criminalizing youth and of enabling them are juxtaposed, that we attempt to capture in the book. It is intended to call attention to those social structures commonly identified with an interconnected world and, at the same time, to open up the possibilities for locally based research and analysis of the world's young people. Although the contributions vary in the degree to which they directly engage debates on globalization, as a whole we do argue that global social dynamics, in the form of background context or analytic constructs, must be incorporated into social analysis.

GLOBAL PROCESSES, INSTITUTIONAL SITES, EVERYDAY PRACTICES

Globalization and *youth* are overused terms that have taken on multiple connotations. Both have entered popular and academic discourse with ferocity and, in part as a result of their speedy integration into numerous fields of study, have lost much of their specificity. For example, two decades ago, in different circles, one might have found a working consensus on the conceptual reference

point of globalization, whether this was viewed as an advanced stage of capitalism, the integration of financial and currency markets, supranational institutions threatening the jurisdiction of the nation state, or the exchange of aesthetic ideas and the rise of artistic collaborations across regions, states, and continents. Groups of scholars at least had a basis upon which to move forward with research and analysis—even if their own conceptualizations differed from one another. By the late 1990s, the pervasive and often inconsistent use of the term *globalization* has watered down its meaning, although there still appears widespread interest in analyzing the consequences of social life organized at larger and multiple scales.[7]

The world's youth are now associated with global movements and institutions, although they are alternatively portrayed as both the prime movers of globalization and its victims: activists coordinating their political projects around the world; suicide bombers taking their own lives in the service of a cause; underpaid laborers at the behest of multinational corporations; hackers disrupting national security systems with technological viruses; musicians and artists exchanging verse and image via the Internet; and armed children carrying weapons instead of text books. These are some of the popular and youthful faces of globalization.[8]

Although young people are at the heart of discourses on globalization, youth remains a complex social category that, depending on context, can signal chronological age, social status, political disposition, or relationship to family and community. Demographers use the term to identify a chronological period (typically 16–24 years of age). The stability of this definition may be seen in comparative research, cross-national surveys, and the many reports by the UN and other actors that monitor such patterns as shifting government expenditures and rates of educational achievement.[9] But this stable definition butts up against the work of anthropologists and historians who see "youth" as a contingent stage in life that depends ultimately on local context. What one community, society, or group sees as the beginning and end of "youth" may differ markedly, thereby rendering universal comparative demographic categories an imposition. And, outside of the academy, radical and revolutionary social movements from South Africa to the U.S. inner city have incorporated "youth" as part of their rallying cry. Many have deployed the category to challenge nation-state projects that, in a self-congratulatory way, ask young peo-

ple to take responsibility, reproduce cultural values and social institutions, obey the law, and buy into the social contract, while at the same time failing to provide for their material needs.[10]

It may be worthwhile, provisionally, to understand *global dynamics* as projects and initiatives that are characterized by one or more of the following: the integration of financial and currency markets; the use of technology to overcome spatial and temporal barriers; the increasing interdependence of countries in a way that formal modern political designations such as the *nation-state* are reconstituted; and the movement of bodies, ideas, and cultural objects across bounded spaces (cities, regions, countries, etc.). But these definitional debates are not of principal concern here. It is the changing life experiences of young people that is the main focus of the book, particularly as they are being re-made by ideas of legal jurisprudence and institutions of policing and social order maintenance that operate across conventional spatial and temporal borders.

As indicated, there is no shortage of research on globalization—including volumes questioning the utility of the term itself and the present moment's uniqueness as a "global era." And there has been an upswing in interest in youth. Comparative demographers produce studies of educational attainment, youth employment, and public health outcomes; sociologists focus on migration patterns and remittances and so-called second-generation experiences of young people growing up outside the country of their parent's birthplace. There are equally illuminating anthropological discussions of youth expression,[11] including analyses of how young people make culture by sharing ideas and symbols across borders and the use of the Internet as a vehicle through which to collaborate artistically and politically.[12] And, in the fields of international relations and the sociology of global culture, there is a rich tradition of studying nongovernmental actors whose embrace of "universal rights" (e.g., human rights organizations), access to education (e.g., the United Nations), and development (e.g., the World Bank) effectively spread Western ideas and resources to the world's children—this includes case studies that show such dissemination as neither without contestation or resistance.[13] Scholars working on social justice issues have discussed the pervasive use of "law-and-order" techniques—such as "zero tolerance"—and the proliferation of "redistributive justice" social movements around the globe, both of which

have realigned youth experience and the transition to adulthood and full citizenship. In other words, reflecting the current organization of academic fields, sociologists and demographers are pointing to broad comparative patterns, anthropologists are inquiring into cultural production and discursive practice in concrete settings,[14] and so on. The research on globalization or youth rarely communicates across fields. This volume reflects a common desire of participants to work beyond their disciplinary boundaries.

