Glocalization and Tourism Relation:
Bauhaus Architecture in Tel Aviv Example

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Abstract

Glocalization can be defined as the combination of global and local. In this regard, tourism industry is discussed as part of ‘glocalization’, since the perspective of tourism has changed and the importance of local characteristics has increased. In Tel Aviv, where historically the trilogy of sea, sand and sun came to the fore with a certain support provided by the previous tourism policies focusing on this trilogy, the regions, having local cultural values such as ‘White City’, have become prominent with the specific efforts in promoting unique local characteristics of the places as a touristic value. The centers to focus on Bauhaus architecture, and various initiatives as local tours have created touristic values that contribute to the city economy. Therefore, the aim of the study was defined as to explain how the ‘White City’ region in Tel Aviv has become a local touristic value as part of glocalization. Hereof, the relation between glocalization and tourism is discussed with the relations among Tel Aviv local tourism dynamics, contributions to the city and ‘White City’ region. Consequently, methodology of the study was defined as theoretical synthesis focusing on relation between glocalization and tourism, besides knowledge transfer gathered from the field survey.

Keywords: Glocalization, Local Tourism, Bauhaus Architecture, Tel Aviv

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Küyerelleşme ve Turizm İlişkisi:
Tel Aviv’de Bauhaus Mimarisi Örneği

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ÖZ

Küyerelleşme, küresel ve yerel birleşimi olarak tanımlanabilir. Bu bağlama turizm endüstrisi, ‘küyerelleşme’ kavramının bir parçası olarak çok tartışılmaktadır, çünkü turizm endüstrisindeki paradigma değişimleri neticesinde yerellik ve yerel özelliklerin önemi artmıştır. Ta
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Anahtar Kelimeler: Küyerel, Yerel Turizm, Bauhaus Mimarisi, Tel Aviv

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Introduction

Tourism constitutes one of the biggest industries in the world by the 21st century, and it allows people around the world to recognize different cultures and places, which highly develops one's recognition about people and places, as well it supplies necessary conditions for individuals by enabling them to reproduce themselves. Tourism has a remarkable impact on both global and local dimensions, and these two aspects might cause some contradictions. The existence of these contradictions could be revealed by historical analysis which is related to adopted tourism policies on the global scale. Here, the concept ‘glocalization’ is to be pointed out. Glocalization concept has the potential of reasoning how the local and the global could be get together without producing any contradictions.

In this regard, the aim of the study was defined as to explain how “White City” of Tel Aviv has become a local touristic value as part of glocalization concept emerged as a result of paradigm shifts related to the tourism industry. Accordingly, research questions with regard to the aim of the study were generated as follow:

1. How paradigm shifts that the tourism industry has experienced historically are explained with regards to glocalization concept and how this happened in Tel-Aviv case?
2. How White City has become a local touristic value and how does it serve the tourism industry currently?

So, first, how glocalization concept has emerged as a result of current paradigm shifts with regard to the tourism industry in general was explained to emphasize the rising importance of ‘local’. Then, the focus was shifted to planning processes which led to development and conservation of White City region in Tel Aviv. Historical background behind how White City was developed is significant, since the region reflects the characteristics of Bauhaus architecture. This unique situation led a specific architectural style to become a local touristic value, also could be related to glocalization concept, which lastly was explained by giving examples from the region.

In this sense, it could be stated that methodology of the study relies on theoretical synthesis focusing on relation between glocalization concept and tourism industry, besides transfer of the knowledge gathered from the field survey as well.
Tourism Industry and ‘Glocalization’ Relation

On an international scale, tourism is widely accepted as promoting local economic development, while also enabling places to compete (Agarwal et al, 2000). Until the 1980s, the focus of tourism involved mostly beaches and activities related to beaches. After 1980, tourism has become the world’s second global sector with a significant effect of the globalization process (Silveira, 2002).

