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Party tourism, pub-crawls and crazy nights in Bairro Alto, Lisbon: Celebrating cosmopolitanism in a racialized heterotopic pleasurescape

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Resumo

Lisboa tem vivenciado um *boom* no turismo desde o início da última década. Paralelamente, a expansão da economia noturna do lazer nos bairros históricos do centro da cidade ganhou notoriedade. Em parte, isto reflete o recente crescimento do número de estudantes universitários internacionais, de trabalhadores internacionais altamente qualificados que vivem temporariamente na cidade, bem como de visitantes e turistas. Num dos bairros históricos do centro da cidade de Lisboa, o Bairro Alto, a vida noturna tem sofrido mudanças recentes e aceleradas que remodelaram as múltiplas formas em que turistas e visitantes "experimentam" o bairro durante as horas de lazer noturno. Uma dessas mudanças envolve o caso da rápida proliferação de *pub-crawls*. Baseado em pesquisas etnográficas em andamento sobre a vida noturna urbana no Bairro Alto, que começaram em janeiro de 2010, este documento de trabalho apresenta as descobertas preliminares sobre a 'atmosfera hiper-festiva' das *pub-crawls* noturnas no Bairro Alto. Em particular, o trabalho explora como a produção, reprodução e consumo das atmosferas hiper-festivas de celebração do cosmopolitismo de classe média prevalecente dentro das *pub-crawls* são dedicados a evitar qualquer contacto indesejado com "os outros" - ou seja, qualquer pessoa que não pertença à sua multidão - e, especialmente, com os jovens negros dos subúrbios que também estão presentes nas noites do Bairro Alto. Finalmente, este *working paper* observa como as atitudes e comportamentos dos organizadores de *pub-crawls* frequentemente contribuem para a segmentação social e racial da vida noturna do Bairro Alto. O artigo acaba por apontar como as celebrações hedonistas e alegres do cosmopolitismo, tanto dos organizadores de *pub-crawls* como dos seus clientes, servem de "dispositivo de camuflagem" pelo seu papel ativo na racialização da vida noturna deste bairro histórico e turístico de Lisboa.

Palavras-chave: vida noturna, pub-crawl, transgressão, cosmopolitismo, Lisboa.

Abstract

Lisbon has experienced a boom in tourism since the beginning of the past decade. In parallel, the expansion of the nighttime leisure economy in the historical neighbourhoods of the city centre has gained renown. In part, this reflects the recent growth in international college students, high-skilled international workers temporarily living in the city as well as visitors and tourists. In one of Lisbon historical city centre neighbourhoods, Bairro Alto, the nightlife has experienced recent and accelerated changes that have re-shaped the multiple forms in which tourists and visitors 'experience' the neighbourhood during night-time leisure hours. One such change involves the case of the rapid proliferation of pub-crawls. Based on ongoing ethnographic research into the urban nightlife in Bairro Alto that began in January 2010, this working paper sets out the preliminary findings about the 'hyperfestive atmosphere' of nighttime pub-crawls in Bairro Alto. In particular, the paper explores how the production, reproduction and consumption of the hyperfestive atmospheres of celebration of middle-class cosmopolitanism prevailing within pub-crawls are devoted to avoiding any undesired contact with 'the others' – i.e., anyone not belonging to their crowd – and, especially, with the local black youngsters from the suburbs who are also present in the nights of Bairro Alto. Finally, this working paper remarks how the attitudes and behaviours of pub-crawl organizers and patrons often contribute towards socially and racially segmenting the Bairro Alto nightlife. The paper ends up by pointing out how the hedonist and joyful celebrations of cosmopolitanism of both pub-crawl organizers and their patrons serve as a 'camouflage device' for their active role in racializing the nightlife of this touristified historical neighborhood of Lisbon.

Keywords: nightlife, pub-crawl, transgression, cosmopolitanism, Lisbon.

