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9. HERITAGE, URBAN CULTURES, URBAN DESIGN

Nightsapes: from the urban design to the urban cultures

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ABSTRACT

Research of spatial practices related to urban design tends to be concentrate on processes and events during day time; the urban design and spatial practices at night has been marginalized and underexposed in geographical studies. With this paper we pretend to discuss how the urban design could promote new opportunities of development in some areas of the cities at the night and create new forms of urban cultures. The central question is how urban design can stimulate the use of the space at night and play a determinant role on the social construction of nightsapes and new urban cultures?

We start with some examples of Lisbon where urban design has been an opportunity to develop new economic activities and to stimulate the old economy with new forms of consumption, attracting residents from other parts of the city and tourists, particularly at night. In these areas the pedestrian movements are very important and give life at street level. The night landscape is very different from the day landscape. There are two cityscapes and the nightscape is more vibrant, full of life. The old quarters, with cozy streets, and the traditional viewpoints have a key role in these dynamics.

At the same time, in Lisbon, we have some developments of night life in restrict places, like old factories or port installations, with impact on the economic developments of these areas, but with little effects on people movement in the streets. Travel with car is more important and the existence of places to park is strategic to the success. In some cases the heritage has an important role in the selection of the places and the revitalization of old urban areas.

The work of a research project about the night in Portugal (*Night: Opportunities and Innovation in the Territory* PTDC/GEO/64240/2006) demonstrate in the case of Lisbon that the night-time economy and the processes of production, reproduction and consumption have create new opportunities to some areas and have transformed the urban nights in practices and discourses, creating a new urban cultures.

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1. Urban nights a lost and unexplored space-time in literature

Research of spatial practices related to urban design tends to be concentrate on processes and events during day time; the urban design and spatial practices at night has been marginalized and underexposed in social studies, in general, and in geographic studies, in special.

The night has been a neglected dimension of urban life but has already led to remarkable works such as Anne Cauquelin (1977) *La ville la nuit*, Luc Bureau (1997) *Géographie de la nuit*, Luc Gwiazdzinski *La ville 24 heures sur 24 heures* (2003) and *La nuit la dernière frontière de la ville* (2005), which contributed to a multidisciplinary approach of this space-time. Generally in the literature originating in the countries of Francophile tradition, the night is seen as a territory to discover, with a character closely related to the arts and creativity.

On the other hand in the United Kingdom scientific literature, the night economy is limited almost exclusively to trade in alcohol, sex, drugs and gambling. The regeneration of many of the cities centers, that had lost vitality with the end of the economic model based on manufacturing industry, is often based on investments that promoted the growth of economic activities related to the consumption at night (O'Connor 1997, Helms 2008). According Marion Roberts (2009) the UK planning system was constrained by a neo-liberalist insistence on land-use planning in the 1980s and early 1990s, thereby providing the institutional framework for deregulation of the numbers, capacities and types of licensed premises in town and city centers. This had a direct impact on crime level, violence and anti-social behavior. Criminologists have criticized planners for their complicity in this process, but Roberts argues that entertainment uses have been marginal to the social and ecological preoccupations of the planning.

In the literature on urban design are few references about the night and only recently appeared some works thinking about the issues of the city at night.

The works of Elizabeth McDonald and Michael Larice (2006) *The Urban Design Reader* and Matthew Carmona and Steven Tiesdell (2007) *Urban Design Reader* contain an anthological selection of classic and contemporary texts, concerning various aspects of urban design, but no one spoke about the urban night. With contributions from Howard, Le Corbusier, Lynch, Jacobs, Hiller, Koolhaas and Sorkin these works provide perhaps the most important historical material of the urban design, from the foundations of the urban design to the alternative agendas focused on lively places, strategies for reinforcing local physical identity and the creation of memorable places. These books provide essays about sprawl, density, community health, public space, everyday life, sustainability and urban resiliency. Never in any of these texts occurs a discussion or a reflection about the necessity of thinking in urban design for a city that can have life 24 over 24 hours, the need of a good urban design to support cities lived continuously, day and night. Urban design as a form of place making has become an increasingly

significant area of academic studies, of public policy and professional practice, but without consider the space time night it is not possible to implement a complete work.

