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Urban Planning Stakeholders on Nocturnal Lighting in the City of Montreal

Les acteurs de la planification urbaine et l'éclairage de la ville de Montréal la nuit

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Abstract. Lighting has become an important tool for cities as they compete to market their territories. The evolution of lighting strategies responds to a progressive change in the way professionals engage with the design aspect of nocturnal urban spaces. But, what are the main objectives behind these new approaches and interventions? How do stakeholders consider night-time and how do their representations structure the urban landscape? In order to better understand the organization of the city at night, this paper will explore the representations of landscapes from a sociocultural perspective. Using the example of Montreal, Canada, a city that is particularly representative of trends in scripting the urban experience, this research discloses a process of adding value to central spaces while neglecting ordinary landscapes. In this regard, this study reveals the tensions between illuminated and dark spaces, contributing to a better understanding of the relationship that Western society has with darkness while also unveiling the spatial hierarchy between the different areas of the city.

Keywords: lighting, landscape, night, planning, stakeholders.

Résumé. Dans un contexte de concurrence entre les villes et de développement du marketing territorial, l'éclairage est devenu un outil important pour les villes. L'évolution des stratégies d'éclairage démontre le changement progressif de la relation que les professionnels entretiennent avec les espaces urbains la nuit. Mais quels sont les objectifs principaux de ces nouvelles approches et interventions ? Comment les acteurs envisagent-ils la nuit et comment ces représentations structurent-elles le paysage urbain ? Pour mieux comprendre l'organisation de la ville la nuit, cet article explore les représentations des professionnels et experts à partir d'une approche socioculturelle du paysage. Reprenant l'exemple de Montréal, une ville particulièrement représentative des tendances en matière de scénarisation de l'expérience urbaine, cette recherche met à jour un processus qui ajoute essentiellement de la valeur aux espaces centraux et néglige les paysages ordinaires. À cet égard, cette étude révèle les tensions entre les espaces sombres et éclairés ; elle contribue à une meilleure compréhension de la relation que la société occidentale entretient avec l'obscurité et permet, ce faisant, de mettre au jour la hiérarchie spatiale entre les différents secteurs de la ville.

Mots-clés: éclairage, paysage, nuit, urbanisme, acteurs.

1. How do we view the city at night?

In the context of two opposing trends – one promoting urban illumination and the other denouncing the over-use of lighting – it is essential to understand the principles at work in the construction of an urban nightscape. Despite growing questions about the quality of living environments at night and the development of new "urban lighting planning" approaches, the relationship between light and darkness, and more specifically between the concepts of "landscape" and "night," remain poorly investigated (Cauquelin 1977; Nasaw 1992; Edensor 2013; Bertin 2017). Nonetheless, changes in approaches to lighting have resulted in a new perception of the night and new practices and expectations on the part of the population. The emerging and increasing interest in urban nocturnal geography (Espinasse et al. 2005; Gwiazdzinski 2016) makes it necessary to review the impact of urban lighting planning on the changing meaning and experience of urban spaces at night (Van Liempt et al. 2015).

This article examines the image of the city through the medium of artificial lighting (Jakle 2001; McQuire 2008; Mosser 2008; Bertin 2016) with a special focus on the views of the night held by urban planning actors. Using a qualitative approach, this study draws a connection between the various meanings that are attributed to the nightscape and to lighting issues (Galinier et al. 2010). Examining the nocturnal urban landscape based on the concept of "in-between" (Bertin, Paquette 2015), this article proposes a transversal and transdisciplinary understanding of the ways in which the urban night is constructed. The study follows the orientation suggested by Bille and Sorensen with regard to "(…) how lightscapes are socially constructed to shed light for the world and why" (Bille, Sorensen 2007, 280). In continuity with the work of Gwiazdzinski (2016) and Edensor (2015) and using a sociocultural approach drawn from the discipline of landscape architecture, this article presents a case study of the nightscape of the city of Montreal, Canada. It discusses the evolution of representations of urban night-time as well as the growing number of concerns shared by urban lighting stakeholders. Specifically, it presents the results of an investigation into how the nightscape in Montreal, a city with diverse and original lighting strategies, is valued. Finally, the article endeavours to understand the sociocultural barriers to a more comprehensive inclusion of the night-time in urban planning practices and invites us to examine unexplored territories. Overall, it is an original contribution to a better understanding of the relationship that stakeholders have with the nightscape of their city.

