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SUBALTERN STRUGGLES IN NEOLIBERAL METROPOLIS: URBAN INFORMALITY AND ACCUMULATION BY DISPOSSESSION IN ADIGA'S MUMBAI

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ABSTRACT

Adiga's novels, *Last Man in Tower* and *Selection Day*, provide a comprehensive view of Mumbai's transformation into the neoliberal cosmos. This research article examines the socio-economic and, to an extant political reality of Mumbai, a prominent example of neoliberal mobility, analyzing the fiction of Aravind Adiga. The study draws the theoretical frameworks from the works of Ananya Roy and David Harvey to scrutinize the socio-economic shifts in Mumbai, focusing on the marginalized voices and the deterioration of the social fabric. David Harvey's conceptualization of neoliberalism as a mode of economic governance that prioritizes market freedoms and private property rights exacerbates social inequalities. It engenders urban environments characterized by commodification and dispossession. Ananya Roy's work on urban poverty and neoliberal development further enriches the analysis, highlighting the vivid experiences of those excluded from the benefits of neoliberal development. The study aims to illuminate the subaltern experiences in neoliberal Mumbai, exploring how policies, influenced by neoliberalism have fragmented traditional communities, intensified socio-economic disparities, and marginalized voices resisting or being crushed by the relentless drive for economic progress. Ultimately, the study on Mumbai's socio-economic realities, based on fictional narratives, may not fully capture the experiences of marginalized communities. Its focus on middle-class residents and young aspiring cricketers has the potential to address other marginalized groups too, but its relevance to global cities is questionable.

Keywords: *Urban Informality, Accumulation by Dispossession, Neoliberalism, Urbanization, Subaltern, Cricket, Commodification, Displacement, Financial Gain.*

INTRODUCTION

Mumbai, often heralded as the financial capital of India, stands as a bustling metropolis where the forces of globalization and economic liberalization converge. This city, known for its economic vibrancy and cultural diversity, embodies the rapid transformations brought about by the neoliberal era. The neoliberal period, characterized by prioritizing market freedoms, private property rights, and free trade, has brought significant economic changes and challenges to urban landscapes worldwide. In Mumbai, this has led to both economic growth and increasing socio-economic disparities, because "The wave of creative destruction which neoliberalization has visited across the whole landscape of capitalism is unparalleled in the history of capitalism" (Harvey 2006, p.156) reshaping the city's social fabric and impacting its residents profoundly.

Aravind Adiga's novels *Last Man in Tower* and *Selection Day* explore the socio-economic realities of Mumbai, providing a unique perspective on the effects of neoliberal policies on the city's social structure, highlighting the struggles of marginalized communities and the resilience of subaltern voices. The novels highlight the issues that marginalized people confront in a highly competitive environment. *Last Man in Tower* (2011) explores the lives of middle-class housing cooperative members, illustrating the displacement caused by neoliberal policies that prioritize market freedoms and private property rights. The story also emphasizes the fracturing of traditional groups and the widening of socioeconomic inequities. *Selection Day* (2016) follows two teenage cricket prodigies representing

Mumbai's lower economic strata, illustrating the commodification of individual talent and ambition in sports and education, which frequently disenfranchises people who are unable to compete within this rigid system. Both works emphasize the broader socioeconomic environment produced by neoliberal policies.

Mumbai's rapid urbanization is a reflection of the global shift towards neoliberalism, which has led to the dismantling of traditional institutional frameworks, reshaping social relations, and transforming technological landscapes. The narratives of *Last Man in Tower* and *Selection Day* offer a critical perspective on these changes, highlighting the tension between economic incentives and community cohesion. In *Last Man in Tower*, residents sell their homes to developers, highlighting the impact of neoliberal policies on vulnerable communities. In *Selection Day*, young cricketers navigate systemic inequalities in sports, where neoliberal values commodify talent and ambition. The novel emphasizes the role of education and sports in neoliberal policies, often to the detriment of those unable to meet the rigorous demands imposed by these systems. Urban studies face a paradox as much of the 21st century's urban growth is in developing countries, while many theories remain rooted in the developed world. Understanding and learning from cities like Mumbai's unique challenges and responses can help develop strategies that mitigate the vulnerabilities of the urban poor and recognize their "right to the city."