The books edited by Alexander R. Cuthbert (2007) *Designing Cities: Critical Readings in Urban Design* includes essays by Manuel Castells, David Harvey, Christian Norberg-Schultz, Peter Marcuse and others. The organization of this work promotes a particular theoretical paradigm, suggesting that urban design is best viewed as a branch of spatial political economy. The material is assembled in categories with an associated guiding question for each. The categories are: theory, history, philosophy, politics, culture, gender, environment, aesthetics, typologies and pragmatics. For example the questions: philosophy - what systems of meanings informs the urban process? politics – what value systems and compromises are involved in the design of the cities?;, culture – how do society and culture give rise to urban form?. Also here the night is never a matter of discussion, even when considering the case of Las Vegas (Chaplin, 2007). The analysis of Las Vegas design urban are related to the development of urban entertainment centers, where consumption is the new production, and where “cultures industries” replace manufacturing and the tourism market are the objective. Despite everything that is described, including the series of shows that make Las Vegas a collective spectacle, is more relevant at night, the fact is that the analysis don't refer any difference in how we live day or night in Las Vegas Strip. It would be interesting to discuss why space inside casinos is designed with the absence of natural light. The objective is to make to believe that it is always night? If the city is conceived like a theme park (“safe, clean, predictable yet diverting” (Chaplin, 2007: 349)), casinos contain the greatest illusion, eternal night, which only ends when we want.

Starting from the idea that the “personality of the city's night became the detonator of its attractiveness in the context of international competition between cities” Marc Armengaude, Matthias Armengaude and Alessandra Cianchetta (2009) *Nightscaapes*. show how the night redefines the framework of thought and action in the realm of the imaginary of territorial planning and the practice of urban design. The aim of the authors is to arrive at contemporary urbanism based on perceptual experience. In the first part Marc Armengaude reflect about the originality and value of the experience of nocturnal landscape for thought and creativity, the nightscape as an experience, a symbol and representation. In the second part Matthias Armengaude define infrastructures as the nocturnal landscape's real scale and strategy. The infrastructural nature of the night because only the night as revealing the scale of the territorial network. In the third part Alessandra Cianchetta presents some examples of nocturnal architecture and landscape: urban lighting projects, architectures in the night and temporary nocturnal cities. To these authors space, scales, speeds and time are dimensions with different magnitudes on day or at the night. At night the city is still very soft, vulnerable, most spaces are not planned to be used. We need to invest, plan, imagine, relocate, revitalizing or simply leave sleep. As an

element ephemeral night calls of different interventions of the day, more light, playful and dreamy.

2. Methodology

The main sources of information were surveys to 1) people in public spaces of the most important areas of night life in Lisbon, and 2) people, in general, in several areas of the country and 3) 25% of municipalities of Portugal (from the research project *Night: Opportunities and Innovation in the Territory* - PTDC/GEO/64240/2006). We surveyed people to see how they perceived the places where they stay at the night. We surveyed municipalities to understand the role of local power on planning the territory at the night.

Another main source of information is the direct observation. Many hours walking and watching how people use the streets, plazas and the best view points of the city. Many hours filming and photographing them, analysing films, photos and data, and quantifying what we observe about people using public spaces in order to specify principles for good practices.

Secondary information sources were consulted, including academic, professional and the popular press. Websites were also explored. The late night economy in Lisbon was examined by interviews with police, council and employees in the late night economy.

3. Urban nights a lost and unexplored space-time in planning

In Portugal almost all of the municipalities don't have figures in planning related to the night. A survey to the local planning authorities in Portugal, found no planning actions related to land use dedicated specifically to the period of the night (source: surveys to municipalities - *Night: Opportunities and Innovation in the Territory* PTDC/GEO/64240/2006).

Some decisions can occur when some conflicts happen, like the hour of closing the night activities or restrictions on the location of economic activities that produce noise at night. In some cases there is a ghettoization policy of economic or cultural activities with a higher incidence during the night, removing them from residential areas, and locating them in more peripheral areas. Sometimes in areas whose economic activities have declined, as former industrial or storage sites.

