

Decolonizing Socially Engaged Art Practice in
East Jerusalem
- a Critical Reflection in Non-Western
Context

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I hereby declare that the work presented in this thesis is my own. Wherever contributions of others are involved, these are clearly acknowledged.

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“... re-writing is an action in which, in saying something, one not only says something but also does something, that is to say, changes a relationship either of the speaker to the world, of one part of the world to another, or of the world to the speaker. And if this is right then we might begin to think about discourses, of which “historiography” would be one, as speech acts which, in saying something about the world, seek to change the world, the way one might relate to it, or the way things related to one another in the world. “ —
—Hayden White 2010, 34

There is no freedom in silence.
—Steve Bantu Biko Gordon 2015

Abstract

The question of representation and participation is one of the essential criteria in participatory art practice compared to the conventional relationship between art and viewer. This form of artistic engagement with social issues, also declared as socially engaged art, with the audience's participation, is closely interwoven with claims to enlighten, emancipate, and generate direct democratic participation - even if only temporarily fleeting. These concepts of art action have caused a global wave of participatory art that addresses the need for social change and exchange beyond politically entrenched norms. However, is this concept transferable without reflection? What happens when this concept is implemented by (post-) colonial subjects or neocolonial references? This question is explored in the dissertation "Decolonizing Socially Engaged Art Practice in East Jerusalem - a Critical Reflection in Non-Western Context" The starting point for the investigation is my curatorial practice of participatory urban interventions, which I implemented as the director of the art organization Al Hoash in East Jerusalem in 2013-2016. Under the title "Reviewing Jerusalem," the participatory art project sought to make subaltern narratives and hegemonic power structures in public urban space. However, despite the current high profile and greater acceptance of social engaged art formats, as well as the move toward a global concept of art that takes into account the Eurocentric focus of art history, the highly profound discussions do not mirror the experience and observation gathered in Jerusalem.

This practice - based thesis is located within the field of art sciences and seeks to critically engage with my experiences to bring them into the theoretical discourse on participatory art practice, predominantly discussed from the distanced observers and critics' perspective. The analysis attempts to activate reflections on the notion of participation, the public sphere, and participation through a theoretical engagement that derives from political theory (Nancy Fraser, Jürgen Habermas, Michael Warner) and reflections on spatial sociology (Henry Lefebvre). The focus is on retro perspective autoethnographic records that address conceptualization, development, and implementation, focusing on trust consolidations with residents, knowledge transfer of theoretical concepts, and adaptation to specific political, social, and geographic conditions on the ground. The applied canonized theories of participatory art practice and their terminologies are

contrasted with the experienced challenges, problem-solving and alternative approaches of the Palestinian art initiative in occupied East Jerusalem to transfer them into an ethical-political and epistemic debate. The decolonial approach implied here is understood as a conversation between theories, practical experiences, and disciplines - an attempt to talk to rather than about protagonists to elicit new considerations from the discussion of disagreements and intersections and can be read as both a guide to situated practice and an examination of conditions determining practice. The results of the case study of socially engaged art practices are used to identify behaviors in public space, which are applied to further reflections on an understanding of public space. The research thus moves from an analysis of a specific artistic practice and its associated theories to an investigation of spatial consciousness beyond dominant discourses.

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Introduction

Kids' laughter is all over the park and filled with their energy. Their presence dominates the park's atmosphere and changes the common understanding of how to use and behave in this place normally. After a while, the scene changes and the packed crowd gathers around an imaginary circus ring, defined by the performers. Most of the kids sit in the grass, still wearing the white Zalet Lisan T-shirts with black and white sketches of wild animals. A drug addict observes the activities from the side, approaching the area, joining the kids, blending into the group. The sunset changes the color of the sky and softens the light when the first circus member starts his performance on the vertical bar. His figure is outlined against the sky, and his movements merge with the melancholy melody. It is a short, dreamy moment of magic, softness, and rest from reality. More follows. The end of the show comes together with the fading light. The audience rewards the group with thunderous applause and rises, ready to leave. Then suddenly, new sounds break through the air. Whispering voices in Arabic are telling stories and fables. Linen sheets are hanging between some of the trees at a certain distance from each other, in different sizes, some people group in front of them, waiting to see what will appear, when the first scenes show a lion, sitting calmly in high yellow grass, replaced after a while by two rhinoceros, eating plants stoically. One of the canvases is fixed so that it overlooks the stone wall that surrounds the park. A giraffe appears with its long, majestic neck. This sight seems almost natural from a distance as if the animal were peering over the wall. Passers-by stop for a moment and stare at the image. Meanwhile, people continue to stroll through the park, lingering and listening to the recorded stories as darkness settles over the city.¹

Imaginary visions, mythical creatures, and recorded oral histories are part of a scene that explores the possibilities of being outside of reality and the daily routine. What seems to be a poetic but everyday experience of an art intervention in a park takes on a meaning of its own in an environment where it is not a given that people claim public space for their well-being, aesthetic excitement, and social protest. Understanding the notion of "not given" and making it accessible for readers is a driving force of this investigation. Combined with reflections on the intertwined moment between the concept of social art interactions and public space, the notion marks the beginning of a search for

¹ The description is an excerpt from a vignette, written retrospectively about the first art intervention in public space in 2014 during my leadership of the Palestinian art organization *Al Hoash – the Palestinian Art Court*.

a format that reveals the needs and consequences during on-site practice. These often-overlooked deviations from the norm can lead us to insights, to look again at our set norms and assumptions, and to re-examine them. The point of departure for the considerations presented here is the attempt to trace experiences of socially engaged art, here specifically participatory artistic interactions, in a place marked by struggles for power and status and standing at the center of a conflict of international breadth, Jerusalem.²

The described activity was part of an overall approach that I initiated over three years between 2013 and 2016 as head of a Palestinian art organization in Jerusalem, where we tried to enter the public space of East Jerusalem in order to tackle everyday hegemonic power structures in this urban space; to make Palestinian identity visible again.³ In this situation, it was above all participatory, urban artistic interventions and workshops that seemed to be suitable ways to address socio-political spatial and everyday problems for the Palestinian population in Jerusalem. The concepts and principles of participation in public space promised an approach beyond an art form perceived as elitist, offering ways to implement our project directly with the community around the gallery. Participatory forms move the recipient from a contemplative-passive position to a co-determining participant in an artistic process, thus shifting the location of art from museums and galleries into society (Feldhoff 2009, 24). Although the implementation of the three-year project generated a number of practices that were appropriate to conditions on the ground, the impression emerged that "something"—an essential point in dealing with participatory art practice in public space in a non-European context—was overlooked. This impression provides the starting point for this doctoral thesis, which aims to make the production process of art practice comprehensible and, with the observations developed from it, to identify what I have referred to as "something." At the center of this investigation stands the transcription and reflection of an art practice experience that has not been discussed in the literature with regard to the particular situation in Jerusalem. Despite this specific context, the research presented here offers an opportunity to sharpen

² In the course of the thesis, I will use the two terms "socially engaged art" and "participatory art intervention", whereas socially engaged art practice is defined as a collective term and participatory art intervention as a concrete form of implementation.

³ "Public space" has, according to spatial and social studies, procedural and topographical approaches, where the latter is concentrated on the spatial meaning of "public," so, for example, the physical place but also institutional structures of politics that influence a place, or determine the use of that space. It is also closely linked to the idea of a space that is connected to the idea of "public spheres"—becoming a site of political action through public address at a particular moment in time. It is thus defined as a space of civil society, in contrast to the private space and the institutionalized space (Waldherr, Klinger, and Pfetsch 2021; Kahraman 2017).

the focus on a practice of socially engaged art interventions beyond ideal-typical conditions, as the observations and experiences made in the field provide insights for realizing art interventions in highly contested spaces, and thus offer reflections on participatory art interventions with participants that can be used for theoretical discourse beyond ideal-typical circumstances.

Unfolding

The importance of public space as a seismograph for the state of a society is an ongoing topic of discussion, particularly in sociology but also in critical geography and urban studies, with traditions dating back to the early 1970s, leading to political and social changes (Habermas 1989, xi; Low and Smith 2006, 1-8). In art, on the other hand, public space has traditionally been treated more as a reference within an aesthetic strategy in the context of site-specific artwork or art in public space to counteract the idea that art objects are supposedly defined as independent (autonomous) (Deutsche 1996, 61). The so-called spatial and social turn changed the examination of public space as a site of social negotiation processes, where "public art practices addressed the site as a social rather than formal or phenomenological framework," as art historian Claire Bishop stated (Bishop 2006). After the great eruption of critique of capitalism in the aftermath of Occupy Wall Street in 2011, the question of how cohesion can be achieved in times of creeping social and economic ghettoization, or the impressive movement of the Arab Spring and its iconic spatial activation of demands for more freedom, participation in decision-making, and prosperity, as in the Arab Spring of 2011-2013, public space as a site of agitation and interaction has gradually been revived, along with an increase in socially engaged art practices interested in political and social change (van den Berg 2019; Abou El Fadl, 2014).⁴ The social or participatory change in art has generated a series of discussions about the evaluation and description of this type of art form, which I will address to position my work in this field, and to prepare the line of argumentation for the further art theoretical debate of my research.

⁴ See <http://field-journal.com/issue-12/northern-europe/from-protest-to-the-production-of-social-relations-socially-engaged-art-and-activism-in-germany-since-2015>.

One relevant analysis on the spatial dynamics concerning the experiences of the Egyptian revolution, as for example, is the thesis of Bassma *Abou El Fadl* (2014) on *Socio-Spatial Practices in Tahrir Square*. El Fadl examines, from the perspective of an urban sociologist, the extent to which the spatial practices of public art performances have transformed public space from a congested traffic junction into an active and animated space of resistance. (Abou El Fadl, Bassma. 2014)

The thesis is located within the field of art sciences and presented from the practitioner's perspective, seeking to critically engage with my experiences to bring them into the theoretical discourse on participatory art practice, predominantly discussed from the distanced observers and critics' perspective. However, this practice-oriented study of participatory art interventions in public space establishes a different emphasis than the majority of current art research by placing an art sociological focus on the preparations and processes that led to the interventions. In doing so, the research focus of the study moves from describing the outcome of art interventions to observing the processes that lead to them, an issue that is often overlooked. Since the term "process-oriented" is a characteristic of the art form and is often used in the context of descriptions of this practice, I want to emphasize that my use of the term refers exclusively to the preparation time of the interactions. Here, the conditions to which Al Hoash's team and I had to respond to develop a format of this art form adapted to the circumstances and leading to a situated practice become apparent.⁵ Consequently, the subject of this study is the respective preparatory phases, which took place at intervals over a process of three years and not the outcomes of singular art interventions.

The juxtaposition of these experiences with the dominant assessments that I identified in the literature, is the first necessary response to a perceived discrepancy and influenced my understanding of critical analysis in this context. Seeking a shift in perspective from the interior to the exterior and moving the starting point for analysis from the center of the dominant field to the periphery became a constituent approach of this work, since the current literature on socially engaged art—and specifically on artistic intervention in public space—is dominated by examples located in the European, North Atlantic, and in some cases South American regions (Bishop 2012, 5). The associated discourses are predominantly concerned with how this new art form can or should be integrated into the already existing canon of art criticism and what principles of judgment it should be subjected to, leading to an internal art dispute about possible paradigm reorientation being negotiated (Charnley 2011, 37-53). One approach is led by art theorist

⁵ Situated practice reflects the circumstances in which it is located and is based on situated knowledge production. I am referring here to Donna Haraway's famous article, "The Science Question in Feminism and the Privilege of Partial Perspective" (1988) in which she identifies different ways of producing knowledge. Situated knowledges work like an apparatus producing "[...] a more adequate, richer, better account of a world, in order to live in it well and in critical, reflexive relation to our own as well as others' practices of domination and the unequal parts of privilege and oppression that make up all positions" (Haraway 1988, 579).

Claire Bishop and her prominent work on socially engaged art "*Artificial Hell*," (2012) discussing the return to the social in art, displaying a Western European perspective of art development that moves in phases from the beginnings of the avant-garde in 1917 until 1989 (Bishop 2012, 3). In contrast, representatives of a renewal of the concept of art, such as Grant Kester with his contribution "*Conversation Pieces: Community and Communication in Modern Art*," (2004) oppose a traditional avant-garde definition of art and counter it with a "new" definition of "dialogical aesthetics" (Charnley 2011, 39ff). Despite the current high profile and greater acceptance of these art formats, as well as the move toward a global concept of art that takes into account the Eurocentric focus of art history, these highly profound discussions did not mirror the experience and observation gathered in Jerusalem that I will outline in Chapter 2. Although the discussion about the aesthetic evaluation was part of the challenge experienced, especially in the context of the Palestinian art scene that I will explore in Chapter 9, the real challenge was the confrontation with the conditions set by the notion of public space, which we encountered unprepared. As a result, I incorporate considerations of the history of political ideas about public space in my discussion that have been less addressed in art discourse (Deutsche, xi-xiv, 312-313). Transferring the focus from socially engaged art practices to considerations of public space to untangle routine behaviors in public space in the Global South, the investigation leads from an analysis of artistic practice and the associated theories to an inquiry of spatial awareness.⁶

Speaking of Space

Space in contemporary Jerusalem is a highly charged concept, dominated by a conflict "where the manipulation of movement fuels segregation and domination to work against the viability of even a basic level of shared Palestinian and Israeli life in the city" (Pullan et al 2007,178). Its specific case is a research topic in critical urbanism, sociology, and critical history, with a focus on analyzing the urban city structure as a reflection of the asymmetrical relationship between Israeli and Palestinian residents, but without

⁶ The term was first used in turn of modernization theories of the 1950s to symbolize the idea of developmentalism for those states that needed to "catch up with the Global North's standard (Gerharz and Rescher 29021). When I speak of the Global South, however, I am referring not to the "the geographic map of the Southern Hemisphere or the geo-economic contours of the Global South as a category of economic deprivation," but rather, as art historian Anthony Gardner describes it, referring to the South as part of a broader cultural agenda to overcome the colonial legacy. I also relate here to art critic Nikos Papastergiadis' definition of the Global South as a loose zone with complex lines of connection, beyond ideal geographic fixed units. He describes it as a "murky" concept and an ambivalent zone that exacerbates old relations and transcends new boundaries (Papastergiadis 2014; Papastergiadis 2016, 8).

addressing social behavior in public space (see Yacobi 2016, Roberts 2013; Barakat 2016; Weizman 2017; Parsons 2008). Instead, this debate tends to take place in the context of discussing biopolitics, working together with other repressive and disciplinary power technologies (Parson 2008, Weizman 2017). Relating the impact of the conditions of socio-political space on an art practice dedicated to socially engaged intervention in public space, marks a gap in the dominant research. Taking these conditions into account, I examine the conditions of public space not only as a venue, but also in terms of its influence on practice and thus its constituent position that in turn entails consequences for art theoretical discourse.

Since I could not find examples of participatory art interventions in Jerusalem at the time of our practice, I evolved my own approaches that came close to addressing the claim of hegemonic power relations and found relevant reflections in the concept of the "Production of Space" developed by the French Marxist philosopher and social scientist Henry Lefebvre (1901–1991). Lefebvre theorized space as a social phenomenon and challenged the dualistic understanding by elevating lived experience to a critical concept to rethink the production of space, which I saw as the right approach to address the question of space in Jerusalem and to make Palestinian identity visible again (Kinkaid 2020). In practice, I was particularly attracted to the reciprocal conditionality between the three fields that influence and produce space that Lefebvre divides into "physical," "mental," and "social space" (*L'espace perçu, conçu, vécu*) (Lefebvre 1972, 18-19; Lefebvre 1991, 33-35), where physical stands for the perceived space, mental for conceptualized space, and social for the lived one. I incorporate this influence in my discussion and process it further in the associated considerations for analysis (Ibid).

In spite of the fact that art's social engagement in and with public space is steadily increasing, and terms such as "making space," "art going public," and "rethinking the public sphere" dominate current art discussion, the connections between this art form and assumptions about public space and its production are rarely integrated at a theoretical level (Marchart 2002). Regarding this shortcoming, I take the observations collected in my practice as an opportunity to examine the art form in terms of its concept of the public sphere, thus placing the relationship between the two (art form and public space) and its consequences at the center of the research. This leads to the following question: To what extent can one assume a universal applicability of artistic interventions in public space in

non-European, global-southern contexts, given the common concepts that dominate the discourse? In order to grasp and describe the complex dynamics of the issue of space and to be able to analyze the observations made in the context of the participatory art interventions on site, Lefebvre's approach is applied to the study of the situation of Palestinians in Jerusalem. By considering the three themes of Lefebvre's triad in conversation, the concept not only inspired me to explore the question of space in art practice but also serves as a guide for the investigation.

The contribution of my work can be read as both a guide to situated practice and an examination of conditions determining practice. The knowledge of practice extracted in the process turns into situated knowledge (in Donna Haraway's sense) that can be reintroduced into the theoretical discussion of socially engaged art interventions in public spaces. The reproduction and representation of a situated practice thus do not serve self-fulfillment but rather is defined as an instrument that makes the circumstances in which it is situated recognizable. This study, therefore, constitutes a process of gaining insights into how to deal with practice in conflict-dominated environments and reflecting on the Eurocentric theoretical discussion.

Since Jerusalem is a city with a complex history and subject to multiple influences, where the Palestinian narrative plays a subordinate role in the official representation of the city, the basics of Jerusalem's Palestinian history will be conveyed where needed, to contextualize the field-based material. Following the logic of situating, I narrate from the perspective of a Palestinian organization and Palestinian residents to tell the story of the project, embedded in the awareness that Jerusalem's history is a sea of overlapping perspectives on the city and not despite it. However, since the once parallel existing narratives have given way to a homogenizing, dominant representation, it is necessary to provide information on the historical, legal, and socio-political background to the current living conditions of Palestinians in Jerusalem at appropriate points in the work. Thus, a portrayal of Jerusalem is always indebted to a particular perspective that cannot declare completeness. As I am narrating here from the perspective of a Palestinian organization and Palestinian residents, I take the marginalized perspective against the official narrative.

Method

Discussing and analyzing socially engaged art is already a complex endeavor since the research means for analyzing it are still not defined clearly with an ongoing dispute about how and what to analyze. When it comes to analyzing socially engaged art in non-European contexts that captures a situated practice—the attempt to find suitable research tools adds an additional layer, since it confronts assumptions from the dominant debate that need to be reflected on. The new methods for analysis of socially engaged art discussed so far in literature of art science do not grasp the complexity of the material that situated practice reveals and miss the important opportunity that research of situated practice can offer to art theory. Based on the considerations that social actions are at the center of the interaction within socially engaged art interventions, methods applied outside the art theoretical investigation have to be used. In recent socially engaged art research projects, such as Silke Feldhoff's much-discussed contribution to the methodological analysis of participatory art forms or Isabel Rith-Magni's paper, extra-artistic forms require extra-artistic methods of investigation (Feldhoff 2009, Magni 2017). For example, Feldhoff includes qualitative research methods as possible tools to help evaluate and describe socially engaged participatory art, describing the hybridity of participatory art and the challenge of capturing its social impact in balance with its artistic output (Magni, 11). Turning to qualitative social research seems to solve distance and criticism since it allows participation as a researcher within the practice.⁷ To translate the practitioner's writing position, I used vignette writing, drawing from grounded theory, estranging the personal position through a repetitive process of coding and analyzing to discover repeating structures.

To do justice to the interdisciplinary approach of this research, and the complex material of observations within and after practice, I follow Magni's suggestion by choosing qualitative research methods to extract information from the material (Magni, 9). With the discourse around critical arts-based research (CARB), I found an appealing

⁷ By focusing on the practitioner's perspective and the creative process of participatory art interventions in public space through the analysis of social practices, my work is close to assumptions of social practice theories. Social practices are routines of behavior and action dependent on know-how and held together by a practical understanding (see Reckwitz 2003, 289). This knowledge is incorporated in the acting subjects' bodies and the forms of routinized relations between subjects and the material artifacts "used" by them. For me, the essential idea in this context is that the "social world is made up of very concretely nameable, individual, interwoven practices (in the plural) (dass sich die soziale Welt aus sehr konkret benennbaren, einzelnen, dabei miteinander verflochtenen Praktiken (im Plural) zusammensetzt.)" (Reckwitz, 289, own translation). Knowledge about the world can thus be extracted through and from social practices. Moreover, the description of a practice must take into account the circumstances and typical patterns of variation. Without taking into account the circumstances and the way they are managed; it would be incomplete.

approach that reflects both situated practice and the aspiration to realize situated research (Finley 2018, 979ff, 987). Since practice-oriented research can have a rather functional nature, my search for a suitable method follows the critique that it should not be reduced to its practical contribution of optimizing but used as a critical stance and contribution to the (academic) production of knowledge (Candy 2011, 2; Candy 2006, 01; Skains 2018). To unfold the complexity of the research material, I am using an adapted version of Donald Schön's reflective practice method that I will elaborate in detail in Chapter 3, as an excellent system to better describe the embeddedness of perspectives. (Candy 2020, 20–21)

Structure of the Thesis

This thesis should be read as an attempt to trace a development retrospectively and incorporate the perspective of the practitioner and the "periphery" into the writing. The retrospectively written vignettes are recalled in excerpts and interwoven with the analytically written text parts of the interpretation to form a composition that translates the approach of "coming into conversation with each other" into writing. Two mechanisms form the structure of the investigation. The first, as described above, is Lefebvre's triad, forming the interpretation and understanding of the material, trying to interweave all fields of space by relating observations to the respective backgrounds. The second arises through the chosen perspective, juxtaposing the experiences with dominant assessments in the literature, and the question of how to reflect this perspective in writing. To achieve this, I have divided the work into three parts that are introduced through leading titles that describe the content: *Choosing Perspective* (Part I), *Experiencing Space* (Part II), *Interdisciplinary Thinking* (Part III).

As the title of Part I (**Choosing Perspective**) reveals, the chosen approaches during practice as well as for the investigation are presented in these introductory chapters to clarify the baseline for further investigation. Since the material for the study is derived from practical experience, I start by contextualizing the completed art project and outline the challenge that lies behind examining my own practical experience in socially engaged art as well as the methodological challenge of extracting material for the research retrospectively. Chapter 1 continues with the theoretical background for the practice, followed by a discussion about the history of political ideas of public space and spatial research that manifested the focus around public space in my practice and investigation.

Chapter 2 turns to the investigation, situates the thesis within the art discourse around socially engaged art practices in public space and reflects on the position of the investigation as a contribution from the periphery to the dominant discourse, influencing the decolonial approach of my methodology. Finally, Chapter 3 discusses the research methods for critical practice-based research, by examining Donald Schön's reflective practitioner theory and transforming it into a research tool to decolonize participatory art intervention in public space.

Part II (**Experiencing Space**) is divided into three subparts where the first prepares the empirical based investigation, in which the developed research method is applied to three years of practical experience. The chapters outline the transfer of the developed research method to make the complex material assessable by organizing and deconstructing the three years long project into different stages of the development process. Thereupon, I present the transformed concept of art interventions adapted to the location, which was developed at the beginning of the three years. This is constitutive for the investigation since, on the one hand, it forms the starting point for the further development of the practice. On the other hand, it functions as a reference compared to the assumptions of the current art discourse.

The second subpart, starting with Chapter six and seven displays and discusses the evolution of the concept of participatory art interventions in public space toward a situated practice and elaborates in chronological order the observations and subsequent results through extracting first findings extracted from vignettes, describing the practice. Chapter nine and ten examine the last major art interventions during the project period, presenting the findings of formulating a situated practice and extracting insights related to spatial habits. At this point, the insights gained from the vignettes and their deviations are analyzed in comparison to the assumptions made at the beginning of the project in Part II, trying to deconstruct the mutual conditionality of the complex practice.

The third part (**Interdisciplinary Thinking**) takes the findings and uses them to explore the theoretical consequences of reflecting on socially engaged art practice in a non-Western context as a critical practice. Drawing on the discrepancies between canonized assumptions about participatory art interventions in public space and reflection through practice on the ground, I pursue the question of the extent to which this practice

is universally valid as an empowering and emancipating catalyst of social change, or what adjustments are needed in the theoretical adoption of the concept.

PART I Choosing Perspectives: Approaches and Methods

Part I begins the investigation by contextualizing the art interventions in public space and the research approach, setting the basic understanding for the subsequent analysis and the rationale for the selected perspective that emerges from the material. The structure goes along the problematization of the research material by first describing the primary conditions for the project (SITE), situating the research within the field of art (PERSPECTIVE) as a practitioner and a researcher, up to the development of the method (DEFINITION). Chapter one illustrates the background of the art interventions in public space and explores its socio-political and theoretical reasons. Chapter two is dedicated to unfolding the chosen perspective, arising through the confrontation with the dominant canon. Subsequently, after briefly discussing participatory art interventions in the art theoretical debate and positioning the research within, I turn to the gaps in the discussions in the literature. The discourse is picked up in Chapter three and tackles the search for a suitable research method, investigating the different approaches on how extra artistic elements of socially engaged art practice can be examined. These findings are combined and merged into a research method to analyze the material laying the ground for the final theoretical discussion, following the empirical one in Part IV.

Chapter 1 The Site: Situating the Project

This chapter outlines the basic conditions on which the project on participative interventions in public space as an art form was built. Following the principles of a situated approach, I will start by explaining the background to the project, giving an overview of the political and social circumstances of the place, focusing on the essential factors that shaped my approach as director and curator of the art organization Al Hoash–Palestinian Art Court.

Keeping in mind the historical background of the Israeli-Palestinian conflict, I will focus only on cornerstones, identifying the political and social background of the art organization's neighborhood, giving space to the specific characteristics of East Jerusalem, constitutive for the analysis of the project. After clarifying the setup, with its particular parameters, I will outline my professional background in order to illustrate the significant experience within my career that has determined my attitude and approach as a practitioner and researcher, needed to critically discuss the assumptions that define the project.



Figure 1: Front of Al Hoash- the Palestinian Art Court, © Photo: Alexandra Maurer. Courtesy of The Palestinian Art Court Al-Hoash

1.1 The Space and Location

By the time I became the director of Al Hoash–Palestinian Art Court, the art organization was well-established in Jerusalem, having been founded in 2004. Al Hoash was known primarily for its art auctions, which were unique in the Palestinian territories. It had gained a reputation for promoting contemporary Palestinian art, with a community outreach program focused on art education and teaching art and craft. The organization was funded primarily through international public funds and private donations and displayed solo and group exhibitions of work by Palestinian artists, with a focus on painting. In 2007, the organization moved to a traditional Arab building on Zahra Street where it is still located today (Palestinian Art Court – Al Hoash, unpublished data, 2014; Rayyan and Anani 2014)

The building is dominated by its large arched window at the front of the second floor, where the art gallery is located. Following an external staircase, the space opens up to a long corridor, leading to a former living room with a spacious stone fireplace. The second and third exhibition rooms are next, with two small office spaces at the back of the apartment. The building belongs to one of the most prominent and influential Palestinian families in Jerusalem and is a landmark of the Bab-Al-Zahra quarter, marking a period of urban development, when wealthy families moved out from the Old City to the surrounding areas. Al Hoash is located in Zahra Street, the cultural center of East Jerusalem since the 1960s, with cinemas, restaurants, and cafes. From the 1980s onward, the quarter has faced a demise, and today has shops that offer cheap goods as they try to compete with the big Israeli malls in the western part of the city. Although it is not only a residential area, the streets are deserted after 6 p.m., and it becomes a neglected neighborhood. This situation slowly changed only after the Oslo Agreement and the promise of a Palestinian State in 1994, which led to a new wave of cultural and arts organizations in Ramallah and Jerusalem.⁸ Some of them, including Al Hoash, moved to the neglected area around Zahra Street, in an attempt to revive this former cultural quarter of the city. With the aspiration of becoming the custodian of Palestinian art, the organization's leadership aimed at being the location of a future Palestinian museum, focusing on visual art exhibitions of Palestinian art from 1960 to the present, supporting art historical research, and establishing an annual art auction to foster the interest of art collectors.⁹ The act of supporting a cultural revival of the location, working with and for an art scene in a city with no official representation for Palestinian artists and Palestinian art, turned Al Hoash into the point of contact for international inquiries about Palestinian art, or for visitors wanting to learn about Palestinian art and cultural history. However, the aspiration of being an address for a future art museum stood in contrast to the development of the neighborhood and society. Although Al Hoash managed to increase interest in art for collectors and should be mentioned as one of the founding organizations of a Palestinian art market, there was a growing sense in society that the organization's

⁸ For further information about the establishment of culture and art organizations after 1994 (Makhoul and Horn 2013).

⁹ The move toward an institution that endeavors to document Palestinian art and its archiving had already started with the precursor of Al Hoash, the Wasati Institute, which was founded as early as 1992 by a group of prominent artists (see Boulata 2004).

activities were elitist events for the Palestinian upper class in Jerusalem, increasing its distance from the surrounding neighborhood (Al Hoash, unpublished data).

Spatial Conditions: Living in Jerusalem, Its Demographics and Socio-political Circumstances

Jerusalem is at the center of an ongoing, swelling conflict that determines livelihoods, allegiances, and territorial issues. Here, the religious and historical references of three monotheistic religions intersect with the existential claims of two peoples, where Palestinians have been kept in a suppressed position since the ending of the British Mandate in the 1940s (Segev 2000, 6-10; 447ff). With over 5.7 million Palestinians registered by UNWRA as refugees, the presence of the Palestinian territories under constant clandestine rule, and its sovereignty a distant prospect, the so-called Palestinian problem remains one of the most unresolved geopolitical and humanitarian challenges of the twenty-first century (UNWRA, n.d.; Morris 2004; Khalidi 2006).¹⁰ This position is one of the lasting consequences of the *Nakba* 1948 and *Naksa* 1967, which stand for the fragmentation and dispersal of Palestinian society after the two wars of 1948 and 1967.¹¹

Without going into the historical details of the emergence of the State of Israel and thus the loss of the homeland for Palestinians, some aspects regarding the genesis of the Israeli national narrative are essential to understand the impacts on spatial relations not only for Palestinians living in the Occupied Territories today but also for Palestinians living in Jerusalem as well as in the Israeli State. In doing so, I will focus on the particularly salient factors that are constitutive for current behavior in public space, since

¹⁰ The registration is organized and supervised by UNWRA and shows the actual number of refugees that were registered by UNWRA in 2021, including refugees in the West Bank, Gaza, Jordan, Syria, and Lebanon (UNWRA, n.d.).

¹¹ The *Nakba* (Arabic for catastrophe) was the Palestinian exodus as a consequence of the Arab-Israeli War in 1948, where 85 % of Palestinians living in the territory that was declared as Israel, fled or were expelled. On November 29, 1947, the United Nations voted on a partition plan for the country. The plan was not accepted by the Arab countries nor the Palestinians, all of whom criticized the disproportionate allocation of land division in relation to the demographic ratio. For a detailed overview of the developments leading up to the 1948 war and its aftermath (see Morris 2008; Hadawi 1991; Khalidi 2006; Segev 2000). *Naksa* (Arabic for setback) goes back to the defeat of the Arab states in 1967 after the Six-Day War, where Israel occupied the West Bank, Gaza, and the Golan heights, leading to another wave of Palestinian refugees and Israeli control over historic Palestine (Finkelstein 2003. 218ff; Oren 2002; Khalidi 2020. 107ff).

these laid the foundation of legal provisions for Palestinians in Jerusalem and continue to influence both the spatial relationship and the Palestinian psyche (Craig 2014).

With the establishment of the State of Israel through the Partition Plan adopted by the League of Nations in 1948, and the ensuing Arab-Israeli War, the relationship between Palestinians and the state structure of Israel manifested itself. In line with its political aspirations, the Israeli government used the flight of 750,000 Palestinians to show a Jewish majority in the country by maintaining military rule for areas where Palestinians predominated even after the Declaration of Independence came into force (cf. Morris 2004, Finkelstein 2003, Khalidi 2006).¹² Under the leadership of the Israeli prime minister's advisor for Arab affairs Joshua Palmon, the initial distinction between Israeli citizenship rights, and subjects under military regulation, evolved into an asymmetrical system whose legal basis shapes the relationship until today (Robinson 2013, 41). This was underpinned by laws such as the *Absentee Property Law* enacted in 1950, which did not permit a return to property left behind within the 1948 borders, and thus led to the legally defined exclusion of homeowners from former Palestinian land (Robinson, 47).¹³ During the first years of the fledgling Israeli state, the government and associated administration attempted to delay the "naturalization" of Palestinians who remained in Israel's territory, a practice that has shaped the relationship between Palestinians and Israelis to this day. With the introduction of a rationalized demographic regulation system, the Israeli government introduced a special identity card, the temporary residency permit, which legalized residency but did not necessarily lead to citizenship (see Knesset

¹² Benny Morris outlines in detail the event between 1945 and 1949, describing the destruction of Palestinian homes and infrastructure as a „major element in the overall consolidation of the State of Israel“(Morris 2004, 342). „Taken collectively, they steadily rendered the possibility of a mass refugee return more and more remote until, by mid-1949, it became virtually inconceivable. These processes were the gradual destruction of the abandoned Arab villages, the cultivation or destruction of Arab fields and the share-out of the Arab lands to Jewish settlements, the establishment of new settlements, on abandoned lands and sites and the settlement of Jewish immigrants in empty Arab housing in the countryside and in urban neighborhoods. Taken together, they assured that the refugees would have nowhere, and nothing, to return to“(Morris, 341).

¹³ An absentee is defined as a person who at any time between November 29, 1947, and the day on which "it is declared that the state of emergency ceases to exist" was outside the borders of the State of Israel in 1948. This also applies to a person who, between November 29, 1947, and September 1, 1948, merely moved for a short time from his usual place of residence to another place in Palestine, and also to a person who fought against Israel at that time and then returned to his homeland. Thus, not only the property of the respective absentee was forfeited to the Israeli state, but this law also established a legal means to exclude former residents. Since to this day the state of emergency is not legally understood to have ended, the law of absenteeism also persists for those who were named as absentees at the time (Craig 2014). A further step to becoming an absentee occurred after the 1967 war, with similar results for excluded former residents who were out of the West Bank and Gaza on the eve of the war, which led to the expulsion of a further 250,000 Palestinians (Halabi, 2008).

1950, *Absentee Property Law*, no. 2).¹⁴ The dispute regarding their legal status was a constant companion for Palestinians living within the borders of the 1948 Israeli state, which worsened again with the end of the Six-Day War in 1967 and the occupation of East Jerusalem, the West Bank and the Gaza Strip by Israel. While Palestinians in the Occupied Territories fell under the *Israeli Military Governorate*, East Jerusalem was incorporated to the municipality borders of the former West Jerusalem, shifting the legal status of Palestinians in Jerusalem to residents of Jerusalem.¹⁵ This had consequences for mobility within the country but above all an influence on life planning, which I will refer to later.¹⁶ The legal status of Palestinians in Jerusalem was challenged again after the enactment of the new *Basic Law* in 1980, when the Israeli Parliament defined Jerusalem officially but unilaterally as "the complete and united capital of Israel,"¹⁷ making clear the status of Palestinians as temporary residents, confirming that their "center of life" lay within the Israeli-defined municipal boundary.¹⁸

The Oslo Agreement of 1994, formally known as the Declaration of Principles by the Israeli government and representatives of the Palestinian Liberation Organization (PLO), did not change the division between the different Palestinian groups or their legal status, and continued the geopolitical regulations. At first, the treaty was celebrated as a

¹⁴ Another essential piece of legislation was the first Nationality Law, the Citizenship Act of 1952, which repealed the Palestinian Citizenship Order of 1925 retroactively from the day of the establishment of the state (Goodwin-Gill and McAdam 2007, 460), resulting in the de-recognition of former nationals of Palestine. Jewish and Arab residents were assigned different ways to obtain citizenship. While they could use the *Law of Return*, which granted them immediate citizenship, Palestinians in Israel had to meet various requirements. As well as proof of a previous Palestinian citizenship, they had to have been on site during the two population registrations of 1952 and 1980 in order to obtain Israeli citizenship.

¹⁵ For more information about the Israeli Military Government and its rules (Shehadeh 1980; OCCHA Fact Sheets 50 Years of Occupation 1967–2017). Article 11b of the *Law and Administration Ordinance* stipulates that "the law, jurisdiction and administration of the State shall apply to all the area of the Land of Israel which the government has determined by Order." *Law and Administration Ordinance* (Amendment No. 11) – 1948, Laws of the State of Israel No. 499, 28 June 1967, 76.

¹⁶ Palestinians from Jerusalem receive a blue ID card while those from other areas are issued a green ID card. Israel continued to issue the ID cards for all Palestinians even after the election of the Palestinian Authority government in 1993, keeping control over legal status and movement (*Law and Administration Ordinance* (Amendment No. 11)–1948, Laws of the State of Israel No. 499, 28 June 1967, 67; *Municipalities Ordinance* (Declaration on the Enlargement of Jerusalem's City Limits), Israeli Collection of Regulations No. 2065, 28 June 1967, 2694), <https://www.mfa.gov.il/mfa/foreignpolicy/mfadocuments/yearbook1/pages/13law2> and administration ordinance-amendment no.aspx

¹⁷ I talk here about the basic (quasi-constitutional) law enacted by the Knesset on July 30, 1980, under the initiative of the Menachem Begin government, which was not recognized by the international community (see, inter alia, U.N. Security Council Resolutions 252, 267, 471, 476 and 478; <https://main.knesset.gov.il/EN/activity/Documents/BasicLawsPDF/BasicLawJerusalem.pdf>)

¹⁸ "Center of life" proof includes rent contracts, bills for municipal services like water and electricity, payment of municipal taxes, telephone bills, salary slips, proof of receiving medical care in the city, and certification of any children's school registration in the city.

step toward peaceful relations between Israelis and Palestinians and involved a gradual transition of administrative power to the newly established Palestinian Authority (PA). Dividing the West Bank's Palestinian territory into three administrative zones (A, B, C) has, however, led to a further fragmentation, with Palestinian society now assigned to different jurisdictions.¹⁹ Palestinians in Areas A, B, and C, as well as Gaza, are still subjects of Israeli military rule, while Palestinians in Jerusalem remain as residents of Jerusalem and are subject to Israeli law in terms of their status; however, they are inferior to Israeli citizens (Robinson 1997, 175ff).²⁰

Taking these developments into account, today Palestinian society can be divided into three main social groups, each shaped by different regulations. The first one includes Palestinians living in the State of Israel, internationally acknowledged with the borders of 1967, who either settled there after fleeing their homes or managed to stay despite the war. Group two, the largest of the three, consists of Palestinians in the diaspora, whose ancestors were forced to leave the country in 1948 or 1967, and who live either in refugee camps in neighboring states or migrated to other countries, if possible. Palestinians living in the Occupied Territories, the West Bank, and the Gaza Strip, and in East Jerusalem, constitute the third group, facing another form of existential limbo, with their living circumstances shifting between 1948 and today. While Palestinians living in Israel face difficulties, reflected in the discourse of a quasi-second class citizen status, the situation for Palestinians in the Occupied Territories and East Jerusalem, varies according to geographic location, between different levels of restrictions and regulation on freedom of movement, increasing Israeli settlement activities, being monitored by the Israeli side, and restrictions on government services, infrastructural as well as educational and technical services through to basic medical and nutritional facilities (Craig 2014; OCHA 2011).

Due to this social fragmentation, it is important to look at each case specifically, considering the particular circumstances connected to the area discussed. Nevertheless,

¹⁹ The PA was assigned full control over Area A (7%), while it shared control with Israel in Area B. Israel retained full control over Area C (69 %), as well as full control over the borders. The Oslo Agreement was meant to shape the state-building process of Palestine, with several interim agreements to follow. Major issues like Israeli settlement in the West Bank and around Jerusalem, as well as the refugee question, were left for future negotiations (Robinson 1997, 175).

²⁰ See the changes in demarcation and territorial division of the territories into different zones in the Image Appendix, Image 1 and 2)

as a generalizing common denominator, it can be stated clearly that Palestinian living and working conditions are regulated and determined by the Israeli State, albeit in varying degrees, but regardless of whether Palestinians live within Israeli territory or in areas occupied by Israel. The specific situation of each group leads to an increasing fragmentation of society, where lives drift further and further apart. The additional isolation of the respective groups, triggered by a set of rules and network of checkpoints that has made movement between them difficult or brought it to a standstill, forces increasing alienation from each other (Robinson 2007, 424ff). A fact that I return to later when discussing the observation of behavioral habits in public space in practice.

Palestinians in Jerusalem

Turning to the specific situation of Palestinians in Jerusalem, their status can be explained as sitting between two stools. With the blue-colored ID card exemplifying their unique status as permanent residents, they have a slightly better situation regarding their ability to move around. In comparison to Palestinians living in the Occupied Territories and Gaza, they can travel between Israel, Jerusalem, and the West Bank, keeping in mind that they constantly need to prove their identity when crossing checkpoints and roadblocks. Nevertheless, they remain stateless, connected only to their home city of Jerusalem, their center of life; needing to constantly prove their status with a comprehensive paper trail, defending their residency, which could be easily revoked.

The extraordinary situation of Palestinians in Jerusalem provides an interesting example of the incalculability of existence, exemplary for extra-systemic phenomena, that can be transferred to other situations faced by groups of people standing outside a state system. I will return to this possibility of transferring the situation to others later in this thesis. Despite this specific situation there is still the possibility of questioning perceptions and perspectives and exploring more generally what it means to live in a center of interest (here: Jerusalem) but not being seen. Palestinians in Jerusalem are marginalized by Israelis who, as the majority, dominate the official narrative and set the rules as described before. Palestinians in the city face a high level of structural unemployment (over 30% of the male Arab population in Jerusalem does not participate in the labor market), tend to receive low wages, and suffer from the consequences of limited public investment in communities and infrastructure and of inadequate municipal

services (Glass and Khamaisi 2007, 39). This policy results in high levels of poverty among Palestinian residents and children in particular (The Association for Civil Rights in Israel).²¹

The deteriorating situation had reached a low point in the Old City of Jerusalem by 2015, which can be seen quantitatively; figures show the demography and socio-political living conditions of the Palestinian refugee camps Shu'fat and Silwan, as one of the most marginalized and overcrowded parts of the city, with no open spaces, a lack of recreational and sports facilities, but a very young population—60% are younger than 25 years old.

Political interests have created a living area in East Jerusalem that is neglected by the Israeli State and not accessible to the Palestinian government, since their involvement beyond area B is forbidden by Israeli law. When the Trump administration recognized Jerusalem as the capital of Israel in 2018, the situation took a turn for the worse and further limited the possibilities of finding a solution to the legal limbo of Palestinian's living in Jerusalem.

It is under these circumstances that Al Hoash—both gallery and art organization—acted as an intermediary, working on behalf of Palestinian art and artists, always reflecting its (own) claim to be a nationally based institution with corresponding areas of responsibility (Rayyan and Anani 2014). With the increasing difficulties and deterioration of the living situation of Palestinians in Jerusalem, Al Hoash's claim began to seem alien to the reality that directly surrounds us as residents of Jerusalem and employees of the art organization, if further implemented.

1.2 Situating My Practice

In this and the following sections I situate my practice to outline my professional background and experience of art that have shaped my perspective on participatory art practice and theory. After doing so, I turn to the theoretical background of socially engaged art practice that informed my professional experiences and my curatorial

²¹ Numbers in an actual report by *The Association for Civil Rights in Israel* states that 72% of the Palestinians families and 81% of Palestinian children live below poverty line (The Association for Civil Right in Israel, 10.12.2021).

practice, before I started the project in Jerusalem. Together they form the basis of assumptions that have influenced my interpretive approach to participatory intervention in art practice and theory between 2013 and 2016. Such assumptions are essential to further analysis as they form the basis for the theoretical preconceptions regarding participatory interventions, which I will return to when confronting the facts experienced in practice on the ground.

My work operates within the triangle of political studies, art and social sciences, and focuses on challenging views and assumptions created by dominant theories. This approach has evolved over the years and reflects the experience of living and working in different countries and my bi-national background. Influenced by Okwui Enwezor's curation of documenta 11 in 2002, which was seen as a radical transformation of avant-garde art and a postcolonial dispersal of art challenging North Atlantic hegemony, my understanding of art and curatorial practice as knowledge production is further informed by concepts referred to as both global and postcolonial.²² Central to my interpretation of the art and its practice is Enwezor's redefinition of how art institutions should be more decentralized and less elitist in order to provide space for geographically decentralized and potentially decolonized forms of art.²³

As a curator and art critic located in Germany and the Middle East, my work is placed in the evolving contemporary Arab art field, claiming space in the discourse by thematizing migration and identity as the "Other," an area that I will explore further in Chapter Two. In the early 2000s, during the 8th Istanbul Biennial (2003), the work of the artist cooperative *Oda Projesi*, based in Istanbul and founded by Özge Acıkkol, Günes Savas, and Secil Yersel, left an impression. *Oda Projesi*'s approach was initiated "in relation to and with an awareness of their immediate urban surroundings" (Özkan et al. 2011, 51). In their statement, the artists relate to space not as a "container in which things are located, or practices" but defining it as a process, displaying and being shaped by the

²² The term refers to the dominance that North Atlantic epistemologies continue to exert in the twenty-first century in the context of institutionally valued scholarship. They retain control of the narrative of scholarship that has been and continues to be constitutive of the discourse of modernity, thus leading to North Atlantic intellectual hegemony. The concept of North Atlantic hegemony is also used to address the general considerations necessary to examine the formalization and interpretation of North Atlantic epistemologies (Pascale 2016).

²³ For example, Enwezor's concept of five different platforms, geographically distributed, in the run-up to and during documenta 11, was at the forefront of dealing with the new challenges of decentralizing Europe's intellectual exchange and aspirations (Papastergiadis 2016, 17-18)

spatiality of social life, as discussed by Henry Lefebvre and his theory on social space (Özkan et al., 52). The spatial approach connects everyday life and artistic practices and offers a way to create relationships between artists, non-artists, artist-led groups, institutions and communities in local neighborhoods. Since their beginning, Oda Projesi was discussed and presented as role models for socially engaged art in the literature, sparking controversy due to their process-oriented approach and ethical imperatives.²⁴ What I found inspiring at that time was the simplicity and direct form, the fact that this approach linked artistic work with neighborhoods' needs by responding to the specific circumstances and challenges on the ground; an inspiration that laid the ground for my practice later on in Jerusalem.

1.3. Outlining the Theoretical Background to the Practice

One of my main motivations for initiating socially engaged art interventions was the daily confrontation with the deteriorating living conditions of Palestinians in East Jerusalem. After starting my position as curator and director at Al Hoash in 2013, I was looking for ways to address these facts and remembered Oda Projesi's approach. Assuming that her experience might be more applicable than that of European representatives, since her work took place in cultural proximity to Jerusalem, I looked for ways to transfer her ideas to our situation in the neighborhood. Exploring the literature on socially engaged art practices, I soon came across appropriate ideas in urbanism, as well as related studies and reflections on activating public space for society.²⁵ Another important influence was the commitment to a practice of urban space and art activism that developed during and after the events of the 2011 Egyptian revolution, when different disciplines merged into a new form of urban intervention, political disobedience and participatory action, transforming Tahrir Square into a symbol of engaged art interventions and political demands beyond the Arab world. Undoubtedly, it was these

²⁴ Oda Projesi's work has been discussed by art theorists including Grant Kester, Claire Bishop, and Maria Lind, used to underline their particular stance toward the discussion of how socially engaged art should be judged and evaluated, mostly in opposition to artists like Thomas Hirschhorn and Santiago Sierra. Oda Projesi thereby attained a kind of representative role or were seen as a case study for socially engaged art practice in public space, which was neither part of their work, nor was it intended by them, but which shows that on the basis of their work a controversy emerged between the respective different interpretations of participatory art (see Lind 2014; Bishop 2005).

²⁵ For an overview on current debate about socially engaged art please see Bishop 2012, Kester 2004, Sholette and Bass 2018, Jackson 2011, Papastergiadis and Mosquera 2014, Kwon 2002, Lind 2010; Beyes et al. 2009; Esche et al. 2007.

experiences observed by all and the possibility of change that encouraged the use of urban practices to bring to the surface the needs of society hidden in the dark. Organizations such as CLUSTER, an independent urban design and research platform that promotes community-led projects and design interventions for civic engagement, or Mahatat for Contemporary Art, an arts organization that practices public space interventions in Cairo - both founded in 2011 - were great models for public space engagement. However, a direct exchange with these organizations was out of the question from the outset, as the political framework does not allow Egyptian artists and actors in urban space to enter the country.²⁶

Public space became a kind of critical touchstone in the fields of philosophy, (urban) geography, visual arts, cultural studies, social sciences, and urban planning, and is an umbrella term that has various meanings. In relation to art engagement, public space is lately discussed as a space in which conflicts can be fought out, i.e., a space of “political agonality”, of the struggle for meaning in the sense of "politics of signification", as Oliver Marchart describes it 2002 in his article “Art, Space and the Public Sphere(s)” (Marchart 2002, 1). In geography, on the other hand, there are topographical approaches to public space that define it as "a particular kind of place" with physical features in a city that is mapped out as "public space" and addresses questions of distribution and accessibility (Kahraman 2017, 142). Social sciences discuss it as a term for processual social action that functions 'publicly', where "public" is understood as "any place used for collective action and debate," i.e., a space that enables the act of "forming opinions" and focuses on interacting (Ibid.). The latter is related to the discourse in political theory on the relationship between democracy and the public sphere, which considers the public sphere as a discursive space shaped by Jürgen Habermas’ model as a place of communication and mediated exchange.