2. The evolution of representations of urban night-time and the growing stakeholder concerns

The fact that people in Montreal increasingly engage in activities at night, be it pertaining to leisure, work or simply getting from point A to B, is indicative of the importance of lighting as a promotional tool as well as of new expectations on the part of the population that their city be accessible 24 hours a day. This increase of night-time activities has spurred the interest of planners in the night-time, engendering interventions, mainly in Europe and America, such as the creation of the Grand Conseil de la Nuit, in Geneva, the Nuits de Paris (Mairie de Paris 2010) and the Bureaux des temps (Mallet 2013) across France as well as the election of so-called night mayors in various cities such as Toulouse, Amsterdam and New York. Some cities, such as Lyon and Barcelona, have even set up nightlife charters, while others, like Sao Paulo, have created a Manifesto of the Night (Colaboratorio 2014). There are also the urban night walks conceived of and organized by Gwiazdzinski, a French geographer, for a number of European cities such as Lyon, Zurich, Porto, Rome and Helsinki (Gwiazdzinski 2006). These walks speak to the richness of existing nightscapes while also demonstrating the importance of exploring the diversity of urban spaces at night.

In Canada, night studies remain rare, notwithstanding the recent and dramatic increase in professional interests. That said, a number of such cities as Montreal, Toronto, Vancouver, Calgary and Quebec, as well as Canada's capital city of Ottawa, have gradually been implementing nocturnal lighting interventions for more than 20 years. Inspired by European interventions such as those in the city of Lyon, the province of Quebec has developed its own expertise. Montreal, for its part, has been something of a pioneer with its master plans for the lighting of three of its districts, namely, Old Montreal (1996), the Quartier international de Montréal (2002) and the Quartier des spectacles (2006). Montreal has also produced reports on night-time economy and tourism (Néron-Déjean 2011; Tourisme Montréal 2013) and on sound and light pollution (Bureau de normalisation du Québec BNQ 2016) in order to elaborate more appropriate strategies for implementing nocturnal lighting.

From a research and sociocultural landscape perspective, night-studies in Canada have been little addressed. And where they are addressed, lighting is essentially viewed from a perspective that focuses on quantitative aspects. Still, some authors (Bureau 1997) offer more in-depth reflections on the geography of the night and investigations have emerged on the representations of Montreal night-time in the media (Straw 2014)
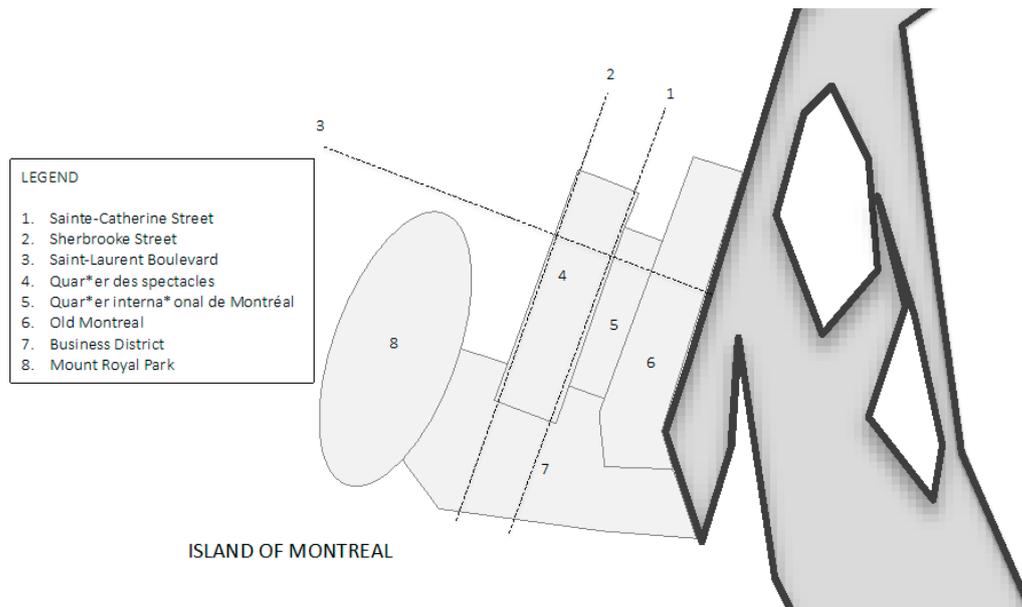
Figure 1. Map of Montreal and selected neighbourhoods.

