International Journal of the Sociology of Leisure
https://doi.org/10.1007/s41978-025-00186-4

ORIGINAL PAPER

An Exploratory Ethnography of the New Tourist Nightlife in Bairro Alto, Lisbon

Jordi Nofre[1] · **Manuel Garcia-Ruiz**[2] · **Juliette M. P. Galavielle**[3]

Received: 29 November 2024 / Accepted: 30 June 2025

Abstract
In a highly tourism-dependent country such as Portugal, Lisbon's city council has allowed the opening of new tourism-oriented nightlife venues in the old historical neighborhood of Bairro Alto despite the local legislative prohibition passed in 2014. Based on an exploratory ethnography conducted between October 2022 and October 2024, this article unveils how these venues foster a nightlife scene steeped in patriarchal values, heavy alcohol consumption, and an intense festive atmosphere that spills into public spaces. The final section of the article sets out findings on some of the initiatives taken by Lisbon City Council to whitewash the most controversial aspects of this nightlife that, paradoxically, the local administration indirectly enables through "turning a blind eye".

Keywords Nightlife · Tourism · Bairro alto · Lisbon

1 Introduction

On September 20, 2024, the UN World Tourism Barometer estimated that 790 million tourists travelled internationally in the first seven months of 2024, about 11% more than in 2023, though 4% less than in 2019 (UNWTO, 2024). This rapid recovery of international tourism indicators in the wake of the COVID-19 pandemic allows us to take a retrospective look at the pandemic period as a "temporal parenthesis" in the expansive evolution of the global tourism industry. However, the current (once again)

✉ Jordi Nofre
jnofre@fcsh.unl.pt

[1] CICS-NOVA-Interdisciplinary Centre of Social Sciences, NOVA University of Lisbon,, Lisbon, Portugal

[2] Centro de Investigação e Estudos de Sociologia, Instituto Universitário de Lisboa, Lisbon, Portugal

[3] Instituto de Geografia e Ordenamento do Território, University of Lisbon, Lisbon, Portugal

Published online: 11 July 2025

expansionary context of this global industry clashes with the claims made by some supranational organizations, global private stakeholders, and the academic community across various scientific fields, which have over the past five years emphasized the need to rebuild tourism emphasizing more resilient communities and businesses, especially through innovation, digitalization and sustainability (e.g., Deloitte, 2020; Ioannides & Gyimóthy, 2020; Jones & Comfort, 2020; OECD, 2020; UNSDG, 2020; European Parliament, 2021; Galvani et al., 2021; European Commission, 2022; Dwyer, 2023; Schönherr et al., 2023; Peeters et al., 2024).

In a highly tourism-dependent country such as Portugal (e.g., Ramos & Sol Murta, 2023; Neger et al., 2024), both the National Recovery and Resilience Plan mobilized through the Next Generation Funds and the Portugal 2030 Program were designed in order to support the green, digital and just transition of Portugal's tourism industry towards a more sustainable future. These initiatives seek to shift Portugal away from the extractivist tourism model (Bellato, 2024; Bianchi & Milano, 2024) that has predominantly defined Portugal's position as a tourist destination at the global level, especially following the Great Recession (2008–2014) (Tomigová, 2016; Moreira, 2018; Calheiros, 2020; Estevens et al., 2023; Pimentel de Oliveira & Pitarch-Garrido, 2023). This commitment towards fostering more sustainable tourism is of great relevance in the largest Portuguese cities, especially Lisbon and Oporto, where the strong and rapid expansion of the urban tourism industry over the past decade has produced numerous negative impacts on the social, spatial, economic, cultural, environmental, heritage, mobility and governance dimensions. These impacts include an overheated rental and real estate market, the extreme decharacterization and/or disappearance of the traditional retail fabric of the city center, the deterioration of the environmental conditions especially in the highly touristified historic downtown neighborhoods, and the mass eviction of residents due to extreme speculation in short-term tourism apartments and/or hotels (e.g., Guinand, 2020; Sequera & Nofre, 2020; Pavel & Romeiro, 2022; Estevens et al., 2023).

Faced with such a critical situation, and paradoxically, Lisbon City Council has maintained an ambivalent position. For example, while suspending new licenses for short-term tourist apartments in the historical neighborhoods of Lisbon city center from 2023 onwards, this was accompanied by the construction of 41 new hotels in the city center of the Portuguese capital in 2023 alone (Malta, 2024). Simultaneously, the nocturnal tourist city (Shaw, 2018; Nofre, 2021) mirrors a similar evolution to that described for the daytime tourist city. Although the dramatic expansion of short-term rental apartments and hotels in Lisbon's city center has involved the closure of lifelong local-frequented nightlife venues in the former harbor neighborhood of Cais do Sodré (Nofre et al., 2023), the neighboring Bairro Alto quarter (the city's main tourist hotspot at night) has experienced growth in new nightlife venues exclusively catering for tourists ever since the reopening of the sector in August 2022 following pandemic-related restrictions, as the observational fieldwork carried out for the purpose of this article has confirmed. The case of Bairro Alto and the actual opening of new nightlife venues is rather confusing as this has been specifically prohibited ever since 2014 according to local legislation still in force[1]. Nevertheless, the council has seemingly turned a blind eye as the neighborhood's nightlife remains central to the city's tourism attractiveness strategies. However, it is at this point that the main research

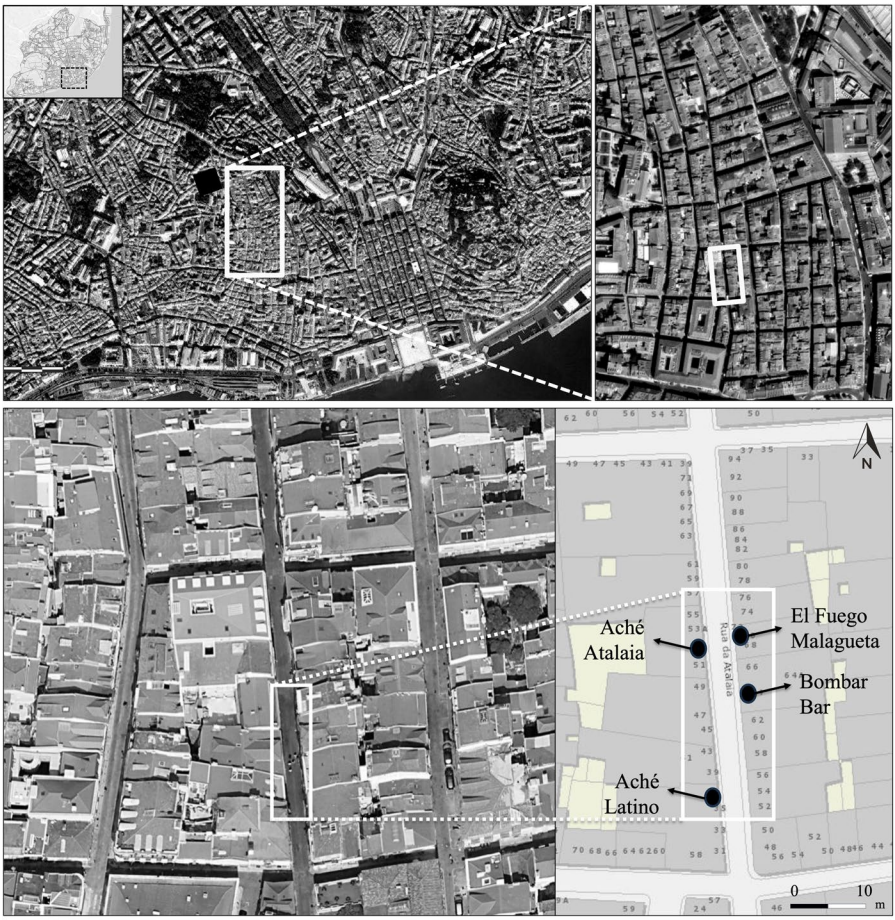

Fig. 1 Location of Bairro Alto, Atalaia Street, and the specific sector of Atalaia Street discussed in this article

question of this article arises: What are the characteristics of these new nightlife venues that recently opened in Bairro Alto within a local context of transition towards (at least supposedly) a more socially inclusive, egalitarian, just and resilient city?

This article takes as its case study the new nightlife venues that have opened in the southern part of Atalaia Street in Bairro Alto mostly since the lifting of the restrictions imposed to deal with the COVID-19 pandemic. By conducting exploratory ethnography in this specific sector of Atalaia Street on Friday and Saturday nights between October 2022 and October 2024, this article unveils how these new nightlife venues are based on promoting a very patriarchal nightlife characterized by hyper-stimulating sonic atmospheres both inside these premises as well as in the surrounding public space. The final section proposes findings in relation to some of the Lisbon City Council initiatives for whitewashing the most controversial aspects of this nightlife that, again paradoxically, the local administration indirectly enables through "turning a blind eye" (see Fig. 1).

