Greater Tel Aviv as a Global City – A Vehicle for Reviving the National Periphery

Baruch Kipnis
Haifa University and the Carmel Academic Center

For more than a decade Greater Tel Aviv\(^1\) has received recognition as belonging to the list of cities that function as a 'global city', a process also entailing the entry of Israel's economy, society and cultural life into the post-industrial era as well as Israel's link with the global world experience. This article will present the features that render Tel Aviv a global city and a center that dominates the country's economy, society and culture, and this despite Israel's declared spatial development policy\(^2\). We will examine how and under which conditions the global city Tel Aviv, which is perceived as a 'huge head of a dwindling national space' (Kipnis, 2009a, 2009b), called the 'The State of Tel Aviv' (Soffer, Bistrov, 2008), will become a vehicle for developing the national periphery.

Tel-Aviv-Yafo as a 'Global City'

Kellerman (1993) was the first to refer to Tel Aviv as a 'global city.' However, the first significant mention of Tel Aviv as possessing a world city trait [competitive media supply] appeared in a survey conducted by Yankee\(^3\), in the course which 25 global cities belonging to the world's geoeconomic core were ranked\(^4\). The research study was published by Finnie (1998) and Graham (1999). Additional mention was also made in Beaverstock, et al. (1999), who cited Tel Aviv among the 78 cities described as global cities in 15 different research studies\(^5\). In the research summary, Beaverstock, et al. (1999) presented a ranking of global cities that reflected the 'intensity of presence' of four functions in the advanced producer services sector that are players in the global market – accounting, advertising, banking and law. Based on 'intensity of presence,' the global cities were ranked according to a three-level hierarchy: alpha, beta and gamma. Three additional groups of cities were identified alongside this hierarchy, namely cities which displayed 'evidence' of being 'global cities in evolution.' Tel Aviv appears in the first group of these cities, which displayed a low 'presence' in the accounting and advertising sectors. Further to Beaverstock, et al. (1999), Tel Aviv was described as a global city 'in evolution' (Kipnis, 2001).

---

\(^{1}\) The area including Tel Aviv and its immediate suburbs. In most instances addressed by this article, this area corresponds to the Tel Aviv District, whose core is Tel-Aviv-Yafo.

\(^{2}\) The problem is that a national spatial development exists, but it is not backed by any government commitment to carry it out.

\(^{3}\) A British company engaged in media consulting.

\(^{4}\) Tel Aviv was ranked 20 out of 25 cities, and its weighted score was 230 out of a maximum score of 500.

\(^{5}\) Out of 15 possibilities, Tel Aviv appears just once on the roster of the 78 cities, based on the above-cited work by Finnie and Graham.
Since then, research dealing with Tel Aviv as a global city as described in Kipnis (2009a) has broadened in scope. Among others, Taylor and Walker (2004) presented Tel Aviv’s progress towards a 'global city' standing, making use of the 'connectivity index.' According to this index, Tel Aviv belongs, albeit in a modest position, to the group of cities which maintain a degree of inter-city connectivity that enables them to conduct business in the global market. Another step in Tel Aviv’s progress towards recognition as a global city is also supported by data that Sassen (2009) makes use of in her article "Cities Today: New Frontier for Major Development." Sassen presents a list of 40 of the 75 cities recognized by MasterCard Worldwide in 2008 (2008) as global centers of commerce, and defines them as 'primary and secondary' global cities. In MasterCard's 2008 list, Tel Aviv is number 45 on the list and its weighted index is 46.50. Among the seven dimensions that assigned Tel Aviv its weighted standing, the three salient ones were Economic Stability – 81.9, Political and Regulatory Framework – 66.3, and Ease of Doing Business' – 62.3.

**Milestones in Tel Aviv’s Development as a Global City**

The infrastructure responsible for Tel Aviv’s development as a global city was laid in Jaffa as early as the 19th century, which at the time was regarded a multicultural and cosmopolitan city due to its way of life, architectural styles, and the existence of a theater, orchestra, newspapers, publishing houses, etc. (Kellerman, 1993; Kark, 1976, 1984). When Jewish settlement in the Land of Israel was renewed at the end of the 19th century, Jaffa's port became a destination for the ships carrying the new immigrants, many of whom remained in Jaffa and built their own neighborhoods, still within the city's municipal limits. In 1906, the Home Builders' Society was established, whose name was later changed to the 'Ahuzat Bayit' Society. The Society took upon itself to plan and build a new, high-standard neighborhood – a 'garden city' – outside Jaffa, and proclaimed that "someday in the future, the new neighborhood [Tel Aviv] would become the 'Land of Israel's New York'" (Katz, 2009). In its early days, Tel Aviv was in every respect a Jaffa suburb. During the riots of 1921, Tel Aviv severed its ties with Jaffa and became an autonomous municipal entity, receiving recognition as a city in 1934. In 1950, Jaffa and Tel Aviv were unified into one city – Tel-Aviv-Yafo.

