3.2. The disneyfication of the neoliberal urban night

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Abstract

The recently expansion and commodification of youth-oriented and tourist-oriented nightlife in Lisbon may be seen as a strategy of a socially and morally sanititation of the urban nightscape of the city center, marginalizing everyone who is seen as *inappropriate*, or in other words, socially *perilous* to the city branding of Lisbon. By focusing on the old historical neighborhood of Bairro Alto in Lisbon (Portugal) and based on a five-year ethnographic fieldwork, this paper explores the Disneyfication of the neoliberal urban night in this central quarter of the city. After a short presentation on the quarter, the text below will show that suc a Disneyficated urban night is featured by simulated joy, happiness and exultation, high level of alcohol and drugs consumption, race, gender and class inequalities, liminality and labor exploitation, hypersecurization of public space and social, moral and political control, and, finally, and heteronormativity and patriarchalism.

Keywords: nightlife, disnyefication, neoliberal city, Lisbon.

1. Introduction

> [The proletariat] must accustom itself to working but three hours a day, reserving the rest of the day and night for leisure and feasting (Paul Lafargue,*1880, Le Droit à la Paresse*).

Concepts such as "the 24-hour open city" or 'the leisure city' highlight not only the importance of the urban night in the revitalization of many post-industrial cities but also the growing nocturnalization of everyday life in Western society. Indeed, nightlife has become a time-space for youth relationships and diversions in opposition to the day, where time is often strongly marked by institutionalized responsibilities (Willis, 1990). The rise of new forms of youthful hedonist consumption during night-time hours have contributed to shape new forms of socialization, a new conception of time, and a new spatialization of social relationships (Straw, 2015). However, urban nightscapes in most European cites remain clearly segmented socially, racially and spatially (May, 2015; Shaw, 2015; among others). This is despite the "nocturnalization of Western life" (Koslofsky, 2011) and the role the night-time economy has played in (re)shapping how tourists, visitors and different segments of local population (especially university students) "experience" the city today (Grazian, 2008). Actually, in some European cities the expansion and commodification of the youth-oriented nightlife in the city center has been acompanied by the strengthening of race, class, ethnic, and labor inequalities, which feature the neoliberal city (Brenner & Theodore, 2005). In this chaper, we will explore the "Disneyfication" (Bryman, 2004) of the neoliberal urban night of the city of Lisbon. By focusing on the case of the old neighborhood of Bairro Alto in Lisbon (Portugal) and its Rua Atalaia Street, this chapter will argue the "Disneyfication" of the neoliberal urban night of Bairro Alto is mainly featured by (simulated) joy, happiness and exultation; high level of alcohol and drugs consumption; race, gender and class inequalities; liminality and labor exploitation; hypersecurization of public space and social, moral and political control; and patriarchal heteronormativity.

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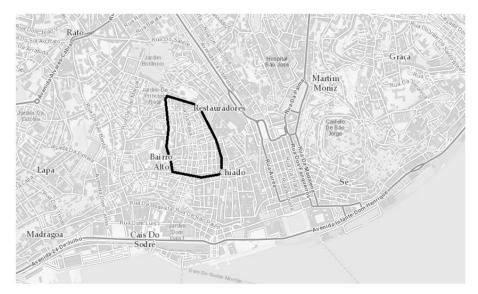
Figure 1: Localization of Bairro Alto neighborhood.
Source: Jordi Nofre © 2015, from Lisboa Interactiva, CML © 2016.