2 Methods

This article results from the pooling of two independent ethnographic studies that ended up converging and coinciding in space and time. On the one hand, the first two authors conducted exploratory ethnography from October 2022 to October 2024. In November 2023, the third author, who was beginning her MA-related fieldwork on violence against women employees in the nightlife venues of Bairro Alto, joined the two authors in their research. This joint research thus became framed within the coordinates defined by critical ethnography for both public and private nocturnal spaces (e.g., Davis, 2008; Veissiere, 2010; Costa et al., 2022) as a research approach that explicitly aims to criticize hegemony, oppression and asymmetrical power during nighttime leisure practices.

The three authors carried out direct observations in the case study area. The first two authors made a total of over 30 discrete visits, undertaken on Friday and Saturday nights throughout this period. These visits involved a combination of floating observation (Pétonnet, 1982) in the public space located in front of the premises, visual material collection, and sensory ethnography (e.g., Pink, 2015; Leaha, 2021; Vannini, 2024). In turn, the first author carried out dozens of informal conversations, held outdoors with patrons of the four venues considered for this article, namely Aché Latino Bar (37 Atalaia Street), Aché Atalaia (53 Atalaia Street), El Fuego Malagueta (70 Atalaia Street), and Bombar (66 Atalaia Street), all located in a 25-meter section of Atalaia Street. Dozens more interviews took place inside Atalaia Bar (53 Atalaia Street) as a privileged case study. The informal conversations held both inside and outside the premises were not recorded in situ to protect the role of the first author as an "insider researcher". The most important conversation contents were recorded a posteriori in a field journal on the first author's arrival at home after the fieldwork. The notes collected were not systematically organized for direct use in presenting the results of this article, although they did play a fundamental role in shaping the ethnographic descriptions in the second section. On-site informal conversations were notably fragmented and often fleeting. The first two authors determined that a standard systematization approach would be overly complex and, to a greater or lesser extent, artificial. In turn, the third author joined this research during the first round of revision of the original manuscript and further refined the ethnographic observations presented in the original manuscript. Her master's thesis on gender violence in Bairro's Alto nightlife venues, entitled "An ethnography of women's working spaces in the night time: Gender violence and the right to the night" (Galavielle, 2025), interrelates with the research topic of this article, with the first author her co-supervisor. However, it is worth noting that, at the time of submitting the original manuscript, we were unable to incorporate original material from her research due to the internal rules of her university.

Returning to the exploratory ethnography carried out by the first two authors, a theme of particular relevance emerges in the interdisciplinary field of nightlife studies. Informed by the academic literature, our conversations were not preceded by the established orthodox protocol. Crucially, there is very little debate about on-site ethnographic studies of individuals intoxicated by psychoactive substances (alcohol and/or drugs) in settings such as nighttime leisure (e.g., Aldridge & Charles, 2008,

Aresi & Pedersen, 2015). Interestingly, Kelly (2019) notes how staying in tune with participants who are under the influence of alcohol or drugs becomes both another challenge and an obstacle to data collection. In other words, the research presented in this article is based on on-site ethnographic data collection, whereas (for example) most of the studies on psychoactive substance consumed in nightlife settings take place in environments outside of the night, on different days, in researcher "controlled" environments (e.g., Pedersen et al., 2016; Edland-Gryt, 2021). Only in these environments can (and should) 'real informed consent' be sought. Furthermore, current ethnographic research protocols for obtaining informed consent lack any specific mention for ethnographic inquiries conducted on-site in nightlife settings in which the participants either display visible physiological signs of having taken some type of psychoactive substance (alcohol and/or drugs) or the researcher visually confirms such behaviours. In this case, the researcher lacks a tool to objectively and rigorously verify that the information provided on the research objective and the rights attributed to the informant have been perfectly understood by the latter. As the authors of this article are strongly committed to academic activism towards non-discriminatory, violence-free nightlife spaces (e.g., Tenorio, 2023; Hilderbrand et al., 2024), the authors decided to move forward with the fieldwork. What is explained in this paragraph is therefore not novel as demonstratesthe recent brilliant article by Alam and O'Connell (2024) on nightlife human behavior.

Regarding the physical integrity of informants contributing to the fieldwork, the fact of observing or holding informal on-site conversations to obtain information about this article's object of study did not imply any risk for participants as under no circumstances is any direct or indirect information that may identify the informants provided in the article. Regarding the physical integrity of the first two authors while undertaking their exploratory fieldwork, on this occasion their research never entailed any risk. However, in the past, they were attacked more than one by neo-Nazis, violently assaulted and/or threatened by drunken tourists during their 15 years of nocturnal field research in Lisbon. This was not the case during the fieldwork for this article. On the other hand, and informed by some self-ethnographies published by former nightlife venue workers (e.g., León, 2021; Hales & Galballi, 2023), the third author did face many limitations in her fieldwork as she faced a range of acts of gender-based violence, especially while gathering information alone and/or working in some Bairro Alto nightlife venues – this led her to modify her methodology in order to pursue her observations safely.

In addition, the first author also carried out exploratory sensory ethnography about the affective-emotional atmospheres shaping the venues and the public space of the southern part of Atalaia Street. The field notes deriving from this sensory ethnography were also a posteriori recorded in a field journal. Furthermore, we would mention that photographs and short videos were taken inside the venues with an iPhone SE 2022 256 GB (1,334 × 750 pixels, 326 p/p), especially in Aché Atalaia (a privileged observation space for this article). These were taken in strict compliance with the Ethical Issues in Visual Research (Wiles et al., 2008; Crowder & Marion, 2024). These photographs and short videos produced better analysis of the sensory component of participant observation, especially in corroborating (as observed on-site) how some specific reggaeton songs and other styles of commercial Latin music build

an atmosphere inside the premises that incites seductive dances clearly led by male patrons as the active protagonists in this ritual of heteronormative patriarchal seduction, leaving female patrons in a merely passive role. Importantly, the authors have decided not to include them in this article or in any other article to protect the privacy of these individuals, as well as of other patrons inside the venues, observed by the first author. However, readers may make recourse to the Instagram accounts of the venues to graphically support this article (@acheatalaia53, @Bombar, @elfuegomalagueta, @latino.ache). In addition, that we have not proceeded with systematic coding and subsequent analysis does not mean the ethnographic interpretation of the collected data and the subsequent qualitative analysis are not rigorous. In this sense, the collected data allowed us to complete a descriptive ethnography as presented in the main body of the text. Finally, and due to ethical and legal reasons, this article does not include any type of visual material that might explicitly contain content related to patriarchal violence or from which its existence might be inferred, above all prioritizing the protection of the dignity of the people participating in the scene and avoiding the re-victimization of those potentially exposed to it. Last but not least, the exploratory ethnography presented in this article has followed ethical and confidentiality procedures as recommended in the European Commission Ethics Guide on Ethnographic Research and aligns with the ethical principles and the highest standards of research integrity stipulated by the European Code of Conduct for Research Integrity in accordance with EU and Portuguese national law.

3 The Colonization of the Night by the Tourism Industry

The recognition of nightlife as a central factor in the social and cultural life of many young, adult-young, and adult population across the globe (e.g. Chatterton & Hollands,2003; Haslam, 2015; Sánchez-García, 2018; Charman & Govender, 2020; Khubchandani, 2020; Petrilli & Biagi, 2024) allows us to affirm that the nightlife fabric of our cities is not only formed by the spatial distribution of nightlife venues but especially by the multiple networks of 'nocturnal sociability' (some more ephemeral, others more durable) formed by numerous memories, experiences, atmospheres, emotions and affectivities (Tan, 2013; Shaw, 2014; Wilkinson, 2017; García-Mispireta, 2020, 2023). This underpins the consideration of nightlife (in a wider semantic sense) as a source of social wellbeing and community building (Kramer & Wittmann, 2023; Nofre, 2023). However, and in parallel, many recent authors have widely demonstrated that the boom in commercial night clubbing in central areas of post-industrial cities is closely linked to the arrival of neoliberal urban forces such as gentrification and touristification (e.g. Hae, 2011; Mattson, 2015; Smith & Eldridge, 2021; Garcia-Ruiz & Nofre, 2024). In fact, nightlife has over the past three decades been crucial for place branding strategies on both the local and regional scales, ranging from large cities and their metropolitan areas, coastal tourism destinations (especially in Southern Europe, including some Mediterranean islands destinations), and even some snow tourism towns (e.g., Segreto et al., 2009; Cardona, 2019o-Rama et al., 2019; Bausch & Gartner, 2020; Nofre, 2021; Smith & Eldridge, 2021; Malet-Calvo et al., 2024). Indeed, some authors have also identified how the tourism indus-

try has "colonized" the night at the global level (Rouleau, 2017; Smith & Eldridge, 2021; Garcia-Ruiz & Nofre, 2024).