From its inception, Tel Aviv was the commercial, economic, social and cultural center of the pre-State Jewish community living in the country (Gonen, 2009). But even then it sought to position itself as an international city. In the 1920s, this aspiration found expression in the Levant Fair, which was run as an

---

6 Publications describing various aspects of the globalization process in Israel and its implications for Tel Aviv as a global city have appeared on the GaWC website, in Bulletin Nos. 72, 132, 163, 168, 207 and 302.
7 The connectivity index describes the degree of mutual connectivity among 100 companies in the advanced producers' services sector, which operate within a network of 316 cities. The relative connectivity index describes the degree of connectivity of the 123 cities whose connectivity index is at least 1/5 of that of London. The index describes the level of service that each global city provides to the other 122 cities and, accordingly, its potential to do business in the global market.
8 The MasterCard Worldwide index was determined on the basis of seven economic indices, with the highest weighted index being that of London – 79.17 – and the lowest being that of Caracas – 26.11.
9 On the eve of the First World War, the Jaffa's Jewish community numbered 11,000 people, a third of the city's total population.
10 The first neighborhoods were Neve Tzedek and Neve Shalom which were founded within Jaffa's jurisdiction.
international fair, and in the founding of the Maccabiah Games, which were considered the Jewish Olympics.

After the State of Israel was established, Tel Aviv's development was further accelerated until becoming a modern post-industrial city in the 1990s. This process reflects changes in the spread and organization of land uses, in the empowerment of the skyline, and in the growing dominance of Tel-Aviv-Yafo and Greater Tel Aviv in Israel's economy, society and culture. The changes in land use include the evolvement of specialization areas, the most salient of which are three main business center hubs – the historic hub - which specializes in finance, the eastern hub - which is located along the Ayalon Highway and specializes in business services and, together with the Diamond Exchange complex, constitutes Israel's business core, and the hub situated along the coast opposite the Dolphinarium - which is home to corporations and organizations. Major and multi-purpose cultural center hubs, open around the clock, also developed, including the 'Golda' complex - which houses the Israel Opera, the Cameri Theater, the Tel Aviv Museum and Beit Ariella, the Jaffa complex - home to the ancient city and the port, and the Tel Aviv Port and Suzanne Dellal complexes. The city's coastline features upscale hotels that make the city a major hub for diverse tourism, with a particular emphasis on business tourism.

Greater Tel Aviv's hi-tech zones, which specialize in cutting-edge technologies, startup ventures and advanced producer services, constitute the core of the 'Israeli Hi-Tech State' and are considered Israel's Silicon Valley (Sade, Dagoni, 1997; Lashinsky, 1999; Sade, 2001). Prominent complexes are located in Herzlyia Pituach, North Ra'anana and an area shared by Rehovot and Nes Ziona. The Greater Tel Aviv region is also home to transportation hubs combined with industry and logistical operations facilities and infrastructure. The major ones are Ben Gurion Airport and the Ashdod Port, medical specialization centers, and institutions of higher education and research. These changes accurately reflect the fact that the Greater Tel Aviv region is replete with post-industrial activity and is a main economic and infrastructure anchor that connects Israel with the global economy.

A dramatic change noticeable in the urban landscape is the rising city skyline, resulting from towering office buildings and residential hi-rises. From a city whose buildings were for many years no more than 3-4 stories high, Tel Aviv has turned into a city whose skyline is reminiscent of many cities in the world.

---

11 Initially, the Levant Fair was held once every other year, and exhibited goods and technological innovations from different places around the world. The 1934 fair was held on its permanent 'grounds' located at the northern end of Dizengoff Street, next to the Yarkon River. 32 countries took part in the 1934 fair, which also featured various cultural activities, and it was attended by roughly 600,000 people. The 'Flying Camel' sculpture was installed near the entrance to the fair, symbolizing the vision that 'nothing is impossible.' The first and second Maccabiah took place in 1932 and 1935, respectively, and were held at a stadium built on the Levant Fairgrounds. The third Maccabiah was held at a stadium in Ramat Gan.

