SCALES OF FLOWS: QATAR AND THE URBAN LEGACIES OF MEGA EVENTS

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Abstract
In 2022, Qatar will become the first Middle Eastern and Arab country to host such an important Mega-Event as the FIFA World Cup. Global cultural and sporting Mega Events have driven the urban transformation of cities such as Barcelona, London, Rio, Beijing, Shanghai, and Lisbon and the spectacle and economic boosterism encourages cities to compete on the World Stage for these events. The best practices of successful bids and their enduring legacies create a knowledge and policy flow of Mega Event strategies for global branding and sustainable Urban, Social, and Economic Development at the local and regional scales. This paper discusses the urban legacies that will result from Qatar hosting the World Cup and other Mega Events, and questions how an emerging global host city like Doha will benefit on the long and short term.

Keywords: Mega-events; city branding; urban legacies; urban policy; flows.

INTRODUCTION
Qatar. Creating new Legacies for a Post-Carbon Economy
In the Post-soviet restructuring of the 1990s, Qatar emerged on the global stage due to a number of interconnected international, regional and local changes in the political and economic spheres – the Gulf Wars, the change of Emir in Qatar in 1995, 9/11 in New York, the occupation of Iraq, recent oil and gas price increases and the emergence of Dubai as a commercial and entertainment hub in the Gulf Region (Adham, 2008). This has led to a rapidly developing urban realm and the rise of a new form of capitalism – cultural capitalism – that is, creating new spaces for entertainment, culture, tourism and sports.

Qatar has the third largest Natural Liquid Gas reserves in the world, with the hydrocarbon sector contributing on an average over half of the country’s GDP, which is the currently the highest worldwide at $95’000 per capita. Nevertheless, its leaders are wisely seeking to diversify its economy and to lay the foundations for the transition to a post-carbon and knowledge society and to develop infrastructures to serve its economic, financial and educational goals. Culture, Education and Sports are seen as three sectors of the post-carbon economy, and it is believed that hosting the FIFA World Cup (and possibly the Olympics if Qatar wins its bid for 2024) as well as major continental and regional sports events will help diversify Qatar’s economy (www.Doha2020.com). Both the public and private sector in Qatar are working to re-orient the economy and to develop additional educational, cultural and touristic venues to this end and Qatar is becoming a leader in the Middle East in building a knowledge-based economy, centered on technological innovation and connectivity, investing in its human resources, with great emphasis on education. This vision is embodied by Education City, a pioneering education initiative of Qatar Foundation that houses branch-campuses of eight international universities, including Cornell Medical School, HEC Paris and Georgetown’s School of Foreign Services (www.Doha2020.com). It is not only an educational hub, but is also becoming an “architectural hotspot” with buildings by world renowned architects including Rem Koolhaas, Arata Isozaki and Riccardo Legoretta.

Furthermore, Doha is enhancing its global brand city image through the construction of a number of museums by world star architects including Herzog and De Meuron, Jean Nouvel and the recently constructed Museum of Islamic Arts by I.M.Pei. This singular strategy that the government has taken to distance itself from Dubai’s mode of development is now being echoed by Abu Dhabi which is constructing four major museums by star architects on Saadiyat Island.
Qatar is also investing in Communication Technology and its main telecommunication’s carrier, Qtel, is fast becoming a global brand. It is expected that by 2022 an optical fiber network will be in place to ensure that the World Cup will have its own Wide Area Network (WAN) to connect all venues in Qatar.

HE Sheikh Saoud bin Abdulrahman Al Thani, Secretary of the Qatar Olympic Committee recently stated that the Olympic Games would enhance Qatar’s economy in a major way and support the process of diversifying it as laid out in the 2030 National Vision (Qatar News Agency 2012). “Sports tourism has great potential and Qatar has had tremendous success over the last two decades staging top international events which have helped bring in tourists.” The international events include the Arab Games 2006 and 2012, as well as the Pan Arab Games in 2011. While Qatar did not make the final candidate selection for the 2020 Olympics (where it was competing with Istanbul, Tokyo, Madrid and Baku) it is aiming for the 2024 Olympic bid. Reacting to Doha’s failure to make it as a candidate city, Noora Al Mannai, CEO of Doha 2020 Olympic Committee stated that the Doha Committee was looking forward to the 2024 Olympic Race. "The good news is that our National Vision and master plan guarantees an urban fabric that places sport at its heart; therefore Doha will be ready to host the Games at some point and many of the projects for the legacy plans for 2020 will go on; we will digest the findings of the IOC report and look forward to the 2024 race" (www.Doha2020.com).