This transformation of tourism industry includes cultural, political and socio-economic transformations and has gone through four periods as illustrated in Figure 1 (Ateljevic and Li, 2017):

First period intersects with the modernization processes in the late 1940s and early 1950s, which reflect fundamental political and economic changes in Western Europe (Ateljevic and Li, 2017). With the modernization period, people see tourism activities as a way of reproducing themselves. In the 1960s and 1970s, in the second period, mass tourism emerged as a result of rapid social and economic changes (Ionides and Debbage, 1997), including developments in technology and transportation on a global scale. In the third period, there were scientific debates to discuss the failure of previous tourism policies (Hasse, 2001). Therefore, alternative tourism approaches focusing on nature have gained importance in the fourth period. This paradigm shift, including the fourth period has continued to today.

It is claimed that the tourism industry could be considered as a significant part of the globalization of culture rather than just sunbathing (Burns and Holden, 1995), which means local characteristics that constitute a specific culture could spread throughout the world by means of activities as tourism.
Therefore, activities related to the tourism industry could be associated with the ‘glocalization’ concept.

Glocalization concept could be considered as a newly developed term, which emerged as a response to the literature related to globalization and its local impacts with regards to economical, sociological, and cultural theories. In this regard, glocalization could be defined as a combination of global and local in a sense. When activities related to globalization aroused, it was assumed that globalization is a process that overrides the local issues. However, this kind of conversation in the related literature neglects two things (Robertson, 1995):

- The term, called as ‘local’ is constituted on a trans or super-local basis
- It could be stated that there is increasing interest in spatial considerations and focus on the links between temporal and spatial dimensions of everyday life. However, such considerations have really little impact on the discussions and the other issues related to globalization.

Accordingly, Giddens (1991) suggests that the term globalization could be best understood by defining the basic aspects of time-space distanciation. In this sense, Robertson (1995) asserts that the main concern of globalization is the intersection of presence and absence, the connection between social events and social relations, which have local contextualism in the context of ‘at a distance.’

Giddens (1991) also suggests that globalization could be considered as the consequence of significant economical and political issues. It is described in terms of politics and economics. Glocalization, on the other hand, could be defined as a reflection of the intersection of political economics with socio-demographic and cultural concerns, which have the focus on local impacts of global activity and processes. Therefore, it could be argued that glocalization reflects the results of globalization processes in both tangible and intangible senses. Smith (2007) gives an example as the creation of heterogeneous societies in cultural terms as being related to these processes.

Likewise, Ritzer’s (2004) definition of glocalization includes the intersection of global and local, which resulted with different consequences on different geographies, also claiming that the concept has some specific fundamental characteristics as sensitivity to differences and respect to different individuals and groups, which promote cosmopolitanism.
As The World Travel and Tourism Council (2013) claims that as being one of the world’s largest industries, tourism produces more than 10% of the global economic output and employment and in the studies related to tourism industry, the both terms as globalization and localization are often discussed as the controversy terms.

In the context of tourism on a global scale, tourists coming from abroad develop relations with local people and the local environment. Therefore, a cross-cultural exchange is comprised of. And therefore, in some cases, tourism could be seen as an enhancer factor which strengthens the significance of maintaining place identity and local characteristics. These issues constitute the positive sides of glocalization. Nonetheless, certain issues are seen as the negative sides of the concept. Bauman (1998), in this context, argues that globalization would be best understood as to develop an awareness about the fact that the society is multiple stratified as the process of free mobility of some people and the existence of the other people in some certain boundaries. Thuswise, tourism could be seen as a brand new form of imperialism. One of the reasons could be stated as the fact that tourist flows are unidirectional in general. For instance, Smith (2007) states that there is a higher tourist flow from East to West or from developed countries to undeveloped ones, or vice versa.

As Giddens’ (1991) statement mentioned before, globalization, in general, is defined as a process which is generated from the significant implications arising from the various economic and political activities which include some events and decisions. Besides, it has a significant effect on the individual and communities from all over the world. Because of the activities like tourism which consists global interrelations cause the creation of various cross-cultural production of local meanings, self-images, representations, and modes of life for individuals and societies which have different characteristics. It could be stated that the term ‘local’ is identified by a limited locality which has certain spatial boundaries. On the other hand, Salazar (2005) states that it also identifies a space, where people with a certain sense of place and similar type of lifestyle.