The recent literature on the central role of nightlife in the attractiveness of tourism destinations across the globe (e.g., Eldridge & Smith, 2019; Zmyslony & Pawlusiński, 2020; Ramón-Cardona et al., 2021; Seočanac et al., 2022; Phucharoen et al., 2023; de Góis, 2024) has opened a debate on the social, economic and environmental sustainability of nocturnal tourism destinations, their governance challenges, and their impacts on the tangible and intangible cultural heritage of local communities (Smith & Eldridge, 2021; Mach et al., 2022; Liu et al., 2023; Fewella, 2024). Crucially, the concerns pointed out by these authors – among many others – in fact originate in previously published works that pointed to a growing interaction between the tourism industry and the nightlife industry, the existence of generational changes in tourism and nightlife consumption patterns, and the conversion of central urban areas and tourist destinations into ambivalent zones of uncontrolled partying as a strategy to enhance the tourist attractiveness of the destinations.

The drug- and alcohol-fueled tourists, night-time patrons in Mediterranean nightlife resorts, have attracted the attention of a growing number of scholars from the mid-2000s onwards (e.g., Carr, 2002; Tutenges & Hesse, 2008; Tutenges, 2012; Sönmez et al., 2013; Cardona, 2019; Boirot, 2023). Interestingly, Bell (2008, p. 293) had already noted in the 2000s how many of the European cities beginning to provide "ambivalently sanctioned liminal zone[s]" were then emerging as attractive city-break destinations where tourists could "recharge and therefore re-enter society relaxed and refreshed" (Ib.). Bell's examination of "alcotourism" – subsequently developed by other authors such as Martinez (2015) and Bethmann (2018) – closely interrelates with Diken and Laustsen's (2004) term of "party tourism". Diken and Laustsen argue that recourse to alcohol-fueled nights appears as a kind of hedonism enjoyed on a massive scale…

> "(…) in which the citizen is transformed into a 'party animal', a reduction which is experienced as a liberation from the daily routine of the 'city' or civilization, and in which the pursuit of unlimited enjoyment creates an exceptional zone where the body as an object of desire and as abject become indistinguishable" (Diken & Laustsen, 2004, p. 99).

The concept of "party tourism" represents a solid development in the literature (e.g. Thurnell-Read, 2012; Iwanicki & Dłużewska, 2018; Nofre & Malet Calvo, 2019; Boirot, 2023). For the purposes of this article, Boirot's definition of "party tourism" emerges as the most suitable for the empirical analysis set out in the second section of this article. Thus, Boirot (2023, p.151) portrays "party tourism" as "a type of party that is generally urban, commercial, and privatized, targeting a young clientele, focused on the massive consumption of psychoactive substances (alcoholic or otherwise), and giving rise to tourist travel". However, we encounter some social class based differences between the protagonists of "party tourism" and the protagonists (with more refined cultural tastes and higher cultural capital) of the so-called "clubbing tourism" (Knox, 2009; Grzegorz & Anna, 2015; Iwanicki & Dłużewska, 2015; Kožul, 2018). While "party tourism" is associated with various negative impacts on

local communities—such as the deterioration of public spaces and adverse effects on the physical and mental health of residents (Carlisle & Ritchie, 2021; Boirot & Thurnell-Read, 2023) – "clubbing tourism" has primarily been recognized as an effective strategy for urban branding and tourism promotion, particularly in Central and Northern European cities (e.g., Grzegorz & Anna, 2015; Garcia-Mispireta, 2016; Talk et al., 2023). The reference to "clubbing tourism" is currently of particular relevance in the wake of the Berlin techno scene receiving UNESCO Cultural Heritage status in March 2024. Paradoxically, in the German capital, this figure of intangible heritage protection clashes with the deliberate deploying of this intangible heritage (techno scene) as a central driver for positioning the city on the global map of city-break urban tourism destinations by the same actors that recently promoted its recent institutional protection (e.g., Schofield & Rellensmann, 2015; Garcia-Mispireta, 2016; Novy, 2018; Sark, 2023). In fact, the strategy of reinforcing the role of nightlife as a central feature in the urban branding and urban tourism marketing strategy may be perceived as a means of creating new tourism products and experiences addressed to very niche markets, offering new heritage narratives as well as reviewing the traditional concept of culture reaching far beyond cultural and creative tourism (Calderón-Fajardo, 2023; Irimiás, 2023; Nowacki & Stasiak, 2023).

The second part of this article presents an exploratory ethnographic immersion into the new tourist night of the southern half of Atalaia Street in the Bairro Alto neighborhood, in Lisbon. Subsequently, we discuss our findings by locating them in relation to the recent literature in the interdisciplinary fields of tourism studies, leisure studies, nightlife studies and urban studies. We then interrelate these findings with the initiatives undertaken by Lisbon City Council to whitewash the most controversial aspects of nightlife that the local government indirectly allows through' turning a blind eye'. However, firstly, the next section provides a short geohistorical overview on the Bairro Alto nightlife for non-local readers.

4 Atalaia Street: From its Origins to its Conversion into the Tourist Epicenter of Bairro Alto Atnight

Following Lisbon's 1755 earthquake, the urban history of Bairro Alto went through deep levels of urban poverty, misery, marginalization, degradation of the public space and critically worsening the state of preservation of buildings. This situation began to change considerably as from the mid-1980s when the city council began planning some initial urban regeneration interventions, which were consolidated in later years through the approval of the Urbanization Plan for the historic neighborhoods of Bairro Alto and Bica in 1997. In turn, and as of the early 2000s, the expansion in the nighttime leisure economy played a central role in the progressive socioeconomic development of the neighborhood, becoming increasingly oriented towards visitors, tourists and Erasmus students especially from the 2010s onwards (Malet-Calvo et al., 2017; Nofre et al., 2017). Malet-Calvo et al. (2017) precisely argue how Erasmus students and tourists ended up reconfiguring the social topography of Bairro Alto at night over the last three decades. The gradual arrival of Erasmus students started with the inauguration of the Erasmus program in 1987 and increased exponentially after

the end of the 2000s (Malet-Calvo et al., 2017, 2024). In turn, it is worth mentioning the arrival of a significant and growing number of tourists participating in the Bairro Alto nightlife from the 1990s onwards, which largely stemmed from: (i) the declaration of Lisbon as the European Capital of Culture in 1994, (ii) the later hosting of the Universal Exhibition in 1998, and (iii) the dramatic touristification of the city occurring over the last decade (Barata-Salgueiro et al., 2017; Sequera & Nofre, 2020; Estevens et al., 2023). As Nofre et al. (2017) and Malet Calvo et al. (2017) argue, both transnational groups (i.e., international university students and tourists) have led to a deep spatial, social, cultural and economic reconfiguration of what we might call nocturnal Bairro Alto.

Currently, the Atalaia Street nightscape is characterized by an extremely commodified *retroscape* (Brown & Sherry, 2003) flooded with the chromatic tones of bar signs, garlands hanging from balcony to balcony, and an evident volume of plastic glasses on the street, some broken glass bottles, and an almost continuous layer of beer and/or other alcoholic drinks spilling from glasses. Between midnight and 1:30 am, some pub-crawl groups organized by local tourist companies (e.g. The Lisbon PubCrawl, Wild Walkers Pub Crawl Lisbon, Pancho Tours Pub Crawl) walk down Atalaia Street, dodging through the crowd and stopping in some bars where they consume free beers and shots and play games with the intention of getting female pub-crawlers drunk to facilitate the range of hook-up strategies of male pub-crawlers (Nofre & Malet Calvo, 2019). All of this is somewhat reminiscent of the pub-crawls organized in European tourist resorts, such as Sunny Beach in Bulgaria, Magaluf in Spain as well as in heavily touristed cities such as Barcelona in Spain, or Krakow in Poland (e.g., Tutenges, 2015, Andrews, 2023; Pawlusiński, 2023; Ribalaygue, 2024). In turn, the intangible dimension of the Atalaia Street nightscape is composed of a street sound ambience formed by a mixture of live music (or YouTube playlists) played in the bars and discos and the joy and exultation of thousands of partiers speaking loudly, shouting and singing outside.

