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## **NATIONALIST PARTICULARISM AND LEVELS OF LEGITIMIZING ARCHITECTURAL AND URBAN TRADITIONS IN FOUR GULF CITIES**

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*This article interrogates acts and levels of legitimizing traditions with the aim of originating discerning accounts from the perspective of 'Modern State' and 'Nationalist Particularism.' The analysis is undertaken at three different but related levels: chronological, representational, and interventional where each places emphasis on a particular aspect of legitimization. Gulf cities are identified as an appropriate context for this investigation, which is based on a multi-layered approach that interweaves procedures devised to probe each level separately while contributing to portray the overall milieu of legitimizing traditions. Genuinely legitimizing traditions necessitates employing bottom-up strategies while going beyond the practice of cloning traditions to embrace authentic responses to environmental, socio-cultural, and socioeconomic realities.*

### **A SCOPE FOR EXPLORING LEGITIMACY OF ARCHITECTURAL AND URBAN TRADITIONS IN GULF CITIES**

Architectural and urban traditions are being legitimized in various forms in the context of Gulf cities. In this article, I approach the notion of legitimacy from the perspective of the 'Modern State' and the rise of 'Nationalist Particularism' while problematizing the way in which such a perspective is manifested in contemporary practices.<sup>1</sup> Increasingly and assertively relationships between the ruler and the ruled have changed dramatically to uneven power relationships.<sup>2</sup> From a tribal tradition of people shaping their environment under a tribal leadership, the 'Modern State' became an organizing body and a legal authority that represents the will and the collective psyche of its people.

Guided by the principles of the 'Modern State,' Gulf cities are in a continuous process of transposing themselves with different types of expression of their architectural and urban qualities. Yet, within the framework of the 'Modern State' the dominant discourse of current rulers as well as the intellectuals who represent them and voice their opinions, debates always suggest the recycling of elements of architectural and urban traditions as a way of perpetrating character and charm upon the city. This recycling of traditions takes place at the spatial as well as visual levels and at the architectural and urban scales.<sup>3</sup>

Architectural and urban traditions are treasured at the interface between the dominance of regional or national or local culture including its underlying value system and the power and governance structures that have the capacity to influence such a culture by the decisions they make. Such an understanding is apparent when looking at how rulers are assuming responsibilities never assumed before, are playing roles of urban planners or CEOs of real-estate development companies, and are ultimately making decisions about land use, public spaces, real estate development, and even the establishment of a local architectural language. This can be seen as a translation to the rise of “Nationalist Particularism” that has challenged earlier socio-political constructs at the regional level while manifesting itself in many physical interventions in Gulf cities.

Acts of legitimization are perceptible throughout the past several decades in Gulf cities. Examples include refurbishing old palaces or traditional market places to become new cultural enterprises and potentially visual and spatial references while depicting traditions for contemporary and future practices. This includes reconstruction of historical buildings, the introduction of commercial projects developed around historic cores or on waterfronts, and the development of residential environments. Many of these efforts continuously attempt to simulate real or imagined traditions. Demonstrating these acts, cases supporting the ‘Nationalist Particularism’ perspective from Gulf cities are analyzed at three different levels: chronological, representational, and interventional, which are conceived for the purpose of scoping rather than for pure classification or categorization. The *chronological* level involves an attempt to explore spatial patterns within typological housing transformations, in Abu-Dhabi, Doha, Dubai, and Manama, representing shifts that were adopted both by people and governments. The second and third levels narrow down the investigation and address the context of Qatar’s capital Doha. The *representational* level includes cases that utilize traditional imaging at various scales, in search for identity, to impress local societies by their roots and at the same time vaunt the marketing profile of the city. The *interventional* level offers a closer look at three types of urban interventions in Doha’s historic core that are supported and sponsored by the ruling family and the government. These interventions adopt and adapt traditional visual and spatial elements while attempting to legitimize a real, imagined, or borrowed past. The problematization of “Nationalist Particularism” and the underlying levels of legitimization would lead to better understandings and insights into maintaining a sense of continuity while responding to contemporary life requirements and social and cultural aspirations.

## **THE MODERN STATE AND NATIONALIST PARTICULARISM: CHALLENGING SOCIO-POLITICAL CONSTRUCTS**

While many Gulf cities still operate intrinsically based on an inherited tribal structure and fraternal or familial affiliations, they are still guided by the principles of the ‘Modern State.’ Definitions of a ‘state’

agree that the state supports the increase of capital while regulating class struggle. Class in this sense denotes various groups of different socio-economic or cultural backgrounds or of different relations to those who run the state. Yet, fundamental disagreement exists with respect to the role of the state. Some argues that the state is not an actor but a place where classes and class segments consolidate.<sup>4</sup> Other argues that the state has become an actor leading to an incongruity between its own institutional interests and the dynamics of capitalist accumulation.<sup>5</sup> Nonetheless, recent discourse on politics asserts that states are both places and actors.<sup>6</sup>

Views on the understanding of the state offer insights on legitimizing traditions. States have been regarded as less unified, composed of diverse institutions and branches, which are colonized, by power elites and class divisions. Yet, it has been suggested that modernization shifted political power from kings to people.<sup>7</sup> A number of particularities can be identified<sup>8</sup> and then mapped into current practices in Gulf cities. Firstly, the state is territorially centralized and is inherently consolidated over a delimited territory over which it has binding powers; there is no doubt that cities within Gulf region operate on this basis where decisions on key projects, development and land use planning are centralized under the jurisdiction of the state. Secondly, the state struggles with the duality of institutions and people. In the Gulf region, this aspect manifests itself in the form of ‘co-existence’ where the authoritative power of the elite persons i.e. the ruling families and those who represent them and the institutions they have created operate in congruous manner at times and in contradictory fashion at others. Thirdly, state institutions are differentiated assuming different functions for different social or interest groups. In the Gulf region, differentiation does not seem to be the norm where the authoritative power of the elite persons dominates.

The notion of a delimited territory suggests a set of relations between this state and other states, i.e. geopolitics. This is based on the assumption that politics works from the outside in.<sup>9</sup> In this respect, within the contextual geo-cultural politics of the Gulf region and the larger ‘Arab world,’ one can identify an amalgam of influences that include ‘Mediterraneanism,’ ‘Middle Easternism,’ ‘Pan- Arabism,’ and ‘Islamism.’ These stimuli, however, being constructs serving political and ideological ends, they are of heuristic value, posing questions of meaning, identity, and the sharing of urban and existential values at a regional scale. While these constructs have witnessed rises and falls over the several decades, they have been challenged by ‘nationalist particularism’ that became a mainstream approach in most Arab and Gulf countries since the mid 1970s. As a result, architecture and cities continue to be labeled, debated, with reference to the city or the country in which it exists, expressing strong nationalist dimension: ‘Bahraini,’ ‘Emirati,’ and ‘Qatari,’ etc.