Above all, however, it was the discovery of the philosopher and social scientist Henry Lefebvre, that impacted my continuing engagement with the practice, criticizing the modern state by analyzing the relationship between power and urban space, stressing

²⁶ Over time, it became clear that the interventions carried out in Cairo could not be applied to the situation in Jerusalem, because the urban structure and the legal situation are different from the situation in Jerusalem. Therefore, they can be mentioned as an inspiration, but not as a model or an example. Analyzing the conditions of this difference would require a comparison of the interventions in Cairo and Jerusalem, which is beyond the scope of the current project, which follows the inductive approach of generating knowledge from one's own practice.

the potential of utilizing it for change. Seeing his attempt mirrored in the work of socially engaged artists investigating urban space and power relationships, I saw in his writings another explanation that the idea of artistic interventions in public space could be a means to respond to the deteriorating living conditions in the neighborhood surrounding Al Hoash. Of particular importance for the circumstances on the ground was Lefebvre's understanding of a "dialogical relationship" between society and space, presented by his spatial triad. The three levels of space consist of a perceived *spatial practice* as an everyday non-reflective practice and behavior in space, conceived *representation of space*, describing the sciences, theories, planning, and dominating practices about space and the effect they have on the construction of space and spatial knowledge, as well as *lived spaces of representation* that stand for the possibility of breaking away from dominant orders and discourses by creating utopian spaces in which partial publics can be heard and experiments allowed (Fuchs, C. 2019, 135-137, Zieleniec 2018). Space must be understood as a social product that behaves dynamically, constantly changing and developing. As a material product is only a moment absorbed in a complex dynamic process which 'embraces a multitude of intersections' (33). Lefebvre urged for a shift from the conception of 'things in space' to the 'actual production of space', understanding the generative *process* of space instead (Lefebvre 1991, 37).

Notwithstanding, it was the latest interpretation of Lefebvre by sociologist and urbanist Gregory Busquet that had the closest correspondence with my own background and experience. Busquet relates Lefebvre's theses back to the question of the political, emphasizing his definition of space as a manifestation of power and a possibility to read how space was produced (Busquet 2012, 48-49). Challenging these manifestations of power can be done by taking action in space, thereby creating a "concrete utopia, which does not deny reality but explores its potentialities from a perspective of a possible transformation of social, political and social realities"(Busquet 2012, 8). Central to my rationale for adopting theoretical frameworks was Busquet's understanding of Lefebvre's "criticism of the existing order" as a critique of power and how it shapes society. Here, Busquet highlighted the importance of the dialogic relationships between space and society. Space is shaped by society, "which in turn shapes society" (8). As space represents power (here: the state), one can conclude that challenging existing space conditions can be a means to shape society. Busquet underlines Lefebvre's interpretation of space as a political stake, being a "medium, instrument, and objective of struggles and

conflicts" (Lefebvre 1972, 30). His objection opens up for me the possibility of establishing a link between the different disciplinary considerations, focusing on social action on site. At the same time, Lefebvre's emphasis on the mutual influence between social action and the public space, causes the possibility of understanding artistic interventions as an instrument of intervening or catalyzing a process, which comes close to the substantive meaning of public space. Busquet's focus on the political element of social space allows important considerations in the specific case of Jerusalem, analyzing the dynamics of power and its impacts on developing and performing in space. The element of control by overacting entities, able to execute sanctioning measures, has its particular meaning in a contested location like Jerusalem, and I will come back to this again later on.²⁷

While not explicitly invoking political theory around the public sphere, Lefebvre's understanding of space as something that cannot be separated from the dynamics of the social world can be applied to the non-physical aspect of public space. This is discussed in political theory as discursive space and medium of communication. I refer here precisely to Jürgen Habermas's model of the public sphere, which is widely debated in political theory as the process of the formation of public opinion through reasoned, rational, and unconstrained public debate (see Waldherr, Klinger, and Pfetsch 2021; Grodach 2010; Lefebvre 1991). Although Habermas and Lefebvre argue in different disciplines, they overlap in their focus on the interaction that constitutes this space. For all the idealization of public space in its function of forming opinion, it should not be overlooked that Habermas also speaks of a "social space," "which emerges in communicative action" (Habermas 1996, 360; Regilme 2018, 4). In the case of artistic interventions in public space, however, one searches in vain for a closer examination of the theoretical level of the public sphere, or it takes place only in passing, which I will return to in Chapter two and in the discussion (Marchart 2018, 1). This is somewhat confusing at first, since the debate about art in public space and socially engaged art in

²⁷ I point here to the spatial dimension of power that occurs in the writing of Michel Foucault as in "The Birth of the Clinic (1973), "Discipline and Punish (1977), "and "Of Other Spaces: Utopias and Heterotopias, (1986) [1967]" where he discusses knowledge of space, spatialized knowledge, and production of space as a result of "discipline organizes an analytical space" (Foucault in: West-Pavlov 2009, 132, Foucault 1984). Seeing similarities in the processes that can be observed in clinics, prisons, or factories, or even the city at large, Foucault defines the production of space as "not a neutral social praxis, but one that is appropriated to for the specific goals of implementation of power, which makes the art of space craft a power/knowledge in its essence" (Grbin 2015, 309).

public space is intensively discussed and debated as a contemporary practice in art contexts (Deutsche 1996, xii-xiii).²⁸

However, Busquet's approach towards the political gave me the rationale to use Lefebvre's interpretation of social space, offering a connection between the terms used in the different disciplines. When I speak of public space in Jerusalem, I address both to the metaphorical content, following political theories of public space, and to space of processual social action where "public" can take place in "any place used for collective action and debate" combining the social action with the physical place. Recalling Lefebvre, the concept of public space oscillates between the two disciplines addressed here: The idea that every space functions "publicly" extends the definition of public space to places of everyday use such as streets, backyards, green spaces or courtyards, and thus also the metaphorical interpretation of public space in relation to political theories.

The vision of what we wanted to achieve with our artistic interventions in Jerusalem was nurtured by Lefebvre's definition of utopias. Practicing a utopia allows to "illuminate the present in the name of the future, to criticize what has been accomplished, to criticize bourgeois or socialist everyday life; and that, according to the greatest nonconformist thinkers, is a basic element in revolutionary thought" (Lefebvre 1995, 357). By being in a "dialectical" discourse between present and future, he stresses the possibility of interpreting utopia as an opportunity to experiment and critique the status quo. The fundamental goal of utopia, in his opinion, is not the proposal of an ideal order but a method and practice to explore "the possibility of using the present as a starting point" (357). While talking about a "utopian method," he suggests starting with the status quo of socio-spatial reality but then turning actions into something affirmative, discovering the hidden possible (357ff). Following Lefebvre, I became interested in how residents used the public space around the gallery and sought to develop an approach that would allow me to discover "hidden possibilities." One that would encourage me and others to rethink how public space is used in occupied East Jerusalem. Moreover, Lefebvre's approach offered me a solution to the fact that highly frequented public spaces

²⁸ See the article by Oliver Marchart 2002. *Art, Space and the Public Sphere(s): Some basic observations on the difficult relation of public art, urbanism and political theory.* <http://eipcp.net/transversal/0102>.

in East Jerusalem are at the center of state control and thus unavailable for our interactions.²⁹

Transferring Busquet's interpretation to the situation in Jerusalem presented the possibility to combine an artistic approach with the political by working in and with public space, thereby reflecting on the general hegemonic relation between Palestinian residents and the Israeli municipality. Using the concept of socially engaged art practice as an instrument for implementing this idea was a logical next step. Having developed my theoretical approach and practical examples, I then established the outline for action. Starting the project, I defined participatory art interventions as an art form and appropriate means to interrupt habitual behavior; reviewing the opportunities that we as Palestinians can create, despite restrictions and suppression, and discover, to use Lefebvre's words, the possible. In one of the curatorial announcements for an art intervention in 2015, I explained that "... urban interventions seem to be the right form of interaction, as this universally recognized format allows us to be an active part of our surroundings, breaking passive modes within our habitat and creating new realities" (Rayyan- Al Hoash 2015). The extent to which these assumptions could be realized, the adjustments that had to be made, and the measures we took to adapt the approach to our local situation will be revisited in PART II when I outline the implementation of this approach.

1.4 Theoretical Backgrounds for Public Space Concepts and the Idea of the Common

In addition to Henry Lefebvre's triad's model of social space, it was above all the critical debates on Jürgen Habermas's public sphere model around philosopher and social theorists Nancy Fraser and Michael Warner, that influenced the interpretation first of all

²⁹. The only space that falls under the definition of representational public space is the Damascus Gate (*Bab al Amud*), the main entrance to the Old City from the eastern side, remaining a historical, social, and cultural center point for the Palestinian public in Jerusalem over the years (Haaretz, Jbarin 2021). It fulfills different civic functions, providing a public space to trade and for commerce, casual meetings, political demonstrations, religious gatherings, and as a transport hub. It has remained a center, despite the changes that have taken place through official construction. The area around the Damascus Gate underwent several structural changes, which mainly affected the plaza in front of the gate and the changes connected with Route 1 (Jbarin 2021), dominating the space as a vehicle route, making pedestrian movement difficult with its lanes and tunnels. In the 1980s, the entrance in front of the gate was changed into an amphitheater, with barriers, easier for Israeli security forces to control (Pullan et al. 2007, 183–184). Nevertheless, the Damascus Gate was the center of several violent clashes between Palestinian protests and Israeli police, turning the gate to one of the highly controlled places in Jerusalem.

of our practice but later on as well the investigation. Their theoretical explanations of the development and need for counterpublic spaces provided patterns for explaining the circumstances found on-site. Consequently, the discussions about public space and its sphere have an essential role in my context and are taken up repeatedly in the course of my analysis. In order to be able to understand the considerations in the following analysis of practice, a short recourse to the constituting theses of Habermas on public space is necessary, since in my later discussion the arguments critical of his model of the public sphere are used.

The starting point for the discussion of the public sphere is still Jürgen Habermas' model of the public sphere, which he presented in his study "Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere" in 1962. Although Habermas has since rediscussed his conceptualization of the public sphere at different points in his career, I return to his original theory because it presents an essential point in my context. I address here precisely Habermas historical manifestation of the public sphere in the 18th century, that is based on the Westphalian-national idea and emerged during the time of the Enlightenment and the American and French revolutions (Kellner 2006; Løvlie 2001). Though his concept has been challenged by several critics as being rather inaccurate, especially in the context of postmodern debates in terms of its exclusive position, the constructiveness of nation-states and the control mechanisms of the sovereign, it still plays a referential role, to be disputed or defended. For Habermas, the public sphere plays an essential role in the opinion-forming process for societies, since it is here that individuals can come together to freely discuss topics of "public concern," mediating between the state and society by holding the state accountable for the citizens. In the context of the history of European democracy, this idea forms one of the columns for democratic state systems, "rationalizing political domination" and directing the relationship between citizen and state (Fraser 1990, 59).

Here, it is interesting to look at the creation of an opposition between notions of public and private, leading to the idea of public space as a place outside the private realm where debates of the public sphere and common can materialize, illustrating "the common world" that "gathers us together and yet prevents our falling over each other" (Arendt [1958] 1998, 52). As well as taking on representational functions in urban planning, public spaces and the ideal of the public sphere share similar origins in formulating an opinion and gathering the common.

However, most important for my context are the critical exchanges with Habermas, most notably by philosopher Nancy Fraser and social theorist Michael Warner. In her article "Rethinking the Public Sphere, (1990)" Nancy Fraser points to the excluding nature of Habermas's public sphere model, based as it is on a definition and opposition between private and public, where the public was assigned to men alone. Fraser illustrated in her genealogy of the bourgeois public sphere that Habermas overlooked the complexity in the making of the liberal bourgeois public sphere, as he focused only on the power-sharing nature of the model that formed as a means to counter despotic, monarchical forms of government in the eighteenth century. The concept of the bourgeois public sphere, on the other hand, excluded all other participants in society, thus laying the foundation for an exclusive public sphere that omitted alternative publics, while "seeing themselves as a 'universal class' and preparing to assert their fitness to govern" (Fraser 1990, 60). The demarcation line was one of gender, social status, ethnicity, and property ownership. Bringing the exclusive nature to the surface, Fraser marks the impossibility of ignoring the effects of social inequality, of treating the creation of the public sphere as a space where social inequality does not count. In contrast, she underscores the need to oppose this misleading approach with the concept of a subaltern counterpublic that exists aside from the dominating one and needs to be acknowledged and heard.

Accordingly, counterpublics not only provide space for identification and recognition but are also starting points for possible agitations and resistances against the hegemonic public sphere (Fraser 1990, 66). Here, the objectives and interest of participatory art interventions to question public space construction and the dominant public sphere overlap with critique of Habermas' bourgeois public sphere model. Fraser's representation of the subaltern counterpublic intersects with the conditions experienced by Palestinians in Jerusalem, animating the idea of using interventions to make counterpublics heard. Different discursive arenas in which subordinate social groups develop counterpublics "allow them to create counter-designs of their identity, interests, and need" (Fraser, 67). These counterpublics not only offer identifications and recognition but are also the starting point for possible agitations and resistances against the existing or dominant public sphere.

Michael Warner's critique of Habermas follows a similar path. His comments on the consequences of the behavior of excluded minorities within a political process encouraged me in our approach in Jerusalem. Warner describes the mechanisms associated with a hegemonic social structure in which minorities remain excluded from political interactions and integration in the majority society. This can be seen in Warner's writing on behavior in public space, which becomes the arena of hegemonic power positions. He discusses the ongoing exclusion as a "gradual and persistent marginalization of a minority" (Warner 2002, 415) and compares this to the case of a political depression that lapses into a kind of blockade, in which optimism and activity turn into isolation, anomie, frustration, and hopelessness (Warner 2002). When looking back at our (Al Hoash's) interventions in public space, Fraser's and Warner's model of counterpublics and transnational public spaces seemed to be suitable frameworks, describing the project's attempt as building counterpublics that can offer recognition and space for identification, addressing the specific hegemonic power relation in Jerusalem. Moreover, the idea of counterpublics connects smoothly with the art intervention assumptions of emancipating unheard voices, activating the "minority society." I return to these theoretical connections in my discussion section of the study. At this point, they first present the considerations that reinforced the choice to initiate participatory art interventions in public space, elaborating on the focus on public space.

1.5 Conclusion

This chapter outlined the background, leading to the project and research, determined first of all by the socio-political conditions shaping the daily life of Palestinians living in Jerusalem, including the working conditions of Palestinian art organizations in the city. The project was also influenced by my professional experience and discipline-driven interest in art as a way of reflecting on the political and social developments that led to its design and conceptualization.

Responding to the site-specific conditions, and in line with my thinking about and approach to art, I designed participatory art interventions, that is, interventions characterized by social forms of participation. Participatory art interventions were thus situated in my approach as a social form of participation, taking place mostly collectively or cooperatively, and that assigned the participants' role as constitutive for the project.

Inspired by Lefebvre's writings on the production of social space, I conceived of interventions in urban public space as a possibility to trigger an interruption of habitus, an impulse that might lead to a change in behavior in public space. In line with the dialogical relationship that Lefebvre establishes between society and public space—the reciprocal conditionality, I hoped that these kinds of interventions would lead to empowerment and thus increased visibility and ownership of the Palestinian position in public space. Following Lefebvre's approach of defining public space as a site of social interaction, I focused on the principle of participation, of acting together in space. Participation and the idea of social space thus became the two key dimensions of the project. In addition to theoretical considerations, examples of artistic participatory intervention practices, such as those of the artist group Oda Projesi, served as models and provided concrete templates for implementation. In Part II, the on-site implementations, reflecting on the approach and its potential and applicability in the eastern part of Jerusalem will be discussed further.

Chapter 2 Perspectives and Roles

After situating the project in Chapter 1, I turn now to examine further the basis for the research phase that followed. As has been outlined, my curatorial praxis and experience, especially that gathered as curator and director of the Palestinian art organization Al Hoash in Jerusalem, became the point of departure for this research project. In 2017, I started my research process in Germany with the aim of reflecting on the experience of the three-year-long implementation of participatory art interventions in Jerusalem, and to discuss participatory art theory as a possibility for creating counterpublics and visualizing marginalized identities.

In my search for equivalences in current literature and art theory, the question of representation became a crucial turning point. The lack of readily available terminology made me realize that most theories, concepts, and terms in the literature did not account for my experience and, specifically, the activities and challenges of this three-year period offering new research opportunities.

Realizing the discrepancy between the experience of being based in East Jerusalem and the research, which is located in the North-Atlantic academic world, turned the research into a question of translation. Confronting the dominant descriptions and

analytical approaches to participatory interventions with the deviations experienced on the ground transforms my original research on practice to one that challenges the supremacy of dominant disciplines by studying areas located outside the West. Explaining this perspective and clarifying my position within postcolonial research approaches therefore precedes the further search for research methods relating to practice, as it describes the methodological approach of the thesis. Essential to an understanding of the comparison between the dominant research and the particular situation of East Jerusalem is an awareness that, despite initial measures to adapt the theoretical assumptions to the environment, there were additional deviations beyond the expected challenges. These are addressed in Part II. In making the comparison I aim to contribute to more balanced arrangements for knowledge production, allowing experiences outside the dominant to be known, transforming the compilation and development of methods and the creation of research design into a critical examination of traditional forms of examination.

2.1 Methodology: Identifying Perspectives³⁰

During my theoretical reading for this thesis, the question of representation and my subject position became crucial for me. I refer here to representation as the critical term used in postcolonial studies and science.³¹ The discrepancy between what was expected from representation by the dominant art theory and what I wanted to discuss in terms of my experiences as a curator was more significant than expected, not being echoed in the discourse on participatory art interventions that defines itself as a critical examination of a status quo and given assumptions. The gap I describe is reflected in the discussion introduced by the postcolonial critique of hegemonic Eurocentric imperial discourses, whose call for a self-critical debate affects not only academic circles but also

³⁰ Methodology is used for the decolonizing approach, shaping the methods used. "A decolonizing research methodology is an approach that is used to challenge the Eurocentric research methods that undermine the local knowledge and experiences of the marginalized population groups." Decolonization, according to social scientist Tuhiwai Smith, aims to provide a "more critical understanding of the underlying assumptions, motivations, and values that inform research practice." (Smith 1999, 20)

³¹ The interpretations of this term range, depending on the discipline, from the aesthetic visual component (*Darstellung*), which primarily describes a "presence" or "appearance," i.e., the representation of a particular "real" thing, to representation in the sense of representing several (*Vertretung*), i.e., in the sense of "speaking for." However, the relationship between the thing and the representation of the thing has preoccupied philosophers since Aristotle and Plato, also linguists, historians, and artists, for centuries, discussing questions like, how one can judge or read the accuracy or truth-content of a representation and will not be further thematized here. (Spivak and Harasym 1990,108)

has institutional, political, and cultural consequences.³² In order to be able to carry out this investigation, the postcolonial approach became essential as methodology, which consequently also affected the search for suitable research methods.

What scholar Gayatri C. Spivak addresses in the context of *epistemic violence* is essential here. In Spivak's writing, *epistemic violence* describes an integral element of colonialism by discussing Derrida's critique of European ethnocentrism in the constitution of the *Other* and drawing on Foucault's work on the episteme in Western thought, criticizing his claim that representation is no longer necessary since the masses speak for themselves by arguing that even if the subaltern could speak (is allowed to), he/she would not be heard. (Spivak, 1988, 90).³³ Spivak was of the first who systematically defined this term as the "asymmetrical obliteration of the trace of that *Other* in its precarious subjectivity", displaying the process of "othering" and pointed at the poststructuralists' ignorance of their own "implication in intellectual and economic history" (Spivak 1988, 66; 104). Epistemic violence is hidden within this process, which, according to Spivak exercises silencing marginalized groups.³⁴

The guiding approach for the thesis taken from here is to contextualize knowledge production in the research stage of the process, thus questioning prevailing theories. This contextualization not only situates the research geographically outside the European context, but also underscores the need to engage in situated research. In addition, Spivak's

³² With roots in the anti-colonial liberation movements and activist, political approaches such as Pan-Africanism or the Negritude movement with representatives like Aimé Césaire, Albert Memmi, and Frantz Fanon, the missing representation was reflected, stressing the importance of project-related conditions and observations on the ground. Authors such as Edward Said, Homi K. Bhabha, and Gayatri C. Spivak are described as the second generation of scholars, picking up the thread of the discourse and preparing the ground for the postcolonial debate in diverse disciplines, leading to an increased critical engagement with their respective scholarly pasts and incorporating postcolonial discourse into Western forms of scientific organization (Bachmann-Medick 2014, 186–193).

³³ Foucault discussed in his book "The Order of Things (1970)" intensively the idea that episteme in Western thought determined knowledge formations of a given epoch (Foucault 1970). From a sociological point of view, Pierre Bourdieu criticized with his by introducing the concept of symbolic the epistemic claim to a universal form of knowledge, power that oversees the dependency of the particular social location of the person who speaks, casting hegemonic vision of the social world them as legitimate (see Swartz 1997, 29, 122ff).

³⁴ Otherness is the result of a discursive process of a dominant group ("we", the self) that defines one or more groups ("they", the others) as opposites through the stigmatization of a difference and the construction of hierarchical groups, representing the asymmetry of power relations. The concept of otherness dates back to ancient Greece, and has been since then thematized in philosophy (Hegel, *Phänomenologie des Geistes* (1807) as dialectical relationship between the self and the other. The concept of the Other has been taken up and revisited, especially in the context of postcolonial discourses by scholars such as Frantz Fanon, Edward Said, Bhabha (Staszak 2008).

approach explains the ambivalence of my experience as a researcher in a Western academic world, but also helps to decipher my different experiences as a curator in Jerusalem in comparison to the prevailing literature in the field. In doing so, I am not interested in the postcolonial debate per se but in the implementation of its demands to find methods that enable a re-thinking of theory and practice using participatory art interventions as an example. My engagement with postcolonial discourses is thus guided by the goal of finding approaches that reflect my experiences as a curator in East Jerusalem and which stand in contrast to the description found in dominant literature—taking into account the specific problems that the study of participatory art interventions entails, which I will examine further in Chapter three.

Central to this quest is the question circulating around the representation of (lived) experience in theory, problematizing the particular constructiveness of theory in general and the need to be able to keep it in flux (see Said 2003, 21-22).

For if it is true that no production of knowledge in the human sciences can ever ignore or disclaim its author's involvement as a human subject in his own circumstances, then it must also be true that for a European or American studying the Orient there can be no disclaiming the made circumstances of his actuality: that he comes up against the Orient as a European or American first, as an individual second (Said 2003, 11).

I am not referring here to the discourse of interdisciplinarity or transdisciplinarity, which calls for an exchange between theory and practice in the humanities. Rather, I am referring to the critical stance defined by postcolonial and decolonial approaches of opening up to new modes of inquiry in order to give space to experiences that lie beyond dominant discourses. One example of this is the debate within critical ethnography and sociology to try out different narrative positions in studies in order to oppose the dichotomy of subjectivity versus objectivity.³⁵

³⁵ Critical ethnography deals with the colonial entanglements of the history of the discipline, which was predominantly used to research non-European, non-modern, non-enlightened parts of the world population and which was structurally laid out by the approach of the knowing speaker subject (the ethnographer) and the claim to universality of the West (see Trouillot 1991). Compared to other disciplines, ethnography has a long history of anti-hegemonic political critique triggered by the destabilization of Eurocentric cultural and social 'normalities' inherent in the ethnological project, starting as early as the 1980s with the so-called crisis of representation, which challenged the relationship between ethnographic authorship and authority (Reuter and Karentzos 2011, 191-202).

Next to Spivak, my inspiration for choosing this methodology comes from the writing of psychiatrist and political philosopher Frantz Fanon (1925–1961), where he uses his experiences as a psychiatrist and transfers them to an analysis of the psychological effects of colonialism, stressing the impact on self-definition by the colonizers through their discourse and representation (Varma 2018, 49; Rutherford, 1990, 233). Fanon explores these questions explicitly in *Black Skin, White Mask* (1952), where he directly addresses the imbalance of Western knowledge production, referring to the knowledge production shaped by North-Atlantic academia, demanding the need to transfer historical activist postcolonial experience to a discursive level (Fanon, Sardar, and Bhabha 2008, xix). Fanon continued to apply the psychological effect of colonization to the constitution of identity and its problematization in his other key work *The Wretched of the Earth* (1961), as highlighted in the following quote:

Colonialism is not satisfied merely with holding a people in its grip and emptying the native's brain of all form and content. By a kind of perverted logic, it turns to the past of the oppressed people, and distorts, disfigures, and destroys it (Fanon and Farrington 2002, 210).

The alternation between his description of concretely experienced situations and their transfer into a theoretical discourse anticipates an approach that has been taken by a number of thinkers and scholars of postcolonial and decolonial discourse since Fanon himself, be it in the work of Sylvia Winter, Gayatri Spivak, Stuart Hall, or Paul Gilroy (Medick-Bachmann).³⁶

Highlighting the relationship between colonial claims to power and the territories that constituted the colonial self was the beginning of a process of reflection with regard to what had previously been considered a universal history of knowledge, and the starting point for a self-critical shift in European theoretical discourse.

Decoloniality

A further intensification of the considerations regarding a critical examination of dominant theories and research methods is to be found in the currently discussed movement around decoloniality, which stresses a re-linking of socio-political conditions

³⁶ Examples of this style can be found in Fanon's book *Wretched of the Earth*, especially starting on pages 249 ff (Fanon 202, 249ff).

into the discourse.³⁷ What appealed to me here in particular, was the call for an *ongoing* political and epistemic project, emphasizing the need to include lived experiences in the discourse, bringing it into discussion with theories formed by a Western dominated academic world. Sociologists Aníbal Quijano and Mara Lugones, in particular, have contributed to the debate, emphasizing the need to reimagine philosophy, theory, and critical thinking, illuminating the history of the origin of modernity from different geopolitical perspectives and emphasizing the fact that we are dealing with a *parallel* development (Bhambra 2014, 118). The emergence and development of (Western) modernity cannot be read without colonial history, which has meant an existential rupture for non-Western peoples, imposing a system on them and forcing them into a categorization that would dominate their lives from that moment on. What at first could be taken as something given, however, has enormous importance methodologically in the implementation, since it demands a constant examination of the respective past of the applied theory, i.e., a consistent self-critical approach beyond assumptions that are considered universally valid. This reference back to the emergence of the European school of thought and the conquest of Latin America is an important source for my research, since the theoretical background for the development of the European concept of public space is set in a similar time frame and thus provides me with interesting insights into the history of its development (De Sousa Santos 2012). Walter Mignolo and Catherine Walsh provide several suggestions for this kind of approach quoting Quijano, who illustrates the close connection between modernity and coloniality by using the metaphor of two sides of a coin, stressing the infinite interweaving of these two developments (Mignolo and Walsh 2018, 23ff; Mignolo 2012). We cannot think of one without the other. This approach does not eliminate Western geopolitics of knowledge but "reduces it to size," putting it on an equal footing with others (Mignolo and Walsh 2018, 2). Coloniality acts not only as a critic of existing Eurocentric theories but adds the perspective of the other; an approach similar to that of postcolonial research. It provides an opening for pluriversal thinking and in doing so, touches on the idea of Western temporality, as well as interrelating theory and praxis (Quijano 2000). Quijano's argument has received considerable attention from scholars such as Nelson Maldonado-Torres, Rolando Vazquez, Walter Mignolo, Catherine Walsh, and Sylvia Wynter. Examining the effects of coloniality in day-to-day experience plays an important role in the writings of

³⁷ The debate about postcolonial versus decolonial has been extensively discussed and can be reviewed in contributions by, for example (Dhawan 2019; Varela and Dhawan 2015; Bhambra 2014; Mignolo and Walsh 2018; Mignolo 2012; Robert Young 2012).

Maldonado-Torres, who traces the limits of European philosophy to address the reality of the colonial world. His writing touches on the matter of "being invisible and dehumanized," hence, transferring coloniality of power into "coloniality of Being" as the lived experiences of the colonized (Maldonado-Torres 2007, 257).³⁸

The latest contribution to this debate from scholars like Mignolo and Walsh, displaying different directions within the decolonial approach, are discussed in current debates around the globe, stressing its ongoing use. "Decoloniality," as they argue "is not a new paradigm or mode of critical thought. It is a way, option, standpoint, analytic, project, practice, and praxis" (Mignolo and Walsh 2018, 5). While Mignolo focuses in his writing on de-linking from Western schools of thought, Walsh's writing concentrates on the "mode of conversation," allowing different local histories to "come into conversation" without claiming to have one universal understanding of truth (Walsh 2018, 15-81). Particularly appealing for the situation in East Jerusalem is the use of conversation and the equalization of different experiential values that this allows without falling into cultural relativism. Here, decoloniality speaks directly to my experience both within my practice in Jerusalem and in academic contexts. I am speaking of the experience of not seeing oneself reflected in the narrative, of not being able to show points of reference to that which is stated as law, or of encountering resistance that can be both within oneself, or occur from the outside. The reflections and discussion on decoloniality take up this outside-before-being-left experience, beyond dominant discourses that are subordinated, if not negated, echoing Spivak's subaltern position of being voiceless³⁹ (Spivak 1988). But Walsh offers a suggestion on how to move on within this situation, declaring a shift in perspectives in writing not to think *about* the Other but to work *with* persons (Walsh 2018, 17). By opening up to alternative forms of knowledge production that include experiencing *and* embodiment, a renewal of knowledge production experiences is possible (19).

In addition to my place within the postcolonial/decolonial discourse, I would like to briefly clarify the usage of the term "decolonizing" in my case. As discussed,

³⁸ Maldonado-Torres formulated the term coloniality of Being (with capital b) to indicate the "interruption by what lies beyond Being produces, (...) not merely (..) the reduction of the particular to the generality of the concepts or any given horizon of meaning, but to the violation of the meaning of human alterity to the point where the alter-ego becomes a sub-alter" (Maldonado-Torres 2007, 257).

³⁹ I am referring here to Gayatri Spivak's essay "Can the subaltern speak?" (1988).

decoloniality describes the experiences of colonialism, geographically connected to South America, Asia, and North America. The relation of the Middle East to Europe, however, is determined by imperialism, as imposed on the people of that region after WWI. Regardless of the different geopolitical developments, I decided to use the approaches of coloniality and decolonization in the context of Palestine to accompany the *thinking process*, as it refers to the more general politics of knowledge production that emerged from political developments challenging the colonial world order established by European empires in general.⁴⁰ "Decolonizing" sets the framework in which my investigation takes place and shows the direction of thinking. It functions as an invitation to think beyond the canon, to get to the bottom of the behaviors and not only to look at them under present conditions, but also to see them in the context of a decolonization process that is open to a confrontation between dominant epistemologies and deviant experiences.

To conclude my position within the debate on decoloniality and postcolonialism, I cannot ignore the contestation and definitional ambiguity that exists between these two developments. However, I am critical of the ongoing dispute between postcoloniality and decoloniality that divides the intellectual movement into two camps, reducing themselves to their differences, rather than seeing the commonalities. Their radical claims run the risk of them demanding a similar exclusivity to that previously exercised by the Western epistemology. Instead, postcoloniality and decoloniality should define themselves as part of a development where each complements the other and drives a movement of thought forward. Though Catherine Walsh is assigned rather to the decolonial fraction, her analyses present a less separating and appealing approach, I want to outline as answer how to pursue. She suggests that de-linking should be embraced as a *practice*, a thought process to develop previously elaborated theories and concepts, shifting the focus to the *act* rather than the *discourse* (Walsh, 18-20, 34). Thus, it circumscribes my interest in the implementation of a decolonial methodology and the question of its transfer to research.

⁴⁰ Palestine's relationship to Europe is marked by imperialism, grounded in politics and division of power after WWI by the victorious countries: France, England, Japan, and the USA. Historic Palestine was ruled by British Mandate from 1922, given legitimacy by the League of Nations guidance on "sovereign states," until the country reached "the state of civilization" to establish a nation-state system. The imbalance between rulers and ruled is obvious. The Mandate Authority spoke of natives instead of locals or residents, distinguishing between levels of civilization, applying similar hierarchical evaluation systems to people as those used for areas of colonial interest. The rules of the mandate holders, which were discussed in the League of Nations, reveal in their language and sub orientation of the subjects the biased and discriminatory attitude toward the "Other," which characterized not only the relationship between Palestinians and Europeans, but power states until today (see Segev 2001; Hourani 2013).

Walsh's approach also contains basic considerations that offer a framework for integrating divergent experiences from dominant discourses into a theoretical debate and for daring to take the step of re-thinking (Ibid). She describes a path that is already meeting with approval beyond the decolonial debate, reaching out to critical sociology and cultural science, that expresses the need for engaging practice as elementary to critical knowledge production. It goes beyond an academic monologue that studies the "other" by unfolding the binary thinking and allowing practice to enter (see Denzin and Lincoln 2018). I will therefore use the term decolonization in the further course of the study, without wishing to imply that I stand in opposition to postcolonial approaches.

Translation Theories

In the search for possibilities of implementation of decolonial research, I was further inspired by considerations, which the cultural scientist Doris Bachmann-Medick describes as a process of "translation of theories," following Said's approach that theories travel (Bachmann-Medick 2014, 133). In her article "From Hybridity to Translation (2014)," Bachmann-Medick discusses traveling theories as an approach that productively embraces the dialectical character of Walsh's decoloniality but placing the focus on the activity of translating through practice, turning to a search for re-thinking, or re-reading concepts. Bachmann-Medick is using this process to examine concepts, reviewing them for their historical origins, and changing them through experimentation under local conditions. By placing the human being at the center of the process, we acknowledge that there is no point zero to start from but absorbed theories that need to be re-visited by naming connections, interpretations, and imprints that re-inscribe histories and perspectives and de-link from colonial structures (Bachmann-Medick 2014 133ff). Bachmann-Medick's formulation regarding the idea of "concepts in translation" serves here as a complementation to my considerations in line with Walsh's process to contextualize, enabling insights that can only emerge through ruptures when local realities are included (Bachmann-Medick 2014, 132-130).

The use of conversation as an approach to different experiences implies the existence of other realities and encompasses the fact that still today an epistemological, cultural, political, and economic dominance is exercised. In the definition of *non-Western* that I use in my writing, I am referring to this dominance and in correspondence to the term Global South as mentioned in my introduction, sharing similar experience through

a colonial past. It is not to be understood geopolitically system exercising social, cultural, political, and economic control over an epistemic hegemony, but much more as a reference, following Nikos Papastergiadis definition of the Global South as a loose zone with complex lines of connection beyond the idea of geographical fixed entities (Papastergiadis 2016, 8). Thus, I use this definition as a foil of contrast to broaden perspectives on canon and to be able to represent the "Other." The emerging bipolarity is thus not to be understood as a manifestation of two monolithic blocks, but as an attempt to bring up what is overlooked in the perspectives of the still-determining dialogues of the North Atlantic epistemologies. In relation to the Middle East, I can narrow my stand by drawing back on Edward Said's Orientalism debate and genealogically extracted opposition between Orient and Occident. The use of the term *non-Western* is thus to be understood as a reversal of *Othering*, whose process lies far back but still has its effects today when "the West fabricated the binary oppositions between a dynamic/rational/masculine/ democratic 'Occident' and an eternal/excessive/feminine/despotic 'Orient' (Al-Mahfedi 2011, 15). Using a decolonial stance for my methodology, I clarify my position within this debate, which first of all criticizes Western dominance of cultural, political, epistemic narratives, and as mentioned in the introduction, the universal claim of it.

Inside-Outside

In addition to seeking a methodology in the decolonial approach for the identified discrepancy between theoretical assumptions and practical experience in the field, my position as an insider-outsider in both practice and theory must be addressed. Insider-outsider is not to be confused with the term used in social science as an embedded research method but to live in the two societies of my origin. This fact challenges the distinction between the self and the other, giving a further twist to the position of the *Other* in science to that criticized by decoloniality.

Scholar Laila Abu-Lughod's approach in her article "Writing against Culture" (1996) is useful here (even though her work focuses on the Anglo-American world of anthropology), describing the position which cannot be defined only as hybrid or third place, since this misses the notion of disruption and internal debate. Even Fanon's mimetic self-denial or self-hatred, as described in *Black Faces, White Masks* (1952), does not outline what I am alluding to here. Abu Lughod's writing points at a crucial dilemma that

reflects my own situation as a researcher and curator and her analysis of an ambivalence mirrors my work and writing. Being socialized in Germany with family roots in Palestine and lived experience in the Middle East and Palestine, I need to be aware of a self/other distinction that affects the way I organize my knowledge and set my boundaries. This dilemma runs through all my writing and particularly concerns what is termed the "nature of the investigators' relationship to their subject matter" (Abu-Lughod 1996, 467). Abu-Lughod describes the split as the dilemma of "halfies" (Ibid., 466), being similar to experiences faced by feminists, as belonging to several national or cultural identities, due to migration, overseas education and work, or parentage (466). It should be emphasized that this is not about moral elevation over "non-halfies," or that I am not aware that the self is always constructed. Rather, I want to address the split that speaks to me from the position of a *dual perspective*, insider and outsider. Thus, an approach that seeks to engage with the *Other* always includes myself. A critical engagement with dominant theories and discourses does not occur solely through the examination of observations in comparison to the dominant assumption, but also always through engagement with oneself as part of the dominant *and* marginalized discourse. The search for the right investigation method thus concerns not only the fact that I speak from the position of practitioner but also from that of the "halfie."

Experimenting with autoethnographies of the particular is one way to deal with or even embrace the self-split. By choosing to speak from within, the self can be liberated from the debate of speaking "for" and speaking "from" (Abu-Lughod 1996, 470). Here, Abu-Lughod's proposal for mediation and dialogical relation overlaps with Walsh's approach of coming into conversation. Liberating the self from speaking for and from can unravel a discussion that leads to what Bachmann-Medick calls "actively translating concepts." Moreover, this motion presents a conversation about different positions, opening up the process of subverting the "concept of othering." A shift that supports my ambition to question concepts and investigate the genesis of assumptions, offering the freedom to select considerations from different disciplines and their respective tools, mirroring my experiences and developing them further for my context.

By placing my investigation within the framework of decolonial approaches, I emphasize that its frame of reference and space of experience stands *outside* a European norm. In doing so, I am not referring solely to the aforementioned epistemic norm, or the

norm of artistic practice, but highlighting the conditions that influence and shape working and living in situ. Here, I refer to experiences shaped by the basic necessities of life, such as freedom of movement, self-determination, access to water and food, education, and choice of housing, which shape relationships with other people and the environment and thus determine existence in general with all its implications. As simple as the statement may seem, it is essential to point out the "existential significance." Though it seems self-evident, it cannot be emphasized too much; how important it is to consider the fact that even today, the respective geographical initial position determines the status of every human being, his self-image in relation to the world. The movement triggered by post- and decolonial thinkers has taken up this dissonance and processed it through colonial history, which reflects my own diverse experiences of this perceived discrepancy and gives it a framework. Thus, my experiences and observations no longer stand alone in contrast to the prevailing literature but can be used as a corrective via the deconstruction of dominant assumptions.

2.2. Situating the Research: Preparing the Method

Since my inquiry is situated in the arts, specifically as an examination of the practice and literature on participatory art interventions, this section further develops and locates my research within the field of participatory art research. First, I present how this art form is perceived and discussed in the dominant discourse and how this correlates with or diverges from my own experiences as a practitioner. The resulting insights will be used to clarify and prepare a research method appropriate for my case.

When examining the literature on participatory art interventions, we are confronted with a bewildering array of possibilities. These are defined differently in a variety of terms depending on the author's interests and focus. Participative art falls under umbrella terms such as interactive, relational, cooperative, activist, dialogical, socially engaged, and community-based art (Bishop 2012,1). Since my work is not about the multiplicity of interpretations of participatory art, I will use the basic definition grounded on the art format as social art practice as opposed to aesthetically defined art. Social-art practice turns an impulse for action into a process outside the formal aesthetic realm. Consequently, this art form stands in opposition to conventional forms of artistic practice (installation, painting, sculpture, time-based media, actor-centered modes of performance art) (Magni and Oberreuter 2017). I subscribe to the definition that participatory art does

not only produce a more sensory perceivable, designed object that the audience reflects upon in an internal process of contemplation. Instead, it shifts the role of the art recipient from receiver to maker, activating parallel residents and breaking habits of receiving rather than making (Feldhoff 2009, 144ff). The actual physical action—being active—is the epitome of a participatory art and is distinguished from "purely symbolically operating offers of participation" (Spohn 2016, 6). The works of artists Felix Gonzalez-Torres and Rikrit Tiravanija are used as examples here; listed as forerunners of relational art via the thematization and taking up of art theorist Nicolas Bourriaud's definition of relational art, which is directly effective in the social sphere. For Bourriaud (2002), "the role of artworks is no longer to form imaginary and utopian realities, but to actually be ways of living and models of action within the existing realm." (13) He describes further, that "the possibility of a relational art ..., points to a radical upheaval of the aesthetic, cultural and political goals introduced by modern art." (14)

The physical action is designated by him as socially relevant and implies an effect on the subject and the community and receives an ethical, political and social relevance per se (Spohn, 46). This attitude goes hand in hand with the critique of the "purely visual experience," which demands an "activation of the body as a precondition of participation" (Kravagna 1998, 2). Participatory art is said to have an emancipatory power in action, which in its connotations closely connected to the narrative and history of ideas of the term participation, whose origin can be traced back to the Latin word *particeps* ("participating") and stands for participation, sharing, involvement or inclusion. To act participatively is equated with a will to make hitherto unheard voices heard, to help a new collective, self-determined action, the development of which leads to democratic structures (Spohn, 41).

The literature about art theory discourse on participatory art forms deals mostly with the topic from the critic or researcher's perspective, focusing on the actual artifact of participatory interventions in public space, unfolding a detailed catalog of categories to describe different forms and formats of participatory art. A recent exception in terms of the practitioner's perspective is artist Loraine Leeson's book "Art: Process: Change," in which she brings her practice experiences to the discussion of socially engaged art, but remains at a documenting level without adopting a theoretical or critical perspective on her practice (Leeson 2017). Two prominent representatives of the current theoretical

debate are the art theorists Grant Kester and Claire Bishop, who dominate the discourse on socially engaged and participatory art. Both define the framework in which participatory art is discussed in contemporary art discourse (Bell 2017). Even though the two theorists acknowledge non-artistic goals within participatory art practice, their writing circulates the argument to redefine the relationship between the autonomy of art and ethical conditioning to settle suitable description formats for participatory artworks. With her influential book *Artistic Hell*, Bishop warns of an "ethical turn" in the evaluation of art (see Bishop 2012, 18; 2004, 65) by equating aesthetic judgments with ethical-political ones. Grant Kester accuses Bishop of going back to the canon that does not value any other interpretation of art besides the one through aesthetic autonomy and calls for recognizing a shift in the paradigm, instead of insisting on trying to find a way to integrate the new form in the dominant canon. In an interview about autonomy, agonism, and activist art he stated that

(..)the point isn't to insist that this work be called "art" in some dogmatic way. It's simply a matter of recognizing the nodal points where the significant rearticulations of art are occurring. It is in the very nature of these moments, and these sites of practice, that there is slippage (art into activism, art into ethnography, art into social work, art into participatory planning). My response is to recognize the productivity of these practices, to accept them provisionally as art, and to then see where this line of thinking leads in a more heuristic manner (Wilson 2007, 114).

Bishop, on the other hand, argues that her aim is to liberate participatory art praxis from its stigma of being "only" a social activity by shedding light on its aesthetic quality, defining aesthetics as being provocative, uncomfortable and multi-layered (Wilson 2007; Kester 2011).⁴¹ In his numerous articles, Kester criticizes Bishop by demonstrating the indifference of her thinking using Theodor Adorno's interpretation of aesthetics. Instead of trying to liberate the practice from the social stigma, Kester tries to open up a discussion about the relationship between aesthetics and ethics, starting with the original meaning of aesthetics within ethics. In his interpretation, aesthetics is in reality never separated from ethics - but implies an ethical experience *through* aesthetics. The definition of aesthetics relates to a discussion stretching back over two centuries to the writings about concepts of aesthetics of such figures as Kant, Lessing, Shaftesbury, Hutcheson, and Hume. Kester emphasizes that the "primary term of reference in these

⁴¹ For further insight into participatory art as practice, history and its debate see Bishop 2012; Bell 2017; Bradley, Bradley, Esche, and Afterall 2007; Lacy 1995; Kester 2011; Kwon 2002; Wilson 2007.

debates was the concept of a *sensus communis* or *Gemeinsinn*, a common sense or knowledge that marked a horizon of shared communicability" and develops the term dialogical aesthetics, setting the meaning outside the self and emerging not through contemplative conversation, but through the exchange of two subjects, illustrated in the question of "how the self relates to the other in the world" (Kester 2011; Kester 2013, 5).⁴² As an example for this new form of interactions, Kester often referred to the collaborative interventions and collective works of the Park Fiction group in Hamburg's waterfront (1995-2003) (Groundworks 2005; Kester 2011, 24-25). In South and Middle America, this format has been especially adopted by artists following the concept of *Arte Útil* (useful art), defining art as an instrument to engage with people. The term has been used by artists such as Tania Bruguera in her work with the academy in Havana and later at Queens Museum, New York (*Arte Util*, n.d).⁴³

Although the theoretical debates about participatory art, as conducted by Kester and Bishop, occupy an important position, and differentiate between attitudes toward artistic autonomy or ethical responsibility of art, these concerns are only marginally related to my investigation. Even if the discussion and search for new definitions of participatory art within the theoretical debate is plausible, it does not contain further explanatory patterns that I can apply to the material to be discussed here, focusing on the implementation process and the observed challenges in dealing with public space. By focusing on the dualism of aesthetics and ethics, the art theoretical debate neglects sociological or political aspects, although in the search for new descriptive modules it is stated that participatory art functions as a social-aesthetic or a political-, psycho-, or educational-aesthetic hybrid and calls for transdisciplinary explanatory models (Rith-Magni 2016).

So far, there have been only a few attempts to shift this method of analysis. These include recent studies by art theorists Isabel Rith-Magni and Silke Feldhoff, who have revealed similar observations and demand an analysis tool kit for external artistic elements (Feldhoff, Dimke, and von Bismarck 2011; Rith-Magni and Oberreuter 2017). Both discuss the hybridity of participatory art and the challenge to capture its impact on

⁴² Kester connects here to a debate on aesthetics discussed as "a political figure for the relationship between the individual subject and a social totality" by scholars like Howard Caygill, David Wellbery, Luc Ferry, D. N. Rodowick, Susan Buck-Morss, and Terry Eagleton in the 90ies (Kester 1997, 21).

⁴³ (see <https://www.arte-util.org/about/colophon/>).

society in balance with its artistic output. To enable a better understanding of this new art form, it is not only necessary to acknowledge that the "extrinsic" elements of these formats cannot be depicted via previous art-theoretical discourses referring to the aesthetic dimension of artistic design (Rith-Magni 2017, 20), but to open the art theory discourse to other disciplines, suggesting sociological evaluation methods and schematized representation to reflect already completed participatory projects. But even if quantitative methods offer the means to achieve an overview of effect and implications beyond merely describing the artifacts, they do not provide efficient instruments for investigating extra-artistic components, in particular if the investigation focuses on process, preparation, and implementation of art formats. Qualitative research methods seem to be adequate at this point, as "it consists of a set of interpretive material practices that make the world visible" (Denzin and Lincoln 2018, 2). It is particularly the method of ethnography that captures the notion of social practices, i.e., areas of "lived sociality" whose meaningfulness is determined by implicit knowledge of the participants, from which a habitualized behavior, stereotypical views or behaviors are to be investigated (Breidenstein et al. 2015, 32ff).

Convergences between art and social science – precisely ethnography - have been discussed in literature quite extensively (see Rutten, van. Dienderen, and Soetaert 2013, 459– 473), describing the trend for artists to increasingly integrate research methods into their creative processes, being interested in knowledge production. Hal Foster notes this as a quasi-anthropological paradigm in art, speaking of a veritable ethnographic turn in contemporary art, which was triggered by the assumption that anthropology is assumed to be the science of alterity and to be critical (Foster 1995). Since the ethnographic approach enables contextually opening up an interdisciplinary and self-critical way, it offers art a possibility to address cultural differences and to critically reflect upon its representational practices (Rutten et al. 2013 a and b). Most art theoreticians and critics agree on the need for a self-critical and reflective approach, as described by Foster. However, this perspective refers in each case to the work of the artist who integrates an ethnographic, critical reflective approach into the creative process. As such, it is celebrated as a critical art practice that has allowed a wave of decolonial approaches by

acclaimed artists, contributing with their work on issues of memory, travel, identity, and migration.⁴⁴

Nevertheless, this approach has not been extensively translated to the approach of critics and researchers, creating a gap for analyzing precisely process oriented analysis of experiences collected from practice. Despite the recognition of the social character of art, and its will to change "something" or intervene in an "is state", art theoretical arguments integrate the social character only to valuation theoretical considerations and neglect the genesis that makes the public space a common place for participation and agitation in relation to the state, thus enabling to go "out" into society and an existing public space in the first place (see e.g., Bishop 2012, Kester 2004). This lack of inclusion is particularly evident in situations whose social and political conditions distance them from an ideal starting position, as in the case in Jerusalem. In order to determine an appropriate research method, qualitative research methods must be taken into account, which I will discuss in more detail in the context of art research in the following chapter.

Chapter 3 Definitions: Research Methods

Looking at my material and my perspective, the approach defined as critical arts-based research (CABR) is best suited as a starting point for the development of a suitable investigation method. Most appealing is sociologist and philosopher Susan Finley's definition, which refers to critical arts-based research as aligned arts-related research with an investigative approach that emphasizes unfolding qualitative research inquiries for social investigation and as a tool for political activism (Finley 2018, 562ff, 572). Finley states that arts-based research challenges the "dominant entrenched academic community and its claims to scientific ways of knowing," shifting the center of research from institutions to everyday practice and places (Finley 2008, 72). Arts-based research approaches have been present in the social sciences since 2000, forcing the discussion to open up to qualitative research formats (for example, Finley 2008, 2018; Denzin and Lincoln 2018; Candy 2006; Greenwood 2019).