5 Aché Atalaia Bar: An Exploratory Immersion into the Sexualized Tourist Nights of Atalaia Street

For the purposes of our exploratory ethnography, we chose Aché Atalaia Bar (53 Atalaia Street) as our privileged case study. Together with Aché Atalaia, El Fuego Malagueta, Aché Latino and Bombar (all of them located in a 25-meter section of Atalaia Street), this reflects one of the hyper-festive, alcohol-fueled and sexualized/sexualizing nightlife hot spots launching on Atalaia Street over the last five years (including the COVID-19 pandemic period) and despite the municipal ban in force on new licenses for nightlife venues, as previously commented.

The first notable aspect from our exploratory ethnography of Aché Atalia's nights – and that this reflects an aspect common to the other bars, namely Aché Latino, El Fuego Malagueta, and Bombar – is the high sexualization of the young women who act as public relations in the middle of the street to attract clients into the venue. Whether summer or winter, young women (apparently aged between 18 and 23; all Brazilian or Portuguese) usually wear a mini-skirt or tight shorts, and a boat-neck or

round neckline top; when the weather conditions are wintry, they sometimes wear a coat that they wear intermittently throughout the night. This type of clothing for these young women acting as the bar's street public relations is demanded by the employers at the beginning of their "employment relationship", which is commonly established without any formal employment contract as in virtually all Bairro Alto nightlife venues (Nofre & Martins, 2017). By dressing in this way, their bodies therefore become an active *dispositif* – in Foucauldian terminology (Schaefer, 2024) – that allows them to attract male patrons and group them outside the premises for the door staff to subsequently carry out a selection of patrons for entry.

According to our floating observations from the street just in front of the access door to Aché Atalaia, this selection is generally based on (i) the absence of a noticeable state of intoxication; (ii) an upper-middle class aesthetic appearance; (iii) the white or slightly non-white skin color of the partygoers (especially males); and (iv) the phenotypic confirmation of the partygoers and the languages they speak to prevent locals (Portuguese, especially males) from entering the venues, where the number of young female tourists is higher than the number of young male tourists. Importantly, this is another common feature shared with Bombar and Aché Latino but not with El Fuego Malagueta.

Crucially, the sexualization of the young women acting as the street public relations for these venues is, in turn, linked to the sexualization of "the night" in the indoor premises. In the case of Aché Atalaia, this sexualization of "the night" is fostered by the simultaneous interplay between (i) the narrowness of the room and its excessively hot and humid environment, (ii) the sonic atmosphere mostly featuring commercial reggaeton music, and played at dB levels above those authorised by municipal regulations, (iii) the minimal spacing between bodies due to an excess of people exceeding the legal capacity of the venue, which leads to bodily (heteronormative) interactions (sometimes desired, sometimes undesired) as one of the main seduction strategies of male patrons (mostly aged between 25 and 30 y.o.); (iv) the dance choreography of female clients (mostly aged between 18 and 25 y.o.), composed of a mixture of reggaeton *perreo*[2] and the conventional forms of sensual dance commonly reproduced in the European/Anglo-Saxon clubbing world that are generally perceived as highly-sexualizing, especially by cis-heteronormative male patrons (Gómez Arrieta et al., 2022; Carrera, 2023); (v) the strong staff-led promotion of shots for patrons, who often accept free shots; and (vi) the scandalous laissez-faire attitude of the working bar staff and bystanders in the face of the occurrence of intense, overwhelming and even intimidating male seduction strategies through non-verbal language forcing physical intimacy (such as cornering females against the wall and not letting her leave until she gives in to the male's torrid kissing).

At closing time, the Aché Atalaia's male patrons divide into two groups: those who have been "successful" in hooking up with a female (homonormative seduction is not forbidden but was never observed during participant observation) and usually engaging in strategies for holding the girl's hand: the guy usually holds her hand decisively, pulling her slightly away from her group of girlfriends but without breaking eye contact between the female and her group of girlfriends (but enough so that none of them unexpectedly interrupts the male patron's 'moment of conquest'). Those who have hitherto been unsuccessful attempt to deploy convincing strategies either in the

transition between inside the venue and the street or outside the venue. In the latter case, the male patron's group of friends and the girl's group of friends (mixed gender groups were never observed) located separately in the street: he and she come and go between their respective groups and, in the middle of the street; he tries to convince her to continue either alone or by joining his group of friends (all young men): during the observation period, all these attempted seduction negotiations led to failure. Lisbon, a city unknown to both him and her, can become very dangerous for her in the face of an unknown environment, people and behaviors.

6 Discussion

As it could not be otherwise, what is described in the previous section does not seek to convey some moralistic message about the right manner of dancing in a nightclub, it rather aims at denouncing the highly patriarchal (and therefore, aggressive) nature characterizing the atmosphere of the new tourist-oriented nightlife venues that have opened up in the last five years in the southern part of Atalaia Street. The findings derived from our exploratory ethnography report a highly sexualized nightlife of a patriarchal type that is radically opposite to alternative nightlife scenes currently existing across Europe. For example, it is worth mentioning the queer raves and queer nightlife spaces that usually present a highly feminist, anti-patriarchal commitment and the implementation of self-caring actions among *ravers* and/or queer partygoers in terms of information on the risky consumption of psychoactive substances and immediate responses to any kind of sexual aggression. These points have become, especially over the past ten years, an important aspect in a growing number of queer nightlife scenes across Europe, although the academic community has yet to pay significant attention to this new and central feature of queer nightlife scenes.

Back to the Lisbon case, this article has demonstrated how the development of a highly sexualized (and patriarchal) nightlife in the southern part of Atalaia Street is antagonistic to that (at least, officially) advocated by Lisbon City Council. In this sense, measure no. 29 of the City of Lisbon Multiannual Investment Plan 2024–2028 provides for "develop[ing] a municipal strategy to enhance the cultural programming of nightlife venues as a way of mitigating the challenges of the nighttime economy" (p.31), while measure no. 21 of the 2nd Municipal Plan for Gender Equality 2024–2026 embraces the idea of transforming Lisbon into a sexism-free city by promoting a campaign to prevent and combat sexism (p. 17). However, both that explained in this article and previous works by its the authors convey how the reality totally differs from the discourse set out in the aforementioned municipal plans. In fact, Portugal participated in the European project Sexism Free Nights, represented by the Portuguese Catholic University and the Kosmicare Association (a harm reduction peer support NGO founded in 2016). The project sought to design public policies and specific measures to promote a future nightlife "embracing a gender perspective in the promotion of safety, diversity and valuable experiences for all"[3]. However, Lisbon City Council continues to ignore any of the final policy-oriented recommendations of this European project. In doing so, Lisbon City Council clearly allows the reproduction of a highly patriarchal nightlife as described in the previous section. Indeed, it

seems highly doubtful that the Lisbon City Council will end up forcing the venues – especially the bar hosting the bulk of the participant observation (Aché Atalaia) – to adopt any of the specific measures proposed by the Sexism Free Nights project.

In parallel, it would not be undue to argue that Aché Atalaia, Aché Latino, El Fuego Malagueta and Bombar are disinterested in implementing any kind of good practice or recommendation for a sexism-free nightlife. This is hardly surprising as such disinterest also extends to their impunity over their non-compliance with local legislation and regulations regarding, for example, the technical conditions for the partial soundproofing of their premises. The period of direct observation conducted by the authors (October 2022 – October 2024) coincided with municipal police officers reinforcing the inspection of licenses in Bairro Alto during the nighttime hours. However, our fieldwork conducted in the southern part of Atalaia Street enabled us to verify that El Fuego La Malagueta, Bombar, Aché Atalaia, and Aché Latino had never been fined during this period even while not complying with several points of the current legislation (the absence of noise limiters, double doors and a transition space between doors, their limited capacity, and lack of appropriate licensing). Meanwhile, other surrounding bars with similar musical offerings, openly LGTBQI+friendly and operating in the Bairro Alto nightlife for many years (e.g., Club Carib) were fined three times in 2023 and 2024 despite scrupulously complying with current legislation and regulations.

The institutional laissez-faire approach of the Lisbon City Council towards the opening of new tourist-oriented nightlife venues in the Bairro Alto (despite the occurrence of deeply patriarchal leisure practices inside) should come as no surprise whatsoever. In a recent article, Galavielle and Paiva (2025) describe the territorial dimension of violence for workers in Lisbon's tourism-oriented nightlife, focusing on the asymmetrical repartition of violence, which varies in its nature and intensity according to the neighborhood, the status of the venue, and the workers' level of experience and authority in the venue. Furthermore, Lisbon City Council is well aware that the conversion of Bairro Alto into a tourism-oriented nightlife themed park generates a very significant volume of revenues for the local treasury; expressed alternatively, the tourism-oriented patriarchal nightlife in Bairro Alto arises as a goose that lays golden eggs that can (apparently) live forever.