With the specific focus and paradigm shift occurring in the tourism industry beginning from the 90s to today, local characteristics of the places have been taken attention and this caused the rise of glocalization concept. Tulloch (1991) states that the glocalization concept is modelled on the Japanese notion, called dochakuka, which means becoming autochthonous, and this word is inspired by dochaku, meaning aboriginal, namely living on someone else’s land.
Accordingly, Swyngedouw (1997) claims that the glocalization concept includes a dialectic between two realms: interconnectedness between the local and global. This has given rise the importance to the global and local issues and the unique relation between the two. In this regard, Swyngedouw (2004) lists the twin process of glocalization as:

- Arrangements related to the institutions and regulations are shifting from the national scale to upper scale, and also shifting from the natural scale to lower scale as the individual entity, local, urban, or regional.
- Relation among the firms and the related economic activities are getting more and more localized and transnational.

It is also argued that to an extent, glocalization includes the generation of various and unique consumers in an increasing way, as well it allows the creation of new consumer habits and traditions (Salazar, 2005). This is because the constituted relation among the people, having enormous amounts of mobility ability and increasing social and economic relations. In addition to all of the explanations made, Swyngedouw (2004) listed the development process of glocalization under three headings as:

1. There is a significant increasing struggle over the organization of the societies in the ideological, political, socio-economical, and cultural context over the last decade.
2. Increasing the reconfiguration process of spatial scale is often marginalized by the dominance of the ‘global’ in the related literature.
3. Glocalization has caused the formation of rescale of economic flows, networks, and territorial governance in regards to de-territorialization or re-territorialization.

As stated above, tourism is one of the biggest industries which generates higher economic outputs throughout the world, and the discussions related to the tourism industry nowadays focuses on the glocalization concept. It has been generally argued that tourism could be considered as the product of the globalization process which has benefited from the developments in mobility. Notably, increasing mobility abilities of people all around the world enable cross-cultural interactions to increase. That way, cultural and the other related characteristics of people from different parts of the world flow through the other parts through tourism activities. Therefore, the global meets with the local characteristics. That is the reason why tourism-related activities are associated with the concept of glocalization.
In this direction, the rise of the White City region in Tel Aviv, which constitutes one of the local characteristics of the city, as a significant touristic value is explained by focusing on glocalization concept.

**Evaluating Tourism Policy of Israel in terms of ‘Glocalization’ Concept and the Rise of Tel-Aviv**

Looking at the historical development of the tourism industry in general, it is seen that a paradigm shift occurred in the 1990s. As mentioned above, the rise of local touristic values can also be qualified by the concept of ‘glocalization’. The example of Israel has some similarities with the transformation in tourism policies and practices on the international scale. In this regard, the direction of tourism policies can be followed from the tourism master plans of the country. The Ministry of Tourism has attempted to promote three national tourism plans since the establishment of the State of Israel in 1948.

The first national tourism plan was prepared in the mid-1970s, the second, in the mid-1980s and the third, in the mid-1990s. The year 1985 was set as a target date of the Tourism Master Plan which was approved in 1976. The plan viewed the development of tourism along the Mediterranean coast most important. The Tourism and Leisure Master Plan was prepared between 1984 and 1987, and the year 1995 set as the target date with a prediction of 2.3 million overseas tourists.

This plan also projected intensive growth in tourism into Mediterranean centers. Additionally, the 1996 National Master Plan set the year 2010 as its target year and was based on a prediction of 5 million incoming tourists. This plan focuses Israel’s key tourism potential on its religious–cultural heritage with its historic importance, compared with the first two plans (see Figure 2).

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<td>The plan viewed the development of tourism along the Mediterranean coast as important.</td>
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<td>This plan focuses Israel’s key tourism potential on its religious–cultural heritage, its historic importance in contrast to the first two plans, but it also aspired to treble the number of rooms in the resorts on the Mediterranean coast.</td>
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*Figure 2. Tourism Plans of Israel (Source: illustrated by using Cohen-Hattab and Shoval, 2004; Shoval, 2002; and Ben-Dalia et al, 2012)*
Therefore, the positive change in the number of tourists received by the country (Figure 3) in recent years shows that the policies bringing global tourism and local values together has been successful.