Medhavi (2024) concluded "Adiga's writings are a call to action, encouraging readers to face the systemic inequalities ingrained in the current global

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power structures and combat towards a more fair and just society" (p.355), similarly, this research examines how Adiga's novels, with a particular emphasis on the experiences of subalterns and resistance, reflect the effects of neoliberal capitalism on Mumbai since, Roy (2005) endorses that "The study of cities is today marked by a paradox: much of the urban growth of the 2ist century is taking place in the developing world, but many of the theories of how cities function remain rooted in the developed world" (p.147). The accounts demonstrate how neoliberal policies marginalize individuals who resist, destroy conventional groups, and worsen socioeconomic inequality in giant metropolises. The study adds to the body of knowledge on neoliberalism and urban studies by highlighting the significance of highlighting and elevating marginalized perspectives in conversations about social justice and urban development.

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

David Harvey's critical analysis of neoliberalism provides a comprehensive understanding of how economic policies prioritize market freedoms and private property rights, often at the expense of social equity, "The uneven geographical development of neoliberalism on the world stage has been, evidently, a very complex process entailing multiple determinations and not a little chaos and confusion" (Harvey 2006, p.147). His concept of "accumulation by dispossession" is particularly relevant in examining the processes of gentrification and displacement depicted in *Last Man in Tower*, where a middle-class housing cooperative faces a lucrative buyout offer from a real estate developer. This scenario mirrors

broader patterns of urban redevelopment and displacement endemic to neoliberal cities worldwide. Furthermore, in this novel, Adiga deals with the socio-economic changes and rapid urbanization in Mumbai, through the case of Vishram Society. It highlights the tension between formal urban development plans and the informal lives of its inhabitants, as well as the economic informality of home-based businesses and small unregistered enterprises. This makes Ananya Roy's concepts quite relevant for the study and broadens the research horizon in a new dimension.

Ananya Roy's insights into urban poverty and marginality further enrich this analysis, emphasizing the lived experiences of those who are often excluded from the benefits of neoliberal growth because "the harsh rhetoric of austerity and privatization gave way to a new generation of poverty alleviation programs that recycled the populist ideas of an earlier era" (Roy 2005, p.150). Her work on "urban informality" and the politics of poverty provides a critical paradigm to probe the struggles depicted in *Selection Day*, where young cricket prodigies from lower economic backgrounds navigate intense pressures and systemic inequalities in their quest for upward mobility. Since "Informality is back on the agenda of international development and urban planning" (p.148), Roy's framework helps to highlight how neoliberal policies exacerbate existing socio-economic disparities, marginalizing subaltern voices in the process. Simultaneously, David Harvey's concept of accumulation by dispossession highlights the darker side of neoliberalism, where human potential and talent are monetized for financial gain, as seen in Anand

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Mehta's transactional relationship with the Kumar brothers, highlighting the privatization and commodification of public goods and services.

By assimilating these theoretical perspectives with Adiga's compelling narratives, this study seeks to uncover the subaltern experiences and resistance in neoliberal Mumbai. It examines how the relentless drive for economic progress fragments traditional communities, intensifies socio-economic disparities and marginalizes those who resist or are crushed by neoliberal imperatives. This research aims to contribute to the ongoing discourse on urban studies and neoliberalism through a detailed literary analysis, emphasizing the critical need to recognize and empower subaltern voices in urban development and social justice discussions.

LITERATURE REVIEW

Aravind Adiga's novels *Selection Day* and *Last Man in Tower* are critically acclaimed for their exploration of socio-economic transformations in Mumbai, particularly under the influence of neoliberal policies. These works offer insights into the experiences of marginalized communities in a rapidly urbanizing and globalizing Indian metropolis, focusing on themes such as financial and psychosocial entrapment, the politics of success, self-realization, resistance to capitalism, and the impact of neoliberal urban development.

Prajapati (2022) explores the financial conditions of the poor and bourgeoisie in Mumbai's competitive cricket scene, highlighting the psychological trauma and socio-economic pressures faced by middle and lower-class individuals striving for success in a capitalist society. The narrative interweaves themes of unexplored sexuality, unsatisfied desires, and relentless pursuit of a better life under corrupt capitalist systems. Mishra and Verma (2022) explore the politics of success in *Selection Day*, revealing the harsh realities behind the glamorous facade of cricket, reflecting broader societal issues of performance and achievement. Devi and Francis (2021) focus on the theme of self-realization in *Selection Day*, highlighting Adiga's concern with his characters' emotional and psychological complexities in the urban sphere of Mumbai. He advocated that the novel serves as a metaphor for the broader socio-economic struggles of urban life, depicting a dark journey through contemporary urban India.