The consolidation of a deeply (and sometimes violently) tourism-oriented patriarchal nightlife in Lisbon runs counter to one of the most interesting recent dynamics in the global nightlife scene, namely, the increasing expansion, especially in Europe, the UK, Australia and North America of various initiatives, strategies, programs and public, community-based actions (some of them with the participation of the nightlife industry) to combat heteropatriarchal violence inside nightlife venues through implementing new gender-oriented policies, laws, regulations, bystander interventions, and awareness-raising campaigns (Quigg et al., 2023; Button et al., 2024). However, as has been shown here for the case of Lisbon, the City Council is simply unwilling to lose one of the core facets to the city's tourist attractiveness, which arises from the transformation of Bairro Alto into a heteropatriarchal nightlife theme park in which tourists (especially the males) "can do what they can't do in their cities when they go out at night"[4]. Therefore, it still remains to be seen whether local grassroots

movements will be able to challenge the City Council to put an end to this patriarchal nightlife that contradicts the path towards a non-sexist city.

7 Conclusions

The main conclusions drawn from this article reflect the importance of the need to involve the nightlife industry in eradicating all behavior related to patriarchal sexual violence occurring on their premises (e.g., Hill et al., 2020; Quigg et al., 2023; Button et al., 2024). This implies the need to jointly involve the private sector, the public sector, the local community and academia to foster thoughtful discussion around how the nighttime leisure industry should evolve over the medium and long-term, especially (but not exclusively) in relation to the civic and ethical values that should be underpinning the promotion of their businesses. Within this framework, we would recall the obligation of the European nightlife industry to comply with Article 21 of the European Union's Charter of Fundamental Rights, the wording of which explicitly refers to (among other issues) combatting any type of sexual violence. However, the academic, government and civic debate on the role of the nighttime leisure industry in eradicating all behaviors related to the patriarchal sexual violence that features widely in the commercial nightlife sector in Europe (e.g., Prego-Meleiro et al., 2024; Quigg et al., 2024; Fernandes et al., 2025) should also simultaneously be accompanied by further and more in-depth research into the current context of rising sexual violence against women. Crucially, this debate reminds us of the complex and multidimensional reasons for the worrying inefficiency of public administrations in deploying the full range of actions proposed for eradicating patriarchal sexual violence in Europe – and also in commercial nightlife premises. The need to foster nighttime leisure activities as an innovative driver of more socially inclusive, just, egalitarian and violence-free nocturnal cities has become more urgent than ever.

8 Endnotes

1. See legislation in: "Aprovação da alteração do Plano de Urbanização do Núcleo Histórico do Bairro Alto e Bica", Aviso n.º 5508/2014, de 30 de abril, Diário da República n.º 83/2014, Série II de 2014-04-30, páginas 11,485–11,502; and "Alteração por adaptação do Plano de Urbanização do Núcleo Histórico Bairro Alto e Bica", Declaração (extrato) n.º 65/2022, de 14 de abril, Diário da República n.º 74/2022, Série II de 2022-04-14, páginas 400–401.
2. *Perreo* is a style of dance and party music associated with reggaeton that emerged in Puerto Rico in the late 1980s.
3. For more detailed information on this project, please see: https://sexismfreenight.eu.
4. This phrase represents the most common response that the first author of the article has received during his 15 years of ethnographic research on Bairro Alto

nightlife (2010–2025) on asking tourists what they liked most about Lisbon's nightlife.

Supplementary Information The online version contains supplementary material available at https://doi.org/10.1007/s41978-025-00186-4.

Acknowledgements Not applicable.

Author Contributions The first author is responsible for the conceptualization, data curation, formal analysis, investigation, methodology, validation, writing (original draft), and writing (review & editing). The second author and the third author are responsible for the conceptualization, data curation, formal analysis, investigation, methodology, validation, and writing (review & editing).

Funding Open access funding provided by FCT|FCCN (b-on). Open access funding provided by FCT|FCCN (b-on). This work was supported by the Fundação para a Ciência e a Tecnologia (CEECIND/01171/2017), Centro Interdisciplinar de Ciências Sociais da Universidade Nova de Lisboa, Centro de Investigação e Estudos de Sociologia – Instituto Universitário de Lisboa, and Instituto de Geografia e Ordenamento do Território – Universidade de Lisboa.

Data Availability Data are available upon request sent directly to the corresponding author of this article.

Declarations

Ethical Approval and Informed Consent Statements Not applicable.

Conflicting Interest The authors have nothing to declare

References

Alam, N., & O'Connell, D. (2024). Nightlife human behavior. *Journal of Human Behavior in the Social Environment*, 1–13. https://doi.org/10.1080/10911359.2024.2446824

Aldridge, J., & Charles, V. (2008). Researching the intoxicated: Informed consent implications for alcohol and drug research. *Drug and Alcohol Dependence*, *93*(3), 191–196. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.drugalcdep.2007.09.001

Andrews, H. (2023). Tourists and the carnivalesque: Partying in the land of Cockaigne. *Journal of Festive Studies*, *5*(1), 167–189. https://doi.org/10.33823/jfs.2023.5.1.142

Aresi, G., & Pedersen, E. R. (2015). That right level of intoxication': A grounded theory study on young adults' drinking in nightlife settings. *Journal of Youth Studies*, *19*(2), 204–220. https://doi.org/10.1080/13676261.2015.1059931

Barata-Salgueiro, T., Mendes, L., & Guimarães, P. (2017). Tourism and urban changes: Lessons from Lisbon. In M. Gravari-Barbas, & S. Guinand (Eds.), *Tourism and gentrification in contemporary metropolises* (pp. 255–275). Routledge.

