



## The shape of theatre in the city: A theoretical and methodological approach for analyzing artistic activity in urban space

Sharon Yavo-Ayalon , Tal Alon-Mozes & Meirav Aharon-Gutman

To cite this article: Sharon Yavo-Ayalon , Tal Alon-Mozes & Meirav Aharon-Gutman (2020) The shape of theatre in the city: A theoretical and methodological approach for analyzing artistic activity in urban space, Journal of Urban Affairs, 42:8, 1202-1221, DOI: [10.1080/07352166.2019.1654896](https://doi.org/10.1080/07352166.2019.1654896)

To link to this article: <https://doi.org/10.1080/07352166.2019.1654896>



Published online: 24 Jan 2020.



Submit your article to this journal [↗](#)



Article views: 192



View related articles [↗](#)



View Crossmark data [↗](#)



Citing articles: 2 View citing articles [↗](#)



# The shape of theatre in the city: A theoretical and methodological approach for analyzing artistic activity in urban space

Sharon Yavo-Ayalon , Tal Alon-Mozes , and Meirav Aharon-Gutman

Faculty of Architecture and Town Planning, Technion, IIT

## ABSTRACT

This article explores the spatial and social relationship between theatre and the city through the case study of Acre, a mixed peripheral city in Israel. Despite the numerous studies dealing with artistic activity in the city, we still lack a clear, systematic method for understanding art's role in urban space. This study attempts to overcome this lacuna by suggesting an analytical method for understanding the socio-spatial relations between theatre and the urban space in which it is practiced. The method is based on a juxtaposition of the city's physical and social structure with the artistic activity of five theatre institutions, and uses super-positioning to combine two research methods: urban research and ethnographic fieldwork. By mapping the artistic activity, it gives shape to an abstract social phenomenon, therefore enabling its spatial analysis. The findings were analyzed according to four spatial categories: enclosure, centrality, axiality, and permeability. In the case study we explored, the artistic activity shape was limited by the city's physical and social structure and had little effect on its immediate urban surroundings. We nonetheless emphasize the applicability of this methodology to other cities and other fields of art that could produce different shapes and lead to different outcomes.

## Introduction

Artistic activity in urban space is not new to urban discourse: artists left the gallery for the city in the 1960s as part of the American counter-culture in an effort to expand their artistic language and breach the physical walls of the “white box” (Deutsche, 1996; Kwon, 2002). They aspired to work in the real world and to affect society through relational or situational art (Bishop, 2006; Bourriaud, 2002), and the planning community soon picked up on this trend. In recent years, art in urban space has been discussed primarily within the creative city discourse (Florida, 2002, 2005, 2017), which views art as a culture-led regeneration strategy. According to this strategy, art serves as a means for urban branding to improve the city's status and to attract the “creative class.” Art's transformation into a planning strategy and its implementation in cities throughout the world has sparked a large number of studies that explore its effect on the city (Garcia, 2004; Miles, 1997; Nakagawa, 2010; Sharp, Pollock, & Paddison, 2005).

Despite the many studies dealing with artistic activity in cities, we still lack a clear method of considering art in urban space in a systematic manner. Does artistic activity create change and affect the urban space in which it exists? The present study attempts to overcome this lacuna by proposing a theoretical and methodological analysis for understanding the socio-spatial relationship between theatre and the urban space in which it is practiced. Based on the growing literature in the field, the study suggests a coherent framework to analyze the relations between art and the city.

This research focuses on the case study of Acre, a peripheral mixed city<sup>1</sup> in Israel, and its diverse theatre field, and asks how its theatre activity affects the socio-spatial divisions in the city. In other words: What shape does theatre activity assume in the city? In the case of Acre, we learned that artistic activity has had little influence on the socio-spatial divisions of the city, and that theatres have operated largely in enclosed environments with little to no permeability to their urban surroundings. We emphasize, however, that this methodology is applicable to other cities and other artistic fields, it can be used by other researchers that may produce different shapes and result in different outcomes.

Based on the juxtaposition between the city's spatial and social structure on the one hand, and the theatrical activity that takes place within it on the other hand, we explore the socio-spatial relationship between art and urban space and suggest a visual methodology that, through mapping, gives shape to theatre activity in the city. Our methodology is based on Superimposition, an analytical tool for dealing with multiple layers of information used in architectural practice and GIS mapping. Here, we adopted it as a research method for the purpose of combining spatial research from architecture and urban studies with ethnographic fieldwork from the social sciences. Using this tool, we distilled the information collected by both methods and transformed them into diagrams that offer a broad perspective on the art-city nexus. The proposed methodology gives shape to artistic activity, which is an abstract urban phenomenon.

As illustrated in Figure 1, the article begins with a theoretical framework constituted by two separate discourses—one pertaining to the relationship between theatre and urban space, and the other pertaining to the spatial, morphological analysis of cities. It then moves to a methodology section that combines architectural spatial research with ethnographic social research and undertakes an analysis using the four spatial-social categories proposed by Stevens and Shin (2014): enclosure, centrality, axiality, and permeability. The mixed-peripheral city of Acre is then used as a case study to illustrate the proposed methodology, leading to a discussion that articulates our method and considers the findings in relation to the literature.

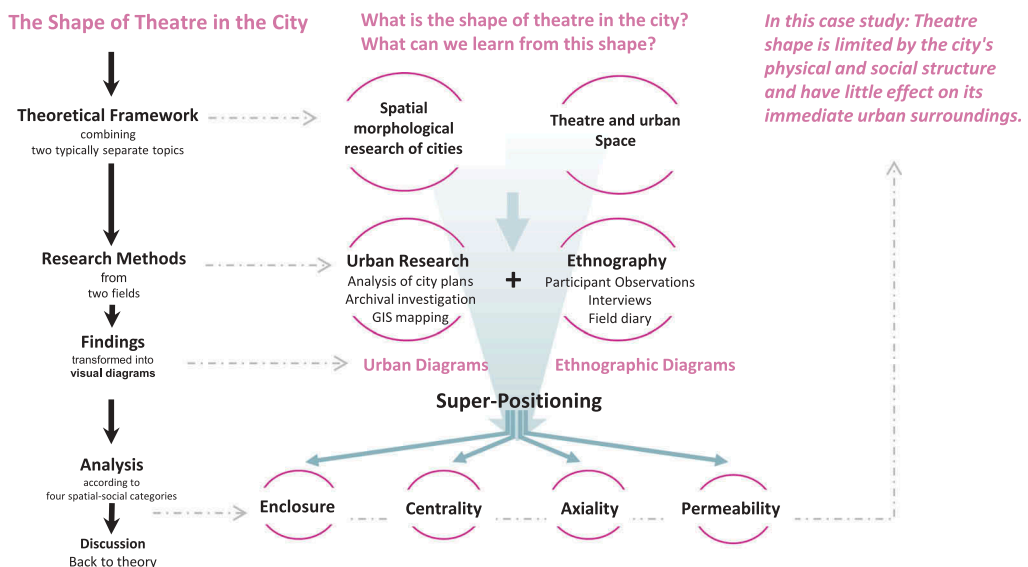


Figure 1. The article structure—visual abstract.

## Theoretical framework

### *Theatre and urban space*

Much has been written about art's role as a tool within processes of urban renewal (Banks, 2013; Florida, 2005; Molnar, 2017), which serve to revitalize deteriorated areas, contribute to economic growth and tourism (Garcia, 2004; Miles, 1997; Nakagawa, 2010), and brand cities with cultural capital (Hackworth, 2007; Mommaas, 2004). It is also used as a means of fostering local identity, sense of belonging, and improved city image (Eizenberg & Cohen, 2015; Luger, 2017; Rota & Salone, 2014). Critics argue that such imposed art creates conflicts between artists and the local community, as it is external to the culture of the city's residents (Waterman, 1998; Willems-Braun, 1994) and therefore excludes them (Deener, 2007), leads to gentrification, and ultimately reproduces the dominance of the hegemonic group (Aharon-Gutman, 2017). Theatre, as an example of artistic activity in the city, is part of this discourse. Here, we focus on four issues that emerge from the abundant literature: (a) theatre festivals as flagship events; (b) theatre buildings as urban monuments; (c) theatres as a subversive art form; and (d) theatres as educative and therapeutic media. Each of these issues has spatial, social, and artistic aspects.

**a. Today, theatre festivals as flagship events** feature as part of the creative discourse (Florida, 2005) to display an attractive urban image (Quinn & Wilks, 2017). The spatial arrangement and adaptation of central city spaces for a festival contribute to the marketing and branding of cities and signify their uniqueness in relation to other cities (Quinn, 2005, p. 929). The concentration of festival activities also contributes to local cultural identities and communal values (Smith, 1993). The social perspective emphasizes that during festivals themselves, city spaces are reshaped in a manner that privileges festival audiences and contains them within parts of the city that are appropriated for cultural consumption and at the same time excludes and marginalizes local residents (Jamieson, 2004; Willems-Braun, 1994; ours, 2018). From an artistic perspective, festivals are often used to develop original theatre genres. For example, Fringe Theatre first emerged at the Edinburgh Festival where the term "fringe" had dual meaning, encompassing shows that challenged the established mainstream theatre (i.e., at the margins of the theatre field) and that were also typically located on the physical margins of the festival (Harvie, 2009, p. 25). Since then, the image of the fringe festival has been linked to derelict peripheral locations.