Results presented here are based on a five-year ethnographic work which paid attention to particular nighttime leisure practices of tourists and Erasmus students, who may be considered as "student-tourists" (Lesjak *et al.*, 2015). However, our ethnography much privileged Erasmus students rather than tourists, since the "ephimeral city consumption" of tourists made impossible to carry out an in-depth ethnographic fieldwork based on the following qualitative techniques. Indeed, we carried out five-year ethnographic fieldwork between 1 March 2010 and 21 December 2014. The complexity of the research presented below forced us to employ some methodological eclecticism (Hannerz, 1980, 2003) in order to achieve a comprehensive meta-ethnographic overview (Weed, 2005) to capture the complex combination of actors, practices and institutions that make up the urban night in Bairro Alto. Moreover we took benefit of using floating observation (Pétonnet, 1982), consisting of free as well as inductive exploration of a certain urban space; non-intrusive observation (Webb *et al.*, 2001; Lee, 2000); and "shadowing" (Czarniawska-Joerges, 2007; Bartkowiak-Theron and Sappey, 2012) which is understood as "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 and Sappey, 2012, pp. 7-8). The sum of these qualitative techniques allowed us to identify a total of 57 individuals who were interviewed in situ during our fieldwork.

Last but not least, some short notes on legal and ethical issues concerning this research must be mentioned. Because this research involved observation of individuals (no underage individual was interviewed), personal data collection and processing, we followed the ethical guidelines of social sciences and humanities and research on human subjects, as shown in the European Research Ethics Guidelines, The Code of Ethics from the International Sociological Association, The Ethics Statement of the American Anthropological Association, and the RGS-IBG Code of Practice for the Grants Programme. Once participants were contacted in the field (they were not remunerated for participating in the project), they were informed about the purpose of the research and the funding institution. Key informants' data were recorded in the form of hand-written notes taken in situ. Once they agreed orally to participate in the research, we carried out informal interviews several times during the period of the fieldwork. In some cases, some sensitive personal data regarding participants' ethnicity, their lifestyle, leisure practices, social class, professional situation and their intersections were collected. Transcriptions of hand-written recordings were anonymized and kept

in a separate secure file only accessible to the authors of the text. In order to preserve anonymity, extracts from oral interviews do not appear in this article, only ethnographically-derived syntheses.

2. The study of the neoliberal urban night: A new vibrant research field

Until few decades ago, darkness in the capitalist city has been seen as synonymous of sin, immorality, and crime. Since the early industrial age until the leisure revolution in the 1960s, the history of the urban night in European cities can be read as a compilation of episodes of repressive policing against sordidness, misery, prostitution, moral deviance, ... and proletarian conspiracies (Cunningham 1980). Everyday life practices and conflicts that took place in the industrial city often expressed and reinforced social, political, economic, cultural and moral order, since every activity had its own place and time through the day (Bourdieu, 1980). Therefore, space generated by capitalist processes in the industrial city were profoundly segmented according to its exchange value and technocratic rationality, and urban dayscapes differed from nightscapes (Lefebvre, 1974). Actually, the emergence of leisure in western countries must be thus seen as part of the process of modernization and industrialization of the capitalist city (Burke, 1995; Elias & Dunning, 1987; Marrus, 1974; Veblen, 1973 [1899]), while western middle classes started to progressively have more free time, concentrating their ambitions on leisure. In that sense, nightlife consumption, new sexual expression/experimentation, youth culture and social informality rapidly became emblems of western middle-class values in the 1920s United States of America (Burke, 1995; Cressey, 1932; Erenberg, 1986).

The Second World War meant a progressive rupture between two models of nightlife consumption, the modern (selective) and the late-modern (mass) nightlife. Since the second half of the twentieth century, the emergence of "new" Fordist forms of consumption, the increasing purchasing power of middle classes, the motorization of society and the increasing free time for most of working and middle classes led to the democratization of nightlife in western countries — except for those which were then governed by fascist/Catholic regimes as, for example, Spain and Portugal. However, the case of the expansion of nightlife in British cities after the Second World War became central in the (re)production of youth subcultures in modern Britain in the sixties and seventies (Fowler, 2008). The first authors to explore the class-based segregation of nightlife in British cities came from the CCCS at the University of Birmingham (Frith, 1983; McRobbie, 1984; Stahl, 1976, among others). They established the foundation for later studies on nightlife developed since the mid-1990s (Thornton, 1995).