Aside from the economic incentives, there is also a stimulus to launch a drive that will educate people about the important role of sports in their individual and social lives. In 2011, the Emir issued a decree marking the second Tuesday of February (starting 2012) a National Sports Day in the State of Qatar. The aim of National Sports Day is to create awareness about sports and its health benefits in the State of Qatar and it will usher in an era where sports activities are emphasized, especially for the young and for women. But is not just increased sport facilities and practices that will be the legacies of these future Mega Events. Qatar and Doha will be transformed with new urban infrastructures to serve and accommodate the events, propelling the country to become one of the biggest construction sites in dollars per square meter in the coming years, with an estimated spending of USD 160 billion on development projects. The mega-projects include a new public transportation system and improved roads, sports stadiums and infrastructures, residential buildings and entertainment venues, as well as a Sporting and Olympic Museum.
Deutsche Bank indicated that Qatar’s extra spending on World Cup-related infrastructure will lift capital expenditures by 23% annually for a decade, as well as increase private sector borrowing and add to population growth. It is estimated that Qatar will spend the equivalent of 24% of its GDP on World Cup infrastructure, which largely surpasses South Africa’s spending of 1% of GDP for the 2010 event, Brazil’s 0.9% of GDP for 2014, and Russia’s 3% of GDP for 2018. As such, it is noted that the impact on the country’s economy will be far more important than for other hosts of the World Cup. It added that Qatar has been spending heavily on infrastructure for several years, as average capital spending has been equivalent to 33% of total expenditures and to 31% of GDP on average since 2004 and it is expected that Qatar will spend $30bn on additional infrastructure to host the World Cup (Deutsche Bank 2012).

A US$ 4 billion stadium building program will see the construction of nine new eco-friendly, cutting-edge football stadiums and the expansion of three existing stadiums. Additionally, Qatar will build over 80,000 new hotel rooms by 2022. This comes as the country’s answer to FIFA’s requirement that the host country should have 60,000-room capacity. Doha has said it will provide 80,000 to 90,000 by 2022. A US$ 20 billion road improvements and expansion program will include the US$ 687 million Lusail Expressway, Doha Expressway, Dukhan Freeway, and the Doha Bay Crossing. Another US$ 25 billion rail network will cover the construction of a metropolitan railway in Doha, a high-speed rail link between New Doha International airport, Doha city center and across the proposed Qatar-Bahrain causeway into Bahrain, in addition to a freight line that will link up with the wider GCC rail network. The US$ 4 Billion Qatar-Bahrain Causeway with its 45km long fixed link between Qatar and Bahrain was put on hold in June. As an important component of the World Cup Bid in FIFA’s evaluation report, the scheme will now be given renewed impetus. “Building towards the World Cup will inject a new dynamism into the drive by Qatar, and the region, to diversify its economy away from its dependence on oil and gas,” says MEED construction analyst Andrew Roscoe. “Almost US$ 60 billion-worth of projects that were planned will now definitely happen as a result of this success, giving a decade-long boost to the state’s projects industry that had reached a peak” (www.projectqatar.com).

The importance of the legacy of the FIFA World Cup for Doha - that is, what it will contribute in terms of to the development of Qatar and Doha – requires that the Master Plan for the 2022 Games be aligned with, and complement the long term Qatar 2030 Vision, which includes the four pillars of Economic Development, Human Development, Environmental Sustainability, Social Development (Grichting 2012). To achieve this, the Supreme Committee has been established as a delivery authority to integrate different initiatives and bring together the multiple stakeholders – and it took its inspiration from the Barcelona 1992 Olympics which provided a much admired model of how to achieve a Mega-Event and how to leverage the games as a catalyst for positive urban transformations. The Supreme Committee has recognized the importance of the long-term sustainability impacts of Mega-sport Events on the urban, social and ecological infrastructure (energy, transport, public space, etc.). "How a government body (national, regional, or municipal) plans for the legacy of supporting infra-structure can have a ripple effect on the development of a region for decades to come." (Price et al. 2011).

**SPORTING EVENTS AS CATALYSTS OF SUSTAINABLE URBAN DEVELOPMENT**

International sporting events transform communities and cities into world stages — but what happens when the games have ended and the crowds have gone home? Will the site fade to disuse and dilapidation, or be forever lifted by the investments to new levels of increased economic, environmental and social quality? (www.aecom.com). The theme of Mega Events as drivers of urban transformation is a contemporary one, and cities such as Barcelona, London, Rio, Beijing, Shanghai, and Lisbon have been transformed through hosting international sporting and cultural events. "The activities needed for the preparation and hosting of the Olympic Games –as the biggest sporting event- are in a scale able to act as a catalyst for urban redevelopment, enabling changes which might normally take several decades to complete." (Preuss, 2004). While the subject of Mega Sporting events as drivers of urban transformations is an emerging theme in policy, planning and urban design, it is not a new one. Historically, World Fairs are other transient...
events that also lay down roadmaps for how and where urban development takes place and can help leverage improvements and permanent amenities. As Seattle prepares to celebrate the 50th anniversary of the Seattle World’s Fair in 1962 – the Century 21 Exposition is remembered as a great space-age fair of the New Frontier-era that popularized monorail and disseminated the idea of revolving restaurants to the world. An excellent reminder that expos can be powerful agents of urban transformation, Century 21 left a permanent legacy of infrastructure and attitude that continues to shape Seattle to this day (Preuss, 2004).