The discussions leading up to this volume identified the "middle range" of institutions as a critical and often overlooked approach to understanding global processes. With notable exceptions,[15] there is a tendency to study global social dynamics in highly local settings—that is, in the beliefs, ideas, and practices of people in concrete social contexts, or as they emerge in their broadest possible dimensions. From a macro perspective, economists debate the benefits of worldwide markets, some faithful to the emancipatory potential of free markets while others decry growing inequality across first and third world divides.[16] Sociologists and political scientists, at an equally broad level, critique neoliberal governance strategies, theorize the realignment of the nation-state, and examine the policies of the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund that have an impact on poverty on a global scale.[17]

From a micro perspective, social scientists illuminate the experiences of everyday people whose lives are disrupted by global forces, musicians who use the Internet to sample from diverse cultures,[18] street gangs that communicate across nations and continents,[19] and migrants who seek work in socially isolated urban ghettos and who construct their lives in two countries simultaneously.[20] Such studies are typically smaller in scale and focus on lived experience. Global dynamics such as neoliberal policies, immigration laws, and technological innovations permitting new forms of communication and resource exchange appear as context-setting factors, but the focus is on local practice.

Although the chapters in this volume engage both micro and macro levels, we highlight what lies between global structures and everyday experience: the basic institutions that organize the lives of young people, whether these are in the government, civic, or private sectors. We call attention equally to the responses of youth in and to these institutional contexts. The criminalization of youth around the world and the spread of zero tolerance as a replacement for welfare-oriented juvenile justice intervention, the interplay of multiple legal

orders—for example, secular, religious, customary, and universal—that ultimately shape normative development and transition to adulthood, the politically contested allocation of rights to young people by governments, and the transmission of normative and juridical ideas and policies across time and space—all these point us to the constitutive role of basic social institutions, such as courts, media, police, schools, and the family. These institutions often work across boundaries and borders; they are ubiquitous across societies even if their organization frames and meanings vary widely.[21] What are seen as the abstract workings of global dynamics are often projects that must be carried out by concrete organizational and collective actors. The essays in this volume bring the strengths of institutional-level analysis to the existing debates in youth and globalization research.

Each of the chapters inquires into legal institutions and discourses that involve young people, that shape and mediate global processes in particular settings and the responses to them. The contributors share a commitment to a perspective that permits a study of key legal and governance institutions that—in the context of legal structures and processes—transmit ideas, seek to control subjects such as migrants and juveniles, carry out projects based on notions of "universal rights," and police youth who move across national borders. All too often, globalization can appear as a "black box,"—that is, as something that magically happens rather than a set of ideas and projects that must be carried out with force and organized action. The essays in this volume open up this black box by focusing on actors in real institutionalized contexts and spaces—families, courts, prisons, gangs, public spaces, and so on.

OVERVIEW OF THE BOOK

Essays in this volume offer case studies and in-depth analyses of the impact of globalization and institutions on young people in particular national, regional, or local settings. The use of concrete cases, rooted in legal structures and processes, is meant to provide the beginnings of a better empirical base with which to analyze global structures and processes. By drawing on everyday social practices and concrete institutional forms and sites, they add clarity to our current understanding of the ways in which institutions in differ-

ent parts of the world can affect youth in one particular locale. The essays span North America, Central and South America, Europe, Australia, and Africa. The settings are diverse and include courts and prisons, inner-city streets, international human rights initiatives, shopping malls, local youth organizations, and the United Nations. Each situates the daily lives of young people within wider perspectives that engage the relationship of local and global structures, refining approaches to social phenomena that are both "here and there." Across these diverse settings, the focus is firmly on institutionalized practices within legal settings and frameworks. One of the goals of this volume is to connect cultural, institutional, and social structural features of young people's lives in concrete ways. We throw light on the institutions, actors, and social relations that make global processes possible and consequential for young people.