But interestingly, over the last two decades bibliographic production on nightlife has grown and has been divided into three main areas. One of them focuses on drugs consumption, alcohol consumption and violence as one of the main characteristics in most of western urban nightscapes (Homel & Clark, 1994; Morris; 1998; Allen *et al.*, 2003; Eckersley & Reeder, 2006; Lister *et al.*, 2010; among many others). The second is formed by those works dealing with drunk-driving during/after night-time leisure in the US, UK and Commonwealth countries, especially emphasizing their age-differentiated analysis on the higher occurrence of alcohol-related road accidents involving young people (Simpson *et al.*, 1982; Hedlund, 1994; Keall *et al.*, 2004; Peck *et al.*, 2008; among many otheres). Moreover, many studies on nightlife-related drugs consumption and health problems not only in British cities but also in Eastern and Southern Europe have been published (Calafat & Juan, 2004; Hughes *et al.*, 2008; Tutenges, 2009; among many others). The third main area of contemporary nightlife studies is mainly based on the "spatial approach" to the study of nightlife, emphasizing the close relationship between the strategy of hypersecurization of the neoliberal city and the promotion of a "gentrified nightlife" (Chatterton and Hollands, 2003; Gwiazdinski, 2005, 2009; Williams, 2008; Shaw, 2010, 2015; Hae, 2011; Straw, 2015; among many others).

Today, works on power relations, social exclusion, nightlife regulation and sociocultural significance of the urban night are currently among the most prominent meta-themes explored (Gerbod, 1989; Grazian, 2007; Talbot, 2004, 2011; Boyd, 2008; Mahig, 2008; Williams, 2008; Hadfield *et al.*, 2009; Roberts & Eldridge, 2009; Hae, 2011; Apprill, 2012; Roberts & Townshend, 2013; Søgaard, 2014; Hadfield & Measham, 2015; van Liempt, 2015; Straw, 2015; among others). However, most studies on the urban night are almost exclusively referred to Anglophone contexts. In this sense, some authors have taken the urban night as case study to analyze urban transformations in Anglophone worldwide cities (Chatterton & Hollands, 2003; Robinson, 2009; Boyd, 2010; Farrer, 2011; Farrer & Field, 2015), but far too little attention has been paid to the contribution of the night-time economy to the social, cultural, spatial and economic re-shaping of South European cities. More particulary, although some few scholars have begun to pay some attention to the relevant role of gentrification in promoting current urban transformation in contemporary Lisbon (Rodrigues, 2010; Mendes, 2006, 2011, 2014a, 2014b; Malheiros *et al.*, 2012; Nofre, 2013; Galhardo, 2014; Tulumello, 2016; among others), few studies have investigated how student and tourist-led nightlife promotion are contributing to the urban change in the Portuguese capital (Nofre, 2013; Nofre *et al.*, 2016a). These two works mentioned here, which focuses on the interplay between the urban night and urban change in both Lisbon's Cais do Sodré and Bairro Alto quarters, provide an excellent point of departure for the text below. Nofre and his team LXNIGHTS explore how the recently expansion and commodification of youth-oriented and tourist-oriented nightlife in Lisbon may be seen as a strategy of a socially and morally sanititation of the urban nightscape of the city center, marginalizing everyone who is seen as *inappropriate*, or in other words, socially *perilous* to the city branding of Lisbon. The case of the Bairro neighborhood is of a great interest.