Some of the preceding particulars of the ‘modern state’ and the growing interest in ‘nationalist particularism’ are evident in many developmental aspects. Yet, one would identify two of these: a) the decisions being made by governments with respect to housing development where urban governance

attempts to mediate between the general housing expectations and the new reality of housing as main investment opportunity leading to rising land prices in Gulf cities, b) the establishment of national visionary documents in which the urban environment, cultural values, and heritage are strongly emphasized as integral components of the development process. This is coupled with the implementation of various cultural, educational projects that are advocated, conceived, sponsored, and decided upon by the authoritative power of the elite and ruling families as well as government institutions. Within these developmental aspects architectural and urban traditions are promoted as important drivers that materialize the notion of the state as a place and an actor while attempting to speak to various groups.

## **SCRUTINIZING THE ACTS AND LEVELS OF LEGITIMIZING ARCHITECTURAL AND URBAN TRADITIONS**

Methodologically, examining the acts and levels of legitimizing architectural and urban traditions required a multi-layered approach that involves a set of procedures devised to scan each level distinctly while contributing to depict the overall milieu of legitimizing traditions in the built environment in the Gulf region. The *chronological* level explores the transformation of the dwelling's layout and its spatial interior spaces over time in terms of the unit's size, composition and functions. As a form of typological analysis, it places emphasis on key qualities of the dwellings while identifying their characteristics.

Chronologically, the investigation of typological evolution and transformation in the selected four Gulf cities adopts an approach that involves identification of four historical periods which have resulted from various events with significant impacts on socio-economic and socio-cultural realities. Such an approach offers a substantial base for conducting a typological analysis as a procedure that involves sampling. Samples of house types were selected from a wide variety that represents successive historical eras in each of the selected cities.<sup>10</sup>

Examining the samples, six are selected to represent the four historical periods that are categorized as: post-nomadic, traditional, modern and contemporary (Fig. 1) for the four selected cities.<sup>11</sup> The first two periods are represented by a singular housing model, which is considered to be a predominant housing typology in that era. Two models each represent the second two periods. Apart from the singular house or villa model, multi-story buildings were introduced as residential modern and contemporary models. By and large, the chronological level detects the evolutionary characteristics of each historical period and the way in which cultural values and norms were manifested and legitimized.

The second level is *representational* and includes an analytical discourse on cases that utilize traditional imaging at various scales to impress local societies by their backgrounds. In order to explore aspects relevant to legitimizing traditions through image making processes within the city of Doha, two types of efforts towards image making are identified. These are: a) utilizing symbolism in contemporary

imaging, and b) manifesting tradition and modernity dialogue in search for identity and eventually in legitimizing traditions at the visual level.<sup>12</sup> The analysis is directed towards building or place character and regional history that act as sources for image and identity creation and as part of a process much of which aims at legitimizing traditions.

	Post-nomadic	Traditional	Modern		Contemporary
Doha					
Dubai					
Abu Dhabi					
Manama					

Fig. 1: Various cases of house types in four Gulf cities (Source: Author).

The *interventional* level explores three types of manifestations that legitimize traditions through decisions and efforts of rulers and government offices and demonstrate interventions in Doha's old center:<sup>13</sup> '*iconic architectural change*' where a building or portion of the urban environment imposes a powerful new visual statement; '*remanufacturing of urban heritage*' where an urban intervention engages directly with traditional knowledge; and '*iconic urban change*' where an urban regeneration intervention integrates tradition and modernity in spatial, social, and material terms. The three types combined endeavor to legitimize real, imagined, or borrowed architectural and urban traditions. Coupled with these legitimization acts, I interrogate these types in light of three queries: Can an urban intervention be simultaneously local and global? Can it demonstrate international best practices without ignoring

traditional knowledge? Would a prioritization of local influences or an interest in conserving traditions represent narrow-mindedness?

### **THE CHRONOLOGICAL LEVEL OF LEGITIMIZING TRADITIONS**

The review of major historical events in the four cities, which had a significant impact on new social as well as economic realities (See Table 1 – Appendix 1)<sup>14</sup> enables a preliminary understanding of various historical eras which can be categorized into four periods, for classification purposes, as follows: the Post-Nomadic Period (until 1763); the Traditional Period (1763 – 1945); the Modern Period (1945 - 1990); and the Contemporary Period (since 1990), while mapping key housing typologies in the four cities to these periods (Fig. 2).

#### **THE POST-NOMADIC PERIOD**

In the ‘Post-Nomadic’ period the tribal structure combined major top-down decision-making, such as the distribution of land to the various clans, as well as self-organization and responsibility regarding the development and use of land.<sup>15</sup> The built environment was thus a direct result of the inner socio-political and cultural circumstances and in addition to first cubic dwellings made of clay, mud and coral stones, a large part of the population still resided in tents and so called *barasti* huts, which were made of palm fronds. The initial post-nomadic model is rooted in erecting fences around tents in order to define individual plots for each family. First huts and tents were gradually replaced by simple cubic buildings made of basic local materials such as palm-fronds, mud, and coral stones. Each plot consisted of a walled enclosure open spaces filled with one story room or several rooms positioned along the plot’s perimeter.<sup>16</sup> This basic shelter encompasses only main spaces that were essential for families, including private living areas, guest reception, cooking, storage and utility. Spaces were arranged within one plot surrounded by a wall to provide a family privacy and a clear territorial boundary and ownership. The reception space was located within the plot ground and was directly accessible from the public domain in order to preserve the family privacy and to make a clear separation between the men’s gathering and family’s daily life.

With the absence of the official governmental regulations, post-nomadic model was strongly associated with socio-economic aspects, where houses reflect the general social status in terms of size, type and nature of spaces, as well as ornamentation. In this respect, legitimizing traditions in the home environment was based on the dominant social order and cultural norms.

#### **THE TRADITIONAL PERIOD**

While the population of most settlements remained below 50,000 inhabitants, the import of new construction techniques, such as the Persian wind towers coupled with significant income differences between the various social classes in addition to the segregation of the various ethnic groups led to an increasing differentiation of building typologies; from large courtyard complexes of wealthy clan leaders to palm frond huts of pearl divers. The ports and first large-scale market places led to defined public centers, where all social groups interacted. Neighborhoods or *fareej* were developed in proximity to these commercial centers. While an official urban administration was not yet established, conflicts between neighbors were usually solved by official gatherings of tribal leaders.<sup>17</sup>