and on issues related to festive aspects (Morisset, Noppen 2004; Bélanger 2005; Straw, Gwiazdzinski 2015). By and large, these studies explore Montreal nightlife, night-time economy, artistic installations and new media, and many are limited to downtown areas with little attention given to Montreal as a whole (Bertin 2017; Bertin 2018). Hence, research on Montreal's nocturnal landscape would bring new knowledge about stakeholders' perception and the evolution of the city's nightscape.

3. Montreal stakeholders' point of view of valued and devalued nightscapes

Montreal was named UNESCO City of Design in 2006 and is also known for its nightlife, owing in part to its legendary Red-Light District, now a more generalized entertainment district, that came to prominence during the 1920s Prohibition era in the United States. It is the metropolis of the province of Quebec, Canada, comprising an agglomeration of nearly four million inhabitants. Its downtown is composed of the business district with its skyscrapers; the historic, Old Montreal district along the banks of the Saint Lawrence River, characterized by its wealth of European architecture; and its financial district, aka the Quartier international de Montréal. Montreal also has more festive neighbourhoods, including the Quartier des spectacles, the Main and the Quartier Latin. Aside from their many theatres, bars and discothèques, these latter areas are also home to the campus

of Université du Québec à Montréal, one of Montreal's four universities. Beyond its bustling downtown, Montreal also includes more residential but trendy neighbourhoods such as the Plateau or the Mile-End. In addition, it boasts several big-name urban parks like Mount Royal and Jean-Drapeau.

Over at least the last 20 years, Montreal has transformed its nocturnal landscape. The development of master plans for the lighting of Old Montreal, the Quartier international de Montréal and the Quartier des spectacles has considerably changed the population's relationship with the city at night. The plans are focused on the city's heritage and commercial prestige as well as the year-round festival industry, thereby addressing different experiences of the urban spaces in question. The 1989 urban lighting policy (Ville de Montréal 1989; Ville de Montréal 2017) enabled the renewal of the nocturnal composition of the landscape by offering downtown districts such as the Quartier international de Montréal and the Quartier des spectacles the opportunity to manage the direction of their lighting strategy. Given the more than 20 years of transformations that have already taken place, an updated analysis of the evolution of the city's nightscapes is now warranted.

The French sociologist Anne Cauquelin (1977) refers to people engaged in the illuminative elements of the city as "éclaireurs" (lighters, or enlighteners), considering them to be scribes of sorts who compose the city at night. Lighting makes certain aspects visible while simultaneously allowing others to vanish. This fabricat-