12 Business tourism is an outcome of the global economy. It includes businessmen, politicians, journalists, and scientists. Most work in the 'quinary' and 'quaternary' sectors, reside in global cities, and serve multinational corporations. A business tourist tends to partake in entertainment and tour. He is often accompanied by family members who wish to take full advantage of their time as tourists. In 2008, there were about 148 million business tourists in the world and their economic contribution amounted to roughly $430 billion, approximately half of all tourism revenues.

13 For more about the evolvement of these centers, see Borenstein and Kipnis (2001) and in Noam and Kipnis (1998).
which have been assigned a 'global city' title. The residential hi-rises tend to spread across the entire urban space, whereas the tall office buildings are for the most part situated along and adjacent to the Ayalon Highway including the Diamond Exchange in Ramat Gan, downtown Givatayim, and the western section of Bnei Brak. The Tel Aviv 2000 project, Tel Aviv's response to the diamond exchange complex in Ramat Gan, is supposed to be erected next to the Savior Train Station (Mansfeld, Kehat, 2009).

Coupled with the spatial and functional changes, Greater Tel Aviv, and in particular the city of Tel Aviv, is turning into an area that conveys messages of economic and social inequality. This too is one of the phenomena that characterize global cities. It is especially salient in declining regions, whose traditional activities have been relocated to some other place, to hubs where weaker populations are concentrated, including the homeless and migrant workers. At the end of the spectrum, one can see the expansion of upscale housing units, mostly in the northern part of the city or downtown, close to the hubs of activity that are experiencing growth. Some of these housing units are occupied by people belonging to the Transnational Capitalist Class, defined by Sklair (2000). Alongside the jet setters residing in these hi-rises, one can also find the gentry, a market segment active in global cities, comprised of well-do-to individuals who prefer to settle in neighborhoods known for their historic and/or architectural value, thereby revitalizing them and enhancing the populations already living there and their immediate surroundings.

**Tel Aviv's Dominance in the Israeli Economy, Society and Culture**

The structural changes in employment characterizing post-industrial Israel have been translated into an excess of power found in Tel Aviv and in Greater Tel Aviv, which have become the core which dominates the economy, society and culture in Israel. Tel Aviv's and Greater Tel Aviv's command of many sectors of the economy, society and culture is much greater than their relative weight in terms of Israel's population, which currently stands at about 5.5% and 38%, respectively. The city of Tel Aviv's dominance is particularly blatant, a dominance which only few metropolitan centers in developed countries have achieved. Dominance is possible, among others, because economic-employment concentration, the quality of public services and a multifaceted cultural life - all vital components of 'psychological rewards' (Kipnis, 2006) - are found in Tel Aviv in greater quantity and quantity compared to the rest of Israel, and their availability is a condition of the city's social stratification, existence of elites, and business activity.

---

14 The change in the skyline is so impressive that websites present Tel Aviv's skyscrapers in detailed lists. The *New York Times* claimed that "Tel Aviv has become a mini Manhattan." In his book, Gudovitz (2007), the former Tel Aviv City Engineer, describes the process by which the city has climbed higher up. Over the past 40 years, Tel Aviv has witnessed the construction of 40 hi-rises, the first being the Shalom Meir Tower which was built in 1965. For more about the planning and construction of the Shalom Tower, see Klein and Kark (2009).

15 Gentry: those spearheading the gentrification process aimed at bettering declining areas.

16 For example, the Neve Tzedek neighborhood and downtown Tel Aviv, as well as neighborhoods appealing to young people, such as Sheinkin and Florentine.

17 A list of the areas which Tel Aviv/Greater Tel Aviv dominates in Israel's economy, as well as the degree of this dominance, appears in a table in Kipnis (2010).
Greater Tel Aviv’s ‘first city’ command over the Israeli space is not an extraordinary phenomenon. It also exists in small and medium-sized countries such as Ireland, Belgium and Switzerland. Roughly 89% of all those employed in Ireland’s advanced producer services (APS) are in Greater Dublin; about 81% of all those employed in Belgium’s APS are in Brussels and Antwerp; and approximately 76% of all northern Switzerland’s residents who earn their living from APS, are in Zurich and Basel. These cities, similar to Greater Tel Aviv, are the primary points of origin and gateways of their respective countries to the global economy (Glanzmann, et al., 2006; Vandermotten, et al., 2006; Van Egeraat, et al., 2006).