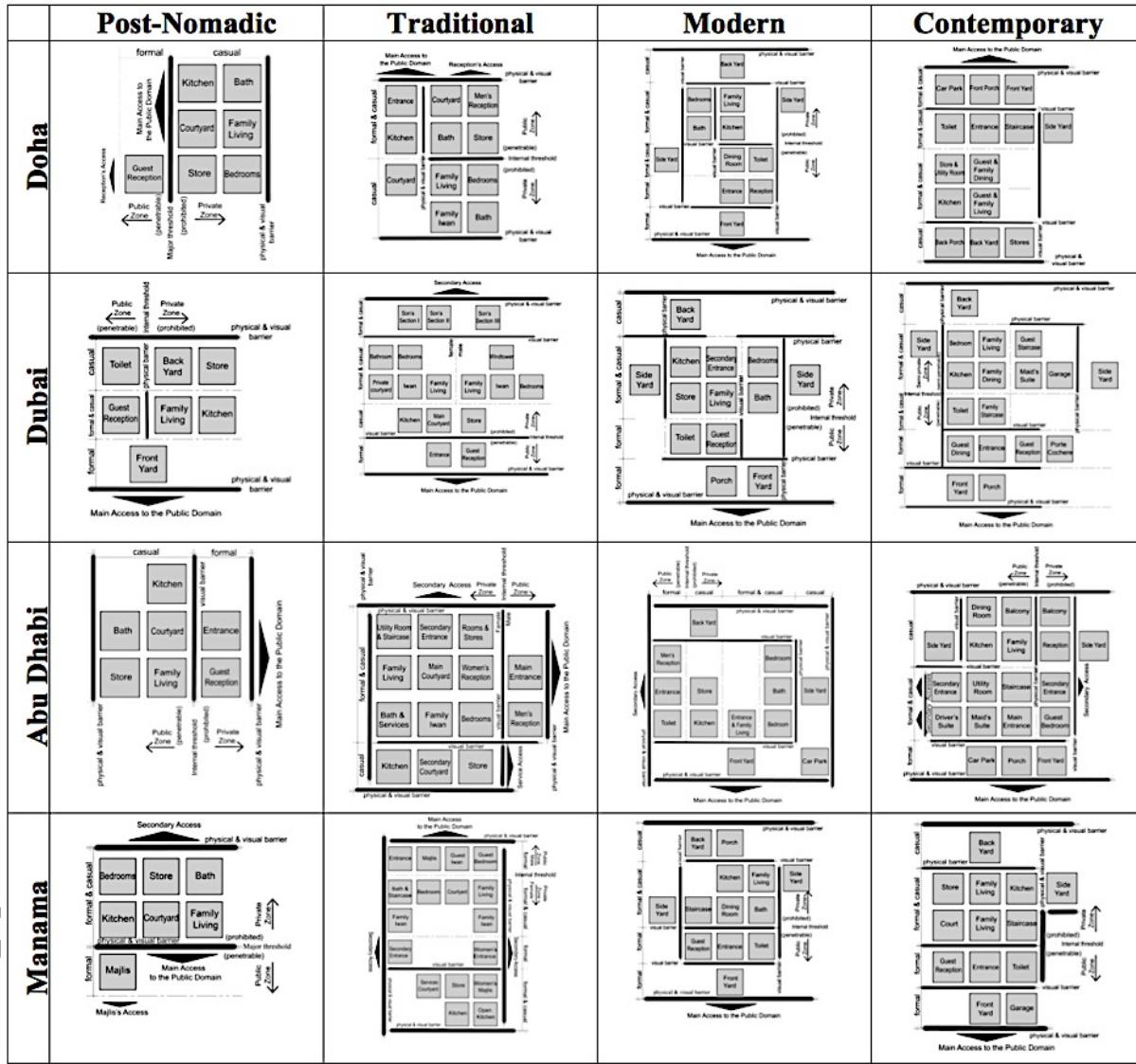


Fig. 2: The spatial organization of house types in the selected cities across the four historical periods (Source: Author).

The traditional model can be considered an advancement of the post-nomadic model. The emerging pearl trade during the 19<sup>th</sup> century generated new housing standards. The concomitant growth of the family or the accommodation of extended family members led to erecting more covered spaces within the same dwelling plot, and therefore, a central open space or a courtyard was shaped in similitude to other settlement throughout the Middle East. Most traditional houses were arranged around a central private courtyard where family activities took place. As the central primary open space, the courtyard became the heart of the traditional dwelling, where all the functions such as *majlis* (*family or visitors sitting area*), living spaces, bathroom and *iwans* were connected. The *majlis* was often located near the entrance and used to host men's visitors or conduct business meetings; it was always kept separated from the rest of the house. Occasionally, an intermediate yard may lead to an adjacent house, accommodating additional wives or an extended family. The main concept behind designing the courtyard house was to generate an inward-looking plan with plain external walls, which were designed to discourage strangers from looking inside the house as well as to protect the house from the harsh climate of the region.<sup>18</sup> Legitimizing tradition in this sense continued to follow cultural norms but with diverse manifestations due to emerged diversity in social groups ranging from tribal sheikhs, to clan leaders, and to pearl divers.

### THE MODERN PERIOD

The modern period witnessed the import of a modern construction industry that was entirely detached from the local population. First housing typologies were primarily influenced by the common housing design and standards of more developed neighboring countries in the Middle East, such as Egypt and the Levant. This was an outcome of the vast immigration from the region as well as from South-Asia and led to the growth of these rapidly growing settlements. While the first municipal planning units, introduced as part of new government structures, have focused on developing an infrastructural backbone and first building standards,<sup>19</sup> the national independence of most Gulf countries between 1961 and 1971 led to the foundation of first public administration jurisdictions and the establishment of capital cities.<sup>20</sup>

During the following decades the provision of sufficient housing for the local population has remained one of the most important public sector responsibilities. In 1976 a decree was issued in Bahrain to establish the Ministry of Housing in order to provide social housing for citizens with limited income, which gave a boost to expand large-scale housing projects in Isa Town and Hamad Town in 1978 and 1984 respectively.<sup>21</sup> During the 1980s, the National Housing Programs were established in the UAE, providing free funds of Dhs 200,000 (Approx \$US 60,000) with serviced land.<sup>22</sup> In 1984, Qatar's Ministry of Municipal Affairs and Agriculture (MMAA) defined a three-classification system of houses: free houses, public houses and senior staff houses. This was followed by a new policy for the occupants to

design their own houses or villas (a two-story self-contained house), which was based on a catalogue developed by the municipality which included a few alternative designs.<sup>23</sup>

The modern model followed a new strategy, reflecting the new prosperity that has resulted in an influx of foreign engineers and architects as well as in the use of new construction materials. Two types of residential units were introduced as modern models, a villa and an apartment. The villa was introduced first by the government as standard housing typology for locals. In contrast to the traditional typology of courtyard houses, the internal spaces of a modern villa are oriented outward towards the surrounding yards or outdoor spaces. Most of the villa models are one or two story high and were placed in the center of the plot surrounded by open spaces, car parks and gardens. A high wall was added to protect the family privacy and to define the private space. The arrangement of interior spaces preserved the traditional spatial organization to some extent. The *majlis* rooms were still located in close proximity to entrance spaces in order to enable a separation between private family life and visitors. Furthermore, stairways and reception spaces were used as central spaces connecting all rooms while replacing the function of previous courtyards. It can be argued that the period from the late 1960s to late 1980s manifest two opposing attitudes toward tradition: the first a break from tradition by advocating and adopting foreign standards and introducing new construction materials and technologies and the second is a continuous attempt to legitimize traditions in the home environment through various governance structures, guidance documents, and National Housing Programs.

#### THE CONTEMPORARY PERIOD

Despite the rapid expansion of the private sector rulers have remained the main driving force of any development due to their decision-making capacity with respect to directing investments of oil and gas revenues to the development of infrastructure and key projects as well as the fact that most land development has still remained under their control. In addition, the public sector has remained in charge of supplying housing, such as the Sheikh Zayed Housing Program in Abu Dhabi during the 1990s.<sup>24</sup> Housing development during this period is defined by major mega projects, which are often planned as cities-within-cities. While most developments have been initiated along coastal areas, in-land urban sprawl has continued in the form of expanding suburban residential districts made of both large gated compounds for expatriate professionals as well as segregated neighborhoods for the local population. A new phenomenon in recent years has been the initiation of projects within downtown areas in order to attract the younger generation of locals to relocate from suburban areas to inner-city districts.

