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Urban arts justice: between a global city and its metropolis

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ABSTRACT

Art and culture are essential elements of urban economic development and planning. However, research on the spatial and normative dimensions of arts consumption is limited. We propose an original theoretical framework outlining a normative concept of urban arts justice regarding the consumption of culture and art. Our framework is based on liberal theories of justice and highlights the distributive aspect of arts capabilities, which we call availability. We apply the framework empirically to the spatial context of the global city of Tel-Aviv and its surrounding metropolitan area. We analyze how the availability of arts is correlated with the social and physical characteristics of the population that is served by cultural institutions. Based on data collected through online web scraping and additional data, we compare the availability of arts offerings in Tel-Aviv and its surrounding area. The results show spatial inequality between the global city and its surrounding area in their levels of arts offerings, which is connected to questions of urban arts justice in the metropolitan ecosystem.

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Introduction

Questions of justice are key issues in the fields of planning theory and human geography, as well as in public discourse and policy planning (Moroni, 2020; Stiglitz et al., 2009). Such questions are also pertinent to participation in the field of culture and art, which is considered a fundamental right, a key determinant of well-being, and an essential form of participation in the democratic public sphere (Zitcer et al., 2016). Art serves as a manifestation of the ideals and principles of the Just City theory (Müller, 2019). While art is increasingly recognized as an integral component of urban economic development and planning (Matthews & Gadaloff, 2022; Zitcer et al., 2016), several scholars concerned with challenges in regional and local development have proposed some basic principles of spatial social justice (e.g. Abreu et al., 2023; Martin, 2011; Przybylinski, 2022). However, the research on the normative aspects of spatial differences in art and culture is relatively limited and lacks a concise formulation of urban arts justice. This notion of justice is consistent with broader trends in urban geography and other fields such as urban studies and planning that theorize about how just a place is (e.g. Fainstein, 2010; Israel & Frenkel, 2020). However, given that most research pays less attention to determining the elements that constitute the right to art and culture (Jamal & Hales,

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2016; Olson & Sayer, 2009), a deeper theorization in the domain of urban art is long overdue.

Thus, we propose a broader theoretical framework of urban arts justice and operationalize it with a metric that we employ in a socio-spatial setting. Our proposed framework is based on an original normative concept that assesses urban arts justice in relation to arts activities in democratic and liberal societies. Liberal theories of justice applied to arts prioritize individual liberties and are thus well-suited for analyzing the idea of urban arts justice in liberal democratic countries.

Our theoretical development is grounded in the juxtaposition of the capabilities approach and the distributive approach to justice that we apply to the field of arts. We define a metric of urban arts justice as "arts availability". In other words, we consider the idea of capabilities (Sen, 1992) as opportunities or chances in life that reflect the ability to be and to do in the field of the arts. We then measure the extent to which these capabilities are equally distributed in an urban space to determine whether a given spatial arrangement is (un)just.

Sen (1992) invites us to reconsider our understanding of equality by asking, "Equality of what?" He argues that "the extent of real inequality of opportunities that people face … does not depend just on our incomes but also on the variety of physical and social characteristics that affect our lives and make us what we are" (p. 28). Accordingly, we will examine inequality in the opportunities to consume art based on the spatial and social characteristics of urban populations. We refer to discrepancies in the distribution of such opportunities as *arts-related inequality*. When focusing specifically on the spatial dimension of this distribution, we use the term *spatial inequality*. Throughout the text, we use these terms with the intention of maintaining their meaning in accordance with Sen's formulation.

In this study, we use our framework to examine the case study of a global city, which acts as a center for creative activities, and juxtapose it with its surrounding metropolitan area. We explore this case study of urban arts justice using data collected by online web scraping from a ticketing website of performances and arts events in Israel's central metropolitan region of Tel-Aviv between 2015 and 2020. We use additional data from Israel's Central Bureau of Statistics about the population's socio-demographic characteristics, such as educational level, socioeconomic level, and age at the level of urban subdistricts. We conduct a spatial analysis of the characteristics of the population and the environment, and estimate regression models to examine the relationship between the number and types of arts performances and the characteristics of the socio-environments these arts events serve. The results of the models indicate spatial inequality between the global city and its surrounding area in their levels of arts offerings. We present a new perspective on the differences in the availability of performing arts events in urban environments and on injustices in general. Beyond its theoretical contribution, our conclusions may have implications for arts policies at the municipal and national levels.

Theoretical background

Between social and urban arts justice

Sayer and Storper (1997) called for a normative turn by adding a normative dimension to social analysis. However, efforts in this field indicate that the subject of justice and its

metrics is contentious (Robeyns & Brighouse, 2010). Debates about urban arts justice originated primarily from the observation of inequalities related to different dimensions in the world of art, specifically. International research has reported considerable social and spatial inequalities, specifically in arts consumption (Falk & Katz-Gerro, 2016). These inequalities not only reflect different dimensions of social stratification but also play a part in their sustentation and reproduction (Bourdieu, 1984). Certain inequalities arise due to variations in access to art, and can be affected by external circumstances (Feder, 2023).

Despite the rich literature about arts-related inequalities, they are not usually linked to social justice. In addition, the term "urban arts justice" is seldom used in that sense. Generally, social justice refers to how benefits and burdens are distributed in society (Elster, 1992). Measures of justice look at various sets of goods and try to determine some guidelines for distributing them. The arts have a significant role in enhancing human well-being. This recognition is reflected in the Declaration of Human Rights, which states that, "Everyone has the right freely to participate in the cultural life of the community, [and] to enjoy the arts … " (UN Assembly, 1948, Article 27/1). The Convention on the Rights of the Child goes even further and claims that, "state parties shall respect and promote the right of the child to participate fully in cultural and artistic life and shall encourage the provision of appropriate and equal opportunities for cultural, artistic, recreational and leisure activity" (UNICEF, 1989, Article 31/2).

Several authors have explored the theme of justice within the context of the art world. Ross (1998) discussed cultural justice as a principle that calls for the recognition and protection of minority rights and cultural differences that should guide redistribution policies, but refrained from providing a "compact theory of cultural justice … " (p. 2). Banks (2017) outlined normative concepts of "creative justice" that apply to fairness in the domain of artistic creation and cultural employment. Clammer (2019) associated the question of justice with regard to arts with the fundamental issue of cultural rights. Henderson (2014) wrote about "leisure justice" and discussed how the right to leisure is related to concepts of social and environmental justice. These writings notwithstanding, the term "urban arts justice" is rarely used in the academic literature, as are other seemingly synonymous notions such as "artistic justice," "cultural justice," and "creative justice." In the same vein, the role of the arts in promoting justice in urban environments is rarely acknowledged or debated during discussions that emphasize the need for diversity, equity, and democracy in the establishment of a just urban environment (e.g. Fainstein, 2010). For example, Müller's (2019) work demonstrates of how artists utilize their works to impact the equitable access to urban public areas, thereby promoting the notion of a just city. In contrast, others such as Sharp et al. (2005) have maintained that the use of public art to create inclusiveness is "at best partial, able to address symbolic more than … material needs. Whether this means that public art has become an unwitting agent in the overprivileging of cultural justice at the expense of socioeconomic redistribution is a moot point" (p. 1021).

