Globalization and Urban Transformation of Nomadic Societies: The Tent as a National Symbol and Element of Qatari Identity

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Abstract

Recently, cultural way of life of nomadic societies have been challenged by active forces of globalization and urban transformation in the Arab world and, namely, in the State of Qatar. The adaptable practices of the Nomads in the city are seen through modern manifestations, representing a counter process of urban growth that is more local-oriented, inward and responsive to socio-cultural way of life of indigenous societies. This research study attempts to contemplate the aspects of urban transformation of the nomadic society in Qatar through the investigation of a specific urban element: the tent. The question of the research revolves around the following: How does the tent as a unit of investigation evolve responding to the behavioural, spatial and socio-cultural transformations of the nomadic society in Qatar? Through field study and participatory observation, the unit of investigation is studied. Remarkable reference to the Bedouin cultural way of life establishes the basis for the construct of a national identity in Qatar, not only to the sub-cultural tribal communities but also the whole society with its diverse components. This strategy is expected to be socially sustainable, ensuring the ability of the Qatari society to face the challenges of the urban future in a resilient and peaceful way.

Keywords: Globalization, Urban Transformation, Nomadic Society, Bedouin Tent, Qatar.

INTRODUCTION

Globalization and urban transformation are considered the evolving forces that reshape societies and contribute to the change in the cultural way of life of indigenous communities worldwide. Among the most primitive societies are the Nomads, namely the Bedouins - people of the desert. Their cultural life script presents a valuable case for anthropological research in the global scale as well as locally, considering the historic records for the life statement of Arab Nomads and their distinctive way of life. Historically, the Arab Bedouins coexisted in a sustainable way within their ecologically challenged territories and the lack of basic living resources. They were able to construct their socio-economic systems; cultural and legal structures; and their collective knowledge of life and survival through adaptation and endurance [1, 2].

In the recent era of globalization, urban transformation has triggered major changes in the way of life of Bedouins due to the elevation of life standards, the existence of supporting technologies and the structuring of urban areas based on the development of administrative cities. Today the Bedouins are highly involved in the community making process as active members of the society, yet their cultural heritage of tangible and intangible assets remain a sign of identity and appreciation [3-6].

This research study aims at exploring the transformative characteristics of the Bedouin community in the Arab World, and the State of Qatar as a specific context, with reference to the active forces of globalization and urban growth. The hypothesis of the research study is assuming urban transformation to influence indigenous cultural communities to adapt to recent urban realities, while maintaining the cultural way of life as a socio-cultural reference associated with constructed identity. Through field study and participatory observation, specific adaptive characteristics are contemplated resulting in an overall consensus on the importance of the cultural heritage preservation in the sustainable development process of societies.

One of the most effective principles for the preservation of cultural heritage of sub-cultural communities in the urban scale is the involvement of...
active governance, which ensures that the global policies are effectively translated into locally intensive practices supported by a strong legislative body [7]. Eventually, the State of Qatar announces its National Development Framework, QNDF, stemming from the Qatar National Vision 2030, which is directly targeting the challenge of the decline of Qatari identity, sense of belonging and cultural heritage due to globalization and rapid urbanization [8, 9].

Thus, investigating the phenomenon of urban transformation of the Nomadic societies is tackled through the existing social and administrative contemporary references, resulting in a comprehensive understanding of the evolving realities of societies under the theoretical framework of globalization and urban transformation. Conclusions are relinking urban studies and anthropological analysis of the Qatari society in an interdisciplinary approach with an aim to encourage the integration of the social dynamism into the practice of urban planning and design.

LITERATURE REVIEW
Globalization and Urban Transformation

Transformation is a natural process that triggers systems to evolve and continuously adapt to new changes. In the urban scale, transformation is triggered by different variables including time, resources, and innovation in technology, which in a comprehensive order tend to reshape human perception of the built environment. Therefore, urban transformation is linked to the changes brought over time to the urban scape, as well as the integration of new resources and technology into the city making process [10-18].