Bausch, T., & Gartner, W. C. (2020). Winter tourism in the European alps: Is a new paradigm needed? *Journal of Outdoor Recreation and Tourism*, *31*, 100297. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.jort.2020.100297
Bellato, L. (2024). Regenerative development approaches involving tourism: Insights derived from place. *Tourism Planning & Development*, 1–21. https://doi.org/10.1080/21568316.2024.2415119
Bell, D. (2008). Destination drinking: Toward a research agenda on alcotourism. *Drugs: Education Prevention & Policy*, *15*(3), 291–304. https://doi.org/10.1080/09687630801934089
Bethmann, C. (2018). Here come the barbarians: Perceptions of alcotourism in golden sands, Bulgaria. In S. Owsianowska, & M. Banaszkiewicz (Eds.), *Anthropology of tourism in central and Eastern europe: Bridging worlds* (pp. 165–180). Lexington Books.
Bianchi, R. V., & Milano, C. (2024). Polycrisis and the metamorphosis of tourism capitalism. *Annals of Tourism Research*, *104*, 103731. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.annals.2024.103731
Boirot, A. (2023). Beyond fun and excess: The social dynamics of party tourism. *Journal of Festive Studies*, *5*(1), 150–166. https://doi.org/10.33823/jfs.2023.5.1.188
Boirot, A., & Thurnell-Read, T. (2023). From stag party tourism to alcohol cultures. *Journal of Festive Studies*, *5*(1), 254–271. https://doi.org/10.33823/jfs.2023.5.1.179
Brown, S., & SherryJr, J. F. (2003). *Time, space, and the market: Retroscapes rising*. M. E. Sharpe.
Button, K., Taylor, N., Guala, T., De Andrade, D., Coomber, K., Quigg, Z., & Miller, P. (2024). Preventing sexual harm in nightlife settings: A scoping review. *Archives of Sexual Behavior*, 1–31. https://doi.org/10.1007/s10508-024-02872-y
Calderón-Fajardo, V. (2023). Ethical-legal and sustainable dimension of the dark tourism product in the Iberian context. In S. Cerqueira Pascoal, L. Tallone, & M. Furtado (Eds.), *Dark heritage tourism in the Iberian peninsula: Memories of tragedy and death* (pp. 3–32). Cambridge Scholars Publishing.
Calheiros, F. Inclusive tourism: a priority for Portugal. Worldwide HospitalityTourism Themes, 12(6), 715–717., & Marshall, L. (2020). (2018). London's nocturnal queer geographies. Soundings, 70(70), 82–96. https://doi.org/10.3898/SOUN.70.06.2018.
Cardona, J. R. (2019). Reflections on Ibiza's nightlife tourism. Journal of Tourism and Heritage Research, 2(4), 33–51. Retrieved from http://www.jthr.es/index.php/journal/article/view/100
Carlisle, S., & Ritchie, C. (2021). Permission to rebel: A critical evaluation of alcohol consumption and party tourism. *International Journal of the Sociology of Leisure*, *4*(1), 25–44. https://doi.org/10.1007/s41978-020-00061-4
Carrera, D. (2023). *Complicating latinidad, sexuality, and identity in Reggaetón*. Indiana University.
Carr, N. (2002). A comparative analysis of the behaviour of domestic and international young tourists. *Tourism Management*, *23*(3), 321–325. https://doi.org/10.1016/S0261-5177(01)00089-9
Charman, A., & Govender, T. (2020). The creative night-time leisure economy of informal drinking venues. *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research*, *44*(5), 793–808. https://doi.org/10.1111/1468-2427.12896
Costa, G. T., Raposo, O., Martins, J. C., Garcia-Ruiz, M., & Nofre, J. (2022). Lazer noturno e resistências juvenis Em tempos de (pós)pandemia: O Caso Dos jovens do bar Antù Em Lisboa. *Antropolítica - Revista Contemporânea De Antropologia*, *54*(3), 118–142. https://periodicos.uff.br/antropolitica/article/view/54935/33206
Crowder, J. W., & Marion, J. S. (2024). The ethics of images. In J. W. Crowder, & J. S. Marion (Eds.), *Visual research A concise introduction to thinking visually* (pp. 9–21). Routledge.
Davis, A. M. (2008). Dragging identity: A critical ethnography of nightclub space (s) (Doctoral dissertation, Bowling Green State University). http://rave.ohiolink.edu/etdc/view?acc_num=bgsu1213893377
de Góis, M. P. F. (2024). The nightlife-tourism nexus in the urban regeneration of Porto maravilha, Rio de Janeiro. In M. Garcia-Ruiz, & J. Nofre (Eds.), *Understanding nighttime tourism* (pp. 82–100). Edward Elgar Publishing.
Deloitte (2020). The world remade: Travel and hospitality scenarios. Retrieved from: https://www.deloitte.com/au/en/issues/resilience/covid-19-scenarios-and-impacts-for-business-and-society-world-remade.html
Diken, B., & Laustsen, C. B. (2004). Sea, sun, sex and the discontents of pleasure. *Tourist Studies*, *4*(2), 99–114. https://doi.org/10.1177/1468797604054376
Dwyer, L. (2023). Resident well-being and sustainable tourism development: The 'capitals approach'. *Journal of Sustainable Tourism*, *31*(9), 2119–2135. https://doi.org/10.1080/09669582.2021.1990304
Edland-Gryt, M. (2021). Cocaine rituals in club culture: Intensifying and controlling alcohol intoxication. *Journal of Drug Issues*, *51*(2), 391–408. https://doi.org/10.1177/0022042620986514

Eldridge, A., & Smith, A. (2019). Tourism and the night: Towards a broader Understanding of nocturnal City destinations. *Journal of Policy Research in Tourism Leisure and Events*, *11*(3), 371–379. https://doi.org/10.1080/19407963.2019.1631519

Estevens, A., Cocola-Gant, A., López-Gay, A., & Pavel, F. (2023). The role of the state in the touristification of Lisbon. *Cities*, *137*, 104275. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.cities.2023.104275

European Commission (2022). EU Policy brief: The EU as an issuer: the NextGeneration EU transformation, no. 3. Retrieved from: https://op.europa.eu/en/publication-detail/-/publication/accacfb6-0966-11ed-b11c-01aa75ed71a1/language-en/format-PDF

European Parliament (2021). European Parliament resolution of 25 March 2021 on establishing an EU strategy for sustainable tourism (2020/2038(INI)). Retrieved from: https://www.europarl.europa.eu/doceo/document/TA-9-2021-0109_EN.pdf

Fernandes, D., Meeûs, M., & Coene, G. (2025). Down the black hole of sexual violence in the Brussels nightlife: A qualitative exploration of social media testimonials. *Violence against Women*, 10778012241307335. https://doi.org/10.1177/10778012241307335

Fewella, L. N. (2024). Nightlife in historical sites: Between lights and shadows (visions and challenges). *Journal of Cultural Heritage Management and Sustainable Development*, *14*(3), 358–378. https://doi.org/10.1108/JCHMSD-08-2021-0144

Galavielle, J. (2025). An ethnography of women's working spaces in the night time: Gender violence and the right to the night. (MA thesis, IGOT-University of Lisbon).

Galavielle, J. (2025). *An ethnography of women's working spaces in the night time: Gender violence and the right to the night* (MA thesis, IGOT-University of Lisbon). http://hdl.handle.net/10400.5/98908

Galavielle, J., & Paiva, D. (2025). Touristification and the territories of gender-based violence in Lisbon. *Tourism and Hospitality*, *6*(1), 30. https://doi.org/10.3390/tourhosp6010030

Galvani, A., Lew, A. A., & Perez, M. S. (2021). COVID-19 is expanding global consciousness and the sustainability of travel and tourism. In A. A. Lew, J. M. Cheer, P. Brouder, & M. Mostafanezhad (Eds.), *Global tourism and COVID-19: Implications for theory and practice* (pp. 113–122). Routledge.

Garcia-Mispireta, L. (2016). Techno-tourism and post-industrial neo-romanticism in berlin's electronic dance music scenes. *Tourist Studies*, *16*(3), 276–295. https://doi.org/10.1177/1468797615618037

Garcia-Mispireta, L. M. (2020). Feeling the vibe: Sound, vibration, and affective attunement in electronic dance music scenes. *Ethnomusicology Forum*, *29*(1), 21–39. https://doi.org/10.1080/17411912.2020.1733434

Garcia-Mispireta, L. M. (2023). *Together, somehow: Music, affect, and intimacy on the dancefloor*. Duke University Press.

Garcia-Ruiz, M. (2023). *Festivales de Luz, entre cultura y turismo. Una etnografía en dos festivales de luz portugueses* (Doctoral dissertation, Instituto Universitário de Lisboa). https://repositorio.iscte-iul.pt/handle/10071/32266

Garcia-Ruiz, M., & Nofre, J. (Eds.) (2024). *Understanding nighttime tourism*. Edward Elgar.

Gómez Arrieta, N., & Miller, T. (2022). Reggaetoneras: Undermining or embracing male fantasy? *Feminist Media Studies*, *23*(8), 3832–3847. https://doi.org/10.1080/14680777.2022.2140357

Grzegorz, I., & Anna, D. (2015). Potential of City break clubbing tourism in Wrocław. *Bulletin of Geography Socio-economic Series*, *28*(28), 77–89. https://doi.org/10.1515/bog-2015-0017

Guinand, S. (2020). Packaging oporto: Hypercommodification of its City centre? In M. Gravari-Barbas (Ed.), *A research agenda for heritage tourism* (pp. 101–116). Edward ElgarPublishing.

Hae, L. (2011). Dilemmas of the nightlife fix: Post-industrialisation and the gentrification of nightlife in new York City. *Urban Studies*, *48*(16), 3449–3465. https://doi.org/10.1177/0042098011400772

Hales, S., & Galbally, P. (2023). Messing up research: A dialogical account of gender, reflexivity, and governance in auto-ethnography. *Gender Work & Organization*, *30*(5), 1491–1512. https://doi.org/10.1111/gwao.12972

Haslam, D. (2015). *Life after dark: A history of British nightclubs & music venues*. Simon and Schuster.