Our research builds on these works and suggests a comprehensive framework of urban arts justice based on liberal values. When formulating a conceptual framework of urban arts justice in space, we believe that adopting a liberal approach that emphasizes individual autonomy and liberty is beneficial. Liberal theories of justice involve various perspectives on what is considered right or good either by individuals or groups (Fraser &

Honneth, 2003; Kymlicka, 2002). For example, a leading liberal philosopher and one of the precursors of the distributive principle in philosophies of justice, John Rawls (1971), aimed to establish principles of justice that support a fair and open democratic public sphere. The goal of these principles was to allow individuals to pursue "human flourishing" and "the good life" (Bret, 2009; Stein & Harper, 2005). Based on this approach, we seek to establish a connection between political philosophy and the urban geography of the arts in pluralistic societies. By embracing a variety of definitions of happiness and well-being we seek to develop a suitable measure of urban arts justice (Israel & Frenkel, 2018).

For example, in Rawls' theory, the measurement of justice necessitates the distribution of several "primary goods" (2001, pp. 58–61). Examples include wealth and tangible belongings, along with essential liberties such as the ability to travel without restriction, exercise independent thought, and have equitable access to opportunities. Such a concept of justice in the field of culture and arts is a significant concern, because the ability to access leisure cultural activities is not distributed evenly in society. Thus, the supply of arts is a relatively scarce good (Moroni & De Franco, 2024; Rigolon et al., 2022). This uneven distribution is referred to as *cultural inequality* and has far-reaching implications for people's quality of life and well-being (O'Brien & Oakley, 2015). Cultural production, too, tends to cluster geographically in urban centers, thus exacerbating the inequalities related to cultural consumers' and producers' profiles (Borowiecki, 2013). Consequently, people with a lower socioeconomic status, members of ethnic minorities, or residents of geographically peripheral areas are underrepresented in artistic professions (Brook et al., 2020; Menger, 2006). In sum, distributional elements appear to be concrete and perceptible elements of arts-related inequalities.

Over the years, distributive principles of justice, such as those proposed by Rawls, have been criticized for allegedly disregarding the role of the community in determining one's sense of consciousness (Sandel, 2009; Williams, 2006). Amartya Sen's (1992) capabilities theory takes a different approach from Rawls by introducing additional criteria for a theory of justice. Sen believes that the primary goods approach fails to adequately account for the diversity of human beings. He posits that it is less important to focus on an arrangement-centered view of justice, which emphasizes institutional frameworks designed to ensure equality. Instead, he argues that it is more critical to adopt a realization-focused perspective that prioritizes the actual freedoms people have and the outcomes they are able to achieve (Kimhur, 2024). Thus, the concept of capability shifts the discourse on justice from institutional-level thinking to the tangible realities of living environments. It emphasizes the actual freedoms that individuals enjoy, rather than focusing solely on potential agreements or abstract principles (Basta, 2016).

According to the capabilities approach, equality and justice are to be pursued not only in relation to what people *do* but also in relation to what they are *able* and want to do (Zitcer et al., 2016). In this regard, Sen suggests a metric for justice in which what people do are "functionings" and human capacities are "capabilities." When combined, applying Sen's approach to artistic offerings considers two different facets: people's actual actions, such as attending an artistic performance or engaging with an artistic creation, and their potential for doing so (Gross & Wilson, 2020). Functionings are the actual patterns of arts doing and being, whereas cultural capabilities are " … are notions of freedom, in the positive sense: what real opportunities you have regarding the life you

may lead" (Sen, 1987, p. 36). In other words, functionings involve the freedom of an individual to exercise a desired agency, achieve well-being, and realize a combination of numerous functionings in the arts.

Prior studies on being and doing in the arts have focused primarily on manifested functionings, such as the frequency with which individuals participate in artistic activities and visit arts venues (Katz-Gerro, 2004). Nonetheless, arts-related functioning results from the interplay of constraints and capacities, namely, arts-related capabilities. Two individuals who do not learn about or consume art might do so for different reasons – for example, lack of interest or lack of access (Feder, 2023). Israel and Frenkel (2018), who combined the capability approach with other sociological approaches such as Bourdieu's capital and habitus theories, determined that these differences exist in two socio-spatial structures: the "living environment" and the Bourdieusian "social space," manifested in people's economic and cultural capital. Based on this theoretical foundation, where both elements determine capabilities (Israel & Frenkel, 2020), we can study capabilities on a regional level by comparing the opportunities (or freedoms) available to people depending on where they live (Abreu et al., 2023). Using this perspective, we can argue that people's capabilities stem from both their intrinsic qualities, such as their physical and mental attributes, as well as the social and physical conditions of their living environment, including the political context that shapes the policies in their surroundings (Robeyns, 2005).

The capabilities approach highlights the importance of individual autonomy and freedom of choice. However, it also accords well with the diversity of cultural tastes, and acknowledges the need to develop human capacities as a condition for such liberty. One of the more debated aspects of the capabilities theory is the metaethical issue of whether it is possible or desirable to establish a universal set of human capabilities that could act as a standard or normative requirement for ensuring human well-being (Chiappero-Martinetti & Moroni, 2007). Sen himself refrained from detailing which capabilities are to be provided for individuals. Instead, he argued that the capabilities approach must remain a flexible framework, adaptable to a wide range of contexts and situations. This flexibility is essential to enable interpersonal comparisons, which are fundamental to the concept of justice (Sen, 1995).

Unlike Sen, Nussbaum (2006) takes a different stance on this metaethical question, expressing confidence in the possibility and value of identifying a list of basic capabilities. She bases her approach on the Aristotelian concept of "truly human functionings" (Chiappero-Martinetti & Moroni, 2007). She lists 10 core capabilities deemed essential for human well-being and deserving of universal protection. Among these core capabilities are the "senses, imagination, and thought," including "being able to use imagination and thought in connection with experiencing and producing works and events of one's own choice, religious, literary, musical, and so forth" (Nussbaum, 2006, p. 76).

Building on Nussbaum's theory, we can think of capabilities as pertaining to the conditions necessary for participation in arts consumption activities. Therefore, assessing arts availability is based on identifying the distributional aspects of certain baseline conditions, such as the artistic infrastructure of performance venues, arts schools, and exhibition spaces, and the supply of artistic and cultural events and objects disseminated through these means.

Arts supply and spatial inequalities

Arts supply is a key component of access to art. Lack of arts offerings is one of the main barriers to arts consumption (European Commission, 2007). In addition, a large supply of art has a positive effect on its consumption, even when controlling for individual determinants of arts consumption, such as education, age, and gender (Rodríguez-Puello & Iturra, 2022).

The spatial dimension has a particularly significant effect on the access to art (Feder, 2023). The characteristics of a neighborhood and its residents are important indicators of arts attendance (Stern & Seifert, 2005). For example, living in urban centers with large populations has a positive effect on arts consumption (Alderson et al., 2007). The distance from arts venues, even within urban areas, has a negative effect on the probability of visiting museums and galleries (Widdop & Cutts, 2012), libraries (Delrieu & Gibson, 2017), and the opera (Brook, 2013). Stevenson and Magee (2017) argued that arts consumption is influenced by the space where it occurs no less than by the artwork or art activity itself. Therefore, arts venues tend to cluster in core metropolitan cities and rarely in the suburbs. Denser places tend to have greater arts consumption and arts facilities per capita. Planning strategies that affect a city's density might be a factor in creating a more just city. Here, as Fainstein and Fainstein (1972, p. 3) argued, a "commitment to justice" is essential to "shift the balance" in favor of society's deprived groups. This shift implies that urban planning should prioritize the inclusion of diverse individuals who should have equitable access to the resources of the city (Fainstein, 2010, pp. 58–67).