Even in the field of public lighting only in very specific cases there have been light-plans for restricted areas. The first action in lighting planning has occurred for over 20 years and has covered the historic center of a city classified by UNESCO World Heritage (Évora). Process of this dimension was not repeated in other cities. The normal is the development of projects for small areas.



1. Planning related to the space-time night by type of municipality

	Rural Areas	Middle Towns	Metropolitan áreas
Noise	-	X	XX
Electronic surveillance	-	-	X
Lighting	-	X	XX
Nightlife	X	XX	XXX
Land use	-	-	X
Activities night schedules	-	-	X

Source: Surveys to municipalities 2008-2010 from the project *Night: Opportunities and Innovation in the Territory* (PTDC/GEO/64240/2006)

In recent years the municipalities of the largest cities (Lisbon and Oporto) decided to install electronic surveillance in areas with more leisure at night. Although still very few municipalities reveal concerns about issues related to space-time night, these are more evident in areas with higher population density or metropolitan areas (Table 1).

In the same survey all municipalities have said that make annual investments in cultural activities, entertainment and leisure with particular importance of which occur at night. In some cases they are regular activities in municipal facilities such as theaters, in others there is a concentration of activities in the summer or at the time of the annual municipal festivities. The support for the nightlife often occurs by the incentives to local associations that produce annual traditional festivals. A survey of residents in different regions of Portugal show that regardless of age, education level, type of work or place of residence all people surveyed said they go out at night for leisure at least several times a year (Table 2). The frequency with which people go out at night for leisure increases with the level of urbanization.

2. Reasons to go out at night by type of local of residence

(%)	Rural Areas	Middle Towns	Suburban Metropolitan áreas	Lisbon
Work	10	19	28	12
Family	15	31	35	22
Leisure	100	100	100	100
Shopping	5	56	87	25

Source: Surveys to persons 2008-2011 from the project *Night: Opportunities and Innovation in the Territory* (PTDC/GEO/64240/2006)

In the document that founded the National Policy Planning (Programa Nacional da Política de Ordenamento do Território - www.territorioportugal.pt/pnpot/) there is no single reference to the space-time night. The National Policy Planning is the instrument of territorial development of a strategic nature that sets out the main options of relevance to the organization of the national territory, constitutes the reference framework to consider the elaboration of other instruments of territorial management.

The night, though, has still remained an unknown space-time, a kind of unexplored territory, where politicians and scientists have made little investment. The blackout and the dark appear frequently associates to the absence of life, the time in suspended, when nothing can be done. But the social changes and techniques of the last decades had taken significant alterations in the way as we live the night. The activities that we associated with the day are each time more present in the night. The night already does not correspond to a suspension of the time. The number of people who study, work or play in public places at night continues to grow.

4. Urban design, opportunities of development and the social construction of nightscapes

With this paper we want discuss how the urban design could promote new development opportunities in some cities areas at night and create new forms of urban cultures. The central question is how urban design can stimulate the use of the space at night and play a determinant role on the social construction of nightscapes and new urban cultures?

The work of a research project about the night in Portugal (*Night: Opportunities and Innovation in the Territory* PTDC/GEO/64240/2006) demonstrate in the case of Lisbon that the night-time economy and the production processes, reproduction and consumption have create new opportunities to some areas and have transform the urban nights in practices and discourses, creating a new urban cultures. The urban design of this areas are or not a crucial role in this process?

In Lisbon the areas with more life at the night are filled with persons who come from outside the municipality. The aging process of resident population of Lisbon is very intense. In 2011 the resident population aged 65 and over reached 25% in Lisbon (the national average was 19%). The resident population aged between 15 and 24 years did not amount to 9% of the total (the national average was 11%). So Lisbon by night welcomes people that during the day don't have place in the town, because they don't have conditions to work or to live there.

According to a survey² conducted in several locations (Fig. 1) of the night in Lisbon the majority of the respondents resided outside the city of Lisbon (Table 3). However this was the place of work or study for 57% of the respondents and the municipality first chosen for the night leisure (75%). The fact that over 40% of respondents are studying in higher education justifies the relevance of Lisbon as place of study. The municipality of Lisbon concentrated almost all institutions of higher education in the Metropolitan Area of Lisbon.