With the emphasis on local cultural values in the tourism industry in Israel, Tel Aviv has also become an important touristic destination in time. The city was founded in 1909 and built as a metropolitan city under the British Mandate in Palestine. In 1909, Tel Aviv was a small suburb of Jaffa, and has evolved into an independent city, which is today the center of economic and cultural activities of the region (Amit-Cohen, 2005). The city has also a big potential as a tourist destination. In this direction, the development of alternative tourism elements of Tel Aviv, which promote glocalization, has been experienced recently. In this context, City Vision document prepared in year 2017 expresses main tourism policy guidelines as:

- Promoting and positioning the city as an appealing destination for urban tourism, business tourism, trade show and conference tourism, and heritage tourism
- Promoting and positioning Tel Aviv-Yafo as a preferred city break destination for foreign and domestic tourists
- Preparing the groundwork, developing and offering a mix of accommodations and supporting infrastructure
- Enhancing and enriching the experience of tourists
- Integrative and responsible management of tourism in the city
In this direction, there are plenty of local tourist attractions and tourist friendly implementations in Tel Aviv today. Special events as street art in Florentin neighborhood and Free WIFI application covering all over the city can be listed as some examples. Additionally, special events include White night, Tel Aviv Marathon, Night run, Gay Pride Festival, Cycling Festival and Tel Aviv Innovation Festival. The most culturally diverse neighborhood of the city, Florentin, is newly famous for its street arts. Thanks to this feature, it is a rising local touristic value in Tel-Aviv today. Tel Aviv is also one of the first cities in the world to offer free WIFI at 80 locations across the city, including most major touristic locations. This allows tourists to introduce local attractions and more people to visit the city. The examples given so far could be considered as secondary local touristic values. Best of all, ‘White City’ has become a magnet for global tourism that has dramatically changed the dynamics of the tourism industry of the city (Rotbard, 2005).

White City refers to a specific city section, which includes Bauhaus architecture in Tel Aviv. This architectural style is associated with the local cultural character, which provides a unique characteristic for tourism purposes. This local feature of the city takes the attention of the people who are coming from abroad. Therefore, local comes together with the global; in other words, local characteristics of the place are combined with the others not being local. This constitutes the main idea of glocalization. In the following section, the meaning of the White City as a touristic value is mentioned in more detail.

**White City as a local touristic attraction**

The aim of Bauhaus School of Design, which functioned from 1919 to 1933 (first in Weimar and later in Dessau), was to integrate all the arts under the concept of design. The school had 700 students and was known for requiring its students to forget everything they had learned to date and influential Bauhaus architects were Walter Gropius, Mies van der Rohe, Hannes Meyer and Le Corbusier. Bauhaus architecture developed in Germany in the 1920s and later in the U.S., in the 1930s. The American form of this architectural style was dubbed the International Style after leaders of Bauhaus School who migrated to the U.S., with the Nazi’s growing influence. The Bauhaus School in Dessau was closed on April 11th, 1933 at the insistence of the National Socialist government (Zisling, 2000).

One of the most important cities of Bauhaus’s architectural influences is Tel Aviv. White City region of the city is famous for its Bauhaus Style buildings. The story of the rise of White City as a local touristic value is mentioned
below, in the light of the design and conservation process with current improvements.

‘White City’ was constructed from the early 1930s till 1948, based on the decisions taken in the urban plan prepared by Geddes in 1926 (see Figure 4). The construction started in the early 1930s; the designers were the newly immigrated architects who had been formed in Europe, and who implemented the modernist vision. The buildings were designed by many architects, who had been trained and had practiced in various European countries. In their work in Tel Aviv, they represented the plurality of the creative trends of modernism, but they also considered the local and cultural quality of the site (ICOMOS, 2003). This well-defined building style is associated with the Bauhaus School.