1. Introduction

Friday, 6 September 2019. It is 10:15 p.m. Around 200 hundred international college students aged between 18 and their mid-twenties – alongside a few locals in their thirties – congregate at the junction of the Travessa da Cara, Diário de Notícias and Rua do Teixeira streets in Bairro Alto, one of the Lisbon city centre's historical neighbourhoods. Their presence stems from the *Welcome Pubcrawl* event organized by Erasmus Life Lisbon, the main private firm providing accommodation and leisure services to international college students residing temporarily in Lisbon (Malet *et al.*, 2016). The announcement of this event on the Erasmus Life Lisbon's Facebook page clearly encourages those interested to perceive Bairro Alto as a 'party district':

*Curious about why Portuguese people love to party? It's about time to explore the nightlife with a pubcrawl! You should know that this area of Lisbon is home to over 300 bars that account for its buzzing nightlife!*¹

Over the last two decades, the expansion of the nighttime leisure economy in the old historical neighbourhoods of Lisbon closely interrelates with the recent surge in the numbers of international college students and high-skilled international workers temporarily living in the city as well as of visitors and tourists (e.g., Nofre *et al.*, 2017a). While the growth in international students and migrant professionals has increased significantly in the past five years (Malet, 2018), we must also pay attention to the so-called *tourist boom* that the Portuguese capital has experienced since the beginning of the 2010s. In this sense, the temporal evolution of certain quantitative indicators portraying the growth of tourism in Lisbon serve to highlight the great intensity – both spatially and temporally – of the recent touristification process of the city. For example, while the number of cruiser passengers grew from 164,259 in 2002 to 577,605 in 2018², the total number of passengers landing at Humberto Delgado Lisbon's Airport increased from 14.8 million in 2011 to 29.1 million in 2018³. In addition, the number of nights spent at hotels in the city of Lisbon increased from 5,715,176 in 2009 to 12,553,476 in 2017, while the expansion in the number of hostels (from 97 in 2009 to 229 in 2016) and hotels (from 93 in 2009 to 214 in 2018) has mainly taken place in the city centre⁴. In addition, Lisbon picked up the World's Leading City Destination and

¹ See event at: <https://www.facebook.com/events/932063750468530/> [21/08/2019; 12:15 pm].

² http://www.portodelisboa.pt/portal/page/portal/PORTAL_PORTO_LISBOA/CRUZEIROS/

³ See: Relatório de Gestão de Contas 2018. ANA – Aeroportos de Portugal, Lisboa, 2019. Retrieved from: <https://www.ana.pt/pt/institucional/publicacoes-e-relatorios/relatorios-de-gestao-e-contas>

⁴ Data retrieved from: "Tourist lodging: Total and typology – Annual Series" (PORDATA, 2019); and "Number of nights spent in hotels, per typology and location (NUTS-3); Annual Series" (National Statistics Institute, 2019).

the World's Leading City Break Destination in the 2018 World Travel Awards⁵. Furthermore, from a broader geographical perspective, visitors, tourists, international college students and migrants have undoubtedly emerged as key actors in many cities across the world through their re-signifying of everyday urban life(s) in multiple ways and coupled with shaping new social topographies of everyday consumption in the city. The urban night thus emerges as a privileged time-space for observing and examining these changes (Nofre & Eldridge, 2018). In this sense, the case of Bairro Alto in Lisbon emerges as a very interesting case study as the nightlife in this historical neighbourhood in the Portuguese capital has experienced recent and accelerated changes that have re-shaped how tourists and visitors 'experience' the neighbourhood during the night-time leisure hours. In particular, one of these changes derives from the rapid proliferation of the pub-crawls the area hosts nightly.

Based on seven months of exploratory ethnography, this paper examines the 'hyperfestive atmosphere' of the pub-crawls that take place nightly in the historical Bairro Alto neighbourhood in Lisbon. To achieve this, the first section of the paper introduces pub-crawls as not only those tours taking in several pubs or other drinking places across a particular area with the consumption of one or more alcoholic drinks at each venue over the course of the evening/night but also as simulated, carnivalesque, micro-temporary evasions from the everyday life of 'party tourists'. The second section argues that the carnivalesque expressions of (simulated) joy and happiness characteristic of pub-crawls in Bairro Alto emerge not only as an affective economy in which emotions circulate between bodies and signs but also as a joyful celebration of Western(ized), middle-class, racializing cosmopolitanism. The paper concludes by suggesting that the pub-crawl celebration of cosmopolitanism may also represent a 'camouflage device' for the role pub-crawl organizers and their patrons play as active actors in racializing the Bairro Alto nightlife.

⁵ See <https://www.worldtravelawards.com/award-worlds-leading-city-destination-2018>.

FIGURE 1
Location of Bairro Alto in central Lisbon



Source: ESRI Webmap, 2019.

