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Rebuilding Old Downtowns: the Case of Doha, Qatar

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1 ABSTRACT

City planners and urban designers often argue that downtown development/re-development plans can be best understood when providing two different categories of products; the regulating plan consisting of general controls and diagrams, and the master plan consisting of specific interventions and perspectives. In the case of developing and/or redeveloping old downtowns, this paper argues that these plans are best understood when considering the change in the socio-cultural, behavioral, environmental, and economical conditions of the place.

Doha city, one of oldest cities in the gulf, has witnessed a rapid change in its demographics over the past decade. The city has been thoroughly modernized, a massive change in its inhabitants culture and behavior has occurred and the need to re-develop its old downtown has arose.

Rebuilding the old Doha downtown aims at improving the quality of life and ensuring that heritage and culture carry-on as the country grows and evolves. It is anticipated that rebuilding the old downtown will restore a sense of community, improve the environment, create innovative and inspiring living spaces and enable both locals and expatriates to communicate and integrate.

"The Heart of Doha," a mixed-use urban development project is selected as a study case. The project is being constructed where the old downtown is being demolished. It aims to develop a modern downtown that takes cues from Qatari vernacular and urbanism, yet has a highly contemporary and sustainable approach to bridge the gap between the past and the present history of Doha.

This paper studied the development of Doha city, the reasons that enforced rebuilding the city's downtown and how the change in its socio–cultural, behavioral, economical, and environmental conditions affects its redevelopment plans.

2 INTRODUCTION

Qatar has witnessed an unprecedented growth that affected the country's physical, economical, cultural, and demographical status through the past few decades; its economy has changed from a fishing and pearling based economy to a diverse economy after the discovery of the oil in 1939. Doha, the capital, has expanded dramatically along its major routes leaving the downtown, sprawled, deteriorated, congested, and overcrowded. As a result, an immediate need to regenerate the downtown of Doha. Revitalizing the old Musheireb was proposed as a national project that aimed at to integrating the past and the present of the country. The country's historical heritage, economy, culture, environment, and social enrichments were considered. Three old houses, Alkoot fort in the heritage quarter, and some sikkats and lanes from the old setting were revitalized, other than that the whole area was demolished to be replaced with modern Islamic architectural concepts. The projects aims at energizing Doha's downtown while encouraging local citizens to relocate back at the heart of the city after years of migration to its suburbs. It has been argued that the project is not respecting the local heritage and culture of the place, however, the poor condition that the downtown experienced had called for this demolition act; existing houses are already decaying, streets are no longer accommodating the huge traffic flow, existing infrastructure and utilities are not capable of serving the area anymore, in addition to the overcrowding problem and the distribution of low-income workers in the area.

3 THE TRANSFORMATION OF DOHA, QATAR

Qatar covers an area of 11,437 square kilometers, with a coastline of 563 kilometers. The country is a mostly low-lying, flat, and between terrain stretching into the Gulf from the lands of Saudi Arabia. The Country's central location in geographical terms is politically supported by its position with the states of the Gulf Cooperation Council (GCC); Saudi Arabia, Kuwait, Bahrain, The United Arab Emirates, and Oman.

Qatar's total population has reached 1.7 million people, compared to 1.5 million in 2008, and is expected to reach 2.0 million in 2015 with a constant annual growth rate of 3.97 % and about 3.2 million people, more than double, by 2030. The rapid increase in population over the last few years is attributed to the strong

performance of the economy, which has resulted with a large number of projects, thereby leading to the influx of professionals, service and contracting sector staff and others. (QNB, 2009). However, the composition of the overall population of the country in 2010 was 76 % males and 24 % females. The total population has increased by 128 % since 2004, GDP grew 210 % at current prices from 2004 to 2009, and total government expenditures increased from 2004 to 2009 by 316 %. (Qatar census, 2010).

The State's urbanism movement has gone through three significant phases; the traditional phase, the transition phase, and the modern-oil-related phase. Each one, along with factors of political nature and trade has played major roles in the rise and fall of early towns of Qatar as shown in Fig.1

Doha, the state's capital, is the largest city, with over 80 % of the nation's population. It is also the administrative and economic center of the country , with over 80 % of the nation's population residing in Doha City and its surrounding suburbs. The capital is located on the Eastern Coast of the State of Qatar midway between the country's Northern Coast and its southern border that stretches around 190 kilometers, 98 kilometers north of Doha and 92 kilometers to the south of the city (Al-Kuwari, 1992). According to Qatar Census (2010), Doha (Ad-Dawhah) is a house for 744,029 people comparative to a 340,000 people in 2004 on a total area of 11,427 km². "Doha City" or "Ad-Doha" refers to the city's circular shape that reflects the bay that lies to the east of the city.

However, factors of change behind urban growth were determined to be five according to (Buainain, 1999). First, Doha's geographical location at the center of the settlements provides easy access by population. In addition, Doha's flat topography lacking natural physical barriers aided the expansion. Second, Doha's variety of transportation facilities such as motorways, airways -international airport-, water way-sea port-was another aspect that enhanced urban growth. Third, municipal's national wide scale development plans have been highly invested and implemented such as construction of housing projects, and providing good infrastructure, and others. Forth, Doha's remarkable population growth promoted urban development and creation of new neighborhoods. Finally, the rapid economic activity that is centered in the capital city provided various employment opportunities which attracted local citizens and international residents. However, these stated factors contributed in changing the image of the city and the Doha's skyline by the sea.