Hilderbrand, L., Adeyemi, K., Cartier, M., Garcia-Mispireta, L. M., Ghaziani, A., Gieseking, J. J., & Rivera-Servera, R. H. (2024). The night is still young: A cross-disciplinary forum on Queer nightlife studies. *The Sociological Quarterly*, 1–23. https://doi.org/10.1080/00380253.2024.2418365

Hill, R. L., Hesmondhalgh, D., & Megson, M. (2020). Sexual violence at live music events: Experiences, responses and prevention. *International Journal of Cultural Studies*, *23*(3), 368–384. https://doi.org/10.1177/1367877919891730

Ioannides, D., & Gyimóthy, S. (2020). The COVID-19 crisis as an opportunity for escaping the unsustainable global tourism path. *Tourism Geographies*, *22*(3), 624–632. https://doi.org/10.1080/14616688.2020.1763445

Irimiás, A. (2023). The young tourist and social media. *The youth tourist: Motives, experiences and travel behaviour* (pp. 63–81). Emerald Publishing Limited.
Iwanicki, G., & Dłużewska, A. (2015). Potential of City break clubbing tourism in Wrocław. *Bulletin of Geography Socio-economic Series*, *28*, 77–89. https://doi.org/10.1515/bog-2015-0017
Iwanicki, G., & Dłużewska, A. (2018). Party space in Cracow and Warsaw: Partying and conflicts. Ekonomiczne Problemy Turystyki, 44, 139–145. Retrieved from: https://www.ceeol.com/search/article-detail?id=789957
Jones, P., & Comfort, D. (2020). The COVID-19 crisis, tourism and sustainable development. *Athens Journal of Tourism*, *7*(2), 75–86. https://doi.org/10.30958/ajt%2Fv7i2
Kelly, D. (2019). Ethics of the ethnographic self in nightlife tourism Arenas. In H. Andrews, T. Jimura, & L. Dixon (Eds.), *Tourism ethnographies* (pp. 33–51). Routledge.
Khubchandani, K. (2020). *Ishtyle: Accenting gay Indian nightlife*. University of Michigan Press.
Knox, D. (2009). Mobile practice and youth tourism. In P. Pons, M. Crang, & P. Travlou (Eds.), *Cultures of mass tourism. Doing the mediterranean in the age of banal mobilities* (pp. 143–155). Ashgate.
Kožul, D. (2018). Utjecaj clubbing turizma na transformaciju Grada Novalje [The impact of clubbing tourism on the transformation of the City of Novalja] (Doctoral dissertation, Department of Geography, University of Zagreb). Retrieved from: https://repozitorij.unizg.hr/islandora/object/pmf:4851
Kramer, J., & Wittmann, M. (2023). Nightlife as counterspace: Potentials of nightlife for social wellbeing. *Annals of Leisure Research*, 1–21. https://doi.org/10.1080/11745398.2023.2273548
Leaha, M. A. (2021). Saudades Da festa! Triggering sensory memories of DIY electronic music through multimodal practices. *Multimodality & Society*, *1*(3), 407–424. https://doi.org/10.1177/26349795211027553
León, K. S. (2021). *Corrupt capital: Alcohol, nightlife and crimes of the powerful*. Routledge.
Liu, Y., Zhang, Y., Zhang, X., Han, F., & Zhao, Y. (2023). A geographical perspective on the formation of urban nightlife landscape. *Nature– Humanities and Social Sciences Communications*, *10*(1), 1–15. https://doi.org/10.1057/s41599-023-01964-9
Lusa (February 2, 2024). Moradores e comerciantes do Bairro Alto exigem mais fiscalização à animação noturna em Lisboa, Correio de Manhã. Retrieved from: https://www.cmjornal.pt/sociedade/detalhe/moradores-e-comerciantes-do-bairro-alto-exigem-mais-fiscalizacao-a-animacao-noturna-em-lisboa
Mach, L., Connors, J., Lechtman, B., Plante, S., & Uerling, C. (2022). Party tourism impacts on local stakeholders. *Anatolia*, *33*(2), 222–235. https://doi.org/10.1080/13032917.2022.2040914
Malet-Calvo, D., Nofre, J., & Fuarros, I. S. (2024). Unveiling the intersections between tourism industry and student mobility. *Population Space and Place*, e2752. https://doi.org/10.1002/psp.2752
Malet-Calvo, D., Nofre, J., & Geraldes, M. (2017). The Erasmus corner: Place-making of a sanitised nightlife spot in the Bairro Alto (Lisbon, Portugal). *Leisure Studies*, *36*(6), 778–792. https://doi.org/10.1080/02614367.2016.1271821
Malta, J. C., & July (2024). 2, Lisboa fechou o centro ao Alojamento Local, mas deixou a porta aberta a 41 novos hotéis, Rádio Renascença. Retrieved from: https://rr.sapo.pt/fotoreportagem/pais/2024/07/05/lisboa-fechou-o-centro-ao-alojamento-local-mas-deixou-a-porta-aberta-a-41-novos-hoteis/383878/
Martinez, F. (2015). Tallinn as a City of thresholds. *Journal of Baltic Studies*, *46*(2), 127–155. https://doi.org/10.1080/01629778.2014.981673
Mattson, G. (2015). Style and the value of gay nightlife: Homonormative placemaking in San Francisco. *Urban Studies*, *52*(16), 3144–3159. https://doi.org/10.1177/0042098014555630
Neger, C., León-Cruz, J. F., & Gössling, S. (2024). The tourism fire exposure index for the European union. *Tourism Management*, *103*, 104901. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.tourman.2024.104901
Nofre, J. (2021). The touristification of nightlife: Some theoretical notes. *Urban Geography*, *42*(10), 1552–1561. https://doi.org/10.1080/02723638.2020.1855002
Nofre, J. (2023). Nightlife as source of social wellbeing, community-building and psychological mutual support after COVID-19 pandemic. *Annals of Leisure Research*, *26*(4), 505–513. https://doi.org/10.1080/11745398.2021.1964991
Nofre, J., Malet Calvo, D. (2019). Pubcrawling Lisbon: Nocturnal Geoethnographies of Bairro Alto. In G. Botta & G. Stahl (Eds.), *Nocturnes: Popular music and the night* (pp. 49-61). Palgrave MacMillan
Nofre, J., & Martins, J.C. (2017). The Disneyzation of the neoliberal urban night. In Guerra, P. & T. Moreira (Eds.), *Keep it simple make it fast! An approach to under-ground music scenes*, *3*, pp. 113–124. University of Porto Press.

Nofre, J., Martins, J.C., Garcia-Ruiz, M., & Teixeira Costa, G. (2023). Una aproximación geográfica a los impactos de la turistificación del ocio nocturno en el barrio de Cais do Sodré, Lisboa. Estudios Geográficos, *84*(294), e129. https://estudiosgeograficos.revistas.csic.es/index.php/estudiosgeograficos/article/view/1128

Nofre, J., Sánchez–Fuarros, Í., Carlos Martins, J., Pereira, P., Soares, I., Malet Calvo, D., Geraldes, M., & López Díaz, A. (2017). Exploring nightlife and urban change in Bairro Alto, Lisbon. *City & Community*, *16*(3), 330–344. https://doi.org/10.1111/cico.12248

Novy, J. (2018). Destination' Berlin revisited. From (new) tourism towards a Pentagon of mobility and place consumption. *Tourism Geographies*, *20*(3), 418–442. https://doi.org/10.1080/14616688.2017.1357142

Nowacki, M., & Stasiak, A. (2023). Identification of memorable game experiences: Analysis of escape rooms visitors' experiences. Games & Culture. Epub ahead of print. https://doi.org/10.1177/15554120231190648

OECD– Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development (2020). Rebuilding tourism for the future: COVID-19 policy responses and recovery. Retrieved from: https://www.oecd.org/coronavirus/policy-responses/rebuilding-tourism-for-the-future-covid-19-policy-responses-and-recovery-bced9859/

O. Moreira, C. (2018). Portugal as a tourism destination. Paths and trends. *Méditerranée Revue Géographique Des Pays Méditerranéens*, *130*. https://doi.org/10.4000/mediterranee.10402

Pavel, F., & Romeiro, P. (2022). Arrendamento de curta duração, políticas públicas e COVID-19 em Portugal. Os casos de Lisboa e do Porto. Cidades. Comunidades e Territórios, 45. Retrieved from: http://journals.openedition.org/cidades/6470

Pawlusiński, R. (2023). Managing of the night-time economy: challenges for a sustainable urban policy: The case of Krakow (Poland). *Folia Geographica*, *65*(1). Available at: https://ruj.uj.edu.pl/server/api/core/bitstreams/1e70e687-9513-4fec-8a34-3e764d53a331/content

Pedersen, W., Copes, H., & Sandberg, S. (2016). Alcohol and violence in nightlife and party settings: A qualitative study. *Drug and Alcohol Review*, *35*(5), 557–563. https://doi.org/10.1111/dar.12395

Peeters, P., Çakmak, E., & Guiver, J. (2024). Current issues in tourism: Mitigating climate change in sustainable tourism research. *Tourism Management*, *100*, 104820. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.tourman.2023.104820

Petrilli, E., & Biagi, F. (2024). Critique of everyday life of the night: Young people's re-appropriation of turin's eveningificated nightlife. *Cities*, *154*, 105402. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.cities.2024.105402

Phucharoen, C., Wichupankul, S., Sangkaew, N., & Stosic, K. (2023). Social media sites And nightlife tourism: An empirical study of tourist decision-making on nightlife entertainment consumption. *International Journal of Tourism Cities*, *9*(3), 751–770. https://doi.org/10.1108/IJTC-11-2021-0224

Pimentel de Oliveira, D., & Pitarch-Garrido, M. D. (2023). Measuring The sustainability of tourist destinations based on The sdgs: The case of Algarve in portugal: Tourism agenda 2030. *Tourism Review*, *78*(2), 475–495. https://doi.org/10.1108/TR-05-2022-0233

Pink, S. (2015). *Doing sensory ethnography*. Sage.