The supply of art is shaped by the demand for and preferences of arts consumers, which are determined both by their motivations for consuming art and their constraints and barriers to accessing art. The arts offerings within a specific area reflect the preferences and demands of the local population, which are influenced by the area's social characteristics. For example, Karkabi (2018) demonstrated that in the city of Haifa, the expansion of an educated and affluent Palestinian community catalyzed arts production and grassroots urban cultural evolution, establishing Haifa as the "Palestinian cultural capital."

As Borowiecki (2013) showed, the social composition of the population is an essential factor in shaping the urban supply of arts. Florida's (2002) "creative class" thesis argues that urban populations with high levels of cultural capital create a demand for arts activities. The connection between artistic amenities and the urban environment is a central component of Florida's idea of the "creative city," which attracts highly skilled workers and drives the local economy (Stevenson, 2013). Local authorities endorse urban art as a strategy for achieving a variety of objectives, including the development of city landscapes, the transformation of the city's identity and branding, and the improvement of socially marginalized areas and communities (Campos & Barbio, 2021).

The spatial distribution of art tilts between centripetal forces that drive the concentration of the arts in specific localities, and centrifugal forces that promote their dispersion. The literature has often highlighted the tendency of artists and arts activities to cluster in selected large metropolitan areas (Borowiecki, 2013; O'Hagan & Hellmanzik, 2008). Moreover, within these cities, arts activities tend to be unevenly concentrated in specific neighborhoods, giving rise to local arts scenes (Lloyd, 2010). Conversely, governments' cultural policies aim to achieve a more even distribution of arts and cultural

activities across various regions using designated funding and other incentives (Feder & Katz-Gerro, 2015).

The concentration of economic activity and population in cities also drives the creative economy (Markusen & Schrock, 2006). Arts amenities and activities play a central role in urban regeneration processes by attracting the "creative class," with its extensive cultural capital (Florida, 2004; Valli, 2022). However, the rapid gentrification of inner-city suburbs in developed economies, where a significant portion of this activity occurs, excludes individuals who lack financial and material support from the public sector (Sacco et al., 2019; Threadgold, 2023). This exclusion may imply, in Sen's terminology, inequality in human capabilities to flourish and benefit from arts and culture.

Savage et al.'s (2018) concept of "urban cultural capital" underscores the inter-correlations between cultural capital and urban space by calling for a consideration of both the social and physical environments. Discrepancies in the level of cultural capital in urban areas give rise to tensions between the core of large metropolitan cities and their surrounding areas (Hanquinet, 2016).

As Butler and Robson's (2001) study of London's urban gentrification processes showed, urban dynamics are affected by the heterogeneous distribution of three forms of capital – social, economic, and cultural. They described a multi-layered community engaged in complex relationships with local cultural organizations, a phenomenon they termed "social tectonics." Lamour and Lorentz (2021) further observed that global cities, with their diverse populations possessing different levels of cultural capital, have implemented cultural policies promoting artistic amenities that address elite urban social classes, thereby encouraging the development of art. Such policies use the funding of arts activities or the provision of a cultural infrastructure to allow such activity to take place (Rössel & Weingartner, 2016).

Arts justice – theory and hypotheses

Conceptual framework

Figure 1 demonstrates how urban arts justice arises from a combination of a person's capabilities and the way in which arts opportunities are distributed. The combination of the two defines the availability of consuming art based on where one lives. Unlike capabilities, the actual functioning involves a concrete action, such as attending an artistic performance or engaging with an artistic creation in some way. We call this dimension of urban arts justice an "encounter" to signify the act of interacting with an artistic creation.

We position the term "availability" within the larger cultural ecology (Markusen et al., 2011; McCarthy et al., 2004). To assess capability, it is essential to measure the potential for achieving desired outcomes and the "extent of real opportunities to be and do what people … value" (Kimhur, 2024, p. 487). Accordingly, we contend that the artistic offerings available to a certain population is a crucial element in assessing justice in arts consumption. However, the capabilities theory highlights the importance of accounting for the diversity of human beings (Basta, 2016). Therefore, availability, as a dimension of urban arts justice, is expressed not only by the number of artistic occurrences in a given place, but also in the correspondence between the artistic offerings and the

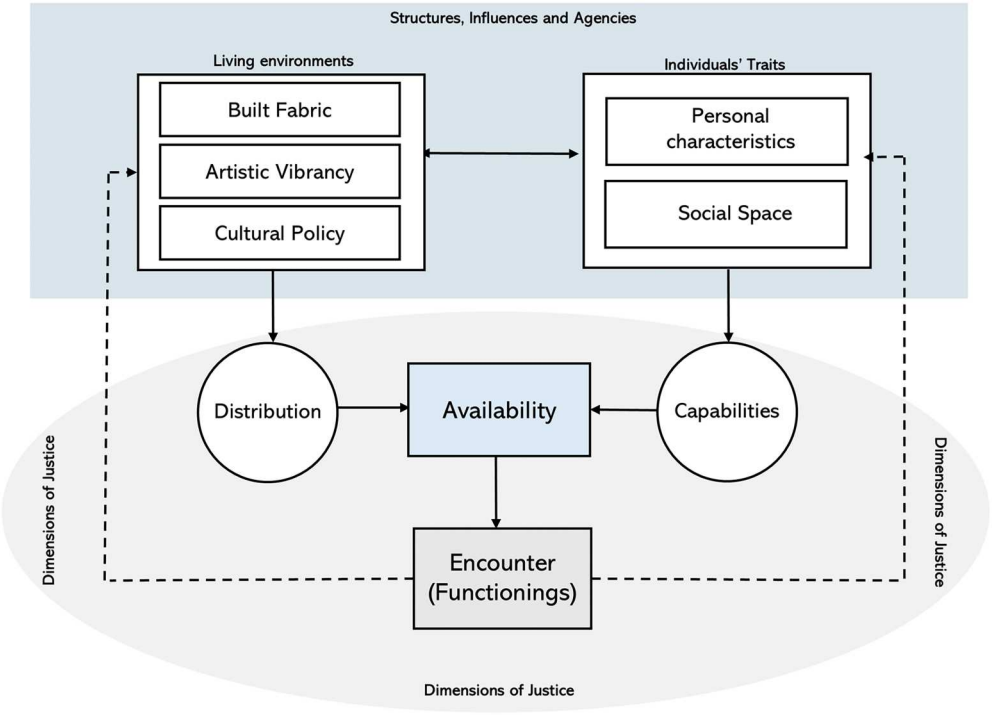

Figure 1. Urban arts justice as a function of living environments and personal traits.

specific characteristics of their potential recipients (e.g. consumers and artistic creators). Thus, the level and number of opportunities to encounter arts are related to the specific makeup of the population that is likely to take advantage of these opportunities and the access it has to them. The latter is partly a function of the features of the built environment in which the population resides. This correlation between the characteristics of potential consumers, their living environment, and the availability of art is an essential aspect of urban arts justice in space.