Today, sustainability has become the keyword to all the Mega-Events, and the concept of legacy is closely aligned with the notion of sustainability. While in earlier events, environmental and social issues were previously ignored; they have become central to realizing holistic sustainable development (Doudouras & James, 2012). The London 2012 and Rio 2016 Olympic Games both have developed Master Plans with visions beyond the event – with parks, neighborhoods and urban infrastructures that will continue to be built after the games. The Barcelona model was a unique case that leveraged the Olympic Games of 1992 to continue an ongoing process of urban regeneration and development of new public spaces in a city faced with social and economic problems following the deindustrialization of the economy.

Ultimately today the purpose of the games goes beyond the sport and the spectacle. It is important that the event maximizes positive evolutions and sustainable developments while minimizing adverse environmental impacts. "Mega-sports events are widely recognized as having environmental impacts and frequently form part of the environmental strategy of a country or a destination region within a country. Most of the organizing committees are particularly sensitive and committed to protecting and improving the environment while staging the event" (Berger, 2011).

THE FLOW OF LEGACIES--FROM BARCELONA TO BEIJING:
SCALES OF FLOWS: FROM SMALL TO LARGE

Barcelona as the Mega-Event Legacy Model
How do the best practices of these Mega Events flow on the global stage of aspiring world cities? What are the different scales of urban interventions related to these Mega-Events? And in what way do they become catalysts or boosters or urban regeneration and urban development? If Paris was the capital of modernity and Los Angeles of post-modernity, Bilbao and Barcelona in Spain have become meccas for urban regeneration and economic boosterism through cultural icons and mega-sporting events. The Bilbao effect and the Barcelona Model are being diffused internationally through what may be called urban policy tourism. The popularity of the Bilbao and Barcelona models, which have become exemplars of universal global best practices, suggests a process of global urban policy convergence and there has been recent interest to study the transfer and the international ‘motion’ of urban policies. Although both models are internationally known for a set of elements, the messages mutate and shift as they circulate through the policy circuits (Gonzalez, 2011). The planning of the Barcelona Olympic Games of 1992, which has inspired Doha’s Master Planning for the FIFA 2022 and the 2024 Olympic, bid has become a global model for Sports Mega-Event planning, much as the Bilbao Guggenheim became the iconic museum that launched the Bilbao Effect, that is the theme of culture and museums as drivers of Urban Regeneration. The strategies of Mega-Events as drivers of Urban Renewal and Regeneration became popular once the organizers of the Barcelona 1992 Olympics provided a much admired model of how to achieve a Mega-Event in a period of political and economic crisis. The Barcelona Model has been examined from different perspectives by economists, geographers and town planners as it is recognized that the transformation of Barcelona over the last 20 years is linked, to a large extent, to the 1992 Olympic Games.

The rebirth of the city with the implementation of strategic urban projects linked to the 1992 Olympic Games worked as a leverage to urban renewal and recovery, and was part of a bid to re-launch the city in the context of economic and political crisis experienced from mid-1970s to mid-1980s – due to economic globalization and deindustrialization, formal and informal urban
growth, increasing urban speculation, and peripheral expansion. The process of regenerating Barcelona began in the 1980s with specific interventions in public areas to produce high quality urban spaces and was followed with the implementation of strategic urban projects linked to the hosting of the 1992 Olympic Games. In this way, Barcelona successfully achieved structural improvements that have resulted in its becoming a becoming a model city of public spaces and venues. Richard Rogers, who’s office designed the Master Plan for the London 2012 Olympics – included a forward by the former Mayor of Barcelona in his book “Towards an urban Renaissance” where he underscored the importance of improving and creating public spaces to solve social and economic problems. A specific character of the Barcelona Model was that there was an approach from the small scale to the large scale, from quality to quantity, where the effectiveness of small-scale projects of urban reform were proposed as an alternative to the abstraction of conventional planning and large Master Plans, as a means of overcoming the limitations of planning through architecture. Through this plan, more than 150 projects in parks, squares and amenities during the 1980s. “It is critical to understand that improving public spaces is relevant to solving social and economic problems…The trick in Barcelona was quality first, quantity afterwards. From small scale to large scale.” (Urban Task Force, 1999).

The Barcelona Olympic Master Plan built on the specific interventions in public areas, undertaken from the beginning of the 80s, which included infrastructure improvements that would contribute to the modernization of the road network, the “Opening of the City to the Sea” – the waterfront regeneration scheme and the General Metropolitan Plan which included a framework for actions of recuperation of public spaces and facilities, including reclaiming Land for green areas and amenities and proposals for changing road layouts. It was through this plan that land reserves – critical for 1992 Olympic operations - were obtained and public spaces of the historic city, squares and streets, were recovered.

The candidature for the Olympic Games was put forward in 1981 as a strategy to attract public and private investment and a vehicle capable of generating consensus and action in a depressed economy. The strategy had similar qualitative criteria as the strategy for smaller public spaces while incorporating objectives corresponding to the new scale of the Olympic Urban Development interventions. The project contained three main strategies, which included the location of the Olympic areas in strategic sites – edges and peripheries; applying the method of urban projects used to implement the public space projects; and ensuring the future use of the buildings and infrastructures after games.