**b. Theatre buildings as urban monuments** have been present in cities from the outset (Orian, 2008), serving as a symbol of the city and indicating the city's interest in and devotion to culture. In our new liberal era, they are used to brand the city with cultural capital (Zukin, 1998). The spatial aspect of theatre buildings refers to its location and design. National and municipal theatres, for example, are designed as extravagant, monumental buildings, located in central, high-demand areas, that are frequently elevated above street level to occupy a spatial position that dominates its urban surroundings (Carlson, 1993, p. 2), as in the case of the Sydney Opera House, the Barbican Center in London, and the Glass Structure in Edinburgh (Harvie, 2009, p. 79). Social critiques, however, have noted that the design of a monumental building may alienate and exclude disadvantaged populations or minorities that are not part of the dominant group (McAuley, 2012). Moreover, while an area's transformation into a theatre district presents many advantages, it sometimes excludes the local community (Grodach, Currid-Halkett, Foster, & Murdoch, 2014; Ley, 2003; Shaw & Sullivan, 2011). These spatial and social aspects are also ultimately linked to artistic genre, as monumental theatre buildings are usually home to well-established repertoire theatre and stage musicals or popular shows that attract larger audiences (Harvie, 2009, p. 25).

**c. Theatres as a subversive art form** emerged as part of the counter-culture revolution of the 1960s. Fringe, Experimental, and Alternative theatre developed in reaction to the elitism of the institutional, monumental theatre in order to create an alternative stage for younger artistic or deprived populations. The spatial perspective highlights the fact that in the urban context, such smaller theatres present an alternative to the central monumental building. The spatial distribution of these alternatives is related to the artistic genre (i.e., the more avant-garde a theatre is, the further

away from the center it is located). The alternative artistic genre and remote location of such theatres are an outcome of the artist's social critique of the alienation and exclusion associated with the monumental repertoire theatre. Familiar examples of this phenomenon include Broadway in Manhattan and the entertainment districts in London, Paris, and Toronto, where the institutionalized theatres are located. In these cities, other theatres are ranked according to their distance from these entertainment districts (for example, a show or theatre can be "Broadway," "off-Broadway," or "off-off Broadway") (Harvie, 2009, p. 25). On the one hand, this artistic and socially hierarchical distribution of smaller theatres in urban space results in more affordable ticket prices. On the other hand, such theatre's location on the margins of the city, in industrial or neglected areas, makes accessibility more difficult and may prove menacing after nightfall (McAuley, 1999, p. 47).

**d. Theatre as an educative and therapeutic medium** can be found in school programs and community theatres, as both espouse a social perspective. The theatre curriculum in schools includes the study and production of well-known plays. Their content may be used by local governments to build the local canon and to unite different communities around similar sets of beliefs and values. In schools theatre's educational values include social benefits such as exercising group cooperation, positive self-esteem, and fluency in oral communication (Woodson, 2004). Community theatre however, enacts a different approach that focuses on raising the voice of underprivileged groups. As a bottom-up practice, community theatre provides an opportunity to express personal, repressed, and taboo life material that challenges the status quo (Lev-Aladgem, 2010). However, in contrast to their original bottom-up approach, community theatre today is usually initiated and sponsored by municipal and/or state welfare and cultural bodies as a welfare activity (Lev-Aladgem, 2005, p. 148). As such, high school theatre programs and community theatre are spatially located in public schools, welfare community centers, and other municipal bodies. They are usually dispersed in local neighborhoods, not centralized or co-located with other theatres or arts venues. From an artistic perspective, these genres are viewed as constituting "amateur" theatre and as standing in opposition to Fringe Theatre, for example, which suggests an alternative approach from within the artistic field itself. High school and community theatres are outsiders to the theatre field, and their main goal is to produce social change. (Lev-Aladgem, 2005, p. 148).

### ***The spatial morphological analysis of cities***

The discourse on the physical aspects of urban space was developed by planners and architects, with an emphasis on the individual's experience in the city. Studies by Rowe and Koetter (1978), Lynch (1960), and Alexander (1966) focused on morphological aspects of the built environment. They used visual analysis, mental maps, and architectural schemes and diagrams to understand the ways in which the built environment affects the human experience of urban space. This field of knowledge has experienced substantial growth over the past 3 decades, which has been evident in the major increase in the number of articles, the range of journals, and the number of conferences with urban morphological themes (Loureiro de Matos, 2018). For a detailed review of the different approaches to the study of urban form see Vitor Oliveira's *An Introduction to the Study of the Physical Form of Cities* (2016). This book on urban morphology reviews the classic approaches to urban spatial analysis and contextualizes them within a range of current approaches, such as the historic-geographical approach, the process-typological approach, space syntax, and pertinent types of spatial analysis. The flourishing of this field in recent years highlights the importance, within urban studies, of developing this kind of analysis, which is investigative and integrative and at the same time proposes an applicable method (Oliveira, 2016, p. viii).

**a. Typology of urban patterns** lies at the core of two classical analyzes. Spiro Kostof for example, offers a thorough account of urban typologies throughout history, notifying different patterns such as organic pattern, the grid, the ideological diagram, the grand manner and smaller components such as city edge, urban division, public space and so forth (Kostof, 1991). *Collage City* (1966), which presented the city as a collection of elements, forms, and textures that together produce urban structure. Here, the collage serves as a metaphor to highlight the connection among forms and ideas, diversity, and multiplicity as the main advantages of the city. The second analysis is Alexander's

*A Pattern Language*, which analyzes the morphology of cities according to typologies of textures and proposes a toolbox of 253 urban patterns as an architectural language (Alexander, 1977; Carmona, Heath, Oc, & Tiesdell, 2003).

**b. The typology of open spaces** and the ratio between the built and vacant areas of the city is one of the fundamentals morphological analyzes of urban space. From Nolli's 1736 figure-ground map until today, architectural discourse has dealt primarily with classification into form-related typologies, such as square, circle, and triangle, and functional typologies, such as market, civic center, and the like (Kostof & Castillo, 1999, p. 146).

**c. Structure—The city as a diagram**, according to Kevin Lynch, is an important component of the urban experience (Lynch, 1960, 1984). Using interviews and mental maps created by city residents, Lynch examined residents' ability to produce a clear image of space, which he maintained contributed to a sense of identification with their surroundings. In doing so, he developed a diagrammatic language consisting of five basic elements: path, edge, node, district, and landmark. The importance of this analysis lies in the abstraction of the city's structural construct and the presentation of a diagram or schema that creates a clear image of the city (Lynch, 1960).

An important element of architectural discourse is the transformation of texts, feelings, and experiences into visual language. Its uniqueness lies in its ability to graphically express the relationship between textures, building typologies, and built and open spaces and, in doing so, to contribute to a deeper understanding of urban space. Our analysis of urban space will be based on these three components of urban morphology.

### ***The superimposing of theatre activity and spatial analysis of cities***

The methodology of superimposition proposed in this article is based on an integration of the main issues raised by the theoretical discourse on theatre and urban space with the above-mentioned morphological analysis. Its use here was inspired by Stevens and Shin (2014) adaptation of Lynch's (1960) *The Image of The City* to the analysis of the spatial experience at festivals. Lynch identifies five fundamental elements according to which people perceive the image of a city—paths, edges, districts, nodes, and landmarks (Lynch, 1960). With a similar aim but using a more phenomenological approach, Norberg-Schultz (1979) offers alternative categorizations of centers, paths, and enclosed domains. Stevens and Shin (2014), who seek to understand how urban form may frame experiences at urban festivals, combine these two approaches and adapt them to the experiences of festival goers. In this context, they propose four spatial conditions as an analytical framework for deciphering the spatial and behavioral aspects of festivals: enclosure, centrality, axiality, and permeability.

While Stevens and Shin employed this approach to examine one festival event, we expand the discussion from the scale of the festival to the investigation of five theatre institutions within the same city. In this case, it is important to distinguish between theatre buildings and theatrical events. Although each of them might have different implications—as buildings are permanent and are usually dedicated, purpose-built and purposively-located, while an event such as the festival and the community theatre activity usually creates tactical appropriations of existing spaces, we used the same four categories to refer to both with reference to the differences in the tension between spaces and activities. Moreover, while Stevens and Shin mainly used texts to describe the phenomena they observed, our analysis, which is aimed at contributing to urban affairs, is based on spatial analytical mapping of the city. Following the main issues raised by the literature on theatre and urban space, our analysis refers to the spatial, social, and artistic aspects of each of the categories. Table 1 and text below summarize the theoretical genealogy from Lynch's analysis in *The Image of the City*, through the different scholars who have engaged his categories continuing to the four categories introduced by Stevens and Shin (2014), leading to our adaption in the present study.