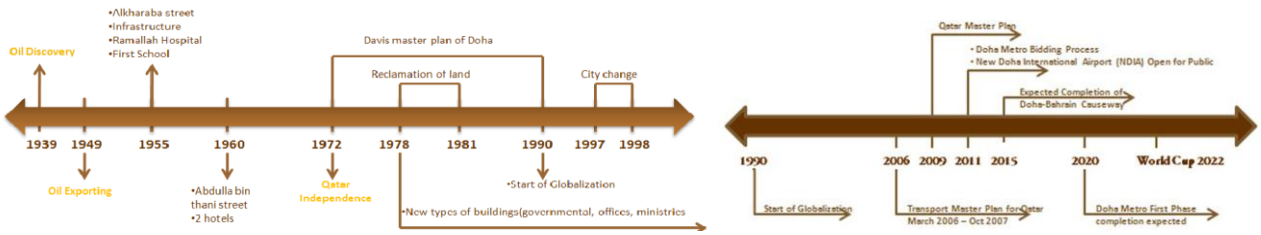

Fig. 1: Qatar's Development Time Line 1999 – 2022

3.1 Doha's Early Traditional Phase; Pre-Oil Era to 1950's

Qatar's ancient inhabitants were referred to as skilled seafarers and merchants. They were settled in the North-western area of Qatar, Al Zobara, the oldest sea port in Qatar. In early 1800's, Al Bida'a, the original site of Doha and other cities in Qatar were developed at a distant from the tribal conflicts that took place at Al Zubara territory in the north of the peninsula. Moreover, it was considered as partially secured from the conflicts among Abu Dhabi Emirate and Bahrain. In addition to the stated reasons, Doha's deep sea water and its circular shape were of the major attracting factors to fishermen and other inhabitants at that time. (Buainain, 1999) During the early twentieth century, people migrated to Doha and continued their pearl-diving, fishing, and nomadic herding activities. In fact, pearling was the major source of living in addition to some other trading activities like importing commodities from Iran, India, and other adjacent countries. Limited water sources, and poor soil conditions affected the early distribution of population in Qatar, however, and as the pearling industry developed, sea ports were established which later made the city as a main trade center. Politically. Doha has emerged as a headquarter of the ruling tribes which hosted the new governmental foundation and therefore became the main capital of the state. See Fig. 2 for the city's development 1937 through 1959.

Fig. 2: Doha City Development through Its Early Traditional Phase (Boussaa et al., 2011)

3.2 Doha's Transitional Phase; Post-Oil Era (1960's)

However, oil was discovered in 1939, its exploitation was halted between 1942 and 1947 because of World War II and the Bahrain embargo. Accordingly, the oil wealth acted as a catalyst for the urban development and the true sense of development in the country began at 1955 where the need to accommodate expatriates emerged. The period between 1949 and 1969 witnessed an increasing in the population by 600 and new administrative centers sprang up to manage the vast revenues.

3.3 Doha's Rapid Modernization Phase; (1970's till today)

Following the withdrawal of the British, the State of Qatar declared its independence on September 3, 1971. Doha as the capital of the new state attracted thousands of foreign experts and workers, employed in the construction and engineering industries. During early seventies Qatar has witnessed an extreme increase in the construction of its governmental buildings; offices, ministries, governmental authorities, so the built environment has emerged. Between 1978 until 1981, the reclamation of land from the sea started to empty out the down town. The reclamation project formed a symbolic and functional tool for the future of Doha where the Corniche has become a symbol for the new city, implementing the governmental and commercial buildings. Since then, Doha has seen the most extraordinary expansion in international banking, sports and tourism activities, as evidenced by the many modern towers, malls, hotels and seats of power scattered throughout the city, and through huge housing developments like the Pearl, a whole commercial, residential, tourist and leisure complex beyond the West Bay area.

Fig. 3 Doha City Development through Rapid Modernization Phase (2000-2008)

This unprecedented rapid urban growth experienced by the State of Qatar for the last few decades (see Fig.3) made effective and coordinated planning difficult which in turn resulted in several problems such as urban sprawl, traffic congestion, and improper spatial allocation and distribution of public facilities and infrastructure.

4 PLANNING OF DOHA AND THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE OLD CENTER

Planning in Qatar was essentially seen as a practical process that mainly aimed at the distribution of electricity, water and sewerage systems around Doha and the smaller towns within the peninsula, based on a

hierarchical road system. To accommodate the population growth and the vast change in Doha's urban life, the government of Qatar appointed several foreign planning consultants to plan for the future of the city; among which Llewellyn Davis was hired between 1972 and 1999. Along this period Davis planning consultant produced a new master plan for Doha and several planning progressive changes took place. Fig. 4. The government was advised to buy back the traditional residential quarters in central Doha and clear them for higher density commercial and governmental land-uses. This single act approach, was the reason behind the migration of large numbers of local Qatari residents from the heart of the city to its suburbs; the death of the old Doha center. The city center was then occupied by Asian workers that accepted the overcrowded conditions of the city center transferring the old memorial Doha downtown into a native deserted city center.

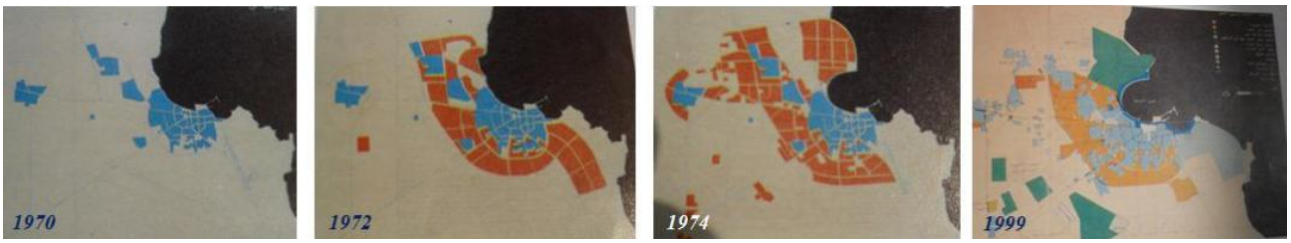

Fig.4 Llewellyn Davis Master Plan. (Hassan, A., 1994)

Davis master plan focused on the heart of Doha as the main goal of development, it mainly focused on preserving the Souk area as the traditional trade area, providing a mixed use residential apartments above the retail shops to accommodate the increased number of expatriates, providing the needed educational facilities for this population, while locating the governmental entities at the northern side opposing the Cornish. Fig. 5

Fig 5 "The Heart of Doha" Initial land use plan by Llewis Davis, (Hassan, A., 1994)

Within the New National master Plan for Qatar, a new district to the north of the old heart of Doha was conceived to be reclaimed and developed as a modern globalized development. William Pereira , an American based architectural and planning consultancy firm was appointed by the local government on 1977 to develop the new district. Land reclamation work was done through this period, shaping the semi circular Cornish of Doha and announcing the west bay or "Dafnah" area with its national projects including, the regional park, the central business district, the Diplomatic area, Qatar University and several 5 star hotels.