3. Bairro Alto, a nightlife spot

Despite its origins as a residential area for the nobility and clerics in the early fifteenth century (França, 2013), the historical neighborhood of Bairro Alto was almost exclusively inhabited by local lower classes who coexisted with Fado bars, prostitution and the headquarters of some Portuguese newspapers until a few decades ago. Local and national governments formed after the end of the fascist dictatorship in 1974 attempted to address urban poverty and the decaying built-environment in order to prevent the quarter becoming a ghetto, although unsuccessfully. Urban regeneration could not be carried out until mid-1990s, when Bairro Alto experienced a first-wave of gentrification. Luís Mendes (2006) argued that local, young adult, marginal gentrifiers in Bairro Alto "become pioneer gentrifiers presumably attracted to the nonconformist lifestyle as well as by the liberal and tolerant urban environment of city center neighborhoods, refusing conventional suburban normativity" (Mendes, 2006, p. 29). But for Walter Rodrigues (2010) marginal gentrifiers in the historical neighborhoods of Lisbon seemed to feel attracted to their traditional architecture, their genuine people and their tiny groceries and bars.

Actually, the 1997 Urbanization Plan for Bairro Alto and Bica (PUNHAB) favored the substitution of traditional venues and shops for creative activities and night-time industries such as antiques, restaurants, book-stores, art galleries, bars and fashion boutiques (Vale, 2009). This process of commercial gentrification (Kloosterman and Van Der Leun, 1999) transformed Bairro Alto into a cultural cluster (Balula, 2010; Costa, 2013). In parallel, a new residential cohort of marginal gentrifiers were attracted to the quarter since late 1990s, mainly university students and young high-skilled professionals (mostly singles, mono-parental families and non-child couples) with high levels of cultural capital but precarious works. They avoided moving to live in suburban commmunities since they preferred living in a traditional but trendy central quarter such as Bairro Alto by houing in degraded, old buildings for low rental prices (Mendes, 2006). Together with such an early social change in Bairro Alto, new gay-oriented and underground nightlife venues opened in late 1990s by continuing the vivid inertia of the eighties, while violent clashes between punks

and neonazis started to be part of the Bairro Alto urbanscape's together with petty dealers. Such an insecure urbanscape did not discourage middle classes to enjoy the Bairro Alto's nightlife in late 1990s, visiting some alternative venues playing live music, smoking hashish in public and meeting friends in the cheap, tiny, traditional bars. Moreover, the arrival of the Erasmus students to the Bairro Alto quarter in mid-2000s meant a non-planned social and moral sanitiation of the *traditionally* dangerous areas of the quarter (Malet, Nofre & Geraldes, 2016).

Figure 2: Bairro Alto's nightlife.
Source: Jordi Nofre © 2015.

Over these last years, urban change in Bairro Alto is product of a complex, multifaceted interplay between touristification, gentrification, studentification and nightlife (Nofre *et al.*, 2016a). However, the expansion and commodification of youth-oriented and tourist-oriented nightlife in Bairro Alto since the mid-2000s has led to the rise of tension between lifelong residents and nightlife consumers (Filipe, 2012; Ruas, 2014). The case of Rua Atalaia Street is of a special interest. Similarly to Bourbon Street in post-Katrina New Orleans, Rua Atalaia in Bairro Alto has become one of the most crowded urban hotspots for nighttime entertainment in the whole city. In the central section of this street, customers set up a micro-spatial and temporary universe of simulated reality– in Braudillardian terminology– which is (re)produced in a socially, physically degraded but hypersecurized, tourism-led themed playscape (Crivello, 2009).

4. Rua Atalaia, a disneyficated nightscape

During night weekends, in the stretch of street located between Arroz Doce Bar and Spot Bar in Rua Atalaia Street, a (mostly white) intergenerational, interclass crowd of around 2000 people, including local people, Erasmus students, and some tourists drink handheld beer mugs while chatting in a lively way in the middle of the street, often blocking the flow of police cars, taxis, trash trucks, and neighbors' vehicles. Actually, in almost the whole venues of Rua Atalaia Street, beer is (incomprehensibly) much cheaper than water. That is why beer is the most socializing drink in Lisbon's nightlife. If they are Erasmus students, females too drink beer -especially if they come from the Southern European countries, where monthly allowance payment for Erasmus students is much lower than offered in other EU-member countries. The soundscape in this sector of the street is formed by a noisy sum of Brazilian, American commercial, funk, and rock music; hundreds of nightlife customers chatting loudly, crying, singing; dozens of taxis and private cars honking the horn because they are blocked by the crowd standing up in the middle of the street; the trash truck