⁴⁴ Some examples of so-called globally acclaimed artists standing for the ethnographic turn in art are Walid Raad, Kutlüg Ataman, Jayce Salloum, Emily Jacir and Akram Zaatari (Rutten 2016, 297).

The broad field of arts-related research practice is discussed in different ways depending on the focus of the discipline but especially in relation to art education. It is characterized by discourse that oscillates between two poles; described as either practice led or practice-based research. While the first one puts the creative practice ahead of the research, the second creates an investigation undertaken partly by means of practice. Both see the need for methodological developments to build theories and models and want arts-related research to remain undefined, non-paradigmatic and discipline-less (Sullivan 2006). However, I situate my inquiry in this area in line with Finley's approach of rethinking theories through observed disruption of conventional and accepted ways of thinking about knowledge and research. This can be done by exploring research questions in places where different cultures, ideologies, and frameworks collide (see Conroy 2004, 54). In this way, they provide space for those research questions or issues that involve the practices and lived experiences of individuals, and allow for the exploration of the complexities and limitations of these practices. (Ewing and Hughes 2008, 515).

There is also an openness to rethink pre-existing theories and strategic approaches that reflects well on my research approach and material. CABR follows qualitative traditions such as reflective practice, action research, grounded theory, and participant observation as strategies and methods, critical arts-based research opens up opportunities for researchers to refine research strategies from long-standing working methods and practices (Savin-Baden 2014).

In Chapter 3, I will discuss the possibilities of this form in relation to the needs of my material. Thereby, the transfer of observations and experiences into communicable knowledge plays a role alongside the nature of my material, which I collected as a practitioner—not in the position of a researcher. This is an essential point, especially when thematizing the dichotomy between theory and practice, which has already been addressed in the decolonial discourse on epistemic violence. As an act of transforming theory and practice, I take an unequivocal position here, which aligns with the chosen methodology of decoloniality and traveling theories. Here, my work stands for the dialogue between theory and practice, just as it stands for dialogue between the experiences and assumptions that dominate Western discourses and the experiences of the marginalized subaltern world of knowledge (Finley 2018).

In the following chapters, I will present the approach to finding the method that I ultimately used by discussing the possibilities of autoethnography, which at first glance

could capture and convey the subjectively attuned view of the activities in Jerusalem. As I proceed, however, I will reflect on my concerns and the inconsistencies I identified in order to finally develop a research method consistent with the material and my thinking.

3.1. Qualitative Research Methods: Promises of Autoethnographic Data Collection

In order to do justice to the perspective of the practitioner and the temporal component of the material, that needed to be extracted retrospectively from experiences in comprehensive and analyzable way, I first dealt with the possibilities of autoethnography as an example of self-narrative and a form of the ethnographic method. Autoethnography is giving voice to personal experience for the purpose of extending understanding. As described by Carolyn Ellis et al. in the journal *Forum: Qualitative Social Research* (2011), autoethnography is "an approach to research and writing that seeks to describe and systematically analyze (graphy) personal experience (auto) in order to understand cultural experience (ethno)" (Ellis et al. 2011, 1). It is offered as a tool to transfer impressions into written examples that become comprehensible for insiders and outsiders, its claim to challenge "canonical ways of doing research and representing others," turning the research into a political act (Ellis et al. 2010), also corresponds with my decolonial approach.

Autoethnographic qualitative research methods can take the shape of autobiographies, narrations, interviews, journals, and vignettes to process-oriented documents by an embedded ethnographic researcher. In order to enable an analytical approach to the collected experiences and narratives, I turned to instruments based on Grounded Theory, especially the writing of vignettes and memos (Charmaz, Thornberg and Keane 2018, 720-776). The form of transcribing represents a first step in the research process of distancing oneself from the observed. Through the process of coding and comparing for recurrences or discrepancies, these transcribed observations are transformed into data (Breidenstein 2012, 32). Writing vignettes and theoretical memos are not to be confused with field notes; rather they are a written form of thinking and realized to reflect upon what has been observed (Corbin and Strauss 1996, 170). The process is one in which attitudes are successively made more concrete, clarified, condensed, and also changed. The process of writing is a reworking and sorting and a step

that leads to systematization and decision-making (Schreier 2017; Denshire 2014; Anderson 2006).⁴⁵ Formulating my experiences in this way represented my first step in reflecting on the process of the project, starting with the preparation phase in August 2013 until the final interactions in October 2016.

However, while writing the descriptions of personal and interpersonal experiences and observations, a significant mismatch between the circumstances of my research and the paradigm of auto ethnographic methodology became obvious. While the "auto" in autoethnographic research refers to the self (subject) in the writing of the collected data, it often reflects on the reaction of the self-concerning the observed phenomena or social action when written retrospectively. In contrast, my writing focuses on the description of the action itself, the conflicts observed, and first-hand reflections, aiming to discuss problems and challenges within the practice. Even though autoethnography has a number of detailed discussions of the self in research and of knowledge transfer in the literature, in my case this discussion distracts from my focus of interest. This is not in terms of the subjective view in relation to the acquisition of material, but on the questioning of material to be able to develop statements about social practice. The self plays an essential role, i.e., I was not only involved as a participant in the social actions as they occurred, but evoked them. The focus of interest is not what I *felt*, but rather the underlying assumptions for my ways of acting and conceptualizing those actions. The autoethnographic form, however, allowed me to record experiences and observations retrospectively in writing and was used as a tool for data collection and maintaining distance from the material by transferring the oral narration into written examples. The nearly fifty-eight pages were numbered and indexed. Each vignette was followed by a reflection and initial analysis of the evolving dilemma— together the elements make a body of work that is interrelated but not capsuled.

Writing vignettes and memos helped me to distance myself from the material in order to examine it for different patterns using coding mechanisms. In doing so, the process allowed me to see where difficulties and observations reoccurred. This examination enabled me to trace the confrontations between different actors and assign them to their respective coding's. Additional documents, such as emails, memos, and

⁴⁵ For more in-depth insight into the procedures of autoethnographic methods, see Denzin and Lincoln 2018; Ellis et al. 2011, Charmaz 2006 and Breidenstein 2015.

letters, storyboards, interviews with participants, artists and curators, photos, and film documents, served to complete the material. The extracted challenges, contradictions, and observations formulated the base for analyzing canonized understandings of participatory intervention in public space. Ethnographic research methods solved the challenge posed by material and integrated the situatedness of the researcher as part of the approach. Even though the (auto-)ethnographic method was able to capture the subject position of my material, it failed to reflect the double position from which the material emerged. For even if the ethnographic researcher is embedded in a practice, he/she remains stuck in the position of the observer. The fundamental contradiction of not wanting to speak *about* a practice but *through* a practice was thus not resolved.

An elaboration of knowledge from practice and speaking from the perspective of the practitioner is addressed in action research formats (practice-based and guided formats), which will be discussed in the following chapter in terms of their applicability to my case.

3.2 Unpacking Knowledge from Practice

The idea of action research to unfold the flow: observing—reflecting—acting—evaluating—modifying goes back to sociologist Kurt Lewin, and his model on action and reflection (see McNiff and Whitehead 2011, 3–5). The model stresses the integrated reflections on content during the practical implementation by bringing in a temporal component that illustrates the dialogue between action and reflection. Action research formats have been widely discussed in educational and health research projects, and have recently entered art research, particularly in Scandinavian and Anglophone countries.

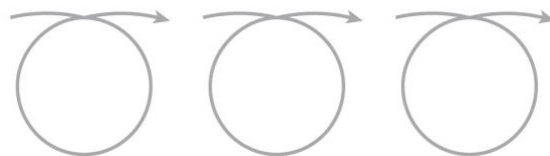


Figure 2: A Cycle of Action–Reflection by Kurt Lewin (McNiff and Whitehead 2006, 37)

Leaving aside the discussion on value systems and differentiation of action research formats in academia, the major impact of the method for me is that it offers a means to

extract knowledge *from* practice, providing the dialogical relation between practice and theory, I was searching for. The model by David Kolb (illustrated below) shows this circle of learning oscillating between experiencing and reflecting, outlining the endless rhythm of learning and deriving knowledge from practice. A concrete experience follows a reflective observation, from which knowledge is derived through the process of abstract conceptualization. The results lead to another experimentation informed and developed by the previous findings (Bassot 2016, 56).

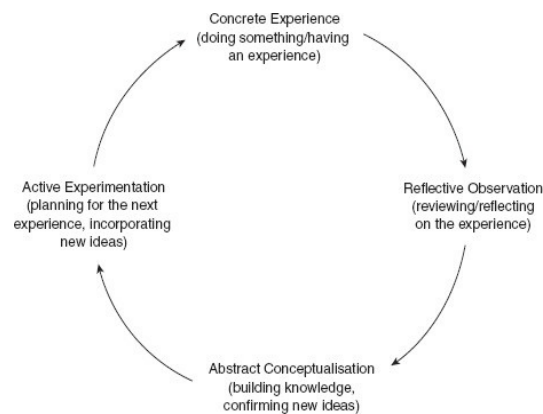


Figure 3: Kolb's Experiential Learning Cycle (Bassot 2016, 56)

However, the practice-based approach is partly criticized for focusing on optimizing practice, being rather of functional nature instead of analyzing collected data to understand the circumstances of disjuncture and challenges (Bassot 2016; Candy 2020). Although I place practice at the center of my inquiry, my interest is far from optimizing practice but rather using the findings to expand the discourse on participatory art and discuss theoretical concepts. Instead, I follow Jack Mezirow's statement (1990) that there was more to reflection than simply thinking about experiences, stressing that practitioners' contribution goes beyond supplying material for investigations but contribute to (academic) knowledge production by extracting findings of the reflection phase (Candy 2011, 2; 2006, 01; Smith and Dean 2009, 5; Skains 2018; Sullivan 2006; Hickson 2011).

The approach to unpack knowledge from and through practice evolved, primarily via the *reflective practice* discourse, thematizing critical learning and critical teaching, developed by scholars like Donald Schön (1983), Chris Argyris (1978), and Jack Mezirow (1990). Reflective practice concentrates on the fact that "knowledge" lies in action and that reflection and action are inseparable, which provides a method for the

complexity of analyzing one's own experiences of practice. In particular, as in my case, when the practice processes (social actions) are to be interpreted and not - as in the autoethnographic approach - a reflection of the subject's sensations (Candy 2020, 235-280). The principles and strategy of Schön's method will be discussed in more detail in the following chapter to conclude the further procedure.

3.3 The Reflective Practitioner

In this section, I will work out which considerations from Donald Schön's concept of the reflective practitioner are relevant to initiate the processing of my material from this point. Using ideas on organizational learning and professional practice developed by Chris Argyris and Schön himself in 1978, Schön advanced reflective practice theory in a series of books (Schön 1983; 1987). Reflective practice focuses on the circle of action, reflection, and adaptation by integrating a more differentiated reflection sequence that considers the difference between reflection within the practice and that from a distance—on the action. With this differentiation, he reacts to the complexity of the action and reflection relationship, leading to an adjustment of the theoretical considerations.

Schön's main contribution is to distinguish between reflection in and on the action, offering a system to distinguish between the different stages of reflection and transfer them into knowledge production. Following Schön's understanding, reflection *in* action is about becoming aware of what we think and do within a situation. Reflection *on* action takes place sometime later, i.e., at a particular time distance, from where we look at the events and challenges that have taken place and remember what we thought and how we acted (Schön 1983, 60ff; Jarvis 1999, 131ff). As well as the possibility of acknowledging and differentiating between reflections on practice, Schön clearly summarizes the driving force of the ongoing process of adaptation to the circumstances on the ground by introducing the "appreciative system" that everyone develops and is subject to. This functions as an overarching theory, describing the impact of our socialization, helping us to situate the practice and approach we are using (Schön 1983, 164). The appreciative system shapes our approach and the assumptions we make before going into practice. Compared with the conflict lines from my observation, Schön's appreciative system proved to be an excellent system to better describe the clash of different views (Candy 2020, 20-21), while conflict points alone represented only the momentary acts of controversy. On the other hand, appreciative systems described the entire embeddedness

of perspectives. They thus opened up the possibility of looking more precisely at the conditions of the conflict instead of becoming trapped in the conflict itself. In doing so, they enable an approach that gives space to change and serves to gain knowledge. Thus, applying appreciative systems takes on a constitutive character deriving knowledge from practice and is treated as a central element in my work.

The appreciative system is continuously in transformation. It is developed at the beginning of an action/practice, determined by the background of the practitioner, current literature on the topic and first-hand conditions on the ground. In going through reflection in and after action, the appreciative system is adjusted accordingly and is shaped to reflect expected and unexpected deviations. This sequence is repeated each time new reflections on unexpected and expected deviations occur. *Disjuncture* is defined as the "gap between the individual's biography and perception and construction of the experience of the external world" (Jarvis 2006, 226). The model below depicts the process of continuous changing by experiencing this disjuncture.

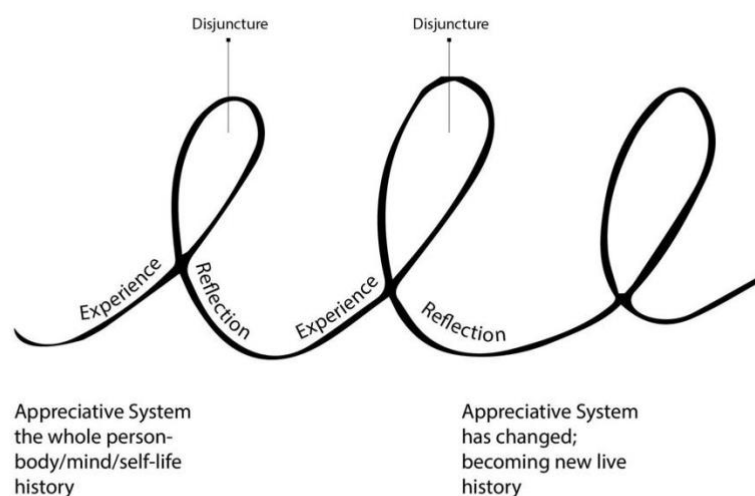


Figure 4: The Process of Changing Appreciative Systems (Rayyan)

Even if this process appears as a given, a situated practice needs to keep in mind that it is the *deviations from the assumptions that change practice* and from which we can learn something about the conditions on the ground. The deviation is the need to adapt the practice and rethink what has been accepted so far, but it is the *product of the friction of two different appreciative systems* which is of interest. It requires a closer look as the

moment of friction reveals something about the other appreciative system that in turn prompts reflection on the reasons for one's assumptions, leading to further investigation. It is this dialectical relationship between deviation and assumption that is constitutive for the further investigation.

Having reconstructed the process of reflection within the practice and elaborated on the particular role of disjuncture in the interest of investigating local conditions, the consideration of reflective practice, as already discussed, also offers a way of dealing with the different temporal levels of reflection that I am confronted with in my retrospective analysis of practice.

As mentioned, an ethnographically inspired art led investigation establishes the dual role of practitioner and researcher at the beginning, and observations and reflections are recorded during the action. This contrasts with my situation, in which the position of the research is temporally delayed, that is, after the practical experience has been completed. Thus, I did not enter the practice with the consciousness of recording observations for study. Considering the temporal and contextual thrust is an essential prerequisite, thematizing writing from memory and at the same time being able to distinguish between the respective temporal moments of reflection.

Scholar Stephen Scrivener developed from Schön's writings a scheme that illustrates the dialectical relationship between the different stages of reflection and assumptions, which supports the aim to reconstruct the material selected within the practice. While the *Reflection in Action* (RiA) happened throughout the action in shorter intervals, the *Reflection on Action* (RoA) is superordinate and with a time distance, being able to look back at the action. Since a project takes place over several interactions, it entails several reflections on action phases. Scrivener allocates a third level with higher temporal distance or shift, looking at the several steps that are realized and reflected upon (Scrivener 2000).

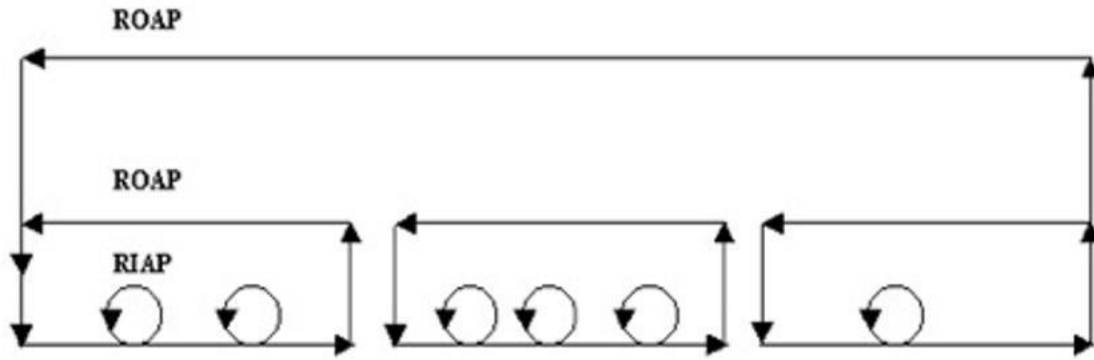


Figure 5: Reflection in and on Design Episodes and Projects. Adapted from " Reflection in and on action and practice in creative-production doctoral projects in art and design," Working Papers in Art and Design 1, Stephen Scrivener 2000, 10.

Transferring Scrivener's extension of Schön's concept to my situation, the reflections within the stage of the actual implementations are not lost but are acknowledged and given a place within the development of the analysis. The diagram helps me to differentiate between the different moments of reflection; initial reflections, problem-solving adjustments, and subsequent reflection within and after the practice, thus providing me with an instrument to represent and analyze. Schön's theory of a reflective practitioner was groundbreaking for transferring knowledge from practice, if used within a critical approach toward one's practice. Authors Neil Thompson and Jan Pascal emphasize the need for a critical approach that includes, in particular, the sociopolitical circumstances in the reflection phase representing the constructions of power and positions. For it is by questioning the circumstances under which practice has taken place that a "critically reflective practice" emerges, clarifying in turn the influence our deeply held assumptions have on practice (Thompson and Pascal 2012, 321; Rutten 2016, 299; Fook 1999b, 45). Following Thompson and Pascal's critique, I have added a further category describing the examination of the theoretical superstructure, reflecting on socio-political circumstances and their impact on building assumptions, titled as a "Reflection of the Action after Completion (RoAaC)" (Figure 6).

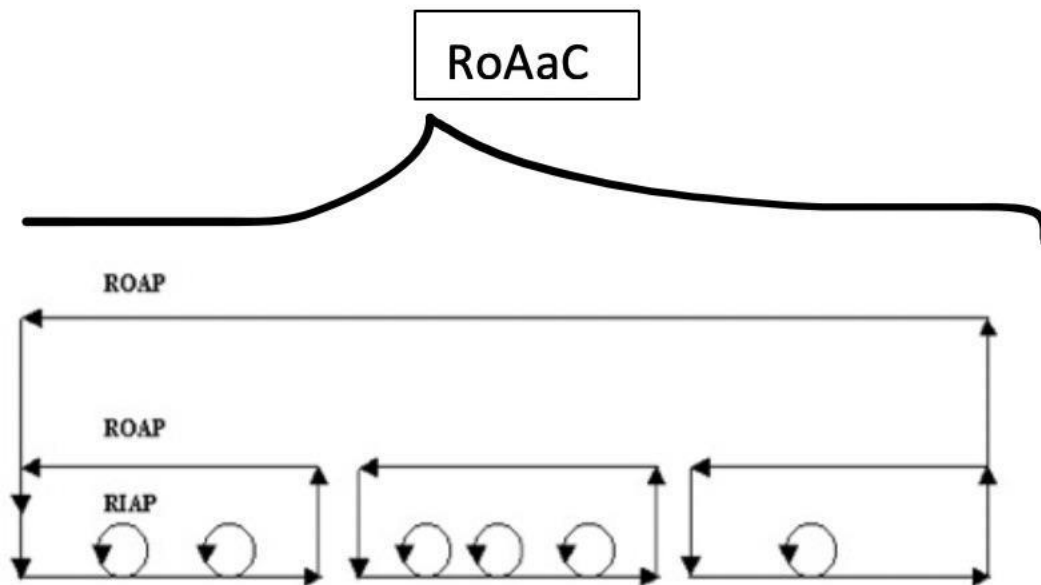


Figure 6: Extended Reflection Chart, Stephen Scrivener 2000, 10.

Using the logic of Scrivener's diagram, I divided the material of the three years of projects into three main activities, giving the rich material an ordering system to analyze it. The reflection and attribution models of reflexive practice presented here were also transferred as a basic form to the structure of my empirical part of the thesis. Thus, descriptions of elaborated deviations to the appreciative system within practice alternate with their first reflections, including both the immediate ones within practice and the subsequent ones with distance from practice. This is followed by a reproduction of successive modifications of the respective assumptions leading to the next intervention. The repetitive entry into the circle of reflection leads to a chronological investigation that spirals into the material until the analysis at the end of Chapter 10. This successive approach aims to make the critical reflection process within the practice comprehensible and serves to decipher the contexts of what I have vaguely described as "non-given" in relation to public space.

Appreciative systems are essential for my further analysis and investigation because, as presented here, the respective assumptions and attitudes of the actors involved can be explained and examined. As explained, appreciative systems (AS) refer to general attitudes towards life. Still, they can also be reduced to specific topics, which in turn say something about the perspective of the respective actor and serve the

reconstruction of the observed behavior and statements. Effectively, an appreciative system can be studied specifically as well in terms of assumptions about public space.

The investigation of appreciative systems is thus an instrument to deconstruct the complex material and consider a situated approach for the assumptions of the involved actors. Furthermore, by comparing the different appreciative systems and their genesis, insights can be gained that can be used to answer the question. In applying this to present research, I will first introduce the appreciative system of art interventions in public spaces in Jerusalem, which emerged at the beginning of the practice. It serves as a template against which the respective later appreciative systems of the project participants and adapted concepts for art interventions can be compared and discussed.

3.4 Decolonial Critical Reflective Practice

Even if critical reflective practice takes social and political contexts into account, it still speaks from the individual's position, showing the influence of our social and cultural contexts. Consequently, I see this approach as the first step of a critical reflection. However, this critical reflection needs to mirror my understanding of contextualizing, considering the epistemic constraints of a practice implemented in a non-Western context, being confronted with a canon defined by dominating histories. This is where the decolonial discussion outlined in section 2.1 comes in, opposing the results of reflection and observation with its broader socio-political contexts, shedding light on marginalized subject positions in society, mirroring the analysis against its constraints. Here, the position of the "halfie," presented by Laila Abu-Lughod, is helpful, introducing a dialogue between positions and perspectives within the role of the practitioner and researcher.

By adopting critical thinking to reflective practice, I can analyze canonized assumptions that are universally negotiated, in light of their origins and conditions. To stress the need for an epistemological discussion, I believe critical reflective practice needs to be expanded through the use of the term decolonial, making clear that observations and reflections about practice must have more far-reaching consequences than what is achieved by a critical examination of the particular context alone. Moreover, here, we do not only talk about the politically specific circumstances of contemporary reality but also the social structure of Palestinian society, the colonial past, and

marginalized present, the theoretical background, and the debate on art theory for socially engaged art praxis, as well as the narrative of Jerusalem. Combining autoethnography and critical reflective practice with a decolonial analysis of settings will hopefully lead me to a situation that connects, shapes, and pushes methods, formats of writing, and representation tools toward the point of filling the gap.

My research is to be understood as an instrument to examine canonized concepts through practical experience on-site. Thus, I hope to contribute to the participatory art discourse by applying decolonial critical reflective practice in multiple ways:

1. Complement the discourse about the impact of socially engaged art with a discussion on the process and development.
2. Shifting the focus from the outcomes to the development before and after the concrete interventions, to use the reflections for gaining knowledge about habitual practices of the society in which the action is placed.
3. Contribute to examine the complexity of social art practices, by adjusting the research instruments of reflective practitioners.
4. Creating a method that can open up discussions on Eurocentric concepts outside of Western conditions in art practice—turning the research into a decolonial project as it decentralizes Western thinking, contributing to analyzing the theoretical consequences of the findings for art theory.

Here I connect to questions raised by Walter D. Mignolo when discussing the necessary interaction with local histories, following the quest of asking where theories are produced and what happens to them when they travel through colonial realities (Mignolo 2000, 173).

3.5 Conclusion Part I

After situating the project that took place in Jerusalem between 2013 and 2016 and exploring the primary conditions of the site and organization to which the action was related, I elaborated on the conditions and circumstances for the choice of methodology and method. Having chosen critical arts-based research as a framework for my investigation, I had to select the method from the pool of qualitative research instruments. Capturing the subjective perspective of re-narrating my experience and observation was

made possible by the autoethnographic approach discussed in 3.1., used to transfer the experiences into a written format as data collection. Autoethnography's use of descriptive vignettes allowed the liberation of the subjective perspective on social practices, it also offered a suitable tool in an understandable form for those within and outside of the practice. Nevertheless, implementing the exercise of writing vignettes and applying analyzing instruments, I became aware of a distinctive difference in interpreting the subjective position, and the reflection used in autoethnography. Although I want to include my thoughts on the action, I am not interested in mirroring my relation to the action or reflecting upon my behavior within the practice; I did not want to focus the analysis on myself. Autoethnography was only helpful for extracting knowledge and sharing it in written format; a guide on how to extract findings.

More was needed that would emphasize the practitioner's position and reflect upon the practice's process and reflection. Speaking from and not about practice became an essential position. The shift in the role from observing researcher of practice to practitioner is provided by the critical art-based research framework. Even though CABR frames my work, a fundamental difference exists in the retrospective recording of experiences and subsequent processing of material. Collecting the material does not run in parallel with the action but with a shift in time. In this context, however, it was essential for me to find an approach that would clarify and integrate reflections during implementation and reflections from a distance. This became possible by using Donald Schön's concept of the reflective practitioner. Besides the essential factor of acknowledging the moment of reflection within the practice, Schön's illustration of reflecting—acting—evaluating—modifying provides a further insight that turns out to be a main element of my research: the appreciative systems in reflecting on practice. The clash of different appreciative systems marks the point at which an assumption must be reconsidered and adjusted and thus acquire central importance in the analysis. Above all it is the unexpected deviations that are helpful for further discussion.

Here, critical thinking is rooted in socio-political circumstances and reflected in the extension of the concept into a critically reflective practice that underlines my chosen methodology. As discussed, when situating the analysis, a significant driver for the direction of the research is the discrepancy between the dominant discourses on participatory art and my experiences outside of the Western context. Inspired by authors

like Franz Fanon, Aimé Césaire, and Albert Memmi, I combine statements and approaches from postcolonial and decolonial discourse, adopting Catherine Walsh's attitude to allow different experiences and observations to come into conversation with each other. Only through the experiences of the practice can theories be examined and counter-read; to question their claim to be universally valid.

Taking the basis of the assumptions as the trigger point for reflection and adaptation, these assumptions turn out to be the essential element needed to shed light when extracting findings from the complex structure of implemented practice. While Schön describes them as the potential for development, I would define them as a seismograph to understand challenges and unfold the reasons behind them. They also connect with the overall methodology of the decolonial approach I have chosen to follow, aiming at translating concepts. Unraveling the process behind my search for a method and discussing the consequences for theories that I touch on throughout my thesis, are possible with decolonial critical reflective practice.

Part II Experiencing Space

In Part II of the thesis the analysis of the prepared material takes place. In order to follow the considerations of a situated examination, I also keep the structure here, that the analysis results of the respective project phase are contextualized and presented with regard to their background (here theoretical and site-specific). The analysis of the works shown here and the corresponding observations gradually spiral deeper into the observations of artistic interventions in the public space of Jerusalem and thus follow the logic of a critical reflective research practice.

Part II is divided into three parts. First, in Chapter 4, the transfer of the method to my specific case takes place using Stephen Scrivener's modified diagram to visualize a chronology of the implementation process, which organizes my material and relates the different phases of the development process to each other. This is followed in Chapter 5 by the initial presentation of the conditions on the ground that led to first adaptations of the theoretical assumptions of how participatory art interventions in public space can be implemented in Jerusalem. As presented in Chapter 3, the appreciative system takes on particular importance in the analysis, as it marks my frame of reference and views on practice. Chapter 5 presents the appreciative system used here, generated from the theories and experiences of my professional expertise presented in Chapter 1 but adapted through an initial analysis regarding the conditions on the ground. These first adjustments on site are to be classified in Schön's system as reflections before action, i.e., before it goes into the actual engagement with partners and interaction on site. With Chapter 6, I move into the second subsection of Part II, which presents the second and third major art intervention during the period of the project. While the overall structure of oscillating between describing the action and working on the particular reflections and providing the necessary background information is kept, I proceed chronologically to do justice to mirror the ongoing development process.

While Chapter 6 deals with the important preparatory period of the first interventions, contextualize concepts, and present other socio-political framework conditions by formulating them into a *Practice of Space*, Chapter 7 turns to the first concrete artistic interactions, marking an experiment and extract the associated observations that shaped the further adaptation of the practice. In Chapter 8 and 9, I

discuss the development of the situated practice, by taking the first and second major art intervention to analyse the previous findings further. Here I develop the cornerstones of *Practice of Space II* that refer mainly to the attitudes to space that are site-specific. To do this, I take a closer look at the formats of the respective art interventions in their relation to space and the production of space, and I present their respective theoretical references. On the basis of the observed deviations from the expected processes in the practice and behavior of the actors, I create a more detailed picture of the moments at which the conflicts between the expectations and assumptions of the actors and my guidelines (appreciative system) showed themselves in particular. In order to disentangle the mutual conditionality of a complex practice in a further step, I turn in chapter 10 to the respective actors of the last phase of the art interventions in public space, focusing on the social interactions by which participants' attitudes and habitual behaviors can be read. These observations are subsequently used for further analysis regarding the conditions of public space in East Jerusalem. The findings of this analysis will be used for the theoretical discussion in Part III.

Chapter 4 Systematizing Experiences

This chapter transfers the methodology and approach developed in Chapter three to practice. As a first step, I will give a general overview and description of the projects between 2013 and 2016. Before structuring the respective interventions and reflections, a timeframe will be presented that displays the different phases and developments. Transferring the process into a timeframe is essential for the research. It gives orientation between the preparation and actual implementation phase of each activity, locating the individual reflection in and on the action of each intervention into the extended concept. As already mentioned, the research focuses not on the aesthetic dimension or outcome of interventions but the observations and reflections during the preparation and implementation phases, investigating the conditions for implementing interventions in public space outside the Western context and, in this particular case, in Jerusalem.

After setting up the overview and integrating the reflection phases, the following paragraphs will reveal the interventions by alternating the work, my reflections on the work process, and interpretation of those reflections. Background information is included as needed, to give context to the observations and analysis. This information provides insight into the political and sociological situation of the city of Jerusalem, the neighborhood, the socio-political living conditions of the residents, and insights into the history of the art organization and how it was perceived by the community.

As described in Chapter three, the dynamic development of reflexive practice occurs when the practitioner looks at a discrepancy in the overarching theory (appreciative system) and is confronted with differences between assumptions and practice. Peter Jarvis emphasizes this as an important process of "reflective learning situation" of a life-long series of mind and body experiences, continually changing the individual's biography (Jarvis 2006,134).

Transferring this statement to my practice outlines the dialectical relation between action and reflection that led to adjusting the activities (here: interventions) and creating new findings for the specific situation of participatory art intervention in public spaces (here: space-making art concepts). The distinctions between "Reflection in Action, Reflection on Action and Reflection after Action" are used as categories, to order my

experiences and to examine the written report and vignettes accordingly. The elaborated text passages were assigned to the different moments of reflection and thus enabled a clearer structure in the sequence of reflections during and after the actions. This not only provided a condensed overview of the sequence of reflections and actions, but also made it possible to work out the respective social and political conditions from the descriptions and observations and to relate them one to another.

4.1 The Contextualization of Time, Reflection, and Action: The Chronology of the Public Space Program 2013–2016

The public space intervention program consisted of a number of smaller and larger projects that were realized intermittently over an extended period of time, alongside the gallery's regular activities such as exhibitions and auctions. In retrospect, the main moments of development of the Public Space Intervention Program (2013–2016) were the beginning of the program in October 2013 with the intervention titled *Zalet Lisan* in the Karm Al Kahlili Garden, followed by the first Art Walk *REviewing Jerusalem*, as well as the second Art Walk *REviewing Jerusalem: The Return* in October 2016 and the related preparatory workshops in the period February to June 2016. In terms of the research question, it is essential to focus on the start of the process in 2013 and then toward the end in 2016. Therefore, the following description will focus on the *Zalet Lisan* project and select the main challenges the two Art Walks *REviewing*.

As referenced in Chapter three on critiquing practice-based research formats, the time interval contributes to my point of view when thinking about the challenges of differentiating between reflection within and after the action. Translating the projects and reflections into a timeframe, illustrating the different stages within the period from 2013 until 2016 was essential for extracting findings; acting as a guide for the reader to follow the development. The time frame diagram divides the three years into four main phases: three are related to the implementation of the projects; the fourth is a long-term preparation phase for the final intervention, which is Art Walk 2. Below the horizontal division line, shorter terms of preparation are integrated, an attempt to emphasize the circular nature of preparation, implementation, and reflection on practice. We started the project in 2013 in the Khalili Garden; it consisted of *Garden Talks 1+2*, a circus workshop for children and a video-sound installation *Zalet Lisan*. After an extended break due to

political and financial reasons, we organized the first Art Walk in May 2015, a guided walk with six stopping points for artistic interventions and performances, starting in the gallery and ending in the Old City. The chapters are coordinated and are intended to reflect the ongoing development process.

Timeframe

Public Space Program

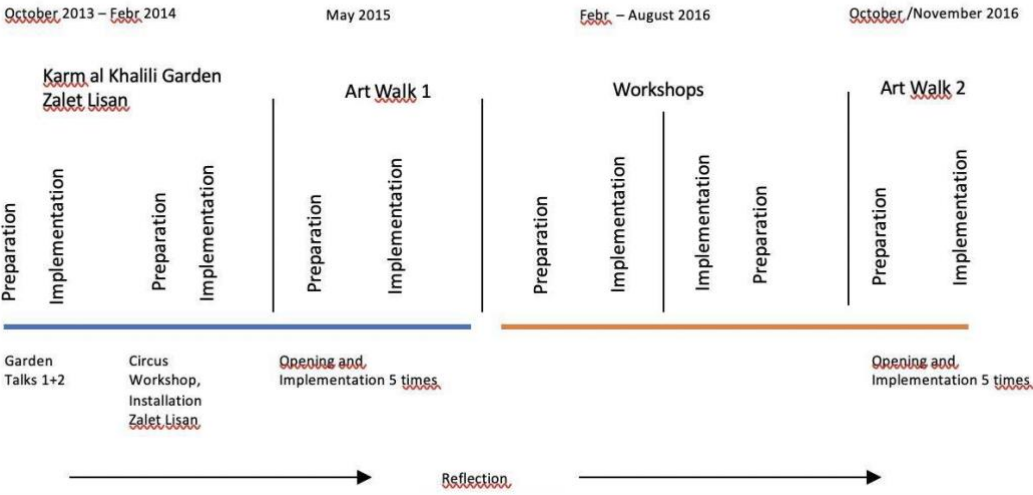


Figure 7: Timeframe of Public Space Program 2013-2016 (Rayyan)

Though the diagram offers an overview and captures the temporality of the process, it does not manage to reflect the *circulating development of the phases*, nor the fact that all actions were connected and built upon each other. The presentation of the different stages of preparation, implementation, and reflection is rather unsatisfactory.

Here I apply the extended concept inspired by Stephen Scrivener (Figure 6), which is shown earlier on page 58. The following figure merges the timeline of the project with Scrivener’s diagram, adopting its terms of considering the circulation between reflection and action, allowing a closer and detailed mapping of the development.

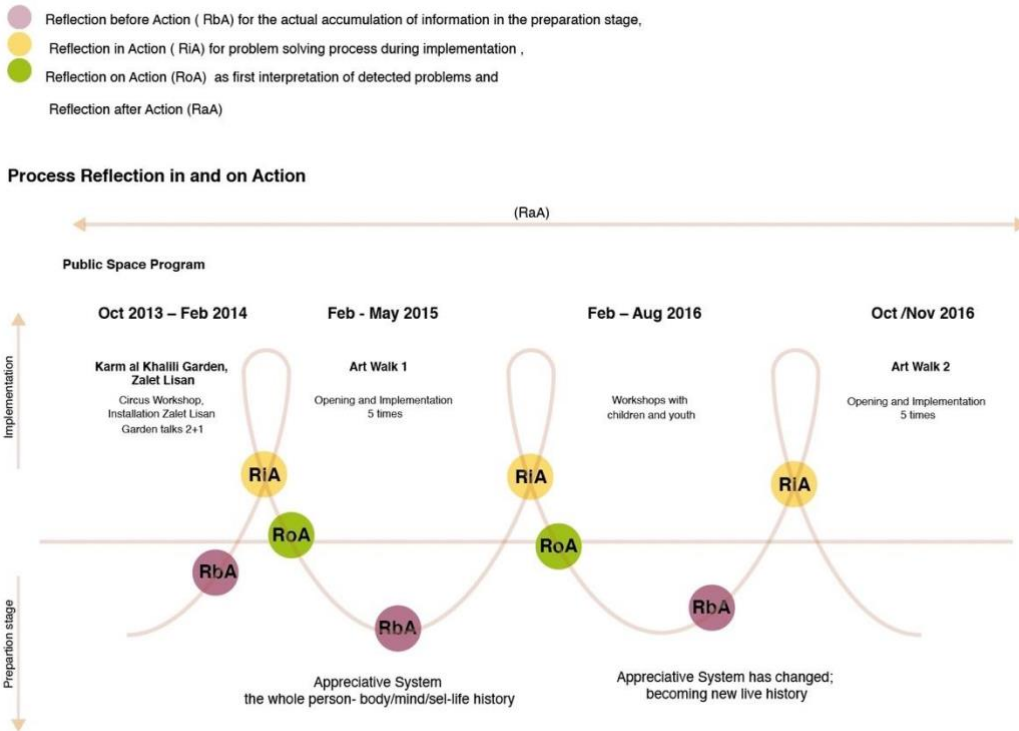


Figure 8: Combined charts, including different phases of reflections within time plan (Rayyan)

The thread of Reflection in Action (RiAs) and Reflection on Action (RoAs) illustrates the development and process of different stages of reflection as well as their influence on the subsequent activity. The RiAs/RoAs are divided numerically relating to each activity. Starting with Reflection before Action (RbA), which stands for defining the appreciative system and overarching theory that were adopted after considering work and location conditions, the curve continues to start the continuous loop of reflection in action, on, and after action, ending with the second RbA as preparation, before entering the next phase of implementation. Findings that will be discussed and explored later in Part III will focus particularly on the development of RbAs and confronting them with new RiAs. We are dealing here with both a temporal and a content-related dimension—which needs to place the development of content in a temporal context. On the basis of this representation, the interdependencies between the different phases of reflection (before, during, and after) and the implementation of the respective project can be read. The horizontal line represents the sequence of events from 2013–2016, divided into respective time slots in which the activities took place. Preparation and implementation are noted vertically, with the implementation phase above the line and the preparation phase below. Each activity

is connected to Reflection in Action (RiA and Reflection on Action (RoA), where each RoA is accompanied by the subsequent Reflection before Action.

The table below gives an overview of the definitions of each particular reflection stage and explores what each represents in the analysis, to allow common threads to be found.

	Definition	Stands for ...	Is associated with ...
Reflection before Action (RbA)	RbA's are considerations of infrastructural requirements and conditions on the ground that are taken into account during preparation. These are preceded by research work (theoretical).	Formulating of the Appreciative System.	The conditions for formulating the action; here the <i>expectations</i> regarding the planned course of action are set.
Reflection in Action (RiA)	RiAs are problem-solving thinking that responds to the challenge; under time pressure or even of the moment.	Used to mark problems and inconsistencies with the assumptions; based on this, background information about the location/site or society is built in.	RiAs need to be read with background information. Here discrepancy between expectation and actual outcome (suspense) is developed.
Reflection on Action (RoA)	RoAs stand between two actions and are something of a link; reflections can take more time, has a retrospective nature; are nevertheless problem-solving oriented as they are used in preparation for the next action.	The initial moments of analysis that occur shortly after the completion of the action, and lead to the new actions that are adjusted accordingly.	Here the disagreements with the "Appreciative System" reveal in full picture—on the basis of which initial moments of analysis were clarified. The new developed approaches are used for further considerations (RbA).

Figure 9: Table Defining RbA, RiA, RoA (Rayyan)

As can be seen from the table, the appreciative system formulated in advance of the intervention that is heir to Reflection before Action, has an essential position in the analysis, as the subsequent challenges rub against this established appreciative system. Reflection in Action, on the other hand, shows the first unexpected challenges that arise from the occurrence of the interactions, i.e., the collision of two different appreciative

systems. If the RbA must be seen as a foundation, the subsequent RiAs can be viewed as the first corrections of assumptions, while RoA displays the first critical reflection and findings.

The analysis system presented here was superimposed on the vignettes and applied as coding to extract information from the experiences themselves. To be able to make conclusive statements from the coding process, I ordered the respective RiAs and RoAs with regard to the reference to public space and repeated occurrence. The next step was finding the connection between these discrepancies, the common thread.

Chapter 5 Applying Critical Reflective Practice in Jerusalem: Building and Challenging the Appreciative System

Using a chronological order to write about the activities, I started with the preparation phase for the first action in the Karm al Khalili Garden. It is important to stress that the observations and findings of the three-year program are retold from my perspective as a practitioner, curator *and* manager. I focused on the deviations to the appreciative system, both expected and unexpected; these are presented according to the timeline set out in Chapter 4 to show the process of implementing the activities.

As mentioned in 4.1, the preparation and research phase leading to the first intervention (RbA) plays an important role in formulating the appreciative system for the activities. Here, the appreciative system for my practice is formed as an assumption based on dominant theory and adjusted in reference to the conditions on the ground, before being tested in the implementation phase. In my case, the appreciative system—as outlined in Part I—has been constructed through my socialization in Germany, the personal and professional background in the Middle East, and the reading relating to urban development, socially engaged art, and power relations in the public space, written in and mainly for Western contexts. Shaping the concept of the socially engaged art intervention and appreciative system is an ongoing process, influenced by several factors, including personal experiences, analyzing the environment, and observations in the field. A starting point for this process is, in my case, knowledge about Jerusalem from a Palestinian perspective, complemented by accessible knowledge about the location obtained through literature. Here the expected deviations to the canonized concept of participatory engagement in public space manifest themselves.

The dominant concepts refer to both the theoretical assumptions of participatory interventions in public space, where those participatory interventions act as catalysts for negated social groups, aiming to democratize a status quo, open up spaces, and enable new forms of public assembly and participation. This assumption is taken from the idea that participation is a means of democratizing art, negating the hierarchy between high and popular (entertainment) culture, combining professional art and amateur art, art, and non-art (Feldhoff, 2009, 65). The "togetherness" shifts hierarchic prescriptions of order, and active participation is described as a possibility to change rehearsed relations in public space, experiencing it as a space of possibility (see Burri et al. 2014, 8). A transition phase

between expected deviations and unexpected deviations occurred when entering Al Hoash as director. Although I was aware of the organization's reputation in society in general, as a place for art exhibitions and the preservation of Palestinian art, its relation to the surrounding community was new to me. This became only clear after first exchange with residents from the neighborhood, who perceived the organization's reputation as more elitist and less as a neighborhood actor. Here, the first discrepancy between my idea to be an actor in participatory interventions in public space, the actual reputation of the organization in the community, and its organizational history, became apparent, which I will come back to later.

Following the chronology of the diagram, I start by displaying the preparation phase for the first art intervention in public space that took place in the Karm al Khalili Garden. The process of preparing and activating the project's first interaction, "Karm al Khalili," has a special status when examining the three-year program; it is not only the first concrete action in the garden but retrospectively the first confrontation with the local conditions. It functions therefore not only as a base for formulating the appreciative system of the particular action at Karm al Khalili Garden but becomes essential to the three-year process as it shaped the original appreciative system for its successors. Shaping the appreciative system was an ongoing process of comparing and adjusting, becoming a seismograph for the development of a concept.

Based on the assumptions, the next step was to look at the local conditions and make initial adjustments to concepts, to make the appreciative systems congruent. What is the political system, the demographic situation in general, and how does this affect the use of public space in East Jerusalem? How is public space defined in East Jerusalem, what is its urban development and how is it perceived by Palestinian society today? These modifications are summarized under "expected deviations" and will be presented in the following chapters. After that, the socially engaged art intervention concept was adjusted and my revised appreciative system was tested when entering the preparation phase, holding initial meetings with actors and counterparts. Here, it is the unexpected inconsistencies that are significant for further investigation. They take the practitioner by surprise and force him/her to adjust and react; to ensure ongoing activity.⁴⁶

⁴⁶ Linda Candy describes this moment as *reflection-on-surprise*, quoting Schön's desirable and undesirable effects (see Candy 2020, 67).

5.1 Defining Physical Public Space in East Jerusalem: Identifying the Conditions

In the following subsections, I will explain the circumstances connected to the specific situation of Palestinians living in Jerusalem, outlining the parameters, and providing initial information for adjusting the canonized concept of participatory art interventions in public space. I refer here predominantly to structurally formed conditions that can be deconstructed from an analysis of Palestinians' political and social situation in Jerusalem and my personal experiences and observations of work and life in that city.

Physical space and the urban structure are contested elements in East Jerusalem and reflect the power relations (Yacobi 2016). In general, urban planning is connected to the geopolitical, social, and political building of a nation. Spatial planning, the hierarchical distribution of urban centers, towns, and villages, are part of the state's strategies (Lefebvre 1991; Dikeç 2015). Talking about public space or urban space in Jerusalem, adds another layer of meaning. As Meron Benvenisti stated, Jerusalem cannot be compared to other metropolises, since boundaries and demography are considered political issues. "Here, everything is a political statement more than an urban statement, turning the terms public space—public interest to charged ones, wielding geopolitical and territorial power in determining demographic developments and allocation of resources" (Benvenisti and Tamari 2006).

Palestinians live in an individual and collective paralysis between the geopolitical and national situation and the procedures of daily coexistence to meet social demands and governmental orders (Khamaisi 2020, 4). East Jerusalem has not witnessed any infrastructural improvements or changes since 1967, despite the rising number of residents. The western part of the city has been instead in a state of steady construction, adapting to the needs of a growing city and its underlying Israeli identity. However, the impaired urban structure of the eastern part functions as an allegory, since life in East Jerusalem feels like a still image from a film, frozen in 1967, while the memory is fading away. Though East Jerusalem has been the cultural, religious, and economic center for Palestinians in the last decades and centuries, it is currently struggling and faces an ongoing process of gentrification.⁴⁷ Shops compete with malls in the western side, and

⁴⁷ East Jerusalem was the center of Palestinian political, religious, and cultural life, especially after 1948 and with the decline of the Palestinian coastal area, including cities like Jaffa and Haifa, which played an important economical and urban development role in pre-1948 Palestine. Since Israel built the separation

the economic and cultural center for Palestinians has shifted to Ramallah. The gentrification process leaves its traces in the former main streets of East Jerusalem, Salah-Eddin Street, and Zahra Street that have lost their reputation and importance for Palestinian life. Nevertheless, these streets can still be classified as public spaces in East Jerusalem, following the definition given in Chapter 2. In addition, the squares around the old town also fall under the designation of public space, especially the *Bab Al Amoud* (Damascus Gate) that has a history as a meeting place. Here, Jerusalemites and visitors from the neighboring villages mingled, farmers offered their produce, exchanging news, and street traders had their stands. These packed crowds have decreased in recent years following ongoing clashes with the Israeli authorities. The latest restructuring of the quarter and the stairs in front of the gate by the authorities has seriously changed its appearance and goes hand in hand with new regulations for street vendors, allowing easier control by the police and close observation by the military (DellaPergola 2017, 168ff; Glass and Khamaisi 2007, 15). However, another significant division occurred with the completion of the wall that further separates Jerusalem from the Palestinian territories of 1967, interrupting the exchange between the city and neighboring villages, depriving the space of its meaning as a center; turning it into a tourist site to be photographed and reducing its importance for daily life.⁴⁸

5.2 Analyzing the Environment of Jerusalem in Preparation for the Action: Reading Power Relations in Public Space

Comparing the situation to other participatory art interventions in public space described in the literature, I had to adjust the concept to take account of the surrounding area, with marginalized residents living within parameters dominated by an Israeli municipal administration, following a policy that led to spatial control (Khamaisi 2020). As described in section 1.1., the living circumstances of Palestinians are shaped by the political situation in Jerusalem. Consequently, Palestinians refuse to normalize the

wall between 2000 and 2006, East Jerusalem has been physically disconnected from the Palestinian territories beyond the Green Line. Although it is still the religious center for Palestinians, the cultural and economic center has shifted to the city of Ramallah, which was declared as the center of government for the Palestinian National Authority.