The concept of globalization, which is commonly understood as an economic process of market liberalization, has unlimited definitions based on the specific approach that fits the targeted topic of research. Hence, globalization could be redefined under any theory based on what the researcher aims to justify while maintaining the essence of the definition as a trend of openness, flows and global connectivity. In the context of urban transformation, a possible definition of globalization is explained by Grill-Chin Lim as “an integration of the world economy, removing trade barriers and allowing freedom of interaction” [19]. Lim further examines the relationship between globalization and urban spatial development based on arguments for and against globalization, global problems and trends, as well as historical observation on urban development. The major argument is that “globalization trends lead to resource allocation consequences and that these in turn result in urban impacts” [20].

The concept of urban transformation has been a catalyst of intensive theoretical debate recently, as the discipline of urban planning and design is becoming more responsive toward the creation of better cities. In a book titled “Designing Urban Transformation”, Aseem Inam argues that the most vital transformations occur by rethinking concepts, practices and outcomes [15]. The book presents urbanism as a process of transformation summarized as follows:

“This book points to major shifts in our understanding of urban transformation. These shifts propose that the form of the material city is only a means or an accessory to deeper structural change, and that transformation must have a direct impact on people’s lives. Ultimately, urban transformation must be experienced as a process, an outcome, or a possibility – even if, sometimes, it can only be recognized in hindsight” [15].

In the era of globalization, transformation has been associated with rapid urban growth and accelerated population rates, in addition to migration from the rural areas to the cities, putting the latter into a state of urban pressure [21-26]. It is not only the city that is becoming a scene for urban transformation, but also hinterlands and deserts that were once landscapes for temporary or enduring human settlements challenged by harsh weather conditions and mobility for survival. Today, living in the desert might present a privilege, a cut from the ordinary living conditions, rather than a necessity. What remains a necessity are the preservation of the socio-cultural identity and cultural heritage of desert inhabitants, who consider the desert as a hometown and a valuable historical reference [27, 28, 14, 29, 30]. In this prospect,
The cultural construction of “Bedouin” in this way is a clear example of the essentializing approach to collective identity [...]. Bedouin are constructed as a distinct, unique social type, or to borrow Foucault’s phrase again, as an “organic autonomy.” Camel herding, nomadism, and living in tents in the desert naturally seem to go together” [31].

Projecting the phenomena of living in the desert in our recent time as well as contextual setting of the Middle East and North African Region, MENA, draws important remarks on the effect of time over the course of urban transformation. Considering the modern history of the MENA region, “until well into the twentieth century, many communities in MENA were overwhelmingly rural; the vast majority lived in villages earning their livelihood from farming and animal husbandry” [32]. Relating such socio-historical facts to the urban transformation and human-behaviour studies of the pastoral-nomadic communities as well as inhabitants of the desert would support the research on socio-cultural ways of life in an evolving era and the preservation of global cultural heritage [33-36].

Referring to the MENA region, most of the nomadic societies were exposed to major transformation of urban areas, from the open desert to the administrative city, aided by state policies and economic opportunities assumed to elevate citizen’s living standard. Yet, socio-cultural way of life of such societies is substantially constant, leading to a process of urban adaptation characterized by innovative strategies clearly contemplated within modern city neighbourhoods, to satisfy social and cultural identity.

The Transformation of Nomadic Society in the Arab World

Based on the review of the literature, most of the references on the topic of living in the desert are presented under the disciplinary context of anthropological studies with reference to a number of fields including sociology, archaeology, geography, history and other human sciences. The research strategy is based on conventional long-term field analysis and participatory observation [37]. It is infrequent that scholars would refer to urban design and theories of city and townscape evolution when considering the topic of living in the desert, as most of the analysis is focused on the nomadic society and the socio-political transformations in the 21st century, in addition to the inexistence of urban reference for life in the desert. Yet, the topic is evoking for the study of contemporary development issues and recent reflections of cultural heritage on the urban identity.

One of the interesting accounts for the analysis of the transformation of nomadic society in the Arab world and the MENA region is a book by Martha Mundy and Basim Musallam, which collectively explores the nomadic societies of the Arab world and provides an answer to the question of “how their different activities were bound into wider systems of rule, trade, and production” [38]. The book also refers to the impact of governmental policies on the Arab nomadic societies for settlement within cities and urban areas.