2. Methodology

For a better understanding of this paper, it is pertinent to state how this arises from the results obtained from ongoing ethnography, which began in January 2010, into the multiple, complex and non-linear relationships between the night-time leisure economy and urban change in Bairro Alto (Malet *et al.*, 2016; Nofre *et al.*, 2017a). Of particular importance, the dramatic touristification of the Bairro Alto nightlife over these past five years led the paper's author to add new research topics to his ethnography, for example the exclusion, marginalization and criminalization of (black) 'deviants' – according to Stanley Cohen's terminology – in the Bairro Alto nightlife (Nofre & Martins, 2017; Nofre *et al.*, 2017b), and, more recently, the social control, patriarchalism and heteronormativity of pub-crawls (Nofre & Malet-Calvo, 2019). This paper moves the research focus forward from "the centre of the scene" to (and beyond) the margins. Therefore, the exploratory ethnography conducted for the purpose of this article correspondingly focused particularly on how the production, reproduction and consumption of these hyperfestive atmospheres of celebration of middle-class cosmopolitanism within pub-crawls are devoted to avoiding any undesired contact with 'the others' – i.e., anyone not belonging to the crowd – and, especially, with the local black youngsters from the suburbs that are also present in the Bairro Alto nightlife.

Hence, for the objectives set out above, exploratory ethnography took place between March 2019 and September 2019. Informal conversations with patrons (15, both females and males, from different geographical and ethnic backgrounds) were held in situ while observation fieldwork combined (i) floating observation (Pétonnet, 1982), which consists of free and inductive exploration of a certain urban space; (ii) non-intrusive observation (Webb *et al.*, 2001; Lee 2000); and (iii) 'shadowing' (Czarniawska-Joerges, 2007; Bartkowiak-Theron and Sappey, 2012), which consists of "obtaining as quickly and as faithfully as possible the shadowed person's understanding of how and why things just happened, according to them and their own frames of reference (...), ask[ing] questions and seek[ing] explanations and/or interpretations from the shadowed participant" (Bartkowiak-Theron & Sappey, 2012, pp. 7–8). However, this fieldwork took place discontinuously due to the other on-going fieldwork commitments of the article's author. This certainly did not enable the gaining of the full confidence of the pub-crawl organizers and triggered the deployment of alternative strategies for collecting information such as informal conversations with bar staff (4). Finally, neither the informal conversations nor the punctual oral interactions with pub-crawl patrons, organizers and venue staff have been inserted in this text in either quotation or conversation excerpt form even though they provide the basis for the theoretical reflections set out below.

3. Bairro Alto: a former fishermen's quarter transformed into a popular tourist nightlife neighbourhood

The historical neighbourhood of Bairro Alto dates back to the early sixteenth century. While working households associated with the fishing and sailing sectors settled on the lower side of Bairro Alto, new residential buildings for the local nobility and clerics were subsequently built in the upper section of this area (Ferreira & Calado, 1992; França, 2013). However, a few years after the Great Earthquake of 1755 and its subsequent fires and tsunami – which almost totally wiped out Lisbon and its adjoining built areas –, aristocratic families that had formerly been living in the quarter's upper side began moving to other areas deemed safer and located outside of the city, such as in the nearby small village of Ajuda. As a result, Bairro Alto experienced slow but gradual impoverishment over many subsequent decades while its built environment underwent densification in order to house the families of newly arriving sailors and other economic activities. Furthermore, the installation of the main newspapers and printers here accompanied by the rising role of theatre and earlier political-cultural movements in the nineteenth century then came to transform Bairro Alto into a popular and simultaneously bohemian district, populated by journalists,

working classes, prostitutes, radical politicians and *fado* singers⁶ (Pavel, 2014; Malet *et al.*, 2016). However, and importantly, it was in the late nineteenth century when the break between the day (activity) and the night (rest) vanished as noted by the Portuguese historian Rosa Fina (2016), and the city experienced the emergence of what is today commonly called the '24-hour city'.

In the twentieth century, the urban poverty, marginalization, social exclusion and the general ghettoization of Bairro Alto deepened, especially as result of almost five decades of fascist dictatorship (1926-1974), with the prevailing catholic state morality applied to criminalize 'deviants' – i.e., the lumpen and lowest-income households and illiterate, marginal families. However, after some initial attempts aiming at addressing the ongoing decay in the built environment, urban poverty and marginalization in Bairro Alto in the 1980s, it was not until the approval of the 1996 Bairro Alto and Bica Urbanization Plan (*Plano de Urbanização do Núcleo Histórico do Bairro Alto e Bica* in the original) that the neighbourhood experienced a profound process of urban regeneration and socioeconomic revitalization that provided the foundations for the later process of gentrification (Mendes, 2008, 2013), studentification (Malet *et al.*, 2016), and, much more recently, touristification (Jofre & Malet, 2019; Nofre *et al.*, 2017a).