3. Lisbon night: places of residence, work, study and leisure

	%	Lisbon	Others in MAL	Others out MAL
Municipalities of residence		27,3	62,1	10,6
Municipalities of workplace or study		56,6	36,4	7,1
1 st municipality for leisure at night		74,6	23,3	2,0

Source: Surveys to persons 2010 from the project *Night: Opportunities and Innovation in the Territory* (PTDC/GEO/64240/2006)

When asked about the reasons for the choice of the places to go out at the night we find the main reason was “a very lively night” (72% of the responses) immediately followed by a “high probability of finding friends” (68% of the responses). Safety or proximity to the place of residence had no significance (less than 12% of the responses).

The level of lively of the night depends of several aspects, but the most frequently mentioned were being freely in public, drinking, smoking, walking or talking (78%). The existence of bars and clubs is important but not decisive (39%). The existence of restaurants is even less relevant (32%). The existence of specialized commerce that keeps open late is not a factor of attraction for these respondents (15%). The proximity of spaces such as theaters and art galleries also has no significant impact on the decision to choose this or that place at night (10%). But the existence of certain indoor concerts was very relevant to the presence of these persons (57%). The conditions for "stay" in public spaces are the most important aspects for the choice of places to go out at night.

And what are these conditions: streets with low traffic or completely closed to traffic; streets where are ease and secure walking; good accessibility by public transport or in parking facilities; spaces integrated into traditional neighborhoods where the housing function continues to be relevant and where some more traditional outlets sell at reduced prices, drinks and food until hours later; the existence of pubs or

² Survey of 180 randomly chosen people in different places of the night in Lisbon: Bairro Alto; Santos; Santa Catarina and S. Pedro de Alcântara.

restaurants, but also clothing, personal services with hours that extend into the night and give to these neighborhoods the air of spaces with life.

Figure 1- Main area of the night in Lisbon



A - S. Pedro de Alcântara (viewpoint and public garden)

B - Camões / Chiado

C - Santa Catarina (viewpoint and public garden)

↔ Main lines of pedestrian circulation

→ Others places and directions of the night

The physical characteristics of the spaces can improve the success of the night life. Bairro Alto (Fig. 1) is the case with more longevity and success on the night of Lisbon. It is a traditional neighborhood in the old city center. The resident population is elderly, but has been rejuvenated with the rental homes to foreign students and the development of luxury real estate projects. Bairro Alto has narrow streets with significant slope in some cases. The undulating shape and the more or less straight perpendicular paths contribute to a sense of territorial control that helps to circulate in the busiest nights. In the interviews are often referred

expressions like "we can see the confusion and cut to other way" or "when BA is full, we can always go out and avoid confusion". The narrow streets closed to non-residents traffic, become welcoming to visitors. From Thursday to Saturday thousands of visitors arrive to this area at the night.

Bica (Fig. 1) was an extension of Bairro Alto, but in this moment have a specific life with the presence of lot artists. This area is focused on one of the steepest streets in Lisbon. In this street during the day is one of the traditional lifts, but at the evening is filled with people run way from the excesses of the Bairro Alto. The excitement of the night results from the combination of bars that have opened recently and old associations and local communities. Once again the absence of traffic, the integration into traditional neighborhoods and the renovation with new functions (bars, restaurants and art galleries) are very important to the dynamics of the night life in this area.

The success of spaces like the gardens and viewpoints of Santa Catarina or S. Pedro de Alcântara (fig. 1) is due to the fact that they are close to Bairro Alto. They are large public gardens, with facilities such as cafes and street furniture like tables and places for people stay seated. In general they are the places where the night ends. After Friday or Saturday nights, the cleaning services of the municipality collect hundreds of empty bottles in these spaces.

The Cais do Sodré (Fig 1) near the Tagus River keeps more marginal activities particularly related to the practice of street prostitution. Because of this the commercial prices are lower than in other areas around. What has been stimulating to the location of successful activities that integrate, renew and create new dynamics in the area. Thus we find the theater company Casa Conveniente (House Convenient <http://casaconveniente.pt/>), Music Box one of the most innovative music place in Lisbon (<http://www.musicboxlisboa.com/>), and new spaces of a bar which share the street with the old activities.