⁴⁸ The separation wall was constructed by Israel between 2000 and 2006 and runs for a total length of 708 kilometers (440 miles). 15% of the wall's length runs along the Green Line or inside Israel, while the remaining 85% is inside the West Bank and is up to 18 kilometers from the West Bank border (OCHAOPT 2011, 10ff)

relationship with the municipality and with Israeli planning institutions, which dominate them and their city. The standard policy of Palestinian residents and organizations in Jerusalem over the last centuries has been to reduce interaction with the Israeli municipal administration to a minimum. On the other side, the Israeli municipality does not care for the eastern part of the city, as documented by numerous local and international human rights organizations. In his latest paper on development in Jerusalem, urbanist and geographer Rassem Khamaisi states that, "... in addition, the development budgets of East Jerusalem spent by the occupation authorities show clear discrimination. This discrimination has led to the neglect of the city's infrastructure, especially streets, health, and educational facilities" (Khamaisi 2020, 1). Municipal services are given to East Jerusalem sporadically, resulting in a neglected infrastructure such as inadequate electricity supplies, refuse collection, and road construction.⁴⁹

These factors also have consequences for the power relations between different actors that impacts on use of the public sphere. Here I need to outline especially two actors who are significant for the collaboration in the context of art interventions in public space and therefore have to be considered in their specific relationship to the state in the adaptation of the assumption. First, there is **the relationship between residents and the authorities** that is determined by the fact that the authorities hold the legal right to give and evoke residents' ID for Palestinians living in Jerusalem due to their status of not being citizens of the state. With evoking the residency status, Palestinians of Jerusalem lose their right to live in the city, followed by further deterioration of their legal status. This is an ongoing threat as Palestinians from Jerusalem must have their ID cards renewed at regular intervals. The renewal process is similar to a new application, including examining living circumstances, proof of permanent residence, insurance receipts, and deductions for housing tax (*Arnona*) (Glass and Khamaisi 2007). The new border, manifested through the separation wall of 2006, defines a city that excludes parts of Jerusalem's Palestinian neighborhoods, dividing families and separating work from living places. Providing all the documents needed for the renewal of ID can be a complex endeavor that leads Palestinians in Jerusalem to fear being questioned by authorities about

⁴⁹ The lack of an approved land use plan is cited as one of the main contributors to the deterioration of infrastructure in East Jerusalem. As a result, the municipality does not have to allocate financial resources for the implementation of the structure, nor for the construction of roads or public spaces. In contrast, public buildings in West Jerusalem and in Jerusalem and settlements were funded according to the municipal land use plans (Glass and Khamaisi 2007; Yabobi and Pullan 2014; Jubeh 2015; Abowd 2014, 108ff).

their living circumstances, as they worry about being interrogated (Yacobi 2015, 581ff). Consequently, the municipal authority is not a place to turn to and contact is kept to the minimum.

The second relationship that must also be taken into account is between **Palestinian civil society (cultural organizations) and authorities**, reflecting the relation to the state and municipal authorities described above. One indication of it is that Palestinian organizations do not participate in government funding programs or even receive government support. Instead, their finances depend on international donors working in the field of development (UNCTAD 2013). Palestinian organizations do not appear in the financial budget for culture and education in the city, nor are they included in information networks in the respective sector. Thus, Palestinian cultural organizations received the same financial allocation in 2018 as in 2013 (1.9% for cultural activities, 11.5% social activities, 1.5% sports activities, and 4.2% social welfare) (Khamaisi 2020). In addition, the Palestinian organization in Jerusalem is prohibited from receiving support from or cooperating with the Palestinian Authority or any organization affiliated with the Palestinian Authority. A presumption of cooperation is sufficient to prevent a planned event from taking place (Haaretz 2021). These uncertainties have their influence on the implementation of artistic interventions. To present which points within the concept were affected by this and accordingly changed the implementation, I will again briefly refer to essential characteristics and art interventions discussed in the literature.

As discussed in 2.2, socially engaged art practices in public spaces are discussed in Western contexts mostly in the context of questioning existing power structures in societies (Bishop, Kester, Marchart, Deutsche). They stand in opposition to the authorities, raising awareness about neglected areas and empowering residents to become self-determined activists in shaping their environment. Their actions are addressing the deficiencies of authorities; becoming active follows a bottom-up logic by demanding that authorities acknowledge their shortcomings. The power of acting in space against norms and expectations, redefining the use of classified space for the common, is often realized through physical intervention, constructing DIY urban furniture, or performative acts, displaying utopian options for changing particular public spaces using performative, provoking action. All of these forms are visible, physical, demand attention, and demand to be heard, addressing the authorities involved.

In the case of Jerusalem, the deteriorating political circumstances required other formats for art interventions, placing the work outside the common framework and changing what and how "opposition" is understood and articulated. Since the relationship toward the state is shattered, the idea of opposing demands for more visibility and space could not be addressed to the Israeli authorities. Rather than opposing state authority or its representatives, the actions had to shift direction and their attribution by focusing on the possibility of small-scale change that did not attract police or community attention. The opposition changed into an encouragement to address unofficial Palestinian representatives of the society to get their support to shape counterpublic spaces. Therefore, the action format should not be noisy or expressive but impressive enough to reach other fellow residents, to encourage them to support the claim to create counterpublic spaces. In our case, the classical bottom-up approach referred to the "above" not to the Israeli authorities, but to the unofficial Palestinian representatives and the Palestinian civil organizations. Under these circumstances, we tried to implement Lefebvre's idea of "creating a concrete utopia," not denying reality, but exploring its possibilities from the perspective of a possible transformation of social, political and societal realities (Lefebvre 1995, 357).

The consequences of these first findings formulated the first appreciative system for interventions in public space in East Jerusalem.

5.3 The Appreciative System of Public Space Interventions in Jerusalem

The starting point for formulating the appreciative system that shaped the concept for the interventions and functions as a thread for further analysis is defined by the different power relations between the residents and the state. These shift the parameters of:

- What can be declared as public space
- How people use or move through public space
- How public space is perceived by the authorities

The challenging political situation and the idea of opposing authorities is mirrored in the considerations of creating counterpublics, reflecting the hegemonic relations and position

of minorities who do not see themselves represented in the public space. To consider the circumstances on the ground, the appreciative system related to the idea of counterpublics and interventions in public space needed to be adjusted accordingly, defining the design of the action, who it addresses, as well as the choice of location.

These adjustments obviously contrast with the idea presented in literature that regaining influence of (physical) public space is achieved by raising awareness and getting officials to acknowledge their negligence of a particular space or group of people (minorities). Rather than *opposing* authorities (legislative, executive), action is required to *encourage* the residents to become active, introducing the possibility for small-scale changes that do not attract the attention of the police or the municipality. Instead of *reactivating* former physical public spaces and urban planning to *oppose gentrification*, choosing the location that *guarantees a safe way* to experience the intervention at all was essential. In place of *addressing the authorities*, the action needed to *raise the interest of the residents*.

Consequently, concepts for intervention in East Jerusalem have to follow the general rules:

- To avoid the attention of the authorities
- To be a safe place for participants
- To have support from the unofficial Palestinian representations in Jerusalem
- To not provoke legal measures by the state

The adapted appreciative system of the concept was oriented to the overarching rule of creating a positive experience of an intervention by searching for a safe, discreet place that provided a suitable structure for the action. Even though these findings changed the appreciative system, the general approach of creating counterpublics could in principle continue to exist. Thus, the changed appreciative system mainly influenced the preparation time for the interventions, the search for a suitable location, and the orientation of the action.

In the preparation phase for the implementation, finding the right location became a crucial component. The process of delivering interventions in public space had a number of implications for the concrete action, like checking the infrastructural implications, clarifying security issues for the team, building relations and trust with the adjacent neighborhood, and securing the support of representatives from the community. The number of implications revealed the complexity of the process of implementing socially engaged art in public space in Jerusalem, presented and analyzed further in the following chapters.

Chapter 6 Entering the Field: Developing the Practice of Space

While Chapter 5 clarified the expected deviations and defined the terms used in the analysis, Chapter 6 turns to practice and explores the concept of participatory art practice in public space that was used. The following sections are about the initial discussions and the different assumptions about Jerusalem's unused public space, determined during the search for a suitable place and the first partners. This search for an appropriate public space location for the first interventions is important; it gives the initial insights into dealing with public space in Jerusalem. I bring together the concrete confrontation with space and the juxtaposition of different spatial experiences under the term "practice of space." Using the term practice here places the focus on the social interaction between actors about space. Thus, the practice of space describes experiences with and in public space during the concrete action, its reflections, and findings, referring to a process that leads to a situated practice.

6.1 Al Hoash's History and Circumstances in Terms of the Project

Before I analyze the first encounters with possible partners, it must be clarified from which position we acted, since we did not enter the conversations as individuals, but in the context of the work for the art organization Al Hoash. In order to do this, it is necessary to briefly recall the perception and history of the art organization, clarifying its appreciative system in terms of public space engagement and socially engaged art.

With a history as an arts organization that saw its mission reflected in the preservation and exhibition of Palestinian art, we had an extremely difficult starting

position in approaching potential partners, who perceived the organization as elitist, offering art to the upper class of East Jerusalem. Addressing the community was a different approach and a shift in the organization's performance. In the interest of the organization, this change was urgently needed, but was received with limited enthusiasm by the board. The purpose of our meetings with potential partners was not only to explain the idea of a socially engaged art practice, but also to convince potential partners that Al Hoash is changing its approach and reaching out directly to the neighborhood for collaboration. In addition to this reputation problem, Al Hoash had no previous organizational experience in the implementation of interventions in public space, since its former activities were exclusively related to the gallery business. On the one hand, this led to the fact that neither internal organizational experience nor an existing network of possible partners could be drawn on during the preparation.

The first search for possible locations led us to the close surrounding area of the organization. In addition to exploring the neighborhood in search of possible places where we could implement our first artistic interventions and participatory formats, we got into conversation with the first possible partners. Even if the initial situation of the encounters was determined by the reputation of the organization, these discussions about a possible joint action opened up insights to be able to gather first impressions regarding an action in public space. To describe these impressions and its implications, I want to borrow the term "location scouting" from the film production process as a description as it circumscribes the exploration of places as a multiple action. Since it would go too far to outline the location scouting tours in detail, I will use selected descriptions, shredding light to direct reflections that reveal additional material for examining the deviations. Here I use material taken from the retrospectively written observations and vignettes as curator at that time, combined with elements of qualitative interviews with former colleagues and participants.

6.2 Location Scouting: Investigative Walking

With the first location scouting, I entered the field, facing the conditions and history of the chosen space and the mindset of opposing partners. What was meant to be part of the idea. i.e., to find support for the concept, became a significant factor in creating

interventions in public space, formulating the first major unexpected deviations to the set appreciative system.

With the first location scouting walk the meaning of a neglected area and the complexity of public space in the Bab al Zahra quarter became evident. The need to find the right place transformed a regular walk through familiar streets into *investigative walking*, and act of conscious walking, and seeing. First of all, I realized the lack of shade-giving trees or benches that might offer a short break for passersby. Instead, one had to maneuver between overfilled bins, parked cars caused by lack of parking space, and narrow pavements. Walking through the street could be described as finding your way through obstacles, needing to be cautious and aware of the space you are using. This physical observation goes hand in hand with the description given by my Al Hoash colleague and former project coordinator Hatem Tahan, who explained that using the streets turns a person into a warrior who has to show his/her strength and presence to affirm the way. The street is only the connecting route between the starting point and destination (Tahan interview 2017).



Figure 10: Side Street from Zahra Street, East Jerusalem, courtesy of The Palestinian Art Court Al-Hoash

The Park as a Space

In the middle of this inhospitable space there was a small park hidden behind high walls adjoining the prestigious Rockefeller Museum. Large boulders mark the park's entrance, and a paved path leads to an olive grove. Old, gnarled trees stand scattered in the grass. In the background, neglected playground equipment could be seen, unused, and swinging back and forth in the wind. At the other end of the park, slightly hidden, are some benches. In contrast to the fact that this is the only park in East Jerusalem, which to my understanding should therefore be active and used, a deserted plain opened up before my eyes. Some men sat together in a group in the corner, and a passerby was crossing the space quickly.



Figure 11: Karm Al Khalili Garden from Zahra Street, private archive

While walking, Hatem Tahan explained to me that the park has not always been a neglected space but was quite popular in the 1960s. Today, it is a forgotten place with a bad reputation, a meeting place for criminals and drug addicts, avoided by residents and visitors alike. The extent of its poor reputation was evident later when we met residents and representatives of organizations, who revealed that even entering the park would lead to slander. Despite its reputation, the park would function perfectly as a meeting place for the community. It offers open space that is accessible and is protected from the Israeli authorities owing to its high walls. Keeping in mind the lack of public spaces in East

Jerusalem, it seemed to me to be logical to reactivate the park for the neighborhood (Image Appendix, Image 3).

As well as meeting the criteria for our first activity, the place reflected Jerusalem's history and the living conditions for Palestinians in the city. Today, the only existing public park in East Jerusalem represents the past. The public space situation in this part of the city differs from the flourishing quarter, the cultural center of Jerusalem. The park originated as the location of Mufti Shaykh Muhammad al-Khalili's summer house back in Ottoman time. He purchased the olive grove outside the gates of the Old City of Jerusalem in 1711, turning it into the center of a growing new quarter of Jerusalem, the Bab Al Zahra district. The Karm al Khalili area was declared a park during the British Mandate (1919–1948), when the Municipality purchased thirty-two dunum from the Khalili family and built the Palestinian Archaeological Museum.⁵⁰ This building now houses the Rockefeller Museum. The adjoining area was fenced in and, according to British town planner Clifford Ashley, was designated a park in 1922 (Anani 2017). In the following centuries, the area became Jerusalem's Palestinian culture center, with its cinemas, clubs, and theaters, peaking in the 1960s. With the social and political changes following the Six-Day War in 1967, the park sank into oblivion until the present time.

Choosing the park as the location for the first intervention would go beyond the mere fact of activating a public space; the activity was linked to the history of the quarter, activating memories for the residents prior to its demise.

6.3 Partners for the Action

Keeping in mind the specific situation for Palestinian organizations in Jerusalem, it was crucial to find partners to undertake any activity in "public space"; to support the idea of activating space that is accessible for the public in a safe way. Since we needed to act without the knowledge of the city administration, we had to find groups that could act as representatives of the Palestinian community or were important social organizations. On the one hand, it was crucial to find collaborating partners to support our action before the authorities. On the other hand, it was essential to be clear about our intentions and not

⁵⁰ Dunum is a unit of measurement, where 1 dunum is equivalent to 1000 square meters, used in areas who belonging to the Ottoman Empire (Mideastweb, n.d).

to be misunderstood by the Palestinian audience. One could say that we followed an *alternative* route for obtaining permission to enter public space.

In the case of our first action in the park, it was essential to meet social groups and organizations that could play the role of multipliers, spreading the idea of the intervention and seeking support from their members, providing access to possible participants, being potential messengers to activate public space by using it for their activities. Official representatives of Palestinian society in Jerusalem were not contacted at this stage because we agreed within Al Hoash to keep it local to the quarter and concentrate on creating support from social groups located around the park. More critical was the involvement of Palestinian representatives of social organizations speaking for the drug addicts, who were accused of being the problem and the reason that the community no longer used the park. Most of these organizations in Jerusalem have a religious background, either Muslim or Christian that gives them credibility in society and equates their actions with religious charity, giving them a higher profile and thus greater acceptance for what they do.

However, in our search for partner organizations, we not only focused on possible allies in civil society but also started parallel discussions with possible co-actors such as artists and local residents. The different reactions that we found in relation to our presentation of the project already provided initial insights that were fundamental for the first interventions on site. In order to make these findings readable, I have organized them into three main groups according to their position and function within the project and have checked for commonalities and discrepancies on the basis of the memos on the conversations.

Group A	Participants from the neighborhood/quarter
Group B	Social organizations, youth clubs
Group C	Artists (local and international)

Since the deviations in the analysis of Group B and Group C, especially in the initial phase, provide essential insights, they are presented in separate subsections. The experiences with the neighborhood residents (Group A) run for the entire duration and

are not examined in a separate subsection but repeatedly addressed through the course of the work and placed in relation to the other actors.

6.3.1 Intersections with Organizations: The Process of Finding Overlapping Appreciative Systems (Group B)

The park's neighborhood had a school and two youth clubs; these were the first addresses for us to contact and introduce the idea of engaging with the park. Here I drew on the experience of my staff who came from Jerusalem themselves and belonged to this community. These colleagues functioned as initial mediators between the idea, myself, and the neighborhood, introducing me as a trustworthy person with a Palestinian family background, living in the diaspora and trying to translate the idea of our project in numerous meetings. We started to present the idea as an act of "creative place making where artists are collaborating with community members" (taken from the official flyer, produced to introduce our project and aims) and reached out first to the youth club *Babal Zahra* where we had several meetings with their female director, Mrs. Layla Abu Ali.⁵¹ The following paragraph describes this first encounter between Mrs. Abu Ali, my colleague Hatem Tahan, and I, from my perspective.

Vignette, Location Scouting, April 2015

We enter her office. A massive wooden table with a leather office chair dominates the otherwise dark room. Hatem and I take the guest chairs. After the obligatory introductions, Hatem begins to speak. At first, I remain silent. He introduces me as the new director of the Al Hoash Gallery and explains that I am a Palestinian of the diaspora, but originally from Lifta. My identity as a part of this social group granted me a little respect and recognition that I would not have otherwise receive. I noticed this recognition in the introductory conversations as soon as Hatem mentioned my background.

This explanation of my origins was crucial because it helps our counterpart to place me in society. His introduction already contains two codes that are understood locally and prove that I am a trustworthy person, namely the codes "diaspora" and "Lifta." The first code "diaspora" communicates that I am Palestinian, although my appearance,

⁵¹ The name has been changed at the request of the interviewee.

dress style, and demeanor may differ from what is considered Palestinian in Jerusalem. The explanation for this is that I belong to the diaspora—i.e., have lived abroad—and have therefore experienced different socialization. The Jerusalem reference is important and validated since my family originally comes from Lifta.⁵²

Since Palestinian society has partially transformed into a fragmented refugee society with the founding of the State of Israel, references to a family's original place of residence are an essential means of orientation. They not only represent the former social standing of the person but also provide information about what moment in Palestinian history the person lost his or her home, which often reveals the Palestinian group to which one belongs. Place names are part of the oral Palestinian narrative and immediately provide the listener with both a geographical and political attribution related to Palestinian society's current fragmentation into different classifications. Residents of Haifa, Akko, Jaffa, and Nazareth are Palestinians living in Israel who have different living conditions to those of Palestinians in Jerusalem or the Palestinian territories beyond the 1967 border, which again differ from Palestinians from Gaza. These different living conditions go hand in hand with the particular legal status, regulating and reducing access to places and ability to move, I explained in Chapter 1.

Even though the question of where one's family comes from can be considered a strange request from a Western perspective, for Palestinian's it is an important means of orientation in a fragmented society; a connection to the Palestinian narrative and in our case an important information to build trust.

Vignette, April 2016 (continuation)

After briefly explaining the reason for our visit, I took over the conversation. However, it was a constant process of weighing how best to present our request. Outlining the idea went hand in hand with trying to assess and understand how others would react to the proposals, whether to change the tactics of presenting our project, and how to address concerns we observed. A joint presentation was essential for this process, as Hatem and I were both able to assess the situation from different perspectives and then compare them

⁵² Lifta is a well-known village on Jerusalem's city border, and a kind of legend in the Palestinian narrative, since its ruins still exist, and serve as a reminder of the forced exile of Palestinians in 1948. Lifta has been listed in 2018 by World Heritage Watch as one of the few surviving Palestinian villages whose history can be traced back to the thirteenth century BC (World Monuments Watch 2017).

in the discussion that followed. I often found that I could not read certain patterns of behavior or that they irritated me. I didn't know whether the other person's initial reticence was a form of politeness, a result of shyness or social custom, or a sign of disinterest.

In a follow-up conversation with Hatem, most of these irritations were resolved. However, he was also surprised that most of the people he spoke with were very hesitant to respond to our request.

During the conversation, the youth club director showed a strong interest in cooperating with Al Hoash in general but was reluctant about the reality of implementing an activity in the park, since it was too unusual to do so, as she claimed. Using the park for outdoor activities was not part of her appreciative system for implementing free-time activities for children. Later on, she described the park as not being a "safe area," crowded with drug addicts; it would not be "a suitable environment for activities with children" (Rayyan, unpublished data). Instead, she tried to convince us to run our activities in the youth club's courtyard. In the beginning, I was not sure how to read her argument, whether she saw financial gain in cooperating with Al Hoash, if the activities took place within her compound. Did she see this as a chance to improve the reputation of her youth club, or was her argument rooted in an aversion to the park? My initial impression that we could persuade her of our idea by simply repeating our meetings and conversations turned out to be wrong. Clearly, however, we had to realize that we were confronted with a different appreciative system that we could not overcome. Our only overlapping point was the shared interest of supporting an activity only for children that reduced the possibility of realizing our action with their support to a minimum. Observing the use of the space and seeing the hesitancy of residents living around the park meant that my initial assessment that people simply forgot about the space had to be revised, to take account of the opposition and reluctance expressed.

Reaching out to social organizations that offered support to drug users in East Jerusalem slightly changed my impression. One of the major representatives in that field is the Muslim *Al Sadeeq Organization* (Arabic for the Friends' Organization), whose work is concentrated in the Old City and the nearby neighborhood. The park we wanted to focus on was part of their working area and most of the drug users in the space during the day were known to them by name, which was one of the selection criteria for us, since we

wanted to find a way to reach out to them. After clarifying our intention that we were not aiming to expel drug users from the park but to ease the tension, the director Mr. Majed Allhoush, seemed more open to the idea of engaging the public with the park than the representatives of the youth clubs. However, it was difficult to know whether to read his attitude as support for the proposal or as a sign that he didn't take us seriously. Another explanation for his reaction could be that as a social worker for drug addicts, no anxiety about contact existed and therefore the reputation of the park as a risk zone was not valid for him.

The examples presented are representative of what we encountered in our meetings with a number of potential partners, revealing different attitudes and appreciative systems on the one hand, and on the other, the divergence from our appreciative system, developed for the art intervention. Before continuing with our proposed activity in the park, it was necessary to bridge the gap and mediate between ourselves and the groups. Since it was not possible to persuade them of our idea's value, creating an experience was the only option. Consequently, we needed to find a format that could show how the park might be used differently.

6.3.2 Partner Artists (Group C)

In addition to finding partners in the field of social organizations, it was also essential to locate Palestinian artists who would adopt the concept of socially engaged art practice and become long term partners, involved in future activities. However, the pool of possible artists was reduced since Jerusalem is separated from the Occupied Territories (Zones A–C), where most Palestinian artists live, as well as from artists living in Gaza. Choosing artists from inside the Occupied Territories would have meant a long application process for a permit issued by the Israeli military administration who are responsible for meeting this request. And as the artists needed to be able to build up a relationship with the neighborhood, short term visits by artists from Ramallah would have not worked out. In addition, applications for permits from Palestinian organizations in Jerusalem always have to reckon with a cancellation that in turn has a negative effect for the artists' records with the official authorities, in this case the Israeli military administration. Understandably, most of the artists hesitated to get involved in this process.

As well as reduced access to Palestinian artists, the separation of Jerusalem from the West Bank also has infrastructural consequences. Since Ramallah is the center of economic and cultural activities, most of the service providers and materials needed for creating artworks were not accessible to us or were only accessible with longer delivery times. Running parallel to these factors, the engagement of artists turned out to be problematic. Generating interest in creating socially engaged art interventions in the park opened up another discussion; how to evaluate the artistic component and the relationship between art and social commitment.

6.3.3 Valuing Socially Engaged Art in Palestine: The Situation for Contemporary Art

As well as understanding the context for creating space-making interventions in public space, the seldom documented art scene in Palestine, mainly following the canon of the autonomy of art, proved to be another unexpected point. Starting to communicate the ideas to artists, the concept was mostly interpreted as presenting art *in* public space, rather than *activating* public space with socially engaged art practice. Art in public space keeps the object as the center of interest, using the city as a mechanism for display. Here, the appreciative system of the Palestinian art scene is revealed.

It has a rich history of working with the landscape, thematizing space and the city in relation to the individual and the political situation but the theoretical debate about socially engaged art practice does not have a prominent position. Yet there are a series of interventions in public space at various locations in the occupied Palestinian territories and the associated use of artistic practices, whose different experiences have hardly entered into an exchange and remain specific to each case and each circumstance. Notably, architects and urban planners have played a special role in combining the fields of art, architecture, archaeology, restoration, and education. *Riwaq* is a good example of a Palestinian organization in this field, originally concerned with the restoration and preservation of cultural heritage buildings, but also active in cultural policy. To achieve this, cooperation in the cultural field is not uncommon, so that in addition to basic forms of advocacy to raise awareness of cultural heritage in society and among politicians, cooperation projects with artists have also been implemented. Situated in Ramallah, it is

active in all parts of the occupied Palestinian territories, especially in rural areas.⁵³ In terms of art, the Cities exhibitions by Vera Tamara and Yazid Anani, focusing on different sites in the Palestinian Territories, have generated discussions on urbanism, cultural heritage, collective memory, and alternative artistic approaches. Internationally acclaimed, they have contributed enormously to the perception and thematization of space in the Palestinian art and academic scene, shedding light on the intertwining of art installations, artistic research, and architecture.(Anani and Toukan, 2014).

The archive collective DAAR, on the other hand, uses a different approach and focuses on the context of the refugee camps in order to create a discourse that questions the idea of the city as a democratic space. In particular, the question of the extent to which the political representation of a citizen can be found in public space and what this means in relation to the refugee camps is an important discourse that most closely overlaps with my investigation in terms of its complexity.⁵⁴ Since Palestinians, as already explained, have to live under extremely different conditions imposed by the structure of the occupation, which also influence production and behavior in the public space, I have refrained from including DAAR's remarks in my investigation, but will return to their approach in chapter 13.2 with regard to the discussion of utopias and practices resulting from the occupation.⁵⁵ In addition to these large-scale projects, it was and is above all artists who have dealt with the dimension of space. It is therefore not surprising that the theme of space and its significance in the context of memory, identity and origin pervades Palestinian art history and has produced a number of prominent works of art that cannot be discussed further here.⁵⁶

In terms of working with the city and especially Jerusalem, an influential and ground-breaking example is the series of exhibitions *The Jerusalem Show*.⁵⁷ Jack Persekian, curator and director of the art organization *Al Ma'amal*, selected international

⁵³ RIWAQ is a non-governmental, non-profit organization founded in 1991 in Ramallah, Palestine, to document, rehabilitate and develop the architectural heritage of Palestine. This includes protecting not only valuable architectural and religious sites, but also diverse urban, rural and nomadic architecture. However, it has also realized a series of art interventions within its projects, presented during the *Riwaq Biennale*, founded in 2005 and repeated until 2016. The *Riwaq Biennale* reached the peak of interweaving art and architecture in 2016, with its 5th edition under curator Tirdad Zolghadr and art director Khalil Rabah (Zolghadr, Rabah. 2016).

⁵⁴ DAAR. "About us". accessed March 5, 2024. <https://www.decolonizing.ps/site/about/>

⁵⁵ For example, refugee camps have a different legal basis than the area of East Jerusalem, and are confronted with different challenges, which DAAR's respective art interventions have addressed (Petti, Alessandro. 2017).

⁵⁶ For further reading, please see <https://www.frieze.com/article/palestinian-artists-resistance-2021>, <http://dreamhomespropertyconsultants.com/>, <https://www.palmuseum.org/en/collections/collections>.

⁵⁷ The Jerusalem Show is an annual open-air art event organized by the Al-Ma'amal Foundation for Contemporary Art, initiated by Jack Persekian in 2007 ([ArtAsiaPacific](#) 2014; Rayyan 2011; Rayyan 2012).

and local artists to undertake production on site in selected spaces in the Old City, developing their artistic concepts. The audience visited specific spaces and in doing so, created the first art walk in the Old City of Jerusalem, confronting the Israeli narrative that dominated the city. The concept was of significance for the Palestinian art scene and took on a kind of pioneering position since it was the first Palestinian artistic confrontation with the city as a space. By connecting the art walk with the international art scene, the show led to the recognition of Jerusalem as a Palestinian city in the art world and beyond. In this respect, the *Jerusalem Show* has achieved a prominent position in the development of the Palestinian art scene in Jerusalem. Even though the series of art walks that took place between 2007 and 2018 saw an increase in participatory interventions in public space and the specific local dimension of the space was taken up as a theme for artistic exploration, the focus was on the artist as an interpreter of reality and is more akin to a Claire Bishop than Grant Kester in the understanding of interventions. The starting point was therefore not so much the needs and questions of the local residents, but rather the interpretation and intervention of the artist.⁵⁸ This essential inherent weighting is decisive for the differentiation from the interventions during the *REviewing Jerusalem* project. Although it overlapped with the general idea of thematizing space in Jerusalem, it differed from the work of the contemporary art scene in Palestine at that time (2013-2016) in its consistently collaborative-participatory approach. To understand this development, we need to take a brief look back at the development of contemporary Palestinian art and its entanglement with political discourse.

Looking Back

The development of Palestinian contemporary art is closely related to the political situation of the region and the country. While its beginning goes back to the Ottoman era and was influenced by Russian Orthodox icon painting, artists like Nicola Saig, Khalil Halabi, Mubarak Sa'ed, and Daoud Zalatimo were the first to depict landscapes, portraits, still lifes as well as pictorial representations of historical narratives. A breakthrough for modern painting was achieved when the artist Zulfa al-Sa'di was selected to represent Palestine at the first National Arab exhibition in Jerusalem in 1933 (Fisher 2010; Boullata 2009). Art as a means of representing national culture had thus found its way into Palestinian society. In this process, the movement had its center in the new quarters of Jerusalem—e.g., Baka, Talbiyeh, and Katamon—where photographers like Jamal Badran

⁵⁸Al Ma'amal. n.d. Previous Programs. Accessed March 4, 2024. <https://almamal.org/programs/previous-programs/>

and painters, including Khalil Ra'd and Tawfiq Jawhariyeh, had their studios. Here artists met and the influence of modernism flourished when art collectors from the Palestinian upper class began to purchase work. Together these factors shaped the beginnings of Palestinian modern art that in contrast to the rather conservative scene in the Old City of Jerusalem represented the work of a younger generation (Makhoul 2014).

An interruption to the development was the 1948 war and the subsequent expulsions, where many of these works were taken as looted art and thus lost to Palestinian society. The experience of the Nakba was decisive for the development of modern art and culture in Palestine. Not only because of the loss of Palestinian urban structures, cities, and institutions, and thus of the social classes that had supported the cultural and art scene, but also due to the trauma of the expulsion and erasure of one's own history (Rayyan 2011, 209ff). Moreover, this pause in Palestinian art history also shaped the debate about the further direction and content of the Palestinian art scene. One of the essential points of this period was the expectation to represent the Palestinian view of history to the outside world in literature, film, and painting. This development reflected a regional attitude and role toward culture that was formulated above all in the cultural center of the Arab intelligentsia in Beirut (Palijourneys.org. n.d.; ArtAsiaPacific 2014).

Over the following centuries, two main schools shaped the Arab and therefore the Palestinian art and culture scene. The group of politically committed artists, who demanded political and social changes with their rather figurative, colorful, expressionist works, influenced by Social Realism. Prominent representatives were Ismael Shammout, Naji al-Ali, Mustafa al-Hallaj, and Juliana Seraphim, whose themes oscillated between the loss of their homeland, the experience of expulsion, and the stylization of the rural culture of Palestinian resistance. The second group claimed to be more avant-garde; their work was more abstract, experimental in nature, exemplified by the Palestinian-Armenian artist Paul Guiragossian (Boullata 2009). This did not change after the Six-Day War in 1967, or the foundation of the PLO. However, the founding of the Liberation Organization led to a further politicization of art that manifested itself mainly in the diaspora through the first Artists Unions.⁵⁹

⁵⁹ The Union of Palestinian Artists was founded in Baghdad in 1969. As well as a representative function, the organization also had an influence on the content of the professions.

Inside the territories, a new generation developed whose interpretations of art, although dominated by the political situation, creatively grappled with the conditions and developed the first forms of artistic civil disobedience. This interpretation came to a head during the first *Intifada* (1987-1992), carried by the friction of a socially unified disobedience that led to forms of self-organization and built self-sufficient structures ranging from alternative food production to artists' supplies.⁶⁰

With the Oslo Accords and the withdrawal of the Israeli military from the cities, space opened up for a new chapter in arts' development. Palestinian non-governmental organizations expanded, filling the gap of non-existent governmental services. At the end of the 1990s, the first art organizations and foundations such as the Cultural Center Al Sakakini and the Qattan Foundation in Ramallah or the Al Ma'amal Foundation in Jerusalem were established, marking the shift, promoting art, and providing a platform for exhibitions and discussions. The new living circumstances liberated art from the expectation of joining the political liberation map. Instead of representing the people's conflict through art, the young generation turned to individual perspectives. Questions about life plans, personal claims to freedom or the impact of the conflict on the individual were now at the center of the works and new media like photography, video art and object art installation entered their oeuvre. After the second Intifada, the attacks by the Israeli army on Ramallah in 2004 and the violent disagreement between the political parties Hamas and Fatah in 2006, artistic works withdrew more to internal individual perspective, separating from society norms and expectations (Rayyan 2012).

As well as providing new options for contemporary art, the Oslo Accords changed the infrastructure of the art scene. It was again possible to establish art education

⁶⁰ Artists of this generation were Karim Dabbah (b. 1937), Taysir Sharaf (1937–2001), Nabil Anani (b. 1943), Kamil Mughanni (b. 1944), Vera Tamari (b. 1945), Fathi Ghabin (b. 1947), Isam Badr (1948–2003), Sliman Mansur (b. 1948), Taysir Barakat (b. 1959), Fatin Tubasi (b. 1959), Samira Badran (b. 1959), and Yusif Duwayk (b. 1963). Exhibitions at this time took place in schools, community halls, and public libraries, always facing the threat of being closed by officials since exhibitions were declared as forbidden political expression. Those artists who were still living in Palestine responded to the spirit of the uprising and civil obedience and established the first art collectives. One outstanding collective was formed under the name "New Vision" with artists Vera Tamari, Suleiman Mansour, Nabil Adani, and Taysir Barakat, who introduced new materials, experimentation, and multidisciplinary practices. In protest against the occupation, they tried to find ways to become independent from the Israeli market, experimenting with materials derived from the Palestinian environment to realize mixed media assemblages. In this period, artists were repressed and faced imprisonment for their work, but the foundations for the return of art to Palestinian society were put in place. Since the Occupied Territories were major sales markets for the Israeli economy, the obedience had its effects, leading to the peace treaties between Israeli and Palestinian representatives in 199–1993 (Palijourneys.org. n.d., accessed February 1, 2021).

departments, exhibition spaces, and galleries promoting visual arts, either through private investment or foreign funding (NGOs, consulates, foundations, or international organizations), that encouraged specialization and professionalization. Though art and culture flourished through the engagement of civil society, the support of the Palestinian Authorities was missing, resulting in a lack of governmental programs and institutions to support art and culture. The sector became highly dependent on funding from international donors who in return were able to shape the local agenda by either addressing the European art canon through partners from their particular country or interlinking art to development programs. This dependency hindered the development of local needs, as neither free choice for exchange partners nor a debate reflecting the internal conflicts could take place without the consequence of losing financial support. One solution for the younger generation has been to orient themselves toward the international market and leave the situation in Palestine behind (Khalili and Arsanios 2020).

The turn to the international market and, to a certain extent, the adaptation to the needs of the international market are subject to a variety of influences. It is not possible at this point to go deeper into the underlying reasons and to examine whether this development should be seen in the context of a growing individualization of the subject position or in the context of a neo-capitalist orientation of society, as discussed in global discourses (Kester 2011), or whether it should be described as a local need to see art as autonomous in order to free oneself from hitherto fixed expectations of art, to fill the void of representing national concerns, and to visualize one's own history and identity.

The entry into the international art scene and a certain saturation in terms of recognition on the global art market (2017 to date) has triggered a critical examination of the risks of becoming a commodity, which has led to a challenge to the hegemonic forces of the art market, a return to the local, refiguring the social within art, embedded in a decolonial discourse (Toukan 2021). However, at the time of our participatory art intervention projects in Jerusalem, this latest trend in Palestinian art had not yet emerged.

6.4 Adapting the Appreciative System

For the concrete action in the park, we had to accept that the appreciative system of the Palestinian art scene did not support our idea and that no local artists were interested in participating. The reluctance toward using socially engaged art practice was shared by

one of the prominent curators, Yazid Anani, an architect and scholar from Ramallah. Among others, Anani had realized a series of projects titled *Cities Exhibition* in different places in the West Bank, working with local and international artists, focusing on urban structure and development of space. Though Anani focuses on power relations, urban development, and genealogy of places in his work, he agreed with Claire Bishop's critique on socially engaged art as often being driven by ethical concerns (Anani interview 2017). However, our appreciative systems overlapped in terms of our interest in working with the history of the park and questioning residents' disregard for the park's meaning. The intersection between our appreciated systems was strong enough to enable us to cooperate. Despite our different approaches toward urban intervention, engaging with questions around public space and urban structure captured Anani's attention for the overall concept that I suggested to him. But the conflict between his desire to focus on urban development and my request for residents' direct involvement in public space could only be solved by compromise, leaving the two approaches working in parallel and seeking overlaps at particular moments in our planning.

Another challenge connected with the direct engagement of Anani as curator was that he came from Ramallah. Though both of us were aware of a certain degree of hesitation on the part of Jerusalemites toward Palestinians from other regions, we were surprised by the extent of this. During his meetings with residents and his attempts to gather information and memories about the park, Anani was met with mistrust and silence. Comparing the working situation with the one Anani faced in his previous project locations, highlights the different conditions in Jerusalem and the level of segregation that runs through the Palestinian society. Even though we expected some caution when asking residents for their memories and living circumstances, the level of fear was unexpected. The clash of memory and reality was later described by Anani in an article in the *Journal for Jerusalem Studies*:

However, the utopia that I had imagined was shattered over the period of my daily commute from Ramallah to Al Hoash Art Court in al-Zahra Street. Jerusalem was essentially unrecognizable to me. It wasn't even close to the Jerusalem narrated in the writings of Salim Tamari, based on the diaries of Khalil al-Sakakini and memoirs of Wasif Jawhariyya I saw a city of considerable helplessness, a society of internal communal divisions, grounded in

distrust, predatory behavior, and visible aggression. (Anani 2017,4).⁶¹

The need to invest in creating an atmosphere of acceptance and trust before continuing the research was obvious to both sides (all partners) after this first encounter. In contrast to our previous work situations as curators, it was not possible to draw on experience gained in other cities outside of Palestine but—and this was the surprise—also outside Jerusalem. Instead, it became clear that one had to be open to an experiment adapting appreciative systems, rules, and procedures.

6.5 From Expected and Unexpected Findings

The first encounters with possible partners for creating the actions resulted in a number of unexpected deviations from the appreciative system that were initially adjusted on the ground. While my colleagues and I expected that we would have to invest time to explain the usefulness of socially engaged art practice to our partners, we did not anticipate the direction the conversations took. In the preparatory talks with our counterparts, I was confronted with a discussion that circulated less around explaining the concept of socially engaged art in public space. Instead, the essence was of building trust: with me personally, the institution Al Hoash, and the selected public space, the Karm al Khalili Garden. This reflection is in contrast to the first analysis that considered the residents' reluctance toward public space, relating it mainly to the concrete political situation, framing public space as a loaded and contested space. As a consequence, I framed the partners initial reluctance about the park as a social habit, of being used to withdrawing from public space to the home and privacy, a behaviour that can be challenged by exploring new ways of re-activating space while being aware of their fear about jeopardizing their residency status or of facing legal consequences. I did not expect to meet the level of annoyance about using public space for the community. Consequently, we had to shift our focus. Instead of investing time in explaining the usefulness of an unfamiliar concept of socially engaged art practice in public space, we

⁶¹ Salim Tamari is an acknowledged Palestinian anthropologist teaching at Columbia University, New York and Birzeit University, Palestine. He is the former director of the IPS-affiliated Institute of Jerusalem Studies and editor of *Jerusalem Quarterly* and *Hawliyyat al Quds*. The writings of Khalil al-Sakakini and Wasif Jawhariyya are important sources of personal memories, describing society and urban development of Jerusalem before 1948 (Tamari 2000).

had to give time to (re-) create acceptance of public space as a safe place for the common good, mainly to the concrete political situation, framing public space as a loaded and contested space.

The unexpected deviations not only shifted the focus in the preparation phase, but also challenged us to adjust the design of the originally planned interventions accordingly, which was all about building trust. Instead of putting the conceptualization of the interventions at the service of the idea of raising awareness, reclaiming public space - or, as Lefebvre defines it, reappropriating their space - we had to create interventions that would *enable* an experience of safety and relaxation in the shared space in the first place.

In addition to the impacts that shaped the framework, design and direction of the action, it was particularly the hesitant attitude of the artists that hit us unexpectedly. Although I was aware of the Palestinian contemporary art scene's focus on the art object, the level of disinterest was surprising. In trying to analyze the behavior retrospectively, the development of Palestinian art in relation to a society marked by political turmoil proved to be constitutive. Not engaging with society meant art was freed from the expectation of defining itself only through conflict. The attitude observed can also be understood as a lack of appreciation for socially engaged art itself. In doing so, they would join an international debate about socially engaged art. However, their behavior can also be interpreted as a reflection of the perception of a generally disturbed relationship with public space, rather than a specificity owed to their professional affiliation (art).

At the structural and temporal level of project planning, all these considerations changed the notion that preparing the site for the intervention and meeting with partners could not be limited to the preparatory phase but had to be approached in a continuous and process-bound way. Thus, continuously contacting possible partners became a crucial element for the discussion of the content, which was essential for the project's development.

The summary of the above considerations concludes that the adaptations of the art concept could only be partially achieved through a preliminary theoretical analysis of the (apparent) social and political conditions and could only come about through direct engagement with potential partners and participants. This experience corresponds with

Lefebvre's definition of 'lived space', which describes the spatial experience of people in everyday life as a moment in which unexpected ruptures occur that are not predictable and only reveal themselves in concrete confrontation (LIT). Even if a participatory context demands that the sociological and political conditions be taken into account in advance, the extent to which an intervention (action) is or is not feasible only emerges through the confrontations with the participants' respective systems of appreciation, which only unfold in direct conversation.

Suppose we transfer these considerations to a model that represents the dynamics between different value systems. In that case, we can conclude the following concerning the probability of whether a project is feasible or not: The more significant the overlap between the other person's esteem system and one's own, the more likely cooperation is possible. Vice versa, it follows that collaboration is difficult to realize if the overlap tends toward zero as illustrated in the figure below.

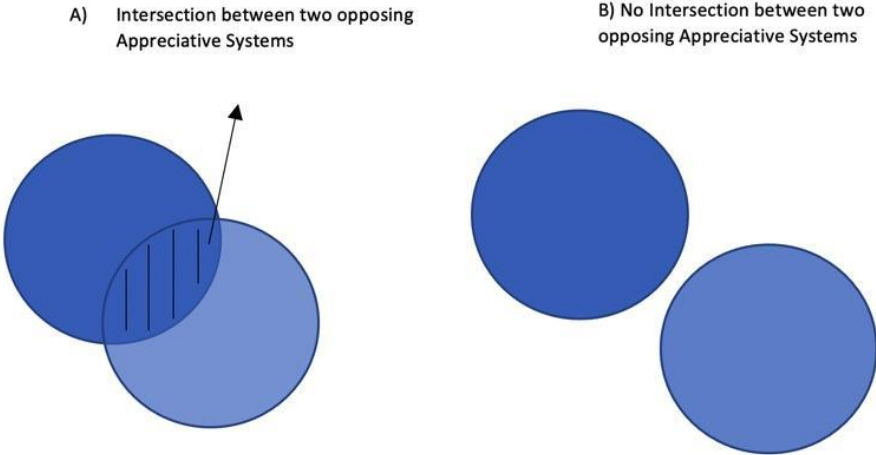


Figure 12: Intersection between Appreciative Systems

From these observations, the following statements can be made for the respective groups of potential partners.

Group A (residents)	The level of fear and mistrust against everyone who does not belong to the inner circle of the community was higher than expected
Group B (organizations)	The level of reluctance and disinterest in engaging in the park for the community exceeded predicted behavior
Group C (artists)	The level of indifference concerning socially engaged art practice created an additional challenge

Figure 13: Table, Groups of Partners

While the divergence between our concept and appreciative system toward public space engagements and the appreciative system of groups underlines the need for our intervention in public space, it created a new layer of necessary strategy that was not previously considered. Instead of simply encouraging residents to become active in the park, we needed to invest to create a safe arena to be heard *at all*. Rather than engaging artists and building the intervention with their artistic input, we had to create an experience to *witness the synergies* between art and cooperation with participants, to produce a positive example.

Apart from the fact that we were able to identify discrepancies between us and our appreciative systems, we had to recognize that there was also potential for conflict between the partners that could not be mediated easily. The level of mistrust among everyone affected the work of the artists and curator. In our case, it was challenging to convince the partners because we could not fall back on any positive examples. Due to the discrepancy between our systems and their appreciative systems, *experiencing* an intervention was the only solution.

Chapter 7 Experimenting

Creating a positive example of using public space for the community grew into an important starting point. In connection with the need to bring the different appreciative systems of the partners into a conversation, I came up with the idea of initiating a talk about the park, a kind of open discussion about its history, current status, and possible use. Here we drew on Lefebvre's idea of intervening in the production of space and changing the experience of space through unfamiliar interactions not attributed to public space, viewing it as an opportunity to experiment and critique the status quo (space of expression). The idea of experiencing space was translated to our situation through our first participatory interaction called *Garden Talk*, turning the initially intended preparation for the subsequent art intervention into an essential element whose significance went beyond mere being preparatory. In the following sections, I present the first of the two Garden Talks as a form of situated practice for socially engaged art practice, followed by the subsequent first art intervention in the park.

7.1 Implementation 1: Mediating between Actors. The Garden Talks

We hoped that the talks would function as an introduction and mediator between the different actors following the first disjuncture and observations; testing the ground for action in the garden. Together with the Al Hoash team, we created a combination of discussion and leisure activities in the park, open to the public and experts from different disciplines. The idea was to initiate and facilitate a more general conversation about the behavior of society, retreating into the private sphere, avoiding the public arena, and the lack of communal actions beyond religious gatherings. At the same time, the garden talks could be used as a research opportunity for the appointed curator Yazid Anani to become more familiar with the residents and the surroundings, since he lived and worked in Ramallah.

We invited historians, but also representatives of the youth club and the social organization working with the drug addicts in the park *Al Sadeeq*, underlining the aim not to exclude them but to bridge the gap between residents and drug users.



Palestinian Art Court - al Hoash

October 23, 2013 · 🌐

...

The Palestinian Art Court – Al Hoash, is honored to invite you to the “Garden Talks”, one of the activities which aims to bring life back to Karm Al Khalili “Rockefeller Garden” in Jerusalem, with the participation of Al Zahra neighborhood locals, and Jerusalemite speakers from different fields, who will give current and historical information about the situation of the garden and its possible usage in the future.

Saturday 26th October in the garden
From 4-6 pm

Program:

- 1- Introduction about the project.
- 2- Music show and kids activity.
- 3- Speeches from Jerusalemite activists.

Speakers:

- 1- Haj Hassan Abu Asleh: Jerusalemite activist in social and community planning projects
- 2- Majed Alloush: director of Al-sadeeq Organization
- 3- Yousef Natche: Historian, Lecturer at Al-quds university, Director of the Department of Tourism and Archaeology at Haram Al-Sharif
- 4- Mahmoud Jadeh: Jerusalemite activist.

This program is funded by The Community Resilience and Development Programme for Area C and East Jerusalem - CRDP

Figure 14: Invitation for the Garden Talk, social media announcement Al Hoash, private archive, 2013.

The invitation is an example of how we tried to generate acceptance for new formats by utilizing an official language and structure that stood for familiar formats such as information sessions. The local embedding was emphasized by the naming of spokespersons and representatives of the neighborhood, establishing credibility and framing it as a Palestinian event, deeply rooted in the Palestinian society of Jerusalem.

The following paragraph is an excerpt from a vignette, written retrospectively and conveying the atmosphere of the talks. It shows the cautious approach toward activating the public's interest and inviting them to the park by offering simple children's activities and placing live music alongside the discussion group. We used a simple setup that allowed mobility and informality, using only foldable stools placed in a circle under the olive trees. Imitating lecture formats or information events, the only formal element used was a microphone. The need to add an amplifier, however, stood in contradiction with the policy we had developed in advance not to attract the attention of the authorities (police). Similar problems were encountered in finding a solution for access to electricity, which was provided by an eighty-meter-long power cable between a neighboring bakery and the park. As the consequences of many factors could not be foreseen initially, the action was characterized by nervousness from the start, which turned a - under other

circumstances - attributed simple discussion event for the afternoon into an unpredictable experiment.

Vignette, *Garden Talk I*, October 2013

A young man sits on a stool playing traditional Arabic music on a guitar, accompanied by another young man on a tambourine. Children run through the park toward a woman offering face painting, while another talks to them and gives them balloons. To their left, on the grass among the old olive trees, is a circle of folding red and blue stools on which men and women of various ages sit. One of them is Yousef Natshe from Birzeit University, who begins to talk about the history of this place, its original name, and its various uses up to the present. Pedestrians stop to watch what is going on. So do the young men sitting on the benches at the back of the park. Some of them are clearly under the influence of drugs, yelling and causing a disturbance. The speaker in the circle continues his presentation; his voice is clear and calm, amplified by a microphone and some speakers. The speaker continues while the drug addicts shout in the background. It is unclear if the presentation can continue or if the drug addicts will physically intervene. The awkwardness grows as my feelings are divided between expecting aggression and worrying about having raised my voice in the park without getting into trouble with the authorities.