Another reference is a book titled “Desert People: Archaeological Perspectives” [39], which targets the archaeological and ethnographical life of hunter-gatherers in the arid regions of the world. Accordingly,

“There is a strong international demand for knowledge about the dynamics of human settlement in arid regions. The history of humans in arid lands can be used as a tool for developing knowledge about the evolution of desert systems, and understanding environmental changes currently underway there or likely to take place in the near future” [39].

Reference to the Arabian Gulf region, an interesting publication titled “The Arab of the Desert: A Glimpse into Badawin Life in Kuwait and Saudi Arabia” [40], which was first published in 1949, is elaborating on the author’s own field investigation of desert life and the information he acquired due to his analysis of Nomads way of life. Such analytical remarks include the socio-political influences and annual moves; the tent and its furnishings; the social systems; food and hospitality; festivals and greetings; warfare and more elaborative aspects of the Bedouin’s existence in the desert of Arabia.

Considering that the methodological analysis of the research study is conducted in the State of Qatar as a definite Arab context as it has been actively responsive to the transformative forces of globalization, it is found that references to the nomadic society and its transformations are limited to a number of authorized anthropological references. Among the most elaborative references is the monograph book titled “Bedouins of Qatar”, published in the early 1990s by Denmark-based author Klaus Ferdinand. The theme of the book is “daily life and material culture, with particular emphasis on the form of the dwelling, the so-called “black tent”, among two groups of pastoral Bedouins, who are typical of Qatar” [41]. The book covers a transitional period of Qatar’s history as it documents life of Bedouins in the late 1950s, which marks the beginning of the administrative transformation of the State due to the discovery of oil and the wealth generated by its production. As a concluding chapter, the authors present the characteristic features of the Bedouins of Qatar responding to the modernization process, summarized as follows.

Fig. 2: Transformative Characteristics of the Bedouins of Qatar in the late 1950s
Source: Author’s Summary (Ferdinand, 1993) [41]

Aspects of Urban Transformation of the Nomadic Society in Qatar
The Behavioural Aspect of the Bedouin Tent

The behavioural aspect of the desert nomads is defined by their fast travel, temporary settlement and the tendency to adapt to the harsh environmental conditions aided by minimal resources [42-44]. The socio-spatial arrangement of the basic unit of dwell, represented by the portable tent, supports the behavioural attitude of the nomadic society in Qatar as well as the majority of the nomads of the MENA region. The following description provides an insight of the internal configuration of the tent, which reflects the behavioural aspect of the nomadic tribal settlements,

“Internally there are dividing curtains and specific areas set aside for certain purposes – cooking, sleeping (separated by sex), guests’ area. The decoration and pattern of the tents vary greatly, even within the same tribe, and though these are simple dwellings, they can be beautifully decorated both in the weaving of the fabric, the mats and cushions laid inside and in the essential elements that make up the structure of the dwelling, such as the fasteners and ties” [45].

Fig. 3: Layout of a typical Tent in southern Qatar and an overview of the kitchen part of the tent
Source: (Ferdinand, 1993) [41]

The Physical and Spatial Aspect of the Bedouin Tent

Due to the lack of the sense of city and settled urbanism, living in the desert is best described as lightweight settlements of camps with groups of tents in a close proximity to water sources [40, 46, 38]. The spatial organization of the Bedouin camps in the desert
reflects a logical sequence of environmentally sensitive design. Accordingly, “the size of the camps reflected the specific conditions of that area, and the opportunities for an optimal exploration of the grazing, made possible by the abundant and widespread occurrence of wells” [41].

In the Qatari hinterland, contextual and climatic necessities affect the arrangement of tents within a camp area, resulting in all camps lying with an east-west axis opening to the desert with limited natural protection. This spatial arrangement results in the tent being the only unit of shelter and protection facing the vast desert. Thus, the Bedouins of Qatar developed a collective, comprehensive knowledge over generation on the furnishing of the tent and its physical construction responding to the need for a durable, private, and a socially inclusive means of shelter in the desert.