Tel Aviv: A City of Young People and Commuters

The dominance and the concomitant ‘psychological rewards’ enrich the variety of opportunities that Tel Aviv offers to young people and commuters, who come from afar to seek employment that is commensurate with their occupation and field of expertise. Tel Aviv, which had been an aging city\(^{18}\), has in the past decade become a city of young people. They come to the city after their military service and before starting and/or further establishing a family unit. Between 1990 and 2005, the relative share of residents aged 25-44 increased, representing those who migrated to Tel Aviv and to other cities in its metropolitan area. Particularly blatant was the increase in the relative share of residents aged 35-44, whose share in Tel-Aviv-Yafo’s population rose by 56%, and in its suburbs by 51%. Similarly, there is an increasing presence of young people who maintain a SINK or DINK family unit\(^{19}\) or a single parent household\(^{20}\). The number of commuters coming to Tel Aviv and the metropolitan employment centers has risen considerably since the year 2000, thanks to the upgraded Israel Railway commuter routes. In 2009, 35 million passengers used the train, seven times their number in the 1990s. Based on a survey conducted among train commuters in 2005 (Katz and Kipnis, 2009), there was an especially high number of passengers who commuted to work in Tel Aviv, which drew train commuters from around the country\(^{21}\). Also noteworthy was the number of commuters who had changed jobs since 2000, as well as the number of commuters employed in academic, liberal or managerial professions.

Consequently, Tel Aviv’s and Greater Tel Aviv’s command of nearly all areas of life in Israel, and their appeal to young people and commuters, reinforces the assertion that Israel’s polarized settlement structure is continuing to grow, and this time in the form of a centralized paradigm, described as a country that has ‘a head but no body.’ The questions that need to be addressed pertain to the causes underlying

\(^{18}\) In 1990, residents aged 65 and older constituted 19% of Tel Aviv's population. In 2005, they were only 15%. The ratio of residents 65+ between 1990 and 2005 is 0.94%, meaning a decline of 6% in the number of residents 65+.

\(^{19}\) DINK stands for Double Income, No Kids, and SINK stands for Single Income, No Kids.

\(^{20}\) In 2005, there were about 49,500 households without children in the city of Tel Aviv (DINKs) and a similar number of SINKs. There were also about 9,200 single parent families, mostly headed by never-married men and women.

\(^{21}\) 510 passengers en route to work were sampled. 260 were en route to work in Tel Aviv, and 111 were en route to work in other cities in Greater Tel Aviv.
this reality and whether it is possible, with the help of a suitable and consistent policy, and primarily by means of a long-term commitment to implement the policy, to reach a situation wherein Tel Aviv - the country's 'head' 'without a body' – will be able to serve as a vehicle that diverts development to Israel's periphery. All of this, of course, without compromising Greater Tel Aviv's 'preeminent' standing in Israel's settlement structure, a standing which will enable Tel Aviv to continue to upgrading its functions and to sustain its status as Israel's first city and its main gateway to the global economy.

The major tenets of the policy proposed below are founded on a concentrated distribution strategy (Kipnis, 1996; Shachar, 1996) that was put forward at different forums including, initially, in the National Master Plan – Plan 31 (National Planning Council, 1992), adopted by the government in 1992. It is also the centerpiece of National Master Plan 35 (National Planning Council, 2005) that went into effect in 2005. National Master Plan 31 stipulated that Israel's spatial development should rely on the concentrated distribution principle, according to which the Beer Sheba metropolitan area will be a development node for the Negev, and the Haifa metropolitan area - the main anchor for developing the Galilee. Greater Tel Aviv and Jerusalem were earmarked to serve as the national core area.

Two decades have elapsed since the concentrated distribution strategy was adopted, and there are no results. The polarization and convergence processes towards the hard nucleus of the national core area, Greater Tel Aviv, continue. If a suitable national development policy is not adopted, it is predicted that Israel may become a space whose core is delimited by Haifa and Beersheba, both of which will be a main city in an 'edge metropolis.' Thus, a country which from its earliest days, even before being founded, placed on its agenda the vision of positioning control over its national space, may leave the Negev and the Galilee as peripheral areas that are Israel's 'bed and breakfast land', and most of whose inhabitants are minorities.