Interestingly, this paragraph shows that two reasons caused tension. One relates to the unpredictable reaction of the drug addicts, who might have felt threatened by the action. The other one is connected to the overall worry of attracting police attention as a result of the unusual sounds produced in the park. "Raising one's voice" can be read in two ways: as a simple physical act of making space for oneself in the round, and as a way of claiming the right to be heard. Both interpretations, however, represent the unusual

situation that raising one's voice in the park is generally created. The discomfort felt went beyond the usual shyness of speaking in front of an audience and was coupled with a tension. The tension was also reflected in my insistence on constantly checking the surroundings to see if we had provoked a reaction from the official side.

Meanwhile, most of the children are busy painting their faces and playing games, seemingly oblivious to our troubles. Some people are watching us from the windows of their homes. This feeling of being watched also feeds the unease. The onlookers, who stop at the edge of the park, correspond to the idea of doing something unusual or even forbidden. Suddenly, one of the drug addicts approaches an older man (Majd Allhoush) from behind and taps him on the shoulder. His gestures are hesitant, and he whispers as he bends down to the man. Majd Allhoush seems to know him, greets him with a warm pat on the back, and urges him to sit down. The addict complies. Another woman continues the discussion about the park, asserting the need to reclaim the space as a safe place for the community and accusing the government of not providing and not caring. A debate begins when another man, who identifies himself as a resident of the neighborhood, agrees that the community needs spaces like the park, but does not want to do anything about it. He accuses the community of passivity and ignorance. Majd Allhoush, who was approached by the young man, intervenes and brings up the issue of drug abuse. He spoke in support of the misunderstood drug addicts who met in the park and had no other place to go. He introduces himself as a social worker from Al Sadeeq, an organization that works with drug addicts, and points to the young man next to him, who smiles shyly but refuses to join the discussion. The young man continues to sit and listen for a while before turning back to the group of men at the back of the park. After a few more conversations and discussions, the atmosphere seems to have improved a bit, and the tense feeling disappears. Later we heard that some of the passers-by watching us from a distance were wondering if this was a private event or something organized by the authorities.



Figure 15: Scenes from Garden Talk I, photos private archive (for more images, please see Image Appendix, Image 4-10)

The scene describes the discomfort that was triggered by being observed by the non-participating passersby. Here, the relationship between non-participating onlookers and participants reveals the perceived breach of a taboo. Through the action in the garden we moved participants outside of their habitat. Furthermore, the scene reveals the position of the drug addicts. It became clear that we had entered their protected space and thus posed a threat. At the same time their presence was perceived as a threat by the participants. This is where the relationship between the park's users and the drug addicts becomes apparent. The role of the social worker, on the other hand, was that of a mediator, allowing the drug addicts to participate, but also speaking for them, which could be interpreted as patronizing, but also reflecting the drug addicts' exclusion from society.

Some residents accepted the invitation and took part in the discussion group. To my surprise, some of them did not seem to be unsettled or intimidated by speaking in public. On the contrary, they expressed their wishes for the park, and criticized the population's behavior for having neglected the garden in this way. However, no passersby participated in the discussion group spontaneously. In summary, the Garden Talks acted as an experiment that tested the park and gave us our first impressions of what we should expect and consider when working in the park. The project to bring different opinions into conversation with each other was realized, which was also important for the curator's work and the further development of the event. Talking to the participants afterward confirmed our assumption that new formats of participation and activity in public space

needed to be experienced to overcome worry and reluctance. This was not only true for participants but also for us as initiators, creators, and artists.

7.2 Implementation 2: The Intervention in the Park—*Zalet Lisan*

Although the Garden Talks allowed us to make a connection with residents, it was still extremely difficult to carry out the concrete research work needed for the participatory art intervention in the neighborhood itself. Since artists did not respond to our call for a collaborative art project in the garden, Yazid Anani took on the challenge and stepped in as an artist and curator himself. Building on his historical interest in the development of the park, and the experience of his visit, he created the framework for a sound and video installation under the title *Zalet Lisan* (to be translated as "quick turned or forked tongue") that combined memories from local residents with stories from a well-known animal fable "Kala wa Dimmna."⁶² Through the participation of a group of media students from al-Quds Bard College (Jerusalem), who live and study in the city, oral memories were collected and transferred into a sound installation that could be experienced while walking through the park. The sound installation was combined with projections on white linen fixed between the olive trees, showing scenes of wild animals from the African Savannah. Since Anani's curatorial concept followed an aesthetically defined intervention, we had to find a way for the garden to be experienced as a space for common action, while also considering the challenges of implementing public action faced before. As we had learned from the previous Garden Talk, creating a positive experience by integrating familiar elements was one way to get residents to participate. Since adults in Jerusalem are subject to different codes of conduct relating to personal space in addition to their ambivalent relationship to public space, it was the logical step to address children as the most appropriate interlocutors through whom we could reach adults. The idea was to create a space of learning and experimenting; this led me to the circus group from Birzeit, *Palestine Circus*, known for its participatory approach to teaching modern acrobatics. In addition, the group's leader, a Palestinian from Jerusalem, was familiar with the local conditions of the area and the park, a head start in knowledge

⁶² *Kalila wa Dimna* is a collection of animal fables and fairy tales known in the Arabic world, translating from Sanskrit and going back as early as the third century BC, containing numerous fables designed to teach political wisdom or cunning (World Digital Library, <https://www.wdl.org/en/item/8933/>).

that was particularly important since we were unable to conduct any rehearsals for the action.

An ongoing challenge was to interest the adjacent youth clubs and schools as partners for our intervention. As with the beginning of the preparatory phase, it was not possible to involve the stakeholders in Group B (youth organizations) as active partners because they feared negative consequences from the authorities. However, we were allowed to advertise the action in the schools and clubs without declaring it as part of the school program. In this way, the management of the schools limited their responsibility if our interaction in public space resulted in fines. The following vignette describes the atmosphere of the intervention in the park, starting after the circus workshop's setup.

Vignette, Zalet Lisan, November 2014

T-shirts printed with animal drawings were given to participating children, linking the art intervention to the park, which was lit up after sunset. Concerns about low participation were literally banished by 50 children who, after the set up was completed, stormed into the park one by one, some alone, some accompanied by their parents, transforming the park into a bustling place. They gathered at the four stations where members of the circus introduced them to jumping on the trampoline or balancing on the tightrope. A young woman took a girl by the hand and helped her balance on the rope stretched between two olive trees. At another stop, a young man is jumping on a trampoline with a child, trying to teach him how to keep his body straight. The children's laughter echoes throughout the park, which is filled with their energy. Their presence dominates the atmosphere of the park and changes the common understanding of how to normally use and behave in this park. After a while, the scene changes and the packed crowd gathers around an imaginary circus ring defined by the circus group. Most of the kids are sitting on the grass, still wearing their white Zalet Lisan T-shirts. Drug addicts, who have been watching from the sidelines, approach the area, join the children, and blend in with the group. The sunset changes the colors of the sky and softens the light as the first circus member starts the show. A woman performs a powerful acrobatic sequence on the floor, challenging perceptions of the female body. A man climbs a vertical pole fixed to

the ground. His figure is outlined against the sky, and his movements merge with the melancholy melody amplified over the park. It is a brief dreamy moment of magic, softness and a break from reality.

What seems to be ordinary in other contexts, turned out to be a breakthrough; an exceptional experience in Jerusalem on a number of levels. From a political point of view, bringing the circus crew from Ramallah to Jerusalem, obtaining all the necessary permits and transporting the required equipment across the checkpoint was already a success, celebrating a sense of the ordinary in an extraordinary situation. From a production point of view, the challenges connected with implementing the idea met all the defined categories for creating an intervention in East Jerusalem. Though the overall aim, guaranteeing a safe experience, was met, the volume and number of participating residents could have attracted official attention. The implementation of the intervention was characterized by a constant negotiation between making the necessary production decisions and trying to keep the action as safe as possible, despite the obvious overstepping of the boundaries that we had previously worked out as rules for interventions. After all, the experiment was not only a tool to break the inscribed behaviors of residents in public space, but also a means to implement actions in public space to fill the gap created by the lack of experience of new interactions in public space (Image Appendix 19-20).



Figure 16: Scenes of the Workshop by the Palestine Circus in the Karm Al Khalili Garden, Courtesy of



Figure 17: Art installation "Zalet Lisan" -1, Courtesy of The Palestinian Art Court Al-Hoash



Figure 18: People sitting in front of Art installation "Zalet Lisan" -2, Courtesy of The Palestinian Art Court Al-Hoash (Image 17-18)

7.3 Reflection after Action: Developing Practice on an Uneven Ground

Looking back on the execution of the first action in the park, the implementation contradicted the pre-established safety requirement of not being performative and expressive, but relatively calm, controlled, and unobtrusive. Involving the circus workshop put us in the contradictory situation of having to give up some degree of control while at the same time providing a certain level of security to limit potential dangers. A balancing act. Yet an outsider saw the opposite situation when looking at the intervention of Zalet Lisan on November 14: the peaceful implementation of children's attractions, a public circus performance in the park, and an art installation. Although the actions themselves could be classified as peaceful and ordinary, the setup and delivery were more of a guerrilla action, with a narrow time frame, no rehearsal in advance, and no experience of similar activities one could refer to (please see Image Appendix, 11-16).

The details of the preparation reveal the enormous effort involved, turning the implementation process into an extraordinary feat. During production, each step had to be considered. Legal problems, insurance, and risk management had to be established, preparing for the worst-case scenario. One measure was to include professionals socialized in Jerusalem, known or respected in the city, who knew how to handle possible group conflicts between participants. A further measure was that a network of technicians and employees kept a constant eye on the activities in order to intervene quickly in the event of any conflict, creating a kind of alarm system. As well as the support of these crew members, I had a legal adviser involved, who could be reached at any time.

In addition, predicting possible tensions, the infrastructural effort was a challenge. The circus members needed permits to enter Jerusalem, and their equipment had to be transported through the checkpoints in time. The circus show and the art installation needed a high-voltage power supply that exceeded that available from the nearby bakery. A power generator had to be ordered with a security certificate, guaranteeing a safe set up of cables in the park without putting participants at risk or damaging the grass. The circus performers needed to install their equipment, including a mattress, trampoline, pool, and balancing rope that interfered physically in the park. Our warning system was tested when during the setup a gardener and community worker questioned our actions while the circus group were preparing their stations. His interrogation came shortly before

the generator arrived. It turned out that this employee was Palestinian who was receptive to our appeal. For reasons not transparent to us, he accepted our explanation that we were planning a private birthday party for children after we assured him that the order would be maintained.

Although the setup was realized as planned, we were all under a great deal of pressure throughout the entire period. The feeling of responsibility did not dissipate until the intervention was completed late in the evening. In retrospect, it is hard to tell whether we were simply lucky or whether our fears exceeded reality. It might be a combination of both, but the uncertainty prepared us for the unforeseen, kept us on alert, being able to intervene immediately if we needed to. As initial reflections on the successful completion of the intervention (RaA), following results were developed from unexpected findings for the socially engaged art practice in public space in Jerusalem:

- There was no interference by the authorities despite the fact that it was an unauthorized action. Reasons could be traced back to the choice of time and location.
- A positive atmosphere was created by combining activities that attract children and that were familiar in their formats (workshop) with art intervention. The combination led to extending the experience of space.
- Mistrust and fear can be eased temporarily if familiar representatives of the community are involved in the action.
- Collective memory as carrier for participatory art interventions turned out to be an efficient way to address the audience.
- Involving activities that engage participants to move within space proved to be a positive choice.
- Habitual attributions on how to move in space, challenged by the circus show, could have led to opposition or loud expressions of disapproval. Instead, the circus members were celebrated. Essential here was the fact that the members of the circus were introduced to children through the workshop, which created

confidence and a certain curiosity about their performance that overcame the irritation triggered by the unfamiliar view of the body. Again, proving that framing the actions within familiar parameters is essential for a successful performance.

The use of the park was extended in three different ways:

- a. a public space for talks and discussion
- b. a stage for children's activities and performance that shifted experience of the body
- c. a space to stroll around and to capture and document local memories

Despite the hesitant attitudes toward the use of the park that were identified beforehand, the interventions achieved a situation that did not change behavior in the long run but encouraged a willingness in the neighborhood to accept further interactions within our project. The combination of family formats such as workshops for children or music presentations with artistic concepts that address the theme of the concrete space proved to be a successful strategy that we wanted to pursue further. A few months later, an exhibition curated by Yazid Anani, thematizing the interaction in the park was further evidence of the approach, as the gallery spaces were accessed for the first time by those from the immediate neighborhood, with lively exchanges between artists and participants.

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7.4 Facing a Rupture – The Vulnerability of Space

In 2014, the political situation deteriorated, with attacks on Gaza and high numbers of civilian victims on the Palestinian side, leading to a standstill in public life in Palestinian Jerusalem and the West Bank. Despite the positive feedback about our

⁶³ Our park project did attract the attention of the Israeli authorities a few weeks later in the form of a request to continue our interventions in the context of the Israeli Art Museum, which we refused, since this would have incorporated our project into the system we critiqued. However, a further reaction of the municipality would be the closure of the park in the summer of 2016, when we were planning another interaction there as part of our art walk. The park was officially closed and sealed off for a year for restoration measures. This may seem like a positive step for the neighborhood, but it was a setback in terms of preserving Palestinian history in Jerusalem and reclaiming space, as the park was to conform to the style of all other urban parks in the western part of the city, losing its Palestinian identity.

interventions and activities in the Karm al Khalili Garden, the ongoing politically insecure situation meant that we could not continue our engagement with the garden and had to cancel all activities. Palestinian protests against the Israeli occupation escalated and ebbed at intervals, but tension increased with the Israeli military's large-scale attacks on Gaza. Public reaction such as general strikes in solidarity with Palestinian victims in Gaza and newly installed Israeli checkpoints and roadblocks restricted access roads into Jerusalem, affecting not only the freedom of movement and interrupting any planning process, but also having a strong impact on the attitude toward life. The will and energy to be active was halted; working against the population's overall feeling of depression and despair was not possible—or would run counter to the situation.

We had chosen the garden for its relative safety, as it offered protection from the attention of official bodies, but we had to accept that this place could not be used as a public space in times of political unrest. Although there were no direct confrontations in the garden itself, there were repeated clashes at the Damascus Gate, which was located in close geographical proximity. Any form of artistic activist intervention in the garden would have been contrary to our approach of working *with* the residents. Social tension was the main focus at this time. Experiencing the vulnerability of what we thought of as secure space like the Karm al Khalili Garden was a significant setback since we were at the beginning of developing a network and engagement around the garden that needed continuity to grow or even survive. To protect ourselves from further setbacks, it seemed to be the right decision to avoid places that were affirmed by the state as well as public space per se. Consequently, activities in the garden were postponed until further notice. Instead, we searched for alternative spaces that might reveal narratives of a counter public and carry the interaction with public space further into society. Participatory action focused only in one place did not seem to be a sufficient reaction to the uncertain circumstances. The vulnerability of a relatively safe place like the Karm al Khalili Garden showed the need to rethink the concept of placemaking and public space in general once more.

Chapter 8 Building and Challenging the Appreciative System II

In this chapter, I turn to the next major step in the project's development, which should be understood both as a reaction to the new political circumstances and further developing the insights gained so far. After the end of the war, public life unfolded again. Therefore, we were looking for new participatory art interventions that would not limit our actions to one public place. Besides, we aimed at implementing the definition to have public spaces enacted everywhere where community action could occur, aiming to increase the ability to define counterpublic space for Palestinians in Jerusalem. In light of this, we decided to translate the original idea of reclaiming public space into a walk through the city, linking urban interventions in different places, and making the engagement with space an act of moving through the neighborhood, which seemed to be as well safer for time being. In the following section, I will first place the walk in the discourse around art walks, which is constitutive for its implementation, and present the theoretical concept.

In addition to the chronological account of the process of development of the participatory practice, this stage can be read as a combination of different socially engaged art formats that we developed during the testing of participatory urban intervention activities in Jerusalem, and can thus be classified as a kind of final adaptation to the circumstances at that moment. Similar to the process of the first interventions in the park, the preparation time in particular provides material for further discussion of deviations regarding the assumptions of participatory art intervention practice in public space. Before these can be further explored, chapter eight outlines after the theoretical setting the new framework conditions and structural constraints of this phase, including the resulting first deviations from canonical assumptions.

Some of the structural constraints encountered are in line with resembling experiences with which artists are generally confronted. Still, in the context of the Palestinian art scene in Jerusalem, they are given a special status, which I will briefly discuss below. In addition to the structural challenges related to funding constraints and the associated expectations for the project, the main difficulties were still politically associated with public space, such as the fact that we could not get permission from the Israeli municipality and security issues that we had taken into account. Even though both of them already appeared as challenges in the first phase (Karm al Khalili), we had to re-

examine the situation before implementation because the new format of the walk involved multiple locations as well as new partners and actors, without foreseeing the extent of necessary changes.

8.1 Contextualizing Art Walks as Form. Walking as a Mobile Practice

To trace the development and changes made between the interventions in the Karmal Khalil Garden and the art walk *Reviewing Jerusalem*, I present the theoretical contextualization used for the project as a whole. Here the intertwining of two disciplines takes place—critical urban studies and art theory, formulating a critical spatial practice that was of interest to us. In the following sections, the basic frameworks of the art walks are presented, along with the chosen focus of the concept. These were based on our experiences of and with public space interactions to date.

I found the most significant reference for constructing our art walk in the context of critical spatial practices, going back to urban sociologist Edward Soja (1940-2015) who emphasized the spatial dimension of lived experience, further developed by authors like Jane Rendell and Doreen Massey (Rendell 2006,12). Critical spatial practice contributes precisely to the discussion on the situatedness of our knowledge, since it interprets spatiality as part of the trialectic of being (space practice, space representation, and representational spaces—perceived, conceived, lived), determining how we understand the world and thus contributing to a connection between spatial experiences and situatedness (Aitken 1998, 148–151). Urban sociologist David Pinder narrows this connection in the following statement, describing it as a practice

"that is critical and politicized in relation to dominant power relations and its spatial constitution, that is involved in but frequently disrupts everyday urban life, that makes use of artistic and creative means to question and explore social problems and conflicts without necessarily prescribing solutions, and that resists the processes through which urban spaces are currently produced in the interests of capital and the state as they seek out and encourage more democratic alternatives" (Pinder 2008, 731).

Walking in the city has been used as a method by a number of artists, socio-cultural theorists, and art movements in the West since the mid-nineteenth century and is used today globally to regenerate districts, providing participants with new perspectives on the

city, society, and spatial references.⁶⁴ We were especially inspired by regional examples such as the work of CLUSTER, Cairo Lab for Urban Studies, Training and Environmental Research, and Mahatat for Contemporary Art. Both had organized critical narrative tours since the Egyptian revolution in 2011. However, even if the works of CLUSTER and Mahatat were inspiring for our approach, we had to take into account that they took place in the urban structure of a city like Cairo, with different experiences in cultural interactions in public space and thus, despite regional proximity, were not transferable one-to-one. (Lacy 1995, 24).⁶⁵

A prominent local example of a more critical approach in the context of site-specific art works in Jerusalem is the aforementioned *The Jerusalem Show* art walk, curated by the Al-Ma'mal Foundation in Jerusalem since 2007, which was the first Palestinian and international artistic engagement with the city as a space using a Palestinian narrative. By connecting the art walk with the international art scene, the show led to the recognition of Jerusalem as a Palestinian city in the art world and beyond. In this respect, the Jerusalem Show has achieved a prominent position in the development of the Palestinian art scene in Jerusalem. Even though the series of art walks that took place between 2002 and 2020 saw an increase in participatory interventions in public space and the specific local dimension of the space was taken up as a theme for artistic exploration, the focus was on the artist as an interpreter of reality and is more akin to a Claire Bishop than Grant Kester in the understanding of interventions. The starting point was therefore not so much the needs and questions of the local residents, but rather the interpretation and intervention of the artist (Sound-Art-Text 2012). Even if this form of viewing artworks in the public space stimulates an examination of the environment, it

⁶⁴ Starting with Charles Baudelaire (mid-nineteenth century), Walter Benjamin's comments on strolling, surrealist experiments at the beginning of the twentieth century and the psychogeography treatises of the Situationists in the 1960s, conceptual artistic-performative wanderings (1967), cinematic-psychogeography discoveries of cities (Ian Sinclair, Patrick Keiller), and local artistic wanderings (Matos Wunderlich 2008, 131). Art discourse takes up the critical space questions of the 1960s and 1970s again and adds to them the understanding of "space as a social entity," in the sense of Lefebvre. In contrast, the nomadic search movement, the mobile acting intervening in space, has been integrated since 2000 as an innovation in the question of artistic space. Demonstration formats, circus practices, and traveling stage conventions are cited. They move between locations, transforming site-specific artworks with a fixed reference to place into a movement through public space, thereby reconstructing and re-narrating (Moser, 118). Several art collaborations and urban activists have used the form of walking through urban space to discover untold narratives and identities, memories, and behaviors expressed in body space behavior. One example here is the work of the art group PLATTFORM, using walking to investigate aspects of public space, creating routes for a public conversation as in their 1993 project Homeland that reimagines their spaces collectively (see Pinder 2008, 732 ff).

⁶⁵ For more information on CLUSTER and Mahatat, see their websites, <https://clustercairo.org> and <http://mahatatcollective.com>.

remains within a discursive act of perception and contemplation. With the REviewing Jerusalem program, we pursued more of a collaborative practice approach that could be developed together with the residents and based on their concerns. Thus, REviewing was not so much a continuation of what was developed with the Jerusalem Show series, but rather an extended investigation and experiment that focused on the spatial situation and the confrontation with it.

For us, it was the idea of interrupting the prescribed understanding of space that connected well to our intention to create a changed perspective about space, transferring the walk from a simple stroll through the city to an active element re-narrating and reclaiming space (see Bachmann-Medick, 293). The reciprocal approach of critical spatial practice was also stressed by architect and critical urbanist Jane Rendell, describing it as a way to "critique the sites into which they intervened as well as the disciplinary process through which they operated." In this context, walking occupies a special position (Rendell 2019–2021). Rendell describes it as an *embodied* practice of our everyday life, nurturing a sense of place and belonging, rehearsing spatial behavior, which describes what we were seeking to achieve.

Walking is a way of understanding site in flux, in a manner that questions the logic of measuring, surveying, and drawing from a series of fixed and static viewpoints. Walking encounters sites in motion and in relationship to one another, suggesting that things seem different depending on from where we are coming and to where we are going. Rather than proceed from the observational, to the analytical, to the propositional, by intervening and moving through a site, walking proposes a design method where one can imagine beyond the present condition without freezing the possibility into form (Rendell 2006, 151).

Another orientation for choosing the right form and approach was given by Rendell's differentiation of kinds of walking by dividing them into being purposive, discursive, or conceptual (Rendell 2006). While *the purposive walk* refers to rushing through the city, aiming for a destination (Gehl 1987, 135), the *discursive walk* is strolling around and being receptive to the environment. *Conceptual* walking directs attention to the active intervention into a perceived situation in public space and pushes the interaction further, enabling a reflective mode that allows awareness to engage with the urban

environments.⁶⁶ A conceptual walk is to "intervene and move through a site (...) to imagine beyond the present condition" (Rendell 2006, 189).

Rendell's description of the imaginative corresponds with Lefebvre's utopian move, but extends it by stressing the embodied experience, underlining the interrelationship between active body movement and spatial experience. What appealed to us was emphasizing the active mode that the participant takes through his/her presence, contributing to rethinking and reexperiencing the existing conditions of space. As such, the described position of the participant does not remain outside, but enters into a situation, into what is happening, which makes it applicable to activist-oriented interactions. Depending on how a walk is performed, it opens ways of discovering, creating, or transforming the city.

The new focus, introduced with the term "walk" brought mobility and movement to the forefront, as elements that supported our approach to questioning spatial conditions in Jerusalem. Walking was interpreted here as an elemental way of perceiving urban places and allows experience of and learning about places. Compared to the form of biennial art walks, we oriented our walk toward the considerations of the conceptual walk that promotes encounters and enables discoveries in urban places (see Matos Wunderlich 2008, 10). This combines the option of walking through public urban space and changing it through temporary artistic interventions so that participants have an altered perspective of the city. Here, Michel de Certeau's reflections on everyday practices resonate, in which he establishes a causal relationship between the *going* as an embodied form of experiencing urban space and the narratives of the city. His call for a productive "yet relatively unconscious speaking and writing of the city" by engaging with everyday practices, served as inspiration to use the act of walking and to think about the walk as an active part of the concept of participatory art intervention in Jerusalem itself.

⁶⁶ This stands in contrast with the observer status as thematized by the literary figure of the flaneur, featured in Charles Baudelaire's writing. The character of the distant observer also appears in Walter Benjamin's unfinished *Passagen-Werk* or *The Arcades Project*, and Franz Hessel's writings as metropolitan feuilletonist (Rendell 2006, 88).

8.2 Structural Constraints for Art Practice

As mentioned, structural limitations are not a phenomenon specific to the Palestinian cultural and artistic scene but a global problem of the sector. Nevertheless, I include these limitations here because, in addition to the general issues that this sector has, they include specific ones that can generally be traced back to the lack of a functioning state structure and need therefore to be brought in as deviations from the appreciative system.

Financial Dependencies

Art practice in Jerusalem suffers under various restrictions triggered by the Palestinian art field's structural conditions and the status of Palestinian state development, which are highly dependent on international donors. Restrictions in the field of art range from a lack of education and training options, poor funding opportunities for Palestinian artists, to limitations in obtaining materials for artworks. In terms of our project, all three restrictions applied. At first glance, these structural challenges can appear similar to those experienced by the art field globally. However, the local challenges reflect another dimension that is closely linked to international development aid for culture and the arts (see Challand 2014). The gap in local subsidies for these areas creates a dependency on a value system that is less focused on local needs. Instead, it sets development as a regional issue that focuses on equality, empowerment, freedom of expression, and job creation. The selection criteria are based on economic project management guidelines with measurable indicators of the effectiveness of the respective actions (Rayyan, unpublished data).

However, beyond the general structural difficulties for art and culture projects in Palestine a further difference lies in the absolute dependence on international donors and the apparent danger of serving themes that do not respond to local needs but are subject to the respective agenda of the donor. This creates a dependency that puts art and cultural institutions in a dilemma of moving further away from local needs, thus making long-term development impossible (Rayyan, unpublished data). Instead of allowing concepts and ideas to emerge from the local situation, a top-down system remains in place that copies conditions that are not transferable.⁶⁷ This asymmetrical relation and dependency

⁶⁷ These observations are drawn from practical experience, both from the position of local applicant for a Palestinian organization and as an employee of an international donor institution for which I worked in the region between 2006 and 2009. My observations are also supported by a debate about the current need to decolonize development policies and the entanglement of art development and humanitarian aid (see

go back to the beginning of the first independency phase of the former colonies and has been subject to a series of critical investigations so far, mainly though in economics, politics and education (Zartman 1976; Haddad 2016; De Juan and Perskalla 2017; Matasci, Jeronimo and Dores 2020). One famous and still relevant example to be quoted in this context is Franz Fanon's demand in 1961, when he called for turning away from the attempt to copy Europe. Even though Fanon's appeal must be read in its specific historical context, his statement illustrates the notion that underscores the structural difficulty I wish to point out here.

... If we want to turn Africa into a new Europe and America into a new Europe, then let us leave the destiny of our countries to Europeans. They will know how to do it better than the most gifted among us. But if we want humanity to advance a step further or we want to bring it up to a different level than that which Europe has shown it, then we must invent and we must make discoveries (Fanon 2002, 315).

The fundamental limits in funding for art practices influenced in my context the selection of actors and the interpretation of the project's concept and approach. Dealing with these conditions and shaping our work accordingly is brought up as further evidence that the classifications contemporary art practice uses to measure critical art practice can be turned on their head when the local parameters deviate from a Westernized norm.

As mentioned above, government support for culture in Palestine was and is insignificant. Since the entire cultural and artistic landscape is subject to financial support from international donors, all arts and cultural organizations are subject to donor regulations and guidelines, and must design their programming accordingly. This is especially true when working with prominent donors like the EU, the Swedish Development Agency SIDA, or the main local Arabic endowment Taawon, all engaged in educational and economic development, who provide substantial amounts of funding and a level of financial security.⁶⁸ A new and important regional funder of arts and culture is the AFAC organization (Arab Fund for Art and Culture), based in Beirut, which

Haddad 2016; von Prondzinski 2020; Ivanovic 2019; Toukan 2021).

⁶⁸ Taawon (Welfare Association) is a non-profit civil society organization, established 1983 by a group of Palestinian and Arab business leaders and intellectual figures, to become one of the largest organizations working in Palestine and the refugee camps in Lebanon (Taawon 2020, 6; Taawon, n.d.).

nevertheless accounts for a smaller percentage of financial support than the international funders in Palestine and is therefore negligible in this context.

At the time of my experience of working in Palestine the following keywords emerged in order for applications to be successful. Projects needed to enclose, enhance, or create: actions for job creation, focus on marginalized groups including women and young people, deliver activities that promote gender equality, media freedom, enhance conditions for education, or support methods for conflict resolution—all characteristics that illustriously show the developmental nature of the funding framework. To be able to plan and implement projects over a longer time, it has been common practice in the arts and culture sector to adapt to these structural conditions and to align one's own project proposals accordingly. The result being that the concepts and aims of art projects were and are compromised.

As described before, this was not the first time in Palestinian art history that art needed to compromise, given its long history of serving the narrative of the Palestinian struggle between the 1960s and 1990s. However, shaping the content due to financial dependencies touches on another form of interference in the autonomy of art, as the compromises are serving external agendas, depriving the local art scene of setting its own goals and criteria. Therefore, this dependency reflects more the asymmetrical relationship between the constitutive division of belonging to the developed or underdeveloped countries of the world than the concern of ideologizing or co-opting art.

In my position as director and curator of Al Hoash, I took a similar path to ensure financial security and to be able to implement the planned interactions over a longer period. Consequently, we answered a call by the EU office in Jerusalem to enhance the living and economic situation for Palestinians in East Jerusalem. Under the title *Alternative City*, I combined artistic engaged urban practice and tourism, with the aim of contributing to neighborhood development, even if this meant compromising content. One strategy to minimize compromise was to negotiate and bend the objectives by defining relations that might remain vague. In our case, the participative interactions could be promoted as an engagement with society. More difficult, however, was the demand by the founder to cooperate with the economic sector, finding ways to improve the economic situation in East Jerusalem. This condition was clearly outside the area that

we wanted to address, and even brought up the critique of being co-opted by the system, but due to financial shortages and the very difficult political situation, we were challenged to find solutions for this requirement (Friedman and Rayyan 2018, 96). Promoting culture as an asset for Palestinians in Jerusalem, supporting their identity, and increasing their visibility, was the starting point. In combination with ideas derived from concepts of alternative tourism strategies, we developed a collaboration with the Palestinian tourism sector. Though we had to hide our real intention under the guise of alternative urban development, we accepted the compromise since it would guarantee financial support for two years.

Our forced cooperation with the tourism sector offered an unexpected turn in searching partnerships outside our usual network for reclaiming space, socially engaged art practice, and urban intervention. The result was a new approach, perhaps even a crucial approach to dealing with the difficult conditions on the ground, increasing the ability to create as many experimental spaces as possible. By presenting the art walks for the tourism sector as a new format of a guided tour through the city, we combined our interest in space-making participatory interventions in public spaces with their desire to enhance tourism. Still, this constructed connection also brought additional challenges and proved to be a tightrope walk between implementing our approach and not giving in to the accusation that this step would compromise art with the result of being co-opted by commerce or serving gentrification strategies.

The accusation, often discussed in the literature, of risking being taken over by the system if one cooperates with the business world, however, turned out to be inaccurate in our local situation. By offering alternative approaches and strengthening the Palestinian narrative, we continued our opposition to the dominating system. Since the Palestinian economy was dominated by Israeli rule, the act of supporting economic growth (here tourism) was transformed into an *act of resilience*. Following its isolation from the Palestinian hinterland, the Palestinian tourism industry in Jerusalem depends on international visitors. Further deterioration of the situation occurred with the urban planning and gentrification of the new area around Jaffa Gate, which displaced Damascus Gate as the main tourist attraction. Since its entrance leads to the Palestinian stores in the eastern part of the city, this construction measure had a massive impact on the economic situation of the Palestinian tourist economy (Jubeh 2015).

When we entered into a cooperation with the most important partner in the field of tourism, the Jerusalem Tourism Cluster (JTC), a non-governmental organization that takes care of the needs of the Palestinian tourism industry, we not only expanded our scope of action but also increased the acceptance within the Palestinian society. JTC communicated the concept to their members as an alternative action to revive tourism, paving the ground for cooperation and promoting the concept of alternative city tours that would use the impacts of our socially engaged art and urban interventions. The unusual cooperation enabled us to challenge hegemonic powers in a contested ground, where every movement is controlled and questioned. Using formats of space-making art praxis allowed us to explore possibilities to activate or gain space without confronting Israeli police or the military as they would not recognize the activity as provocative or political.

Since the alternative art walk was not apparent at first glance as political action but classified as artistic and touristic, we created a safe atmosphere, responding to the fear repeatedly articulated in advance of being associated with an action that could cause legal problems. In addition, this perspective provided security for the donor, who was interested in economic development, and security for Al Hoash, as it guaranteed the organization's financial survival over an extended period. Finally, but most importantly, this form offered a certain degree of security for the Palestinian participants, as the artistic and touristic nature of the action would not be caught by the radar of the Israeli police. However, besides the positive aspects, there are other implications that need to be considered. Even if the cover of art and tourism allowed us to operate unobserved in public space, this did not free us from the constant clash of the different appreciative systems of the actors in the field concerning their understanding of public space and participatory interventions. As a result, we were in a continuous process of testing and negotiation.

Chapter 9 The Practice of Space II: Expected and Unexpected Deviations of Space

The findings formulated in Chapter 6 under Practice of Space (I) were shaped by the new encounters and challenges that we faced after further developing participatory practice in public space in Jerusalem. Chapter 9 deals with this development and focuses on the meaning of space and its parameters. While we collected first insights into spatial frameworks during the Karm al Khalili Garden interventions, our investigation was now extended, taking it to a location where all the deviations recognized up to this point are condensed: the Old City. Here, working in a contested place is a given, and therefore, finding a space that offers a certain level of security and reassurance to participating residents is necessary. However, working in the Old City extended our insight into the context of engaging with space, going beyond that of previous findings.

The shift of focus to the chosen format of the conceptual art walk I in Jerusalem and specifically in the Old City opened up a number of unexpected breaks in communication with potential partners during the location scouting and in connection with the implementation by and with the artists. However, the approach exploring possible forms and finding locations for participatory interventions followed a similar pattern to that during the location scouting in the previous phase.

Although some parameters overlap with garden interactions at first glance, the second phase of interventions occupy a significant point in my investigation. Not only because they support the previous findings, but also because they sharpen the focus on deviations by examining the behaviors of different actors in relation to public space in order to better understand its conditions. The resulting findings illustrate in addition to the further process of a critical reflective art practice and introduce points that will be taken up in the theoretical investigation of participatory interventions in public space.

9.1 The Impact of (on) Places

Financial dependencies and constraints shaped the network of partners for implementing the quest of participatory interventions and framing the program into an intersectional one, where art, community engagement, and development of alternative

business plans for the quarter had to be interwoven. Another significant component in shaping the format and concept of participative interventions in Jerusalem was selecting suitable places despite ongoing turmoil. Concerns of security, feasibility for the actions, and accessibility lead us to a selective range of spaces and coherence with the experiences collected during the interactions at and with the Karm al Khalili Garden. This extended search for a suitable location provides another level to look more closely at the complex entanglement of the concept of public space in Jerusalem. Again, unexpected disjuncture forced us to adapt to the local circumstances, conditioning the concept of space and its interpretation. While the politically unstable situation in 2014 was a given factor, the extent of the deterioration and its impact on life and work could not be foreseen, having a direct effect on the possibility of choosing spaces of interaction and urging us to search for solutions in that particular moment.

9.1.1 Discovering Semi-Public Spaces

Since official public spaces were unavailable and available spaces were unsuitable, we wanted to explore the option of accessible public spaces that offer a higher degree of protection. The first step toward reacting to this situation was developing a concept for finding a placeholder of public spaces for Palestinians in Jerusalem, to continue the actions and work with the community. We found what we were looking for with spaces belonging to civil society organizations located in the Old City, like youth clubs, community centers, legal advisory organizations, and education centers. Some of them have an open-air space such as a courtyard, garden, or rooftop, typical of the Old City construction since many historic buildings look out onto a courtyard. These spaces exist, but most of them are hidden, used for the organization's activities. Here, we saw the possibility of transferring the idea of participatory, engaged art practice, activating space within the property of civil society organizations, enabling them to re-use their outdoor space and supporting them in increasing their interaction with the community. To distinguish this new space from the contested public ones, we adopted the term "semi-public spaces" as a way to describe this third form of space, somewhere between private and public.⁶⁹ The semi-public spaces we had in mind took account of the need for

⁶⁹ Semi-public spaces are areas to which the public has access (as opposed to public space) that is subject to certain rules or behaviors and/or controlled as to when access is permitted (Erguna and Kulkul 2019).

protection from legal consequences, offered a safe space that is less dependent on changes in public life, and allowed a gathering of the commons.

The concept of creating semi-public space as a point for increasing interaction shifted the participatory socially engaged art practice from the public sphere to a controlled private space format, providing the long-term possibility of working with residents. Though it differs from the common understanding of artists working in public space, or space that is accessible for people and that needs to be activated. It seemed to be the right answer for the contested space in Jerusalem, where freedom is experienced on different levels. The new approach offered an opportunity to continue the idea of intervention and space-making and also acknowledged the specific circumstances for Palestinian's living in Jerusalem, particularly the Old City.

The Old City is still one of the most populated areas for Palestinians in East Jerusalem. What is true of the demographics and social circumstances in East Jerusalem is valid in concentrated form for the Old City. Problems include a high unemployment rate, poverty, drug use and addiction, increasing levels of drug use among children between ten and seventeen years old, distressed young people and high school drop-out rates, family violence; all culminating in an area with high population density. An area of 0.9 square kilometers e.g. had 2007 a population of 36,800 people compared to 7,200 persons per square kilometers for the city as a whole (see Glass and Khamaisi 2007). Depending on the particular quarter of the Old City, population density can rise to 99.6 people per dunam area as in the southern section of the Muslim Quarter with its run-down housing stock. The lack of access to public space facilities has been voiced by communities and groups since 2000, stressing this as a major cause for social and personal frustration among the community's young people (DellaPergola 2017; Wari 2011; Yiftachel and Yacobi 2006). When we entered the field, conditions had worsened. Collaborating with civil society organizations on ideas to activate (semi)-public space seemed to be an answer to the structural problem and the logical next step for working in the Old City. Consequently, we assumed that their interest in being involved in activities to strengthen the community could be taken for granted; an assumption that was challenged when meeting potential partners. Our initial selection of partners depended on whether or not the organizations had a semi-public outdoor space, i.e., a courtyard or garden. Our search was concentrated on the area between Zahra Street outside the old

town, up to the Muristan quarter of the Old City. Using these criteria, we reduced the options to five or six. Having identified possible partners in the Old City and the neighborhood, we started to arrange meetings to persuade the selected organizations to be partners; to gain their interest and agreement to work with us.

9.1.2 Finding Semi-Public Spaces. Meeting Potential Counterparts in the Old City

As outlined in 9.1.1, finding semi-public spaces was closely connected to recruiting partners for the project. In a process similar to the preparatory phase of working with the Karm al Khalili Garden, we had to go into the field and arrange meetings with individuals and organizations. Searching for potential partners and finding semi-public space was an intensive task that included some unexpected turns and deviations from the reactions we assumed we would face.

Taking the reflections from Karm al Khalili into consideration, we expected to be confronted with similar reluctance and mistrust when going into meetings with potential partners in the Old City. However, in the course of intensive discussions about the project, it became clear that the situation in the Old City was once again different from that in the eastern suburbs, where we had been operating up to that point, adding another layer to the adjusted concept of creating interventions and finding semi-public spaces in Jerusalem. The first encounters with potential partners from civil society challenged the assumption that civil society organizations would necessarily have an interest in strengthening the community and opening their space to the public.

9.1.3 (Not) Finding the Common (Sense)

The intense negotiation phase with potential partners that illustrated the complexity of the Old City can be explained by the following example. One of the first possible partners we met was the *Arab Blind Association* in Jerusalem, an organization with a long history. Founded during the British Mandate in 1932 by a group of blind Palestinians, the association aims to provide a professional education for visually impaired people to earn a living and avoid dependency on charity.⁷⁰ Since then, they have developed into one of the most important associations for the visually impaired in

⁷⁰ See Heirnich Böll Foundation – Palestine. 2021. "The Arab Blind Association." <https://www.ps.boell.org> " 2021/06/10

Jerusalem. The space is located in the Via Dolorosa, one of the main tourist routes of the Old City, between the fifth and the sixth station of the processional route, which is believed to be the path Jesus walked on the way to crucifixion. It has a small shop in the arched stone hall that is accessible from the street. The shop leads to a large courtyard on two levels, where the workshop for the visually impaired is located, producing household products— wooden brooms and the like. The starting point for the meeting was to present the general idea of supporting the area by attracting tourists, improving the area's economy, encouraging people to explore their abilities, before we moved on to discuss participatory, engaged art and urban interventions.

Our first action was to tackle communication: how would we communicate our idea to people who have not experienced urban intervention? Following the concept of so-called urban recipes, we translated information cards into Arabic before our meetings, explaining in text and pictures our proposal for urban interventions and actions. "Urban Recipes" was originally initiated by Spanish design and advocacy collective *Recetas Urbanas*, with the aim of spreading ideas about urban interventions to communities and making the concept more accessible (Recetas Urbanas n.d.).⁷¹ An excerpt, translated from Arabic and included below, illustrates part of the introduction text for the walk.



Figure 19: Urban Action invitation, courtesy of Al Hoash

With the project *Art Walk* Al Hoash wishes to re-establish the common sphere in the city as a platform for expression and to strengthen our way of creating art in public space. The project in Jerusalem will also have its starting point in investigating and identifying a community that can work together to develop tools to occupy their own city and create security and visibility in public space. Thereby establishing a foundation for initiatives by local artists and users of the city.

The program is executed through three continuous phases. We will establish a

⁷¹ See for further information Recetas urbanas <http://www.recetasurbanas.net/v3/index.php/es/>

connection to the community. A number of workshops, taking place on the route between Zahra Street and the Old City, will identify what dreams, ideas, and wishes the community would like for their common urban space. Certain areas are then pinpointed to express the thoughts of the community. The creation of art pieces will take place on the basis of various workshops. By the end, the route is established through the city. (Al Hoash 2015)

As well as handing out summaries in Arabic, we were able to refer to our experience with the Karm al Khalili Garden. Comparing our preparation for these meetings to the situation prior to the activities in Karm al Khalili, we felt better equipped, being able to illustrate our explanations with documentation from our previous work. Soon, we realized that it was not always a question of preparation, but whether our potential partner expressed interest or not. The following vignette illustrates the first encounter.

Vignette, meeting potential partners in the Old City, April 2015

Hatem and I had a meeting with a representative of the Arab Blind Association. When we entered the shop, Mrs. Nadia Basbaz greeted us and introduced us to the place and gave us some background information about the association. After a tour of the shop and viewing the wood products on display, Hatem began to shift the conversation from polite small talk to the purpose of our visit, introducing me as the new director and giving a brief idea of our project. Our conversation continued as we took turns trying to give a complete and efficient explanation by presenting our maps and materials. Based on the experience we had gained in our previous meetings, Hatem and I developed a fluid communication structure that allowed us to respond to the other person's reactions and helped us to present and explain the project. Ms. Basbaz was polite but reserved. Later, Hatem explained that this is normal in the Old City, as people have to check who they are dealing with. I remember noticing a change in her demeanor as soon as she realized we were not customers.

Despite her reluctance, she led us through the shop, which opens onto a beautifully renovated courtyard with an open space in the middle. Adjacent apartments and houses, typical of the old city, surrounded the courtyard. Crossing the courtyard, we came to the studio/workshop area where visually impaired men were working, making brushes and brooms. I remember that I was very excited about the place as I could imagine that we would be able to create something together there that would benefit all sides. Perhaps I became a little too excited.

Several meetings followed in which we reiterated what we wanted to offer the association and its positive outcome. One possibility was to invite artists who are skilled in woodworking and who could work with the visually impaired to increase the variety of their production. Another was to furnish the courtyard and use the space for meetings and recreation during breaks. We tried to explain that our initiative would not only use the space, but also engage with the blind workers and the neighborhood, improving the relationship and creating a space for coming together. In further meetings, we came to the point of discussing the overall design of the project, with time for joint work experience between artists and workers, and ideas about how to bring additional visitors to the site. Despite the time and care we invested, our meetings went nowhere. Final decisions were postponed, excuses were found for delays. Although we didn't receive an official rejection, their behavior and delays showed us their lack of commitment. In the end, I had to accept that we could not convince them.

The vignette illustrates among other things that we could integrate our existing experience into our strategies for approaching possible partners. Our communications strategies were shaped accordingly, giving a smooth entry into the conversation, building trust, and expressing appreciation of the partners' work. While we aimed to transfer the idea of strengthening the community through the action, it had become clear to us that we needed to use a negotiating approach, expressing the project's gains for our counterpart. Explaining that our action would enhance the range and quality of their wooden products and increase visitor numbers are examples we used. However, the degree of bargaining had its limits. At the beginning of our meetings with the association, what seemed possible turned out to be one of the biggest, unexpected deviations. Their decision not to join the project reached us quite late and without further clarification. They were not attracted by the promise that the art walk would bring new customers as they argued that they have enough through the Israeli travel agencies that visit with their groups. Nor were they interested in increasing contact with their neighbors. After a long discussion within the Al Hoash team the following reasons for the reluctance of the Arab Blind Society were identified:

1. The lack of interest was a personal decision by Mrs. Basbaz, who is responsible for opening and closing the space. The schedule for the actions was determined by her working hours, from 8 am to 3 pm, with no room for extension, nor was she willing to accept any change in her routine. Clearly, we misjudged her relationship to the space, which was functional and framed by her position as an

employee. Experimenting with space equalized in her perspective to extra working hours only.

2. The organization showed their fear of losing control over the activity and lack of interest in enhancing the relationship with their neighbors.
3. There seemed to be no interest in change but rather of keeping or securing the status quo.
4. As a result, they showed no interest in the idea of activating the space and exploring new formats for their engagement, creating an inviting space, and allowing interaction with the community. Addressing the positive impact that the action could have, such as strengthening Palestinian identity and the sense of community in the neighborhood, did not find an echo. Similarly, the strategy of negotiating options by offering them benefits did not work, as our offers did not match their interest and interpretation of benefits.

Again, transferring the appreciative system to the reality on the ground reveals unexpected but significant deviations. While the first reason can be found in other locations as a typical conflict when reaching out to parties with different work ethics, the second, third, and fourth reasons can be classified as specific to our context, which underlines the level of fragmentation of society and its organizations. In particular, points 3 and 4 shattered our assumptions that civil society organizations should share our interest in strengthening the community. The Old City's demographic structure, with its heterogeneous communities, divided into ethnic and religious groups, seemed to be a fragmented society, falling back to its particular affiliations, jeopardizing a sense of the community. These findings clearly illustrate the observation that our potential partners did not react to the initiative of space making concepts.

As well as looking at reasons for behavior that could be related to their specific case, the reaction and hesitant attitude of other civil society organizations we approached should be read in the context of the overall situation in Jerusalem. The complex situation in the Old City is very much connected to the question of ownership. Generally, in relation to the issue of territorial power claims but also practically in its legal translation within

the Israeli juridical system, shaping the usage, access, and distribution of space. The term "space making" thus acquires a connotation that runs counter to the interpretation of "action of space making as activism and emancipatory act." To understand these deviations and development of urban planning, shaping the term, I will provide a brief review of the origins of this development, which contributes to the further explanation of spatial practice.

9.2 Spatial Policies

The spatial segregation in Jerusalem goes back to the time of the British Mandate in Palestine (1919-1947). What was once perceived as an inclusive city, where belonging to Jerusalem meant more than religious differences, became a place where ethnicities competed (Wari 2011). This British planning was particularly evident in the religious division of the Old City into Muslim, Christian, Jewish, and Armenian quarters. At the time, these subdivisions already existed but with rather less homogeneous structures. The Muslim quarter was home to many Jews and Christians, the Jewish quarter to Muslims and Christians, and the Christian quarter to some Muslim families. Only the Armenian quarter remained relatively homogeneous, as this was administratively governed by the Armenian religious leader. The multi-ethnic and religious character was also evident in the main shopping streets, Jaffa Street and Julian's Way that until 1948 were completely mixed and frequented by all groups. A different trend was evident in the expanding residential neighborhoods that tended to follow religious segregation. The elites pushed into the suburbs and built new homogeneous residential neighborhoods along religious and class lines. Thus, in Sheikh Jarrah, Muslim elites settled (Nashashibi, Hussein, Jarallah), Mea Sharim, Yamin Moshe, and Montifiore Jews planned their communes and the Christian middle class (Greek Orthodox, Catholic) built in Talbiya and Katamon. But religiously mixed neighborhoods like Baqa'a, remained. (Tamari 2000). A serious aggravation of this development can be seen in Britain's urban planning. Instead of belonging to Jerusalem, religious distinctions were emphasized, leading to a competition of ethnicities as a result of British planning.⁷² With the growing Jewish and Syrian-

⁷² This was particularly evident in the religious division of the Old City into Muslim, Christian, Jewish, and Armenian quarters. Although such classifications had existed, they were not reflected in homogeneous neighborhoods (Misselwitz and Rienets 2006, 48; Abowed 2014,43–45). The urban planning of Jerusalem was the subject of a mapping, based on Henry Kendall's City Plan for Arab-Jewish intercommunal life, suggesting the "re-installing" of community divisions according to religious affiliations that was taken up by the British architect Charles Ashbee, who devised the urban planning of

Palestinian national movements in the late 1920s, the situation intensified, and the urban development of Jerusalem was determined by further political segregation interests rather than architectural or urban planning ideas. Land was purchased to create realities and occupy strategic points.