**1. Enclosure** is a concept that stems from Norberg-Schultz (1979) abstract definition of areas or domains that can be distinct from one another as a result of a function, a common texture, or a boundary. This abstract concept is related to Lynch's (1960) districts, which he describes as

Table 1. The theoretical genealogy of the four spatial categories.

Author	Lynch (1960)	Norberg-Schulz (1984)	Stevens (2006)	Morgan (2007)	Stevens and Shin (2014)	Present Study
Title	<b>The image of the city</b>	Genius Loci	<b>The shape of urban experience</b>	Festival spaces	Urban Festivals	<b>The shape of theatre in the city</b>
Categories	(1) Paths (2) Nodes (3) Edges (4) Landmarks (5) Districts	(3) Centers (4) Paths (5) Enclosures	(1) Paths (2) Intersections (3) Boundaries (4) Props (5) Thresholds	(1) Centers (2) Paths (3) Enclosures	(1) <b>Enclosure</b> (2) <b>Centrality</b> (3) <b>Axiality</b> (4) <b>Permeability</b>	(1) <b>Enclosure</b> (2) <b>Centrality</b> (3) <b>Axiality</b> (4) <b>Permeability</b>
Objective	Mental maps, orientation in cities	Phenomenological approach to the city	Phenomenological and behavioral perspective	Visitor experience at festivals	Visitor experience at festivals	<b>Methodology for analyzing artistic activity in the city</b>
Scale	The city	The city	The city	Arts festivals	Arts festivals	Art in the city

relatively large areas of the city “which the observer can mentally go inside of, and which have some common characters” (Lynch, 1960, p. 66). In the context of festivals, Stevens and Shin (2014) use the term “enclosure” to refer to the place of an event, its physical and ephemeral characteristics, and the means by which it contains the audience. We employ this term to refer to the spatial characteristics of the theatre building or event, the boundaries that define it, and the temporal means used to contain audience. The social aspects of this category refer to the ways in which these spatial aspects effect the inclusion or exclusion of the city community.

**2. Centrality**, in Lynch’s analysis, is related to a subjectively locational sensation of “here I am” (Lynch, 1960, p. 18) that people associate with central places in the city. According to Norberg-Schulz (1971, p. 20) centers are externalized by humans as points of reference from which to locate themselves (Thwaites, 2001). In his analysis of festivals, Morgan refers to centrality as the spatial concentration of the events (M. Morgan, 2007), whereas Stevens and Shin, based on those analyzes, consider the centrality of the event in its urban surroundings. In our analysis, the centrality of an institution will be assessed according to its geographical and social centrality. In its geographical sense, we use this concept to refer to the location of the building or event within the urban structure and in relation to the specific urban area in which it is located. In its social sense, we employ it to refer to centrality within the theatre field (i.e., theatre genre) or within the city’s social structure.

**3. Axiality**, according to Lynch (1960), refers to paths along which users customarily move. These may be streets, walkways, transit lines, canals, or railroads. People observe the city while moving through it, and the other environmental elements are arranged and related along these paths. Norberg-Schulz emphasizes the importance of paths as a spatial element that has direction and continuity and that, through a succession of incremental experiences, contributes to the development of a sense of place. Stevens and Shin (2014, p. 16) explore path and axial connections through the mapping of movement of people to and from the festival. In the present study, we map the paths, movement, and flows of the main users of each institution or event, including their management, technical and administrative employees, actors, directors, etc.

**4. Permeability** is related to choices of routes, diversity of experience, and the way in which the design of the urban venue encourages its participants to freely explore the space (Thwaites, 2001, p. 249). In the context of festivals, Morgan (2007) uses the term to refer to the ability of visitors to move freely through the town among venues along a variety of paths. Stevens and Shin (2014) refer to the leakage of the festival’s social atmosphere beyond the immediate time and space of the event and examine whether the spatial arrangements of the festival enable or encourage the free movement of individuals to explore the urban surroundings. In our analysis, permeability refers to leakage beyond the contained area of the building or event and assesses the range of impact of its activity on other parts of the city. In the immediate surroundings, in a manner similar to Stevens and Shin, we refer primarily to pedestrian movement in proximity to the building at the time of the event. However, we extend their definition to the city scale and examine audience distribution—meaning, the parts of the city from which audience members hail.

Translating these four categories into spatial diagrams, as in Figure 2, enables us to observe each institution’s relationship with the surrounding urban space, as well as all five institutions’ cumulative relationship with the urban space of the city as a whole.

## Methodology

Conducted at the juncture of the social sciences and spatial analysis, this study examines a wide range of spatial and social phenomena and combines methods from both fields, specifically analysis of urban form and ethnography.

**1. The spatial analysis** focused on analyzing the morphology and the social characteristics of the city and its theatre institutions. This included historical research of the city’s development in relation to the establishment of these five institutions and involved GIS mapping, archival research, and analysis of primary sources such as city plans and architectural drawings of each institution and its urban surroundings. In addition, we analyzed subscribers’ lists to map audience distribution according to the

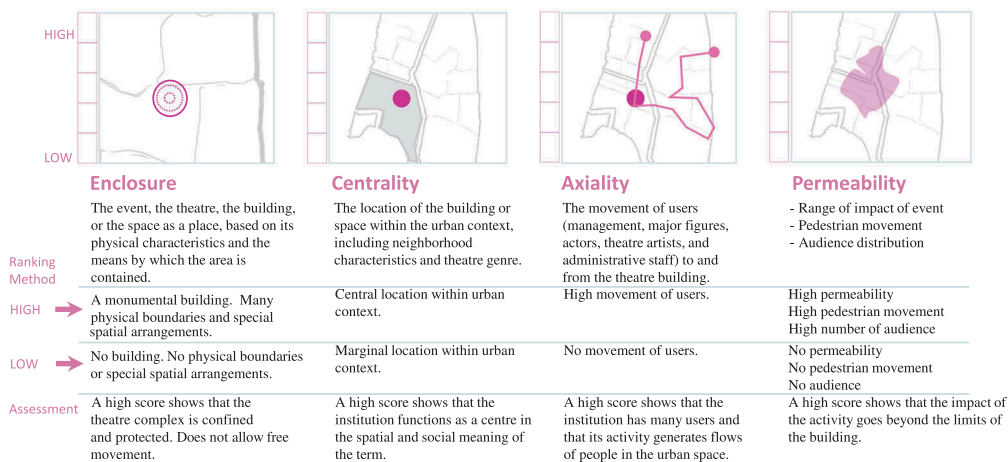


Figure 2. Spatial-social categories for analysis.

theatres’ repertoire and schedule in order to understand the relationship between the artistic content of each institution and its immediate surroundings. We then translated the information collected into schemes and diagrams regarding the city’s morphology in relation to the theatre institutions.

**2. Ethnographic fieldwork** was employed as a method of observing the manner in which people use and relate to urban space, as well as the relationships between the different users. It encompassed participant observations conducted in five different theatre institutions in the city between September 2014 and September 2017, countless informal conversations with representatives of each of the institutions, and over 20 in depth-interviews with managers, artists, administrators, high school and college students, and technical employees, as well as a random sampling of audience members. All observations and interviews were documented in a field diary and were later translated into spatial diagrams designed to reflect the manner in which different agents use the space.

Figure 1 illustrates the integration of the urban survey and the ethnography by distilling the information from both methods into diagrams, superimposing them onto one another, and analyzing them according to the four spatial categories of enclosure, centrality, paths, and permeability. By translating Stevens and Shin (2014) textual categories into spatial diagrams, we integrated theoretical knowledge with applied knowledge and suggesting a unique method for understanding and analyzing contemporary cities.

Juxtaposing spatial and artistic phenomena provided us with a clear visual expression of artistic intervention on the urban scale, affording a comprehensive view of the relationship between theatrical activity and the contested urban space in which it occurs.

Case study: The shape of theatre in Acre

Acre, located in Israel’s northern coastal plain, is a city with a long and abiding history of theatrical activity which, over the past four decades, has come to be known throughout Israel as a “theatre city.” Acre is currently home to five theatrical institutions, each of which is located in a different part of the city, addresses a different audience, and hosts a different theatrical genre. At the same time, despite its legacy as one of the world’s oldest cities, Acre is a peripheral mid-sized city. Its mixed population of 48,000 residents, which is 67% Jewish and 28% Arab (CBS, 2015a), belong to the same 14,260 hectares municipal jurisdiction, but is socially and spatially divided along national, religious, and economic lines (Falah, Hoy, & Sarker, 2000; Luz & Stadler, 2009). These unique demographic and geographic conditions make Acre an excellent case study to observe whether the artistic

activities lead to a change in the urban socio-spatial divisions, and to demonstrate our proposed method.