The success of these night areas can be related to an urban design sensitive to human needs: cozy streets are comfortable even in the winter; physical format make the space functional; a strong relationship between art, culture and leisure; an economic dynamics associated to the food and drink; ease access to transportation systems. The fact of local resident use the space creates more sociable places. The presence of historical and traditional elements, the human scale development or the design of built environment may not determine human behavior but can have powerful, positive influences on human beings (Armengaude, Armengaude and Cianchetta, 2009).

The bibliography of other cases (Helms, 2008; Roberts, 2009; Talbot, 2007) show very negative positions and criticize how badly the built environment fits human needs ugly, impersonal, dirty, dangerous, dysfunctional, race and gender segregate areas dominate many cities nights today. On the contrary the spaces of the night in Lisbon are felt by thousands of users as spaces that belong to them. Despite

the poor hygiene, some conflicts due to noise and disrespect, problems with excessive drinking, that can disturb the peace of the residents and visitors, the night of Lisbon can be classified as peaceful. [In the survey in Lisbon night sites we asked how often have watched situations of disrespect. The dominant response has been not frequent, less than 10% of times.] The older residents have the presence of visitors as something that does not disturb their lives and have become accustomed to their presence. In some cases, may even be to ensure more revenue with the renewal of commercial space and the extension of the traditional trading hours.

The pedestrian friendly streets, the permanence of historic buildings, the presence of residents in public space and the revitalizing economy create spaces that tell to “outsiders” they are welcome and they feel as at home. Urban design has been an opportunity to develop new economic activities and to stimulate the old economy with new forms of consumption, attracting residents from other parts of the city and tourists, particularly at night. In these areas the pedestrian movements are very important and give life at the level of the street. The landscape of nights is very different from the landscape of days. There are two cityscapes and the nightscape is more vibrant, full of life. The old quarters, with cozy streets, and the traditional viewpoints has had a key role in these dynamics.

4. The nightscapes and new urban cultures

The culture of the night in Lisbon in the old neighborhoods of the city center is closely linked to life in public space, walking between the different locations, close but also distant. The night usually starts in the Luis de Camões Square in Chiado (fig.1). The proximity to public transport is very important. This plaza serves as the gateway to the Bairro Alto, is the place of reunion to start the night.

Walk through the streets of the Bairro Alto is a ritual. Rather than stopping at a bar is important to move and find more friends. Access to food and drink is not exclusive of modern spaces, the traditional commerce has adapted to the night life time and ambulant vendors provide goods at lower prices. With the economic crisis there are many who eat and drink at home before leaving, or purchase goods and bring them.

The race and gender segregation is more present inside restaurants and pubs. There are bars and restaurants with more clients from some community, but that does not make the public space more segregated for those who do not belong to these groups. When we ask on the survey if there are spaces from specific communities in Bairro Alto the answer is always: yes. When we asked if this creates limitations to the movements the answer is always: no.

Noise, litter, graffiti, fly-posting, alcohol, drugs and drug dealing are problems present in Bairro Alto, but they don't have sufficient importance to create an anti-social behavior. When confusion begins, for disrespect or simply because there are too many people, the tendency is to go out and search a place more calm like S.

Pedro de Alcântara and Santa Catarina. When economic activities close at 2 am or 3 am (Friday and Saturday), people move to other places or try the discos and bares near the river, either in the direction of Santos, Alcântara, Docas de Santo Amaro or Santa Apolónia (Fig. 1).

Outside the old districts in the city center night life in Lisbon comes in a strip along the banks of the Tagus River where the activities take advantage of the availability of space and because they are outside the constraints of the residential areas. The closing times are later and larger parking facilities are more accessible. In some cases there are located in new buildings, but others take advantage of old storage facilities linked to port activities. The night life is more important inside, but some spaces are developed in plane air or with view to the river.