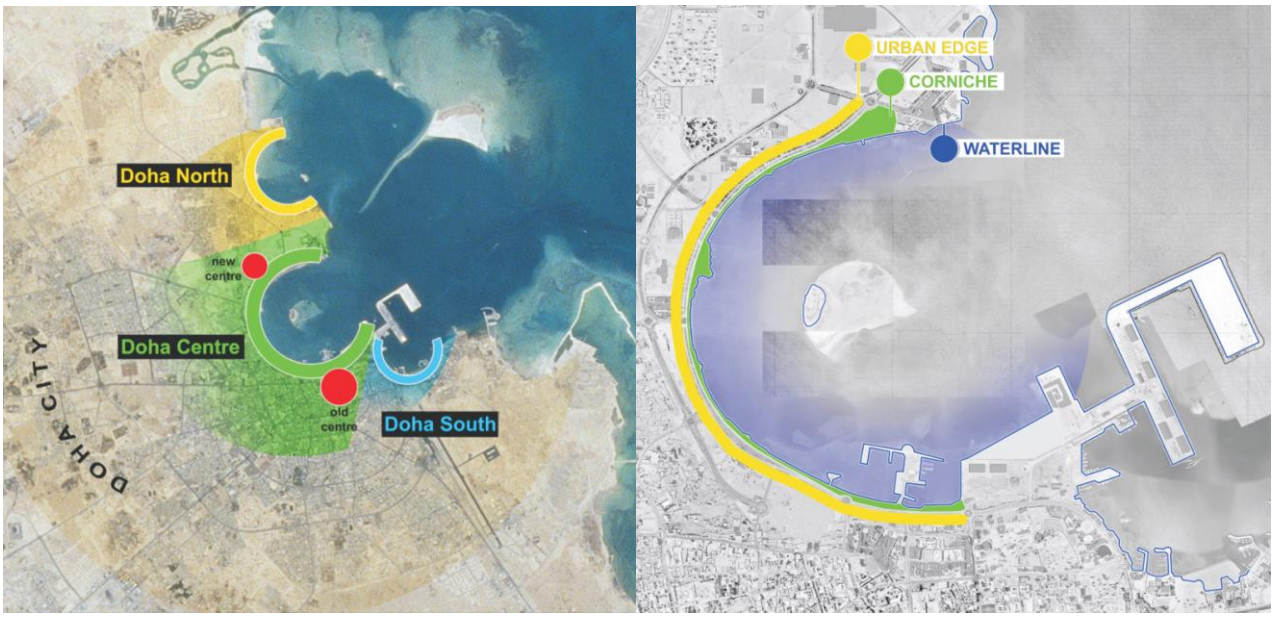

Fig 6 (a) Doha City Development Zones; (b) Elements of Doha Cornice Area

The new Cornish represented a great tool for functional and symbolic development, as it opened the space for new areas to grow and reflect the symbol of the new city of Doha. Within the process of transforming the Doha cornice into an international culture and arts center for the gulf, the government of Qatar announced the project as a competition where the Agha Khan Trust for Culture (AKTC) has instigated a process to gather the innovative ideas and projects. In their report, the AKTC divided Doha into three parts; Doha North, Doha South, and Doha Cornice, Fig. 6. The report stated that the integration of Doha North with the central city by means of other than private car transportation must be considered. Provision of pedestrian and bicycle routes as well as marine connections would enhance the value of the North cornice, which extends from the Sheraton to the Ritz Hotel. Doha South was defined as the area located from the port to the Qatar National Museum and its lagoon, while Doha cornice was defined as the coastal strip from the Sheraton Hotel to Doha Port and its interface with the area of Doha Bay containing Palm Tree Island. The cornice is built on the reclaimed land and is the result of the recent planning strategies that have transformed the dense urban fabric and intricate circulation system of old Doha on the south of the bay.

Today, Doha's traditional and cultural assets are still concentrated in the old center. There is a little left of the traditional city, and the redevelopment policies in the 1960s have totally transformed the area, but the downtown still survives. The old souk area still exists supported by the new souk buildings. Although the buildings have been renewed, the contiguous urban fabric and low rise, high density arrangement of the buildings creates a lively and dynamic environment. The Diwan (the seat of government) serves as a hub between the old center and new developments and provides an opportunity for the old center to regenerate itself while preserving surviving cultural assets.

5 MUSHERIB DEVELOPMENT PROJECT; THE HEART OF DOHA

The absence of the unique identification qualities of the city of Doha, in addition of the social and environmental problems of the globalized modern entities, were the main reasons behind the new cultural initiatives and the new projects imposed by the planning governmental sector in Doha; a number of regional city projects were initiated by the local authorities focusing on creating a cultural unique Qatari architectural language. Among these projects, Mushieb came to shed the light on the social and the economical re-birth of the old downtown of Doha.