To illustrate this method, the article's case study section consists of two layers: the first presents the urban structure of Acre, and the second presents the theatre activity in the city. Each layer is structured according to the literature in the field: the urban structure is analyzed in the spirit of the above mentioned spatial-morphological analyzes, and the theatre activity illustrates the main issues raised by the literature on theatre and urban space: theatre festivals as flagship events, theatre buildings as urban monuments, theatres as a subversive art form, and theatre as an educative and therapeutic medium. Each of the institutions are analyzed according to the four socio-spatial categories of enclosure, centrality, axially, and permeability, and will be summed up in a spatial analysis.

### *The first layer: Acre's urban structure*

Our analysis of Acre's urban patterns and open spaces enabled us to develop a diagrammatic reading of Acre composed of four distinct urban patterns divided by open areas and transportation systems. **Figure 3** and the text that follows, elaborate on this analysis, which also reflects the history of the city.

(A) The **Old City** is a historic walled city that preserves the unique layered structure of an eleventh century medieval Crusader citadel beneath a fortified Muslim town that was built during the eighteenth century. Adjacent to the Old City is the very differently structured gridiron **New City** (B), which was built during the twentieth century as an alternative to the deteriorating and compact Old City (Waterman, 1971). Until Israel's War of Independence in 1948, Palestinian Arabs accounted for a majority of the city's population. During the war, however, most were expelled and the city was repopulated with Jewish immigrants (Waterman, 1971). The result was a city with a Jewish majority that held exclusive responsibility for planning and municipal decisions and a weak Arab minority that was concentrated in the Old City (Abbasi, 2010). In the 1950s and the 1970s the Israeli government built the newer neighborhoods of **East Acre** (C) and **North Acre** (D), inspired by the neighborhood unit planning strategy. Each neighborhood unit was planned as a system providing its own needs and was encircled by a green strip. The green strips were intended to link the neighborhoods and constituted the organizational basis of the city (Waterman, 1975, p. XII). In practice, in addition to forming a ring encircling the Old City, these strips continue to maintain clear borders between the neighborhoods up to the present. These neighborhoods were primarily



**Figure 3.** The city as a diagram: five theatre institutions in their urban locations.

residential areas that have continued to expand since the 1950s. Negative migration of the Jewish population began in the 1960s, as stronger segments of the population moved out of the city and an increase in the Arab population fueled its expansion out of the Old City and into Acre's newer neighborhoods (Falah et al., 2000). In the 1990s, the ongoing Israeli-Palestinian conflict prompted the Israeli government's attempt to maintain a Jewish majority by populating the newer parts of the city with Jewish immigrants from the former Soviet Union (Torstrick, 2000). This pendulum process left the city with its current largely socioeconomically lower-class population of about 48,000 inhabitants, which, as noted, is 67% Jewish and 28% Arab (CBS, 2015a). Both populations are characterized by an average socioeconomic ranking of 4 out of 10, a high unemployment rate, and a monthly wage that is below the national average (CBS, 2015a, 2015b). Tensions exist between the two urban communities that speaks different languages, and the delicate equilibrium that enables the city's daily routine is shaken by changes in the Israeli-Palestinian conflict (Torstrick, 2000, p. 51).

### ***The second layer: Five theatre institutions***

The five theatre institutions that are explored in this article are located within these four distinctive areas. The unique character and architectural assets of the Old City (marked A in Figure 3) contributed to the establishment of the **Fringe Theatre Festival** (No.1) in 1980 and the subsequent opening of a **Fringe Theatre Center** (No. 2) in 1985. The 1909 plan for the city designated a strip in area B for municipal purposes, which contain the City Hall and the city's **Auditorium** (No.3), built in 1981. Located to the north of this strip, on the border with area D, is the high school of the city's Jewish population, which maintains its own **Theatre Program** (No.4)—one of Israel's pioneering theatre programs, which was established in 1978. In 2006, a regional college was established on the outskirts of East Acre (area C), providing higher education for students from northern Israel, and the college's **Community Theatre Department** (no.5) began operating in 2012. These five theatre institutions differ from one another in their relationship with local urban space. Each is located in a different part of the city, addresses a different audience, and practices a different theatre genre. Their location in this relatively small urban area enabled us to examine all of the four issues that emerge from the literature in one city.

#### ***a. Theatre festivals as flagship events***

Acre's Fringe Theatre Festival was the first theatre festival in Israel and remains the best known in the country. Since 1980, it has been held annually in the Old City's ancient Crusader citadel. The population of the surrounding area consists largely of Palestinian Arabs of a low socioeconomic background (ranking of 1–2 out of 10). Each autumn, theatre professionals and amateurs flock to Acre to see and be seen. For them, taking part in the festival in general, and the competition in particular, is a stepping-stone and rite of passage in the theatre field in Israel (Shem-Tov, 2016). This flagship event, which draws an estimated 150,000 visitors to Acre during its three days, consists of competition shows, guest shows, and outdoor events. We address the overall spatiality of the festival elsewhere (2018). Here, we explore only the four spatial-social categories mentioned above: enclosure, centrality, axuality, and permeability.

Figure 4 reflects the festival's **enclosed** location within a walled city, police barricades, and a fortified citadel, entry to which requires tickets and several security inspections. The festival takes place inside an ancient citadel, and, as noted by the manager of the city's Cultural Department, its artistic activity there contributed to the area's development and, ultimately, to its declaration as a UNESCO World Heritage Site in 2001: "The artists were the first to identify the potential of the citadel; their performances in it made the public aware of its qualities" (Interview 1.2.2018). This, in turn, led to archeological excavations and restoration of the city's magnificent layered structure. This area is the city's **central** asset.

In addition to the city's social marginality, this unique urban setting within the historic Muslim city and the Crusader citadel is consistent with the subversive image of Fringe Theatre. Nevertheless, the festival's social **centrality** stems from its cultural and symbolic role within the Israeli theatrical



Figure 4. Spatial-social analysis of the Fringe Theatre Festival.

milieu, not its urban context. An **axiality** diagram reflects that most festival attendees—who are mainly Jewish artists and directors—come from outside of Acre, whereas its technical support (ushers, security personnel, and general workers) comes from within the city itself, and usually its eastern Jewish sections. The festival's activity **permeates** the Old City and, to some extent, the adjacent parts of the new city. Pedestrian movement is extensive but limited to the three evenings of the festival, and most visitors do not remain in Acre overnight (Interview 1.2.2018). Whereas the audience of the competition shows consist primarily of members of the theatre milieu from Tel Aviv, the majority of visitors, including members of both the Jewish and Palestinian Arab communities in Acre, do not attend the festival's shows and participate only in the outdoor events that are free of charge (Yavo-Ayalon, Aharon-Gutman, & Alon-Mozes, 2018). Acre locals refrain from attending the shows out of lack of interest in their artistic content, and, as most of the shows are in Hebrew, they hold even less appeal for the Arab community. At the same time, the festival plays a major role in generating the yearly income of the local Arab community. As emphasized by one local Arab: "We wait all year for the festival. It brings with it the light and the money" (Interview 17.9. 2015). Members of the city's Jewish population, however, feel that the festival's economic benefit skips over them, and this creates tension between the two communities.

The superimposing of diagrams reveals that the festival's influence is concentrated in and limited to the Old City, as suggested by one local's characterization of the festival as "a spaceship that lands here for a few days and then disappears" (Interview 1.2.2017). It has minimum axial connection and permeability with other areas, and, although it is located in a predominantly Arab area, its main users are members of the dominant Jewish group from outside of Acre.

#### ***b. The theatre building as an urban monument***

The 800-seat City Auditorium is the city's official municipal cultural hall. It was built in 1981, in a Brutalist style typical to Israeli governmental buildings of that era. Its repertoire is geared primarily toward the tastes of the local community and offers a diverse program, from productions by major Israeli theatres, to children's shows, to stand-up comedians and popular musical performance.

Figure 5 analyzes the auditorium's relationship with its urban surroundings and shows that it is **enclosed** by a concrete monumental building that is elevated on a platform above street level and detached from its surroundings. The auditorium's **centrality** stems from the city's original 1909 plan, which designated

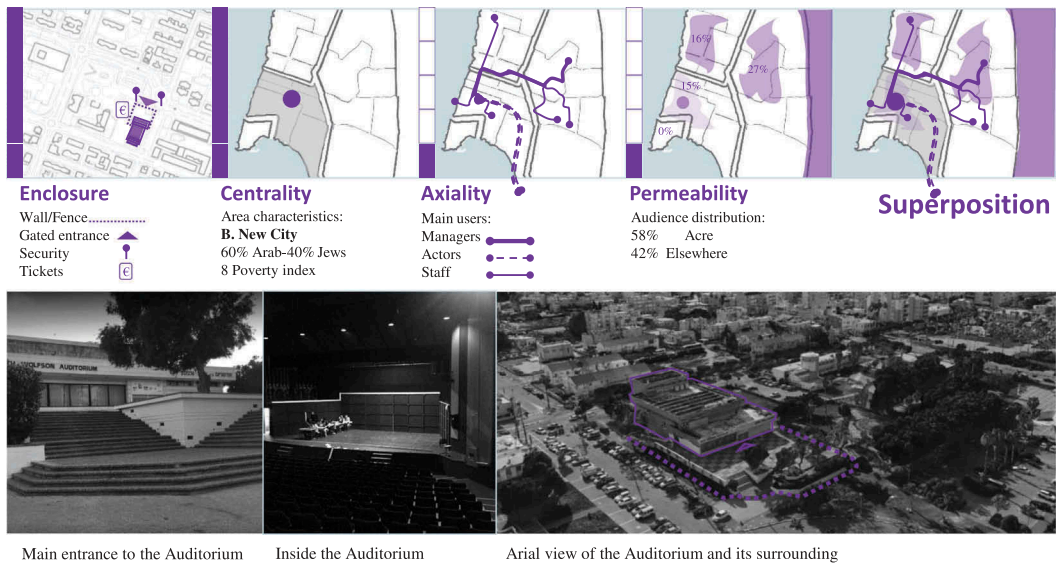


Figure 5. Spatial-social analysis of the city's Auditorium.