The contemporary models have evolved out of the modern model. Including villas, apartments and townhouses, these models have mainly followed international trends, wherein the traditional socio-cultural context and the desert climate have taken a back seat as design imperatives. The recent

construction boom has mainly been guided by speculation-driven mechanisms leading to imported and hardly adjusted housing typologies, such as residential high-rises, apartment blocks and townhouses within large compounds. In order to reduce costs and enhance the number of housing units, open plan living areas were introduced as multi-functional spaces integrating reception space, family living, dining and cooking. The high demand for privacy was only accommodated in the form of large bedrooms. Today, it can be argued that the recent surge in construction activities has created two new realities for the local population: Firstly, the high land prices and construction costs leading to a shrinking number of locals, who can embark on an effort to build their own modern villas in accessible locations. Secondly, large supplies of new housing units in the form of mega projects (large-scale compounds, or gated communities) manifest a clear break from previous lifestyles and traditions.

### **THE REPRESENTATIONAL LEVEL OF LEGITIMIZING TRADITIONS**

The representational level of legitimizing traditions involves a critical discourse on cases that utilize traditional imaging at various scales. The discussion is constituted in two categories that manifests various acts of legitimizing traditions in visual or scenic terms: utilizing symbolism in contemporary imaging and manifesting tradition-modernity dialogue in search for identity.

#### **UTILIZING SYMBOLISM IN CONTEMPORARY IMAGING**

It is argued that the acts of symbolization and cultural and personal attachment to what is called ‘symbols’ are recognized modes of thinking, feeling, behaving, associating, and understanding.<sup>25</sup> Two origins of symbolism can be introduced in the context of this discussion; social and spontaneous creation of new places or buildings by the public, and planning or intentional actions of those who have the power and authority to introduce change in the urban environment. If an organism or a component of a social structure is able to intentionally introduce change in the environment one can argue that it is a wielding power. This purposive action aims at endowing space with shape, structure, elements, and name with an attempt to highlight some values, aesthetics, or facts to stand in the minds of the public. It is intended to create a symbolic space<sup>26</sup> or building with preconceived meaning that can or cannot be comprehended and assimilated by the public as a point of reference, and that might or might not become a shared symbolic element. This corroborates the fact that many of the urban and building actions and artistic interventions in the city of Doha are intended to evoke a memory, an event, a person, or to put a political, artistic, or social moment on record (Fig. 3-a & b) and therefore these interventions can be regarded as acts of legitimizing various forms of traditions.

Developers and decision-makers are actively promoting, together with professionals, an increased use of traditional symbols in order to enhance building images and the urban context within which they

exist. The aim is to establish an architectural language that speaks to the public but not necessarily to the context. The search for historical and discernible symbols can foster a sense of identity while promoting a desired type of intimacy between a community and its surrounding physical environment. It is argued that the use of symbols derived from architectural heritage invigorates the preservation of cultural traditions and the tangible elements of heritage. In fact, the desire to instigate a sense of belonging by replicating, through built form, the visual attributes, signs, and symbols of historical or traditional architecture keeps encouraging professionals to increase the use of historic symbols in their contemporary practices toward creating iconic buildings or urban settings that establish links with the past (Fig. 4-a & b).



(A): Depicting the pearl in a public space in Doha's waterfront.



(B): Using the 'dallah,' traditional coffee pot—the Arab symbol of welcoming.

Fig. 3: Legitimizing traditions by utilizing symbolism in Doha's urban spaces. (Source: Author).



(A) Doha Diplomatic Club.



(B): Al-Fanar: Qatar Islamic Cultural Center

Fig. 4: Legitimizing traditions through the use of distinct regional elements to cultivate a sense of identity (Source: Author).

Addressing the sensitive relationship between tradition and modernity is another approach that manifests continuous attempts to construct architectural or urban identity towards legitimizing traditions. Tradition in this sense can be seen as an internal process or as a reaction to external flows and influences.<sup>27</sup> Concomitantly, identity appears to have three underlying qualities: a) the permanence over time of a subject unaffected by environmental changes below a certain threshold level, b) the notion of unity, which establishes the limits of a subject and enables us to distinguish it from the others, and c) a relationship between two elements, which enables us to recognize them as identical. This connotes that permanence, recognition, and distinction determine the presence of identity in a physical object, a work of architecture, or a portion of a built environment. Identity can be understood as the collective aspect of the set of characteristics by which an object or a portion of the built environment is definitively recognizable.<sup>28</sup>

Earlier official attempts at legitimizing traditions can be seen in the buildings of Qatar University campus, the only national university in the country, where a visual dialogue was established between traditional design elements and the utilization of the contemporary technology (Fig. 5).



Fig. 5: Legitimizing traditions in Qatar University Campus through a *Tradition-Modernity Dialogue*  
(Source: Author - Photography by R. Salama).

Sustaining the discourse on the dialectic relationships between tradition and modernity, the contemporary and the historic, and the global and the local, a number of important projects supported by the ruling family, exemplify acts of legitimizing traditions. Some architects have continuously attempted to address

such a balance in their work (Fig. 6-a & b), by developing syntheses of contemporary images based on revived traditions and by simulating traditional environments, in some cases using modern technologies while in other cases combined with traditional techniques. These endeavors aim at returning architecture to its former position of being an expression of society, and arising from within it.<sup>29</sup>



(A) Engineering building of Texas A & M University at the Education City  
(B): Liberal Arts and Science building at the Education City

Fig. 6: Rooting contemporary architecture in the application and re-interpretation of regional traditions  
(Source: Author-Photography by R. Salama).

### THE INTERVENTIONAL LEVEL OF LEGITIMIZING TRADITIONS

Traditions are legitimized through decisions and efforts of rulers and government offices. This is evident in layers of interventions that can be portrayed as iconic architectural change, remanufacturing of urban heritage, iconic urban change. In Doha's traditional historic center, the first type is manifested in I.M. Pei's Museum of Islamic Art (Fig. 7). Its exposed location makes it visible from many directions, creating a visual reconnection between the old center and the waterfront.<sup>30</sup> Sited at the eastern end of Doha's historic settlement, it sets an intended juxtaposition with the high-rise cluster of development across the water at West Bay; while facing inland, the museum connects to the old center at the end of an urban spine. The design aspiration is to present a new image of the city while evoking a new interpretation of the regional heritage. Dedicated to reflecting the full vitality, complexity and multiplicity of the arts of the Islamic world, the Museum of Islamic Art collects, preserves, studies, and exhibits masterpieces spanning three continents (Africa, Asia, and Europe) from the 7<sup>th</sup> to the 19<sup>th</sup> century. The Museum is the result of a journey of self-discovery conducted by Pei whose quest to understand the diversity of Islamic architecture led him on a comprehensive tour of the Islamic world. Profoundly influenced by the architecture of *Ahmad Ibn Tulum Mosque* in Cairo, the museum is composed of two cream-colored limestone buildings, a five-story main building featuring a large open-air courtyard on the left and a two-story Education Wing, linked by a covered and arched passageway. The main building's angular volumes recede as they rise

around a five story high domed atrium, concealed from outside view by the walls of a central tower. An oculus at the top of the atrium captures and reflects patterned light within the faceted dome. It can be argued that the building is a conscious and deliberate attempt to legitimize traditions by translating the cultural aspirations of a tiny but ambitious country, anxious to be a major player on the world cultural stage, into a unique and iconic manifestation.