working until 2 a.m....Noisy and nasty nightlife, drug dealing, cheap alcohol, alcohol-fueled girls and tons of garbage at the feet of nineteenth-century buildings shape this themed nighttime mega-playscape (Crivello, 2009) where thousands of tourists, young and adult-young locals and Erasmus students drink in order to socialize by sharing time, space and experiences with their peers in a nightlife urban spot.

In Rua Atalaia's nights, all that is not permitted in the European Nordic cities during nighttime hours is welcome in this nightlife area of the city of Lisbon, especially in Rua Atalaia Street, where the concentration of bars and dancing bars shape a kind of de-territorialized New Orlean's Bourbon Street. Indeed, Rua Atalaia Street has become one of the most crowded urban hot spot for nighttime diversion in the whole Lisbon. In Rua Atalaia Street, the urban night is transformed into a *crazy night,* that is, an illusionist evasion from the real world (Nofre, 2016a). Clients set up a micro-spatial and temporary universe of simulated reality– in Baudrillardian terminology– which is (re)produced in a socially, physically degraded but hypersecurized, tourism-led themed playscape (Crivello 2009). Actually, in Rua Atalaia Street links between control, safety and youthful hedonist consumption shape a riskless nightlife area, or in other words, a socially, morally and politically sanitized urban nightscape (Nofre, 2013). Interestingly, our definition of "Disneyfication of the neoliberal urban night" goes beyond Alan Bryman's (2004) definition of Disneyzation, who considers that this term refers to "the process by which the principles of the Disney theme parks are coming to dominate more and more sectors of American society as well as the rest of the world" (Bryman, 2004, p.1).

First, Disneyficated neoliberal urban night provides the consumer a security that contrasts with the perception of the rest of the city as a risky nighttime urbanscape. As Alan Bryman suggests, "consumption is at the heart of Disneyzation and as such issues to do with control and surveillance are intimately connected to maximizing the visitor/consuming ability and inclination to consume goods and services" (Bryman, 2004, p.149). Bryman also adds that "surveillance is a marked feature of such tourist enclaves so that the perceived threats of the wider city can be kept at bay and affluent tourists and locals can be enticed back into cities for shopping, restaurants and other leisure activities" (Bryman, 2004, p.146). In Bairro Alto, a total of 27 CCMTV cameras, dozens of uniformed police agents, others dozens of secret police agents, and venues' *bouncers* reinforce social and moral control over the clients, especially over the "unwilled". Punks, squatters, gypsies, and young local blacks from working-class suburbs are invited to not to stay drinking, chatting or smoking in the premises of venues, apart that they are not permitted to entry in the venues as previously commented. In fact, the *hyper-securization of the urban space* is crucial in developing the politics of playscape (Hannigan, 1998), what Adrian Drummond-Cole and Darwin Bond-Graham (2012) in the case of Oakland results of a great interest if it is compared to the Bairro Alto neighborhood. Drummond-Cole and Bond-Graham notes the Disnyefication of an urban space hinges on an intensive gentrification effort in which undesirable categories of persons (e.g., youth of color, activists, the poor, houseless persons, among others) and activities associated with them are removed. In our case, we suggest that the Disneyficated neoliberal urban night in Bairro Alto is quite more complex, encompassing a multifaceted set of social, spatial and economical issues.