a strip of land in the heart of the city for municipal purposes. The population of this area is 70% Palestinian Arab and 30% Jewish Israeli and is characterized by a slightly higher socioeconomic ranking of 4–6. The **axiality** map reflects that whereas the auditorium's manager and administrative staff come mainly from East and North Acre, its actors and performers are part of the Israeli repertoire theatre and consist primarily of Jewish-Israeli performers from Tel Aviv. In other words, although it is located in a mixed neighborhood, its main users do not live in the surrounding neighborhoods. Finally, the **permeability** of pedestrian movement is limited to event times and to and from the adjacent parking lot. An analysis of the auditorium's subscribers' roster indicates that almost half of its subscribers (42%) come from outside the city, whereas most of the remaining 58% hail from East and North Acre. Only 15% of subscribers come from the New City where the building is located, and not a single subscriber comes from the Old City, indicating that most of the audience is Jewish.

Our superimposition of the four categories reveals that the auditorium's theatrical activity does not penetrate the nearby community. Despite its Jewish manager's emphasis on its inclusive policy, which "welcomes all citizens of the city," (Interview 21.2.2017), and despite its location in the heart of an area whose population is mainly Arab, its repertoire speaks primarily to the Jewish community, as reflected in its exclusively Hebrew postings on the auditorium's website. According to the manager and to our own observations, the auditorium also has an alternative Arabic-language repertoire consisting of shows for children and other performances. However, detailed information about this repertoire is not provided on the website, indicating that the institution's appeal to the city's Arab population is still in its infancy and produces a significantly smaller volume of activity.

### c. Theatre as a subversive art form

Acre's Fringe Theatre Center was founded in 1985 by a group of artists who were awarded first prize at the festival. In addition to "creating ground-breaking art from its peripheral location outside the mainstream," one of their main goals was to produce site-specific works influenced by the local setting and community (Interview 10.3.2015). The center is a unique phenomenon in Israeli theatre due to its artistic language and its Jewish-Arab collaboration. Its team is composed of artists and administrators from both communities who work and create side by side. Together, they produce and host original fringe shows and run an art incubator that helps young theatre artists develop their own works.

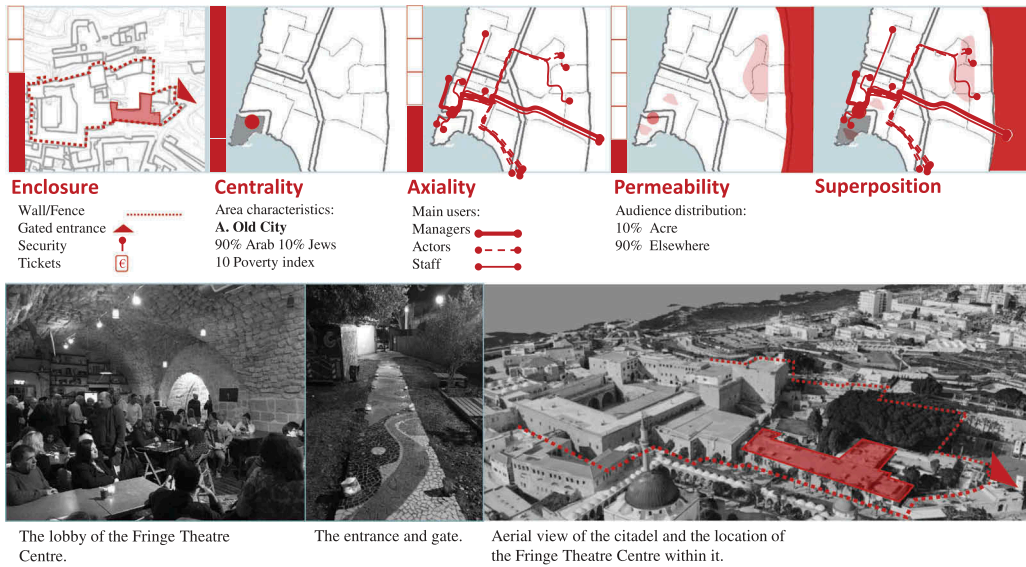


Figure 6. Spatial-social analysis of the Fringe Theatre Centre.

Figure 6 shows the center's location **enclosed** within the ancient citadel in the Old City, which consists of a compound of stone buildings encircled by a fence and a gate. The Fringe Center is located in the Old City adjacent to the citadel's courtyard. As the Old City is Acre's main tourism asset, this location is a central one. At the same time, since its population consists largely of members of the country's socioeconomically underprivileged Arab minority living in a dense, ancient Muslim city with deteriorating infrastructure and neglected conditions, it is also a marginal location that fits the artistic-social image with which Fringe Theatre is associated. Fringe Theatre enjoys a social and cultural centrality within Israeli artistic discourse that draws theatre students from all over the country to acquire professional experience in Fringe Theatre. The **axiality** map reflects the fact that the center's team hails from all parts of the city, with an almost equal ratio of Arabs to Jews. In this sense, it can be thought of as a "bubble of shared-existence" (Interview 10.3.2015), although the center's limited **permeability** gives a different impression. Pedestrian movement occurs mainly to and from the adjacent parking lot and only at event time, and a mapping of subscribers indicates that 90% come from outside of Acre. Aware of this detachment, the center reaches out to the local Arab and Jewish communities with afterschool activities for children from the Arab high school, a group for elderly Arab women from the Old City, a group for religious Jewish women from East Acre, and more. The aim of this activity is to familiarize these population groups with the center's activities, to engage them as creators and audiences, and, via them, to reach their families and friends. As participants in such activities are not part of a subscribers' list, they are extremely difficult to track.

The superimposing of diagrams reveals the center's extremely limited effect on its immediate surroundings. Although many of the center's performances are inspired by the local Arab setting and population, the site's physical isolation and the internal nature of the theatre's activity result in detachment and exclusion of the locals. As one of the center's students from Tel Aviv explains, "I've been studying here for almost a year, but I've never gone outside to see the Turkish market" (Interview 6.6.2017), which is located just 500 meters away and one of the main tourist attractions in the city. Similarly, asking locals for directions to the Fringe Center reveals that most do not know where it is located. Indeed, though the center's doors are always open, the majority of Old City

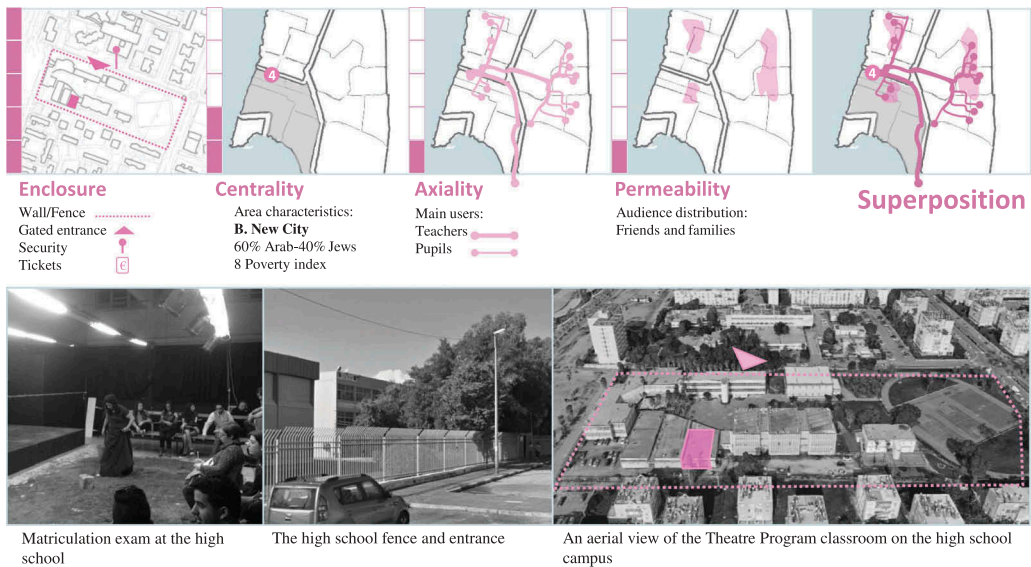


Figure 7. Spatial-social analysis of the High School Theatre Program.

residents have never visited it. Its social activity remains very low key, representing an example of limited collaboration between the city's two communities.