Fig. 7: Legitimizing tradition through iconic architectural intervention: Museum of Islamic Art-MIA (Source: Author).

The ‘*remanufacturing of urban heritage*’ is revealed in the reconstruction of the traditional market—Souq Waqif, which represents an aspirational positioning of traditional knowledge (Fig. 8). Historically, it contained different types of sub-markets for wholesale and retail trades, with buildings characterized by high thick walls, small windows, wooden portals, and open air stalls for local vendors. Bedouins used to hold their own markets on Thursdays selling timber and dairy products and it was also a gathering space for fishermen. The Souq occupies a geo-strategic site at the eastern end of the old center, facing the Emir’s ruling palace in one direction, and in the other the waterfront – once filled with fishing-boats and dockyards, now the location of Museum of Islamic Arts. But from the 1970s onwards, as the government made plans at the time for the modernization of the city center, it fell into a state of dereliction. However it has assumed a new image since 2010, following reconstruction and renovation based on authentic materials and skills. While it retains its old function as a marketplace, new art galleries, traditional cafes and restaurants, cultural events, and local concerts have been introduced to attract most of the city’s residents and tourists. Despite some arguments about the eclectic nature of the architecture of the remodeled and renovated souq, it is an exemplar of a well-utilized urban space in the Gulf. As such, it

now represents an important leisure, tourist and commercial destination in the city while functioning as one of its iconic landmarks (Figure 8). Notably, the souq provides the user with an authentic experience that is rare in this kind of project, so many of which are often very superficial and present a contrived theme-park image, as evident in several other landmark image-based projects within the Gulf region.



(A) View of Souq Waqif full project

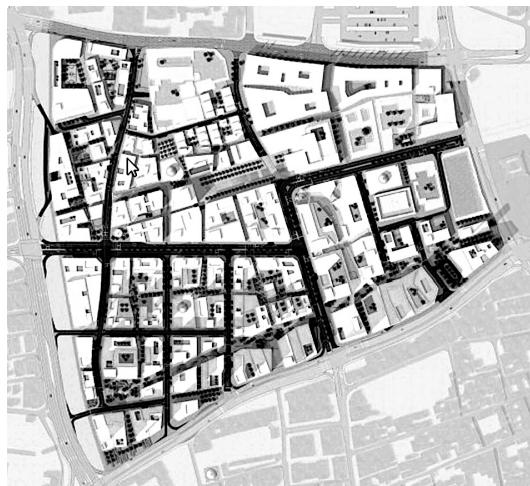


(B): A key urban spaces for retail trades in Souq Waqif.

Fig. 8: Legitimizing traditions by remanufacturing urban heritage (Source: Author-Photography by F. Khalfani).

Within close proximity to Souq Waqif, the Msheireb development represents an '*iconic urban change:*' an urban regeneration mega-project currently under construction on the remains of a historic residential site (Fig. 9), which includes a few intact traditional courtyard houses and others which had deteriorated and are being rebuilt. Decision-makers were concerned with the impact of the site on the city's authentic image. The driving philosophy was to deliver a sustainable mixed-use intervention that combines an authentic representation *and* spatial experience of Qatari culture and heritage. It is designed to reduce the use of car and create a walkable public realm, supported by sustainable environmental technologies, which will attract locals back to the old center. The intervention, described by the master planners, "*is to initiate large-scale, inner-city regeneration that will create a modern Qatari homeland rooted in traditions and to renew a piece of the city where global cultures meet but not melt.*"<sup>31</sup>

The project adopts a compact planning concept by recreating a dense and intricate urban neighbourhood, to seemingly address the concerns related to loss of community and community spirit in the city (Fig. 9). The plan incorporates a diverse mix of uses with areas of distinct character; these are anticipated to safeguard and promote socio-economic liveliness and activity. Eight individual areas form the heart of the project area each with its own identity; yet part the overall fabric of the development. Some areas are predominantly residential while others are designated as retail or commercial spaces. All areas within the development are conceived to incorporate a range of uses amenable to foster and achieve urban diversity. The project features different types of generously sized town homes with easy access to services and amenities.



(A) Master plan of Msheireb urban regeneration.



(B): View of Msheireb urban regeneration project with the old center

Fig. 9: Legitimizing traditions through conic urban change: Msheireb urban regeneration  
(Source: Author - Courtesy of Arch. Fatma Fawzi © Msheireb Properties, 2013).

## INTROSPECTIVE NARRATIVE ON LEGITIMIZING TRADITION IN THE CONTEXT OF GULF CITIES

The interrogation of acts and levels of legitimizing traditions enables reflective narratives from the perspective of “Modern State” and “Nationalist Particularism.” The analysis of the four historical eras insinuates that the foundation periods of the selected Gulf cities share the same historical background, which generated comparable schemes in urban, economic and political developments.<sup>32</sup> It suggests that economic, social and political factors have played a key role in shaping legitimized traditions. Yet, since the discovery of oil in the region, a massive urban transformation was initiated and different strategies were introduced in order to establish new spatial patterns accommodating both local and international lifestyles. In the four Gulf cities international standards for infrastructure development and zoning were adopted in order to establish functioning regional and global hubs, which in essence depart from the thrust in legitimizing past traditions.

Two observable systems can be conceived within the chronological level. The first system occurred during the pre-oil period followed by the creation and production of housing rooted in an organic process, governed by human needs, wants, values and judgments, which originated from the essential wholeness of situations, conditions and surroundings. The second system took place during the period of modern urbanization, which reflected the housing production as a mechanical process and is based on governmental regulations, procedures, categories and efficiency.<sup>33</sup> The post-oil housing production process has rarely been context-sensitive but is typically following market logic. Thus, traditional values and lifestyles were accommodated in the form of added walls and separate doors rather than as driving forces defining the spatial organization of houses.

Across the four selected Gulf cities, in the post nomadic period legitimizing traditions in the home environment was based on the dominant social order and cultural norms. During the traditional period, it continued to follow the earlier set of norms and cultural attributes. Yet, diverse expressions have emerged based on a clearer classification of social groups that included tribal sheikhs, clan leaders, and pearl divers. Manifestations of the “Modern State” and “National Particularism” were evident in the modern period. Yet, it witnessed a duality where a break from tradition took place by the government advocacy and adoption of foreign standards through introducing new construction materials and technologies. At the same time a continuous attempt to legitimize traditions in the home environment through various governance structures, guidance documents, and National Housing Programs. The contemporary period still struggles with this duality but with less intensity where other factors such as high land prices and construction costs and the emergence of gated communities or enclave developments are clearly prioritized over architectural and urban traditions establishing a dramatic departure from previous lifestyles and traditions.