With the establishment of Israel in 1948, the *Jewish National Fund* pursued the manifestation of the western part of the city. Under the so-called *Absentee Law*, the temporary absence of Palestinian owners was used to expropriate land and real estate that would then be used for immigrant Jewish residents to keep the area homogeneous (Haaretz, Nov 2 2021). After 1967, this policy was also applied in the eastern part of the city. Israel made itself the successor of the Jordanian administration and took over public lands and properties. Later, these expropriations were used mainly for Jewish/Israeli purposes. The meaning of "public interest" was equated by the Israeli government in Jerusalem and the Occupied Territories with Jewish/Israeli public interest (Abows 2014, 87ff). This historical development of the term extends to the present and must be taken into account when discussing terminologies used in the discourse on public space. An example of such terminology is the term space making.

9.2.1 The Ambivalence of the Term Space-Making

The lack of space in Jerusalem may lead one to assume that "space-making" concepts would be an attractive term, since the term occupies a significant and relatively positive position in the dominated discourse in literature. It is associated with the emancipation and empowerment of neglected residents and places, active participation, and securing democratic ideals and is often used to describe the relationship between art practice and urban development (Silberstein 2019; Cornwall 2002).

However, one cannot overlook that in the Israeli/Palestinian conflict space-making contains another connotation. In Jerusalem it is a highly contested term that is connected to Israeli planning policies, making the Israeli/Jewish majority in Jerusalem apparent, and is closely linked to claims for power and space for Israeli settlers. This development started with the *Municipalities Ordinance (Amendment No. 6) Law, 5727–1967*, when Israeli law was as mentioned applied to East Jerusalem, declaring the city to be Israel's

the city in his function as civic advisor and secretary and main coordinator of the Pro-Jerusalem Council (Misselwitz and Rienets 2006, 304).

united capital. Strategic planning came into force, shaping the municipal map, setting new boundaries, and excluding densely populated Palestinian areas outside that new set borders. This led to the expropriation of Palestinian territory and shrinking space for Palestinian urban development and cut off from the Jerusalem Palestinian Hinterland (Abowd, 10-17.)

Today, critical urbanist Haim Yacobi from University College London states that Israel's Land Use policy is determined by "geopolitical strategies aiming to control demography, expand the city's jurisdiction through the expropriation of Palestinian land, and exclude the Palestinian inhabitants of the city from planning processes," calling the development a paradigm of an "ethnocracy" (Yacobi 2016, 104ff). The implications of this finding on space-making concepts are tremendous, interfering in the relationship of Palestinian residents with the city, creating an atmosphere of insecurity, and provoking an asymmetric relationship between Israeli and Palestinian residents. The Old City is not exempt from this policy, with radical settlers taking over housing units in the quarter. Yacobi's paradigm of ethnocracy comes into effect here. The Israeli housing and land law is quite complex. However, without going into too much detail, I would like to single out one example to illustrate the impact of this legal mechanism on the insecurity of the city's Palestinian residents. For instance, the law Key Money Rule in combination with the Israeli Tenants Protection Law opens a loophole for the transfer rights of ownership and lease, which allows Israeli settlers to access housing units in the Old City via intermediary interested parties, constructing a non-transparent setup regarding change of ownership. The Key Money Rule offers the leaving tenant to propose a subsequent tenant to the landlord, who in turn agrees to pay an amount for the "right of occupancy." If the landlord wants to reject this proposal, the latter has hardly any rights on his side. Ultimately, the old tenant will only move out if he is paid the promised key amount that the new tenant would pay. Favoring the highest bidder over the original owner, turns what was initially designed as tenant protection into a law that further unsettles the situation between tenants, subtenants and landlords. Growing insecurity on the Palestinian side is inevitable, leading to withdrawal into secured structures, affiliations, and finally the family. The combination of land policies, social pressure, lack of space and pressure from the radical settler movement turn the term "space-making" into "making space" for Israeli/Jewish residents in the Old City, leading to displacement and eviction for Palestinians.

The complex situation in the Old City is very much connected to the question of ownership and its legal translation in the Israeli juridical system, shaping usage, access, and distribution of space. The legal dimensions for the Palestinian community living in Jerusalem have their direct impact on housing conditions, where natural growth of urban capacity is restricted, housing units are not built, and even extensions of their homes are prohibited. This fact creates the spatial pattern for Palestinians in Jerusalem that is crucial for understanding the question of public space and its relation to the city.

9.2.2 Spatial Patterns: The Question of Representation

An example of the question of property ownership is the experience with a potential partner for our project, the Al Quds University. After the negative experience with the Arab Blind Association, we turned toward the educational sector and contacted the Palestinian university Al Quds, located in East Jerusalem's outer district Abu Dis. The university had a fascinating property in the Old City, a three-floor historic building that was to be restored for its engineering faculty. Assuming its general interest in offering its students insight into urban development and community improvement, we prepared possible intervention projects and workshops for their courtyard and accessible rooftop. At first, the university was interested in cooperating, engaging the students in the activities. We visited the space together, explored possibilities jointly, and had several meetings. The atmosphere of the meetings was open and engaging—resulting in plans to allow artists to change the roof into an urban garden. Interested students were addressed and selected. However, the final cooperation agreement was never signed. Later on, we were informed that there were disagreements within the university's leadership. Key to the withdrawal of the university, however, was an old, developing conflict with their neighbors. Pursuing the idea of opening up the rooftop to the public was no longer an option for the university since they were worried about creating a reason for further complaints and enabling the neighbors to use the opportunity of giving access to the public to occupy the space. The fear or worry of facing disputes with neighbors—as in the case of Al Quds University—outweighed the interest in making an exchange possible.

As with our experience with the Arab Blind Association, we started with the assumption that we could build on the common denominator of opening spaces for social gatherings. But even if the Al Quds University was substantially interesting, the realities of the place influenced the university's basic commitment and interest in such a way that, in the end,

issues of security and the integrity of the educational institution took priority. This situation is understandable in the sense that these were existential facts for the university. This example makes it clear that, although an organization was initially interested in similar ideas and goals in the field of public space, the legal and social situation of the Old City set its own conditions. The line of conflict regarding the occupation of space in the Old City is thus not only between Palestinians and Israelis, but also within Palestinian society, which has become increasingly fragmented since the closing of Orient House, a research center and the headquarters of the Palestinian Liberation Movement in the 1980s and 1990s. The building belonged to Jerusalem's Al Hussein family and had functioned as an authority that people could turn to with their disputes and disagreements, since there was no trust in the Israeli court system, where Palestinians felt degraded and not taken seriously, ergo not represented. After the closure of Orient House in 2002, Palestinians lost the place that had the authority to solve disputes, to negotiate their interests. Since then, society's fragmentation has grown, leading to an atmosphere of mistrust, with increased focus on the protection of the private sphere. At the same time, the complicated legal system and the constant changes in land use laws contributed to a legal situation that weakened the Palestinian position. A mechanism similar to what has already been outlined in 9.2.1, resulting in the fact that Palestinians perceive any change in the status quo as a threat in the first place. However, as was the case in the context of radical settlers taking over rental units, the presented Key Money Rule causes discord and conflict also among Palestinians, as the law encourages tenants to consider the property their own and act accordingly. Under these circumstances, the idea of opening a roof terrace or backyard for community use contains a different interpretation that may create a dispute over ownership.

Keeping this system of laws in mind, it becomes more understandable that neighborly togetherness or an opening of semi-public spaces is viewed from a different perspective—with a level of uncertainty that is difficult to gauge. This behavior must be considered in the light of negative experiences within the Palestinian community, where tenants change locks, occupy properties, and kick others out. Experiences that sound unlikely are rooted in an insecure juridical system that Palestinians in Jerusalem find themselves caught up in. Concern about foreign interference is also evidence of the fragmentation of Palestinian society in Jerusalem, where every social group and religious affiliation assumes that it needs to take care of itself. The resulting processes and social

patterns have led to an acceptance of the status quo and a structure of habits from which it is difficult to deviate. Consequently, attempting to change social patterns is viewed as threatening. Such changes are experienced as signifiers of a deteriorating situation rather than developing Palestinian interests.

Besides the worry of attracting negative attention from the Israeli authorities through actions in public space, the fact of living under Israeli law obviously creates another level of insecurity that is connected to private space and influences the relationship between an individual as a member of society and society as a whole. The ambivalence of not having representation in an existing legal system transfers that system into something that does not serve internal Palestinian conflicts. Instead, it leads to a situation where support needs to be found from an alternative source. Opening up space within the Old City walls turned out to be a challenging action.

The two empirical examples share the fact that space in the Old City was not only contested between Palestinians and Israelis but within the Palestinian community itself that added a new dimension to artistic practice. Consequently, the concept of working with semi-public spaces and with whom to cooperate needed to be adjusted.

9.3 Unexpected Symbiosis: The Private Business Sector

The unexpected disjuncture concerning the fleeting interest of the civil society organizations pushed us to search for other partners. We came across another section of society that we would not have expected to work with at all. As mentioned before, our forced cooperation with the tourism sector offered an unexpected partnership in reclaiming space, socially engaged art practice, and urban intervention. However, unexpectedly, smaller entrepreneurs and business associations were receptive to the idea, seeing the potential to increase their public visibility and reclaim space in the Old City. Some of these business people owned interesting places that fitted our category as semi-public spaces that had either been forgotten or neglected by neighborhood development. Two of these places developed into very promising sites for participatory interactions over the course of the project and also opened a connection to our approach of rediscovering narratives. In addition, these places offered a certain degree of security, as they were difficult for state authorities to access yet accessible to an audience or the general public

The following vignette illustrates my first encounter with the business sector. During the location scout for the new approach of the art walk, I was introduced to the former vegetable market hall *Al Bazar*, that was run by a group of Palestinian businessmen who had tried to get permission to renovate the space. The excerpt of the vignette captures the moment when we were searching for different locations within the Old City that might be turned into a public space for the community or at least used temporarily for that purpose. It begins with the scene in which I enter the closed room and learn that the group of Palestinian businessmen wants to activate the Muristan neighborhood of the Old City, a formerly active market and hub for the Palestinian community, once the symbolic heart of the Old City. The director of our partner organization, the Jerusalem Tourism Cluster, Anan Gaith, introduced me to the bazaar and the owners (Image Appendix, Image 22)

Vignette, The Bazaar 2015

I first visited the site with Anan in April 2015, just before we had to finalize the program - and was struck by its beauty. Anan explained to me that the association had wanted to renovate the site to create a market for tourists. But the funds had not been raised and the place remained unused. It was about 100 square meters, divided by old rounded arches, a typical structure for a building in the Old City. Piles of old bricks, garbage, and old wood littered the floor. But it would be a great place for us to work. We could combine all our ideas here: to have a safe space that was not controlled by Israeli officials, but connected to the Palestinian narrative of the Old City, a place that should be reused in the future.

Later, I presented to the association the idea of temporary use of the spaces for culture, which would allow us to work in the space for a low rent and develop a long-term location. After a series of meetings and negotiations, the association agreed. I was surprised by their support. Although I cannot be sure of their reasons, it was obvious that they were not concerned about jeopardizing their right to own the space. It was clear that the bazaar was destined to become a tourist attraction, but in the meantime, the association allowed us to use it for whatever cultural and artistic activities we wanted, without restrictions. Anan explained to me that he could not imagine when the association would ask for its return - but it would not be less than two years. I remember how inspired I was by

this idea. Although I couldn't bear to think about the future use of the site, I hoped that our activities would inspire people to think about alternative uses.

Clearly, I could not completely free myself from my own mistrust and uncertainty as to what the real interest of the business group might be. Visibly irritated by the unexpected encouragement and offer, I also saw the opportunity offered by this place. What surprised me in particular during that time was the enthusiasm and acceptance of our ideas and the project—or the lack of distrust and caution in comparison with the civil society organizations. My irritation was due not only to the surprisingly positive attitude of the business sector toward our ideas but was also rooted in my appreciative system of Western critical participatory art practice, seeing this form of cooperation as a basis for gentrification. Reclaiming the market hall would facilitate consumerist and capitalist interest by transferring an abandoned space into a frequently visited one. This cautious attitude is influenced by the experience of the trivializing of artist critique as discussed by Luc Boltanski and Ève Chiapello in their monograph *The New Spirit of Capitalism* (2005). Since the earliest anti-capitalist critique in the nineteenth century, artistic critique has been perceived as presenting itself in opposition to basic values of capitalism, idealizing the "absence of production" (Boltanski and Chiapello 2007, 38ff).⁷³ In the twentieth century, art criticism's demand for individuality and creativity was adapted by neo-capitalist interest groups. The fear of being instrumentalist by cooperating with the business sector is a serious concern in the discourse on critical urban artistic interventions, falling into the danger of being "incorporated into the apparatus of redevelopment" (Deutsche, 63-64). However, conditions outside the Western context are less often taken into account in this context. Instead, the analysis is presented as universally oriented from the perspective of global neo-capitalist development, which is reflected in my appreciative system and thus in my attitude (and surprise) toward the business world in the context of Jerusalem.

⁷³Artistic critique presented itself as a radical challenger to capitalism's fundamental values and options (ownership, production for the sake of production, accumulation of capital) that they saw represented in the bourgeois business world (Boltanski and Chiapello, 39). In contrast to social criticism, which tried to solve the problem of poverty and injustice, art criticism staged itself as an intellectual response to capitalism, which they saw as a source that hinders humanity from living a life of "authenticity and thus as contrary to their ideals of freedom, autonomy, and creativity (Chiapello 2004, 587). Boltanski's and Chiapello's work is defined as a call to the crisis of the critique of capitalism, describing the end of the current critical capacity, both social and artistic, and emphasizing the need for a revival. Calling for the crisis of critique of capitalism, describing the end of critique, both social and artistic, and the need to revive (Ratiu 2018, 178).

The vignette illustrates the challenge of the Western influenced thought by the local non-Western experience. Here, the businessmen's interest could be read as mainly driven by enhancing society's consumerist development, leading to gentrification. But further discussion with this sector's members proved differently. The ideas that civil society organizations are per se interested in the community and business entities are not needed to be changed or at least to be reconsidered. Indeed, one reason for the business sector's open support originated with the concept of the *Alternative City* program that was designed to build synergies between art's approach to reclaiming space and new perspectives in Palestine's tourism industry. Nevertheless, the topic (strengthening the common) generated a higher response from some business representatives in the meetings than expected, with the concrete result that we were able to use the space of the bazaar for a temporary period for cultural and artistic purposes. This step gave us access to a huge space inside of the Old City that was ready to be re-discovered by the people and open to experimentation with socially engaged interventions.

Another example of the unusual partnership between art and the business sector is the cooperation with the Dar Mall, a small shopping center located in a side street in the Bab al Zahra district just outside the Old City. This was a perfect semi-public space, a hidden spot in the eastern suburban district. Originally planned as a hotel, construction began in 1965 as a prestige property in East Jerusalem that was then under Jordanian administration. However, construction was interrupted by the Six-Day War in June 1967 and never restarted because the site was located in Israeli-occupied territory. The ruins of the building remained untouched in the following years with no building permit granted to continue the construction (Interview Nuseibeh). The structure's skeleton dominated the skyline of East Jerusalem until 2005, turning it into a symbol of halted development for Palestinians in Jerusalem—not only for the district but also for society. In the same year, the Palestinian Jerusalemite family Nusseibeh made repeated attempts to obtain a building permit for the former hotel (Interview Nusseibeh, unpublished material). This was finally granted in 2013, and a year later the building was transformed into a mall. Today, it is a rather neglected place, with few shops, spread over two levels connected by a staircase. An ice-cream parkour, a tailor, several fast-food snack bars, a few telecommunication shops, and discount stores. Many shopping arcades are empty. Ceiling lighting has been damaged or removed with no replacement. The escalator does not work and is cluttered. In front of the ground level entrance there is a terrace of about 40 square

meters that is open to the street. Since the mall is privately owned by the Nusseibeh family, it is outside the influence of the Israeli city administration, but nevertheless open to the public and was therefore attractive for our plans.

In contrast to the situation with the semi-public bazaar, the mall was a space that had already been re-discovered and was in use. Therefore, the owner, Nusseibeh, interested in participating in our project did not relate to interim use and activating the place, but rather to restoration. The problem for the mall was largely deliberate vandalism that turned it into a neglected and dark place. The connection between violence, destruction in public space, and structural damage has been considered extensively in the literature, so further discussion is not necessary. At the same time, the site offered various possibilities for how space could be used in alternative ways for the population without relying on economic value extraction. In an interview with Mr. Nusseibeh, he stressed that it was almost impossible for him to deal with the deterioration and to repair the damage each time. He complained of a "lack of a sense of responsibility among young people, the increase in crime and the propensity to violence," and was interested in exploring our approach to reclaiming space, as he saw the potential of regaining acceptance for the place in the neighborhood, restoring the relationship between residents and the place, and reducing vandalism (Samer Nusseibeh, in discussion with author May 2016). Of course, he also hoped to protect his property, but in the same way as the bazaar, the overlapping appreciative systems resulted in common ground that enabled us to join forces.

In our case, the vision of space-making interactions (participatory, engaged art) and the interests of the business group overlap in the respective appreciative systems, resulting in a small common denominator. Thus, the Palestinian business group's interest can be related more to a strengthening of the common than to protecting the interests of (ethnic, religious) affiliations. Accordingly, they are closer to a strengthening of society as a whole. The extent to which interest is based solely on profit maximization or on strengthening the common good and community participation cannot be measured over the relatively short period of our program. Since negotiations were always part of the search for partners, we were more willing to get involved with interest groups far removed from the arts and civil society sectors and not classify them as a threat to the vision. However, it should not be overlooked—as with the entire evaluation of *Alternative City*—

that we also followed the strategy of hiding our intention. In the case of the bazaar, we hoped that after the agreed period, the business world would be convinced by the artistic-participative interim use that would open the area for public use beyond consumer purposes. Or that the transfer of the usage rights would have to be postponed repeatedly because the business world would not find investors for its plans to build a market there. As with our intervention in the Karm al Khalili Garden, we hoped to create a positive experience, but here in the *center* of the Old City, a place for neighborhood activity, spatial design, and participatory art practice in the long run. Looking back, these considerations were not well founded and were of a more speculative nature. Nevertheless, reaching out to the business people turned out, in our case, to be essential, developing a strategic approach to secure our partners beyond the usual framework. Even though we had a common denominator, a high degree of willingness to experiment was required from both sides, an openness to negotiating options and usage while trying out activities.

What needs to be noted at the end is that the local conditions under which critical participatory art practice can be realized in public space, considering urban spatial development, goes beyond the circumstances described in the literature on critical practice in the Western world. Documented is this fact already by the deviations in the planning phase, which proves that the findings are running counter to canonized assumptions.

9.4 Findings and Summary

The experiences with potential co-partners presented here are only an excerpt from a number of meetings, representing the main Reflections in Action (RiA) during implementation. Summarizing them, it can be stated that unexpected deviations continuously challenged appreciative systems—meaning concepts and ideas for implementing space-making projects. These challenges affected two main areas: the choice of partners and the choice of spaces. Starting with the search for semi-public spaces, the challenges influenced the selection of possible partners. The assumption of facing reluctance about a new concept of participatory urban intervention and space-making in meetings was not the only point to consider nor was the fear of attracting the attention of the authorities. For example, not all of the civil society organizations we contacted were interested in using their work to strengthen common sense (*Gemeinsinn*).

Rather, this depended on the scope of their work and their mission. Consequently, the concept of working with semi-public spaces and with whom to cooperate needed to be adjusted. We might speculate that an interest in strengthening the common was more likely when:

A) The organization's scope of work and mission is directed to the Palestinian community in general and not limited to a specific interest group.

It follows: The more the civil society organization is based on community engagement and provides services to the community, the more willing it is to participate in socially engaged artistic interventions in its accessible space (in this case, the garden or courtyard). Conversely, the more specialized the mission of the CSO, the less interest it has in the general public.

B) The legal status of the organization must be stable. The stronger the legal status of the property, the less concern there will be about opening the property to the public. The same is true for the location of the property in relation to neighboring buildings. The organization is more willing to open its space to the public if its outdoor space has fewer direct points of contact with neighboring buildings (which is less the case in the Old City).

The existence of complex legal land use laws means that it is quite easy to fall into disputes and conflicts. Space is contested on different levels that needs to be defended, safeguarded, and secured. The last point here stands for securing it against foreign interests—where foreign interests are interpreted as any interests beyond those of the local owner. Thus, these may well be other Palestinian interests. Reclaiming space or even space-making has a different meaning in these circumstances.

An unexpected outcome was the involvement of small business owners as partners.

C) The business sector was a reliable partner in our aim of reclaiming space for the Palestinian public.

Framed by our intersectional concept for the "Alternative City" program, approaching the tourism sector proved to be very successful for finding new semi-public

spaces and using them for participatory engaged art practices for the community use. This stands in contrast to the attributes given in the discourse on space making and engaging residents in defining the use of public space, where the business sector is characterized as a driving force for gentrification by transferring the effects of participatory engagement in public space into optimizing the space for profit maximization. Though it cannot be denied that economic interests played a role in their engagement, their interest was influenced by the situation in Jerusalem. Therefore, the difficult conditions for Palestinians in Jerusalem creates a context, where unusual synergies seem to be more likely.

Looking at the list of sites chosen for the art walks, a mixed list of (semi-) public spaces for Palestinians in Jerusalem emerges, enabling the idea of adjusted space-making concepts and participatory art intervention. Parameters defining "public" space outside the Jerusalem situation dissolve and morph into new definitions of the term public space, creating an alternative topography of public spaces in the city. In this context, the assumption that local circumstances shape public space is true, taking into account the difficulties that have been highlighted. The extent to which local conditions affect residents and the relationship of potential actors to space, however, was underestimated, and underlying consequences were overlooked. Before entering the practice, it would have been difficult to anticipate the level of influence these factors have on the behavior and relationship to public space.

The spatial pattern of behavior, discussed and analyzed here, was discovered in the search for appropriate public space for the interventions, thus in the *confrontation with the physical space*, and is not part of the exploration of social practices in space, describing spatial patterns when *interacting* in space. This leads us to the following chapter where light will be shed on the interactions with the various actors involved in the actual implementation of actions, and then extracted for analysis.

Chapter 10 Practice of Interaction

While in Chapter 9 the Old City's spatial conditions and their impact on shaping practice are explored, Chapter 10 looks at the concrete action, extracting the behaviors of different social actors in public space. The point of departure here is the conflict, occurred in concrete actions between actors and that deviated from presumed behaviors in the context of participatory socially engaged art practice in public space. On the one hand, these deviations illustrate the difficulties that arose from the range of actors involved in multi-sited practices and show its effects on adapting practice on site. On the other hand, some deviations deliver material for further assumptions about the relationship between public space and residents. To make these additional considerations, I will first reflect on the actors' most important deviations from expected behavior. The observations and resulting adjustments to practice are described by the term "practice of interaction", outlining the process of assuming, formulating, and testing communication with actors of production in practice. While the practice of space describes the reflections that we developed during the first investigation of space in context and examination on the ground, "practice of interaction" refers to practice in relation to actual social interaction of actors of production and reception, during the implementation of practice in public space. I decided to distinguish these two phases from each other to be clear about their respective importance within the process of reflection. Both are an essential part of adapting participatory practice in public space to the conditions of the site, formulating a "situated practice" but also for sorting the research material.

practice of space + practice of interaction = situated practice

The practice of interaction is particularly useful in the context of implementing untested practices, as this approach allows one to react to the unexpected challenges and to fine-tune the practice in context. Keeping the phases apart helps to represent the complex sequences of practice. The resulting observations of the unexpected abbreviations, divided for each actor group, help to develop a more differentiated view of the space relation and finally on the situatedness of practice. Bringing this together with the previously described assumptions, a texture of spatial patterns in Jerusalem becomes more readable, moving the analysis of public space and participatory art practice forward.

The division of the chapter works in dialogue to the processual flow of critical reflective practice (see Figure 4). First, I describe and analyze the consequences for implementation that result from the findings presented in Chapter 9 and that determined the further approach of the adapted appreciative system for participatory art interventions in public space in Jerusalem (Reflection before Action, RbA). After that, I enter into the already indicated analysis based on the actors that deals with the observations that emerged within the implementation of the new concept (appreciative system). Subsequently, there is an overview of the participatory art formats that emerged at the end of the project as feasible and meaningful, in order to capture forms of situated practice.

10.1 Adopting Participatory Art Practice

In this chapter, I want to emphasize the impact of the findings on the action itself, unfolding and adopting reflective practice. The outcome of the first intervention determined the search for further suitable spaces for actions and at the same time provided us with new insights into the conditions of public space in Jerusalem, I would now like to turn more intensively to the resulting consequences for the form and content of the participatory actions. Looking at the fact that the relationship to public space is the sum of complex conditions aimed at marginalizing Palestinian existence in Jerusalem on a political level, participatory artistic space-making formats need to be adjusted accordingly in their approach and direction. What does this mean? The question about how to perform participatory art in public space depends on the *conditions* of public space. In other words, there is a causality between the form of action and the requirements of public space. Actions need to consider the context of society and space, choosing to stimulate or provoke the participation of the public being addressed. What seems to be given practice, occurs to be not thought through consequently, since it includes not only adapting action to first sight circumstances but as well terminology as witnessed with the term 'space making'. When it comes to formats, we realized that the gesture referring to something familiar and simple were important carriers of creating positive experiences. Challenging social patterns were likelier to achieve more through comfort than provocation. The following paragraph will illustrate this thinking by revealing the main findings of the practice test.

The reality of testing participatory practices in public space in Jerusalem has shown us that we had originally expected to be able to start from universal assumptions that public space functions as a part of communal gathering and expression. Even when it is suppressed by hegemonic forces, it can be activated in terms of counter-public action (Fraser, Warner), following the principle of exploring utopias (in the sense of Lefebvre) using a format of critical spatial practice. However, in the final stage of the project period towards 2016 we had to realize that using formats focusing on activating an existing, albeit suppressed, relationship was not useful since it implies that a public space exists and the experience of being in that space. I refer here back to the impression that there was something "not given", as described in the beginning. We could not fall back on an existing experience that only had to be brought back to life. This realization hit us unexpectedly and challenged the whole idea of creating counterpublics. We had to start much more fundamentally in our actions. Instead of focusing on activating, the focus shifted to experiencing the *possible*. In our situation, we needed to find alternatives for the idea of public space, as an element symbolizing a democratic society's gathering, since it did not mirror the reality on the ground. Alternative formats were needed to deliver the experience of a secured space accessible to the public.

Against the background of these insights, we had to modify the designs from the concepts of participatory artistic interventions in public space of partner organizations from our European network. Even though we still talked about reclaiming space, the way to get there had to be spread out into different forms of action that took this new orientation into account. In place of activating space, we set the new goal of building trust, creating positive experiences of being in public space that formed the basis for further actions. Positive experiences were supported by actions that focused on a content-related examination of participants' relationship with the city. Our approach developed into a symbiosis of multi-site-specific artworks, framed by the walk, and created as a mixture of actions by diverse actors, produced in different time frames and with varying levels of engagement.

10.1.1 The Final Walk

With the following vignette, I want to illustrate some of the elements of social actions that were interwoven that I will refer to later in this chapter. The vignette is an excerpt

from the second art walk *Reviewing Jerusalem, the Return* (2016), written retrospectively from the curator's perspective, accompanying the participants of the walk, trying to describe the experience as it happened. Besides giving an impression of the bringing together of actions, it presents the range of actors involved in the production. It also serves to distinguish between the different levels of engagement and the roles taken by participating actors. Presenting the range of actors is necessary as I am interested in analyzing the points of conflict that occur during preparation and implementation, allowing me to draw further conclusions about the actors' relationship to the city, extracting findings about the need to situate participatory practice.⁷⁴

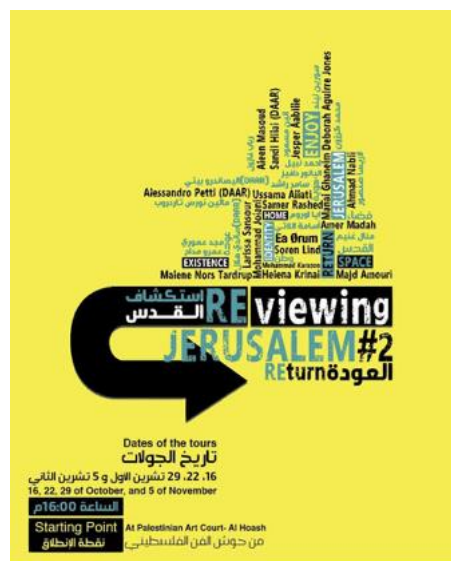


Figure 20: Poster of Reviewing Jerusalem: The Return, 2016, courtesy of Al Hoash

Vignette, *Reviewing Jerusalem, the Return*, October 14, 2016

1. *The first stop is right in front of the entrance to the gallery. A young Palestinian woman calls for attention in English and Arabic and distributes a paper with a short English text, a translation of her story that she performs in front of us. It is the story of her everyday life, a special moment or glimpse referring to the spot in the street where we are listening to her. After her performance we are asked to turn around and cross the street toward a pickup, standing in a parking bay. The ground around the pickup is covered with blades of green grass and flowers; folding chairs are placed around the vehicle and a sign with the Arabic word for “here”—hon. The pickup is in a parking lot that the organization has paid to use for a few hours to avoid legal action for reclaiming public space for its action. People use the chairs or sit on the floor and listen to a British artist,*

⁷⁴ The Walk was accompanied by a brochure that presented the individual stations and participating artists, as well as offering insights into the realization of a participative Art Walk (see Image Appendix, xx).

standing on the pickup, explain why we are here. She had originally prepared a work for the small park at the end of the street. A couple of days before the walk was due to take place, the municipality closed the park to the public, declaring it to be closed for construction reasons for one year. To document the loss of access, they re-store a piece of the park in the parking bay with a green space on the pick-up, flexible to be moved.

2. *Few moments later, the group is led through the side streets, the backyards of Zahra Street, stopping in front of a complex that seems to be built in the style of 1960s modernist architecture. The multi-story building is missing some elements; there are broken windows, unattached cables, and it is not clear where the entrance is. In front of the building is a kind of terrace, where we stop around an arrangement of small colored boxes on wheels, some tables and two wooden pavilions. The roofs of the pavilions are covered with paintings on the inside. The terrace offers no shade, so the pavilions immediately serve their purpose, occupied by participants sitting on the colored boxes. An artist begins to speak, presenting this work as a collaboration between two artists and a group of children and teenagers who wanted to build something simple to address the lack of free public places to sit and rest in the neighborhood. Two ideas were important to the kids in designing the DIY furniture: color and communication. The colorful cubes are grouped into two or three seating arrangements, connected by a rope. Before sitting down, each person is forced to communicate with the person next to them and arrange the seating.*

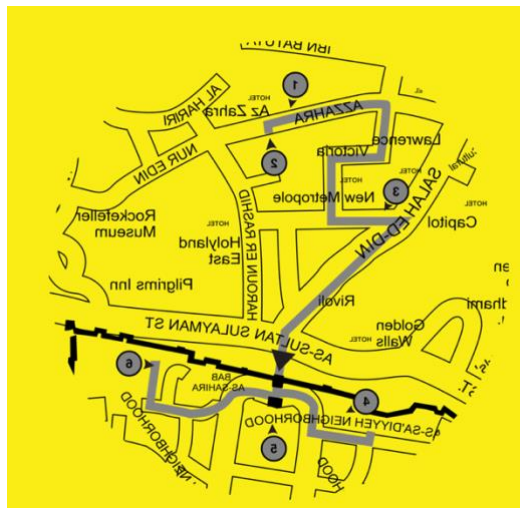


Figure 21: Map of the walk, published in the accompanying brochure *Reviewing Jerusalem II*⁷⁵

3. *The tour continues through the streets, passing the closed park and Israeli soldiers, heading to a spot next to the post office, where one young man starts to tell us his story—as a boy being confronted with police violence—in the style of an action movie. We are now at the main road passing by the walls of the Old City. Traffic noise takes over. After crossing the busy road, we enter the Old City through the Zahra Gate, turning left to a street and stopping in front of an*

⁷⁵ A full electronic version of the brochure is provided in the Image Appendix II.

iron gate. Behind, a stone-flagged way toward an old Arabic house can be seen. The aisle is covered by black strings, stretched from left to right with colored triangles, designed from wool, arranged in a form that imitates the pattern of traditional Palestinian embroidery. The thirty or so triangles decrease in size and lead toward a squared piece of embroidery in a frame, hanging in a tree. Walking below the installation, we gather at the stairs of the old building, being told that we stand in front of an Indian Guest House. Passing the corridor, we enter a peaceful courtyard with a small, fenced garden in the center, where a woman awaits us. She introduces herself as a storyteller—a hakawati, starting to tell us a fable in Arabic, translation is provided.

4. *As soon as we leave the space, the bustling atmosphere of the old city comes back to us. As we are led through narrow side streets, we suddenly hear the sound of a flute. A musician accompanies us until we arrive in a garden that belongs to a community center located next to the city wall. The smell of bread and roasted tomatoes leads us to a corner of the garden. A group of artists is handing out wish cards for us to fill out, pointing to the non-functioning fountain at the back of the garden, where a collection box for wishes or thoughts is set up. Some members of the group are asked to speak directly into a microphone. The sound will be incorporated into an installation, the artists say. In another corner, community members are baking bread in a clay oven, and in another, they are roasting tomatoes on a mobile DIY stove made in a workshop. Both are served to the group as snacks. Conversations develop. We hear the story of the old berry tree in the garden that was once the center of the community. Suddenly the sounds of electric guitars are heard. The leader of the community leads us past a small basketball court with a wire fence that borders the historic wall where Israeli soldiers patrol. We follow him to the other side of the center, where a band has set up, playing electric guitar, violin and drums. Children are jumping to the sounds of an Arabic-jazz mix as the singer's voice rises as he recites Queen's "Under Pressure." (Image Appendix, 33- 50)*

10.1.2 Creating a Network of Actors

As the vignette conveys, the walk's creation and its implementation were a highly complex endeavor that included many actors who were brought into relationship with each other, creating the art walk together. Each one of them was given their element of practice within the overall concept of the art walk. The actors can be divided into two main subgroups that describe their relation to the art walk. On the one hand, there are actors at the production level, involved in producing the action, and there are actors of the reception level that will be explained below. Actors of production refers to all those who contribute in different ways to the interventions in public space, or have contributed in advance. The actors of the production can be divided into three further groups. The

first group is the main actors of production like local and international artists, with whom we started the preparation for the actions. Unexpected deviations led us to extend the circle of actors and include local musicians, performers, storytellers, and residents who were participants of long-term workshops. Actors of reception are initially present as visitors and participants of the art walk but then become part of the walk's performative implementation. Here we have local as well as international visitors/participants:

Actors of production I

artists (local, international)

Actors of production II

local musicians, storytellers, residents as participants of long-term workshops

Actors of (the) reception

visitors, tourists, passersby

While the artists' interactions were created and realized independently but in close communication with the Al Hoash team and with me, the activities undertaken by musicians, performers, and storytellers needed to be initiated and curated. For a discussion of public space in a non-European context, the unexpected disjuncture we witnessed contributes to the analysis presented about the respective actors in the following sections. The focus is again on discussing the form and presentation in which the interactions took place and less on the artworks themselves from the recipients' perspective.

10.2 Actors of the Production Level

In this section, I will discuss the challenges faced by the respective actors and then briefly outline the solutions adopted in each case, describing the aforementioned practice of interaction as the answer to working together with what existed. Actors of productions were not only counterparts but took an active role in the design level of the project, which, depending on their position, had an impact on the implementation of the concept. As in any large-scale artistic production, the interplay of different interests, artistic interpretations, and working methods is of importance. In our context, however, it is the clash of different appreciative systems of the respective actors and our negotiations to reach a compromise, with regard to working and acting in the (semi-) public space as well

as with regard to the concept of participatory socially engaged art that are of interest. In the following sections, I will present individual positions on this. However, the seeming closeness to actor analysis is only to be seen as a framework to understand the complex structure of the manifold actors according to their tasks and positions in the multi-site walk. Thus, there is less of a focus on the organizational structure of this endeavor; rather, the acting is examined solely in terms of behavior and relationship to public space and socially engaged art practice. Subsequently, I then present the resulting consequences for practice. The formats used here are those that follow the approach of a situated practice. Every deviation and conflict with/of their behavior tells us, therefore, something about the space and likewise about how participatory practice is perceived. Deviations from the canon of practice can then be identified, from which conclusions are drawn about the respective behavior of actors in public space.

10.2.1 Roles and Challenges: Local Artists

As mentioned before, we faced from the beginning of the project problems recruiting local artists to work with us. Socially engaged art practice in public space and useful art have not been notable topics in Palestinian discourse and have only been considered more recently. Like already recognized preliminary, working on a long-term basis with the community on a non-object-based art project has not been acknowledged as beneficial for artists careers. In follow-up conversations with local artists, we recognized two other significant differences between their appreciative system and our own as it relates to participatory art, reflecting the vague definition of participatory art and its implementation. Most artists interpret the act of participation as being part of the research process of their work, integrating residents' reflections within their activity, but keeping the creative transfer into an art object with the artist him/herself (Interview with artists, unpublished data) This stood in contrast to our interpretation, aiming at a joint approach, including the participants in the art intervention and the work. To substantiate the difference, I translate the two approaches to Sherry Arnstein's "ladder of citizen participation" (1969), whose article contributed to the development of analytical models for measuring the depth of participation in participatory processes (Arnstein 1969). According to the ladder, the artists' approach toward involvement of participants tended to assign them the position of consultation, while our approach was more that of a partnership. A participation model more accurately capturing the difference was created by art theorist Nina Simon, differentiating between levels of participation in museum

work. Translated to her system, the artists' approach is a form of assignment with low-threshold participation. The participation we had in mind as a curatorial team was more of a cooperation, delegating power to the residents (Simon 2010).

This discrepancy in understanding how participation is to be interpreted did not change even after implementing workshops on participatory art practices with younger artists and graduates. To assume that younger artists, who are not yet established, are more open to experimentation and might be more willing to relinquish control over the work was a hasty conclusion. The ongoing negotiation process between the artists and our appreciative system generated a dilemma between respecting the artists' freedom and initiating a collaborative, participatory practice. The following vignette from the first art walk describes this dilemma in relation to the work of a recent graduate of the Bezalel Art Academy.



Figure 22: Art Installation, Ibna Al Quds Garden, courtesy of The Palestinian Art Court Al-Hoash (Image Appendix, 36)

Vignette, reflection on local artist, 2016

M. created a participatory work, working in the garden of the partner organization, the youth club Ibn Al Quds. During her visits, she was able to get into conversation with women and men visiting the club and garden, who told

her the story of the old mulberry tree that had been a focal point for the neighborhood for centuries. Stories of love and hate surround this tree, which has become a meeting place for the neighborhood. Although she was fascinated by the existence of these stories that reveal the history of people with this place, she hesitated to use this material in a collaborative way, to create something that could be used by the participants. She wanted to activate these memories in the garden by creating an installation with wool. I remember that we talked a lot about her idea - looking for examples of other artists using wool as a tool to create installations that children could play with - a kind of urban furniture related to the principle we were following. I remember hoping that M. would take up the more interactive idea and add another element to our art walk that would break away from the object concept of art in public space and have some use for people. In the end, however, I had to accept her decision to turn to a site-specific object form.

The proximity of the content and engaging with the community challenged the artists' concerns about not maintaining the boundary between art and handicraft. A significant issue since the artists wanted to be "acknowledged" as such, which means their work needed to be recognized as art—and not as craft or activism. Since the art walk was part of the Qalandiya International Biennial of Palestine, the pressure on the artists increased, as they wanted to present their work to an international biennial audience.

In addition to the internal art discourse on the debate about useful art and art aesthetics, external conditions created further constraints for the artists. Working conditions were quite complex due to their unfamiliarity with the Old City's socio-political situation. Dealing with the spaces and inhabitants of the Old City was new even to some of the Jerusalem artists themselves, and many found it difficult to work along the structure-defining rules, habits, and patterns described in earlier chapters. While relinquishing control and direction of the creative process was already challenging for all those involved, this intensified in an insecure and unusual work situation. Consequently, the experimental nature of implementing collaborative and participative "useful art" exceeded the artists' abilities, given conditions in the Old City. Implementing a full range of collaborative practices involved too much uncertainty, for international as well as local artists. At the end of each negotiation phase, the artist's affinity with object art was closely

connected to this insecurity, especially since the practices were untested. Intensive discussions and consultations led to site-specific works as compromise, where the artist used reflections from conversations with residents, turning them to material that informed the artistic work. They became the surrogate of the residents' reflections and opinions but kept sovereignty over the form of representation.

Consequences: Using Familiar Formats in Art Practice

We responded to the fact that artists would not pick up the threat of collaborative level by creating workshops offered by artists to local residents on a specific theme, leading to a more known form of collaboration that could be integrated into the Walk. We recruited a group of local artists in advance of the upcoming walk for workshops with the community that would run for six months. As well as providing more time for engagement, artists and communities could identify with this approach easily. The community members took the position of students, allowing themselves to experiment and explore, the artists did not face the pressure to be judged in the position of an artist. The workshops followed a long-term plan to gradually familiarize the community and the artists with the concept of urban interventions, creating simultaneously a safe space in which the participants (artists and residents) could experiment and experience. A secure space for artists included not only the demarcation from the evaluation system of the international art market, but as we have seen here, also the possibility of working over a longer period of time (Image Appendix 23-25). In this safe zone, the collaboration between artists and residents flourished and was directed toward interactions in public space. Some of these were integrated into the walk as illustrated in the vignette *Reviewing Jerusalem, the Return*, October 14, 2016, paragraph 2, line 5:

In front of the building is a kind of terrace, where we stop around an arrangement of small colored boxes on wheels, some tables, and two wooden pavilions. The roofs of the pavilions are covered with paintings inside. The terrace does not offer any shade, so the pavilions are fulfilling their purpose right away, the colored boxes also. An artist starts to speak out and present this work as a collaboration with another artist. He continues to explain that both worked together with a group of children and young people, who were trying to build something simple to tackle the lack of free public places to sit and rest in the neighborhood.;

Another format in this context can be formulated around the figure of the storyteller (*hakawati*, Arabic for "the person who speaks"); used on the walk as a mediator between the residents and their city. The storyteller is a familiar figure, having a long history in society, that was performed in coffee houses but as well in public spaces and markets. Recalling this figure allowed us to engage people to act in public without causing estrangement or uneasiness. To increase the possibility of interacting with space, we developed a program that trained a more attentive way of seeing the surroundings. Part of it was raising awareness of one's relationship with the city, inviting residents to rediscover their stories with the quarter. The outcome was a long-term workshop on oral history practices with local young people, teaching storytelling techniques and supporting self-awareness. The curriculum was based on a program derived from a partner in Berlin, *WIR sind Berlin e.V.*, working with alternative histories of city areas and with youth development. The curriculum was adapted to the local needs, including the experience in teaching storytelling in the tradition of the *hakawati*. Picking up the concept of a storyteller, we draw on a traditional practice that was immediately recognized and accepted by all those involved (the participants, artists and audience), interpreting the role of the storyteller as a possibility of mirroring society's concerns. Although storytellers are no longer part of the cityscape, everyone is aware of them and can relate to their presence in public space. Their involvement creates a feeling of familiarity, offers security, and attracts interest (Image Appendix 21, 34,38).

Re-narrating as practice is a well-known format in the context of postcolonial and decolonial approaches, concentrating on the critique of geography, mapping (topography) of conquered territories, and the manifestation of this through texts and narratives (Bachmann-Medick, 294).⁷⁶ The content of the participatory workshop was thus closely aligned with the question of representation (Bachmann-Medick, 294).⁷⁷ The re-narration practice was realized with young Palestinian adults, a social group that occupies a subordinate position in Palestinian society and whose concerns and perspectives are often overlooked. At the end of the process, their stories shared aspects of life in the city,

⁷⁶ As the educator Paulo Freire noted, telling and sharing our stories and experiences contributes to society's narrative. Following Freire's thinking, integrating storytelling into lived space developed into a crucial element for the walk. The approach, involving teenagers and young adults in this context, again had a local reference. Here, too, the intertwining of fame and power is reflected (Arnett 2002).

⁷⁷ As critical cartographers have thematized for years, maps do not provide objective representations of the world, but are inevitably shaped by particular issues, scales, and geopolitical perspectives. In recent times, it has been said again and again that it is necessary to force a situated mapping practice, which examines perspectives and biases and revises them if necessary (de Souza e Silva & Frith 2014).

offering personal insights into their reality under challenging circumstances. One participant stated his changed awareness of being in the city, he has not felt before. He continued that he realized walking through the city creates a dynamic, and that his presence in the city has meaning. The city was less in the background, it became alive and encouraged him to be so as well (Interview with participants, unpublished data). Besides the fact that through the course of the workshop the young adults turned from passive residents to local performers and storytellers, their former position underscores both that these young participants fundamentally do not perceive themselves as an active part of the city, nor do they perceive public space as something they are entitled to.

10.2.2 Roles and Challenges for International Artists

Alongside local artists, we involved international artists who worked on urban interventions and participatory art during a three-week residency in Jerusalem, living in the Old City. Similar to the local artists, international artists only had a short window of time to stay and work with us. Our international artists were mainly from Denmark and the UK, turning the international into European, reflecting the fact that our partner network depends on donors based in these countries. I had to accept this situation despite thinking that collaboration with artists from the southern hemisphere would have offered more similarities in practice since we can assume closer affinity in starting positions and experiences in the non-European context.⁷⁸

To increase international artists' experience with local conditions, we tried to provide many contacts with experts. It was also essential for them to have an opportunity to experience everyday life in the Old City itself. The city's daily routine and rhythm, knowing what it means if life shuts down after 5 or 6 pm when tourists leave the city,

⁷⁸ At this point, it is important to reiterate that there are a number of significant socially engaged interactions in public space in countries of the global South that challenge the European-dominated debates on participatory art interventions. More recently, theoretical contributions by Atteqa Ali, Salwa Mikdadi, Nomusa Makhubu, and Molemo Moiloa have entered the international discourse. Yet, the focus of these contributions is the debate with the dominant art discourse and the evaluation of new art formats, as well as the challenges of a stronger art practice of the former peripheries - such as in the MENA region - that extends this debate. This is primarily a reflection on the definition of participatory art, rather than an examination of the complex dimensions of public space or the understanding and conditions of space. As important as these contributions are for the development and opening of the art discourse, they have no further relevance for my research. However, they will not be discussed further here, as my research is an example of an inductive approach to developing knowledge from a practice and presenting its specific circumstances in order to transfer new insights into the theoretical discourse on public space interventions.

offers a sense of the atmosphere. It was also important for the visiting artists to experience the confined, enclosed living situation—tiny flats with small windows, a result of the city's old structure, feeling trapped and exposed to everyone simultaneously, due to the narrow and interlaced construction of houses. Experiencing the daily living conditions of Palestinians found its way into the work. I remember how the city's lack of space bothered some of the Danish group members and how another person spoke of his irritation with the unusual noises from the neighborhood after dark. The visiting artists reflected that they withdrew more and more over time in an attempt to find peace and some space for themselves. Unusual characteristics of which the artists were unaware were attributed to the influence of the environment, underlining the assumption influenced by Lefebvre of the reciprocal power between the subject and (social) space. Their artwork gave them stability and distance from the city. The following quote from a member of Bureau Detours illustrates this feeling. Bureau Detours are a Danish art collective working with urban interventions and activating space in Denmark.

There are many limits in this city, and probably many more I don't know about. For me, examining any city means looking for ways to circumvent those limits in order to use the urban space differently. On this particular point, I still think that Jerusalem is not so different from other cities. Like any other city, you have to "hack" it - find the key combinations. If nothing is allowed in public space, you temporarily make private space public.

Bureau Detours statement after their residency, June 2015

Working in semi-public spaces was adopted extensively by the group, seen as the right move in Jerusalem's specific circumstances. Interestingly, they compared the approach to the act of *hacking*, taken from the digital field of action. By doing so, they define their position as someone interfering in an existing system, comparing it to the activist's idea of finding ways to undermine set rules. Oliver Marchart describes this move as a "conflictual aesthetic," based on ephemeral actions that test out. The process of activating transferred to a pre-enactment for something that may follow (Marchart 2019, 40).

However, for international artists interaction with residents was hindered by the language barrier. This restriction, along with the limited time frame was a challenge for the international artists, reducing their time to engage in a meaningful way with residents.

In the same way as their local counterparts, the art walk placed pressure on the international artists to perform according to the expectations of the global art logic. The pressure produced by contemporary art field expectations, combined with the complicated local conditions, also influenced artists who had experience in participating in art practice in urban space outside Europe. But the complex local situation created another obstacle for the international artists that hit them unexpectedly. Since Jerusalem's working conditions are characterized by instability and change, a significant degree of flexibility and adaptation to sudden new circumstances is an essential quality for producing on site. For most international artists, this was highly problematic. They were neither used to nor able to estimate in advance what degree of flexibility would be necessary for the creative process. The collaboration between local and international artists counteracted the missing experience, passing by tacit knowledge such as how to react to unforeseen changes, unplanned interruptions, unexpected conditions, and being able to find improvised solutions (Image Appendix 40-42).