Examining global phenomena through legal settings enables the authors to frame the study of global/local dynamics as active social processes in which youth are central participants, not simply passive players. The chapters in this volume direct the reader to look both at the changing social structures in which young people live and the ways in which the youth themselves shape, challenge, and transform those structures through movement, representation, and protest. In this manner, the volume's contributions include both deeper understanding of critical substantive issues and creative methodological implications for addressing them.

The essays are divided into four parts. The subsequent parts of the book (parts II, III, and IV) are led off by brief introductions describing the issues that each chapter in that section addresses. Part I includes this introductory essay and a chapter by John Muncie on the complex and partial convergence of criminal justice policies and practices in advanced industrialized countries. The following three parts build on this overview. Part II (chapters by Elana Zilberg, Laurent Bonelli, and Sudhir Alladi Venkatesh and Alexandra Murphy) examines problems of criminalization and governance in urban centers, specifically San Salvador (and its nexus with Los Angeles), Paris, and U.S. ghettoes. Where the essays in this part examine policing specifically, the third part looks more broadly at problems of urban governance and efforts to manage particular youth populations (in chapters by Susan Terrio, Brenda Coughlin, and Rob White). Each author examines key institutional arenas—the streets and

other public spaces (White on Australia), the courts (Terrio on France), and jails and prisons (Coughlin on the United States)—in which the voices, behaviors, and lives of young people are shaped and where they encounter a range of actors seeking to control, represent, or incarcerate them. The fourth and final part examines some of the challenges—legal, political, and cultural—embedded in efforts to enable and "empower" young people through legal and rights-based strategies (with the chapter by Elizabeth Herger Boyle, Trina Smith, and Katja Guenther on global perspective; the chapter by John Guidry on Brazil; and the chapter by Annie Bunting and Sally Engle Merry on Nigeria).

More than other social groups, youth evokes the hopes and challenges of a society. This volume offers unprecedented insight into the dramatic ways in which global structures and processes are reorganizing young people's lives in the twenty-first century. It sharpens and makes intelligible our understanding of the much-discussed era of globalization by drawing attention to a central place where aspirations become translated into daily practice—the law. Through empirically grounded and theoretically informed examinations of legal institutions and discourses, we are able to better grasp both the opportunities and challenges that societies around the world face when life for their young people is never lived only locally.

ENDNOTES

1. One of us (Venkatesh) conducted field research in Paris shortly after the riots in 2005. Among many accounts see the Web Forum "Riots in France" published by the Social Science Research Council at http://riotsfrance.ssrc.org/.

2. See Issac Balbus 1973. *The Dialectics of Legal Repression*. New York: Russell Sage.

3. See John Comaroff and Jean Comaroff 2004. "Policing Culture, Cultural Policing: Law and Social Order in Postcolonial South Africa," *Law & Social Inquiry* 29 (3): 513–545.

4. See John Muncie 2005. "The Globalization of Crime Control—the Case of Youth and Juvenile Justice: Neo-liberalism, Policy Convergence and International Conventions," *Theoretical Criminology* 9 (1): 35–64.

5. For examples from sub-Saharan Africa, the part of the world in some ways buffeted most directly by global forces, see Thomas Callaghy, Ronald Kassimir, and Robert Latham (eds.) 2001. *Intervention and Transnationalism in Africa: Global-Local Networks of Power*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

6. An issue first raised in Sharon Stephens (ed.) 1995. *Children and the Politics of Culture.* Princeton: Princeton University Press. On rights talk, see Mahmood Mamdani (ed.) 2000. *Beyond Rights Talk and Culture Talk: Comparative Essays on the Politics of Rights and Culture.* London: Palgrave MacMillan. On rights activism and mobilization, see Margaret E. Keck and Kathryn Sikkink 1998. *Activists Beyond Borders: Advocacy Networks in International Politics.* Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press.

7. See Ulrich Beck 2000. *What Is Globalization?* Cambridge, MA: Polity Press; Christopher Chase-Dunn 1999. "Globalization: A World Systems Perspective," *Journal of World Systems Research* 5(2): 187–215; and Andre Gunder Frank and Barry Gills (eds.) 1993. *The World System: Five Hundred Years or Five Thousand?* London: Routledge.