London 2012: A new Model for Mega-Event Legacies?
The London 2012 Olympic Games is the most contemporary case. Based on an ambitious vision – to use the Olympic Games and Paralympic Games to make a real change in London, across the UK and globally – the 200-hectare rehabilitation Olympic site in East London is one of the biggest current regeneration project in the EU. (London 2012 Sustainability Plan). It is located in the most diverse and deprived communities in the country, at the western edge of the Thames Gateway and it is expected that the Games will operate as a catalyst for the re-development of the Lower Lea Valley – with new public infrastructure, employment opportunities, housing, educational and recreational facilities and the development of sport. (IOC International Olympic Committee Report, 2012).

Figure 3: Legacy for London. Olympic Park Lower Lea Valley
(Source: http://www.aecom.com).

The environmental centerpiece of London’s proposal is the 246-hectare Olympic Park that will accommodate ten sport venues, the Olympic Village, media centers and new parkland built around the Lea Valley waterways, creating a vast new urban parkland, with wetland and waterways restoration, natural corridors, environmental solutions to resources, water, waste and energy management, and sustainable building development. The selection of this site was based on sustainability considerations: the area’s accessibility by public transport and the potential for regeneration that the 2012 Games could unlock. (IOC International Olympic Committee Report, 2012). New green areas will be created after the Games as part of its integration into a greatly expanded Lower Lea Valley Park, and while a number of venues will be retained, the parkland will be extended, and thousands of new homes will be built.

Sport Concepts and Richard Rogers Architects developed a “dynamic and comprehensive master plan” for the lower Lea valley, with a combination of overlapping medium to high density zones of living, working, leisure and shopping, and public transport oriented urban design. Three master plans were required: one governing games-time needs; one for the immediate transformation after the games; and one for the longer-term development of the land in the 20 or so years beyond the games.

The Sustainability Plan focused on five key themes: Climate Change, Waste, Biodiversity, Inclusion, and Healthy Living. These strategies are in line with the principal objectives of the International Olympic Committee, which are to “encourage and support a responsible concern for environmental issues, to promote sustainable development in sport, and require that the Olympic Games are held accordingly; promote a positive legacy from the Olympic Games for the Host Cities and Host Countries.” London’s transport strategy for the Olympic Games was a key element of the successful bid to host the 2012 Games, with more than 100 walking and cycling schemes on eight routes across London linking the Olympic Park (Transport plan for London, 2012). A number of rail stations have undergone sustainability improvements and the Docklands Light Railway (DLR) – along with London Underground, rail services, buses and walking and cycling routes – will be the main transport options for spectators attending the Games.
What will the major legacies of the 2012 Olympic Games be in London? After the Games the Olympic Park will be transformed into one of the largest urban parks created in Europe for more than 150 years. The canals and waterways of the River Lea will be cleaned and widened; natural floodplains will be restored with Wetland habitat for wildlife; sports facilities will be available for sports clubs and the local community; the Olympic Village will be converted into homes, and additional housing will be built in the Olympic Park site and along the riverside with shops, restaurants and cafes. Not to forget the multiple pedestrian and networks and the new or improved transport infrastructures - new metro lines, new and renovated stations, water networks, and improved and new bicycle lanes. Economically, thousands of new jobs are expected to be created in the Park alone, as well as training opportunities for local people. (People’s Daily Online).

EVALUATING THE LEGACIES OF MEGA-EVENTS

While the promises are convincing, how do we measure the long-term effects of Mega Events and over how much time? The evaluation of the sustainability impacts of any mega-sport event is a complex task which involves more than quantifying the potential revenue and expenditure." (Douras & James, 2004). 20 years after, the Barcelona Olympics of 1992 have become a model as there has been sufficient time to evaluate and assess the positive and lasting impacts. Likewise, the legacies of the 2012 London Olympics will be measured over a long period and time will tell if the Games will assist the UK in overcoming the present economic crisis as well as acting as a catalyst for the re-development of the Lower Lea Valley, a 200-hectare rehabilitation and regeneration project in East London, providing long-term benefits for the residents including employment, housing, educational and recreational opportunities and the development of sport. International Olympic Committee (IOC) Report (2010). The regeneration of so-called “blighted areas” is not always welcome by the inhabitants especially if they induce a process of gentrification, and it is important that these legacy projects be developed with the involvement of the concerned communities and stakeholders. Gentrification and eviction are often a negative side-effect of the economic and urban boosterism. An in-depth study on Mega Events, Olympic Games and Housing Rights was conducted by COHRE – the Center on Housing Rights and Evictions - which conducted critical research on the key impacts and the number of persons evicted as well as proposing multi-stakeholder guidelines on Mega-Events and the Protection and Promotion of Housing Rights and recommendations for ‘Olympic’ opportunities and ‘mega’ possibilities for protecting and promoting housing rights. These recommendations include giving power to whoever is going to be affected by the games as well as guarantees that if you are going to tear down 100 units, you will build even more affordable or social housing (COHRE Center on Housing Rights and Evictions, 2007).