ed image depends on the concerns of its actors and the night-time significance attributed to the urban spaces in question. This study examines the processes by which spaces are valued (Edensor 2015) in order to better assess the particular lighting interventions taken by the city of Montreal and to thereby contribute to improving the city's lighting policies and practices. Drawing on perspectives developed by Low et al. (2005), it investigates the process of territorial valuation and devaluation by analyzing the concerns of urban planning actors with regard to Montreal's nocturnal landscape. To that end, thirteen semi-structured interviews were conducted. Conceiving of the urban nocturnal landscape as an in-between space allows to capture the diversity of night-time representations (Landrieu 2005; Bertin, Paquette 2015; Bertin 2017) and to define a nightscape in the tension between light and darkness where each degree of luminosity suggests its own atmosphere and experience. To cover all areas of intervention, we interviewed a broad range of professionals involved in the planning of urban lighting from institutions such as the City of Montreal, the historic district, the Quartier des Spectacles Partnership (in charge of developing festival events downtown), the Quartier international de Montréal, certain heritage preservation and commercial development associations, as well as universities. The group of interviewees was also diverse in terms of their professional backgrounds and included lighting designers, urban planners, heritage experts, managers of urban private-public partnerships and academic researchers associated with urban studies. To help identify and locate issues, the interviews were conducted using maps and documents[1] (Paquette et al. 2008) pertaining to different urban projects, the city's official lighting policies (Ville de Montréal 1989) and studies on the nightlife in the central districts. The analytical model used for the thematic content was based on Grounded Theory (Glaser, Strauss 2010), such that "open," "axial" and "selective" codification strategies (Fortin, Gagnon 2010) were adopted to reveal the different meanings and provide a better understanding of the territorial valuation and devaluation process.

4. The consecration of downtown event lighting[2]

The interviews show that the actors essentially focus their attention on downtown spaces (Fig. 1). Between panoramas, perspectives and lively historic districts, the heart of the nocturnal city tends to be located wherever festival, recreational and tourist activities take place. Regardless of whether they refer to perspectival (e.g., panoramic) or monumental effects, the actors frequently cite the more symbolic illuminated elements of the downtown areas, such as the cross perched on top of Mount Royal, the leaning tower above Olympic Stadium or the spinning beacon atop Place Ville-Marie. The actors also mention the protection of illuminated signs that are part of the city's heritage, such as the famous Farine Five Roses sign. In addition, they mention panoramas such as the views of downtown Montreal from Mount Royal Park, or the perspectives afforded upon entering the city, especially from the Jacques Cartier and Champlain bridges. An important finding from these interviews is that an illuminated downtown is seen as an indicator that the city is alive. Thus, participants consider it to be important to create desire through illuminated panoramas.

The way in which the city centre demarcates itself from the rest of the city essentially evolved out of the lighting master plans for the historic, business and entertainment districts. The 1989 lighting policy of the City of Montreal, concerning only a series of ad hoc projects (Ville de Montréal 1989), reflects this distinction made between the centre and the rest of the city.

Above all else, the actors mention Old Montreal for the value of its heritage and government buildings. The lighting master plan for the historic district, implemented in the 1990s, is representative of the desire to create an iconic image of the city, scripting the urban space into a real-life postcard to be gazed upon.

(...) People wanted to see Old Montreal from all the far-off perspectives. When you come across the Jacques Cartier Bridge, what do you see? When you come across the Champlain Bridge, what do you see? When you're on Mount Royal, what do you see? So, the buildings the planners zeroed in on had to be seen from three or four different perspectives (...)

(...) when you're on Rue de la Commune [running along the edge of the Saint Lawrence River], you still see the entire row of buildings there, which is quite spectacular. That makes for some pretty interesting photographs (...)[3]

The planners illuminated buildings (e.g., city hall) according to their symbolic value or their strategic position in the landscape. However, in order to both high-

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[1] This article only presents the first part of a more comprehensive study that includes *in situ* observations of the nocturnal landscape.

[2] In the next three sections, excerpts from the interviews conducted as part of this research are written in italics. In accordance with ethical rules of research, the names of the interviewees are kept confidential.

[3] All quotes from the interviews are our translations French into English.

light specific elements and maintain an overall visual harmony, they had to keep other elements in the shadow, which was, at least in the case of residential areas, a welcome effect insofar as it kept those areas quiet.