8. For recent examples from contemporary Africa, see Alcinda Honwana and Filip de Boeck (eds.) 2005. *Makers and Breakers: Children and Youth in Postcolonial Africa.* Oxford: James Currey.

9. See, for example, Cynthia Lloyd (ed.) 2005. *Growing Up Global: The Changing Transitions to Adulthood in Developing Countries.* Washington, DC: National Academies Press; and B. Bradford Brown, Reed W. Larson, and T. S. Saraswathi (eds.) 2002. *The World's Youth: Adolescence in Eight Regions of the Globe.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

10. See John Comaroff and Jean Comaroff, op. cit.

11. For recent examples see Honwana and De Boeck (eds.), op. cit.; Sunaina Maira and Elisabeth Soep (eds.) 2004. *Youthscapes: The Popular, the National, the Global.* Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press; and Hilary Pilkington et al. 2002. *Looking West? Cultural Globalization and Russian Youth Cultures.* University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press.

12. Seyed Masoud Mousavi Shafaee 2003. "Globalization and Contradiction between the Nation and the State in Iran: the Internet Case," *Critique: Critical Middle Eastern Studies*, 12 (2): 189–195.

13. See especially Boyle, Smith, and Guenther's chapter in this volume. Also see Elizabeth Heger Boyle, Forunata Songora, and Gail Foss 2001. "International Discourse and Local Politics: Anti-Female-Genital-Cutting Laws in Egypt, Tanzania, and the United States," *Social Problems* 48 (4): 524–544; John Boli and George M. Thomas (eds.) 1999. *Constructing Global Culture: International Nongovernmental Organizations Since 1975.* Stanford: Stanford University Press; Sue Ruddick 2003. "The Politics of Aging: Globalization and the Restructuring of Youth and Childhood," *Antipode* 35 (2); and Jens Qvortrup 1993. "Nine Theses about Childhood as a Social Phenomenon," in Jens Qvortrup (ed.) *Childhood as a Social Phenomenon.* Eurosocial Report 47. Vienna: European Centre.

14. See Arjun Appadurai 2000. "Spectral Housing and Urban Cleansing: Notes on Millenial Mumbai," *Public Culture* 12 (3): 627–651.

15. Neil Fligstein has argued for the need to take institutions seriously by linking abstract social processes with concrete developments in real historical contexts. See, for example, Neil Fligstein 1998. "Is Globalization the Cause of the Crises of Welfare States?" EUI Working Paper No. 98/5. San Domenico, Italy: European University Institute. Also, Fligstein 1996. "Markets as Politics: A Political-Cultural Approach to Market Institutions," *American Sociological Review* 61:656–673.

16. Meric S. Gertler 1996. "Between the Local and the Global: The Spatial Limits to Productive Capital," in Kevin R. Cox (ed.) *The Spaces of Globalization*. New York: Guilford.

17. David Held 1996. *Democracy and the Global Order: From the Modern State to Cosmopolitan Governance*. Stanford: Stanford University Press; David Woodward 1998. "Globalization, Uneven Development and Poverty." United Nations Development Program, Social Development and Poverty Elimination Division. Poverty Working Papers.

18. See Arun Saldanha, May 2002. "Music, Space, Identity: Geographies of Youth Culture in Bangalore," *Cultural Studies* 16 (3): 337–350.

19. See, especially, the chapter in this volume by Elana Zilberg and, for a general overview, John M. Hagedorn 2005. "The Global Impact of Gangs," *Journal of Contemporary Criminal Justice* 21 (2): 153–169.

20. Rob Smith 1997. "Transnational Migration, Assimilation, and Political Community," in Margaret Crahan and Alberto Vourvoulias-Bush (eds.). *The City and the World*. New York: Council on Foreign Relations.

21. See, for example, Boaventura de Sousa Santos and César A. Rodríguez-Garavito (eds.) 2005. *Law and Globalization from Below: Towards a Cosmopolitan Legality*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press; and Michael Likosky (ed.) 2002. *Transnational Legal Processes: Globalisation and Power Disparities*. London: Butterworths.