We maintain that the problem is not one of strategy or plans, but rather their realization and a national commitment to continue striving to attain their targets over time. A development process will be presented in the discussion below, one which is gaining growing momentum and legitimacy in developed countries. In the course of this process, Greater Tel Aviv will constitute a vehicle for developing regions in the national periphery, and this without forgoing its preeminence. On the contrary, Tel Aviv will be able, should the strategy materialize, to upgrade its functions and boost its presence on the top of Israel's settlement pyramid.

The proposed strategy is founded on the need to reject the policy of 'converging' into compact cities, whose adoption was influenced by the model developed by Berg, et al. (1982). Further to this model,

---

22 The concentrated distribution strategy replaced the controlled distribution strategy that was instituted in 1949 and guided, without much success, Israel's development policy during the country's first four decades.

23 For the full discussion regarding the topic, see in Kipnis, 2009b, 2010.

24 The time horizon for realizing a spatial plan is between 15 and 25 years. During such a period governments change, and each one of them may adopt a development policy that is consistent with its principles. The outcome is a development process characterized by 'go stop' which is an obstacle to any development plan.
which forecasted that main cities would enter into a process of re-urbanization and compact development, countries in Western Europe, among them the Netherlands, embraced the re-urbanization and compact city policy. In the second half of the 1990s, this policy guided the policy governing the development of the Tel Aviv metropolitan region (Ministry of the Interior, et al., 1997; Shachar, 1997), which in turn was the blueprint for the Tel Aviv District (Ministry of the Interior, 2002). As the above-cited plans were being approved, researchers and planners in Western Europe, spearheaded by the Dutch, began to cast doubt on the feasibility of the compact city policy and demanded that it be replaced with a new policy – a 'network of cities' – backed by a planning strategy capable of coping with uncontrolled urban spread (Dieleman, et al., 1999; Hajer and Zonneveld, 2000; Bontje, 2001, 2003; Burg and Dieleman, 2004). The 'network of cities' strategy was presented in 2004 in The Netherlands Fifth National Policy Document, as a model worthy of constituting the foundation of a development strategy for the following reasons: human society is inclined to develop as a 'network' relationship and not a 'spatial' one; it is preferable to manage [economic] competition in the global arena within large urban centers (metropolitan regions) rather than small urban areas that are satellites of large cities.

The question, therefore, is how can one generate a turnabout in the spatial organization of Israel's urban system in the spirit of a 'network of cities'? What form will Israel's urban system assume and, primarily, what is in store for Tel Aviv if the policy that calls for diminishing Tel Aviv's domination and replacing it with a 'network of cities' is adopted?

**The Strategy's Agents: Polarization, Spread and Saturation**

The 'polarization and spread' processes were conceptualized in the 1950s (Hirshman, 1958; Myrdal, 1957). 'Polarization' describes a process whereby resources, functions and wealth are centralized within a core, coupled with a dwindling periphery. 'Spread' is a process which describes the 'filtering down' of functions and population from the core in the direction of the periphery. The process, in its entirety, is presented in the Core-Periphery Model (Figure 1), put forward by Friedmann in 1966. The model's second, third and fourth stages are pertinent to the matter under discussion because they present the process whereby a system of 'metropolitan anchors' evolves. When mature, the latter will make up a node for spreading functions and resources to the Negev and Galilee regions. They will also be a regional network of cities that function in the Negev and the Galilee as 'gateway cities' (Short, et al., 2000) - thereby serving as an agency of change that will spearhead the development and transformation processes (Smith, 2003).

Polarization and spread curves are presented in Figure 2. They demonstrate that the more the spread process expands, the more the polarization process shrinks. Another process occurs at the same time – an 'upgrading' process that intensifies alongside the spread process. The explanation for the increasing upgrading can be found in the 'economic rent' concept, namely the total payments made to the
factors of production needed to make a functional unit operational (Clark, 2003; Small and Witherick, 1986). The major factors of production are land, labor and capital (Lipsey and Harbury, 1992) and they differ from one another in terms of their attributes, and in particular their mobility.

Figure 1: Friedmann's Four Stages Spatial Development Model

![Figure 1: Friedmann's Four Stages Spatial Development Model](image)

Source: Friedman (1966)

In Stage II, the national core develops as a nucleus that dominates the national space. At this stage, the nucleus displays intense 'polarization' processes that result in a dwindling periphery.

In Stage III, the national settlement network begins to diffuse into a multi-core system, with the 'spread' or 'filtering' processes creating Haifa's and Beersheba's secondary cores that function as major metropolitan anchors.

Stage IV describes the desired spread process – from the metropolitan anchors to the gateway cities in the area.