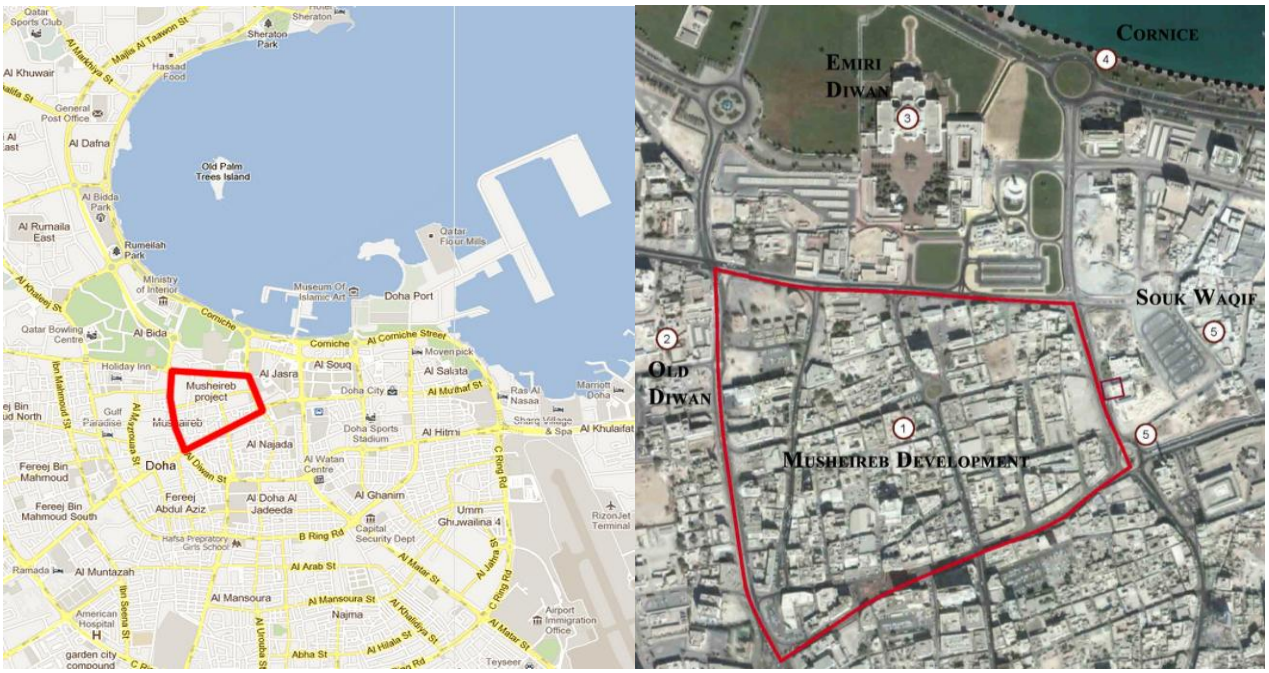

Fig 7 Location of Musheireb Development, Also Known as "the Heat of Doha"

Fig 8 The Fabric of the current downtown with the Dafna area located on the opposite side of the bay

5.1 Project objectives

Rebuilding the center of Doha City Project, also known as " Msheireb project" is developed by "Musheireb Properties". The project started in early April 2006, when EDAW/AECOM was commissioned by Qatar Foundation to plan and design a conceptual master plan for Inner Doha. Through the project, The developer's researched and re-evaluated the role played by the inner city site as the rest of Doha expanded and evolved in keeping with the contemporary trend to a global building vernacular. The decision to revitalize and regenerate The center of Doha City, also called, "Musheireb Development", or "the heart of Doha" came about with the realization that the Kahraba area, once the very hub of community living, an area from where the small Doha expanded to be the modern city today, had completely lost its historic importance.

The 35 hectare (0.35 square kilometers) development is located in Inner Doha, close to the historic origins of Qatar's capital city, see Fig.7 and 8. The project is located at Mohamed Bin Jassim District – central Doha, bordered by Al Rayyan Road to the North- Jassim Bin Mohamed Street to the East- Musheireb Street to the South- and Al Diwan Street (part of A Ring Road) to the West. The site is also adjacent to the redeveloped Souk Waqif, a successful mixed-use scheme based on a traditional Qatari souk and the historical Al Koot Fort. The site is located within a desert climate with relatively high temperature and humidity throughout the year with a close proximity to Doha Bay. The natural slope of the land towards the historic wadi on the site's southern parameter provides inspiration for the induction of water features into the site. The conceptual

urban plan aims to achieve a consistent blend of the Twelve Perspectives formulated as the guiding light for the project including: revitalizing history, heritage, and culture of the place, developing challenging architecture concepts and ideas to connect the past to the present, and achieving high levels of environmental sustainability targets that suits the community. "Musheireb Properties" partnered with international leaders for the project; "ARUP" was contracted as a principal consultant for project management, engineering, transportation, environmental and sustainability services, EDAW/ AECOM was appointed for urban design, planning and landscape architecture services, and Allies and Morrison Architects were appointed for Architecture services. The successful formation of the project could be attributed to the integrated cross-discipline approach and skills of the technical team and guidance from the hired peer review that included eminent professors in urban planning and the history of the Gulf Region from Harvard, MIT and Princeton, specialists from DTZ and Davis Langdon were engaged to provide advice on commercial aspects of the development

The project aimed at rebuilding the center of Qatar's capital city in a way that reinvigorates, modernizes and revives the site, while being true to the traditional culture and heritage that was the foundation of the first communities of Doha. The objectives of developing the" Heart of Doha" project were seen by the local authorities as follows:

- To create a cohesive urban quarter offering a balanced and flexible mix of land use, public realm and social and cultural infrastructure to provide a catalyst for renewal beyond both the period of development and site boundary and where traditional architectural values should be observed within a modern design. Other objectives of the project could be summarized as follows:
- To reduce the urban heat effect and thereby increase the proportion of the year when it is comfortable to use the outdoor spaces; designs should be developed to support and develop that theme;
- To- reduce car use and congestion within the site, whilst improving connectivity across the wider city area;
- To minimize the demand for water and ensure its efficiency; performance targets above the requirements of LEED credits are to be achieved;
- To maximize energy efficiency and reduce carbon emissions across the site; the overall form of the buildings should help reduce the need for cooling;
- To deliver new areas of high quality public realm;
- To facilitate community interaction and social exchange;
- To achieve a dynamic local economy focused on business/industries to maximize the advantages of the site's location and develop key economic sectors while nurturing entrepreneurship;
- To provide schooling within the development to meet the demands of local residents and to promote reduced private car use;
- To promote social inclusion through the provision of housing for different social groups and classes and a mixture of single and family accommodation;
- To promote sustainable waste management through the implementation of a waste and resources strategy; and
- To ensure the use of sustainable and low embodied energy materials through the use of sustainable procurement policy at both the construction and operational stages of the development.