The urban nightlife present in contemporary Bairro Alto is no new practice. Rosa Fina (2016) argues that, already by the second half of the eighteenth century, there was a need to regulate the street activities ongoing during the nighttime hours. Fina points out how the small domestic spaces prevalent across the Bairro Alto would not allow for meeting with many friends and/or neighbours inside one's own home. This would have led many to engage socially in the street during hours of nighttime whether nearby or gathered around their house entrances. Furthermore, in earlier decades of the twentieth century, the music and dance performed by Africans living in the city – whose presence dates back to the thirteenth century (Castro Henriques, 2019) – catholic religious celebrations, street cooking and vendors as well as the *tascas* (traditional small bars offering very affordable drinks and meals) underwent an expansion across the city, including Bairro Alto. Interestingly, many *tascas* rapidly emerged as places for the production and reproduction of sociabilities among neighbours during the hours of both daytime and nighttime, while intellectuals, the middle-upper classes, politicians and aristocrats frequented noble venues and the city's finest restaurants. Subsequently, *tascas* were rediscovered in the early and mid-1970s by local young liberal professionals, theatre and cinema actors, journalists, college students and other local middle classes who began to frequent the cheap, old-fashioned taverns in Bairro Alto as performative actions of self and collective

⁶ *Fado* is an old urban popular musical genre listed as UNESCO Intangible Cultural Heritage in 2011.

liberation, and, therefore, seeking to break with the middle-class morality imposed by the fascist-catholic dictatorship.

In the 1980s, new bars, discotheques, fashion and design shops all opened their doors, attracting more patrons to the area and eventually emerging to become the so-called ‘movida Lisboaeta’ (Martins & Guerra, 2018) – which was named after a similar cultural phenomenon in Madrid, Spain one decade on from the death of Franco. In this ‘movida Lisboaeta’, an emerging local LGBTQ movement played a central role (Belanciano, 2009). Interestingly, the first gay-friendly hostels appeared in this neighbourhood, for example Anjo Azul on Luz Soriano Street⁷, just two streets away from *Frágil*, a small LGBTQI-friendly club that opened in 1982 and was the haunt of local artists, designers, cultural activists, actors and actresses, journalists and politicians – among other members of the city’s middle classes – who met to socialise in a creative environment (Soromenho, 2014). In other words, *Frágil* captained a counter-cultural and alternative nightlife scene in Bairro Alto throughout the 1980s. All of this was merged to become the seed of Lisbon’s later urban culture of ‘going to the Bairro’ at night (Portas, 2007).

In turn, the transgressive nocturnal atmosphere of Bairro Alto attracted the attentions of growing numbers of tourists in the nineties. Nevertheless, it was towards the end of the 1990s and especially since the beginning of the past decade that Bairro Alto underwent a rapid expansion in the scale of its youth and tourist oriented, commercialised and alcohol-fuelled nightlife. While around 150 restaurants, bars, taverns and dancing bars (including one nightclub, *Frágil*) existed in 1997, the number of nightlife venues operating in the area has since more than doubled (Nofre *et al*, 2017a) even though this expansion took place simultaneous to the closure of many of the venues that opened in the 1980s and 1990s, including *Frágil* (currently Cheers, a tourist-oriented Irish pub with a dance-floor that opened in 2016 and is run by Jorge Pereira, who also owns The Corner, another tourist-oriented Irish pub located nearby Cheers).

In fact, since the mid-2000s, this progressive touristification of the Bairro Alto urban nightlife led to a rapid worsening in community liveability during the evening and nighttime hours as confirmed by the fieldwork and interviews carried out⁸. Within this scope, the recent proliferation of open bar-pub crawls across the historic

⁷ The author would here express his gratitude to the reviewers as regards this information.