According to the framework in Figure 1, potential recipients are characterized by their personal traits and bundles of capital (i.e. social space). Both enable people to have the liberty (capability) to be, to do, and to accomplish their aspirations (i.e. life-chances) (Robeyns & Brighouse, 2010). In order to exercise these personal liberties, people have to use the capital they have. For instance, they can spend money (economic capital) on relevant activities such as attending an artistic activity or choosing housing in a particular neighborhood that provides opportunities for artistic experiences. Utilizing different forms of capital creates and shapes the characteristics of the material landscape (Watt, 2009). Doing so can create and maintain social divisions, classifications, and distinctions that eventually manifest themselves physically (Savage, 2010). The use of capital stimulates the development of places, and organizes space into communities (Bridge, 2006; Watt, 2009), each with their own ability to form and foster other forms of capital, amenities, and creative social-cultural environments In this sense, the distribution of the capability to consume arts is linked to the allocation of public or private resources in each community. One example is the availability of an artistic infrastructure

in the form of buildings and organizations that produce, educate, or host cultural activities. Many arts organizations and cultural buildings are supported by public funding from local or municipal authorities (Rosenstein, 2018), making their availability a public issue of distributive justice. From this standpoint, as Moroni mentions (2020, p. 254), "just city is therefore a city whose public institutions are just." Accordingly, geographical circumstances and arrangements, whether positive or negative, emerge within a certain institutional framework, as "judgement of (social) justice or injustice applies to the institutions that form the basic framework within which various situations occur" (Moroni, 2020, p. 255).

Availability, global core cities, and surrounding metropolitan areas

The role of space in justice issues involves various factors, including the distribution of resources and facilities across different "space units" (Moroni & De Franco, 2024). Studying justice in this regard involves "assessing the extent of real opportunities to achieve valued … functionings and its interpersonal difference" (Kimhur, 2024, p. 488). Therefore, we operationalize the availability dimension of urban arts justice as a metric by examining regional disparities between a global city and its surrounding metropolitan areas.

For several decades, global cities have been recognized as pivotal nodes in the global economy and cultural landscapes, functioning as hubs of connectivity and control (Andrews & LaWare, 2022; Sassen, 2018). They host multinational corporations and specialized service industries, becoming increasingly disconnected from national economies (Friedmann, 1986; Hatuka et al., 2018). These cities accumulate capital, have an advanced infrastructure, and drive liberal international and neoliberal political agendas (Curtis, 2018). In contrast, non-global cities struggle with their limited global engagement, lack of ability to attract investment, and marginalization from global economic flows (Lüthi et al., 2010; McDonald et al., 2018).

Nevertheless, three decades of research have failed to yield a comprehensive theoretical and empirical literature that sufficiently differentiates the polity of these two forms of cities (Rasel & Kalfadellis, 2021). Insights derived from years of research have highlighted the distinctions between global and non-global cities in terms of cultural and economic structures. For example, global cities leverage their cultural infrastructure – museums, theaters, and galleries – to reinforce their global status and attract creative professionals and tourists (Kong et al., 2015). These cities embrace urban renewal through culture-driven policies, positioning themselves as creative hubs within the global marketplace (Florida, 2002; Merkel, 2018). Art has also become a financial asset within these urban economies, tying culture and its consumption by the elite to capital flows (Caset & Derudder, 2017; Coslor & Velthuis, 2012). Consequently, the spatial and economic organization of global cities seem to be reflecting a high degree of cultural brokerage, policy coordination, and strategic branding to maintain their international relevance (Hall, 2000; Hannerz, 1993).

Non-global cities, however, face challenges keeping pace with this dynamism due to their limited resources and connectivity. Lacking the density and infrastructure needed for a global reach, their cultural economies tend to focus on niche markets rooted in local identities (Lorenzen et al., 2008; Scott, 2001). Efforts to imitate global models

often result in elite-oriented cultural projects disconnected from community needs (Kong et al., 2015). Despite attempts to adopt the language and ambitions of global urbanism, many smaller or non-global cities lack the structural and policy foundation to support such transformations meaningfully, highlighting the uneven geography of global cultural and economic integration (Gibson, 2010; Jayne et al., 2010). As noted earlier, studies on the variations between cities are few; what is also notable here is the lack of research on the unique traits that set global cities apart from their immediate neighbors. One example in this regard is ethical issues related to spatial justice in the arts within these contexts. Hence, we explore the differences between a global city, which is a major hub for artistic production, and its surrounding metropolitan areas with regard to the availability dimension of urban arts justice.

Core metropolitan cities, which often function as global cities, are recognized as typically economically dominant. The secondary cities and areas around them have grown in response to the needs of the core city (Phelps et al., 2010; Sassen, 2018; Scott & Storper, 2015). Despite being substantially smaller than the core, these satellite towns often experience rapid expansion due to urban sprawl and suburbanization (Brenner, 2019). They may have vibrant local arts scenes but tend to lack the international reach and symbolic capital that core cities possess (Markusen & Gadwa, 2010; Waitt & Gibson, 2009). Nevertheless, both parts of the metropolis are interdependent. The core cities rely on the secondary areas for labor, affordable housing, and logistical infrastructure. Similarly, the secondary areas depend on the core cities for investment, employment opportunities, and connection to global networks (Hall & Pain, 2006; Meijers & Burger, 2017; Taylor et al., 2020).

Recent studies have highlighted instances of mutual exchange and creative borrowing between the core cities and their surrounding areas, especially as non-core cities experiment with alternative, place-based cultural strategies to assert their autonomy and resilience (Comunian et al., 2014). Nevertheless, differences between the two types of cities have produced persistent inequalities in terms of resource allocation, recognition, and opportunities for artists and institutions. Funding organizations and media attention are disproportionately focused on core cities, thereby reinforcing their supremacy in attracting additional investment and talent (Brook et al., 2020). In addition, the exodus of artists and cultural workers from non-core regions to core cities in pursuit of recognition is intensifying over time (Markusen & Gadwa, 2010). On the other hand, core cities often display more pronounced spatial segregation and inequality (Lees et al., 2016). Gentrification, displacement, and socio-spatial restructuring are prominent in core cities, driven by investment cycles and urban redevelopment. In contrast, as Keil (2018) and Musterd et al. (2017) have demonstrated, the areas around core cities have experienced the suburbanization of poverty and ethnic clustering.

Research hypotheses

In order to test the theory proposed in Figure 1, this study concentrates on a specific case study of arts venues. In accordance with Figure 1, we posit that the availability of arts events, AV_{i}, where AV stands for the arts offerings of an art venue i, is determined by geo-spatial attributes GS_i and social space attributes SS_i to which the performing arts

venue primarily caters. Equation (1) expresses this relationship:

$$AV = f(SS_i, GS_i) \quad (1)$$

We analyze the correlations between artistic supply in cultural venues and the social and physical makeup of the surrounding population and neighborhoods. Therefore, we propose hypotheses about the relationship between people's social characteristics and aspects of their living environment and their level of arts availability. These hypotheses assume that urban arts justice is contingent upon certain conditions: a larger proportion of the population with characteristics such as higher levels of education and economic status that create the demand for culture, improved physical access to arts offerings, and supportive urban policies regarding the arts. We posit that an increase in these factors will result in a corresponding increase in the level of the supply of arts. Additionally, people vary in their opportunities to attend arts events, depending on whether they live in a global city or its vicinity.