#### *d. Theatre as an educative and therapeutic medium*

Founded in 1978, Acre's high school theatre program was one of the first of its kind in Israel. The school is intended primarily for the Jewish community and the language of instruction is Hebrew. Approximately fifteen Jewish Israeli teenagers graduate from the program each year after completing a curriculum and a final exam based on repertory theatre.

Figure 7 illustrates the program's **enclosure** in a classroom inside a school building within a gated metal fence, as well as the fact that entrance is afforded to authorized individuals alone (students and their teachers). The school is located in the middle of the New City, adjacent to the municipal strip, in a **central** location that, like the location of the auditorium, is part of the city's original plan. Today, the population of this area is 60% Arab, although the **axiality** map shows that students hail mainly from East and North Acre. As a result, the program's **permeability** to its immediate surroundings is extremely limited. The program opens its doors to audiences at the end of the school year for an event for parents, family, and friends who, like the school's students themselves, come from East and North Acre. On these occasions as well, the activity never ventures off school grounds.

In all four categories, the program functions as a detached bubble that relates not to its immediate surrounding but rather to the more remote Jewish parts of the city. This situation might be explainable on a general level by the absence of contact between Jewish and Arab children in the city, and more specifically by Jewish students' attitude to Arab children, as reflected in one student's acknowledgment that "when I see an Arab kid in the street, I cross to the other side ... I'm afraid that he will spit at me or make a rude gesture ... ." Similarly, when a teacher suggested that the students go purchase props in the Old City, the students ignored her instructions and, in private conversations, explained that they never go to the Old City, "because it is dangerous" or because their parents had warned them "never to go there by ourselves ... ." (Interviews 22.7.2015).

The educative and therapeutic capabilities of theatre also find expression in the activity of the local college's Department of Community Theatre. First opened in 2012, this department offers a bachelor's degree in community theatre as well as a teaching certificate. In its capacity as a tool for

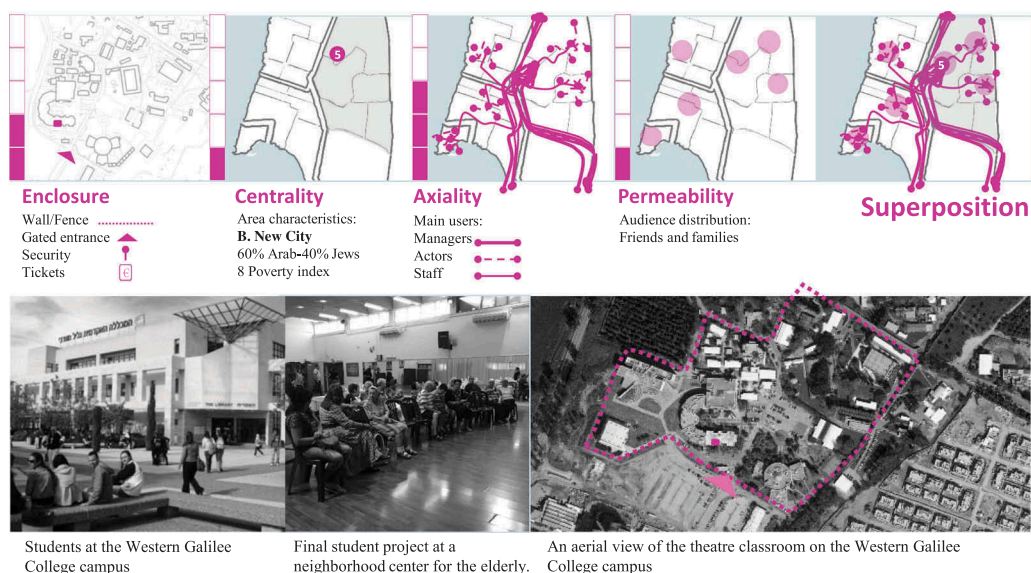


Figure 8. Spatial-social analysis of the Community Theatre Department at the local college.

raising the voice of weakened groups, community theatre by nature has certain socio-political attributes. In accordance with its agenda, the department operates within local communities as a therapeutic tool based on their members' life stories. Each year, approximately 15 high school students graduate from the program, and their final project includes leading a theatre group in one of various locations within the local community.

As reflected in Figure 8, this working process has a different spatial manifestation than that of the other institutions. The department is **enclosed** within a college campus and surrounded by several layers of physical boundaries. It is **centrally** situated in the country's northern region but located on the outskirts of the city in an area with a Jewish majority characterized by a higher socioeconomic ranking (in the eighth decile). This assessment is reinforced by the **axiality** map, which reveals that most users come from outside the city, including Arab and Jewish students from Israel's northern regions and, primarily, Jewish lecturers from the Tel Aviv metropolitan area. Despite the department's detached nature in all three categories, its outreach and impact is quite effective. The social agenda of creating projects in conjunction with the local community creates a situation in which a number of different enclosures exist alongside the main campus, each differing according to the characteristics of the project. Each project creates smaller axial connections to the community it addresses and reaches out to the family and friends of the amateur actors, thereby creating a dispersed **permeability** map.

The superimposition shows that the college's strategy of implementing isolated projects throughout the city generates impact on a citywide scale. Despite the small number of projects, each engages a different community and creates a map of smaller varied temporal bubbles in multiple locations.

Nonetheless, it should be noted that the campus itself is situated on the outskirts of East Acre in a predominantly Jewish area located a considerable distance from the Old City, making it less accessible to the inhabitants of this Arab core area.

## Discussion

In this article, we mapped and analyzed the socio-spatial relationship between theatre and the city, developed an analytical spatial way of understanding the shape assumed by urban theatre activity,

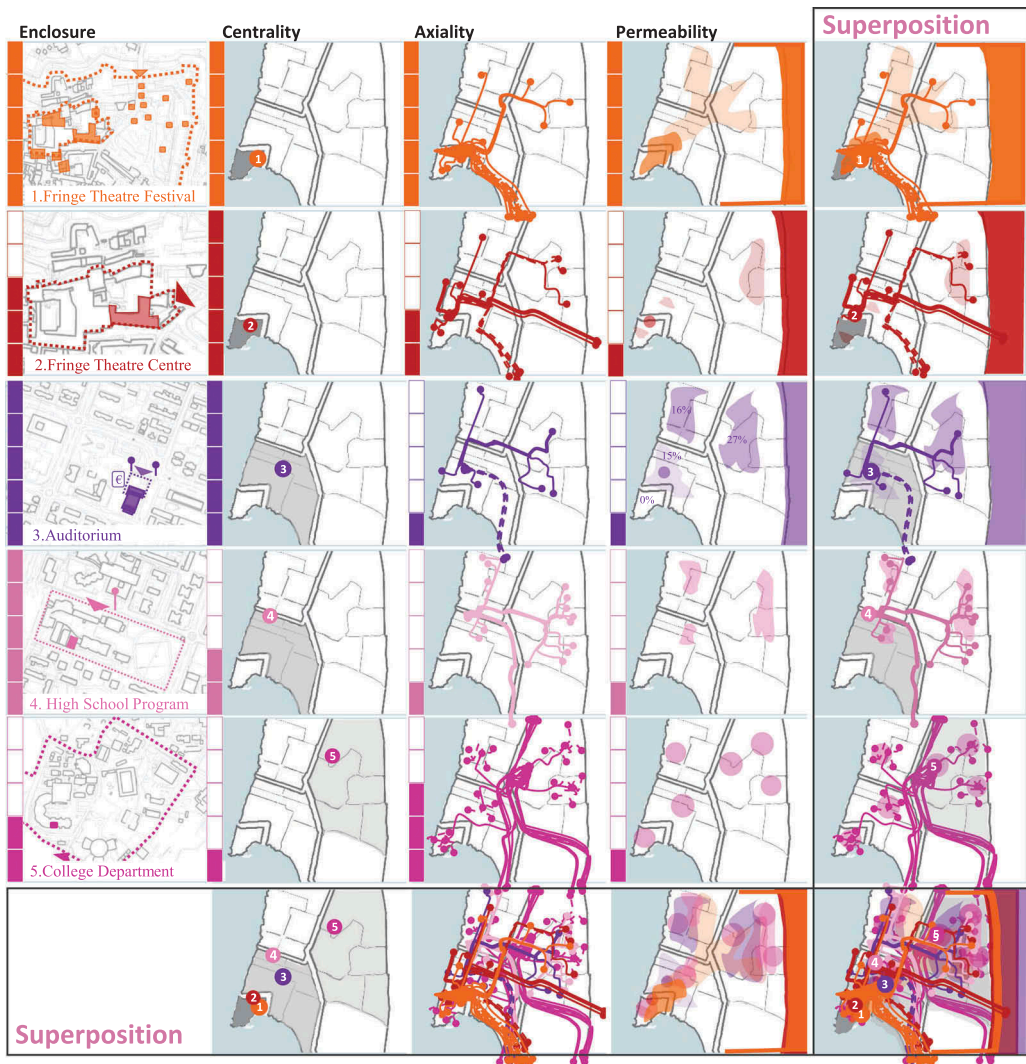


Figure 9. Findings and analysis using super-imposition matrix.

and proposed this analysis as a method that makes integrated use of urban physicality and social issues to decipher the impact of theatre activity on the urban space in which it occurs. Figure 9 shows the super-imposition matrix of all five theatre institutions albeit the four socio-spatial categories. Our analysis is based on this matrix that shows that in the case study of Acre, a medium sized city in the Middle East, the artistic activity had little influence on the spatial division of the city. However, we emphasize that this methodology is applicable to other cities and other fields of art that could produce different shapes and lead to different outcomes.