⁸ Also see: “Moradores do Bairro Alto exigem soluções para ruído e lixo”, *Notícias Ao Minuto*, 25 June 2015. Retrieved from: <<https://www.noticiasominuto.com/pais/411037/moradores-do-bairro-alto-exigem-solucoes-para-ruído-e-lixo>>; or “Moradores do Bairro Alto temem que turismo e ruído matem centro histórico”, *Radio Renascença*, 2 March 2017. Retrieved from: <<https://rr.sapo.pt/2017/03/02/pais/moradores-do-bairro-alto-temem-que-turismo-e-ruído-matem-centro-historico/noticia/77375/>>.

neighbourhood of Bairro Alto has only added further pressures to the critical coexistence between different actors in the urban nightlife of Bairro Alto. On the one hand, some gentrifiers who arrived at Bairro Alto in the late 1990s and early 2000s expressed their profound disappointment over the explicit over tolerance that they allege Lisbon City Council has engaged in as regards the (un-)regulated expansion of nightlife facilities in the quarter over the past fifteen years. On the other hand, as this paper's author was able to confirm on various occasions during past fieldwork ongoing in Bairro Alto since 2010 (Malet *et al.*, 2016; Nofre & Martins, 2017; Nofre *et al.*, 2017a), some of the upmarket restaurant owners desired the social cleansing of the nightlife and the removal of local marginal populations, specifically Roma and black youngsters from Lisbon's ghettos, *malandros* (streetwise dealers), *mitras* (chavs), *carochos* (heroin addicts and old punks) in addition to vulgar, noisy, foulmouthed, drunk tourists. However, up to five local leisure and/or tourist companies today organize (in-)formal pub crawls every night in Bairro Alto.

As gathered in some informal interviews conducted within the framework of previous Bairro Alto fieldwork (Malet *et al.*, 2016; Nofre *et al.*, 2017a, 2017b), many visitors, tourists and international college students feel attracted by the vibrant atmosphere of Bairro Alto during the nighttime hours. In fact, the concentration of live music bars, dancing bars and restaurants in some streets of Bairro Alto, such as Atalaia Street shape a kind of de-territorialized New Orleans Bourbon Street⁹. Cheap alcohol, joy and exultation became an easy way to meet new people within a nocturnal environment background formed out of a mixture of Brazilian, commercial American, pop-funk, fado, jazz and rock music; dozens of taxis, garbage trucks and private cars blowing their horns on finding themselves blocked in by crowds spilling over into the middle of the street with thousands of partygoers conversing loudly, shouting and singing as if in a football crowd while often being touted by the young petty dealers arriving from the suburbs (Nofre, *et al.*, 2017a, 2017b).

⁹ See Gotham (2005), Souther (2007) and Demovic (2018) for detailed descriptions of the ambience and atmosphere of this southern city street during night-time hours.

FIGURE 2
Day & Night in Bairro Alto (Rua Atalaia Street)



Source: Author, August 2019.

In fact, between 00:30 a.m. and 1:15 a.m. represents peak hour for the pub-crawls walking Rua Atalaia Street, passing through the hundreds of others drinking outdoors. Their destination is the dancing bars located on this street such as Club Carib, one of the several bars and similar establishments offering free shots for pub-crawls organized by Destination Hostel. Due to the multitudes chatting and drinking outdoors in Bairro Alto all night long, the pub-crawl organizers lead their clients, walking them through the crowds between one bar and the next. In fact, one may easily argue they ‘shepherd’ their patrons in order to prevent group members from getting lost and/or being exposed to ‘unwanted’ contact with any of urban nightlife actors in Bairro Alto, such as petty street-dealers, the occasional pickpocket, and adolescents, teenagers and youngsters displaying street gang looks (YSG hereinafter) – mostly male, some black, and in the majority living in working-class suburban neighbourhoods. However, some pub-crawls, such as that organized by The Lisbon Pub Crawl, deliberately avoid Atalaia Street, the single most crowded thoroughfare in the area, during the hours of nighttime in order to prevent such ‘conflictual’ situations. For this same reason, The Lisbon Pub Crawl organizers opt for predetermined routes taking in other streets in Bairro Alto, such as Rua do Norte, Rua do Diário das Notícias and Rua da Barroca, which are less overwhelmed and calmer than Atalaia Street. The ‘human flock’ of pub-crawlers can therefore be more effectively shepherded in conjunction with controlling and minimizing any ‘disruptive contacts’ with ‘the others’.