5.2 Musheireb Development; the New Urban Form

The Musheireb Master plan (Fig. 9) creates a new piece of city that engages with the memory, processes an urban morphology of the existing Doha city center. The master plan draws references from old urban form of Qatar and the traditional "fareej" concept; a common space where several families share to interact in the traditional community to create a modern city rooted in tradition. New morphology to accommodate modern forms of transport, infrastructure and lifestyle as well as creating a comfortable walking environment were also considered. The planned new urban form was set to respect the traditional fareej typology and to create a

tight urban grain where low to medium rise buildings are positioned sufficiently close to create natural shade. A combinations of Sikkas (walkways) and Barahas (plazas) are also integrally planned to the new urban form where local residents and visitors are encouraged to walk within the sociable mixed use neighborhood. It is expected that the resulted environment will be pedestrian oriented where the dominance of car is reduced. Vernacular roads are introduced to capture prevailing wind and thus reduce the built up of heat and pollutants. An integrated basement infrastructure for service s is also considered in the master plan allowing narrower streets at ground level to be created.

The conceptual master plan started early 2004 with 5 phases of construction over a period of 8 years where the first phase is expected to be finalized mid 2012 according to the announced timeline. The first phase, referred to as the 'Diwan Amiri Quarter', currently under construction, features a combination of three major governmental buildings including the National Archive, along with heritage sites, a museum and an Eid Prayer Ground. Subsequent phases include a sum of 226 buildings that constitutes a 5-star oriental hotel along with three additional hotels, premier commercial office space, a multitude of residential types and a wide variety of retail shops and restaurants with heights limited between 3 and 30 stories. There is also a significant community and arts focus, featuring a cultural forum, school, nurseries and mosques and a two levels basement for services and private parking space. . See Table 1.

Typology	GFA (SqM)	GFA (SqFt)	Percentage
Commercial & Governmental Offices	280,000	3,014,000	36.9 %
Retail	94,000	1,012,000	12.3 %
Hotel	117,000	1,259,000	15.4 %
Residential	222,000	2,390,000	29.2 %
Community, Cultural, School, Mosques, Museum	47,000	506,000	6.3 %
TOTAL	760,000	8,181,000	100 %

Table 1. Distribution of facilities by area and percentage (Doha land, 2011)

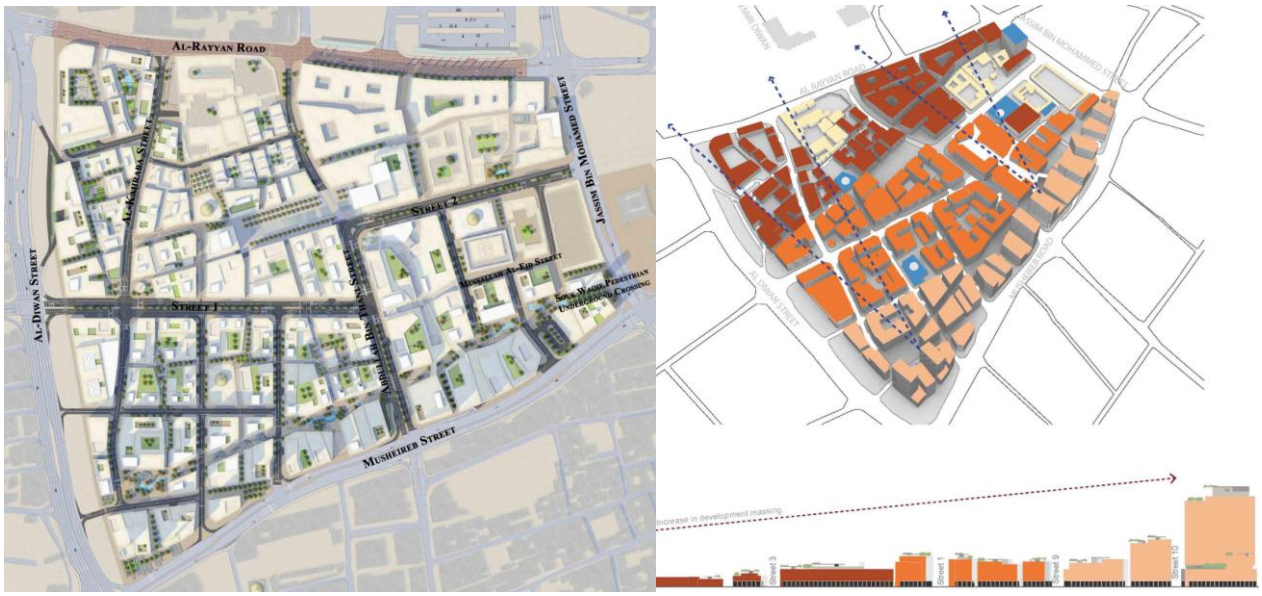

Fig 9 (a) Musheireb Development Sustainable Master Plan; (b) Massing Study (Doha Land, 2010)

The master plan has been broken down into 22 superblocks to provide a manageable structure for identifying development parcels and to structure land uses across the site. All blocks are identified by primary and secondary roads, have hierarchy of open spaces, and maintain permeability for pedestrians. Some other principles were also considered. To ensure citywide legibility and connectivity between blocks, a network of pedestrian routes are woven through each block to link one to the other. The project could also be divided into four main quarters; the Diwan quarter that includes all the new governmental buildings facing the Cornice and Souk Waqif, the heritage quarter that links the site to Souk Waqif and the old historic center, the

retail quarter that extends westwards along Sikkat Wadi Musheireb connected with the old historic retail area of the city along Al-Kahraba street, and the Kahrab quarter, the exclusive residential quarter that contains the high profile office buildings, the school, and the elegant townhouses distributed on fareej clusters on the Northern end of Al-Kahraba street.