Badiuzzaman (2021) credits *Last Man in Tower* as a critique of globalization, urbanization, privatization, and capitalism in postcolonial India. The protagonist, Masterji, represents the resistance of marginalized classes against the socio-political and economic forces of neoliberalism. Dabhi (2023) analyses the ambivalence caused by capitalism in *Last Man in Tower*, concentrating on the cultural and psychological consequences of neoliberal economic policies. The story shows the moral decline caused by the urge to acquire property in a developing Mumbai neighborhood. Characters motivated by greed and self-interest represent the larger societal changes brought about by capitalism. Dabhi's description highlights the contradictions between idealism and practical development, calling into question the actual cost of economic advancement. Mehmood (2020) applied David Harvey's theory of 'accumulation by dispossession' and established that *Last Man in Tower* presents the spatial disequilibrium in urban spaces, highlighting capital accumulation

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and commercial integrity. Its narrative highlights the commodification of urban spaces, resulting in evictions and displacements, highlighting the need for critical spatial consciousness to assert one's rights to the city.

Medhavi and Sahay (2024) finally, situate Adiga's work within the context of the Global South's struggles against the neoliberal economic model, arguing that *Last Man in Tower* and *Selection Day* reveal the destructive repercussions of neoliberalism on Mumbai's social fabric. By highlighting the struggles and resilience of marginalized communities, Adiga's work contributes to a deeper understanding of the complexities of urban development and social justice in contemporary India.

RESEARCH GAP

The literature review on Aravind Adiga's novels *Last Man in Tower* and *Selection Day* reveals several research gaps when analyzed through the combined theoretical perspectives of Ananya Roy and David Harvey. Roy's concept of urban informality emphasizes the often-overlooked informal aspects of urbanization that formal planning processes usually ignore. This presents a significant research gap in examining how these informal sectors navigate and resist the pressures of neoliberal urbanization as depicted in Adiga's novels.

Roy also argues for an epistemology of planning that recognizes the "unplannable" elements of urban spaces. The existing literature review focuses on socio-economic challenges but lacks a detailed analysis of how urban planning influences the lives of Adiga's characters. Understanding these gaps could provide an enhanced insight into urban governance

and socio-economic disparities, highlighting the disconnect between policy and practice in the urban landscape.

Harvey critiques neoliberal urbanism for its inherent contradictions, such as promoting economic growth while exacerbating social inequalities. There is a research gap in exploring how Adiga's novels reflect these tensions, particularly how neoliberal policies create both opportunities and obstacles for different social classes in Mumbai. Analyzing these contradictions would shed light on the complex interplay between economic policies and social justice, aligning with Harvey's critique of neoliberal urban development.

Both Roy and Harvey highlight issues of spatial and distributive justice in urban settings. The current literature review discusses economic disparities and social injustices but lacks a focused analysis of spatial justice—how urban spaces are differentially produced and accessed by various social groups. Exploring how Adiga's characters experience and navigate spatial inequalities in Mumbai would provide a deeper understanding of urban justice, emphasizing the spatial dimensions of socio-economic and political struggles. Lastly, both Roy and Harvey advocate for comparative urbanism to understand global patterns of urbanization. Comparing Adiga's portrayal of Mumbai with other urban centers within and outside India could illuminate the broader implications of neoliberal policies on urban development and social justice.

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ANALYTICAL STUDY AND DISCUSSION

Last Man in Tower: Dispossession of Informal Space through Neoliberal Urbanization

Last Man in Tower is an account of socio-economic transformations and rapid urbanization in Mumbai, particularly the Vishram Society, as Mehmood (2020) remarkably stated, "*Last Man in Tower* is set in one of the most populated urban spheres of India, Mumbai. The density in Mumbai indicates its commercial pivot where India grows day and night" (p.60). The novel highlights the tension between formal urban development plans and the informal, yet structured lives of its inhabitants, who live in an informal community structure. The novel also explores economic informality, as many residents engage in informal activities such as home-based businesses and small unregistered enterprises, which are essential for their survival as Roy (2005) exactly illustrated this fact:

> Such trends point to a complex continuum of legality and illegality, where squatter settlements formed through land invasion and self-help housing can exist alongside upscale informal subdivisions formed through legal ownership and market transaction but in violation of land use regulations. Both forms of housing are informal but embody very different concretizations of legitimacy. The divide here is not between formality and informality but rather a differentiation within informality (p.149).