The intricate dynamics between global core cities and their surrounding metropolitan areas prompted the formulation of two hypotheses for both a global city and its surroundings:

H_{global}: There is a positive correlation between the characteristics of the population that prompt the demand for opportunities to cultural consumption and the surroundings in which people reside, and the level of the supply of arts in global cities.

$H_{vicinity}$: There is a positive correlation between the characteristics of the population that prompt the demand for opportunities to cultural consumption and the surroundings in which people reside, and the level of the supply of arts in the metropolitan areas of global cities.

Methodology

Research area

To test our hypotheses, we focused on data from the Tel-Aviv metropolitan area (Figure 2b). Israel provides a particularly fertile ground for research on culture, art, and regional inequalities. With a population of 9.6 million in 2022, the country is small in size – roughly equivalent to the state of New Jersey – yet highly urbanized, featuring a vibrant and innovative economy (Frenkel & Maital, 2014; Senor & Singer, 2011). Much of its economic activity is concentrated in the Tel-Aviv metropolitan region, where demand for housing is exceptionally high and prices rank among the most expensive in the country. This stands in stark contrast to the less developed and economically weaker peripheries (see Figure 2a; Yiftachel, 2019).

Cultural activity in Israel is also concentrated in the city of Tel-Aviv, widely recognized as a global city[1] and home to the largest cluster of arts and cultural institutions in the country (Alfasi & Fenster, 2009; Yavo-Ayalon et al., 2019). The city itself has about half a million residents (Table 1), and sits within the metropolitan region that surrounds it. The Tel Aviv metropolitan region encompasses some 4.2 million inhabitants – approximately 44% of the national population (Razin & Charney, 2015). According to the Central Bureau of Statistics, Tel-Aviv serves as the metropolitan core. The city is surrounded by densely populated metropolitan inner and middle rings (Figure 2b). The

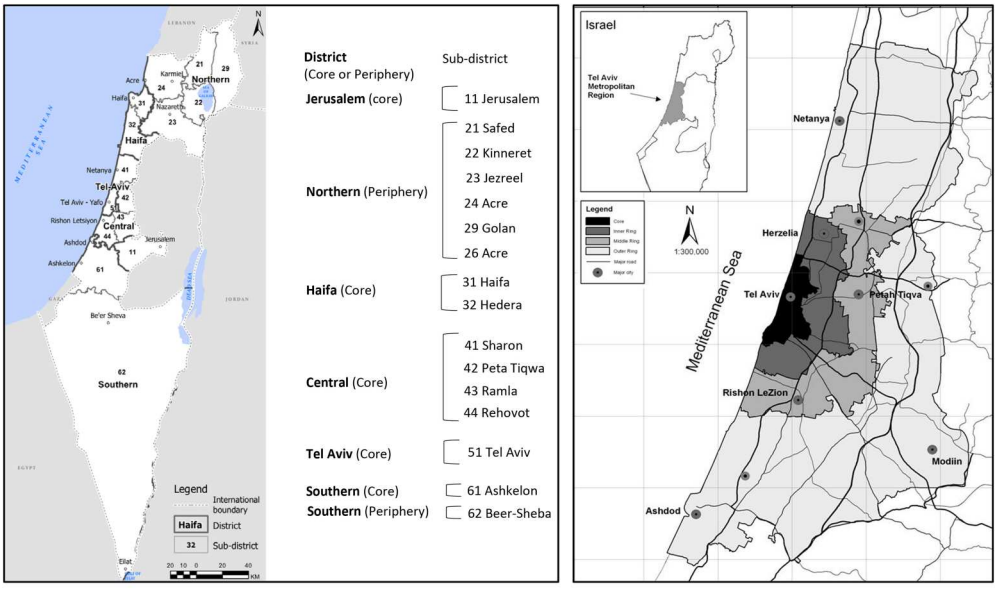

Figure 2. (a) Core and peripheral regions in Israel according to districts and sub-districts and (b) the division of the Tel Aviv metropolitan area into its core and surrounding rings.

Table 1. Tel Aviv metropolis – population size (thousands), by spatial rings (1972–2022).

Year	Core	Inner Ring	Middle Ring	External Ring	Total
1972	363	444	442		1,249
1983	327	530	445	253	1,555
1990	340	590	547	306	1,783
1995	356	611	599	364	1,930
2000	354	799	878	754	2,785
2005	379	811	955	895	3,040
2010	404	881	1,048	1,018	3,351
2015	433	936	1,155	1,261	3,785
2017	444	963	1,200	1,312	3,919
2022	475	1,033	1,288	1,436	4,232

Source: C.B.S. – Statistical Yearbooks for Israel, 1973–2023

rings primarily operate as commuter towns with more limited land-use diversity (Frenkel et al., 2013; Shachar & Felsenstein, 2002). Our analysis focuses specifically on the metropolitan core and the said surrounding rings. For our hypotheses, H_{global} refers to Tel-Aviv itself, while $H_{vicinty}$ refers to its surrounding metropolitan rings.[2]

The city of Tel-Aviv functions as Israel's central hub in international finance, high-tech innovation, and cultural production, exemplifying the theoretical contours of a global city (Kipnis, 2004). It accrues disproportionate economic, political, and cultural influence within both the national and regional contexts, reinforced by demographic trends. After years of decline, Tel-Aviv experienced renewed population growth during the 1990s, becoming the second largest city in Israel after Jerusalem. This demographic resurgence parallels Tel-Aviv's economic consolidation as Israel's postindustrial, globally oriented growth engine. The last decades solidified its role in R&D-intensive

industries and in international cultural circuits (Avni, 2024; Kloosterman & Lambregts, 2007; Shachar, 1998). The city's global-city identity is also deeply rooted in its planning history and cultural narratives. The Geddes Plan of 1925 embedded public spaces and cultural institutions within its urban fabric, laying the groundwork for its cosmopolitan character. Tel-Aviv's evolving self-image – from the "First Hebrew City," to the "Nonstop City," and now the globally emblematic "White City" – reflects its long-standing aspiration to position itself alongside other world metropolises (Fenster & Yacobi, 2005). Despite centralized state control, Tel-Aviv has cultivated a degree of planning autonomy (Barak & Mualam, 2022), enabling locally responsive policies that reinforce its developmental agency and international orientation.

By contrast, urban municipalities in the surrounding metropolitan area – such as Ramat Gan, Holon, Bat Yam, and Petah Tikva (see the online appendix) – illustrate the structural disparities between Tel-Aviv as a global city and its dependent satellites. Some have developed specialized economic niches, such as Ramat Gan's Diamond Exchange or Petah Tikva's industrial zones, yet their integration into global networks remains markedly weaker (Marom & Shlomo, 2024; Shachar & Felsenstein, 2002). Demographically, these municipalities continue to expand (Table 1), but they primarily serve residential, service-oriented, or regionally focused roles (Alfasi & Portugali, 2004).