Prego-Meleiro, P., Recalde-Esnoz, I., Sordo, L., Del Castillo, H., García-Ruiz, C., Montalvo, G., & López-Cuadrado, T. (2024). Drug-facilitated sexual assault in youth nightlife contexts in Spain. *Public Health*, *233*, 157–163. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.puhe.2024.05.022

Pétonnet, C. (1982). L'Observation flottante L'exemple d'un cimetière parisien. L'Homme, 22(4), 37–47. Retrieved from: http://www.jstor.org/stable/25131904

Quigg, Z., Bates, R., Butler, N., Smith, C., Wilson, C., Atkinson, A., & Bellis, M. A. (2024). Sexual violence in nightlife and positive bystander intervention in an english City. *BMC Public Health*, *24*(1), 157. https://doi.org/10.1186/s12889-024-17642-7

Quigg, Z., Ross-Houle, K., Bigland, C., et al. (2023). Evaluation of the good night out campaign: A sexual violence bystander training programme for nightlife workers in England. *Journal of Public Health*, *31*, 1655–1661. https://doi.org/10.1007/s10389-022-01734-y

Ramón-Cardona, J., Álvarez-Bassi, D., & Sánchez-Fernández, M. M. D. (2021). Residents' attitudes towards nightlife supply: A comparison of Ibiza (Spain) and Punta Del este (Uruguay). *European Journal of Tourism Research*, *29*, 2914–2914. https://doi.org/10.54055/ejtr.v29i.2441

Ramos, L. M., & Sol Murta, F. (2023). Tourism seasonality management strategies–what can we learn from payment data. *Journal of Hospitality and Tourism Insights*, *6*(3), 1205–1221. https://doi.org/10.1108/JHTI-12-2021-0337

Ribalaygue, J. (2024). August 25, Una noche salvaje: las 'rutas de borrachera' prohibidas en Barcelona resurgen con decenas de anuncios. *El Periódico de Catalunya*. Retrieved from: https://www.elperiodico.com/es/barcelona/20230825/anuncios-rutas-borrachera-barcelona-prohibicion-ciutat-vella-91300235

Río-Rama, M., Maldonado-Erazo, C., Durán-Sánchez, A., & Álvarez-García, J. (2019). Mountain tourism research. A review. *European Journal of Tourism Research*, *22*, 130–150. https://doi.org/10.54055/ejtr.v22i.380

Rouleau, J. (2017). Every (nocturnal) tourist leaves a trace. *Imaginations: Journal of Cross-Cultural Image Studies*, *7*(2), 58–71. https://doi.org/10.17742/IMAGE.VOS.7-2.3

Sark, K. (2023). *Branding berlin: From division to the cultural capital of Europe*. Routledge.

Schaefer, D. O. (2024). The things of order: Affect, material culture, dispositif. *Cultural Critique*, *124*(1), 1–30. https://doi.org/10.1353/cul.2024.a926818

Schönherr, S., Peters, M., & Kuščer, K. (2023). Sustainable tourism policies: From crisis-related awareness to agendas towards measures. *Journal of Destination Marketing & Management*, *27*, 100762. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.jdmm.2023.100762

Schofield, J., & Rellensmann, L. (2015). Underground heritage: Berlin techno and the changing City. *Heritage & Society*, *8*(2), 111–138. https://doi.org/10.1080/2159032X.2015.1126132

Segreto, L., Manera, C., & Pohl, M. (Eds.). (2009). *Europe at the seaside: The economic history of mass tourism in the mediterranean*. Berghahn Books.

Seočanac, M., & Dimitrovski, D. (2022). Factors influencing tourists' nightlife experience in Belgrade. *Consumer Behavior in Tourism and Hospitality*, *17*(4), 436–452. https://doi.org/10.1108/CBTH-11-2021-0279

Sequera, J., & Nofre, J. (2020). Touristification, transnational gentrification and urban change in lisbon: The neighbourhood of Alfama. *Urban Studies*, *57*(15), 3169–3189. https://doi.org/10.1177/0042098019883734

Shaw, R. (2014). Beyond night-time economy: Affective atmospheres of the urban night. *Geoforum*, *51*, 87–95. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.geoforum.2013.10.005

Shaw, R. (2018). *The nocturnal City*. Routledge.

Smith, A., & Eldridge, A. (Eds.). (2021). *Tourism and the night: Rethinking nocturnal destinations*. Routledge.

Sánchez-García, J. (2018). Cairo nights: The political economy of Mahragan music. In J. Nofre, & A. Eldridge (Eds.), *Exploring nightlife: Space, society and governance* (pp. 99–113). Roman Littlefield International.

Sönmez, S., Apostolopoulos, Y., Theocharous, A., & Massengale, K. (2013). Bar crawls, foam parties, and clubbing networks: Mapping the risk environment of a mediterranean nightlife resort. *Tourism Management Perspectives*, *8*, 49–59. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.tmp.2013.05.002

Talk, T., Ojamäe, L., Paadam, K., & Alatalu, R. (2023). The Venice syndrome in Tallinn old town. Journal of cultural heritage management and sustainable development. Epub ahead of print. https://doi.org/10.1108/JCHMSD-03-2022-0046

Tan, Q. H. (2013). Flirtatious geographies: Clubs as spaces for the performance of affective heterosexualities. *Gender Place & Culture*, *20*(6), 718–736. https://doi.org/10.1080/0966369X.2012.716403

Tenorio, D. (2023). Queer nightscapes: Touching nightlife in neoliberal Mexico. *The Routledge companion to gender and affect* (pp. 357–365). Routledge.

Thurnell-Read, T. (2012). Tourism place and space: British stag tourism in Poland. *Annals of Tourism Research*, *39*(2), 801–819. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.annals.2011.09.009

Tomigová, K., Mendes, J., & Pereira, L. N. (2016). The attractiveness of Portugal as a tourist destination: The perspective of Czech tour operators. *Journal of Travel & Tourism Marketing*, *33*(2), 197–210. https://doi.org/10.1080/10548408.2015.1048404

Tutenges, S. (2012). Nightlife tourism: A mixed methods study of young tourists at an international nightlife resort. *Tourist Studies*, *12*(2), 131–150. https://doi.org/10.1177/1468797612454250

Tutenges, S. (2015). Pub crawls at a Bulgarian nightlife resort: A case study using crowd theory. *Tourist Studies*, *15*(3), 283–299. https://doi.org/10.1177/1468797615597856

Tutenges, S., & Hesse, M. (2008). Patterns of binge drinking at an international nightlife resort. *Alcohol & Alcoholism*, *43*(5), 595–599. https://doi.org/10.1093/alcalc/agn039

UNSDG– United Nations Sustainable Development Group (2020). COVID-19 and transforming tourism. Retrieved from: https://unsdg.un.org/sites/default/files/2020-08/sg_policy_brief_covid-19_tourism_august_2020.pdf

UNWTO– United Nations World Tourism Organization (2024). UN tourism barometer. Retrieved from: https://www.unwto.org/un-tourism-world-tourism-barometer-data

Urbanization plan for the historic neighborhoods of Bairro Alto and Bica (1997). Lisbon City Council. Retrieved from: https://files.dre.pt/gratuitos/2s/1997/10/2S238A0000S00.pdf

Vannini, P. (Ed.). (2024). *The qualities of Thenew sensory ethnography*. Routledge.

Veissiere, S. P. L. (2010). Making a living: The Gringo ethnographer as pimp of the suffering in the late capitalist night. *Cultural Studies ↔ Critical Methodologies*, *10*(1), 29–39. https://doi.org/10.1177/1532708609351152

Wiles, R., Prosser, J., Bagnoli, A., Clark, A., Davies, K., Holland, S., & Renold, E. (2008). Visual ethics: Ethical issues in visual research. Retrieved from: https://eprints.ncrm.ac.uk/id/eprint/421/1/MethodsReviewPaperNCRM-011.pdf

Wilkinson, S. (2017). Drinking in the dark: Shedding light on young people's alcohol consumption experiences. *Social & Cultural Geography*, *18*(6), 739–757. https://doi.org/10.1080/14649365.2016.1227872

Zmyslony, P., & Pawlusiński, R. (2020). Tourism and The night-time economy: The perspective Article. *Tourism Review*, *75*(1), 194–197. https://doi.org/10.1108/TR-05-2019-0158