One example is here the sudden need for change after the original space of action was unforeseen and not accessible anymore. During the second Art Walk in 2016, British artist Deborah Aguirre Jones was prevented from realizing her participatory project in the Karm al Khalil Garden seven days before the Art Walk was due to take place. Deborah wanted to work at the park, the focus of Al Hoash's activity, and involve residents in an interaction with the area of grass in the park—which was neglected and partly destroyed. Shortly before she wanted to start, the Jerusalem municipality closed the garden, sealing the entrance with high corrugated iron sheets. A notice placed next to the entrance, declared the closure for an indefinite period of time for renovation reasons. This serious disruption to our action's framework hit us without any warning, since nobody from our network was informed in advance, nor was there any announcement in the media. From one day to the next, we were barred from one of our important sites, where we had started the process and managed to reach out to the residents, bringing life back to the place. As well as dealing with the fact that a key space was literally under municipal control and out of reach for us, the artist had to rethink her work. However, this serious situation was dealt with through collaborative action between international and local artists, the Al Hoash team and participants of the workshops by using the idea of Park (ing) Days.⁷⁹ The

⁷⁹ Parking Days was established in 2005 by the artist group Rebar in San Francisco to transfer niche spaces into new public areas. Since parking spaces were a cheap and accessible space, where the actions can be realized while being on the legal side, the idea of using parking sides took over the scene and

assigned roles and fixed functions of actors shifted and dissolved, building the second heterogeneous, collaborative group. Together, we transformed the original idea of replanting the destroyed grass in the park into grass placed in a wooden box as an equivalent for the closed park. The grass seeds were sown in the shape of the Arabic word *Hon* for "Here" by members of the group; grass grew over the weeks of the project. The metered parking spot was later occupied by a pickup, filled with green grass and flowers. Folding chairs were placed around, creating the first "Mobile Park(ing)" project each time the Art Walk took place; our response to the closure of the only public park in East Jerusalem (Image Appendix, 43 and 44).

Through the practice in the field, international artists with a background in socially engaged art and working in public space were confronted with the fact that their skills and professional knowledge were of limited use to them in Jerusalem. What was initially conceived as a one-way knowledge transfer of participatory art practice in urban space between the international and local artists developed into an equal exchange of practical knowledge (Image Appendix 28, 29). This observation is closely related to the fact that we are dealing with different conditions in public space that can be compared only rudimentarily with those in Western Europe. The following statements can be derived from this.

- The observations support the assumption that participatory art interventions as a practice in public space are predominantly based on experiences and considerations from the Western/European context.
- Setting a date for the art walk produced pressure that contradicts the open-ended process-oriented cooperative mode of participatory art practice in public space.
- The insecure and unusual working situation affected both local and international artists in their approach to public space. Neither local knowledge nor experience in participatory art practice in urban spaces was sufficient as a prerequisite for coping with this particular context. Instead, the practice had to be situated and compromised.

developed into an international Parking Day event that takes place globally on September the 17th (<https://www.myparkingday.org/>).

These statements point to the need to look more closely at the theoretical relationships between socially engaged practice and public space, especially in terms of their validity in non-European circumstances that I will explore in Part III. In addition to the theoretical implications, however, the conflicts described also have implications for practice.

10.2.3 Actors of Production II

In its final form, the art walk consisted of two models of intervention, with several actors, formulating a unified performance. On the one hand, we had interpretations of participatory art interventions as site-specific artworks thematizing the relation between residents and their city, implemented and executed by local and international artists. On the other hand, we included interactions by musicians and performing artists, intended to increase the atmosphere of interaction, encounters, and participation, initiated and realized by the Al Hoash team, and aligned to the visual artists' works. Alongside a situation of encounters and participation, we created more minor interventions as spontaneous actions, set at strategic points, at bends in the path or corners beyond the tourist routes of the Old City.

These actors of the interactions were part of the production phase but also defined themselves as performers. Their performances provided short interludes between the stations along the art walk; For example, a guitar player next to the Old City wall, a jongleur in the corner of a courtyard, or a flute player next to the entrance to a station. Keeping these interventions relatively mobile and flexible was vital since we did not want to attract the attention of the police. However, during planning, the proposed lightness and nomadic character of the interludes caused unexpected challenges with the actors of production; again, interesting for understanding the parameters of public space in Jerusalem. Street musicians are not a well-known phenomenon in East Jerusalem. We assigned this fact initially to the contested nature of public space, keeping in mind one participant's quote that public space resembles a ride in a bus, a "means of transport." As with art interventions in public spaces in general, we assumed that all we had to do was create the conditions for musicians to try out new forms of performance, in the hope of initiating something that would subsequently make this space worth considering for the practice of their profession. In discussions with musicians, however, we realized that as well as musical performance in public space being an unusual act, musicians were hesitant

for professional reasons. In their opinion, playing on the street conflicted with their professional ethics. Music could only take place in designated rooms or spaces, on a stage with professional technical equipment. Performing in the street would degrade their profession; the equivalent of a beggar asking for alms. Although this was not directly communicated, it became apparent from the reasons given for not being able to play in the street. In addition to the argument that dust and weather conditions would harm the instruments, others insisted on large loudspeaker systems, sound setups, and microphones, all contradictory to the idea of being mobile and flexible. Our attempt to counter their concerns with examples from other cities, such as Cairo or Marrakech, was only partially successful. For the majority, the street was not perceived as a proper space to perform. Their reluctance can be related to habits of performing in Palestine and offer a reading of the relationship to public space.

Here, as with the local artists, the particular appreciative system of a profession conflicts with the planned practice. Although this new condition undoubtedly influenced the intended interaction and led to measures being adapted at the practical level, it confirms for the analysis that public space was not recognized as something to which residents were entitled; it was outside their allotted space. The fear of being compared to a beggar if performing in public space, can be interpreted as another hint at the insecurity experienced in using public space. A place that does not belong to you is not a place that you have a right to use. For the musicians, performing in public space is equivalent to social exclusion, degrading, outside the norm. Public space thus acquires a normative meaning of negation, becoming a *non-place*. Again, the attributions related to public space show the consequences of dealing with a situation of space that is completely different to the Western European context.

10.3 Actors of Reception Level

Alongside the actors of production, who are involved in the creation of the interactions and activities, the "actors of reception" are the other participants whose behavior has an influence on the interactions. In common descriptions and discussions of participative interventions, this group are often referred to as participating spectators, to distinguish them from participants who have been involved in the development and elaboration of participatory art interactions as residents over a longer period of time (Piontek 2017; Feldhoff, 24ff). A difference between actors of production as participants

and actors of reception can also be observed via the aforementioned ladder of participation that represents the gradual increase of the degree of participation. The degree of participation is significantly higher in the case of actors of production than for actors of reception (Ibid).

Actors of reception occupy another important position in the analysis of public space, as they are used to indicate spontaneous, unreflective behaviors and thus focus reactions to our interventions in public space. Their participation does not refer to the production and gestures but to a co-acting in the moment of intervention. It is through their participation and interaction that the interventions gain their meaning. They are a constant part of the walking, and through their participation they complete the idea of the performance in public space. In literature, actors of perception are mostly related to the issue of the efficiency of the action. Even though this is fundamentally important for participatory artistic practice in public space, it is not relevant in the context of investigation for this thesis, since my focus is not on the impact of practice but what we can learn about conditions on the ground through practice. In this sense, however, the actors of perception also take on an important role, as they show a direct, unfiltered response to the interventions, and thus provide further observable behaviors that indicate the relationship to public space.

Regarding the actors of perception, it is useful to distinguish the participants of the walk from participants in the preparation period for the walk, since the latter have consciously registered or decided to participate. The random participants along the way, on the other hand, are encouraged through interaction or being challenged by the performance to either join—or turn away from—the actions offered to standardize behavior in public space. The decision lies in the moment of confrontation, describing a direct reaction without any further time to adjust to it or create expectations. In the case of the rather disturbed or difficult relationship to public space for Palestinians in Jerusalem, these reactions are particularly interesting, as they show whether an interaction is appealing and encourages the audience to leave familiar routines. In the context of considerations of how the different actors react to space being opened up and how they move in it, both groupings are interesting and converge under the term actors of reception. Before turning to the reactions of the different actors of reception, a short excerpt of the vignette is inserted, describing the first Reviewing Jerusalem art walk, I will reflect when

discussing the observations and remarks about the respective stations and interactions of the Art Walk.

Vignette, Reviewing Jerusalem Art Walk, 2015

The group passes by side streets that are beyond the interest of tourists. Garbage piles up on corners, people watch us as we pass. Some of the participants still carry balloons and the group looks like a giant birthday party. The narrow street leads them back to one of the main streets in the Old City, coming from the Damascus Gate towards Via Dolorosa, where people are selling fruit in the middle of the street, when the group is asked to turn left into a flower shop. Participants are instructed to go up the small stairs and take a flower from a pot with the words "Reviewing Jerusalem" in English and Arabic on the side. The shop is tiny, and the group must squeeze into a narrow staircase to reach the upper floor. Each person is asked to bring a flower pot before moving on to the next stop. As they walk through the Suq al Zeit, shopkeepers stare and begin to ask why the group is carrying these flowers and if this is some new form of religious procession. Some of the local participants answer them, falling into a brief conversation that is paired with laughter and translation for those who do not speak Arabic. The Al Hoash tour guides join in, explaining the idea of reclaiming space for Palestinians in the Old City. Past the tourist hotspots, the group turns into a side street and walks through a large iron gate that opens into an ancient vaulted hall. Soft spotlights set the scene, leaving the bustling streets of the Old City behind to reveal some wooden light and sound installations. After a while and some musical intervention, the group leaves the hall and is directed to stairs that lead to a large open roof area that offers a spectacular and unexpected view of Jerusalem, with the illuminated Dome of the Rock in the background. The group is asked to place the flowerpots in a wooden structure that is described as the starting point for an urban rooftop garden. Apparently, the roof is open to the public, but is a hidden and perhaps forgotten space that reveals its beauty not only because of its view but also the contrasting spaciousness and free access, a rare commodity in this place (please see Image Appendix, 35).

10.3.1 Actors of Reception. Participants of the Walk and Passersby: Shifting Sights

The first group of actors of reception, the participants of the walk, were both local and international. Local participants were Palestinians, who took part in the walk itself, rather than being involved in the workshops and pre-planning. Some of them came from the neighborhood, some from other districts of Jerusalem. International participants consisted of tourists who read about the tour and were interested in getting an insight into "another" Jerusalem, or visitors to the Palestinian Biennale Qalandia International that took place at the same time. The combination of participants created a heterogeneous group of spectators. Each had their own expectation (nurtured by their specific appreciative system) of the event and joined the walk as a tourist or art connoisseur. Their different approaches can be read through their behavior and statements during the walk, showing the changing expectations and standardized behavior patterns of this group in public space in East Jerusalem. One example of this was the stop at the flower shop *Qwaweer*, one of the few remaining flower stores in the Old City, and is located a few meters from the Damascus Gate, one of the main tourist routes through the city. Located in a row of medieval vaulted buildings typical of Jerusalem, the shop is easily missed. As the vignettes illustrates, participants of the walk were encouraged to go inside, take a flowerpot marked with a sticker and carry it with them. Walking through the frequently visited *Suq al Zeit* with a flowerpot in hand, echoed the format of religious processions frequently taken by Christian tourists, following Jesus's path through the city. The flower procession aroused the interest of Palestinian shop owners and residents, gazing at the participants on their way through the Suq. For the time being, the gaze shifted to the spectators (here the participants of the walk) and away from those who would usually be the focus of the spectacle (the owners and residents of the suq and its shops). The walk attracted the attention of local residents, who became actors of reception as bystanders, gazing at the walking group. The residents' interest was encouraged by the attempts of Al Hoash staff to address them in Arabic and distribute prepared cards with information about the interactions. Some store owners approached us directly, asking why we were carrying flowers. When we told them that we were bringing them to a rooftop garden, trying to offer tourists insights into life in the Old City and to revive the area, we received a lot of encouragement. Others were amused by our unusual appearance. With the playful handling of familiar behaviors like religious processions, we created a relaxed atmosphere. Our use of public space was thus neither threatening nor purely routine. On the other hand, the international visitors had a different experience. Retrospectively, they

expressed their discomfort at being part of the performance, being looked at while carrying a flowerpot through the Old City. Local participants felt no alienation; they declared the flower procession to be an "unusually liberating act of performing in a familiar place" (Rayyan, unpublished data; Image Appendix)

At this point, the attribution that is assigned to the respective group of people in this public space and to which they behave accordingly becomes apparent. A change in this assignment of roles is experienced as unpleasant or irritating for those who have a privileged position in conditions usually considered normal, and experienced as liberating for those who move in space under standardized conditions in a passive and restricted manner. Alia Al-Saji speaks in this context of the phenomena of the *racialization of vision*, "the ways in which bodies are represented and perceived" (Al-Saji 2014, 137)⁸⁰. The *racialization of vision* "divides bodies politically, economically, spatially, and socially, in order to exploit and dominate them. Racialization is then the historical and social process by which races are constructed, seen and when interiorized or epidermalized lived" (Ibid. 137). In our case, I am especially interested in Al-Saji's description of the notion of perceiving and seeing, and the layers of meaning that are underneath. She draws a direct link to the experienced behavior of different groups of people and the hegemonic power relationship that is reflected in public space. Elsewhere, she speaks of the objectification of others and exposes the "natural" view and allocation of roles in public life—here space—which highlights the constructed nature of the relationship and directly relates to white supremacy and colonialism. Bringing her thinking together with our observations, underlines the disturbed relationship to the public space already mentioned. A small shift in standardized patterns of behavior in public space uncovers these relationships. The perspectives shift and create friction. However, the observations described here are also interesting since the actors of perception are international, i.e., people who have no direct claim to the space of the Old City, but who immerse themselves in this field only temporarily as tourists. What can be concluded from this, and what questions arise? So far, our discussion of deviations of behaviors in public space has focused on the unequal power relations with the majority society, here Israelis. However, the observations during the walk show that the unequal role division

⁸⁰ While social scientists' distance themselves from the term "race," associating it with an objectively existing division, the term racialization, on the other hand, refers to an existing behavior that must be named and classified as such. It is used to describe discrimination against groups that can include a whole bundle of connotations: appearance and clothing, languages, habits, diet, political activities, attitudes, views of life, cultural and religious practices, and imaginary markers (Hochman 2019, 1252-1253).

can also be observed between Palestinians and internationals. Thus, the search for explanations goes beyond the previous framework and points at much deeper sources of explanation.

Given the comments of local participants that they felt liberated and open to the new experience, it is interesting to consider the shift in their spatial perception during the action, since spatial perception is always spatial sensation and vice versa. If we take seriously the sentiments they express, we gain further interpretive means to identify parameters that define public space in Jerusalem for Palestinians. Their expression of feeling liberated shows that they usually interpret their public space as restricted and limited. This highlights our observations about the rehearsed behaviors of residents in public spaces, in this case not only participants from the Old City but also Palestinians from the outskirts of Jerusalem. Their behavior during the walk in the suq has an element of appropriation—using the space and occupying it, but it displays also that there is a scattered relation to it, keeping in mind the insecurity of Palestinians while acting in public space. As well as the experience of moving in public space and declaring the action to be liberating, walking also reveals something about the gaze one exposes oneself to and that is directed at others. There seems to be another form of empowerment here. As mentioned earlier, this observation can be linked to the reflections of Sarah Ahmed and Alia Al-Saji. Both underlines how essential it is to become aware of the process of racialization of the habits of seeing in space and thus also the experiences of the racialized gaze, as this determines which bodies can move freely and which are objectified, and both writers emphasize the need to generate other experiences of space and gaze through experimentation (Al-Saji, 139).

Similar, but less involved, are the actors of perception—as bystanders, in this instance the shop owners. Their behavior underlines the impression given by the local participants' statement. They, too, are defined by the white gaze, experienced as universal, as a component of the exotic background of the suq and step out of their attribution through the action experienced as a changed situation, even if only temporarily.

The discomfort of the international visitors confirms this interpretation, as they are torn out of their normalized position as viewers and become the object being viewed. Here, however, the different attitude and behavior toward public space also becomes

apparent. The Western, European subject perceives public space as a place that belongs to him/her. This function of space that is seen as natural, transfers a claim to the individual who defines his position in space as self-determining and independent. However, since the walk assigns a different position that is alien to them, it creates a sense of unease and patronization. The assignment is perceived as encroaching.

In summary, it can be said that the participatory elements of the walk took on character that aimed to interrupt the usual gaze. However, in contrast to *familiar forms of provocation in the Western context*, here these are ruptures that bring a positive connotation for the local participants. On the other hand, a sense of being provoked is assigned to Western, European subjects. We further intensified this format in the next and last walk in 2016, attempting to increase the possibility of interaction with passersby, playing with expectations and attributions.

10.3.2 Increasing the Friction

The social interactions were extended in the second year of the art walk in 2016. Under the title *Reviewing Jerusalem: The Return*, we were formally embedded in the program of the Palestinian Qalandiya Art Biennial *the Sea is Mine* (2016), which increased international participation. In this context, the difference in perception and expectation toward the walk between local and international audiences emerged once more, especially as we increased our interaction with passersby. We see this in a description of the action at one of the stations, Dar Mall, the shopping mall.

Vignette, October 15, 2016

The visitors were led to the mall from the lower side street and gathered on its terrace, where the artist duo welcomed them. After giving a brief talk about the place and the creation of colorful cubes, grouped in two or three arrangements for sitting, some of the walk participants sat down on the blocks provided. The large size of the group attracted the interest of residents and passersby. Children stopped. Young people asked who the group were and what we wanted here, showing off by pushing each other and gesticulating toward the group. The atmosphere changed to

become a bit uneasy, giving the impression that we had entered a place that is not meant to be for us. At the end of the artist's explanation, two actors step out from the group, and begin to address the audience. The actors appear as Filfil and Flefal, two aliens from the "vegetable planet" who happen to come to earth and have landed in the mall, searching for their way to Jerusalem. The scene had the attributes of an interactive play for children. With sweeping gestures and brief information in English and Arabic, the actors invite the audience to go on a journey, asking to follow them into the mall. As our group did not include many children, most of the participants were slightly embarrassed about how to react. Only some of the participants got up and followed, motivated by the team.

The group entered the mall from the lower level into a dark room. The ceiling was partially exposed, with electrical wires hanging down. Some shopkeepers looked out, apparently wondering about the mixed crowd of foreigners and locals of various ages. The first stage of the performance took the visitors up a non-functioning escalator - an imaginary mountain - to the upper level of the mall, where most of the shops are located. More local boys joined the group, moving surprisingly easily from provocation to participation. On the second level, we were instructed to balance on a rope, imitating the crossing of a river. At the same time, there is a heavy storm noise, always animated by the two performers, who continue their conversation and comment on the sights we pass in our imagination. The climax of the break with reality was reached when we had to swim under a blue cloth carried by some of the participants and lifted by the waves, which led to a general and unexpected amusement among the spectators and participants. A mixed group of foreign and local adults imitated swimming among fish hanging from the cloth - watched and encouraged by passersby - a very unusual scene for this part of Jerusalem. There is no aggression in the air. Finally, the two actors claim that we have successfully crossed the sea and arrived back in Jerusalem. Everyone cheers and leaves through the main exit of the mall.

This excerpt shows what became possible when interactions were on a level that could not be classified as political or artistic—using accessible formats that were more likely to be associated with children's interactions. The focus was on the element of estrangement that made these actions possible and created the necessary conditions for opening up new perspectives. These were generated by the low-threshold performance that established a connection with site-specific objects in order to be able to reflect on the spatial conditions. In doing so, the action was aimed less at the intellect and more at the physical experience that generated a rupture of the usual behaviors in a place like a shopping mall. The action testified that when participants engaged in play, the physical, playful experience dissolved former assignments into international and local participants and generated a new shared experience. For some international guests, however, the play caused significant irritation, while the intervention was received mainly positively by local participants, showing different appreciative systems. While the international guests were embedded in the expectation of an art walk, the local participants were not restricted to the Western form of this concept. They were not forced to obey the rules which are incumbent on an art contemplation. For them, art was an instrument giving them permission to break with social regulations, to stand outside their norm. Here I am addressing not only social behavior that is acted upon as demure, but also behavior in public that underpins the defensive posture. The incident with the group of young adults illustrates this interpretation who initially tried to disrupt the presentation about the wooden blocks at the entrance to the mall. Their provocations were an obvious usual exercise of power that could have escalated further. Heterogeneous groups consisting of international and Palestinian people outside the typical tourist attractions were challenging for the local audience, perhaps even threatening for the young people, since the situation could not be attributed to any known format. Consequently, the visitors were classified as invaders, appropriating local space. The act of using the space for "the public" was interpreted as hostile, since *the public* consists of non-locals, equated with the Israelis. The confusion caused by the act of making space accessible to the public can be compared to the irritation associated with the notion of "making space," which is interpreted as the act of a hostile entity taking the place of another. The situation was changed by the actors' direct approach in Arabic and English and the format used for the interaction. Even though the young people's behavior was mocking at the beginning, it turned in the course of the playful engagement with space. We would already have been satisfied with this and would have considered our response a success, since the feeling of

threat was lifted. The subsequent enthusiastic participation of some of the local young people in the action, however, was unexpected. Besides the fact that they participated, it was again the shifting of perspective that is interesting to highlight here. Local residents and shopkeepers became spectators; participants of the walk became performers.

Since the action was created for children, it stood in strong contrast to the expectations of the international visitors who likely expected profound intellectual, artistic reflections on the local condition, where the artist acts as the surrogate of the space. Instead, a physical experience was introduced, where participants needed to leave their assigned roles—both the contemplative art connoisseurs, and the young provocateurs. Using the label of children's theater shifted the participants from expected patterns of behavior. A utopian safe space was created, twisting the norms covered by the frame of banal children's entertainment (Image Appendix 47-48; 50).

10.4 Findings and Summary

Chapter 10 has focused on presenting further steps toward situated practice. By differentiating the participants and actors taking part, it has been possible to extract material that enables the process of situated practice, adapts to the local conditions, and reveals the different insights regarding the relationship to public space.

Differentiating between the actors involved in practice allowed us to deal with the complexity of the situation. The challenges faced by the main actors of production, like local and international artists, revealed the restrictions of the contemporary art field and influenced the arrangement of interactions in the walk through the city. The insecure and unstable situation of the Old City and constraints on artists to position themselves in the contemporary art field, forced us to outsource elements of direct participation to residents. While artists included residents' stories and challenges connected with space in their site-specific works, we bridged the gap between the appreciative systems and included performative interactions for participants of the walk, using the familiar formats of workshops in our preparatory phase, allowing substantive examination of the city. The results were placed alongside site-specific works by local and international artists, framed by performative interactions in the public space that enabled a shared experience and initiated an altered perception of one's own physical presence and usual behavior in respect of the site.

Even though the walk was created and advertised as an excursion through unknown territories in East Jerusalem, in reality it was transformed into a performative act, triggering the relationship between body and space and normed patterns, as the crowd occupied the city streets. In a place like Jerusalem, a walk involving a mixed group of Palestinians and foreigners, is already an act of bodies going against rehearsed procedures and behavior. One reason is grounded in not being able to assign it to any particular attribution. The Art Walk wasn't an inspection of international works of public art, as in *The Jerusalem Show*, nor was it a classic tourist tour through the city. As well as distributing balloons, the participants were surprised by live music at unusual locations along the walk, giant soap bubbles floated over walls above them, and they were given tea and water at one of the stations. Entertainment formats and hospitable activities that under "normal" conditions would be defined as a service-oriented act rather than art activism, functioned because they alienated the normal behaviors of the site in a positive way. Participating artist Conor McGrady, describes the crowd:

... It occupies the city streets in a purposeful stream, challenges spatial control and reclaims the streets, albeit temporarily. Unlike the protest or procession, the crowd that constituted the Art Walk on the opening evening at once carried potted plants and paused for improvised musical interludes and discussions on installations that breathed life into seemingly banal or inconsequential parts of the city. The cultural intervention activated by the trajectory of the participating audience, and those who out of curiosity, joined along the way, represents not only a potential transgression, but also a bold articulation of cultural identity and solidarity.

Conor McGrady, Artist Statement, *Reviewing Jerusalem*, Activating Space, 2016

The outcomes of the art walk and analysis, illustrated in Chapter 10–10.3, point in different ways to the problematic relationship between subject and space. Two principles of experience in the perception and handling of public space came together, based on the curatorial team's long experience in interacting with the residents of the Old City and in dealing with public space. First and as mentioned in 10.1, our approach needed to shift from *activating public space* to something that seems to be located somehow *before*, if we want to describe the development of the relationship with public space in time. In our

case, we had to focus on strengthening the moment of intercommunication between participants, creating positive experiences in a defined public space. Since the relationship between the residents and the city has been shattered, we created formats that allowed for a confrontation with their individual history and neighborhood. The insights gained from this approach were essential for us and formulated the second principle: The (re-)discovery of personal narratives in the city as content-related orientation; and semi-public spaces and safe places for exchange and interaction. The combination of approaches connected the individual with his/her environment, i.e., the city, beyond the immediate surroundings, thus disturbing the practiced reduction of contact with others beyond the family context by sharing personal stories and memories in a performed way in semi-public space. The multi-sited interactions merged into the form of an art walk, aligned like a performance, that allowed the participants to cross inhabited behavior patterns since they were integrated into an artistic, performative engagement that improved the acceptance of unusual experiences taking place under the pretext of art. We hoped that the presentation of everyday personal memories and connections to the city would create a moment of connectedness in the listeners. On an individual level, what was narrated and presented became comprehensible—or resonated with similar experiences. These assumptions and ideas were the driving force for all activities planned. They formed the core of the appreciative system that had emerged during the process for me and the Al Hoash team, based on our experience of implementing interventions in Jerusalem, merging together with the practice of space into the situated practice presented in the Old City. The material obtained from the observation of actors of production II (musicians, actors, youth) and actors of reception (passersby, onlookers, tourists) not only revealed the changing approach as solutions of a situated practice, but also provided further insights into the relationship between Palestinian residents and public space in Jerusalem that go beyond the initial assumption that defines the reason for the unequal relationship between Palestinian subject and space in the current hegemonic domination of public space as Israel alone.

Through analysis of the observations, especially of the different actors of reception (international versus local Palestinians), a certain racialization of the habits of seeing in space became apparent. If we connect the participants' observations and statements with philosopher Alia Al Saji's ideas about the racialization of seeing, we can detect a certain degree of objectification of Palestinians. It is revealed by the "natural" way of seeing and looking at them by international actors as well as in the self-perception and behaviour of

Palestinians. While the first is revealed through the expressed discomfort of the international participants who experienced the role shifts they were asked to make during the walk, the second can be extracted later from interviews with local Palestinian participants. Here, the construction of the relationship between subject and space is highlighted and leads directly to questions of division of space related to white supremacy and colonialism.

As discussed previously, Lefebvre's assumption that public space functions as a mirror of the social fabric was the basis for turning to the field of public space intervention, using participatory, engaged art as an instrument to activate space. Hence, participatory artistic intervention formats in public space discussed in the canon, are given the attribution to act as catalysts to address unequal conditions in social space and—if possible—stimulate an emancipatory process. Thus, participatory artistic formats of space-making are a widespread element in politically responsible art practice worldwide. However, as was shown by the observations of the unexpected disjuncture, in East Jerusalem even the adjusted concept raises particular questions about the assumptions of the discourse, that space-making engagement and participatory art intervention empowers residents and creates an active status *per se*. There seems to be a lack of investigation about the basis for this assumption that I will address further in my theoretical discussion in Part III.

In addition to the lack of information about the origins of the assumption that public space engagement activates citizens in the discourse on participatory art interventions in public space, I would like to use the findings of this research to offer another perspective to the debate about the degree of impact of this practice. In Part I, we saw that the debate rubs up against the fundamental question of whether this form of art practice should be evaluated ethically and socially or purely aesthetically, to measure its impact. My study proposes an alternative approach that does not focus on the final work alone but rather on the process and preparation, introducing a different weighting of practice, which is not evaluated on the basis of the final product, but rather as an examination of conditions that contribute to a deeper understanding of social behavior. In this sense, socially-engaged artistic practice can be taken as a catalyst, as an enabler and point of access—not through its end-product but the process and ongoing reflection on action. Here, a measurable effect of participatory artistic interventions is providing insight

that can be used to understand interrelationships in a better way. In the confrontation with the conditions on site, the acting in the field and direct actions with actors of production and perception and the behavioral patterns of the participants can be read that leads to an understanding of the complexity and of the deeper reasons for deviant behavior. Rather than expecting practice to be a fundamental agent of change which are hardly verifiable, it should be seen as a tool that can be used to understand interrelationships between populations, power relations in social relations, and to provide space for experimentation, as Lefebvre suggested.

Chapter 11 Conclusion Part II (in relation to Part I)

The focus of my work up to this point has been on the empirical in order to gain knowledge from practice. The methodology of critical reflective practice used for this purpose proved to be a suitable tool to analyze knowledge gained by taking into account the different levels of reflection within and after the action. It enabled me to write down the observations compiled retrospectively and organize the material via the autoethnographic method, to the extent that it could be examined within the framework of the critical art-based research method. Essential for the activity of ordering was the transfer of Schön's reflective practitioner model, visualized by Stephen Scrivener. This allowed me to document the various moments of reflection in the practice, providing me with a means to relate them to each other. Most importantly, it highlighted the moments of conflict in the practice and how they deviated from the assumptions, providing another tool for understanding the practice and the needs on the ground. On this basis, I was able to dissect the complex nature of the art project into its various elements and components in order to gain insights from the participants' reactions that deviated from the assumptions. The resulting analysis of the participating actors became a by-product to make the complex structures of the project understandable and do justice to all actors, with their different positions and appreciative systems.

Thus, the analysis of practice took place on two levels. On the one hand, the research refers to a meta-level that aims to open up a discourse by using deviations from the assumptions spread by the dominant discourse. On the other hand, on a practical level, the analysis offers ways to address situations that deviate from what is defined as the norm and provides an interpretation of a participatory art intervention practice that I describe here as a situated practice for art interventions in public spaces. This approach allowed me to transfer the observation of practice, while considering specific circumstances on the ground that differ from the prevailing narrative and discourse about participatory art interventions in public space.

Gathering practical experience and bringing it into dialogue with the assumptions determined by the prevailing discourse is an approach that encourages rethinking the weighting between art theory and practice. As proposed and described by Walsh, in dialogue there lies the possibility for transformation, following the idea of pluriversity

and aiming to reflect new realities in the world. In the case of participatory art theory, the conclusion of Part II suggests turning the focus away from the approach of defending the value of this practice through its theoretical embedding, as it remains in the European history of ideas that no longer provide adequate answers to contemporary challenges. Instead, the inclusion of practice as an experience determined by constant reflection, in the sense of a critical reflective practice, results in a possibility to better understand social contexts through confrontation in action and to be able to trace their origins. Its integration leads to the development of a practice and theory that can free itself from assumptions limited to European space. In doing so, the discussion I propose here departs from the core of the question of what effects this practice has on society or not and if it can be determined as art at all. Rather, it tries to perceive art as an instrument, as an action that can stimulate reflection through the "analysis of the observations" generated in direct interaction, which are measurable. This is a fundamental turn. While scholars like Feldhoff and Rith-Magni stressed the need to include qualitative research methods to describe participatory art intervention, they still retained the focus on using these methods to judge and classify the work discussed. Whereas this approach keeps art practice in an art-internal debate, my method offers to liberate this practice from the demand for value that mainly serves the needs of art critics.

Looking at the first observations and deviations in my work, reluctance and mistrust of and between the residents stood out, leading to the first situating measures to emphasize confidence-building actions by including stakeholders of civil society and representatives of the different interest groups of Palestinian society. The aim was to build confidence in space in general before activating it for the community, challenging one of the major assumptions of participatory art intervention to act as awareness raiser and to provoke authorities. One major consequence for practice was the need for a longer preparation phase, in comparison to the actual interaction initiative by artists, increasing the social component in a Lefebvrian sense by discovering possibilities through experimenting. This increase of the social component conflicted in turn with the appreciative systems of the local artists, who had more recently experienced a process of liberation from political and social responsibility that had dominated their practice since the late 1960s.

By analyzing further deviations in continuously adapting practice and trying out new forms of intervention as described in Chapters 9 and 10, the assumption that the results of colliding appreciative systems (AS) are essential for further development was confirmed. At first glance, the conflicts were explained by the respective professional backgrounds of the actors (artist, musician, businessman). However, upon closer inspection and analysis, each of these can be traced back to conditions related to the particular places where the actors live (Palestinians in Jerusalem, Palestinians in Ramallah, international artists, local visitors, international tourists) that gives us the evidence to investigate further here.

Discrepancies also emerged in the use of terms from the vocabulary of participatory art intervention. However, these were to be explained less by the definition of technical terms in this context, as initially assumed, but rather in the very different meanings for the respective living spaces. An example of this was the cited "reclaiming space" or "space-making" that for Palestinians in Jerusalem has a different attribution to that used in the Western context.

Part II has shown that it is not enough to deal with the living and working conditions on-site alone and to transfer these to the original concept. An initial analysis is an essential first step that should not be neglected, but the investigation of the practice in Part II underlines that these measures alone are not sufficient. Additional unexpected deviations in the behavior of the participants and partners in the project show that there are further levels of depth to be analyzed here, which are not at first sight obviously related to the immediate conditions on site. Rather, they need to be subjected to a kind of genealogy, a recollection of their theoretical origins for the handling and applied assumptions that are in contradiction to the observations on the ground.

In this context, it was particularly exciting to observe deviations with regard to behavior in and toward public space. As already outlined in the theoretical discourse around participatory interventions in Chapter 2, the concept of the public sphere is hardly, or only marginally, addressed in the discourse about art intervention in public spaces. Instead, we are dealing with assumptions in this context which—as it turned out—seem to be in conflict with the reactions and behaviors of the participants and partners found on site. To fill this gap, it is necessary to have a closer look at the origins of the theoretical

considerations on which the assumptions of public space art interventions are based. Summarizing the findings of Part I and Part II, the following three approaches have emerged, which lead to a further analysis of the basic theoretical premises of artistic practice in public space.

1. *Recognizing the particular appreciative systems of participating actors*, which I have done in Chapters 7 to 10. In this process, the ethnographic research method coupled with the Critical Reflective Practice method proved useful and appropriate to extract the AS from the observations.
2. *Extracting the areas of conflict that exist between the appreciative systems*. These can be used to identify key features that conflict with the assumptions that are of interest to be able to discuss them in relation to the dominant theories in this context. On a practical level, the key features can be used to adjust the practice as presented in Chapters 9 and 10.
3. For a deeper understanding, the extracted conflicts become the *subject of a genesis*, looking at the appreciative systems (AS) that clashed in this situation. The comparison of these different ASs ultimately provides insights that can be used to revisit the applied theories and assumptions. This step is in line with what I referred to in Chapter 2 as "finding conversation between theories and epistemic traditions," i.e., following the approach that Bachmann-Medick termed transferring theories, or Said called traveling theories.

A closer examination of the genesis described under point three takes place in Part III that moves away from the empirical recording of the results and transfers them to a theoretical discourse.

Part III Interdisciplinary Thinking

Studying the material revealed that the challenges during implementation were not only based on an impression of not having access to public space due to current social and political circumstances. Instead, in analyzing the different systems of appreciation, it became clear that we are dealing with an absence of a concept of public space as understood in the European-North American consensus. By contextualizing public space for Palestinians in Jerusalem and comparing it with the European concept, a misconception emerged, at the beginning, of an action that would empower a marginalized group (here Palestinians in Jerusalem) simply by activating public space (and what it seems to stand for). In practice, we responded to the different reactions of the participants toward our concept with adapted actions that addressed the individual needs and conditions. These interactions, which can ultimately be described as situated practice, are among the conclusions drawn from this specific situation.

Even if we found answers to the particularities of the situation by adapting to the circumstances, the impression remained that something was fundamentally overlooked. As stated at the beginning of this thesis, this was the starting point for my investigation. Now that I have elaborated and contextualized the observations on the deviations through the empirical investigation of the practical experiences, I can transfer these results into the theoretical discussion. In the next section, I try to find answers to the different reactions to and in public space in Jerusalem by looking back to the source of the concept of art intervention in public space, turning to a core assumption of participatory art interventions that are constitutive for socially engaged art practice in public space, in addition to Lefebvre's discussion of social space as a product of society.

Through the experiences we have gathered and analyzed in Jerusalem, it has become clear that only something that already exists can be addressed and claimed. However, what if the concept of public space does not reflect the world of experience of those to be addressed; the assumptions and arguments associated with it fall into emptiness. To respond to this statement, this "emptiness" must be explained and translated. In Chapter 12, I undertake this explanation and translation, investigating the relation between the idea of public space and art interventions, deconstructing its origin, and bringing it into conversation with the circumstances extracted on the ground in

Jerusalem. With this move, I hope to be able to formulate the core of the problem, described at the beginning of the thesis as a "blind spot" in socially engaged art practice in public space, before turning in Chapter 13 to the consequences of the theoretical findings for the practice and theory in general.

Chapter 12 Beyond a North-Atlantic Participative Art Theory in Public Space

With the theoretical analysis, I now move on to the part of the investigation dealing with decolonization, as explained in 2.1. Crucial here are the basic elements in my context of all presented decolonial and postcolonial considerations: the juxtaposition of the respective experiences with the dominant canon and the confrontation with the corresponding historical heritages, bringing them into what Walsh describes as conventions or tracing the translation of concepts in Said's sense. First, I focus on how the assumption that action in and out of public space has an emancipatory character is nourished by a renewed look at the public space/sphere theory - but this time at the discussion in relation to the history of democracy and apply the results to the situation of Palestinians in Jerusalem. In doing so, I draw on considerations from the history of political ideas, psychology, and memory research, and direct the discussion toward interdisciplinary thinking about decolonizing the concept of public space.

12.1 Participative Intervention in Public Space: Participation and the Practice of Citizenship

When considering deviations from prevailing assumptions in my analysis of practice, my focus is to examine the source of the definition of behavior in public space, which has been taken for granted. In the following section, this definition is deconstructed into several components in order to subject each of the relevant points in our context to a kind of genesis that provides explanatory patterns for the deviations of appreciative systems observed in Part II. To briefly summarize the discussion on assumptions related to participatory art interventions presented in Chapter 5, art interventions in public space are based on the idea of highlighting disadvantages or shortcomings by making them visible through action. They are designed to encourage audiences to create their own public space in places that are not initially assigned.⁸¹ It is only through this act of “disobedience”—of interrupting habitual processes and transforming a functional place—that the intervention acquires its resistant character and challenges the habitual not by destroying, but by transforming and using other means to allow something new to emerge.

⁸¹ I refer to that which is associated with the context of daily utility, such as streets, junctions, small green spaces, or open backyards.

The starting point of the present investigation is the question of the origin of the basis for the assumptions of the canon on art interventions in public space. To decipher this process, I first examine the premise that precedes acting in public space. I refer here to the assumption that acting in public space can be equated with an emancipation process of the participants, as well as with the idea that by acting together in a public place, it turns into the symbolic carrier of an opinion-forming and articulating process. As Hannah Arendt described, collective action and participation in the public sphere are fundamental for democratic actions and can be read as embodiments of the metaphysical meaning of public space, a materialization of the polis (Arendt 1963, 31).

Entanglement

One of the few writers in the art discourse who has explicitly addressed the entanglement of art in public space and concepts of the public sphere and criticized the public art discourse for overlooking its crucial base (i.e., political theory) is Rosalyn Deutsche (Deutsche 1996).⁸² However, the key point in the context of my thesis is her definition of the nature of the public place, which she described as a space in which “people talk to each other, ‘generate political discourses’ that may be in principle critical of the state, and construct and modify political identities in encounters with others” (Deutsche 1992, 39). Her argument not only spans the spectrum between the normative and activist character of public space and artistic engagement with and in public space but is also representative of the fact that we are dealing with *a priori* fixed assumptions about public space. It follows that whenever “activating a space” is addressed in the public art discourse, we need to be aware that the above assumptions remain in the background. Thus, “space” becomes an equivalent or a signifier of an understanding that stands in the tradition of the political-philosophical history of ideas and underpins the close connection between art interventions and political theory.

To trace these assumptions and to disentangle the relations and conditions between the art interventions and the political-philosophical history of ideas for

⁸² Deutsche follows a democratic discourse around Claude Lefort's concept of a libertarian democracy, or Ernesto Laclau and Chantal Mouffe's concept of radical and plural democracy, which transcends the Habermasian concept of public sphere and represents the diversity in the discussion of public sphere and public space, respectively. The full discussion can be found in her article (Deutsche, 272ff). Further, Deutsche presented in the American Photography Institute National Graduate Seminar at the School of the Arts, New York University, June 6-19, 1993, her intention with the paper "The Questions of Public Space" (Deutsche 1993).

answering the results of the empirical part, I revisit several points from Habermas's liberal-bourgeois conception of the public sphere from his book *The structural transformation of the public sphere* (1962), which was discussed in Chapter 2 (Habermas 1989). One of the essential points in Habermas's model is the historical anchoring of the development of public space, which emphasizes the historical development of the public sphere and its relationship to the development and emancipation of bourgeois society in the 18th century (Habermas 1989, 122ff). Habermas sets the characteristic transition between the separation of private and public interests within this historical period, the moment when the public interest emerges in opposition to the monarch and emancipates itself by formulating the public will. In this period, the public sphere is defined as distinct from the state, an independent actor, and a place where "private interests were overcome." The public sphere was developed to express a joint interest vis-à-vis the state and justified through a rational critical discourse (Santos 2012, 44). Habermas described this overcoming as the starting point for the creation of a "common sense."

With the creation of the public sphere as a place for the people's will, a historical turning point in power made the 18th century the precursor of the modern democratic state. This turning point is closely linked to the French Revolution in discussions of the history of political ideas about democracy, since it was here that the relationship between the people and the representative of the people's will, the state, was founded. (Anderson 2006, Brubaker 1989, 39). Besides the fact that the developments of the public space contributed to the realization of the French Revolution, it also manifested the function of the public space as an opinion-forming place to reach a consensus of common sense. We are therefore dealing with a mutual conditionality, which in turn is essential to understand the assumptions associated with public space today, making the French Revolution an essential factor in the discussion about the nature of the public space beyond the European experience. In addition to the fact that the French Revolution assigned a significant role to the public space within the opinion-forming processes, another factor that is essential for explaining assumptions about public space can be identified in this period, for it was here that the self-image of the citizen as we understand it today developed. In 1762, Jean-Jacques Rousseau's *Du Contrat Social (The Social Contract)* placed society at the center of his argument on how state power should emanate from the collective will of the people. In contrast to the claims of royal sovereignty, the book defined the people as the new sovereign (Bellamy 2015, 646–647):

The Social Contract, Article 6: The law is the expression of the general will. All citizens have the right to contribute personally, or through their representatives, to its formation. It must be the same for all, whether it protects or punishes. All citizens, *being equal* in its eyes, are *equally admissible* to all public dignities, positions, and employments, according to their capacities, and without any other distinction than that of their virtues and their talents (Warman 2016, 11).

This fundamental change in the relationship between citizen and state is the predecessor for what we today refer to as citizen rights. The above quoted statement lays the foundation for the undisclosed contract between citizen and nation states that directly relates the individual to the state, defines his/her rights and obligations to the state, and thus grants the subject a certain degree of security and right to integrity, regardless of family context and origins. In parallel, the concept of the citizen emerged, referring to a “responsible citizen” who is allowed to participate in the decision-making processes of the public sphere.⁸³ Only a responsible citizen is assigned citizen rights and obeys the rules of the state in return—an experience that was not shared by all those who found themselves outside the definition of a “responsible citizen,” which initially excluded women as well as all non-Europeans (Fraser 1990, 59ff; Reiter 2013, 89, 98). Only “rational, autonomous individuals whose reason and intellectual autonomy allowed them to decide for themselves, and whose individual preferences could then be amassed and translated into collective decisions (Reiter 2013, 87). Anchored in the 18th century, the development of the public sphere and the genesis of the responsible citizen went hand in hand with denying the experience of the decision-making processes to those who did not meet the criteria of a responsible citizen.⁸⁴ Consequently, the achievement of the takeover of power by the people in the 18th century cannot be thought of without the disempowerment of those who did not correspond to the category of the responsible citizen. Here the statement on coloniality echoes, which described the relationship between coloniality and modernity as inseparable, where coloniality is always the flip side of modernity (De Sousa Santos 2012).

⁸³ Here, “responsible” in the sense of the German word “mündig” (mature).

⁸⁴ This exclusionary procedure has a long tradition, dating back to the Greek polis. The duties and responsibilities of active (male) citizens were defined, formed in the Roman period, with a different way in the medieval Tuscan republics of Florence, Pisa, Siena, and Lucca, directive in the transformations of the French Revolution (Reiter 2013, 98).

Although the exclusive nature of Habermas's liberal bourgeois model has already been addressed by critics such as Fraser and Warner and other contributions from sociology, political science, and critical urban studies, relatively little attention has been paid to its implications for people who had to experience the concept of public space in colonial contexts, kept outside the definition of "responsible citizen" (Harikrishnan 2020; Dwivedi 2015, Vromen, Martin 2000, Negt, and Kluge 1995). One of the few scholars to address this aspect is Bonaventure De Sousa Santos in his book *Epistemologies of the South*. He explores the extent to which the concept of public space works for the Global South or whether other, more appropriate models are needed. The starting point of his argument is a 1984 interview with Jürgen Habermas by Peter Dews on the behavior of critical theory with regard to advanced capitalism, in which he is asked whether his communication theory could be useful for the progressive forces of the Third World. Habermas' answer received an iconic status in the discourse. "I am aware that mine is a limited and Eurocentric vision. I would rather not answer" (De Sousa, 45-46; Habermas 1986, 183). While De Souza Santos accuses Habermas retreating from commenting on the situation in the Global South as a kind of "denial", scholar Bill Martin referred to an ambiguity or dilemma. In his essay on Habermas's communication theory, he describes Habermas' "silence" as concealing a form of non-acknowledging the inseparable relationship between coloniality and modernity.

(...) this is the extent of what Habermas has had to say about the Third World, with never a substantive recognition that there is a basic relationship between the Same and the Other, a relationship that plays a defining role on either side of the divide, a relationship that insinuates itself into any conception of ethical-political universalism or enlightenment. (Martin 2000, 412)

By not addressing the inseparability, Habermas stops at a singularity in his thinking about theories. Although he admits a Eurocentric perspective, he continues a certain demarcation between the European philosophical-political realm and the Global South one (see Maley 2007, 297ff; Martin 2000, 412ff). This is not a demand for a political responsibility towards the Global South (which Habermas shows in later interviews), but the consequence that should result from a situated thinking, not to fall into a demarcation, but to think theories further in conversation with the Global South. In the end, to recognize the consequence that one cannot be thought without the other. By not taking this path, he excludes "four fifth of the world population", keeping him entrenched in the "intellectual and political horizon" of definitions that determine not only what is sayable, believable,

legitimate, or realistic, but also, implicitly, what is unsayable, unbelievable, or unrealistic (De Sousa, 46; Martin, 412). De Sousa describes this attitude further as an “abyssal separation,” which placed colonizing aspirations above those of the colonized and saw them as separate, turning Habermas ideal of universalism to be “benevolent but imperialistic” (De Sousa Santos, 62). De Sousa Santos’s critique does not stop at the models of counter-publicity, even if they differ from conventional bourgeois theories. In his view, the subaltern parallel publics (Fraser, Warner) also fall into the trap of developing counter-hegemonic models based on assumptions, without taking into account the implications of the historical legacy. Only if we include the history of public space in the analysis and recognize it as a constitutive marker that determines how we deal with public space, we are able to elaborate different *spaces of experience*, which leads us to expand the models of the concepts of public space (Reiter 2013; Somers 2008, 156; De Sousa Santos 2012, 47). Spaces of experiences are defined as being determined by a temporal and geo-political character, which includes the geographical as well as the historical reference, resulting in a certain *knowledge of the function of the public space* (Reiter 2013). Knowledge in this term is to be understood as in the German word for experiencing (*Erfahren*) and not as knowledge, collected through data or second-hand sources (Vromen, Negt, and Kluge 1995). It implies a knowing that public space is a signifier for being a place to regain common sense, create public opinion and that a citizen can occupy for their criticism towards the state (De Sousa Santos 2012). To move the discussion beyond the borders of the European and North Atlantic hemisphere, one must consider that there are different assumptions about *knowledge about the function*, depending on when and to whom the knowledge is assigned to. In the following chapter 12.2 I will take up these considerations again and consider the mutual influences between the experiential space and the (physical) behavior in space.

12.2 Implications of the Practice of Citizenship on Public Space Behavior

Coupled with the development of the nation state and popular sovereignty, which were formative for the direction of world history, the addressed historical exclusion of those who were not qualified as responsible civilized citizens, can also be applied today to the classification of non-citizens or stateless persons. The latter are created when people are prohibited from juridically belonging to a state, as Judith Butler asserted in her

reflections on Hanna Arendt's "Vita Activa (1958)" (Butler and Spivak 2011/2017). Since nation states set the conditions of citizenship, they have the power to revoke the citizen rights as well, defining who is not eligible to fulfill the conditions of affiliation. Often this step is associated with flight and war. Butler, on the other hand, emphasizes the complexity behind the concept of statelessness and the various forms of the deprivation of rights that do not always lead to displacement, but certainly to the exclusion of affiliation (10-14). While Butler discusses with Spivak the impacts on statelessness further, I want to transfer her definition of statelessness to the findings of the practice of citizenship and consequently the knowledge of public space. If a resident is denied juridical affiliation to a state, and "retained within the polis as its interiorized outside," the above exclusion of the experience of the responsible citizen can also be applied to the exclusion of stateless people (Butler and Spivak, 16). This statement refers not only to the denial of access to public space, but implies the exclusion from the experience of living the right to articulate one's opinion as a citizen in this place as a natural matter. Statelessness not only defines the exclusion from the unspoken contract, explained above as a constitutive element in the relationship between citizen and state, but thus also generates a different knowledge of the function of public space. Acting in public space is therefore subject to different parameters for stateless persons. I will return to this point when discussing the consequences for art theory and practice in public space.