Dabhi (2023) argues that Adiga explores the increasing social class gap and economic ambiguities,

highlighting the contrasting lives of characters in an apartment complex, who navigate their roles in a changing societal structure, "Some residents welcome the financial gains offered by the developer, while others grapple with the implications of displacing the less privileged for personal gain" (p.95). The primary conflict in the novel revolves around the residents' resistance to the lucrative offer from the developer, Dharmen Shah. This resistance can be seen as an act of informal agency against the formal forces of neoliberal urban development. The residents' decision-making processes, negotiations, and internal conflicts within the community highlight their informal strategies to protect their homes and way of life from being subsumed by formal economic interests. Their refusal to accept Shah's offer illustrates their desire to maintain the stability and respectability they have achieved through secure titles and legal deeds. Therefore, Mehmood (2020) rightly asserted "The ideological conflict for claiming right over city by both the capitalists and the urban other becomes a seesaw that reshapes their geo-political existence" (p.65). Despite the external allure of wealth and the internal struggle, the residents' actions demonstrate their commitment to preserving the slow and regular life they value over the uncertain promises of rapid financial gain.

> As wealth came to some, and misery to others, stories of gold and tears reached Vishram Society like echoes from a distant battlefield. Here, among the plastic chairs of their parliament, the lives of the residents were slow and regular. They had the security of titles and legal deeds that could not be revoked, and their aspirations were limited

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to a patient rise in life earned through universities and interviews in grey suit and tie. It was not in their karma to know either gold or tears; they were respectable. (Adiga 2011, p.38)

David Harvey's concept of "accumulation by dispossession" is vividly depicted through the actions of the developer, Dharmen Shah. Shah's offer to buy out the residents of Vishram Society at a high price is a strategy to dispossess them of their property, enabling him to accumulate wealth by redeveloping the land into a high-profit real estate venture. Harvey (2006) asserted that Class movements are divided into expanded reproduction, "focusing on wage labor exploitation and social wage conditions, and accumulation by dispossession", addressing destructive practices, cultures, histories, and environments, and contemporary finance capital depredations (p.157). The protagonist "Master Ji, a middle-class shopkeeper who values tradition and morality, becomes a heartbreaking symbol of the many people who are victims of crony capitalism" (Medhavi & Sahay 2024, p.48)) represents the resistance of marginalized classes against these socio-economic forces, revealing the moral and ethical dilemmas faced by individuals caught in the crossfire of urban development, as Badiuzzaman (2021) highlighted:

> Masterji's position also becomes no better than those of the marginalized or peripheralized in society. But unlike his fellow members, Masterji fails to realize one truth about New India that Mumbai becomes a part of the globalized world that is rapidly being transformed technologically

and commercially. As a result, many people are becoming rich and many poor. (p.86)

Adiga's depiction of Mumbai from the eyes of the Vishram Society inhabitants demonstrates how people move between formal and informal spaces, "Vishram Society is anchored like a dreadnought of middle-class respectability, ready to fire on anyone who might impugn the pucca quality of its inhabitants" (Adiga 2011, p.3). The characters frequently find themselves caught between these two realms, enhancing their contacts with formal institutions with informal networks. This dual navigation highlights the complexities of urban life in a city that is transforming rapidly, where communities are frequently sustained by informal practices that formal systems either ignore or are unable to provide enough support for their well-being and that rightly justified and concluded by Roy (2005) "It is the right to the city that is at stake in urban informality" (p.155) . Essentially, *Last Man in Tower* encapsulates urban informality by portraying the lived experiences of a community at the intersection of formal urban development and informal socio-economic practices. Through the residents' struggles and resilience, Adiga illustrates the nuanced realities of urban informality, aligning with Ananya Roy's theoretical framework.

SELECTION DAY: COMMODIFICATION OF TALENT

Selection Day portrays the neoliberal conditions of Mumbai, through the experiences of the Kumar family and their entanglement with the city's informal cricketing networks. The novel provides a nuanced depiction of urban informality, aligning with

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Ananya Roy's theoretical foundation and David Harvey's concept of "accumulation by dispossession."