6 MUSHEIREB DEVELOPMENT AND THE NEW IMAGE OF THE CITY

The images of the past influenced the image of the future development in the area, see Fig. 10; consequently, the standards that govern the form of the buildings within Musheireb aim to build a harmonious roof space that is diverse, animated and picturesque. These standards encourage the use of the old life systems within modern technological elements such as wind catchers, majlis rooms, loggias and bent houses. This approach aims to soften and enrich the skyline of the site whilst encouraging the day-to-day use of the buildings by creating pleasant habitable environments.

To better identify the new image created for the new Heart of Doha city, the researchers referred to Kevin Lynch's theory on the image of the city and to Hayden's theory on place making. Lynch identifies five elements that provide city image; paths, edges, districts, nodes, and landmarks (Larice, M. & Macdonald, E., 2007), while Hayden believed in the physical meaning of the built environment.

6.1 Kevin Lynch and The Image of the Heart of Doha

In this section, Lynch's five elements will be applied to the Musheireb Development to better understand the image of the new downtown comparative to the old one. Fig 10

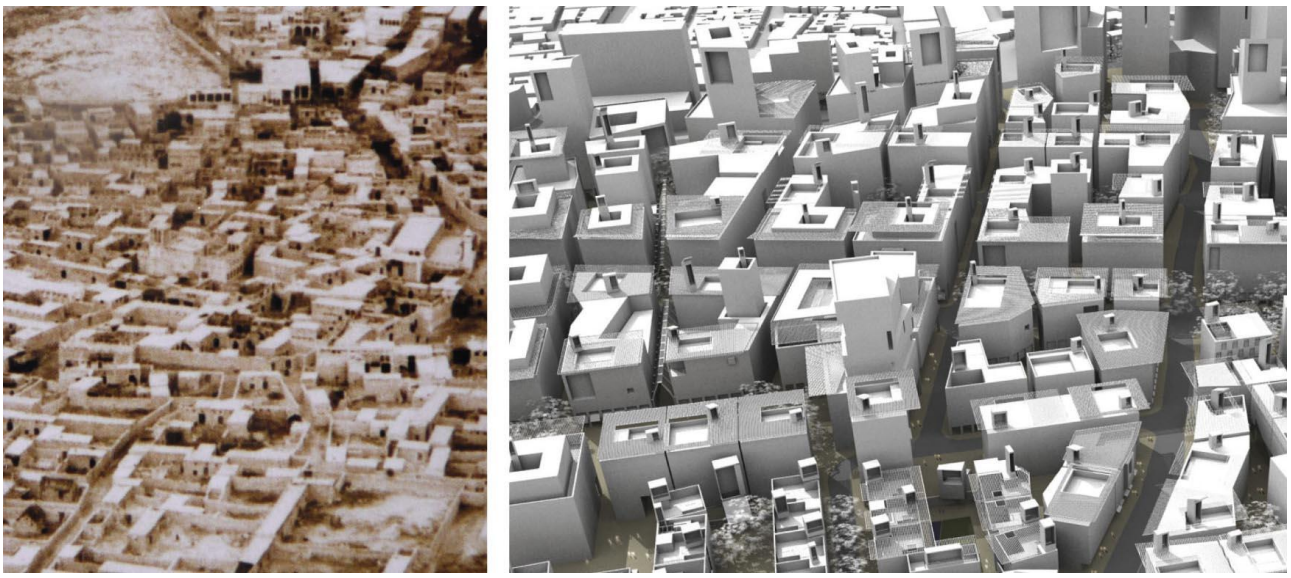

Fig 10 (a) Musheireb Old Fabric; (b) Musheireb Development Proposed Fabric (Doha Land, 2010)

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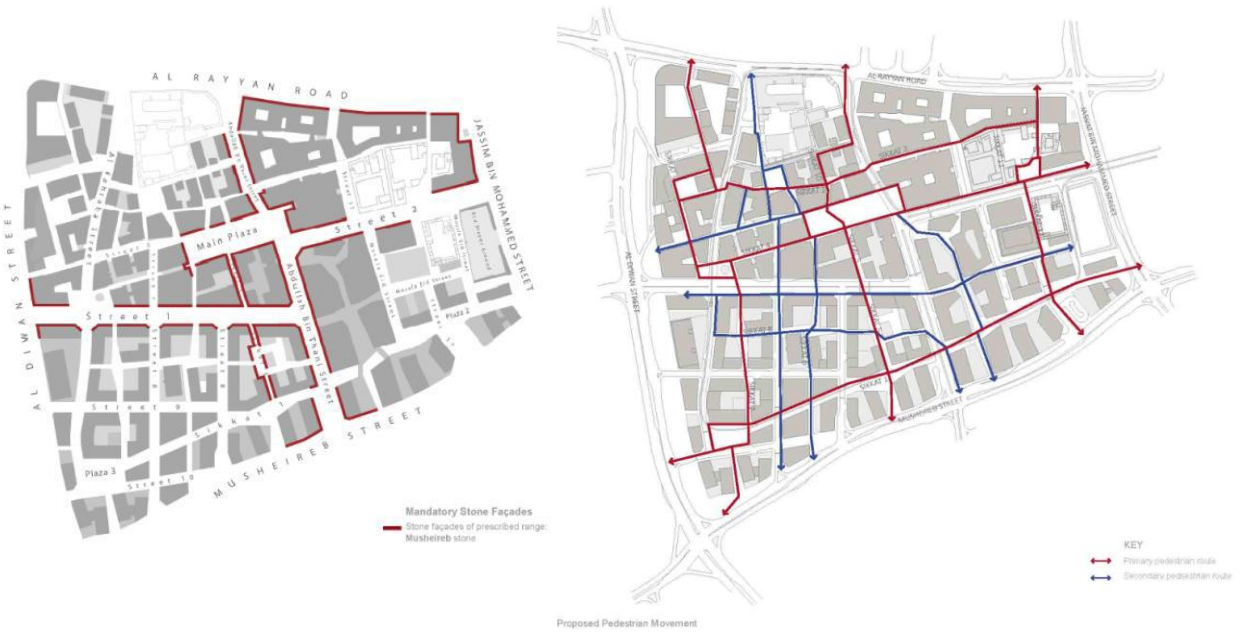