Fig. 2: The Reciprocal Balance of Polarization and Spread and Upgrading

![Fig. 2: The Reciprocal Balance of Polarization and Spread and Upgrading](image)

Source: Kipnis (2010)
A key event in the polarization and spread process is the stage in which one or more factors of production reaches a saturation point, namely it reaches a point where all the locale's reserves that available for use have been depleted at the existing price level. Saturation of a factor of production results in the spread/filtering of functions that are unable to pay for the factor of production whose cost has increased. They are replaced by functions ranked further up on the hierarchy which are capable, due to their higher income, of paying the new economic rent. The outcome is a gradual 'upgrading' of the locale's network of functions and, in our case, the functions found in Tel Aviv and Greater Tel Aviv.

Any function which is unable to meet the terms of the new economic rent will do one of the following: it will cease to exist or filter down to a new place, for the most part outside of the space where the required factor of production has reached it saturation point – a place that has available factors of production and is in a position to absorb the filtered down functions. This is the place that will absorb them, and thereby upgrade the level of their operation. The 'network of cities' strategy is a format for early identification and orderly channeling of the filtering process in the direction of the preferred cores based the strategy. The recipe for success is found in the institutional planning capacity to direct the filtering process as an orderly undertaking, as presented in Friedmann's (1966) Core-Periphery Model.

How, then, is the concentrated planning strategy for developing a 'network of cities' supposed to provide a remedy to the Negev and Galilee peripheries and prevent Haifa and Beersheba from turning into 'edge metropolises'? It is important to stress that, thanks to the upgrading process, Greater Tel Aviv and the city of Tel-Aviv-Yafo will maintain their standing at the top of Israel's urban pyramid and will remain its main anchor in the global space.

A Change in Outlook and a Commitment to Implement

A policy founded on a 'network of cities' strategy necessitates a change in outlook and thinking with regard to Israel's spatial policy. The most important change entails re-determining what was already determined in National Master Plan 31, namely that Haifa and Beersheba are the 'metropolitan anchors' of the Galilee and the Negev, and that they function as 'secondary anchors' in Israel's network of cities. The new order necessitates a plan for developing national and regional infrastructures that will support development, a system of incentives that relies not only on financial backing and tax breaks, but also on the creation of an inviting and supportive environment. Above all, this strategy must be accompanied by a long-

---

25 One of the most salient features of globalization was the shrinking role of the government (Gappert, 1989), with the exception of two areas: infrastructure development and handling states of emergency. The economic downturn that recently struck the world demonstrated that the last recourse of the failing economies was the government... In an article that appeared in The Marker (Ha'aretz) on September 12, 2010, Nouriel Roubini, who predicted the economic crisis last year, is quoted [according to the news agency] as saying: "We are on the verge of a capitalist era in which governments are returning to center stage in place of private capital."
term commitment that exceeds well beyond the term of any particular government. The suggested perceptual change is also supported by Sassen (2009) in her article "Cities Today: New Frontier for Major Development." Sassen views the functional spread process as a vital process, primarily of productive functions, and the concentration process of producer services as a process that facilitates their operation as a single service system operating out of the main urban core based on its position in the settlement hierarchy. How these producer services will operate, the most preeminent of which will constitute the core of Tel Aviv's economic base, has already been described in the past in terms of 'flexible specialization' – a method of production whose majority of operations require brainstorming and coalition building between high level specializations that only large metropolitan regions can offer.

Embracing the ideas raised in this article will turn Greater Tel Aviv and the city Tel-Aviv-Yafo, a global city and Israel's first city, into a huge head (from a functional perspective), but also into a vehicle for promoting and developing Israel's peripheral areas.

Sources:


Gonen, A. (2009). "How Tel Aviv Evolved as the Main Urban Center in Eretz Israel?" In Kipnis (Ed.) Tel


Kipnis, B. A. (2009a)."Greater Tel Aviv as a World City: a Node in a Global Network and a Dominating Entity in Israel's National Space": In Kipnis (ed) Tel Aviv-Yafo From a Garden Neighborhood to a World City. Haifa: Pardes: 228-260 (Hebrew).

Kipnis, B.A. (2009b). "Greater Haifa – From an Edge City of the National Core Area to a Leveraging Anchor for the Galilee and a Northern Gate to the Global Market". Horizons 73-74, 2009: 11-43.


Second volum: Tel Aviv: The University of Tel Aviv, Ramot: 305 – 319.