![Figure 4. Geddes Plan (Source: Hatuka and Forsyth, 2005)](image)

Bauhaus style buildings were painted white in Tel Aviv; though the color white does not only refer to style or color, it also indicates modern culture and climatic conditions as well (Amit-Cohen, 2005). This famous architectural style was applied in accordance with the local conditions of Tel Aviv. For example, due to the hot climate, the balconies were built inwards unlike the original design.
Hatuka and Forsyth (2005) point out that the period before construction of International Style buildings (between 1910 and 1930), first buildings were built to distinguish themselves from the local Arabic-Turkish residential tradition by using the typology of rectangular symmetrical buildings which mainly have single story with flat or shallow roofs. This type of buildings can be defined as the Oriental Style of Old Jaffa as well they reflect the Eclectic Style of Tel Aviv’s earlier days (Alfasi and Fabian, 2009). However, houses decorated with eclectic architectural quotes from both East and West were differentiated by a new generation of young architects who had recently graduated from European schools leading architectural modernism, leading to the implementation of the Bauhaus Style in Tel Aviv (see Figure 5). Eventually, Tel Aviv began to be seen as an extension of the western world. Since then, Tel Aviv is considered as a true ‘world city’ and center of globalization with the dominance of Israeli Jewish national interests (LeVine, 2004).

By the mid-1930s, Tel Aviv was the only city in the world built entirely in the Bauhaus Style. Today, Tel Aviv is the home of more Bauhaus and International Style architecture than any city in the world. The municipality of Tel Aviv prepared a detailed plan with the Ministry of Housing in 1981 for the central area of Tel Aviv, and this plan is called Lev Ha’ir plan. The idea of preserving buildings from Tel Aviv’s early days was considered as a special part of this plan. However, the planners were unaware of the cultural significance of the local International Style buildings, hence linked the preservation idea with buildings of the Eclectic Style. Additionally, they were interested in urban renewal rather than preservation. At that period, a traveling exhibition hosted by the Tel Aviv Museum of Art, introducing the Bauhaus School architecture to create awareness. Inspired by this exhibition, Michael Levin organized another exhibition called ‘White City’ at the Tel Aviv Museum of Art in 1984 (Alfasi and Fabian, 2009).
In 1990, ‘Law for Preservation of Buildings, Sites and Settlement’ was approved and the legal annex to enforce preservation by the authorities was introduced in 1991. According to the law, the local planning authority must have a conservation committee, which is responsible for preparing a list of ‘Listed Buildings’, a conservation plan and guidelines for preservation. In this context, the list of ‘listed buildings of Tel Aviv’ includes 1126 buildings and sites situated in the central area of the city (Amit-Cohen, 2005). In 1994, a conference on international style in architecture was organized under the head of UNESCO and Tel Aviv Municipality (ICOMOS, 2003). Once the city adhered to the World Heritage Convention, the White City was included in the proposed list of preserved sites, which was required for the UNESCO nomination. The nomination process took place in June 2003 (Alfasi and Fabian, 2009) and in 2003, UNESCO declared the White City region in Tel Aviv as a unique World Heritage Site of the modern movement (see Figure 6).

The Conservation Plan that was approved in 2008 identified approximately 1000 historic buildings, and specifically includes the stringent conditions applied to 180 buildings, where no changes are allowed. However, numerous Bauhaus and International Style buildings were restored and converted into restaurants, pubs and hotels (Amit-Cohen, 2005). Figure 7 illustrates the process outlined above.
Currently, the dilemma between the city’s needs and historical values is mostly related to physical planning (Amit-Cohen, 2005). On the one hand, Bauhaus buildings have become aged rapidly because of poor building materials. In a short while, the modern architecture of the city center appeared ugly and dull (Alfasi and Fabian, 2009). Goldberger (1984) stated in New York Times that especially economic problems have caused Tel Aviv’s older sections into something other than the glittering modernist utopias which they were once thought (Goldberger, 1984). On the other hand, permission of building additions up to five floors per building and transforming buildings’ functions from residential to businesses and services have caused some damages (Amit-Cohen, 2005). But yet, this local touristic value of Tel Aviv is increasingly attracting tourists at least as much as sea, sand and sun.