Fig 11 (a) Musheireb Development Major Paths; (b) Pedestrian Paths (Doha Land, 2010)

6.1.1 Paths

As lynch described paths as channels for potential movement along which the observer customarily, occasionally, or potentially moves and as channels that link the city's visual experience with the movement, Street 1, Street 3, and Abdulla Bin Thani Street, Fig 11, could be recognized as three of the most successful paths within the project for their distinct visual character that allows the passengers to capture the structural sense of the old downtown and help the mover to recognize the direction through their recognized facades elements and contents, projections, structure, finishing materials, lighting and signage systems intended to be used. In addition to sidewalks and pavement, a network of shaded Sikkas is being developed to increase pedestrian permeability throughout the Musheireb area. The width of these lanes carry from four to seven meters, creating serial vision and a pleasant urban environment away from the intense heart and population generated by cars.

6.1.2 Nodes

According to Lynch's definition, nodes could be seen as primary junctions, places of a break in transportation, crossings or convergence of paths, moments of shift from one structure to another or might be simply defined as concentrations, which gain their importance from being the condensation of some use or physical characters, as street-corner hangouts or enclosed squares. Two types of nodes could be easily identified in the project, those at major intersections such as Barahat (Plazas) and other social nodes, and those that are characterized by concentration with a thematic activity such as the "Eid Ground". See Fig. 12(a)

6.1.3 Districts

Districts at the "Musheireb Development" (Fig. 12(b)) are recognized with their perceived internal homogeneity and their identifying character with comparable high life standards. It could be seen that the developed master plan has divided the area into eight smaller quarters; Al Karhraba North, Al Kahraba South, Al Diwan, Plaza 1 Quarter, Plaza 3 Quarter, Heritage Quarter, Musheireb Palace, and Al Diwan Al Amiri Quarter.

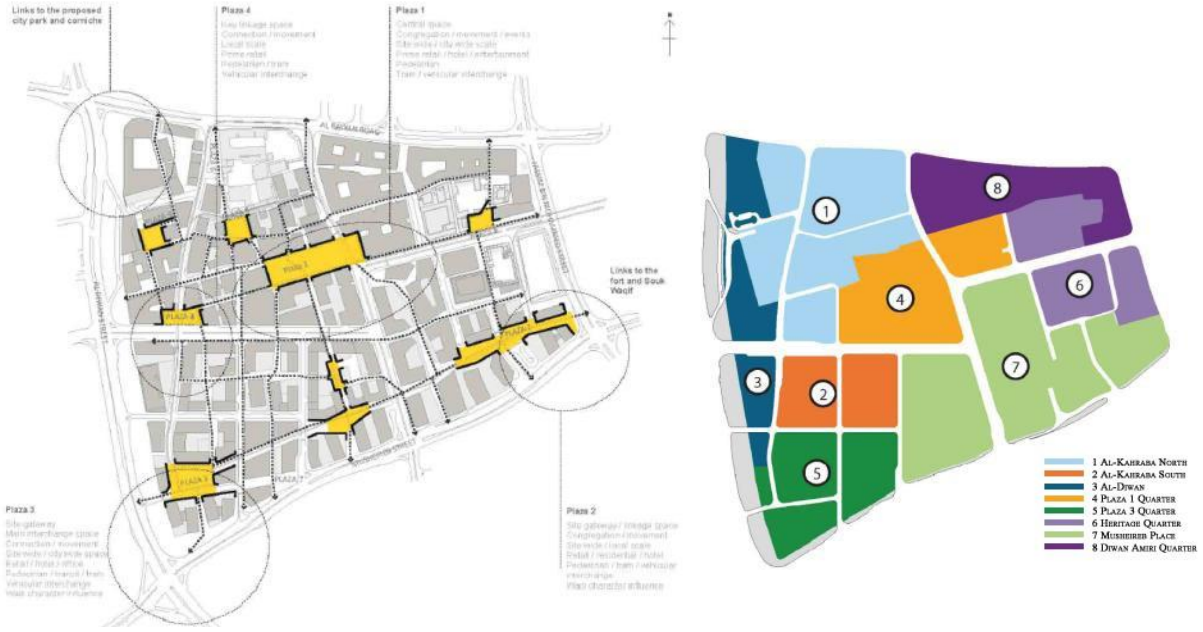

Fig 12 (a) Musheireb Development Nodes (Doha Land, 2010); (b) Musheireb Development Districts

6.1.4 Edges

As pointed out by Lynch, edges are visually prominent, continuous in form and impenetrable to cross movement. They could be defined as paths or boundaries of districts and might often act as edges. Accordingly, the proposed arrangement of buildings and the building heights within the project could be seen acting as solid physical edges specially at the southern part of the project where tall buildings are intended to be located along districts 5 and 7, as shown on Fig. 12 (b) and Fig. 9 (b).

6.1.5 Landmarks

The comprehensive regeneration of the inner Doha area presents an exciting opportunity to create a new distinctive "sky line" for the area, to complement West Bay (Dafna area) on the opposite side of the Bay , Fig. 12. The gradual increase in massing of buildings from the north of the site, peaking in the south along the alignment of Musheireb street creates an interesting skyline for the site. Looking towards the Bay, the roofs will provide an attractive foreground for the developments located further back; In other words, the new image for the new downtown developed area.