4. Pub-crawls as heterotopic pleasures of simulated transgression

Lisbon is vastly trending all over Europe about its diverse nightlife; that makes every soul satisfied. Between quiet spiritual Fado night and party life, everyone finds happiness. Because we Portuguese live for the night, do not forget our normal timing: Party until the sunlight. (The Lisbon Pub Crawl, accessed on September 15, 2007, See: <http://lisbonpubcrawl.com/night-tours/>)

Similar to other tourist resorts in Europe, such as Sunny Beach in Bulgaria (Tutenges, 2012a, 2013, 2015;; Hesse *et al.*, 2012; Sönmez *et al.*, 2013; Holleran, 2016), the nightlife in Bairro Alto emerges as an “intensity machine that fabricates emotional energy for the masses” (Tutenges, 2012, 132). Tourists, visitors, international college students and locals drink in order to socialize, sharing time, space and experiences with their peers with some hoping for an ‘unforgettable night’. In this sense, the Bairro Alto urban nightlife appears as an ‘affectively charged’ nightlife environment (Duff, 2008), in which the lived (and commodified) experiences of partiers emerge as an alternative and joyful mode of existence in evoking the out-of-the ordinary (Lefebvre, 1974). This establishes the collective mental and symbolic framework in which pub-crawls play a central role through promoting such a hyperfestive, carnivalesque, nocturnal atmosphere in Bairro Alto.

Indeed, darkness provides various opportunities for simulated transgressions of the ordinary life otherwise always delimited by the social, cultural, economic and political order of our capitalist cities (Lefebvre, 1974). Typically framed within the context of pub-crawls, drinking games and joyful behaviours drive the collective excitement, which helps construct an imaginary of immediate happiness and micro-temporal friendships against an ‘authentic’ setting. This is central to the consumption sphere produced and reproduced by pub-crawls, which, in turn, is central to the production and reproduction of ‘party tourism’ (Selännemi, 2003) in Lisbon. In fact, pub-crawls are strongly oriented to immediately making patrons “feel good”. In some ways, one may therefore argue pub-crawls represent a simulated, carnivalesque, evasion of the routines of everyday life – in the terminology of Bakhtin (1984[1968]), Lefebvre (1974) and Foucault (1984) –, where the norms and social structures of everyday life are transcended and challenged (Jaimangal-Jones *et al.* 2010) through celebrating “a new reality of joy” (Beyers 2016, 357), in which the hierarchies of everyday life are profaned and overturned (Bakhtin, 1984[1968]).

Pub-crawls are central to the Bairro Alto nightlife, when the neighbourhood undergoes transformation into a leisure-themed urbanscape – or pleasurescape in the terminology of Graham S. John (1999). However, as suggested in the previous paragraph, this also underpins the perception of pub-crawls as heterotopic events that metaphorically and, in keeping with Foucault’s description of heterotopia, emerge as “(...) a place without a place, that exists by itself, that is closed in on itself and at the same time is given over to the infinity of the sea” (Foucault, 1984). Therefore, and bringing this definition down closer to earth, pub-crawls in Bairro Alto do not appear only as night-time leisure events but as self-generators of heterotopic pleasurespaces “of transgressive sensuousness and carnal sociality” (John, 2001, p.48). As The Lisbon Pubcrawl website correspondingly advertises, “A fun & eccentric mix between a tour and a bar hop! (...) We work hard so that all our pub-crawlers have a once in a lifetime experience and that it enhances their visit to beautiful Lisboa!” (The Lisbon Pub Crawl website, accessed on 15th September 2017).

5. Pub-crawlers and the ‘the unwanted’: subverting the gaze

Within the pub crawl, (self-)identity and lifestyle merge and encounter a collective articulation through the creation of heterotopic identities. In some ways, these closely interrelate to social and cultural capital, distinction and cosmopolitanism. However, the latter would not be structured solely around a form of global citizenship (e.g., Held, 1995; Harvey, 2000; Hannerz, 2004; Skrbiš & Woodward, 2011) but rather around “cosmopolitan tastes, styles and patterns of consumption” (Molz, 2011, p.37). In the Bairro Alto nightlife, such cosmopolitanism is produced, reproduced and consumed in a highly-racialized and segmented urban nightscape. Nevertheless, and simultaneously, this cosmopolitanism itself often becomes a racializing device in the nightlife of this iconic historical neighbourhood of the Portuguese capital. Therefore, in order to explore the simultaneous nature of pub-crawls as both active and passive actors in the racialized and segregated nightlife of Bairro Alto, we need to undertake (self-)reflection by questioning my (institutional) positioning in the study of pub-crawls and racialized nights in Bairro Alto. This is necessary even prior to subverting my research gaze on encounters between pub-crawlers and ‘the unwanted’. Moreover, this will generate further reflections, set out in the final remarks section, about just who and how they define ‘the unwanted’ and ‘the excluded’ in the ‘nocturnal tourist city’ (Giordano *et al.*, 2018).