The Quartier international de Montréal is a showcase business district. This area is set apart by its striking light poles, which gives structure to the whole area. The entertainment district, on the other hand, referring to the old Red-Light District that has since been rebranded as the Quartier des spectacles, is characterized by its numerous cultural institutions (e.g., theatres, performance venues, night clubs and museums) and by its coordinated lighting across the whole area, including its unique street level lighting design and its illuminated facades and awnings. In this way, moments of activity blend with moments of rest between the events held throughout the district and or by an individual institution.

(…) events and activities (…) even those that do not take place at night, or just in general, are still quite concentrated in the Quartier des spectacles.

According to the interviewees, the offer of night-time activities is being shifted away from the bars that serve populations on the fringes of society towards a more family-oriented experience. Such changes are indicative of a more heavily monitored, policed society and a commercialization of the district. Thus, dark streets and their associated mysteries have been replaced by a continual showcasing or highlighting of events, from Christmas and Halloween to the Quartier des spectacles' light therapy projects[4] and the Montréal en Lumière festival.[5] Indeed, there remains almost no time of the year where the city is not illuminated. The increase of festive lighting also results in more traffic in these areas and a rise in the number of complaints from residents unable to sleep as a result.

For the majority of the participants interviewed, the landscape in question is limited to the downtown area. With regard to such new urban lighting practices, we observe a piecemeal endeavour carried out mainly at tourist sites linked to the brand image of the city. But what about the rest of the city?

[4] Lighting projects are artistic installations presented on the Place des Festivals. They aim to interact with the public and at making the public space inviting in order to encourage the population to spend time outdoors in the winter.

[5] Montreal's *Festival en Lumière* is a large-scale event that takes place each year in February. It presents Montreal culture and gastronomy, outdoor concerts and activities. It culminates in a sleepless night where many cultural institutions such as museums are open all night.

5. The relegation of ordinary landscapes to the banal

The fact that the downtown area receives more attention than the rest of the city was either explicitly mentioned by the interviewees or expressed insofar as the rest of the city was hardly mentioned in the interviews. Overall, respondents felt that "other than downtown" locations were deemed unworthy of consideration for anything other than functional concerns. As a result, the various other sectors and districts pursue their own objectives and agendas, leading to differences in the ways in which spaces and zones are used overall. It is in these ways that elements worthy of being illuminated are distinguished from those considered to be ordinary, banal and not worthy of highlighting.

(…) in urban planning, in urban development, (…) the notion of extraordinary and ordinary, which is fairly fundamental in constructing the city, means that when a house is designed to look like an extraordinary building, it looks wrong. Because basically the function of 'living' is considered to be ordinary, although it is part of the everyday life of the city.

These statements suggest that the population ought to have a particular reason for lighting a building and that buildings are hierarchized according to status. Moreover, given the proliferation of lighting interventions, interviewees mentioned concerns about the impact of intrusive public lighting on the private domain as well as temporal regulation of lighting, especially regarding events, prescribed times for rest and times for celebration, and times for turning lighting on and for turning them off.

It's like lighting had two hats: a full hat and a party hat. The full hat is for the sun, for protection. (…) An element that is being promoted and one that's relegated to the ordinary and everyday.

(…) The party hat is a temporary, festive hat put on for special events. You don't wear it all the time. Otherwise, you wouldn't appreciate it (…).

Certain sectors such as commercial streets wear these two hats, having places where nightlife can be very close to residential dwellings and the ordinary, everyday landscape. In these areas, the lights and illuminated signs raise concerns about safety and the distraction of drivers. The desire to enliven commercial arteries and to demarcate a district with its own signature style has led to the use of a variety of lighting fixtures. Public lights, lit signs and commercial window displays are

all atmospheric elements that not only allow businesses to remain visible at night and encourage strolling but also provide a certain feeling of safety. According to the interviewees, signs raise questions about architectural and urban integration, the hierarchy between public and private space, the desire for visual homogeneity and even the expression of heritage, historic or symbolic aspects. For some respondents, certain signs have over time become markers that have shaped the identity of a district or an artery. Commercial lighting can also be a response to a lack of public lighting, such as when it is used to illuminate entrances to businesses located away from the street.