This asymmetry in the metropolitan hierarchy – one global city overshadowing adjacent, more domestically focused towns – underscores both Tel-Aviv's exceptional global connectivity and the internal disparities it exacerbates (Modai-Snir, 2021). Rising housing costs and socioeconomic inequalities have prompted cultural policies aimed at extending access to the arts beyond Tel-Aviv, particularly to Israel's peripheral regions. Such efforts have included building cultural infrastructure, supporting local artistic production, and importing cultural programming from the metropolitan center (Feder & Katz-Gerro, 2015).

Accordingly, the geographic distribution of opportunities for arts participation can be understood through the lens of *urban arts justice* (Moroni & De Franco, 2024). In the case of Tel-Aviv and its metropolitan area, disparities in access to culture highlight broader inequalities in life chances and opportunities for community involvement in the arts (Israel & Frenkel, 2020; Shamur & Marom, 2021; Azaryahu, 2008).

Data and analysis

For our study, we scraped cultural events data from the Habama website, a leading Israeli website that advertises listings of performing arts events.[3] The website's archive is available from around 2015 and contains daily information about art and performing arts events. The scraped data contain the name of the event, its date, venue, and type of performance.[4]

We extracted a list of venues from the data and found their coordinates by combining Google Maps' API, Open Street Maps' API, and a manual search to identify the exact geographic locations of the venues. In addition, we used data from the Israeli population census of 2008 to determine the socio-spatial characteristics of the various locations. We used data about various socio-demographic attributes at the level of sub-quarters, which are urban subdivisions of around 5,000–30,000 inhabitants.[5]

Next, we analyzed the social composition of the population served by the venues. We outlined a "catchment basin" around each performance venue and characterized the population encircled in this basin according to the independent variables described below. The criterion for being included in the basin was living in a 2000-meter perimeter around the venue. We chose this measure because 2000 meters is reachable by foot or by car (Oliveira et al., 2019). This catchment basin's population generates most of the demand for arts activities supplied by a specific venue or a performance in that venue. In a broad sense, people living in the catchment basin benefit from these arts activities. We recognize that there are different types of venues, some serving audiences from varying distance ranges. However, we chose to focus on the nearby built environment, as the nearby population is the most immediate beneficiary of these activities. As mentioned above, the distance from arts venues, even within urban areas, negatively affects the probability of visiting the venue (Brook, 2013; Delrieu & Gibson, 2017; Widdop & Cutts, 2012).

We estimated the characteristics of the basin's population by computing a weighted average of the population in the statistical sub-quarters contained within the perimeter according to their relative size in the perimeter. Thus, we calculated the values of each variable using Equation (2):

$$A_i = \frac{\sum_{j=1}^{n} pop_j \pi_j a_j}{\sum_{j=1}^{n} pop_j \pi_j} \tag{2}$$

Given a certain perimeter size around venue i, A_i is defined as the value of variable A in the perimeter of venue i. π_j is the the overlap area of the perimeter of venue i and sub-quarter j (out of n sub-quarters included in the perimeter of venue i) divided by the area of sub-quarter j – $\frac{area\ of\ the\ overlap\ between\ subquarter_j\ and\ perimeter_i}{area\ of\ subquarter_j}$. pop_j is the population size in sub-quarter j. a_j is the value of variable A in the sub-quarters j (e.g. mean age).

Therefore, A_i is a weighted mean of the values of variable A in the sub-quarters that are fully or partially contained in the perimeter, weighted by the relative size of the sub-quarters' population inside the perimeter. This method allows us to reliably estimate the socio-economic and spatial characteristics of the population served by the venue and its featured performances. The accuracy of this method depends on one condition – the homogenous density of the population inside each sub-quarter. The more varied the density, the more chance there is for bias in the interpolation of the perimeters' indices. Luckily, given that the CBS' division of neighborhoods into sub-quarters creates relatively small areas that share similar urban characteristics, the assumption about their homogeneity is very likely to hold true. Thus, we maintain that the computation and method are very reliable.

Variables

We estimated linear OLS regression models at the venue level. The dependent variable was defined as "availability" (i.e. urban arts justice), calculated as the total number of performances per venue. We added up the number of shows for each venue from January 1, 2016 to March 1, 2020, just before the COVID-19 outbreak. In accordance with the theoretical model, we distinguished between two types of variables that influence cultural

availability as manifested in the number of shows in a venue. First, we considered people's individual characteristics and the social space at the level of a performing arts venue's perimeter.[6] The personal characteristics we considered were ethnicity and age. The variables for the social space were educational level, occupational status, and economic status. Given that our analysis focuses on the venue level and examines its spatial characteristics, we used summary statistics or proportions of specific attributes to characterize the population within a specific area.

We measured *Age* as the median age in the sub-quarter and used a weighted mean of the areas' median age. *Ethnicity* was captured by the percentage of residents of Ashkenazi origin (Europe, America & Oceania ancestry) in the perimeter. We assessed *Education* by the proportion of the population possessing a master's degree or higher. Lacking direct measures of the population's income levels, we measured *occupational status* as the percentage of the population working in an occupation that requires academic training such as health, science, engineering, culture, etc. Finally, we assessed *Economic status* using the percentage of households living in apartments that they own rather than rent as a proxy variable.[7]

The second set of variables referred to the living environment, meaning the geo-spatial attributes of the perimeter level of an arts venue. The variables in this group include the built fabric captured by population density, artistic vibrancy captured by the number of cultural or nightlife venues in the perimeter, and cultural policy measured by the level of municipal spending on culture per capita.

We measured *population density* as the number of people living within the perimeter divided by the perimeter's size. As a measure of population density, it indicates the level of access that individuals have to different amenities within the physical structure of a city. *Per capita performance venues* is the number of additional performance venues within the venue's perimeter per capita.[8]

Number of cultural or nightlife venues is the number of additional cultural and nightlife venues in the venue's perimeter.[9] Furthermore, we included *High/Popular art* in our analysis as a control variable to indicate the genre of shows showcased in the venue. Each performance was labeled as being part of high or popular art.[10]

Table 2 presents the descriptive statistics of the variables we examined for 578 catchment basins within the Tel-Aviv area. It indicates that the metropolitan population differs from the national population. The percentage of Ashkenazi Jews in the population is slightly higher in the core area compared to the outer ring, and both are slightly higher than the national average. The median age in Tel-Aviv and its metropolitan vicinity catchment basins is similar, around 33 years old, which is higher than the national median. Urban areas usually contain highly educated residents, as evident in the average proportion of residents holding high-level academic degrees. This proportion is similar in Tel-Aviv and its metropolitan vicinity catchment basins (around 11%) and higher than the general population (8.5%).

Despite the similarity in educational levels, a larger share of residents in Tel-Aviv's catchment basins work in academic occupations (18% compared to 16% in the metropolitan vicinity catchment basins and 14% in the general population). Their cultural capital notwithstanding, households in Tel-Aviv are less likely to own the home they live in (39%) than the metropolitan vicinity's catchment basin households (69%). The national levels of these variables are between these two percentages (66%). The population density

Table 2. The study's population socio-economic characteristics in the study's catchment basins – Tel Aviv and the metropolitan vicinity of the city of Tel Aviv.