To begin with, whether pub-crawls can actually be defined as hedonist, joyful celebrations of a Western(ized), middle-class, (racializing) cosmopolitanism, this latter concept should be subverted and deconstructed – even if just briefly. Without doubt, cosmopolitanism has been the object of vivid scholarly discussion in the social sciences

over these past two decades (e.g., Szerszynski and Urry, 2002; Beck & Sznaider, 2006; Haver, 2009; Held, 2010; Rovisco, 2016). Although its etymology leads us back to Ancient Greece and its *kosmopolítēs* (“citizen of the world”), the epistemological development of the term to date has largely been based on Kant’s civility, which “reproduces the axiomatics of imperialism” (Spivak, 1999, p.37; quoted in Stevenson, 2011, p.245). Nick Stevenson (2011) points out that such Kant-based cosmopolitanism reinforces the division between ‘the civilized’ and ‘the primitive’ that reproduces a racialized logic that seeks to uphold Western(ized) forms of civility. As Leena Kaunonen (2004, p.5) points out, “the cosmopolitan agenda has frequently been criticized for its hegemonic aspirations and Eurocentric parochialism, which tends to exclude de-colonial or subaltern versions of cosmopolitanism”. Nevertheless, a growing number of works from both the global South and North offer alternative and even de-colonial approaches to ‘cosmopolitanism’ (e.g., Mendieta, 2009; Ngcoya, 2015; Delanty, 2018). Interestingly, Manuel Delgado (2016) argues that cosmopolitanism emerges as a new form of racism that no longer focuses on issues related to skin colour or facial features but instead on cultural differences.

The de-colonial approach to cosmopolitanism allows us to critically examine the attitudes and behaviours of pub-crawlers towards ‘othering’ and racialization in the Bairro Alto nightlife by annulling the ‘bourgeois gaze’ derived from the institutional positioning of this article’s author. To achieve this, the Bairro Alto nightlife requires recognising as a multifaceted, non-linear, complex nightlife setting, simultaneously conflictual and segregated, extremely commodified, and socially, morally and politically controlled (Malet *et al.*, 2016; Nofre & Martins, 2017). In other words, alcohol, drugs, dance, sex and encounters are formally and informally shaped and mediated by planning, regulation, surveillance and oppressive (even repressive) policing (Nofre *et al.*, 2017a). Secondly, it is worth noting that the festive atmosphere of (controlled) disorder, chaos and wildness prevailing in the Bairro Alto nightlife, which is familiar to locals, but still produces a brusque emotional shock for tourists and visitors especially from central and Nordic Europe, where the norms and regulations related to nightlife are effectively accomplished (e.g., noisy outdoor activities and the mass occupation of public space until late at night hours are not permitted). This would explain the embedded fear of many tourists and visitors towards the ‘non-white’ or even the ‘non-middle-class other’ as Bairro Alto also represents one of the nightlife areas frequented by young people from the working-class suburbs of Lisbon.

In the case of pub-crawl patrons feeling ‘fear’ of YSG boys, this would be susceptible to interpretation as ‘othering processes’ that, in some way, respond to the ‘internal racism’ (e.g., Foucault, 1999; Fakhry-Davids, 2011) of ‘cosmopolitan pub-crawlers’ as

a form of “biopolitical government that impinges on individuals in their most basic relationship to themselves and others” (Su-Rasmussen, 2011, p. 35). Due to the different and multiple geographical – and, therefore, cultural – origins of pub-crawlers, the work of Mónica J. Sánchez Flores (2018) emerges as an interesting departure point to explore how pub-crawl organizers (whites) and patrons (mostly white) react to non-expected/unwanted encounters with ‘racialized others’ (i.e., the YSG boys) present in the Bairro Alto nightlife .

Sánchez Flores argues that postcolonial habits and attitudes are deeply embedded in Western capitalist societies and continue to feed othering and discrimination (sometimes even punitive) against racialized, lower class, marginalized individuals. My fieldwork about pub-crawls in Bairro Alto (with a particular focus on The Lisbon Pub Crawl, LPC hereinafter) enables me to confirm that pub-crawlers experience explicit suspicion and fear when they are the subject of engagement by YSG boys. Of the latter, some wander around, traversing up and down Rua Atalaia while others stay in the same place all night long – mainly on street corners or in the middle of the street, chatting away and while sometimes smoking a joint – only a few are street dealers. Those staying on street corners tend to improvise small bloc parties with sound columns connecting up to their smartphones. In reality, they spend the night outdoors as they lack the purchasing power to consume inside the venues and venue security staff correspondingly do not allow them entry (Nofre *et al.*, 2017b). In turn, the Blackness of some – and coupled with their street gang look – reinforce pub-crawler fears and othering. When interactions between them and YSG youths do occur, one or a couple of male LPC organizers rapidly appear and protect their patrons with their bodies through direct verbal-corporal communication. Should the situation become uncontrolled, uniformed police officers, plain-clothes police officers and venue bouncers can be mobilized against YSG youths, who are the first to get physically restrained and/or struck even before any inquiries are made as fieldwork allowed me to confirm on more than one occasion.