For the interviewees, ordinary, everyday elements are essentially those pertaining to the functional category of ensuring safety or providing support, such as traffic signs, street signs, traffic lights, bus stops or fixtures to support Christmas decorations. As a result, they were rarely seen as meriting consideration with regard to their aesthetic aspects and more with regard to how well they prevent assaults or traffic accidents. Light beams, for example, are directed toward the pavement and sidewalk so that users can see where they are going. Often black or grey in colour, functional-type light fixtures are designed to blend into the landscape and follow an approach taken by the City of Montreal that emphasizes, for the sake of safety, security or road traffic and way-finding, the repetition of signs in urban space following the "pattern language" theory (Alexander et al. 1977). Street intersections, for example, are lit more to prevent accidents among vehicles and pedestrians. At present, the principle of shared space, the integration of bicycle paths, the aging of the population, the reduction of lighting pollution and the updating of technologies – all of which are functional and security/safety concerns – are taken into account in the modernization of the City's lighting policy.

6. Marginalized and abandoned urban territories

The interviews revealed that many areas, including residential streets, are left to remain in the shadow, raising concerns about safety as well as accessibility and equity. Alleys located behind buildings, for example, are dark and less reassuring for the rare residents who dare to venture there. The issues of accessibility and equity, for their part, are of concern especially to the more vulnerable segments of the population, although progress has been made. We think only of the feminist movement and the contributions of organizations such as Women in Cities to lighting policies in the 1980s, and to parents

who became involved and proactive in order to provide secure and safe areas for their children. Fear also plays a fundamental role in the division and use of urban spaces. In fact, such principles as street surveillance, through the concept of "eyes upon the street" (Jacobs 1961), and of guidance, through the concept of "way-finding," were recurring themes throughout the interviews. Darkness was described as the boundary separating spaces that either can or cannot be visited. Thus, invisibility was seen as the psychological threshold to discomfort.

(...) we take for granted that the day is safe. Therefore, the idea is almost to recreate the day at night (...).

(...) what the women wanted was 'the right to walk around without fear' (...) the feeling of safety (...) in residential areas, what do you do? In parking lots, on commercial streets, in tunnels, what do you do to make them safer? (...) we wanted to work on the right to equality for all these women.

The question of lighting is a question of the very "right to the city" and of accessibility and vulnerability. However, while there is a desire for equity, there are also certain limits to the city's ability to respond to particular lighting demands. There are spaces that are lit and others that remain eclipsed, spaces that can be made safer and others that cannot. Respondents expressed the idea that lighting a space signifies that we can be rescued and, conversely, that keeping a space in the shadow is a way of dissuading users from going there. Thus, some spaces, such as certain parks, bicycle paths and industrial areas, are left intentionally in the dark.

(...) for many, the night is still the time to sleep. (...) but for others, the night is and has always been a festive occasion, even though such people are often marginalized. This means that those who can take advantage of the night are often marginal (...).

The issue of temporal reconciliation (i.e., of reconciling festive with rest times) is thus more pronounced in certain districts, showing that celebration has its limits and that activities must end at times that accommodate people's need to rest. Residential areas are considered places of inactivity and sleep. After a certain point, rest becomes the norm, noise a nuisance, and passers-by who loiter late are considered marginal, even dangerous. Night is therefore a synonym for inactivity, and dark spaces are to be avoided. There is a negation of space in the shadows. At night, pedestrians are more often monitored and questioned by the police, following the principle that it is better to "move" than to stay in one place.

Some respondents described how people behave discreetly in parks in order to avoid being forced to leave after the given curfew. Parking is prohibited around parks so that police can maintain visibility. Children's playgrounds are lit to prevent drug users from leaving syringes. In some cases, the streets adjacent to squares are one-way so that the lights of cars prowling around for prostitutes do not disturb residents.