As elaborated, knowledge about the function of public space is *equated* with the *experience gained* as a responsible citizen if one is *entitled* to be defined as such whereas the entitlement started with inventing the responsible citizen until the construction of stateless people.

From this conclusion, the following *implication for behavior in public space* as defined in the dominating discourse can be formulated:

Implication for behavior in public space: *The longer one's experience as a "responsible citizen," the stronger one's knowledge of the function of public space as a "gathering and opinion making place."*

This relationship defines a “condition of space” as being bound not only to the emergence of the public sphere or current socio-political conditions but to a “practice of citizenship”, meaning taking the history of being able to practice citizenship under consideration (Reiter, xiv). Transferring this finding to assumptions about behavior and the connotations of public space shows that the *practice of space* cannot be understood without analyzing the particular *practice of citizenship* in the location that one wants to work. Critically reviewing the practice of citizenship means addressing its particular past and generally distinguishing between the experience of people of the global North and the Global South before addressing the specific characteristics of each place.

Summary

Returning to assumptions about participatory interventions, the first point that has been confirmed is that the art discourse overlooks its roots in the history of European political ideas. However, another substantive and disregarded fact emerges. By referring to the history of European ideas in connection with the public sphere as the starting point of modern democracy, the discourse must also acknowledge the fact that it is based on a concept and assumptions that originate from a colonial *history of exclusion*. To date, this link has received less attention in the debate. In fact, studies of theoretical foundations negotiated in the discourse on contemporary art rarely make reference to the history of European ideas and their respective heritage.⁸⁵ It seems controversial that guidelines and measures that reflect particular histories of ideas and experiences and represent these as universally valid still dominate in the art field, which portrays itself as autonomous and free.

Deutsche’s critical investigation is representative of the art debate on public space that bypasses the concerns and problems of those who were unable to participate in or

⁸⁵ A confrontation with the Eurocentric perspective in art history already took place in 1989, used to describe the movement in art history to acknowledge art movement beyond the European- North American realm. Starting with Hans Belting’s often cited view on Global Art in an exhibition catalog 2013 (The Global Contemporary and the Rise of New Art Worlds), art production became a general practice no longer prerogative to the West. The issue of Global Art has been, to date, preliminary picked up by museums and academies, trying to cope with the demand to adjust their approach to acknowledge their selective perspective, excluding all those who the Eurocentric discourse has marginalized. One attempt to counter the discussion about global Art is Christian Kravagna’s approach to transmodernism. He addresses the complex history of connections between mutual influences of transcultural contact, opposing a global art concept that understands “polyphony” as geographically distinct forms of modernism. Instead, he aims to rethink these categories and their connections from the perspective of transmodern artists and those long marginalized in dominant Euro-American discourses. (Farago 2017; Dornhof 2018; Flores 2017)

excluded from the experience of citizenship. An essential dilemma of the art practice is assuming an emancipatory character without looking into its history. By basing methods on a “tradition” of the public sphere that is rooted in an exclusive experience, art practitioners and critics forgets implications and consequences that can be traced to the present. With the uncritical adoption of the assumption that the concept of the public sphere in its various interpretations and ongoing developments has universal validity, the discourse perpetuates this dilemma.

Notably, neither Deutsche nor the main critical concepts associated with the “public sphere,” addressed the importance of the historical component proposed in this thesis and its implications. Instead, Deutsche initiated the dialogue into a political-philosophical discussion of the intertwining of public space, the public sphere, and political action, indicating merely the necessary inclusion of these in the discourse of art (Deutsche, 290; Marchart 2002, 1-2). However, the deviations observed in my research and experience cannot be accounted for by Deutsche's approach because, despite its critical nature, it remains within the realm of Habermas's model and therefore retains assumptions about being universally interpretable as a signifier of political action and empowerment of the people. By overlooking the historical context of the dominant discourse, Deutsche's claims fall into a similar trap to Fraser and Walters, who are criticized by De Sousa Santos for not being able to escape the terms of the theory they criticize as hegemonic (De Sousa Santos 2021, 45- 48).

Following the narration of the genesis of public space concepts, reveals not only that the model is a Eurocentric one, but also that theories should take into account the respective spaces of experiences, which is reflected in what was explained in the empirical analysis of my work through the appreciative system. This is true for Habermas model as well as for Fraser's and Warner's. This does not make their statement obsolete - but as historian Dipesh Chakrabarty puts it, subjected to a necessary provincialization, by reading them in correspondence to their appreciative system (Chakrabarty 2000, 3-27).

12.2 Thinking of Citizenship and Space: Embodied Memory

Having elaborated on the essential importance of the practice of citizenship for the interpretation of public space, this insight is now related to the situation of Palestinians in Jerusalem.

Tracing the genesis of citizenship for Palestinians in Jerusalem takes us back to their status as residents in the city and the related impacts on living circumstances. Their status grants them temporary rights but no citizenship. Being prohibited from *juridically* belonging to a state produces a stateless situation retaining them within the society as its "interiorized outside"(Butler and Spivak, 16). They have rights as residents of the city but remain legally outside the defined relationship between citizen and state. In reference to the findings of 12.1, their status excludes them from experiencing what I have described as practice of citizenship, depriving them of gaining experience of citizenship rights, and hence, the experience of a public space as described in 12.1. Instead, the space is an insecure environment, where oneself is exposed to danger, and the withdrawal of existential rights. The definition reflects the observations analyzed during the actions that were contradicting what public space stands for in a functioning citizen-state relation.

As well as the obvious fear connected to losing residents' status when enacting unauthorized intervention in public space, I extracted the deviation of being "disinterested" in conversations with other social group representatives and participants. This disinterest is directly linked with the impression I had of "activating something that does not exist." Clearly, I do not refer to the physical non-existence of public space but to the already mentioned *knowledge about the function*, the precondition to activate public space. Without this knowledge—hitherto experience—the attempt to activate interest *must* fail, since it corresponds to a void. The state of disinterest is thus also influenced by the lack of experience. The activation of something non-existent is not only based on the fact that space is fearful, but also on the fact that there is no experience of that public space, the canonized assumptions refer to, emphasizing once more the dialectical relation between the status as a citizen and public space.

A direct line of development can be drawn between the proxy function of knowledge of public space (the public sphere) and the European history of modern democracy. Besides the fact that the elaboration of the genesis of public space has proven the Eurocentric position, it uncovers an experience that seems to go far beyond the subject's

own experience. As has been noted, the historical development of the knowledge of the public sphere/public space has been formulated over centuries within the Global North and shaped similarly the Global South. Obviously, we are talking about a process of intervention that has evolved over generations. Consequently, it is necessary to mention the role of memory, whose influence is additionally overlooked in this context within the discourse of art. In order to be able to consider the influence on development, it is helpful to take a look at collective memory studies, which deal with the effects of collective memory, traumatic memories, repressions and post memories. In particular, the concept of transgenerational transmission is interesting for our context. For example, ethnographer Anna Denejkina speaks in the context of an investigation of combat-related trauma about this concept, extracting the impact on experience and memory. Here she proves that history has its influence on the development of a person by proxy, a history that the person did not experience directly, but is affected during upbringing by parental trauma (Denejkina 2017, 5–6). The concept of post-memory also applies in this context, as it reaches beyond individual development and shows that this phenomenon can influence social developments. Traumatic experiences have a salient effect that reaches far beyond one's own generation (Andermahr 2015).

... post-memory is the relationship of the second generation to powerful, often traumatic, experiences that preceded their births but that were nevertheless transmitted to them so deeply as to seem to constitute memories in their own right (Hirsch 2008, 103).

However, post-memory cannot be equated with direct memory, since the former is another's memory, although its influences on shaping the appreciative system of each person needs to be strongly considered (Hirsch 2008, 109).⁸⁶

Another explanation for the influence of post-memory on subsequent generations can be drawn from Jan Assman's discussion of the various categories of memory and their different functions, presented in his 2007 book *The Cultural Memory (Das kulturelle Gedächtnis)*. According to this, there are two main forms of collective memory function: the "communicative memory" and the "institutionalized cultural/archival memory" (Assmann and Höscher 1988, 12-16). While institutionalized cultural/archival memory

⁸⁶ Collective memory goes back to Maurice Halbwachs (Halbwachs 1992), who coined the concept of memory culture as an interdisciplinary study between sociology, ethnography, and psychology.

sets the ground for nation-states' narratives, communication memory influences the habitual behaviors of individuals and groups. Passing on individual experiences and those of a whole generation is consequently described as a form of communicative memory; the process of internalizing experience that is inscribed in the body and passed on to subsequent generations (Ibid). Aleida Assmann continued these considerations by emphasizing group memory in particular, bringing up the term of *embodied memory*, that is passed by trans- or intergenerationally (Assmann 2008). The importance of the entanglement between embodied history, habitus, and the lived past has already been described by Pierre Bourdieu, when he stated that "the habitus —embodied history, internalized as a second nature and so *forgotten* as history—is the active presence of the whole past of which it is the product" (Bourdieu 1990, 56). As already mentioned in the genesis of the knowledge of public space, these connections further underpin the importance that experience plays in this context. However, this experience refers not only to the present but also to those transgenerational experiences inscribed in our bodies.

In this context, philosopher Edward S. Casey stresses that precisely the traumatic experiences of "a pain" never loses its destructive power, especially if it is connected with the humiliation of one's own person (Casey 2000, 156). This can be directly applied to the painful experiences of the colonial period. Memories of perpetual insecurity, resettlement, and colonial history are *inscribed* in the body, which functions as a memory archive that stores past experiences over long periods of time. Casey speaks in this case of the "immanence of memories" to describe the degree of connection between past experience and present action (Casey 1983, 85) The dialogical relationship between past and present is captured by body memories that re-enacts the past, establishing "an access to the past itself, not through images or words but through immediate experience and action" (Fuchs 2012, 19).

The impact of "immanence of memories" can be further thought with Edward Said statement on the effects of the self-image of the (formerly) colonized and the racialization of gaze by Al Saji (Al_Saji 2014), since it discloses the difficulty to interrupt a habit of perceiving oneself as inferior. Seeing oneself as the ongoing negative reflection of the colonial ideal, does not only stabilized the domination of the colonial discourse, but also lives on in the self-image of the (formerly) colonized, transformed to a racialized gaze (Moosavinia, Niazi, and Ghaforian 2011, 105). Transferring these interesting insights to

the case of Palestinians in Jerusalem opens up a possibility to incorporate the traumatic experiences of the residents in relation to the city administration and public space into further levels of analysis (Said 1978, 5–9).

If one traces these findings back to the complex (post-)colonial history of Jerusalem, a similarity emerges between the position of the Palestinians and the described situation of the (former) colonized. Although current political and social circumstances determine living conditions, Palestinians in Jerusalem have a colonial reality that extends to the present, dating back to the Ottoman Empire, but culminating in the period of the British Mandate in Palestine between 1919 and 1948 (Barakat 2016; Tamari 2000; Shihade 2017). Rana Barakat, in her article "Urban Planning, Colonialism, and the Pro-Jerusalem Society," highlightens the hegemonic relationship and relation to urban development for Palestinians living in Jerusalem. Without looking into the different layers of colonial history the present reality of the city cannot be understood (Barakat 2016, 22).

Next to shaping the urban development of the city, Britain's attitude as a paternalistic decision-maker also shaped the self-esteem and herewith the practice of citizenship of Palestinians, highly. By continuing the colonial idea of being assigned to define the level of civilization that the population reached, Britain marked the moment of the Palestinian's ability to govern themselves. This attitude had a general approach and was applied to all Mandates, which is illustrated by an excerpt of the debate of the League of Nations after WWI. Though the aim was to discuss how to proceed with the takeover of the Ottoman Empire's and German former colonies, the use of language discloses the continuation of normative defining how it is civilized enough. Accordingly, to the particular level of civilization the respective countries should be granted degrees of self-determination. Though the following quote does not refer only to the Palestinian case but the overall discussion, it underlines the self-empowerment of the Allies standing for the attitude of the global North, and is therefore constitutive for understanding the influence of transgenerational history on the practice of citizenship.

From the point of view of the task of civilizing these races, in view of which the inferior races have been placed under the tutelage of more advanced people, the conflicting interests of groups of different intellectual capacity cannot be left to find the natural development as is the case among the civilized nations. In my view, there is only one principle that can serve as a guide in the establishment of

complete equity in these areas. The principle laid down in Article 22 of the covenant divides mandates into categories A, B and C, granting protection to the native and proportion to the level reached by their civilization. In other words, the last developed or weakest people call for the greatest amount of protection. (Wright 1930, 235)

Since the Palestinians never achieved the status of independence but went through various stages of occupation and dependency, similar effects of the ongoing negative reflection as described by Said when discussing the effects on the self-image of the (formerly) colonized can be noted. If we take these findings together, their decades-long colonial history must be taken as constitutive for their relationship to public space. They accept the attribution and role within Palestinian society as well as that assigned by the hegemonic society—to keep quiet in order to continue to exist. Challenging this position would lead directly to political opposition and, if one chooses to do so, is embedded in the criteria for standing up against a ruling – here asymmetrical powerful - system; ergo jeopardizing the status of existence.

The extent to which memory of space and habitual patterns in space intertwine, particularly in the case of Jerusalem, is discussed in another article by Aleida Assmann "One land and three narratives" (2018). Assmann's reflections on the relationship between space and social behavior echo statements by Edward Soja and Edward Said, emphasizing that space can never be considered purely physical, since the circumstances that make it the object of human activity, evaluation, and transformation are manipulated, invented, and repressed (Assmann 2018, 288). She highlights Palestine/Israel as a paradigm for the dialectical relationship between space (landscape) and memory for a space, linking the influence of narratives to the mechanisms of memory and repression.

The experience has been deeply inscribed in the bodies of Palestinians over the decades, determining their behavior, their position, and as Bourdieu has said, their habits. An interesting discussion, relating directly to the relationship between memory and space, offers Anthropologist Paul Connerton, who connects the role of embodied memory to space. Since the body is always "spatially" situated, stressing the "bodily self-aware frame of reference," the body locates itself in relation to places, which he defines as *spatial memory* that is embodied (Connerton 2011, 83). Transgenerational memories thus not only influence the level of experience gained or not gained in terms of a practice of citizenship, but also connect to a bodily experience of space. Relating this to the case of

Palestinians, we may speak of a *spatialized memory of occupation*, shaping the knowledge of (public) space and being in public space - narrating private and public places, turning these from a singular political event to an ongoing experience that disintegrates the fabric of everyday life (Shalhoub-Kevorkian 2012, 7; Weizman 2007, 147)). The findings echo the observed behavior of participants and partners in Jerusalem not to challenge the current status quo and resonate with their statements that they perceive their position within society and the city as insignificant and disconnected, without questioning and further accepting it as a given.

Crucial to understanding the significance of this is the fact that we are not just dealing with an inherited situation that stands in contrast to the present, but with an inherited trauma that is reinforced by the fact that it is not in the healing phase like other traumatized societies, but persists. Analyzing the current political situation alone, deriving initial assumptions from it that shape the approach of the interventions, and choosing theories of counter publics as answers, would ignore the much deeper deviation, developed over generations and connected to the history of suppression of the Global South. Exemplary for this is the period of the British mandate, where urban construction and the attempt to "civilize" the other unfold (Keywords: division and racialization of society), the transfer to spatial segregation of what was once perceived as an inclusive city increased.

To date, spatial memory and transgenerational trauma have been discussed in Palestine mostly in relation to displacement and precisely the impact of refugee camps, resulting in important interdisciplinary and participatory (art) interactions, investigations, and findings.⁸⁷ However, the impact on society as such has received less attention, so the factor of embodied memory and spatial memory on society in general has been understudied. Instead of a particularized discussion of transgenerational *spatialized memories of occupation* the effects must be perceived as a collective problem as an ongoing issue, still visible today (Barber et al. 2016; Marie et al. 2018, 21ff).

⁸⁷ Spatial memory of refugee camps has been discussed in numerous articles and books (see Bishara 2021; Ramadan 2017; Latif 2008; DAAR-Hilal and Petti 2021). I refer here especially to the pioneering work of *Camp in Campus* an experimental education program in the Dheisheh refugee camp in Bethlehem, and the art and architecture collective Decolonizing Architecture Art Residency (DAAR) in Beit Sahur, initiated by the architect duo Alessandro Petti and Sandi Hilal in 2007.

The consequences derived from this for art and research practice in public space are that artistic intervention practices must reflect on conditions of memory politics beyond the present world of experience, i.e. they must open up the research to the political background of memory with regard to the space to be performed. Figure 23 illustrates this result. The practice of public space cannot only be contextualized by real-time socio-political experiences, but must be complemented by a memory-space relationship that is inscribed in our bodies and passed down through generations.

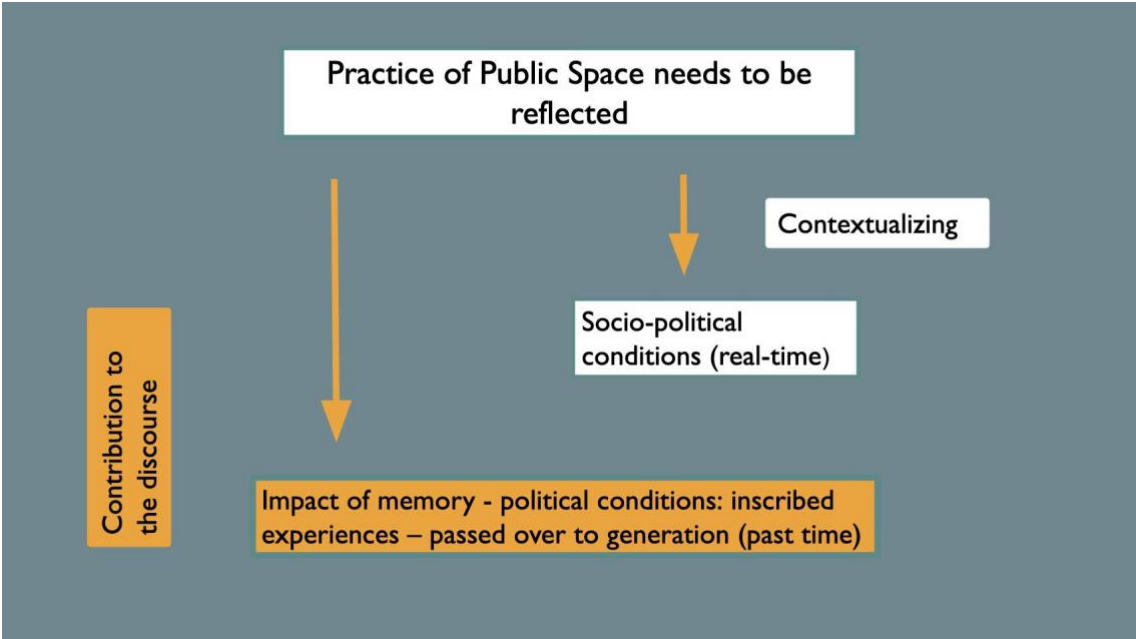


Figure 23, Impact of Memory-Political Conditions (Rayyan)

Summary

Comparing what has been extracted here as post-memory and transgenerational trauma it is not only embodied but also hidden in the landscape and spaces. To date, too little attention has been paid to the extent to which inherited experiences can shape behavior, especially if the initial situation does not change. We are not just dealing with an inherited situation that stands in contrast to the present—as in other traumatized societies that are already in the healing phase—but with an inherited feeling that continues to exist—that is, it solidifies and can only be transformed by new, positive experiences that last.

A critical examination of the immediate environment within which the practice takes place and the subsequent reaction to current conditions is not sufficient for actual implementation, as has already become apparent in the empirical study of the observations. However, a complete picture of the rationale for the observed deviations emerges only through integrating the historical contexts of the site and the genesis of the applied theory on which participatory art interventions in public space are based, the concepts of public space. The genesis of the idea of public space has also revealed that even critical approaches, criticizing the selective model of the public sphere, are insufficiently applicable to situations outside the world of European experience since they continue to draw on concepts whose connotation is closely linked to the European concept. The assumptions of having a generating and emancipatory catalytic function through the activation of public space and artistic intervention practices cannot be applied per se without taking into account the specific conditions on-site.

Accordingly, a concept conceived as critical engagement in the field must take into account this analysis of the dialectical relationship between public space and non-European experiences of the citizen-state relationship not only under current circumstances but as its history shaped in an imperialist/colonial context.

Chapter 13 After the Canon: Liminality as a Signpost

The insights that have been elaborated on via the genesis of public space concepts will be used in the following sections to further reflect on the consequences of these findings for participatory art interventions in public space. What are the possibilities for initiating a change in perspectives in the debate? Is this feasible at all, and if so, in what form? The subsequent elaboration of options within liminal areas, both in terms of a dominated art practice and approach to inquiry, is what I describe here as the 'Liminality of Signposts'. While I first apply the results from chapter 12 to the case of my thesis and briefly discuss the difficulties that arise, chapter 13.2 is used to show concrete translation possibilities via the recapitulation and bring together the results that can be described to end with an outlook beyond the specific case in Jerusalem presented here.

13.1 The Possibility of Shifting the Perspective

If we now transfer the findings from chapter 12 to the theory of participatory art intervention, it should be noted that there is a first correction in dealing with the concept of art in terms of its close intertwining with the assumptions that can be traced back to the history of European ideas. The resulting meanings of what is understood by a public space and what it stands for cannot be assumed a priori to be universally benign. The omission only becomes clear in the confrontation with conditions that lie beyond a European world of experience with regard to the public sphere, the state, and civil rights. This leads us to the dominant assumptions of art intervention theory related to space, as a place of community with a positive connotation, claiming universalism overlooking a genesis of the over 500-year-old development of democracy in Europe and the USA, lived only by a small part of humanity.

It is here that the "blind spot," created in the practice of art theory by the difficulties of implementing theoretical concepts in a local non-European situation, is encountered. According to this, theories of participatory art in public space still do not provide concepts that can be applied to non-European (formerly) colonized societies—contrary to what is assumed within the current art discourse on that topic. Even though, in the last decade, an urgency to rethink Eurocentric perspectives in art history has

emerged, this debate seems not to have entered the subject of art intervention⁸⁸. One reason may be the emancipatory claim of the art form; however, this overlooks the starting position of this practice, which is constitutive for the relationship to public space and for the added value of a conceptually participatory approach and the activation of public space.

The attempt to activate something that has no meaning for the residents asked to participate, not only suggests that the concept of activating a public (counter-)space in a contested place like Jerusalem cannot work in the sense of the canonized participatory art theories, but also describes a dilemma formulated by Spivak as a "double bind." Every attempt to find a solution to a problem creates a new problem; no ideology or theory is untouched, pure, or could be considered harmless. Thus, movements set as counter-hegemonic may exhibit hegemonic traits or counter-ethnocentric strategies criticizing universalism may fall into cultural relativism (Andreotti 2014,105).

Transferring what is said in relation to public space to my own perspective, as a scholar and curator socialized in Germany, the double bind is clear twofold. In my position as a German citizen, I have been able to undergo *a practice of citizenship* (with all the implications that are connected to this) and I am embedded in the European art theories of participatory art intervention. However, a contrast was formed by the confrontation between the assumptions nurtured by my socialization and imprinting in canonized practice and my position as a halfie curator in Jerusalem. Though I was aware of the need to adapt the practice on the ground, I have to acknowledge my own embeddedness within the Western realm of thought and experience. This could only be challenged by my experiences as a holder of the Israeli resident card for Palestinians living in Jerusalem that automatically brought me to experiencing a spatial practice, dominated by feeling inferior and vulnerable. As such, I was caught between the experience of having citizenship and standing outside the system, although to a lesser extent due to holding a German passport that guarantees a certain legal protection.

Accordingly, the "blind spot" between art theoretical considerations and experienced practice cited at the beginning of the section is not only evidence of a lack of reflection on political and social theories in general, but also describes the challenge

⁸⁸ For further information please see Krentzos 2012; Papastergiadis and Mosquera 2014)

included in the dominant public art theory reflected in Spivak's double bind. The emancipatory curatorial approach of participatory art intervention hopes to criticize the status quo, but in our case, it cannot detach itself from what it criticizes. In this context, emancipatory concepts of participatory art face a dilemma that even postmodern critiques cannot resolve, since even their critical approach fails to adequately account for the existential colonial experiences of subjects inscribed in their bodies in their relationship to the state, similar to what De Sousa Santos criticized about Fraser's and Warner's concept of counterpublics. In the case presented with this thesis, this legacy is fundamental, as the subjectification of the bourgeois self-understanding is assumed to be an actual state from which to build. To clarify: even if the relationship to the state is critically questioned at first sight through provocatively, activist, artistic confrontations with public space, using participation and co-determination, this happens with the presupposition that is generated from the Western history of ideas.⁸⁹

Thus, we are dealing with two problematic areas. On the one hand, my case proves the insufficient explanatory models in the art theoretical debate around participatory art practice, and on the other, it reveals a double bind in the use of activist counter-hegemonic theories of public space in non-European contexts. A final important point in this context is a further overlooking of privilege that describes an additional double bind for artists and curators when they, as members of the global North, enter into implementation of activist actions in the Global South. Here, Spivak's reflections on the double bind combine with those of Butler on statelessness. Initiators with citizenship status from the global North overlook the fact that they can challenge hegemonic power structures without running the risk of fundamentally endangering their own existence. Even in the case of provocation, critical artists remain members of a state and are protected by it. In contrast to stateless persons, they can refer to a legal system. We are therefore dealing with internal and external protection from which they can act. These privileges are easily overlooked when entering spaces that are marked by postcolonial memories, attributions, political upheaval processes, and colonial living situations, or when collaborating with stateless people. If their complicity is not reflected, no matter how well-intentioned, emancipatory approaches are unable to take effect. This underlines the lack of attention paid to the

⁸⁹ For more details on the double bind in relation to the art practice, see Rayyan, *Praxis der Risse. Partizipative Kunstpraxis neu denken* (estimated release April 2022).

extent to which inherited experiences can shape behavior, a situation that is exacerbated if the initial situation has not changed and the condition persists.

Critical Reflective Practice can be an important tool in this context to revise and correct approaches and assumptions through experiencing and testing them in practice. If reflective practice and the approach of interweaving practice and theory is understood less as an optimization of one's own practice than as a tool in the context of decolonization, as suggested in Chapter 11, it can be an important toll that turns into a critical tool to bring different worlds of experience into conversation. Applying the above approach of a necessary trial and experimentation between theory and practice to the dilemma of the double bind, one does not resolve it, but accepts it as part of an attitude of being constantly in motion, not having to come to a final result, but accepting the necessary friction as a constant state.

13.2 Translating Theories. Decolonizing Practice

The discussion about socially engaging art and precise art intervention in public space is conducted mainly from the perspective of art scholars (historians) and critics. However, greater inclusion of practitioners is necessary to advance the dialogue between theory and practice. As indicated in my research, it is primarily the exchange between critically reflective practice and the engagement with one's own art historical heritage that can break the much-discussed double bind and lead to a revision of Eurocentric theories of art beyond a purely global representational view that remains entrenched in its dichotomy. Another essential point of criticism, in addition to the low inclusion of practitioners in the dialogue, is the (lack of) inclusion of speaker positions with non-European references, as speaking "about" rather than speaking "with" is still found in the dominant discourses (Grant and Price 2020). The introduced position of the "halfie" intervenes in the status quo at this point and provides a kind of pivot and translation function in the process if conducted in the sense of a critical-reflective practice (in art and in research). As discussed in Chapter 11, critical-reflective practice can investigate meanings and processes of social action within artistic practices and capture the processuality of developments. However, it is only by reflecting on the whole process, including theoretical exploration, that decolonization is realized and, ultimately, situated practice and research is implemented, as outlined in Chapter 12.

Based on the theoretical investigation regarding the findings, I return to Lefebvre's relational triad model of space (spatial practice, representation of space, and space of representation) to organize and summarize the considerations and relate them to the beginning of this thesis. The potential of this model for formulating the consequences of decolonizing lies in highlighting the immediate intersections of the three space-producing levels that translate effectively to the different levels of inquiry and the findings of this research. Although Lefebvre's model fails to respond adequately to real living conditions in the Global South, his triad and representation of mutual conditionality contain a way to represent the results in interaction, and thus, reflect the approach of entering into conversation (Koch 2016, 85–90). Briefly, the first level in his model refers to the everyday non-reflective processes and actions of actors in space (*spatial practice*). The second includes science, theories, and dominant discourses about space (*representation of space*), and the third is circumscribed as the possibility of imagining spaces, opening up utopias, and acting against norms (*space of representation*) (Fuchs, C. 2019, 135-137). As discussed, when outlining the considerations and assumptions essential to the initiated projects in Chapter 1, Busquets's interpretation of Lefebvre's intertwinement between the perception of space, production, and social-political contexts was already essential for me when preparing for the first intervention. Although there is a major difference between Lefebvre's discussion of the production of space and the considerations of this inquiry in its decolonial orientation, especially regarding its examination of theoretical conditions and dominant discourses, I still consider his model an important starting point in the discussion of working and dealing with public space or spatial developments. A turning point in making his model significant for decolonizing practice and theory is to apply it for *both* positions involved in practice, that of the artist and curator as initiator *and* of the participating, cooperating partner. Lefebvre's investigations of space seem somehow to speak from the position of undefined body, not considering the different backgrounds of the actors involved. This ambiguity with regard to the embodied indifferences and experiences is also addressed by Eden Kinkaid in her essay on "Re-encountering Lefebvre: toward a critical phenomenology social space," (2020) reworking Lefebvre's theory from the perspective of minorities where she states that "Production (of space) is marked by a lack of attention to historically concrete forms of difference"(Kinkaid 2020, 169). Lefebvre keeps the term of difference abstract, seeing difference produced by space through the act of reducing space by homogenizing it for the purpose of political power, governing difference, but he does not go further at this point of his analysis (Lefebvre

1991, 373). Integrating the findings of the learning circle and critical reflective practice (Schön), that each actor carries his/her own appreciative system, hitherto his/her own perspective toward space, Lefebvre's theory is extended. The study of space must consider the situation and historical heritage of the actors; or rather, the theory of the triad must consider all actors involved.

Transferring Lefebvre's model to our example, the everyday actions referred to as spatial practice are equivalent to the research's first observations, which took place before the actions (equivalent to the RbA), as well as the first observed deviations (RiA) related to the assumptions established at the beginning of the process. The deviations occur when the spatial practice of the initiator (curator) clashes with the spatial practice of the participant. In this way, spatial practices can be described as the starting point, having an initiator function for artistic practice. In our case, this stage revealed that the behavior of Palestinians in public space in Jerusalem deviated from the assumed one and were characterized by fear, mistrust, and caution. By confronting the findings of spatial practice with scientific backgrounds, theories, and dominant discourses shaping the knowledge of space, the "representation of space," the examination of theories of art practice in public space occurred, extracting the historical heritages of both sides. The obvious observations taken from present conditions were thereby complemented by the constitutive finding of the effect of embodied memories on behavior in public space, carrying the transgenerational Palestinian trauma and lacking the practice of citizenship into everyday discourse. On the curatorial side, the embeddedness of art debate about public space in colonial heritage unraveled.

In addition to the analysis of the theoretical superstructure, acknowledging the notion of *experiencing* was an essential finding, leading to the third level, the *space of representation*. At this level, by experimenting in practice, utopias are opened up, and acting against norms is initiated. Acknowledging the notion of experiencing does not only concerns experiencing a tool to subvert embodied memories and rehearsed behaviors, but also relates to the search for formats that can be recognized as familiar; thus, referring to the participants' world of experience and respecting its past. In our case, oral history and narratives were essential tools to question hegemonic relations and counter-dominant narratives in the context of my thesis. Following the logic of Lefebvre's triad, the process needs to be continued to achieve any change. His production of space theory can,

therefore, still be an important guide also for decolonial approaches to spatial practice if one considers the respective theoretical and historical preconditions of *both* parties—the artistic practice and the identified deviation of local actors. Instead of starting from a universally valid concept, we need to consider the respective historical backgrounds regarding the development of *each*, extending the Marxist approach of Lefebvre with a decolonial one.

Learning

To conclude the process of coming into conversation, I focus on a positive experience in my context to present a counterpart to continue building with. Although this example is anchored in Palestinian experience, it serves as an example of how dialogical experimentation can take place. In this example, I refer to a Palestinian experience in terms of what I have described as "common sense" in the context of the historical development of the European public space. That is, the essence of what should be re-generated in and through action in public space.

For Palestinians in Jerusalem, two crucial moments in the counter-narrative can be drawn upon to refer to the common in a familiar way. The first moment is related to the experiences of communal action, civil disobedience, and neighborly help in the period 1987–1992 during the first *Intifada*, when Palestinians protested against Israel's policy of occupation. Guided by the idea of voluntary work and neighborly help, this period was marked by projects in which vegetable gardens were planted in backyards, communal schooling was organized, and food production, such as dairy products, was organized collectively. However, since this period is also linked to the subsequent political and social changes in society, the positive experiences are obscured by the negativity of the current reality (Said 1989; Mohamad 2007; Tabar 1989). A second recollection draws on a traditional community experience that offers a more far-reaching approach. I refer here to the action known as *mujaawarah* (Arabic for "neighborly common").⁹⁰ *Mujaawarah* describes a form of community learning, as explained by the scholar and radical pedagogue Munir Fasheh (Sukarieh 2019; Fasheh et al. 2017). *Mujaawarah* operates on an equal footing and can be described as cooperative and participatory in the canon of participatory considerations. This shared experience is based on words from the Arabic

⁹⁰ Munir Fasheh has been working with Sandi Hilal and Alessandro Petti (DAAR) for several years, integrating his approach into DAAR's projects, such as the Camp in Campus project (2013) or the Shuafat Basic Girl School project (2012-2014) (Hilal, Sandi, and Alessandro Petti. 2018).

language that are essential to understanding community, or the approach of collective action. Without going into further detail, I use the term *mujaawarah* to indicate the importance of opening up to non-European theories and experiences for the development of the dominant discourse (in this context, the discourse of art). An example closely related to the approach of *mujaawarah* is the word *muthana*, which has no synonym in English. *Muthana* can be described as standing for a fundamental shift of perspective in the context of action between the self and the other, involving a plurality despite a singularity of interests, which is addressed in decolonial approaches and is intended as a goal in participatory interactions. The key point is the assumption of how the "other" is seen and defined - and how the relationship to the "I" is formed. Instead of seeing the other as a "non-me" (Other), as in the dichotomous approach, it is defined as "you", which achieves a higher synthesis with the ego. Munir Fasheh explains this approach by applying it to the logic of René Descartes and transforming it. Accordingly, the phrase "I think, therefore I am" would be translated as "You are; therefore, I am," which describes a completely different starting point for interaction (Sukarieh, 7). *Muthana* involves an action between two people that is seen as independent from each person's will and of having one's own "purpose." Each person involved remains as he or she is. Rather than a negotiation between two opposing interests, an action develops through the changed attitude to the counterpart, which takes a free course, but whose content becomes of fundamental importance to the life of both, from which arise the will and the commitment to keep the action/interaction alive (Sukarieh, 7 ff). The term *voluntary commitment* misses the meaning entirely here, as does the idea of negotiating different interests. Using the terms *muthana* and *mujaawarah*, and including these in the concepts for participatory art intervention, offers not only a new approach in the discussion about public space, but also speaks to the knowledge of communal space and sharing action characteristic for interventions in public space in the European context.

The idea of using the term *mujaawarah* is an example of how translation theories can work. Translation refers not only to the literal transposition of what is envisaged in the canonized term (i.e., its paraphrase), but also the search for local counterparts; in our case, those that describe communal learning or action beyond the terms that originate in the European context. In doing so, one not only allows for direct translation content-wise, but also expands canonized terms criticized for their inaccuracy

Chapter 14. Conclusion

Starting from the experiences collected in art practice, the investigation followed the notion of what seemed not to be "given", when engaging in and with space in Jerusalem. To trace the reasons for this notion, an empirically inspired analysis of a reflexive practice was combined with a dissection of the theoretically dominant assessments and their genesis. The basic movement of the inquiry was to mediate between practice and theory, and between accumulated experience and dominant assumptions. In line with the methodology and approach of a situated analysis, a tracing back of the respective working conditions of the practice as well as the respective systems of appreciation for the assumptions that determine the concept of art interventions in public space took place. After a step-by-step spinning deeper into the material, it was possible to fill the void of what is hidden behind the notion of the non-given with insights into the reasons for the identified deviant behaviors of the participants.

As mentioned in the introduction, the search for a change of perspective from the inside to the outside and the shifting of the starting point for the analysis from the center of the dominant field to the periphery was an important driving force for this work. In addition to the fact that a decolonial stance is to be considered *halfie* constitutive through the research material as well as my own position within the research field, I wanted to use the research to test concrete procedures for decolonial approaches, to implement and investigate artistic interventions.

In the process, the interweaving or merging of reflective practice accompanying continuous dialogue between acting, observing, and reacting has proven to set the course. Furthermore, consideration of the mutual conditions of behaviors, dominant discourses of theory, and being open to more experimental approaches is needed. The breakdown of the respective appreciative systems of the actors that reveal themselves only in the encounter in practice is essential to recognize conditions (i.e., it is a matter of considering the appreciative systems of the initiators of the action [in this context, the curator]), as well as the participants. Transferring the finding to Lefebvre's model, the spatial triad must also be "duplicated" in situations outside of European worlds of experience. In other words, the spatial practice, representation of practice, and spaces of representation must be thought through and examined regarding the position of the initiator and the participants. I argue this process should be conducted as a matter of course and not only

in cases in which the parties have obviously different origins or current locations of living. A complete analysis of the three production fields of space is only achieved if the respective appreciative system is taken into account.

The search for a research method that conveys a decolonizing starting position—implemented and reproduced here—happened primarily through the method of critical-reflective practice. An essential difference to the predominantly existing research formats and discussions in the literature is that the connections between practice and theory were not undertaken by an infiltrated researcher integrated in the practice, but by the practitioner moving herself into the position of the researcher. This double occupancy of a position allows for existing internal dialogue that, if conducted in the spirit of critical-reflective practice, can provide insights into the frictions between the positions of the researcher and the practitioner, as well as the reflective processes of practice, which can benefit theoretical discussion, leading to a destabilization of existing canons. As Bonaventure Soh Bejeng Ndikung notes in an essay on the "destabilization of the canon," there are canons in every society that can be challenged (Bonaventure Ndikung 2020, 183ff), which translates decolonization into a process of *decanonization*. Reflecting on the implementation of the practice and the lessons learned, the term *decanonization* aptly mirrors the idea behind the process, which aims to create something new by intertwining reflective practice and research, and through constant experimentation. The findings not only provide results to untangle art theory shaped by the history of European ideas on participatory art intervention in public space but also, through applied practice, engage with and aim to challenge the ingrained behaviors found onsite that can be described as the canonical behavior of public space.

. The essential learning process is that these types of approaches cannot be implemented in the assigned measures of the dominant practice and theory, but through those transformed in constant conversation with the conditions of the environment. In turn, this concluding metamorphosis of participatory art intervention practice is difficult to understand with common research methods on art practice.

Even critical-reflective practice needs another layer of assumption entanglement, which allows deeper examination/exploration of the historical heritage of thought/s. If we are interested in breaking the singularity of knowledge by exploring different approaches to knowledge production, the dialogical relationship between practice and theory needs to be strengthened by including the position of the practitioner in the discussion. A

departure from the uniqueness of knowledge production accompanies including different voices within practice and theory. In the process of translation, the position of the halfie is increasingly important. Although not free from the double bind, this position contains an internal dialogue and, in most cases, the experience of being excluded.

Another result of this work is the elaboration of the position of experience as a possible complement to the singularity and canonized approach of knowledge production to introduce a decanonization of knowledge. In this context, I refer to Donna Haraway's situated knowledge and her critique of the body and mind, into which the approaches of Catherine Walsh blend to allow deeper examination/exploration of the historical heritage of thought/s. The call for a plurality of knowledge productions allows for divergent interpretations of public space and exposes the narrow conditionality of a specific European-influenced citizen practice that cannot represent a universal reality. Overlooking this conditionality not only leads to misunderstandings in translation processes, as with the practice of art intervention but also constitutes the continuation of colonial relations, as Said describes. In this context, a model of exchange and opinion-forming behavior in non-private settings is unreflectively assumed to be universally valid and guiding (i.e., all behavior in public space is measured against the ideal). Instead, a comparison should happen, in the sense of coming into conversation with each other, which is also to be implemented for assumptions and represents the search for situated research.

An examination of local experiences that describe similar processes not only helps to advance the practice (of art intervention) but can also be taken as an incentive to rethink previously inaccurate or unsatisfactory descriptions of courses of action. The alternative definition of a common production of knowledge, an exchange and opinion-forming measures (in this case, *mujawarah*) is such a new conceptualization that is not only relevant in the Arab context of this research, but also in its more differentiated approach to the opposite in the process of exchange. The alternative definition also captures the idea of participatory practice outside of a canonized conceptualization, which can lead, for example, to precision in the description of art practice.

This approach opens up the possibility of entering into a conversation with one's own dominant theories, as Walsh formulated it, without degrading them in the process,

but also without making them the unasked-for standard. The necessary distancing from one's own thinking is a difficult step and hardly realizable in the consequence of absolute disconnection as partly demanded in the decolonial attitude. On the one hand for reasons as Spivak formulated it with the dilemma of the double bind, since it is still not possible to explain and analyze outside this realm – but only in juxtaposing what it did to others who did not share the same heritage. On the other hand, because a certain internalization of the "norm" or the dominant canon has taken place over generations and is always running in the background of our thoughts and ways of behaving. One possibility to create a distance from the given assumptions can be found in a long-term experimentation in alternation between practice and theory in connection with a recurring critical reflection—the exercising Bonaventure Ndikung suggests to call decanonization.

Although the approaches to and analysis of public space developed in this thesis emerge from a specific local situation, they can also be understood as food for thought for today's Global North, as different experiences of migration and the effects of ecological, economic, or political displacement increasingly converge in public space, shaping its meaning and frame of reference. Without an adaptation of the approach in research and practice that takes into account the respective worlds of experience and incorporates them into the analysis, there is a danger of immanently - even if unintentionally - excluding all those whose historical background does not coincide with that of the Global North. A decolonial critical-reflexive practice can be relevant in this context and help to ensure that decanonization is not only intellectually feasible but can also be implemented in practice.

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Image Appendix

I. Maps

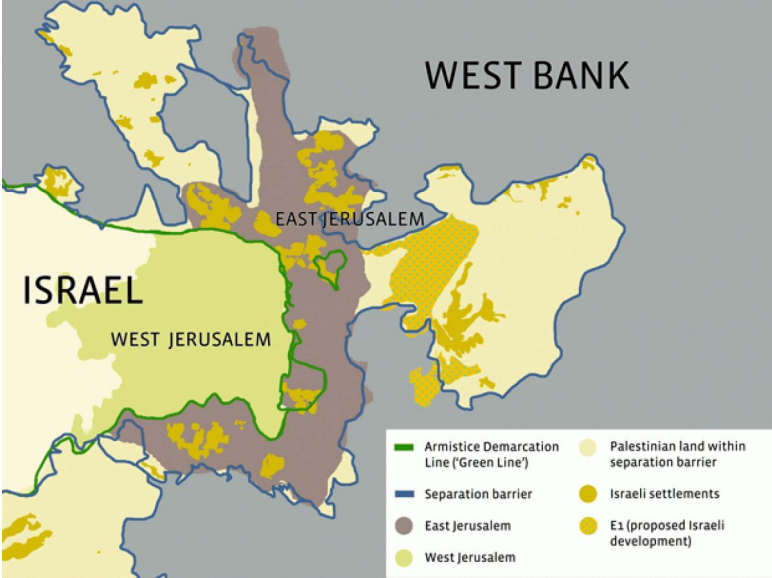


Image 1: Jerusalem, municipality border and separation wall, source: The Elders. <https://theelders.org/news/20-years-after-oslo-facts-ground> (accessed 10 December, 2021)

II. Documentation Participatory Art Interventions in Jerusalem⁹¹



⁹¹ All images are courtesy of The Palestinian Art Court Al-Hoash.

Image 3: Karm Al Khalili Gar

Garden Talks



Image 4: Round circle during the Garden Talk

Image 5: Child walking towards the activity

Image 6: Scene before the talk begun



Image 7: Drug addicts in the park during the Garden Talk
Image 8, 9 and 10: Garden talk discussion

Palestinian Circus Workshop



Image 11, 12: Children during workshop with Circus members



Image 13: Child and Circus member during workshop

Image 14 and 15: Circus show in the park



Image 16: Circus show

Zalet Lisan – Art Installation



Image 17: Set up of the art installation in the park



Image 18: Scene from art installation in the park, children sitting in front of the screen

Exhibition – Documentation "Zalet Lisan"



Image 19: Scene from art and documentation exhibition



Image 20: Lightbox, exhibition

Preparation



Image 21: Narration workshop with young adults



Image 22: The Bazar before the intervention



Image 23: Workshop with children, discussing possibilities for the art intervention at Dar mall



Image 24: Color Box, produced by children for the Dar Mall



Image 25: Discussion with neighbors



Image 26: Discussion with artists

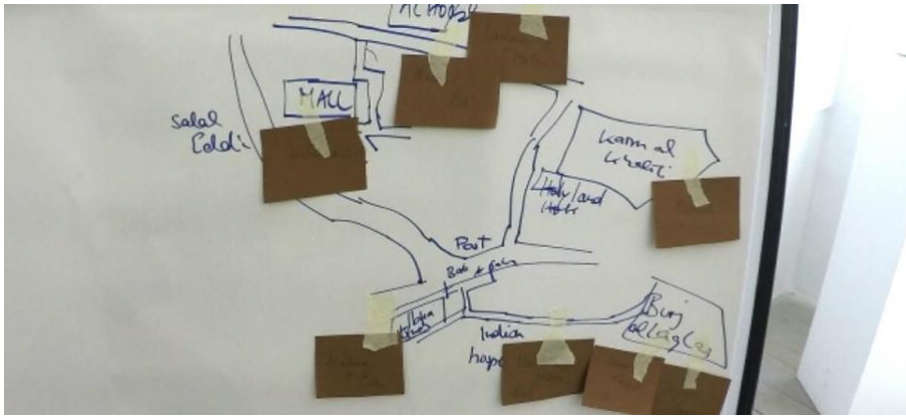


Image 27: Sketch during preparation for finalizing the walk



Image 28: Local and international artists preparing art intervention



Image 29: Discussion between artists



Image 30: The historical Dar mall 1965



Image 31 and 32: Terrace in front of the mall

Art Walks – Reviewing



Image 33 and 34: Starting the walk at the organization Al Hoash; one of the young adults presenting one story



Image 35: Walking with flower through Suq

Ibna Al Quds Station



Image 36: Community members sitting under the tree and art installation during the walk event



Image 37: Making bread during the walk



Image 38: Community members and participants of the walk making sandwiches on mobile oven



Image 39: Al Hakawti in the garden of Ibna Al Quds The Bazar

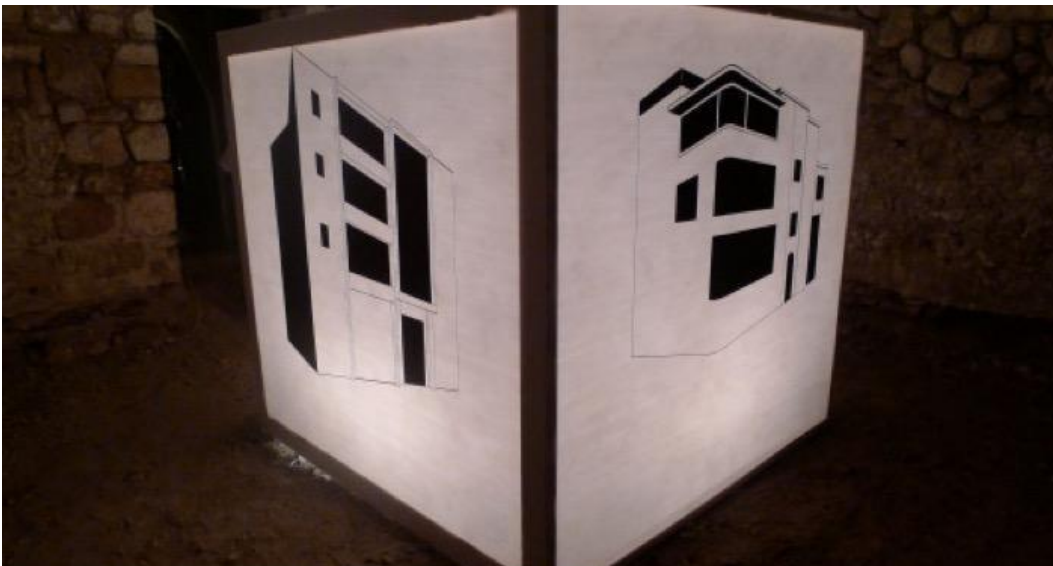


Image 40,41 and 42: Art installations inside the bazar
Parking Intervention



Image 43 and 44: Scene of parking intervention in Zahra Street after the closure of the park The Dar Mall



Image 45 and 46: Terrace of the mall with DIY mobile furniture during the walk



Image 47: Participatory performance inside the mall

Image 48. Scene of walking through the sea at the end of the performance



Image 49: Scene from concert at the end of the walk



Image 50: Walk through the street