The perspective of the “Modern State” and “National Particularism” is clearly palpable in the representational level of legitimizing traditions in Doha through image making advocacy from both government and professionals. Discourses, efforts and practices are centered on utilizing symbolism in contemporary imaging and manifesting tradition-modernity dialogue in search for image identity. Supporting this argument, during interviews undertaken in 2014 statements made by CEOs of architectural firms and development companies, who largely represent the ruling family or high profile government officials, reflect a vow towards addressing tradition and recognize its contribution to shaping the image of the capital city (See Table 2 – Appendix 2). While the analysis provides a review of acts of legitimizing traditions under the representational level, a major point of critique can be debated; the practice of borrowing 'cutting and pasting.'

The practice of literal borrowing or 'cutting and pasting' involves cutting ideas from their original cultural context, whether local, regional or European, and pasting them into the context of the city of Doha. Such a practice is based on the belief that the new context has similar cultural conditions and would yield similar outcomes upon transferring the ideas. In this respect, one would second what Charles Correa called for "*in order to build architecture, we must not copy a past, nor must we copy other people's present.*"<sup>34</sup> The practice of 'cutting and pasting' does not involve enough thinking, but entails an extra effort in imaging, including selecting or cutting, cloning, and recycling of images.<sup>35</sup> While the city is growing rapidly, establishing legitimacy by local authorities still relies on a 'case by case decision making' which is manifested in the treatment of the urban environment in terms of individual buildings or gated and enclave developments leading to series of images reflecting different inclinations either to reflect the real or imagined past or react to the global condition. In essence, the fact that urban design has

not reached a mature level in current practices is leading to urban fragmentation and social segregation rather than adopting place-making strategies that actually learn from past urban traditions.

Contemporary architecture of Doha, as well as of similar cities in the Gulf, at the beginning of the twenty-first century needs to be seen within a frame of reference that goes beyond legitimizing the cloning of traditions to include serious and honest responses to environmental, socio-cultural, and socioeconomic realities. This requires a more thorough study and development of its capacity for symbolic representation in its fullest sense, if, indeed, it is to sustain itself as a form of human expression that reflect cultural traditions. With this understanding, the examples presented, while undoubtedly succeed in utilizing symbolism or in striking a balance between tradition and modernity, raise many questions relevant to their socio-cultural relevance and to their environmental impacts on all segments of society rather than only the elite or the more educated class.

Decisions on urban change are made by the QMA—Qatar Museum Authority in the case of the Museum of Islamic Art; by the PEO—Private Engineering Office of Emir's Diwan in the case of Souq Waqif; and by a high profile real state company that represent the ruling family in the case of Msheireb urban regeneration. These three types of change in Doha's old center are typologically different, but while they are legitimized based on government officials, they all with varying degrees positively answer the question, “*Can an urban intervention be simultaneously local and global?*” The museum and its park consciously responds to global cultural flows, translating the cultural aspirations of a country into a manifestation that speaks to world architecture while addressing demands placed on the design by the context and the regional culture. Souq Waqif validates the notion of simultaneity of the global and the local through the wide spectrum of activities and the diversity of users it enjoys; while the aspirational place-making evident in Msheireb's urban regeneration anchors a global perspective in the local vernacular and heritage. All three interventions remarkably reflect a particular interest in and, to a degree, a manifestation of nationalism while translating and ethos and objectives of the “Modern State.” With varying degrees of quality, they demonstrably integrate international standards of best practice with sources of traditional spatial, environmental, and visual knowledge. Likewise, the Museum and the Souq both generate a new urban discourse in the city on diversity, usability, accessibility and connectivity which creates a harmonious balance between global and local aspirations, without prejudice towards either. They serve people of different age groups and many different cultural and socio-economic backgrounds, even though the absence of sufficient children's activities in the Souq, and its restricted use to middle and upper-income groups should be noted. It remains to be seen how the Msheireb urban regeneration project addresses these notions and whether it will achieve its promises.

While the Museum and Msheireb urban regeneration interventions have eradicated an important part of the memory of the old center, the reconstruction of Souq Waqif seems to have enhanced it. It is

hoped that other parts of old Doha which remain, such as the neighborhoods of Al-Asmakh and Al-Najada which accommodate low income groups and migrant workers, are also treated as important place typologies that reflect specific aspects of architectural and urban traditions which require another series of acts of legitimacy. While demolition and eviction notices have been issued for around half the buildings in Al Asmakh area, the debate generated by an international Charette, conducted in 2014 and sponsored by various local authorities, for revitalizing these neighborhoods may offer possibilities for fulfilling this hope. Future aspirational change in Doha's old center would not be based only on decisions that are literally made top-down. Initiatives generated by interest groups or the local community and employing bottom-up strategies would be a necessity to genuinely legitimize architectural and urban traditions.

## NOTES AND REFERENCES

<sup>1</sup> Discussion and analysis in this article build on a wide array of issues I have explored over the past decade or so. It also attempt to maintain the continuity of recent discourse on tradition by linking answers to the question of whose tradition and the notion of legitimacy introduced as part of the theme of IASTE 2016. See A. M. Salama, Urban Traditions in the Contemporary Lived Space of Cities on the Arabian Peninsula, *Traditional Dwellings and Settlements Review*, Vol. 27, No. 1 (2015), pp. 21-39.

<sup>2</sup> See B. Hindess, *Discourses of Power: From Hobbes to Foucault* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1996), and C. Pierson, *The Modern State* (London: Routledge, 1996). Also see: Al-Lahham, Traditionalism or Traditiona-Lieism: Authentication or Fabrication? *ArchNet-IJAR: International Journal of Architectural Research*, Vol. 8, No. 3 (2014), pp. 64-73.

<sup>3</sup> A. M. Salama, 2015, *Ibid*, p. 35.

<sup>4</sup> M. Zeitlin, On classes, Class Conflict, and the State: An Introductory Note, in *Classes, Class Conflict, and the State: Empirical Studies in Class Analysis*, ed. M. Zeitlin (Cambridge: Winthrop, 1980).

<sup>5</sup> C. Offe and V. Ronge, Theses on the Theory of the State, in *Classes, Power, and Conflict*, ed. A. Giddens and D. Held (Berkeley, University of California Press, 1982), pp. 249-256.

<sup>6</sup> M. Mann, *The Sources of Social Power: The Rise of Classes and Nation States 1760-1914* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012).

<sup>7</sup> See W. Domhoff, *The Powers That Be: Processes of Ruling Class Domination in America* (New York: Random House, 1978) and R. Bendix, *Kings or People: Power and the Mandate to Rule* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1978).

<sup>8</sup> See M. Mann, 2012, *Ibid*, and C. W. Morris, The Modern State, in *The Handbook on Political Theory*, ed. G. Gaus and C. Kukathas (London: Sage Publications, 2004), pp. 195-209.

<sup>9</sup> M. Weber, *Economy and Society* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1978).

<sup>10</sup> Demiri (1983) notes that typology is about the formal and spatial characteristics of buildings, which are rooted in culture and history. Typology in this sense is regarded as the “classification of models,” See D.