However, while YSG youths are impeded from interacting with female LPC patrons, male pub-crawlers are allowed to interact and negotiate the acquiring of bad quality “cocaine” (€50, 1gr). The quotation marks here are deliberate: this “cocaine” is often flour, paracetamol...or some similar substance. This is one of the most common causes of conflictual situations between pub-crawlers and petty street dealers. In these cases, male LPC organizers push themselves into the middle to avoid any violent situation between furious alcohol-fuelled patrons and the dealer, who is accustomed to violence as one of the first resources in negotiating any situations of conflict. On the other hand, when YSG males are impeded from interacting with female LPC patrons, the male LPC organizers reinforce the sense of protection exercised over “his” potential *trophy*

of the night as compensation for the precariousness of their labours. In contrast, female LPC organizers must act with far greater discretion when engaging in sexual relationships with male patrons. Besides such racializing cosmopolitanism, embedded patriarchalism and heteronormativity feature in The Lisbon Pub Crawl nightly excursions. In fact, the explicit erotic construction of nightlife and the sexualization of relationships between pubcrawlers are strongly based on woman-woman pairings (Nofre & Malet, 2019). In contrast, gay flirting, including kisses between males in the context – for example – of drinking games, provokes some verbal and non-verbal language of disapproval from many of the remaining male pubcrawlers. Facing such homophobic attitudes, pubcrawler organizers prefer to look the other way as any serious reprimand of such homophobic attitudes within the pubcrawl ambience might well jeopardize the successful Lisbon Pub Crawl brand.

6. Final remarks

Based on a seven-month exploratory ethnography, this paper has explored the hyperfestive atmosphere of pub-crawls in Bairro Alto (and especially The Lisbon Pub Crawl). The aims involved examining pub-crawls not only as simulated, carnivalesque, micro-temporary evasions of the everyday life but also as joyful celebrations of Western(ized), middle-class cosmopolitanism that emerge as active actors in the racialized nightlife of Bairro Alto. However, the subversion of the gaze in ethnographically observing pub-crawls has allowed for confronting the positionality which defines ‘the unwanted’ and ‘the excluded’ in the nocturnal tourist city. In other words, while visitors and tourists joining pub-crawls in Bairro Alto might be defined as privileged (but micro-temporary) users of the neighborhood, many adolescents, teenagers and youngsters with street gang looks from working-class suburbs of Lisbon have been frequenting Bairro Alto nightlife for many years. This dichotomy does raise a key question to the surface: who does the right to access the (nocturnal) city belong to? At the same time, and far from consideration as some mere simplified dichotomy, such a contraposition between ‘privileged tourists’ Vs. local marginalized youth opens up two future lines of research of great scientific interest. On the one hand, the informal nightlife of the YSG in the middle of the Bairro Alto’s streets or on street corners (unconsciously) play a central role in enhancing the public space as a space ‘of’ and ‘for’ social interactions whether among peers or even unknown individuals. However, as this paper has demonstrated, pub-crawl organizers and their patrons act against ‘the public nature’ of the streets as the informal commodification of the nocturnal public space carried out by pub-crawls means symbolic and material dispossession for the other local actors residing, frequenting or working in Bairro Alto during the nighttime hours. Such a symbolic and material dispossession is accompanied by devices of community purification – in Richard Sennett’s (1970s)

terminology – established by the pub-crawl organizers. As explained in this paper, pub-crawl organizers deploy direct verbal-corporal communication to avoid encounters with (mostly male, some black) adolescents, teenagers and youngsters with street gang looks. However, the fear of pubcrawl customers over interacting with ‘the unknown other’ is selective: white (especially female) tourists are welcomed to informally join the pub-crawl for a while. Such a selective relationship constitutes an evident mechanism of social and racial segmentation of the Bairro Alto nightlife and contributes to the production, reproduction and consumption of a racialized nightlife in touristified Lisbon.

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