Urban informality in *Selection Day* manifests through the informal cricket training and talent scouting that dominate the Kumar brothers' lives. Roy (2005) argues that the ideology of urban upgrading often overlooks the importance of physical amenities, "The limitations of urban upgrading are the limitations of the ideology of space", focusing instead on the built environment and physical amenities that enhance the overall physical environment. (p.150) Manju and Radha's journey to become cricket stars relies heavily on informal networks that operate outside the structured, formal cricket academies. These networks include local coaches, unofficial matches, and unregistered scouts, reflecting a broader trend in Mumbai where informal systems are crucial for those seeking upward mobility in a neoliberal economy, this precise tension is reflected quite clearly in these lines:

> He is a lucky man.' He took a breath, and turned to the investor: 'Mr Anand, sir, I was not allowed to be present when my own sons were exhibited to you like goods at the market' an angry glance at Tommy Sir'so I could not present a full picture of their talents. Let me share with you the whole A-Z of Future Champion-Making (Adiga 2016, p.36)

The Kumar family's economic vulnerability is evident, as Mohan Kumar's job as a chutney seller and his desperate attempts to secure a cricketing future for his sons through unregulated channels highlight the precariousness of their financial situation. (Devi & Francis 2022) pointed out, "In *Selection Day* Adiga is not only talking about cricket but also expressed the issues which are disturbing the young boys as such money, corruption, religion, caste and sexuality" (p.2904) This mirrors the economic and material vulnerabilities encountered by many urban poor, who depend on informal economic activities to face the challenges of a neoliberal economy that often excludes them from formal opportunities. The same illustration is portrayed by Prajapati (2022) as he writes:

> Mohan Kumar is restless psychologically hence he wants to make his sons next Sachin Tendulkar in the city of Mumbai and to follow the same route as Tendulkar grew up in poor family and by cricket climbed on the top of richness and reputed luxurious life. Adiga presents the city as the place of competition, lust, greed and corruption prevalent particularly in the field of cricket game. (p.118)

Further, the character of Anand Mehta, a talent scout, embodies the darker side of neoliberalism, where human potential and talent are monetized and exploited for financial gain, "Anant Mehta provides him money as sponsorship. Money maker capitalist Mehta has created a deal with Kumar that he would take back one third of his both sons' income when they will get selected" (p.119). Mehta's role in the lives of young cricket prodigies Radha and Manju Kumar exemplifies the darker side of this system, where everything, including human talent, is reduced to a commodity. Mehta's relationship with the Kumar brothers is transactional from the outset, offering them training, resources, and opportunities but with

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strings attached, as (Mishra & Verma 2022) significantly remark "Anand Mehta, though an Indian, pursues dreams of having everything foreign in his country. He is averse to Indian life style and believes 'everything's illegal in India'" (p.84). His primary goal is to secure his financial future through their success, which reveals the exploitative nature of his actions, "One day Anand Mehta wanted to do it himself- 'phix' a match- an international match" (Adiga 2016, p.55). The boys' skills are groomed and showcased to attract sponsorships, contracts, and endorsements, all of which contribute to Mehta's financial gain.

The impact of Mehta's actions on Radha and Manju is profound, as the relentless pressure to succeed in a highly competitive environment takes a toll on their mental and emotional well-being. As Harvey (2005, p.157) argues, Neoliberalism, focusing on individual rights and state power, has become contentious. Recognized as a failed utopian project, it masks a successful attempt at class power restoration. The psychological burden is a direct consequence of the neoliberal system that prioritizes performance and profitability over personal well-being. The social nexus the Kumar family coped with is informal yet crucial for their survival and aspirations.