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Demiri, The Notion of Type in Architectural Thought, *Edinburgh Architectural Research*, No. 10 (1983), pp.117-137. According to Petruccioli (2007), a type is the organic ensemble of the common characteristics of buildings in a defined culture over a specific period of time. Thus, typological process is conceived in the context of this discussion as a dynamic process that changes and develops according to evolutionary paradigms of a particular society and that cannot be restricted to one formal scheme. See A. Petruccioli, *After Amnesia: Learning from the Islamic Mediterranean Urban Fabric* (New Delhi: ICAR, 2007) and A. M. Salama, A Typological Perspective: The Impact of Cultural Paradigmatic Shifts on the Evolution of Courtyard Houses in Cairo, *METU Journal of the Faculty of Architecture*, Vol. 23, No. 1 (2006), pp. 41-58.

<sup>11</sup> The examination of samples adopts the approach to the diagrammatic analysis of house types developed by Abdelmonem (2012). See M. G. Abdelmonem, The Practice of Home in Old Cairo: Towards Socio-Spatial Models of Sustainable Living, *Traditional Dwellings and Settlements Review*, Vol. 23, No.2 (2012), pp.35-50.

<sup>12</sup> Underlying the representational level a third type of effort can be added which aims at addressing the global condition towards image making. Yet, such a type goes Beyond the scope of this article.

<sup>13</sup> See A. M. Salama, Intervention Urbanism: The Delicacy of Aspirational Change in the Old Center of Doha, *Urban Pamphleteer*, UCL Urban Laboratory 4 (2014), pp. 1-3 and R. Y. Gharib & A. M. Salama, Nature of Urban Interventions in Changing the Old Center of a Globalizing Doha, *Frontiers of Architectural Research*, Vol. 3, No. 4 (2014), pp. 468-476.

<sup>14</sup> While the identification of key events resulted in a non-exclusive list, it offers a set of key events within local urban governance in the four cities that impacted housing development in various forms.

<sup>15</sup> A. M. Salama and F. Wiedmann, *Demystifying Doha: On Architecture and Urbanism in an Emerging City* (Surrey: Ashgate, 2013).

<sup>16</sup> Jaidah and Bourennane, *The History of Qatari Architecture (1800-1950)*, (Milan: Skira, 2010).

<sup>17</sup> B. S. Hakim, Revitalizing Traditional Towns and Heritage Districts, *ArchNet-IJAR: International Journal of Architectural Research*, Vol. 1, No. 3 (2007), 153-166.

<sup>18</sup> See: F. Regette, *Traditional Domestic Architecture of the Arab Region* - Dissertation (Sharjah: American University of Sharjah, 2003) and B. Edwards, M. Sibley, M. Hakmi, M. & P. Land, *Courtyard Housing: Past, Present and Future* (New York: Taylor & Francis Group, 2006).

<sup>19</sup> A. M. Al-Sammani, *The Sustainable Development of Local Housing Units in UAE* - Dissertation (Dubai: The British University in Dubai, 2011).

<sup>20</sup> F. Wiedmann, F. & A. M. Salama, From Pre-oil Settlement to Post-oil Hub: The Urban Transformation of Doha, *ArchNet-IJAR: International Journal of Architectural Research*, Vol. 7, No. 2 (2013), pp. 146-159.

<sup>21</sup> See M. N. Al-Nabi, *The History of Land Use and Development in Bahrain*, (Manama: Information Affairs Authority, 2012) and F. Wiedmann, A. M. Salama, & A. Thierstein, Urban Evolution of the City of Doha: An Investigation into the Impact of Economic Transformation on Urban Structures, *METU Journal of the Faculty of Architecture*, Vol. 29, No. 2 (2012), pp. 35-61.

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<sup>22</sup> M. A. Al-Mansoori, *Government Low-Cost Housing Provision in the United Arab Emirates – Dissertation* (Newcastle: University of Newcastle upon Tyne, 1997).

<sup>23</sup> S. Nagy, Dressing up Downtown: Urban Development and Government Public Image in Qatar, *City & Society*, Vol. 12, No1 (2000), pp. 125–147.

<sup>24</sup> S. Khalaf, The Evolution of the Gulf City Type, Oil, and Globalization, in *Globalization and the Gulf*, eds. J. W. Fox, N. Mourtada-Sabbah, and M. al-Mutawa (New York: Routledge, 2006), pp. 244-265.

<sup>25</sup> O. Grabar, Symbols and Signs in Islamic Architecture, in *Architecture as Symbol and Self-Identity*, ed. J. G. Katz (Philadelphia: Aga Khan Award for Architecture, 1980), pp. 1-11.

<sup>26</sup> In his writings on spatial quality Amos Rapoport discusses the notion of symbolic space and that a space can be symbolic. Arguing that in order to understand spatial symbolism we must recognize the underlying cultural imperatives of the people concerned. See A. Rapoport, The Study of Spatial Quality, *Journal of Aesthetic Education - Special Issue: The Environment and the Aesthetic Quality of Life*, Vol. 4, No. 4 (1970), pp. 81-95.

<sup>27</sup> The narrative of expressing cultural identity through architecture and urban form keeps presenting itself on the map of architectural practices and urban discourse. While some theorists see identity as a human need that has transformed itself into a necessity (Correa, 1983 and Saliya 1986), others regard it as a process of constructing meaning on the basis of giving priority to a set of cultural attributes over other sources of meaning (Castells, 2004). See C. Correa, Quest for Identity, in *Architecture and Identity*, ed. R. Powell (Singapore: Concept Media/The Aga Khan Award for Architecture, 1983), pp.10-13; Y. Saliya, Notes on the Architectural Identity in the Cultural Context, *MIMAR 19: Architecture in Development* (1986), pp. 32-33; and M. Castells, *The Relationship between Globalization and Cultural Identity in the Early 21<sup>st</sup> Century* (Barcelona: Forum Barcelona, 2004). Along the same line of thinking, Hall argues, “cultural identity is a matter of ‘becoming’ as well as of ‘being’ and that it belongs to the future as much as to the past.” (Hall 1990:225). Two polar qualities appear in Hall’s position reflecting a more in depth understanding of identity. One relates to similarity and continuity, while the other recounts difference and rupture. See S. Hall, Cultural Identity and Diaspora, in *Identity: Community, Culture, Difference*, ed. J. Rutherford (London: Lawrence & Wishart, 1990), pp. 223-237.

<sup>28</sup> While this comprehensive definition of identity reveals important factors—namely permanence, distinction, and recognition, they were not scrutinized as part of the study since their examination goes beyond the scope of the discussion.

<sup>29</sup> See J. S. Hendrix, Architecture as the Psyche of a Culture, *School of Architecture, Art, and Historic Preservation, Faculty Papers # 8, Online*. Available: [[http://docs.rwu.edu/saahp\\_fp/8](http://docs.rwu.edu/saahp_fp/8)] (Bristol: Roger Williams University, 2010) and A. M. Salama, Architectural Identity Demystified: Visual Voices from the Arab World, in *The Cultural Role of Architecture: Contemporary and Historical Perspectives*, eds. P. Emmons, J. Lomholt, and J.S. Hendrix (London: Routledge, 2012), pp.175-184.

<sup>30</sup> R. Y. Gharib & A. M. Salama, *Ibid*, p. 471.