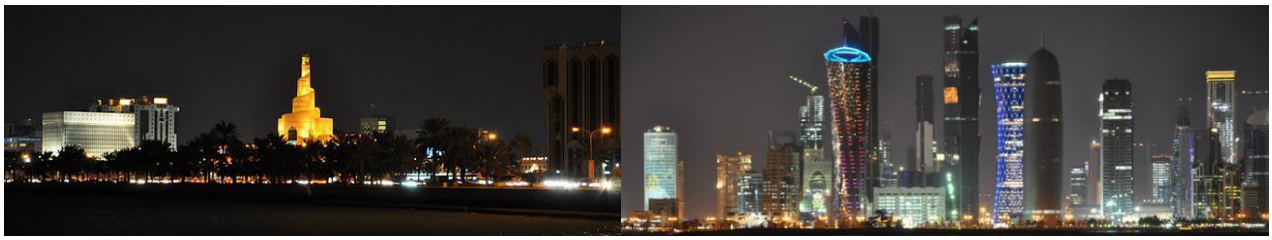

Fig 13 (a) Skyline of Musheireb Development and the surrounding area with Al-Fanar, Souk Waqif as a landmark; (b) West Bay (Dafna Area) Skyline 2010 as seen from Musheireb Development location

6.1 6.2 Dolores Hayden and the "Heart of Doha" Memory

According to Dolores Hyden (Hayden D., 1997), "place making is as much about meaningfulness to local people as it is about unique and memorable form." . In that context, Place memory is the key to help citizens to define their past and to connect the physical built environment with their culture. Within the "Musheireb Development" project, storytelling plays an important role in creating the social memory ,the sense of belonging was found to link people to the place for its historical importance. Places with memories were re-used such as. "Musala Al Eid", the concept of "Wadi Musheireb", "Barahas", and "Sikkas" were used to revitalize the old heritage and to connect different generations.

The quality of these four key spaces were examined against the "Project for Public Space" idea introduced by Dolores Hayden. Key attributes used to evaluate these spaces included, access and linkages, comfort and image, sociability and the uses and activities intended to be held at.

6.2.1 Access and Linkage:

After analyzing the master plan in terms of connectivity, safety, and pedestrian access, thee project was found to be:

- Well connected with the surrounding context by means of different public transportation options;
- Visual connections are well achieved where building heights varied from high-rise in the southern part to low/mid-rise along the north side;
- Public transit stops are conveniently located next to most of the hyper nodes areas identified in the master plan;
- Retail frontage were added to the ground level of the project, enhancing the connectivity of the project and fulfilling some safety considerations;
- Pedestrian routes and bicyclist routs are well connected;
- Car use is limited in the inner heart of the project; and
- Underground parking is planned for.

6.2.2 Comfort and Image:

Criteria used to evaluate comfort and image included pedestrian first impressions on the project, location of convenient facilities, safety, cleanness, and environmental quality. The following conclusion was drawn:

- The architectural language used to draw the memory of the place plays an important role in embracing the identity of the place;
- Safety was considered through the intimate designed pedestrian lanes and the retail frontage designed on the ground floor.
- Environmental management systems will be used to control the project. LEED criteria and measurement guidelines will be used to evaluate the project in terms of sustainability, in addition, environmental traditional systems were very well addressed in the architectural drawings of the project.
- In terms of cleanness, no evaluation could be determined at this stage of the project.
- In terms of location of convenience facilities; no evaluation could be determined at this stage either

6.2.3 Uses and Activities:

Criteria used included types if activities, targeted user profile, usage of space throughout the day, and management. The evaluation of this attribute could be summarized as follows:

- The project offers mixed use facilities where different activities take place;
- Since the project aims at serving a fully integrated community, different user categories are begin served;
- No clear ideas on the daily uses of the different project spaces has been identified so far except for the residential, schooling, and retail uses; and
- The management procedures are not clear yet.

6.2.4 Sociability:

When people see friends, meet and greet their neighbors, and feel comfortable interacting with strangers, they tend to feel a stronger sense of place or attachment to their community – and to the place they are in. Criteria used to evaluate the sociability attribute included; sense of belonging, group ageing, and facilities.

- The mix-used nature of the project offers services to wide range of different ages;
- The uses of Barahat were not clear in the master plan, and hence it was not clearly evaluated; and

- It is still not clear whether or not the projected social spaces will create a sense of belonging and engagement, Nevertheless, it is expected that a social memory of the place will be created.

In conclusion, the benefits of the place could be seen as follows:

- The project has a high real estate values;
- Higher demand on the projected services;
- It helps in re-vitalizing the Heart of Doha;
- Provides basic facilities for residents;
- Offers enhanced environmental qualities;
- Improves walkability and reduces car dependency

7 CONCLUSION

Qatar has grew dramatically through the last 40 years from a fishing and pearling based economy to a diverse economy after the discovery of the oil specially in the past three decades. The capital, Doha, has changed physically, economically, culturally, and demographically. The city has grown from one single core and expanded from it outwardly along major routes leaving Doha's downtown heavily congested due to the remarkable increase in Qatar's population from 750,000 in 2004 to 1,700,000 in 2010. It was very essential to redevelop the downtown of Doha to accommodate the urban expansion in the heart of the city. Many projects had been proposed and completed to improve the conditions in Doha's downtown. One of the main projects currently under construction is Rebuilding the center of Doha City project known as the Musheireb project. The Musheireb project was proposed to be a fresh and integrated approach where heritage, economic, sustainability, environment, and social enrichment are considered holistically. The project aimed at rebuilding the center Doha in a way that reinvigorates, modernizes and revives the site, while being true to the traditional culture and heritage that was the foundation of the first communities of Doha.

In this paper, two concepts including the Kevin Lynch's five elements concept and the Dolores Hayden place making concept were applied to better understand the image of the new downtown compared to the old one. According to the analysis, the project fulfilled many of the criterions listed in both concepts, however, the response of locals to this development is still unpredictable. There are some concerns that local people will not leave their houses located in the suburbs to live in apartments or villas even in a luxurious and well-designed project like Musheireb. In conclusion, Musheireb is a vibrant project for a city downtown according to its components and to the guidelines it addresses, however, it is not clear if it will address the social, heritage, and cultural needs of the local people. A post occupancy assessment will be needed in the future to evaluate if the project met the public interest and needs or not.

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