	Tel Aviv		Metropolitan vicinity		National mean (2008)
	Mean	SD	Mean	SD	
Age	33.1	1.3	34.0	3.2	29.0
Ash_jew	39.3	2.3	36.6	4.4	34.2
Education	11.4	3.9	11.3	4.1	8.5
Occupational status	19.6	6.5	15.9	5.7	14.1
% of households living in apartments they own	38.6	6.4	69.1	2.3	65.8
Density	9.4	2.2	7.5	4.2	
Number of Additional cultural/night life venues in the perimeter	430.2	193.0	47.2	33.74	
Municipal cultural funding	829.3	–	475.8	254.9	
Number of venues	361		217		
Shows per venue	124.4	465.0	77.6	213.3	

in the metropolitan is lower than that in Tel-Aviv proper. As we expected, there are more cultural amenities in the global city compared to its outer regions. In addition, the municipal spending on culture in Tel-Aviv is greater too.

Results

Table 3 presents the results of the estimated regression models that show the relationship between a venue's availability and the variables that affect it within the catchment basins in Tel-Aviv and its metropolitan vicinity areas. We begin with the results of the model using the entire sample, controlling for the global city vs. its surrounding metropolitan areas using the binary variable of location in Models 1 and 2.

The results of Model 1 establish a positive correlation between availability and the age of the population. Thus, venues that serve areas with an older population tend to present more cultural offerings than venues that serve younger populations. Occupational status, a social space variable that reflects the economic dimension, also has a positive coefficient, indicating that more arts events are presented in venues that are closer to areas with a larger number of people who have higher occupational status. Finally, there is also a positive correlation between the percentage of home ownership and availability.

In contrast, education as a cultural capital variable correlates differently with availability. There is a negative association between availability and educational level. This result indicates that a larger percentage of highly educated people living close to the venue is linked to fewer performances, even after controlling for all other variables in the model. Finally, high-level performing arts events are less frequent than popular ones, indicated by the negative coefficient of the variable indicating high culture shows.

Model 2 adds the variables related to the living environment to the regression analysis. The addition of these variables does not affect most of the coefficients estimated in Model 1. The results re-establish the positive correlation between age, occupational status, and the percentage of homeowners and availability. Education is negatively correlated with availability, but this finding is only marginally significant. Interestingly, when introducing the personal variables, ethnicity is significantly correlated with availability.

The living environment variables add explanatory power to the model. There is a positive correlation between population density and cultural and nightlife venues, and

Table 3. Regression of availability on social and geographical spaces.

		Model 1 Combined	Model 2 Combined	Model 3 Tel Aviv	Model 4 Metro Vicinity	Model 5 Tel Aviv	Model 6 Metro Vicinity
Personal characteristics	Ashkenazi jews %	0.109	0.161*	0.107	0.041	0.192	0.017
		(0.075)	(0.078)	(0.117)	(0.097)	(0.123)	(0.100)
	Age	0.404**	0.299*	0.349	0.250+	0.641	0.063
		(0.128)	(0.152)	(0.518)	(0.128)	(0.626)	(0.148)
Social space	Education	−0.831***	−0.542+	−1.558*	−0.427	−1.865*	0.097
		(0.230)	(0.291)	(0.610)	(0.264)	(0.737)	(0.318)
	Occupational status	0.540***	0.386*	0.991**	0.202	1.165**	−0.090
		(0.134)	(0.168)	(0.341)	(0.176)	(0.413)	(0.213)
	% of households living in apartments they own	0.057*	0.216***	0.121+	−0.037	0.280**	0.134
		(0.027)	(0.055)	(0.065)	(0.071)	(0.092)	(0.101)
Built fabric	Density		0.189*			−0.172	0.294**
			(0.090)			(0.189)	(0.108)
Artistic vibrancy	Additional cultural/night life venues		0.009**			0.011**	0.019+
			(0.003)			(0.004)	(0.011)
Cultural Policy	Cultural funding municipal		−0.0002				0.002
			(0.001)				(0.001)
Spatial location	Metropolitan location	−0.563	−1.951*				
		(0.759)	(0.905)				
	High culture shows	−2.133***	−2.133***	−2.208***	−2.010***	−2.208***	−2.010***
		(0.370)	(0.368)	(0.506)	(0.512)	(0.503)	(0.508)
	Constant	−16.212**	−26.615***	−17.264	−1.728	−39.329*	−11.499
		(5.252)	(6.868)	(15.255)	(9.629)	(17.961)	(11.593)
	Observations	1,156	1,156	722	434	722	434
	R^2	0.049	0.060	0.051	0.053	0.064	0.073

Note: + $p < 0.1$; * $p < 0.05$; ** $p < 0.01$; *** $p < 0.001$. Standard errors in parentheses.

availability. Thus, there are more cultural offerings per venue in more densely populated areas and areas with a larger concentration of artistic and leisure venues. The impact of the municipality's spending on culture is not statistically significant. Finally, where people live is another significant factor for the availability of arts. The statistically significant negative coefficient on the global city vs. its surrounding metropolitan area confirms that, controlling for individual traits and variables related to the living environment, a global city's venues showcase more performances than those in its surrounding metropolitan area.

Models 3 and 4 explore venues in the global city and its metropolitan vicinity separately. Their results partially accord with the findings in Models 1 and 2 and show the differences between the regions. For example, the positive correlation between age and availability in both Models 1 and 2 is statistically significant only in the surrounding metropolitan area and that level of significance is only marginal. Similarly, there is a negative correlation between education and availability in Tel-Aviv. However, this variable is not statistically significant in the surrounding metropolitan area. In addition, there is a positive correlation between availability and the two variables related to economic level – occupational status and percentage of homeowners – only in Tel-Aviv (the latter is only marginally significant). These results suggest that the positive correlation between economic level and availability in Models 1 and 2 are largely driven by Tel-Aviv's venues. In the surrounding metropolitan area, these correlations are much weaker or nonexistent.

Adding the physical environment variables in Models 5 and 6 reveals that most of the above results are robust. Of the physical environment variables, population density is statistically significant only in the surrounding metropolitan area, not in Tel-Aviv. The number of additional artistic and nightlife venues has a significant positive correlation with availability in both areas. Finally, the municipality's spending on culture is not statistically significant in the surrounding metropolitan area.[11]

Discussion

Arts-related inequalities are abundant and complex (Katz-Gerro, 2004). We explored a specific aspect of urban arts justice by introducing the concept of "availability" and used it to analyze the arts offerings in the main metropolitan region of Israel, Tel-Aviv. By examining the number of performances in relation to the social and spatial characteristics of the area surrounding a venue, we assessed the connection between the availability of art events in both a global city, Tel-Aviv, and its surrounding metropolitan area. We identified the factors that might be associated with differences in arts availability and, therefore, with urban arts injustice. The findings from our case study underscore the broader patterns revealed in the literature concerning the cultural hierarchy between core metropolitan cities – often functioning as global cities – and their surrounding urban areas.