When considering the physical and spatial structure of the Bedouin tent, the “precedence of practice over physical structure in constructing social space” is evident in the way that Bedouins handle privacy within their portable dwelling [31]. The notion of privacy as an environment-behaviour phenomenon is reflected on the tent’s spatial configuration that is contained within an open physical environment considering the absence of walls or fences. The internal configuration of the tent is subject to privacy consideration, with definite spaces assigned for women and domestic activities while guests are granted a specific space within the limited spatial arrangement of the tent. This fact proves the socio-cultural attributes of the Bedouin society that is based on values and ethical morals of hospitality and generosity regardless of the unavailability of resources and the underprivileged economic conditions.

The Social and Cultural Aspect of the Bedouin Tent

Tribes inhabiting the southern and northern deserts of Qatar developed their distinctive construction patterns representing a coherent social context, which results in special features of the tent reflecting indigenous sub-cultures and tribal affinity. In this prospect, Ferdinand hypothesizes the development of specific tent types of two tribes in Qatar’s north and south demonstrating the special tribal identity of the Bedouin tents,

“We have seen that the Al-Murrah tent has decisive points of obvious similarity with, for example, the Kuwaiti tents, whereas there are decisive differences on this point between the Al- Na‘im tent and the Al-Murrah tent. As Al Na‘im came from the South in the last century it is reasonable to assure that, in the course of adapting to local conditions in North Qatar, these Bedouins have taken over features which were in common use in the more enclosed local form of tent” [41].

As a conclusion, the transformative characteristics of the nomadic societies in Qatar and the regional MENA are embedded in the behavioural, spatial as well as socio-cultural aspects. Each aspect is responding to urban transformation in a clearly manifested way seen through the built environment and the human-behaviour interaction. The tent is becoming an interesting unit of analysis to assess the degree of urban transformation brought by modernity and globalization. Thus, this research study is shedding light on such transformative characteristics reference to the recent contemporary urban scene of Qatar.

**THE RESEARCH DESIGN**

The methodology of the exploratory research is embedded within combination of inductive and deductive methods gained through participatory observations, direct impressionistic observations, field study and on-site analysis. The variety of methods ensures the addition of richness to the research process, in addition to obtaining multiple feedback methods to achieve the most reliable results considering the study of a qualitative urban design element such as the tent as means of shelter in the neighbourhoods and hinterland areas of Qatar [47-49].
It is a common practice in academic research to depend on participant observation, especially when considering recent social and cultural practices of a definite community [11, 50]. Reference to the literature, author of book titled “Nomads in Post-revolutionary Iran” presents participatory observation as an active methodological analysis in researching recent transformative forces affecting the cultural heritage of a minority of Iranian nomads [51]. In her own words,

“Participant observation centers on the task of participating in daily events while at the same time observing them. Over the years, as the process grew familiar, I hesitated less often about joining in, and my understanding of the group and its activities and attitudes expanded […]”. Unlike some male anthropologists who lacked much access to women and children in the communities in which they lived or visited, I had always enjoyed unrestricted interactions with men, women, and children. A wide range of people participated in my research activities over the years” [51].

The methodological analysis of this research study follows the conventional field study research approach, yet with a greater focus given to qualitative analysis of a selected unit of investigation [52, [47, 49]. The unit selected is the tent: a structure used as means for shelter and mobile accommodation in the desert by Qatari Bedouins in the past as well as most of the Arab nomads in the MENA region. The choice of the tent justifies the approach of the research study to re-link transformation of the nomadic society to the current urban setting, where the tent is representing the cultural way of life of nomads in the past, and a valuable material heritage of the modern society, in addition to other adaptive functional uses. Through field study of a selected neighbourhood district in Doha, the direct and indirect resemblance to the tent is analysed and recorded to provide remarks on the transformation of the structure as well as modern adaptive techniques.

**Fig-5: Methodological framework of the research study**

**FINDINGS**

The analysis of the tent as a transformative unit of investigation results in the classification of the influential layers characterizing its urban significance into three definite aspects. The aspects are traced over time and reflected into recent, modern practices to assess the degree of urban transformation.