<sup>31</sup> See R. Law and K. Underwood, Msheireb Heart of Doha: An Alternative Approach to Urbanism in the Gulf Region, *International Journal of Islamic Architecture*, Vol. 1, No. 1 (2012), pp. 131-147 and F. Sweet, *The Bigger Picture: Designing Better Places* (London: Black dog Publishing, 2010) p. 150.

<sup>32</sup> The outcomes of the analysis enable the establishment of links with earlier discourses on the topic. See I. Qutub, *Khasa 'es Al-Numuou Al-Hadari fi Dowal Al-Khaleej Al-Arabi - Characteristics of Urban Growth in Arab Gulf States* (Kuwait City: Kazima Publications, 1985) and J. W. Fox, N. Mourtada-Sabbah, and M. al-Mutawa, eds. *Globalization and the Gulf* (New York: Routledge, 2006).

<sup>33</sup> Housing evolution in the four Gulf cities (and elsewhere) can be categorized following Alexander classification of two world-systems. As such classification can be seen in terms of the organic system that characterized the post-nomadic and traditional periods and the machine-based or mechanistic system that characterize the modern and contemporary periods. See C. Alexander, *Battle for the Life and Beauty of the Earth: A Struggle between Two World-Systems* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012).

<sup>34</sup> C. Correa, Architecture for Change --Transcribed Lecture, *Architecture Re-introduced: New Projects in Societies in Change*, ed. J. Abed, (Geneva: The Aga Khan Award for Architecture), pp.11-21.

<sup>35</sup> See E. Said, *The World, the Text and the Critic*, (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1983) and K. Asfour Polemics in Arab Architecture, *ArchNet-IJAR: International Journal of Architectural Research*, Vol. 1, No. 1 (2007), pp. 53-69.

## APPENDIX 1:

Table 1: Key events impacting housing development in four selected Gulf cities.

Years	Events	Cities
2000	Updating the urban development regulations to be more compatible with the city growth	Dubai
1992	A Decree of the Greater Manama Masterplan	Manama
1990s	The structure of Qatar's governance was made new due to the establishment of state-owned and semi-privatised institutions intended to implement the liberalisation strategy	Doha
1990s	Establishing Sheikh Zayed Housing Programme under the federal law 10	Abu Dhabi
1988	Preparing Master Directive Plan for Abu Dhabi by Town Planning department	Abu Dhabi
1984	Refining a three-classification system of houses in Doha followed by the new housing policy	Doha
1984	Developing and expanding the housing project of Hamad Town according to 1981 decree	Manama
1980s	Reviewing the existing urban areas and zoning in the city center of Doha by William Pereira	Doha
1980s	Establishing the National Housing Program	Dubai
1978	Reclaiming 630 hectares in the north of Doha	Doha
1978	Developing and expanding the housing project of Isa Town according to 1976 decree	Manama
1975	Producing a series of planning studies known as the Concept Plan for North District /West Bay by W. Pereira	Doha
1975	Forming the Ministry of Housing in Manama	Manama
1972	Designing the first masterplan of Doha for 1990 by Llewelyn Davis under the new town planning authority	Doha
1972	Establishing the Physical Planning Unit under the Ministry of Housing and Agriculture	Manama
1971	The first establishment of UAE where the rulers signed the interim constitution in Al Deyafa palace in Dubai	Dubai
1971	The first establishment of UAE where the rulers signed the interim constitution in Al Deyafa palace in Dubai	Abu Dhabi
1971	Achieving independence after withdrawing the Britain from the region and establishing the Ministry of Housing and Agriculture in Manama	Manama
1970s	Designing and implementing the low-cost housing by the municipality of Dubai	Dubai
1968	Applying detailed urban zoning of Abu Dhabi after assigning Makhlof as a director of town planning department	Abu Dhabi
1967	Developing a general layout of the city of Abu Dhabi by Architect Takahashi	Abu Dhabi
1966	Establishing a program of low-cost housing in Abu Dhabi	Abu Dhabi
1965	Producing the second development plan by TCDA in Doha	Doha
1964	Establishing the first official housing policy in Doha	Doha
1963	Starting to export Abu Dhabi's onshore oil	Abu Dhabi
1962	Applying a holistic strategic urban plan to the city of Abu Dhabi by three Western firms	Abu Dhabi
1961	Providing the regulation of building codes to preserve the evolution of modern construction by the municipality	Dubai

1960s	Improving the infrastructure of the whole city of Doha and regenerating Abdulla bin Thani Street	Doha
1960s	Implementing the public housing projects of Isa Town and Hamala Village	Manama
1959	Creating the first urban planning project of Dubai by Sir Jon Harris	Dubai
1958	Founding the Modern Dubai by Sheikh Rashid Al Maktoum	Dubai
1956	Applying reinforced concrete for the first time in Bar Deira	Dubai
1950s	Expanding the city of Doha by constructing traditional and concrete buildings along Al-Kharaba Street	Doha
1950s	Shaping the Makhaitra administration under the Baladiyya model in Manama	Manama
1950	Starting to export oil and establishing the local municipality in Dubai	Dubai
1949	Starting to export oil and importing for first time cement and modern materials in Doha	Doha
1948	Discovering the offshore oil in Abu Dhabi and a year later onshore reserves was found	Abu Dhabi
1939	Discovering the Oil in Qatar	Doha
1931	Discovering the Oil in Bahrain	Manama
1919	Establishing the municipality of Manama	Manama

## APPENDIX 2:

Table 2: Interview statements of CEOs and development directors on tradition in the city of Doha.

Interviewees	Statements
CEO of a Development Company	“We want our city to be recognized through our architecture. When someone visits our city, or even sees a picture of one of our buildings in a postcard, we want them to say, ‘Oh yes. That is Qatar’” I.M.
CEO of a Development Company	“The pattern of development and growth in recent decades has tended towards isolated (single) land uses with a modernistic urban sprawl and heavy reliance on car transport. Most aesthetic values in architecture were drawn from Western influences and are marked by the anonymity of modern architecture, with very few drawing inspiration from Qatari heritage.” I.M.
CEO of Research and Consulting Private Institute	“Impacts can be mitigated by encouraging designs to align with cultural identity and traditions, designing for a seamless integration into the existing cultural fabric and planning for the use of local materials and workforce.” Y.H.
CEO of Research and Consulting Private Institute	“While it is important for the status of Qatar to create steel and glass towers to symbolize its vibrant, modern Central Business District, elsewhere there is the need to merge local characteristics of the natural environment, culture, and lifestyle to create an architectural style that is uniquely our own.” Y.H.
Director of Architecture Design at Large Scale Consulting Firm	“Architectural ‘style’ will always be debated, however one cannot escape the collective responsibility to ensure that at the very least, buildings demonstrate a commitment to quality,” M.H.
Director of Architectural Design at a Large Scale Consulting Firm	“Architecture demonstrates an investment in quality and a respect for the environment and its citizens. It states that you are serious when it comes to culture and civic pride. My own view is that if Qatar can strike a balance between the occasional landmark or iconic building, with considered urban development that embodies quality in design and sensitivity to the needs of its citizens on a day-to-day level, it will achieve something where many cities have failed.” M.H.
Principal of a Medium Scale Design Firm	“We’re exploring how architecture can work to bridge the gap between twenty-first century design and lessons from the past. We do not want to mimic the past, but to reinterpret it” S.G.