It is certain that Bauhaus style buildings are one of the most important values of the city of Tel Aviv. The level of awareness of the protection and promotion of the White City and its contribution to the local economy as a tourism center has gradually increased. Especially for the last few years, there have been various efforts conducted by different actors around the city in the theme of White City. For example, Bauhaus Center, Bauhaus Museum and White City Center are the most significant visiting points in the city to learn more about Bauhaus Architecture. Bauhaus Center was opened in 2000 and its goal was defined as to expand public recognition of the ‘White City’ as a unique architectural and cultural value. The center cooperates with UNESCO Committee and the municipality, and with various institutions as well, like museums and galleries. Bauhaus Center includes a gallery for exhibitions,
shops and a publishing house, and there also guided tours are organized. Also, the gallery has permanent collection and changing exhibitions. The Bauhaus Museum, on the other hand, is a single space gallery/museum, occupying the bottom floor of an original Bauhaus building built in 1934. The museum presents the history and historical development of Bauhaus design. Additionally, the White City Center was established in 2019, when was the year of 100th anniversary of Bauhaus School and was co-founded by Tel Aviv-Yafo Municipality and German government. Its mission was defined as to actively preserve the heritage of the White City region and the international style. The center offers professional workshops, demonstrations of the different stages of conservation, tours guided by the architects and leading professionals as well from the field.

As touristic centers and the museum, guided tours also made the Bauhaus architecture more important as a touristic value. Tel Aviv offers various local tours for tourists, and local tours related to Bauhaus architecture reflect the unique architectural style in Tel Aviv and historical development of the city as well. That tour route covers significant places as Rothschild Boulevard, Allenby Street (see Figure 8), and the examples of Bauhaus architecture could be seen around the blocks surrounding nearby these places.

![Figure 8. Bauhaus Tour Guide and Participants (left) and Tour Route Map (right) (Source: Israel Independence Trail-Web Site, 2020)](image)

**Conclusion**

Cultural, political and socio-economic structural transformations also have caused the transformation of the tourism industry throughout the world. Especially, beginning with the emergence of mass tourism in the late 1950s and the early 1960s, the historical development of the tourism industry has gone
through from getting economic return to the saturation point and to the current phase of local tourism focus. In this regard, certain components of the tourism industry as culture, localities and uniqueness of the place have gained importance at the end of the transformation process. This coincides with the rise of ‘glocalization’ concept, introducing the unique relation between the global and the local and this has been supported by the White City region example in Tel Aviv.

Bauhaus architecture in Tel Aviv and this architectural style is associated with the local cultural character, which provides a unique characteristic for tourism purposes. This local feature of the city attracts people who are coming from abroad and this is promoted through various local initiatives, as informative local tours. So, the local comes together with the global; in other words, local characteristics of the place are combined with the others not being local and this constitutes the main idea of glocalization.

Tel Aviv has natural, historical and recreational attractions. Until the 90s the Mediterranean coast was the key tourism potential, also supported by the decisions taken in tourism master plans. This approach has changed with time and religious–cultural heritage and historic importance of the city have come to the fore. In this regard, the ‘White City’ region in Tel Aviv has become one of the most important touristic values of the city. The brand name ‘White City’ has become a magnet for global tourism that has dramatically changed the face of the city with the increase in the number of tourists coming to the city with the increasing importance of local tourism, which can be evaluated as a positive feature.

The level of awareness of the protection and promotion of the White City region and its contribution to the local economy as a tourism center have gradually increased. Especially in the last few years, there have been many efforts made by different actors in the city around the theme of White City. With the establishment of Bauhaus Center, Bauhaus Museum and White City Center have provided an exact touristic experience with the special efforts as guided tours along White City. It is certain that international style buildings are one of the most significant values of the city of Tel Aviv and the increase of tourism related activities in that sense could be adopted by other cities as a positive example.
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