The first aspect of analysis is the behavioural aspect, in which the human-behaviour interaction with the tent as a built structure is analysed in a participatory way. The second aspect is the spatial and physical aspect of the structural configuration of the tent itself, where an inspection of the change in material, spatial configuration, and adaptive functional uses are traced and analysed. The third aspect is the social and cultural feature of the modern tent concerning its value and association with the cultural heritage and way of life to the ancestors of the desert nomads in the State of Qatar.
The Behavioural Aspect of the Modern Tent

The behavioural aspect of the tent is traced based on the inspection of a typical modern neighbourhood in Doha (Figure-6). Within the neighbourhood, tents are used in their traditional structure as well as modern tensile structures, with traditional fabric finishes. The only resemblance to the traditional Bedouin tent is that such structures are placed in the open area with no gated walls. Modern tents extend beyond the housing unit, providing an open-air space for leisure and gatherings. Consequently, “The function of the tent as the sole form of shelter has been abandoned, and the tent now exists as a complementary extension to the new concrete housing, where this traditional lightweight structure is set up in the forecourts adjacent to or outside the walled villas, and used for traditional entertainment and living and for keeping tame falcons” [53].

Most of the modern tent structures within Qatari neighbourhoods are air-conditioned, expect for traditional fabric tents installed during the winter seasons adjacent to households. Over the year, tents are used as extended guest rooms or Majlis units, where men gather occasionally or for special events such as festivals, Eids, weddings, funerals and other social occasions.

The internal configuration of modern tents includes a wide, spacious seating area as a guest room with modern amenities. It resembles a living room with traditionally themed furniture of durable Sadu patterned finishing. Within the tent, there are bathrooms for guests; a small kitchen for coffee preparation; and in some cases a bedroom wing for domestic assistants or guests. Compared to the traditional Bedouin tent, treatment of the tent as a household for family members including men and women is no longer valid, where privacy by gender is unrequired due to the use of the tent for men’s social gatherings and leisure activities.

The Spatial and Physical Aspect of the Modern Tent

Within the Qatari hinterland, specifically in the urban locality of Al Shahaniya municipality, camps are found scattered within an administratively restricted open areas defined by the urban planning authorities. Tents are an integral part of such modern camps, with direct resemblance to the traditional Bedouin camps in their spatial and physical arrangement as well as adaptability to seasonal mobility and harsh weather.
conditions. Yet, the internal configuration and behavioral aspect is aligned with the previously discussed modern implications, supported by the provision of modern infrastructure and portable utility units for water and electricity available in the market.

Another interesting urban setting in Qatar is the camping areas by the southeastern shore of Mesaieed city. The spatial arrangement of tents within the camping area is responding to climatic and environmental necessities. Camps are organized following the contour lines of sand dunes, resulting in fascinating urban phenomenon worth investigating. Such camps are spatially oriented as individual private units owned by different families, while maintaining the sense of community and social integrity due to close proximity of each camping unit to the other.

The Social and Cultural Aspect of the Modern Tent

Considering the socio-cultural transformation of the Qatari society in the era of globalization, huge emphasis is placed over the creation of a national identity that is enforced by the local cultural heritage of the society. Accordingly,

"historical turn has played a major role in reviving the Bedouin traditions, customs and dialect, and emphasizing specific signifiers like the tribe, desert, falcon, and so on. Hence the promotion of the Bedouin narrative has caused an elevation of tribal identity over other sub-identities" [54].

The modern tent is contemplated through this specific approach when referring to its socio-cultural relationship to the national identity of the Qatari society.

Although the Bedouin tent has been characterized by sub-cultural traits that are exclusive to definite tribes within Qatar, the modern tent does not project a similar character. It is rather an element of social and cultural integrity associated with hospitality of the Qatari nuclear family, which is becoming the cornerstone of the modern society in placement of the tribal structure. In addition, local Qataris are still utilizing the traditional Bedouin tent in appreciation for its durability and practicality as a means of shelter during seasonal camping as well as an extension space to the households. This fact supports the socio-cultural sustainability of the tent that proves its workability over generation and compliance to modern lifestyles [55].
CONCLUSIONS AND DISCUSSION

The value of the tent as a national symbol and an element of Qatari identity is fostering the current approach toward the sustainable development of the social and cultural ways of life. This trend in social engineering is providing a counter process against the drawbacks of globalization, representing a tendency of the society to brand for itself through its peculiar cultural heritage, while celebrating diversity and openness to the global community through effective engagement and mutual cultural dialogue. The approach is ideal for the sustainable development and would ensure that the pillars of growth are well established in the foundations of the civilized society.