Respondents often noted how downtown parking lots are empty spaces at night. Thus, certain spaces are to be avoided, creating boundaries around accessible spaces. Parks must be avoided after the prescribed curfew, while private security guards monitor railways. Unsurprisingly, discussions remained vague as concerns the territory in the shadows. Respondents' knowledge of vacant and marginal spaces remains limited. Indeed, such urban interstices are often thought to be spaces that need to be "put on the map" and requalified. Insofar as possible power blackouts could lead to a loss of control over law and order in the city, the interviewees referred to the principles of responsibility. Accordingly, the night reveals the limits of the system that has been set up to counter darkness, revealing a certain lack of knowledge, by respondents and hence by stakeholders as a whole, about the city and showing the need to further explore what is happening in the darkness.

The issue of the night, I would say, is primarily about having to open up to it (…) I think, at least at the urban planning and development level, given that eyes close as soon as the sun goes down (…).

7. Lessons from the study of Montreal's nightscapes: unveiling unexplored territories

Studying the social and cultural construction of the nocturnal urban landscape through the lens of light and darkness provided by the respondents exposes a wide range of different views and complex relationships with urban spaces at night. Although responses were varied, our schematic representation (Fig. 2) shows that the interviewees very much value lighting in the construction of the nocturnal image of the city. An increase in considerations of lighting can be attributed to the evolution of the night-time economy over the last several decades and to the implementation of master plans for urban lighting. However, lighting is also considered a nuisance in terms of pollution and the perturbation of sleep in mostly residential areas. References to darkness often reflect a desire to control activities and exclude types of visitors, while new theories promoting darker environments point to the need to preserve access to the starry sky and limit the negative impact of lighting on flora and fauna. The results demonstrate the complex and subtle affects of light and dark. They also show the importance of context and of the profiles and intentions of the urban planners
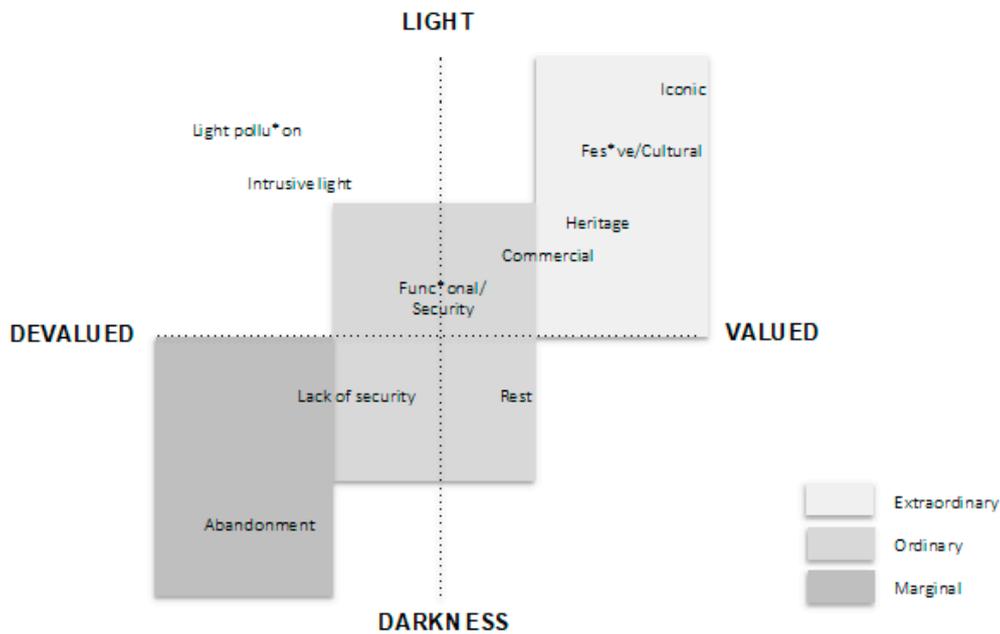

Figure 2. The nocturnal urban landscapes between extraordinary, ordinary and marginal.

and decision-makers when it comes to the valuation (and lighting) of particular spaces.