In our analysis, we used the four socio-spatial categories of enclosure, centrality, axiality, and permeability to determine whether theatre activity in the city preserves, duplicates, traverses, or challenges the structures of the city. We found that, in Acre, the theatrical activity was limited to the enclosed boundaries of the theatre building or event and that its socio-spatial impact did not affect the segregated structure of the city. It did, however, have some influence on urban renewal and city image, which is a conclusion supported by the spatial analysis in several ways.

Three of the categories examined—enclosure, centrality, and permeability—support the common claim that artistic activity tends to exclude local communities and re-establish social power relations (Peck, 2005; Morgan & Ren, 2012; Olsen, 2017). Each building or event is **enclosed** by several layers of physical barriers, such as fences, walls, and guards, creating closed urban environments that are neither inviting nor accessible to those who are not part of the familiar group that operates and uses it or those who have purchased tickets. In terms of **centrality**, we identified a correlation, similar to that noted in the literature (Harvie, 2009, p. 25), between the location of the building or event and the artistic genre it offers: fringe theatre in a derelict socially marginal area; institutional repertoire theatre in the area of the city's municipal institutions; and community theatre in a variety of community centers. In most cases, however, the artistic content does not appeal to the population of the neighborhood in which the institution is located. Theatrical events also do not typically **permeate** their immediate surroundings (with the exception of the festival). Put simply, each event impacts the urban environment for only a short time before it begins and after it ends. Moreover, a mapping of audience distribution indicated that the audience does not hail from the area in which the institution is located but rather from other parts of the city or outside the city altogether, and is primarily Jewish. Taken together, these findings highlight each institution's nature as a detached institution that is disconnected from the space in which it operates.

The **axiality** analysis—specifically those of the Fringe Theatre Center, the high school program, and the Community Theatre Department—highlighted an interesting phenomenon that suggests a different approach to the enclosed nature of the theatre activity. According to our analysis of Acre's urban structure, the fact that people come from different areas also makes it highly likely that they come from different socio-economic, national, and ethno-religious backgrounds. Therefore, the movement of people to and from the theatre establishes spatial connections that might not have been established otherwise, as people from different areas work at, watch, and participate in shows performed elsewhere. This suggests that, for those who choose theatre as a way of life, artistic activity fosters the possibility of a different usage of urban space through which individual agents can take initiative, follow an artistic trajectory, and create their own paths and narratives. These individuals can serve as agents of change, and it is their artistic trajectories that will be the focus of our future research.

To sum up, in our case study of Acre, our methodology revealed that each theatre institution operates largely within its own spatial and social sphere, with little or no connection to its immediate surroundings or to other theatre institutions in the city: theatre activity in Acre has not affected the segregated structure of the city. As this activity has typically been led by Jewish artists and conducted in the Hebrew language, it has appealed mainly to the dominant Jewish majority. Therefore, despite their artistic intention to work with and for the local community, and their aims of changing and contributing to local urban space, their work may unintentionally be serving to duplicate and reinforce the power of the dominant group. In the long run, it has not fostered change in the urban socio-spatial divisions that contribute to the city's negative image.

We stress that using this analytical method enabled us to articulate clear conclusions regarding the relationship between artistic activity and urban space. We found that in Acre, the shape of artistic activity has little effect on its immediate urban surroundings. Nonetheless, the method we propose here gives shape to abstract urban phenomena in a manner that we believe could be useful in analyzing other urban spaces in relation to other artistic genres.

## Note

1. The term *mixed city* is used in Israel to describe a situation in which Arab and Jewish communities share a single urban jurisdiction. This study's analysis of Acre as a mixed city is partially based on studies such as Monterescu (2005), Rabinowitz and Monterescu (2007), and Yacobi (2009).

## Acknowledgments

This work was supported by the Israeli President's Grant for Scientific Excellence and Innovation and the Pais Council for Art and Culture.

## Disclosure statement

No potential conflict of interest was reported by the authors.

## About the authors

**Sharon Yavo-Ayalon** is a PhD candidate in the Faculty of Architecture and Town Planning at the Technion, Israel Institute of Technology.

**Tal Alon-Mozes** is an Associate Professor in the Faculty of Architecture and Town Planning at the Technion, Israel Institute of Technology.

**Meirav Aharon-Gutman** is an Assistant Professor in the Faculty of Architecture and Town Planning at the Technion, Israel Institute of Technology.

## ORCID

Sharon Yavo-Ayalon  <http://orcid.org/0000-0001-9720-3717>

Tal Alon-Mozes  <http://orcid.org/0000-0003-3558-1514>

## References

- Abbasi, M. (2010). The fall of Acre in the 1948 Palestine War. *Journal of Palestine Studies*, 39(4), 6–27. doi:10.1525/jps.2010.XXXIX.4.6
- Aharon-Gutman, M. (2017). Art's failure to generate urban renewal: Lessons from Jerusalem. *Urban Studies*, 55(15), 3474–3491. doi:10.1177/0042098017743682
- Alexander, C. (1966). A city is not a tree. *City*, 122(1), 58–62. doi:10.1017/CBO9781107415324.004
- Alexander, C. (1977). *A pattern language*. Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press.
- Banks, M. (2013). Creative cities, counter-finance and the aesthetics of exchange: Copenhagen's artmoney project. *Cities*, 33, 36–42. doi:10.1016/j.cities.2012.05.010
- Bishop, C. (2006). The social turn: Collaboration and its discontents. *Artforum*, 44(6), 178–183.
- Bourriaud, N. (2002). *Relational aesthetics (English Ve)*. Dijon, France: Les Presses Du Reel.
- Carlson, M. (1993). *Places of performance: The semiotics of theatre architecture*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press.
- Carmona, M., Heath, T., Oc, T., & Tiesdell, S. (2003). *Public places—urban spaces*. Burlington, MA and Oxford, UK: Architectural Press.
- CBS. (2015a). Retrieved January 17, 2020 from [https://old.cbs.gov.il/publications17/local\\_authorities15\\_1683/pdf/218\\_7600.pdf](https://old.cbs.gov.il/publications17/local_authorities15_1683/pdf/218_7600.pdf)
- CBS. (2015b). Retrieved January 17, 2020 from [https://old.cbs.gov.il/publications17/local\\_authorities15\\_1683/pdf/314\\_5000.pdf](https://old.cbs.gov.il/publications17/local_authorities15_1683/pdf/314_5000.pdf)
- Deener, A. (2007). Commerce as the structure and symbol of neighborhood life: Reshaping the meaning of community in Venice, California. *City & Community*, 6, 291–314. doi:10.1111/j.1540-6040.2007.00229.x
- Deutsche, R. (1996). *EVICTIONS art and spatial politics*. Cambridge, MA: Graham Foundation, MIT Press.
- Eizenberg, E., & Cohen, N. (2015). Reconstructing urban image through cultural flagship events: The case of Bat-Yam. *Cities*, 42(PA), 54–62. doi:10.1016/j.cities.2014.09.003
- Falah, G., Hoy, M., & Sarker, R. (2000). Co-existence in selected mixed Arab-Jewish cities in Israel: By choice or by default? *Urban Studies*, 37(4), 775–796. doi:10.1080/00420980050004017
- Florida, R. (2002). *The rise of the creative class: And how it's transforming work, leisure, community and everyday life* (Vol. 3). New York, NY: Basic Books.
- Florida, R. (2005). *Cities and the Creative Class*. New York, NY: Routledge.
- Florida, R. (2017). *The new urban crisis: How our cities are increasing inequality, deepening segregation, and failing the middle class—And what we can do about it*. New York, NY: Basic Books.
- Garcia, B. (2004). Cultural policy and urban regeneration in Western European cities: Lessons from experience, prospects for the future. *Local Economy*, 19(4), 312–326. doi:10.1080/0269094042000286828