The use of the Bedouin tent as a symbolic structure or a conceptual representative unit in mega-projects, especially in the planned stadiums for 2022 FIFA World Cup is clearly demonstrating the association of the tent to the national identity of the Qatari society [58]. The design of Al Bayt Stadium in Al Khor city is proving the national approach of the country towards maintaining the valuable cultural heritage of the Bedouin tent by elevating its symbolic meaning to a global level. Not only the symbolic resemblance, but also the generous ethical morals of the Bedouins as well as the practical functionality of the tent is maintained as the structure is intended to be “like a true nomad’s tent, it will be portable. The top tier of seating will be removed following the 2022 FIFA WORLD CUP™ and given to developing nations that need stadium seating” [58].

Fig-13: Al Bayt Stadium in Al Khor City, North of Qatar has a direct resemblance to the Bedouin’s tent
Source: (sc.qa, 2018) [58]

Fig-14: Aerial view of the construction progress of Al-Bayt Stadium in Al Khor, Qatar
Source: Author
This research study is concluded by the conformation of the hypothesis that assumes urban transformation to influence indigenous cultural communities to adapt to recent urban realities, while maintaining the cultural way of life as a socio-cultural reference associated with constructed identity. What remains is a challenge are the forces beyond globalization, which might enforce certain development scenarios insensitive to the locality of the urban setting and therefore might distort all that remains from the valuable historical knowledge, which is nobody’s accepted choice.

CONTRIBUTION TO KNOWLEDGE

This research study is contributing to knowledge within socio-cultural and anthropological studies of urban planning and design in Qatar and the Arab world, which is facing a rarity of publication by local researchers. Due to the lack of reference to local-oriented studies toward assessing urban issues of growth and development, this research study is pivotal in its approach as it provides an assessment of contemporary urban practices. The gap between urban studies and anthropology must be filled with research initiatives that encourage the integration of the social dynamism into the practice of urban planning and design.

Through the investigation of the cultural assets of Qatar such as the tent, enormous feedback would support the involvement of behavioral, spatial, physical and socio-cultural aspects of the studied unit into the arena of urban design. The valuable assets of the Qatari cultural heritage are sources of inspiration to visionary design schemes by architects and urban designers, whose role is to create the promised livable built environment that is in absolute harmony with the local context.

IMPLICATIONS FOR PRACTICE AND RESEARCH ADVANCEMENT

In order to progress with the research outcomes and turn theoretical aspirations into practical solutions, knowledge of urban transformation of the Nomadic society in Qatar must be reflected into adaptive urban design tactics. New public projects, residential design schemes, as well as mega-projects should incorporate the valuable cultural heritage into the conceptual development of design elements. The approach of the country to foster its national identity through urban design must incorporate indigenous local knowledge that will ensure sustainability of social and cultural way of life of Qatari people. The 2022 FIFA WORLD CUP marks the starting point toward achieving further national progress and sustainable development bearing in mind the need to preserve the valuable cultural heritage in a participatory way.

As a recommendation for the advancement of this research study, the methodology that is mainly based on qualitative assessments and participatory observations could be further enriched by a quantitative analysis. The quantitative analysis involves a questionnaire survey examining the transformation and adaptation of the tent in the modern social setting and urban scape. The questionnaire survey targets the socio-cultural way of life of selected Qatari individuals, and relates the modern use of the tent either for leisure or temporary accommodation to the old original use as means of shelter in the desert. Such reference to the intangible socio-cultural and behavioral pattern presents a comparative analysis between the past and the present, while projecting assumptions to the future in terms of sustainability of the tent as an urban structure of the desert.

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Asmaa Saleh AL-Mohannadi holds B.S. Degree in Architecture [59] from Qatar University. She was honoured by HH. Emir of Qatar for Educational Excellence in 2015. She is undertaking a Master’s Degree in Urban Planning and Design at Qatar University.

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aiming at universal recognition and the enrichment of global cultural heritage through active participation.

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