Our analysis of the interviews in terms of the value accorded to different places reveals a focus on the downtown areas, in particular on symbolic and festive spaces such as the Quartier des spectacles, Old Montreal and the Quartier international de Montréal. By contrast, elements such as business districts, roads or residential streets were neither particularly valued nor devalued. If anything, parks, back alleys, parking lots, interstices, railways or brownfields were devalued, often remaining in the dark and associated with insecurity and marginality. Thus, while downtown lighting has received attention and interest, there is a noticeable disinterest in the lighting of ordinary, everyday spaces, a disinterest that could possibly be seen as serving to conceal what happens in the dark and as a way of demarcating what areas are considered to be accessible or not.

This study reveals a tendency to consider light and darkness in opposition such that one entire aspect, the night, is generally negated (Gwiazdzinski 2002). This binary system (Gallan, Gibson 2011) then leads to an imbalance in the treatment of spaces. Ordinary districts, such as residential areas, are generally disregarded, with darkness raising questions about safety and security, norms and morality (Nasaw 1992; Edensor 2015). The stakeholders' points of view testify to the existence of an "interplay of rationalities" (Van Liempt et al. 2015, 409) in which a "rational" view of light and darkness often legitimizes certain forms of authority and conservatism. In other words, there is a direct link between a rational and conservative way of governing the city and the objective of maintaining control over what happens when and where.

However, in a context of growing awareness of the negative impacts of lighting on the environment and where lighting designers are increasingly invited to participate in the design of urban lighting strategies, the overall view of lighting becomes more complex. The interviewees describe a wide variety of ways in which lighting works affectively, aesthetically or functionally; and a number of different ways in which darkness is perceived. The rise of lighting strategies and the important qualitative aspects of light have drastically increased the number of different forms that lighting can now take. The increasing concerns about visual pollution are also forcing stakeholders to consider the visual cohesion of a nightscape – such that, in order to stand out, some elements have to stay in the dark – especially for districts that stand to benefit from having a lighting master plan. The fact that central districts, such as the Quartier des spectacles, are privileged as places for

experimentation and artistic expression tends to limit the expansion of festive illuminations to other areas of the city. Indeed, stakeholders have wanted to keep the festive out of more residential neighbourhoods, since bright lights compromise residents' sleep and exacerbate conflicts between city dwellers and festival organizers. Nevertheless, the primary if not exclusive focus on downtown areas has gone at the expense of giving residential neighbourhoods and other areas due or appropriate recognition. As a result, the greater part of Montreal's territory remains dominated by a functionalist and security/safety-based approach inherited from the 1960s. In other words, many streets, roads, residential and industrial neighbourhoods, back alleys, parks and so on are seen exclusively from a functional perspective, despite the fact that they constitute living environments for the majority of the city's inhabitants. Thus, vacant places and interstices remaining in the dark have hardly caught the interest of professionals or researchers, engendering a lack of information and knowledge about a large part of the urban territory.

From a theoretical point of view, this study offers an opportunity to adopt a transversal approach to the exploration of the various points of view of planning stakeholders. Based on of the concept of "in-between", this approach allows us to study the diverse trends and ways of representing the city at night (Landrieu 2005; Bertin, Paquette 2015) and encompasses the paradox that characterizes the changing aspect of our nocturnal landscapes. It also reveals our limited knowledge of nightscapes and the tension between those spaces that are lit and those remaining in the shadows.

For future research, it would be important to test the stakeholders' points of view against urban field studies, namely by wandering through and exploring nightscapes and by investigating how human vision, in both the physical-biological and the emotional sense, appropriates darkness. Revisiting the concepts of "urban drifting", which had emerged among situationists' approaches, or questioning the sentimental view of ordinary landscapes would allow us to develop a better understanding of the unexplored geography of banalized or marginalized urban nightscapes.

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