- Grodach, C., Currid-Halkett, E., Foster, N., & Murdoch, III, J. (2014). The location patterns of artistic clusters: A metro- and neighborhood-level analysis. *Urban Studies*, 51(13). doi:[10.1177/0042098013516523](https://doi.org/10.1177/0042098013516523)
- Hackworth, J. (2007). *The neoliberal city: Governance, ideology, and development in American Urbanism*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press.
- Harvie, P. J. (2009). *Theatre and the city*. New York, NY: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Jamieson, K. (2004). Edinburgh. *Space and Culture*, 7(1), 64–75. doi:[10.1177/1206331203256853](https://doi.org/10.1177/1206331203256853)
- Kostof, S. (1991). *The city shaped: Urban patterns and meanings through history*. Boston, MA: Bullfinch Press.
- Kostof, S., & Castillo, G. (1999). *The city assembled: The elements of urban form through history*. London: Thames and Hudson.
- Kwon, M. (2002). *One place after another*. Cambridge, MA: The MIT Press.
- Lev-Aladgem, S. (2005). A blow not written in the Torah: Battered women in a community theater. *Theory and Criticism [in Hebrew]*, 27, 145–170.
- Lev-Aladgem, S. (2010). ‘Theatre of the people’: Rhetoric versus an apparatus for subversion and control in the Mizrahi co-community. *Theatre in Co-Communities*, 77–98. doi:[10.1057/9780230276499\\_6](https://doi.org/10.1057/9780230276499_6)
- Ley, D. (2003). Artists, aestheticisation and the field of gentrification. *Urban Studies*, 40(12), 2527–2544. doi:[10.1080/0042098032000136192](https://doi.org/10.1080/0042098032000136192)
- Loureiro de Matos, F. (2018). *Urban morphology: An introduction to the study of the physical form of cities*, by Vítor Oliveira. *Journal of Urban Affairs*, 40(8), 1197–1199. doi:[10.1080/07352166.2018.1470872](https://doi.org/10.1080/07352166.2018.1470872)
- Luger, J. D. (2017). But I’m just an artist!? Intersections, identity, meaning, and context. *Antipode*, 49(5), 1329–1348. doi:[10.1111/anti.12327](https://doi.org/10.1111/anti.12327)
- Luz, N., & Stadler, N. (2009). Urban planning, religious voices and ethnicity in the contested city of Acre. In J. Rokem & C. Boano (Eds.), *Urban geopolitics: Rethinking planning in contested cities* (pp. 138–151). London, UK: Routledge.
- Lynch, K. (1960). *The image of the city*. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.
- Lynch, K. (1984). *Good city form*. Boston, MA: MIT Press.
- McAuley, G. (1999). *Space in performance: Making meaning in the theatre*. Ann Arbor, MI: University of Michigan Press.
- McAuley, G., Others. (2012). Site-specific performance: Place, memory and the creative agency of the spectator. *Arts: The Journal of the Sydney University Arts Association*, 27(April 2005), 27–51.
- Miles, M. (1997). *Art, space and the city: Public art and urban future*. London, UK: Routledge.
- Molnar, V. (2017). Street art and the changing urban public sphere. *Public Culture*, 29(282), 385–414. doi:[10.1215/08992363-3749117](https://doi.org/10.1215/08992363-3749117)
- Mommaas, H. (2004). Cultural clusters and the post-industrial city: Towards the remapping of urban cultural policy. *Urban Studies*, 41(3), 507–532. doi:[10.1080/0042098042000178663](https://doi.org/10.1080/0042098042000178663)
- Monterescu, D. (2005). *Spatial relationality: Ethnic relations, urban space and the state in Jewish–Arab mixed towns, 1948–2004*. Chicago, IL: University of Chicago.
- Morgan, G., & Ren, X. (2012). The creative underclass: Culture, subculture and urban renewal. *Journal of Urban Affairs*, 34(2), 127–130. doi:[10.1111/j.1467-9906.2012.00606.x](https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1467-9906.2012.00606.x)
- Morgan, M. (2007). Festival spaces and the visitor experience. In M. Casado-Díaz, S. Everett & J. Wilson (Eds.), *Social and cultural change: Making space(s) for leisure and tourism* (pp. 113–130). Eastbourne, UK: Leisure Studies Association.
- Nakagawa, S. (2010). Socially inclusive cultural policy and arts-based urban community regeneration. *Cities*, 27(Suppl. 1), S16–S24. doi:[10.1016/j.cities.2010.03.003](https://doi.org/10.1016/j.cities.2010.03.003)
- Norberg-Schultz. (1979). *Genius Loci—Towards a phenomenology of architecture*. New York, NY: Rizzoli.
- Norberg-Schulz, C. (1971). *Existence, space, and architecture*. New York: Praeger.
- Oliveira, V. (2016). *Urban morphology: An introduction to the study of the physical form of cities*. eBook. Switzerland: Springer.
- Olsen, C. S. (2017). Collaborative challenges: Negotiating the complicities of socially engaged art within an era of neoliberal urbanism. *Environment and Planning D: Society and Space*, 36(2), 279–293. doi:[10.1177/0263775817744782](https://doi.org/10.1177/0263775817744782)
- Orian, D. (2008). *Theater and society (in Hebrew)*. Ra’anana: The Open University of Israel.
- Peck, J. (2005). Struggling with the creative class. *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research*, 29(4), 740–770. doi:[10.1111/ijur.2005.29.issue-4](https://doi.org/10.1111/ijur.2005.29.issue-4)
- Quinn, B. (2005). Arts festivals and the city. *Urban Studies*, 42(May), 927–943. doi:[10.1080/00420980500107250](https://doi.org/10.1080/00420980500107250)
- Quinn, B., & Wilks, L. (2017). Festival heterotopias: Spatial and temporal transformations in two small-scale settlements. *Journal of Rural Studies*, 53, 35–44. doi:[10.1016/j.jrurstud.2017.05.006](https://doi.org/10.1016/j.jrurstud.2017.05.006)
- Rabinowitz, D., & Monterescu, D. (2007). Introduction: The transformation of urban mix in Palestine. In D. Monterescu & D. Rabinowitz (Eds.), *Mixed towns, trapped communities* (pp. 1–32). London and New York: Routledge.
- Rota, F. S., & Salone, C. (2014). Place-making processes in unconventional cultural practices. The case of Turin’s contemporary art festival Paratissima. *Cities*, 40, 90–98. doi:[10.1016/j.cities.2014.03.008](https://doi.org/10.1016/j.cities.2014.03.008)
- Rowe, C., & Koetter, F. (1978). *Collage city*. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.

- Sharp, J., Pollock, V., & Paddison, R. (2005). Just art for a just city: Public art and social inclusion in urban regeneration. *Urban Studies*, 42(May), 1001–1023. doi:10.1080/00420980500106963
- Shaw, S., & Sullivan, D. M. (2011). “White night”: Gentrification, racial exclusion, and perceptions and participation in the arts. *City & Community*, 10(3), 241–264. doi:10.1111/j.1540-6040.2011.01373.x
- Shem-Tov, N. (2016). *Acco festival : Between celebration and confrontation*. Boston, MA: Academic Studies Press.
- Smith, S. J. (1993). Bounding the borders: Claiming space and making place in rural Scotland. *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers*, 18(3), 291–308. doi:10.2307/622461
- Stevens, Q. (2006). The shape of urban experience: A reevaluation of Lynch’s Five Elements. *Environment and Planning B: Planning and Design*, 33(6), 803–823. doi:10.1068/b32043
- Stevens, Q., & Shin, H. R. (2014). Urban festivals and local social space. *Planning Practice and Research*, 29(1), 1–20. doi:10.1080/02697459.2012.699923
- Thwaites, K. (2001). Experiential landscape place: An exploration of space and experience in neighborhood landscape architecture. *Landscape Research*, 26(3), 245–255. doi:10.1080/01426390120068927
- Torstrick, R. L. (2000). *The limits of coexistence: Identity politics in Israel*. Ann Arbor, MI: University of Michigan Press.
- Waterman, S. (1971). Pre-Israeli planning in Palestine: The example of Acre. *The Town Planning Review*, 42(1), 85–99. doi:10.3828/tp.42.1.f236u2783uvq5761
- Waterman, S. (1975). Early post-state planning in Israel—The 1949 plan for Acre. *Horizons in Geography*, 22(1), IX–XVIII.
- Waterman, S. (1998). Carnivals for elites? The cultural politics of arts festivals. *Progress in Human Geography*, 22(1), 54–74. doi:10.1191/030913298672233886
- Willems-Braun, B. (1994). Situating cultural politics: Fringe festivals and the production of spaces of intersubjectivity. *Environment and Planning D: Society and Space*, 12, 75–104. doi:10.1068/d120075
- Woodson, S. E. (2004). Creating an educational theatre program for the twenty-first century. *Arts Education Policy Review*, 105(4), 25–30. doi:10.3200/AEPR.105.4.25-30
- Yacobi, H. (2009). *The Jewish-Arab city: Spatio-Politics in a mixed community*. New York, NY: Routledge.
- Yavo-Ayalon, S., Aharon-Gutman, M., & Alon-Mozes, T. (2018). Can art breach boundaries? Segregation and hierarchy at a fringe theatre festival in the Israeli mixed city of Acre. *Journal of Urban Design*, 4809(January), 1–24. doi:10.1080/13574809.2017.1418174
- Zukin, S. (1998). Urban lifestyles: Diversity and standardisation in spaces of consumption. *Urban Studies*, 35(5–6), 825–839. doi:10.1080/0042098984574