An innovation in the London 2012 Olympics is the Olympic Games Impact Study Pre Games Report that was published in June 2010. This study is a result of the International Olympic Committee’s (IOC) desire to develop an objective and scientific study of the impact of each edition of the Games and to create a database of information common to all Olympic Games on the effects and legacy of each Game. In this way, the ICO fulfills two primary objectives of the Olympic Charter: - to promote sustainable development in sport and environmentally responsible games and to promote a positive legacy from the Olympic Games for the Host Cities and Host Countries.

The pre-games report was carried out by local Universities (University of East London) and experts with an aim to adjusting and improving the ongoing project and procedure for the London 2012 games. This report will be followed by a post-Games report in 2015 and was preceded by an Initial Situation Report in 2008 with a progress report submitted to the IOC in early 2013 prior to the dissolution of LOCOG (London Olympic Games Organizing Committee). The report uses a series of indicators classified in the three realms of Social, Economic and Environmental. The idea of this type of analysis was first introduced into the official Games planning requirements for the Vancouver 2010 Winter Olympic Games, and London is the first
Summer Games Host City to be mandated to carry out the study (Olympic Games Impact Study – London 2012 Pre-Games Report).

The London Legacy Plan included determining the after-use of facilities at an early stage, building temporary structures where no long-term legacy could be assured and developing the vision for regeneration, at the same time as preparing the plans for the 2012 Games themselves – the first time a Host City has done this.³ Time will tell if despite the difficult economic climate, the games will also become a model, like Barcelona. In terms of assessing the sustainability of the legacy, the Commission for a Sustainable London 2012 states that it “expects legacy to embody the principles of sustainability and demonstrate exemplary practice” (London 2012 Sustainability Plan). This is defined as: A better standard of living for Londoners in the host boroughs; Quality, affordable housing; An increase in the skills base of people; A culturally diverse society that engages in work, community and in cultural institutions; People adapting healthier ways of living through sport and lifestyle choices; Long term career prospects for Londoners and UK residents; Disabled people able to readily access services, jobs, homes and community activities; Sites ready for future sustainable, low impact development; Residents adopting good environmental practices such as recycling and waste reduction; Minimal impact on climate change; Public spaces and facilities that are accessible, well used and maintained.

MASTER PLANNING MEGA EVENTS

The Rio 2016 Olympics Master Planning

"Legacy planning is important in the early process, as well as in the implementation. It will determine the difference of whether enduring value is derived from the investment in hosting a major international sporting event or whether it will have no lasting impact to the area after the games have ended," states Peter Flint, director of AECOM's Sports group. (www.Aecom.com). AECOM is leading a broad consortium formulating the Legacy Communities Scheme, which delivers the potential embodied in the master plan by guiding the transition to post-games development through detailed strategies addressing social infrastructure, housing, employment, leisure and culture, town planning, transportation, water, waste, strategic sustainability, infrastructure, energy and climate change. The Scheme envisions and end state of 2030 and represents an unprecedented scale and complexity. A major sports venue involves many stakeholders besides the venue owner/operator and cities, governments, universities, sport franchises and teams are increasingly adopting a more comprehensive approach to the development of sporting facilities and major events.

The Rio Olympics are further afield and projected for 2016. The Rio 2016 Olympic Park Urban Master plan will be coordinated by the Municipal Olympic Company, in partnership with the Brazil's Architects Institute (IAB). (www.rio2016.com). Also developed by AECOM’s Sports Group, the proposal outlines how the Olympic Park area will be used, the public spaces, squares and parks as well as the location of the permanent and temporary venues and the future real estate developments to be built at the site. There are three Master Plans, one for the Games, one for the transition and a final one that shows the plan of the legacies after the Olympics.
These Physical and Community Legacy Plans as well as the Pre-Games Reports are important instruments and strategies that could also be applied by the Qatar FIFA Supreme Committee to assure that the promises of Sustainable Legacies are planned, implemented and evaluated. To this end, Qatar has developed a Sports Venues Master Plan which is being implemented within the Qatar 2030 Vision, and is also developing an Olympics Master Plan for the 2024 bid.