Second, an exorbitant noise coming from live music bars and dancing bars invades public space, fostering alcohol-fueled to show hyperreal jubilation by chatting, drinking and trying to hook up with someone. *Simulated joy, happiness and exultation* aims at expressing modes of existence other than that of the oppressive routinization of work, evoking joy and stimulating the out-of-the ordinary (Lefebevre, 1974). Here one drink just to escape from their harsh individual circumstances. Still others hope for an unforgettable night... if they are not affected by *race and class inequalities.* Because of many venues in Bairro Alto target tourists and/or locals with high purchasing power (Nofre *et al.*, 2016), the right of admission is converted into a very efficient mechanism of (racist) social sanitization of the urban nightscape. Actually, entrance is usually free at any dancing bar in Lisbon, but sometimes depends on how the article 14.2 of the Act 234/2007 of 19 June approved by the Portuguese Republic Assembly is executed. According to its article 14.1., there is no fee

entrance to come in dancing bars. However, the application of the admission is restricted (article 14.2) whether the venue's security staff considers that some customer may likely disturb the "normal order of the venue". According to the established legal terms, the normal order is disrupted if the customer does not express his/her intention to consume, expresses will of violating the law and/or the venue's code of conduct or he/she entries in restricted areas such as the venue's storage room. However, there is another "implicit" article regarding the admission carried out by the venues' security staff. Certain social actors of the Bairro Alto nightlife are considered *perilous* because of their color of the skin and their appearance of not having high purchasing power. Even though the presence of young Roma, Afro-Portuguese and Afro-Brazilian in the Bairro Alto during night-time leisure activities is scarce if they want to enter in some venues they must accomplish one of the two main access conditions that are actually not required to others (here including phenotypically black tourists). In this case, a black tourist must demonstrate economic solvency in a very clear way (that is, through his/her dress style, paying an entrance ticket), and showing sobriety. Faced with such mechanism of social and class exclusion, young and young adult Afro-Portuguese and Afro-Brazilian individuals tend to (re)produce their own mechanisms of socio-spatial segregation in "their venues". The Sem Nom Bar (132 Rua Diário das Notícias Street) is a venue that offers an alternative night, different from the "Portuguese white student" night which dominates the Bairro's Alto nightscape (Nofre *et al.*, forthcoming). The Sem Nom Bar thus becomes a place for (re)producing gendered mechanisms of community purity (Sennett, 1970). Actually, using the term "gendered mechanisms of community purity" would not be risky: (white) male individuals are not welcomed in the Sem Nom Bar. However, females are always welcomed there. Other dancing bars such as Club Carib (78 Rua Atalaia Street) are also a meeting point for some young and young adult Afro-Portuguese and Afro-Brazilians. Those who are admitted by the security staff, finally come in the venue are in most cases usual customers. But some of them must display some "rituals of aggregation" (Van Gennep, 2010). They allow to legitimize and normalize their presence because some tourists and white locals often see them as "perilous agents" (Nofre *et al.*, 2016b).

Third, the urban night in Bairro Alto is also featured by *liminality.* Illegal activities (small drug dealing and male/female prostitution) become temporally "tolerated" by police and local administration. Despite the urban night in Bairro Alto is highly featured by the significant presence of tourists and Erasmus students in many parts of the quarter, some of them make contact with young adult black African, Afro-Portuguese or small-time gypsy drug-dealers to be found not only in marginal positions of the Erasmus Corner but at many street crossings in the whole quarter. Some dealers operate at the end of Rua Atalaia, where it turns left, thus forming a corner. It may be seen as a night-time loophole partly tolerated by police, by the logic that drug dealing is removed from the real center where only adult and/or elderly upper-middle class tourists go to have a caipirinha and enjoy live Brazilian music coming from some venues in Rua Atalaia. Actually, some observational fieldwork and informal interviews carried out with the boss of the three petty dealers acting in Rua Atalalia seems to confirm that it indeed exists an implicit agreement established between dealers and police: They must be discreet and do not provoke neither major, nor minor public disturbs. They offer badly-cut cocaine, hashish and marihuana which are stored in private houses in the Bairro Alto itself, which the police cannot enter without having the court order. Actually, where Rua Atalalia Street forms a corner it is where petty drug dealing is held every night. It may be seen as a night-time loophole partly tolerated by police, by the logic that drug dealing is far away from the area where adult and/or elder upper-middle class tourists are dinning Portuguese cuisine with Fado music and enjoying a riskless night in a *vintage neigborhood.*