> Manjunath Kumar was changing. The fat was leaving his face, but the pimples were larger. His eyes were more heavily lidded than they had been in childhood. His voice had not yet broken, but his gaze, like an adolescent's, seemed always to be recoiling from happemething that had just noticed it. He had developed a sly grin, and an annoying new way of chuckling. While he still spoke

Kannada to his father and Hindi to his brother, now he uttered entire sentences in English. (Adiga 2016, p.123)

Roy (2005, p.153) argues that informality is the state of exception determined by the sovereign power of the "planning apparatus", which often results in the displacement of the "poorest residents." The Kumar family's pursuit of socio-economic mobility often results in the displacement of the poorest residents, reflecting broader societal dynamics. The informal agreements and manipulative practices within the cricket industry, led by figures like Anand Mehta, create a state of exception where legal and social norms are suspended. This informality dictates the futures of young cricketers, bypassing formal protections and enabling exploitation. *Selection Day* highlights how the quest for mobility perpetuates marginalization and vulnerability, reinforcing the socio-economic divide, illustrated elegantly by Adiga in these lines:

> Taking the bus all the way to a spot in Bandra where one could observe the new skyscrapers of Prabhadevi and Lower Parel, Mohan Kumar clenched a fist and held it over the kingdoms of Mumbai; after closing an eye to perfect the illusion, he brought his fist down on the city. (2016, p.48)

The spatial dynamics of Mumbai, with the Kumars' cramped living conditions and makeshift cricket pitches reflecting the juxtaposition of formal urban development and informal living environments, reveals the coexistence of formal and informal sectors in Mumbai and that is why Mehmood (2020, p.61) significantly pointed out "By

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calling Mumbai Bombay Adiga construes the creative destruction of past and present that is traversing from the post-independence incarnations of the city towards the production of modern lifestyle". The psychological and emotional impacts of navigating these informal spaces are crucial aspects of the narrative, highlighting how socioeconomic structures impact individual lives and identities.

FINDINGS AND COMPARATIVE ANALYSIS

- **The Disintegration of Established Lives of Marginalized Section**

Last Man in Tower and *Selection Day* are fictional accounts of contemporary times that address the notion of "accumulation by dispossession" in India's rapidly urbanizing cities. In *Last Man in Tower*, the Vishram Society confronts displacement due to increased urbanization and profit. In *Selection Day*, the Kumar brothers depend on informal sports networks to escape poverty. Anand Mehta, a talent scout, prioritizes financial gain by collecting a portion of the boys' future profits.

- **The Duality of Urban Informality**

Both novels touch on the issue of Mumbai's urban informality. The inhabitants of Vishram Society employ collective decision-making to deal with developers' proposals, while the Kumars enter the formal economy through informal sports networks. By emphasizing the rigidity of official urban development plans and the unpredictability of depending only on informal structures, Adiga reveals the dichotomy of informality.

- **Increasing Social divide and the Greed of Wealth**

These two works of fiction by Adiga depict Mumbai's social divide under neoliberalism. In *Last Man in Tower*, the developer's offer contrasts Vishram Society inhabitants' pleasant lives with the attraction of quick financial gain, emphasizing personal problems. In *Selection Day*, the Kumars strive for upward mobility through cricket while being conscious of social and economic disparities. Both works represent the human cost of the "dream big" rhetoric, emphasizing the vulnerability of marginalized communities.

- **The Psychological Toll and the Human Cost**

In both novels, the relentless pursuit of progress and upward mobility under neoliberalism comes at a significant personal cost. *Last Man in Tower* and *Selection Day* depict personal struggles and pressures of neoliberal hegemony. In *Last Man in Tower*, the Vishram Society residents face anxiety and uncertainty over a developer's offer, while in *Selection Day,* the Kumar family faces pressure in the cricket world, with Radha and Manju struggling with constant training, performance anxiety, and the threat of failure.

CONCLUSION

The study examines the effects of neoliberal policies on Mumbai's socio-economic landscape through Aravind Adiga's novels *Last Man in Tower* and *Selection Day*. On applying David Harvey and Ananya Roy's theories, it is revealed how neoliberalism leads to commodification, dispossession, and increased socioeconomic disparities in urban environments. Adiga's works highlight the conflicts between communal solidarity and individual self-interest, revealing the human cost of urban redevelopment and the precarious existence of those navigating

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informal economies as Medhavi & Sahay (2024) write "Adiga highlights the brutal dynamics of class struggle and structural exploitation ingrained in the global order via the struggles of his characters with economic disparity and the unrelenting search for upward mobility within a rigged system" (p.47). The study also highlights the marginalization of subaltern voices in the neoliberal urban milieu, highlighting the struggles of middle-class residents and marginalized individuals. The research suggests further research should explore the experiences of other marginalized groups and examine the relevance of these narratives in different global cities to enhance our understanding of the diverse impacts of neoliberalism on Contemporary urban societies.

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