ARCHITECTURAL LEGACIES: ICONIC BUILDINGS AND WHITE ELEPHANTS

"Architecture isn't an Olympic sport just yet, but it certainly has a lot to do with a successful Olympic bid". (Sudjic, 2005). A successful Olympics is not only measured by the medals, spectacles and firework displays or receipts from media and advertising, but above all by what it leaves behind in the form of urban infrastructures, landscapes and architectures. Britain's first Pritzker Prizewinning female architect Zaha Hadid was selected through a competition to design the Olympic Aquatic Center for the London 2012 Olympics. Resembling a manta ray with undulating wings, Hadid's design fulfilled its functions as a an iconic and seductive building for the Olympic bid, and also functions as a structure that can be transformed into a regular municipal pool once the Games are over. 40 years after it was built, Kenzo Tange's Olympic pool for the Tokyo Games is still a landmark; Frei Otto's stadium in Munich has been preserved from demolition by public outcry. In Beijing, the Olympic park has a 100,000-seat stadium, designed in the form of a giant bird's nest by Herzog and de Meuron, and it has become an international icon and symbol of the Beijing Games.
Besides the iconic buildings by star architects, there are also white elephants and failures. For Barcelona and Sydney, staging the Olympics propelled each city to the World Class stage while for Montreal and Athens, the Olympic legacy is mostly seen in the form of debt. For the upcoming London Olympics 2012 and the Rio 2016 Olympics, the legacy issues are at the center of the planning for the games. In the case of London, the bid contained the promise that London would be the “first sustainable Games”, from an environmental, socio-cultural and economic point of view and included the following strategies to avoid White Elephants: to use venues already existing in the UK where possible; to only make permanent structures that will have a long-term use after the Games; to build temporary structures for everything else. The Games were also clearly used as a catalyst for change, for the regeneration of and improvement of quality of life in East London and to encourage more healthy and sustainable lifestyles across the whole of the UK. (London 2012 Eco-Olympics). Learning from Barcelona's experiences, Ken Livingstone, Mayor of London at the time of the bid, backed the games for the catalytic effect that they would have to help kick start London's eastward expansion and to accommodate the 800,000 Londoners expected over the next two decades. Qatar is playing a role in the London Olympic Legacy. The Olympic Village next to the Olympic Park in East London has been sold to the Qatari ruling family's property company, Qatari Diar, in partnership with the UK property developer Delancey Estates for £557m. After the 2012 Olympic Games, the village will be converted into a new neighborhood with housing, schools, shops, bars, clinics and parks. (www.guardian.com 2012).

Figure 6: Artists Impression of the Olympic Village London 2012

QATAR: MEGA-EVENT PLANNING AND LEGACIES

Sports and Cultural Tourism in Qatar
A sporting Mega Event has a Dual Function: it is a substitute for the Nation and it puts the city on the World Map. The Games are as much about the “City as Spectacle” as they are about Sport, theatricalizing urban sites, generating media events, creating urban centers as sites of cultural consumption. It is also about Sports Tourism and attracting visitors to a country and region, and offering them not only sports, but other cultural experiences.

Having taken the center stage of the gas and oil producing countries over the last 50 years, Qatar is building itself as a nation and Doha is profiling itself as a global city. This implies creating a number of cultural institutions, which house and exhibit both the traditional local and regional nomadic and sedentary cultures, as well as the greater Arabic and Muslim cultures. Visiting museums is not very much a part of the Qatari's cultures, who make up only 20% of the population, and it is clear that the museums are largely targeting visitors and tourists, and are an important complement for the hosting of any major events, sporting or otherwise. There are significant efforts being made to promote the museums amongst Qatars, just as there is a move to engage them in Sports. All these strategies are seen to be part of the Four Pillars of the Qatar National Vision, but they do require some gentle modifications of cultural habits and practices – especially concerning the practice of sports for female practitioners and competitors.
Sheikh Tamim bin Hamad, president of the Qatar Olympic Committee (QOC) presented Qatar's bid to the General Assembly of the Association of National Olympic Committees (ANOC) as a bid on behalf of the entire Middle East and North Africa region, and not just as an individual effort of Qatar, but one of a region whose population will reach 700mn people by 2020". (www.insidethegames.biz, 2012). The Doha 2020 Olympic Bid website also promotes regional attractions to potential visitors of the Games – from the Pyramids of Egypt to the Temples of Persepolis in Iran. “There are many things to do in and around Qatar before, during and after any sporting event. The Louvre and Guggenheim in Abu Dhabi – set to open in 2013 -The Pyramids, the ruins of Babylon, Petra and even Persepolis are less than three hours flight away (www.Doha 2020.com, 2012).

Aside from promoting regional cultural and touristic sites, the Qatar Olympic Committee also wants to utilize the 2020 Games to create new sporting and commercial opportunities for the Olympic Movement, and to develop sporting programs and venues that benefit an entire region. (Gulf Times, 2012). Qatar's National Vision 2030 positions sports as part of its world class ambition for nurturing talent, not just in the development of future Olympians, but also with unprecedented opportunities for empowering women. This vision demonstrates a nation committed to earning its place as a truly global sports hub." (www.Doha 2020.com, 2012).

Re-orienting the economy towards this expanding income source, the Qatar Tourism Master Plan establishes Doha as a high-quality destination for cultural tourism which includes beach and lifestyle resorts, cultural facilities (museums) business events (exhibition halls) and sports infrastructures. The Sports Master Plan includes the development of Sport Facility and Infrastructure plans, Sport Development plans and an Olympic Games Exploratory Study. Rem Koolhaas, amongst others, has been invited with OMA to work on the Sports Master Plan,

**Qatar Airways, Katara, Al Jazeera, COP18, FIFA2022. Branding as a Legacy**

Qatar is categorized as a small state, alongside other small nations like Luxembourg, Switzerland, Panama, Monaco, Kuwait, Bahrain and Dubai. All these small states have explored unique niches that benefit the region or the world, in order to gain economic advantage and global recognition as in the case of Switzerland with its banking system and political neutrality. (Peterson, 2006). Branding for political entities is relatively new and may be seen as an extension of cultural branding, and where states do not have easily identifiable brands, it is necessary to invent them. Qatar's branding strategy has raised its profile and international awareness by hosting major conferences and enhancing its involvement with international organizations. The Gold certified green Qatar National Convention Center has been recently completed to host such major international events in Qatar, the next to date being the COP18/CMP8 UN Conference on Climate change that will be held in November 2012, attracting 15000 delegates from 195 nations.