As our findings demonstrate, there is a stronger relationship between the characteristics of the population and the availability of arts in the global city than in its surrounding metropolitan area. In addition, this relationship seems to follow the expected correspondence between the demand for performing arts events and its supply more closely. Therefore, both H_{global} and $H_{vicinity}$ are corroborated but with different correlation patterns. Some

components of the broad picture of the correlations might be equivocal in their interpretation with regard to urban arts justice. For example, the fact that having an older population drives up the supply of arts might be seen as a possible injustice in that there are fewer events in areas with younger residents. Like many other cultural and commercial centers worldwide, Tel-Aviv has a large young adult population. Possibly, younger age groups, which constitute a large proportion of the population, are not getting their fair share of arts activities. This problem can be considered less acute in a global city such as Tel-Aviv than in its surrounding metropolitan area, where the results show a generally lower level of arts activities. These results support the literature highlighting how secondary cities, while fostering unique and locally embedded cultural identities, remain disadvantaged within the broader cultural economy (Bell & Jayne, 2010; Grodach, 2013).

We can also assume that occupational status and education are axes of arts injustice, as they also correlate with availability. Availability seems to be associated with residents with higher occupational status, but not with higher education. We can situate these findings within the urban arts justice framework presented earlier and within the global literature on the concentration of cultural capital and institutional infrastructure in core cities (Sassen, 2018; Zukin, 2010). These cities are not only cultural epicenters but also serve as gatekeepers of artistic legitimacy and recognition. These factors attract the creative workforce, exacerbating the brain drain of artists and cultural workers from non-core regions to core cities (Markusen & Gadwa, 2010).

We examined existing venues and investigated the factors that drive their level of supply of arts – the number of performances. Therefore, we did not consider those areas devoid of arts venues and cultural activity. Given that our analysis was at the venue level, we considered only those populations already served to some extent by performing arts activities. For this reason, we chose to focus on a relatively densely populated metropolis with an established built environment and many arts venues. In addition, we cannot infer the level of consumption from the number of performances. Therefore, we considered the level of capabilities, not functionings, and their distributional aspects, which we termed availability. The availability of arts is the basic building block of arts consumption capabilities (i.e. urban arts justice), without which other arts experiences such as consumption are not possible.

The paper makes two main contributions. First, it connects the social study of culture and arts consumption with the normative turn in geographical and urban studies (Israel & Frenkel, 2020). Second, we make a methodological contribution to how to look at the drivers of the supply of arts through the spatial environment in which it is produced – the social and geo-spatial characteristics of the surrounding venues of cultural activities.

The core city's cultural dominance relies, at least partially, on surrounding areas for labor, logistical support, and even cultural experimentation (Comunian, 2011; Markusen & Gadwa, 2010). However, this interdependence has not translated into cultural equality. Policies aimed at decentralizing culture often fail to address the structural barriers facing non-core global cities. Hybrid forms of collaboration, regional innovation clusters, and decentralized policy models that aim to rebalance cultural geographies are a few examples of these endeavors (Chapain & Comunian, 2010; Grodach et al., 2014). These efforts, however, often face challenges due to entrenched institutional biases and inequalities in capital. Our findings about the weak or inconsistent correlations between local socioeconomic attributes and arts availability in Tel-Aviv's surrounding regions support this contention.

Our approach provides social scientists and planners with a conceptual tool for researching cultural inequalities from a new perspective that can enrich the study of arts engagement and cultural policy. Oftentimes, mayors, planners, and politicians adhere to normative ideas that promote neoliberal beliefs about regional or urban development as a means of generating wealth rather than fostering human well-being (Fainstein, 2010). Arts justice, as defined here, enables a return to the primary concept of the equality of capabilities by considering not only the economic progress of cities and regions, but also how they uphold individual freedoms. Moreover, our approach can also be useful for third-sector organizations and art activists. As Sen himself argued, the policy recommendations stemming from his theory are not solely the responsibility of governments to implement. Civil society and local communities also play a crucial role in fostering and providing these capabilities (Chiappero-Martinetti & Moroni, 2007).

Conclusion

Art is not a magic potion for helping human beings flourish. However, we claim that promoting urban arts justice can catalyze future action and serve a resource for those seeking to improve their living environment, be it at the neighborhood, city, or regional level. Future research can go a step further, and compare information regarding various forms of engaging with the arts with data about spatially anchored supplies of arts directly, as we presented here. Doing so should provide a fuller understanding of how arts capabilities (supply, in this case) condition arts-related functionings (e.g. arts consumption), and how it stimulates the development of arts capabilities.

This research also has some limitations. First, it is based on data from performing arts venues in Israel's most culturally active region. It is possible that arts-related inequality does not mean that consumers actually lack the availability of arts offerings. The Tel-Aviv metropolitan area provides the most extensive arts offerings in the country, even though they tend to be concentrated mainly in the city of Tel-Aviv (Feder & Katz-Gerro, 2015). Therefore, we must be careful in interpreting any inequality as an arts injustice. In some cases, the supply of arts can be so abundant that, despite discrepancies in availability that might penalize a specific group, this group can still achieve high levels of arts-related functioning by having access to a sufficient level of arts consumption. We could investigate this possibility by analyzing data about actual consumption and supply together. Moreover, using different geo-perimeters could yield different results. Thus, the results should be interpreted in the specific social and cultural context.

Second, we do make claims about causality. We do not contend that the social composition of the environment is the sole factor leading to the level of the supply of art. Artistic hotspots are likely to attract certain populations, so the supply of art impacts the population's characteristics too. Moreover, studies about urban arts justice do not currently consider processes over time. Instead, they focus on the situation at a specific point in time and examine the dimension of distributional capabilities, which we term availability, in a particular context. Studying the processes that led to the current situation requires further research.

Finally, empirically verifying a theory such as ours is difficult, because its components are abstract notions with no straightforward translation into quantifiable values. Any attempt to quantify them entails a certain reduction of the theory and so necessitates

caution. Future studies could attempt to expand the theory's operationalization. Doing so would improve our understanding about the factors affecting urban arts injustice and the measures we can take to ameliorate them.

Notes

1. See https://www.oxfordeconomics.com/global-cities-index/
2. See the online appendix for the list of cities included and key spatial and social indices.
3. Habama.co.il
4. The web scraper was provided by the Brightinitiative project - https://brightinitiative.com/.
5. Statistical sub-quarters are neighborhood-size areas defined by the Israeli Central Bureau of Statistics (CBS). The CBS provides data on their population's characteristics across different indices. See: https://www.cbs.gov.il/he/subjects/Pages/%D7%90%D7%95%D7%9B%D7%9C%D7%95%D7%A1%D7%99%D7%99%D7%94-%D7%94%D7%92%D7%93%D7%A8%D7%95%D7%AA-%D7%95%D7%94%D7%A1%D7%91%D7%A8%D7%99%D7%9D.aspx
6. Taken from the 2008 Israeli census.
7. The rate of home ownership is a feature of economic capital and can indicate the level of material wealth, to some extent (Lisa et al., 2020).
8. Venues included in the scraped data.
9. Venues such as cinemas, galleries, and nightclubs (counted using the Open Source Maps' API).
10. The high art category includes theater, classical music and dance. The popular art category includes festivals, music performances, children's events, and entertainment. We added this variable as a control to account for the differences between the supply patterns of high and popular culture.
11. We excluded municipal spending on culture from Model 5, as it is measured per city and therefore uniform in Tel-Aviv.

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