Braço de Prata and Lx Factory are two of the most relevant places of the cultural live in Lisbon with a significant innovation in the night activities. These two spaces have in common: the fact of occupied former factories, become localized at points where accessibility is very dependent on private transport and a strong association between arts, culture and entertainment.

Braço de Prata exists because the financial crisis has failed the development of Renzo Piano project for the area. Braço de Prata is one of the main centers of cultural life in Lisbon, presenting every day performances, conferences, forums and debates, cinema, art fairs or expositions. A bookshop and a restaurant create some dynamic all the day, but the night is the most important moment (<http://bracodeprata.net/>).

In the case of Lx Factory the space was originally abandoned (<http://www.lxfactory.com>). The company that own the buildings is waiting for the council's decision about the zoning plan of Alcântara area and decide to go ahead with the Lx factory project. Attracted by rents of 6 to 12 euros per square metre, about 80 companies (design, architecture, restaurants, advertising, mode, arts, performance, music, technologies, marketing, communication, leisure...) have occupied almost all the available space.

One of the main attractions of Lx Factory is a bookstore - Ler Devagar (Read Slowly) - with more than one hundred and fifty thousand books, is installed in the room of an old rotary that have printed the main newspapers in Portugal. It was considered one of the most beautiful bookstores in the world. With a permanent cultural program and a small space to eat and drink is a great mark of Lisbon nights (www.lerdevagar.com).

In the weekend we can see in Lx Factory parties with thousands people into the vast empty space in the main building of the old factory. Other innovation in Lx Factory is the Open Day event, with live music, film, food, art fairs, expositions and DJ until late. In the Open Day event visitors can enter in all the spaces and know what is happening there. From the start the occupation of Lx Factory was provisional, but that's a part of the project, the main asset of this project is the ability to use creativity

to produce spaces suited to activities with low levels of investment taking advantage of the environment.

These projects have stimulated the development of new economic activities and renovation of older ones in areas where they are located. The developments of night life have impact on developments of these areas but with little effects on people movement in the streets. Travel with car is more important and the existence of places to park is strategic to the success.

The industrial heritage has an important role in the selection of the places and the revitalization of old urban areas. These places are very important to the development of tourism and cultural events in Lisbon night. Particularly in a context of resident population reduction in the city centre the development of these leisure clusters creates conditions to attract both people and new economic and cultural activities.

When we asked about what persons associated to the night, the answers more frequent are: bohemian, party, fun, mystery, dream, freedom, creativity, rest and sleep (more than 60% of the answers). Almost no one associated the night to responsibilities, work or study (less than 10%). Drinking, drugs, violence and insecurity are associated to the night for who don't have frequently night life. On the survey to people in the night street of Lisbon these items have less than 20% of the answers with association to the night.

5. Conclusions

In the dynamic of Lisbon nightlife we found a very strong tendency to use public spaces as living spaces, meeting, socializing, shared by residents and nonresidents. The law which prevents smoke indoor stimulated the development of outdoor terraces. Also traditional close spaces like restaurants and bars tend to open themselves occupying spaces in the street for their clients.

In the neighborhoods of the historic center with narrow streets and no traffic make the stay in public spaces safe and cozy. The thousands of visitors who circulate in the Bairro Alto, Bica and Cais do Sodre feel safe and are not felt by residents as threats. Despite the trash, noise and confusion in some places there are always "islands" of peace that are used as alternatives.

On the banks of the Tagus the night spaces are design to live the life inside. But this inside is relative, the development of the spaces take advantage of the quality of the climate, mild all the year, and the quality of the landscape, and have generous areas at open air. Here more than the urban design is the natural characteristics and the proximity of the river that contribute to the quality of night life. The music program could have some influence on the attraction of clients, but the quality of the places could be sufficient.

Other important aspect of the night life in Lisbon is the strong association between arts, culture and entertainment. Live music is present in many spaces of the night. Cultural events like art exhibitions, concerts and street entertainment are also very common.

The nightscapes in Lisbon is associated to the possibility of chose, be free, be alive, with friends in the street. The urban design can stimulate the life in the streets with news forms of consumption, attracting residents from other parts of the city and tourists. The old quarters, with cozy streets, and the traditional viewpoints has had a key role in these dynamics.

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