![Figure 7: Advertising the Museum of Islamic Arts, Doha, on a London Taxi](Source: www.taxiadvertizing.com).
Qatar Airways, along with Al Jazeera, an Arabic satellite television network owned by the state of Qatar, have helped to place Qatar on the Global Map. While many people did not know the location of Qatar, many tourists transit through Doha with Qatar Airways on their way to other destination. A veritable hub between East and West, the new Doha International Airport is being built to accommodate passengers. On its completion in 2016, it will accommodate 50 million passengers and 2 million tons of Cargo. Qatar Airways, with flights to over 100 destinations across the Middle East, Africa, Asia, Europe, North America, South America and Australia, advertises itself as a Five Star airline and was voted best airline of the year in 2011.

Katara Hospitality is a Qatar based deluxe international hospitality company which was recently rebranded from its previous designation as the Qatar National Hotels Company to a new corporate identity. The new brand – the ancient Greek name for the Qatari Peninsula – is more relevant for the company’s strategic expansion in the global market. Aside from its Qatar based projects – the Lusail Marina and Merweb-hotel City Center Doha it has 24 hotels in 8 international destinations, having recently acquired the Royal Savoy in Lausanne, the Gallia Hotel in Milan, the Peninsula in Paris and the Burgenstock Resort in Lucerne, Switzerland. The iconic Lusail Development in Doha – the Lusail Marina Towers – take the shape of the symbolic crossed swords and is advertised as being ideally located for travelling football fans of FIFA 2022, becoming a perfect getaway for Middle East leisure travelers once the games are over. (SITES, 2012).

Sports is considered another important aspect of Qatar’s branded image, and winning the FIFA World Cup bid for 2022 was a culmination of many years of investment in branding Qatar as sports destination and regional hub. Qatar’s next ambition is to host the Summer Olympic Games, and after losing its bid in 2012 for the 2020 Games, the nation will compete once again, this time for the 2024 Games. Qatar is building on a legacy of international sporting events – the Asian Games in 2001 and 2006 – as well as annually hosted competitions such as the Moto Gran Prix, ATP Tennis tournaments, gymnastics, volleyball, basketball, handball, football, Master’s golf, Grand Prix Fencing, powerboat racing and yachting.

Figure 8: Rendering of Lusail Iconic Development in the Shape of Crossed Swords (Source: www.KataraHospitality.com).

Doha Master Planning for Mega Events
What future urban transformations will result from hosting the FIFA 2022 World Cup in Qatar? How does this sporting event become a catalyst for urban development and urban renewal or restructuring? How can it remediate negative urban evolutions and participate in constructing a better future? What landmark structures, new public landscapes and new centralities will be created? What social improvements will occur? Will there be any negative outcomes?

To host the FIFA World Cup and to develop the Olympic bid, Qatar has developed a Sports Venues Master Plan which is being implemented within the Qatar 2030 Vision. The plan includes but is not limited to the development of Sport Facility and Infrastructure plans, Sport...
Development plans and an Olympic Games Exploratory Study. (www.DesignSports.org, 2012). It builds on the legacy of a number of sporting events held in Doha over the years, the first major event being the Asian Games in 2001 which saw around US 3 billion dollars in infrastructure development, and was followed by the 2006 Asian Games. This was Doha’s first regional mega-event that began to put the city on the sporting tourism map and a new sports city of 130 hectares emerged in response to Doha’s new sporting aspirations which included Khalifa International Stadium, Aspire Sports Dome, Hamad Aquatic Center / Orthopedic Sports Medicine Hospital, the Energy Center and Aspire Park. The most iconic feature of the Sports City is the 300-meter Aspire Tower, currently the highest building in Doha, which received the Olympic flame at its summit. Today it is a major landmark in Doha and contains a high-class hotel with a revolving restaurant at its summit. The Sports City also provided an important new public space in Doha, the Aspire Park, and a series of Public Realm improvements such as the cycling paths, footpaths, street-lighting and urban furniture around the Aspire area. (Adham, 2012). The Asian Games of 2006 hosted by Doha was a very successful and important event and the spectacular opening and closing ceremonies were used as a flagship spectacle to promote the new brand image of Qatar globally. In addition to the world class spectacle designed by the creators of the Sydney Olympics opening ceremonies, many people today still remember the opening ceremony and the breath taking ascent of the Heir apparent on his horse to light the torch on a very slippery ramp.

![Figure 8: The Torch Tower at Aspire Zone](Source: Flikr. Photo by AbdulRahman Alkhulaifi).