Fourth, the Bairro Alto's night is highly marked by *labor exploitation.* In many nightlife venues in Bairro Alto, while a young girl (or boy, in less frequency) promotes the bar by picking clients in the street and offerring them free shots and cheep caipirinhas, mojito, or beers, other(s) are working as bar tenders, DJs, or playing live music. In many cases, they are informal workers, with no contract. Interestingly, some Erasmus students also work in such precarious conditions since

they need an extra montly money in order to pay their house rent (they are usually girls...). Moreover, the recent expansion of tourist-oriented and youth-oriented nightlife in Bairro Alto (including a significant increasing of nightlife-derived profits) have not involved the improvement of labor conditions for most nightlife workers. Night-time economy in Bairro Alto continue to show profound inequalities regarding owner's profits and worker's wages. In parallel, dozens of adult-young black Africans work as street vendors. Many of them are not living permanently in Lisbon but travelling around South Europe by following seasonal jobs mainly related to agriculture. For many of them, the objective is to accumulate and send money to their families in Senegal in order to be able to facilitate the access to school and university for their children.

Finally, *heteronormativity and patriarchalism* continue to be present in the Bairro Alto's nightlife. The urban night in 1980's in Bairro Alto became a time-space of liberation for local LGTBQ individuals (Ribeiro, 1982) after decades of fascist opression and repression. However, the recent commodification of the urban night has marginalized the contested, bohemian atmosphere that was a feature of Bairro Alto at night in the seventies and eighties. Today, although the Portuguese capital is worldly sold as the best gay nightlife in Europe, observational fieldwork allows to state that homophobia is especially significant among local population — some derogatory comment can be heard when an effeminate young boy or male pass by the street. Actually, the Portuguese society is still today profoundly heternormative and patriarchal (Costa and Davies, 2012), Hence queer individuals are still seen as decorative, exotic of the heteronormative and patriarchal disneyficated neoliberal urban night.

5. Final remarks

This paper has shed light on the "Disneyfication" of the urban night in the historical neighborhood of Bairro Alto in Lisbon by focusing on a specific setting, Rua Atalaia Street. The use of the term Disneyfication in exploring the urban neoliberal night has had the objective to provoke debate among readers. Darkness provides various opportunities for simulated transgressions — in Braudillardian terminology — which are always delimited by the social, cultural, economic and political order of the neoliberal city. In this sense, Rua Atalaia Street in Bairro Alto (Lisbon) might be seen as a simulated transgressive space-time of leisure that also expresses modes of existence other than that of the oppressive routinization of work, evoking joy and stimulate the out-of-the ordinary (Lefebvre as cited in Williams, 2008, p. 520). In the disneyficated urban night, the "what to do", "what to drink" and how to behave is strictly delimited. Moreover, social codes in the disneyficated urban night are mainly defined by a) do not challenging social, political order of the neoliberal city, and b) allowing the individual to feel as part of the community by celebrating happiness, joy and success in life (although in a simulated way). However, happiness and joy can hide despair, anguish, and a desire for a emancipatory potential for young precariat working in the disneyficated urban night. In the bars and dancing bars of Rua Atalaia Street, labor exploitation is aesthetically removed, while the carnavalization of the "otherness" becomes part of the scenario of the nighttime Rua Atalaia Street. As Alan Bryman (2004) argues, Disnyefication thus hinges on an intensive gentrification effort in which undesirable categories of persons and activities associated with them are removed. Heteronormativity, patriarchalism, and social, moral, racial and political sanitation reinforce of the organizational ethos of the disneyficated neoliberal urban night.

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