The Sports Master Plan that Qatar is preparing for its Olympic bid for the 2020 Games ensures no ‘white elephants’, with a totally sustainable approach for the environment, for the venues, for the local communities and for sports in the region. (Gulf Times, 2012). The sporting venues for the Olympic Games will be integrated throughout the city in a way that is only possible for a metropolis that is still growing. In the making for several years prior to the bid application, the Qatar Sports Venue Master Plan had already planned and budgeted for 91% of the venues needed for the Games, 35% of which are already completed. At the center of the venue plan is an Olympic Village, which will house a minimum of 16,800 beds, the Main Athlete Training Site, the Media Village with 2,400 rooms, and the Main Media Centre. In the Master Plan, the Olympic Village design will serve as a model for mixed-use developments throughout the Middle East – after the Games, the Village will fulfill its use as a legacy women’s sport development center, as well as desirable market-ready residences. Doha’s Olympic Venue Plan ensures that all venues are within an area measuring 15km by 30km of each other. The plan includes 10 celebration sites.
around the city to ensure a festive season for non-competing athletes and spectators. Games venues will be further developed to provide regional training facilities for both women and men.

![Map of the new Doha Metro with connections to the Stadiums for the FIFA 2022 World Cup](source: www.skyscrapercity.com).

Figure 10: Map of the new Doha Metro with the connections to the Stadiums for the FIFA 2022 World Cup (Source: www.skyscrapercity.com).

The Transport Master Plan is an important element of the Sports Master Plan for the Olympics as well as the FIFA 2022 World Cup. Well before 2022, Qatar will have completed a system of roads, metro, light rail transport, people movers and bus routes linking venues in a safe and efficient network. The first stage of a fully integrated and fully accessible metro network is already commissioned. The railway – which will connect the Doha Olympic Park with the new Doha International Airport - includes connections to light rail transit system and people-mover system.

**PHYSICAL LEGACIES**

**Infrastructural Legacies**

As a FIFA Sporting Host Nation, Qatar's Legacy Aims include organizing the First Carbon Neutral FIFA World Cup, which will contribute globally as a model of sustainable Mega-Events, and will locally leave improved transport, energy and recycling infrastructures. Modular Stadium will be dismantled and can be recycled and reconstructed anywhere in the world. As the first Middle East FIFA World Cup it aspires to contribute to the Social and Cultural Development of the region.

At the city level and in the long term, the transport strategy and concept for the games will leave behind a first class public transport system for the city, connected with the regional high speed rail as well as new sea transport and taxis. Doha Metro in Qatar's capital city will be one of the most advanced rail transit systems in the world when it becomes operational in 2016. The emirate originally planned the metro in 2007, in a bid to host the 2016 Summer Olympic Games in Doha. Doha Metro is part of the larger railway network. The wide network design consists of five modern and flexible railway systems integrated across the Persian Gulf. They include the development of passenger and freight rail transport systems, along with fast rail links to the international airport based on the GCC feasibility study. (www.railway-technology.com, 2012). It is hoped that the Doha Master Plan and the National Master Plan will accompany this new transit system with a strategy of transit-oriented development, offering housing, work opportunities and leisure with easy reach of the transport nodes.

With the ambition to become a carbon-neutral Mega-Event, the FIFA 2022 will produce new energy and recycling infrastructures for Qatar. An Environmental Working Group was established early on to identify study and analyze the environmental impact and develop the Green Qatar 2022 plan, which is consistent with government legislation, the national vision and international standards for environmental management. The environmental protection plan foresees the generation of excess renewable energy sources which would contribute to a carbon-neutral event and be used to offset all unavoidable emissions. Given Qatar's climate, the
activities would firstly concentrate on water and waste management and, secondly, on minimizing carbon emissions through specific energy, transportation and procurement activities.

**Architectural Legacies**

A number of innovations will demonstrate the fundamental role of technology in Qatar's bid and the resources the country is committing to realizing an environmentally sustainable and commitment to social development. The solar powered stadium will keep temperatures around 27 degrees on the playing fields, with solar thermal collectors and photovoltaic panels on the facades and roofs. The solar energy will be used to cool water which will be blown through the stadiums as cooling and photovoltaic panels will export electricity to Qatar's national grid when games are not taking place. Engineers and researchers at Qatar University are working on a remote controlled cloud that will provide ample shade for the entire stadium. Along with donating the stadiums, Qatar plans to make the cooling technologies developed available to other countries in hot climates, so that they too can host major sporting events.

![Figure 9: The New Stadium for the FIFA World Cup at the Doha Corniche](Source: www.footbal-marketing.com, Getty images).

The Qatar 2022 Bid revealed details of the Fan Zones that will provide spectator areas where visitors will be able to enjoy an exhibition featuring the history of the World Cup, showcasing the previous editions of the tournament with 10 minutes clips from each final as well as information and archived pictures on each competition and details on the winners and runners up. Nasser Al Kather - Qatar 2022 Bid Communication Director describes the Fan Zones as an effort to engage the local community and provide a unifying outlet during the World Cup. They will contain two main exhibitions and other informative, interactive features for children and adults alike. The Fan Zones will focus especially on youngsters, with various games set up from virtual soccer with PlayStations to football tables, from `precise shot` to `hard shot` competitions where prizes will be given out each day to the winners. It is not clear where these fan zones will be located, or what they will become after the Games.
Social and Political Legacies
The Qatar bid for the FIFA World Cup is a singular context with regard to other similar events, as it is being held in a country that is ruled by an Emir and his family. While it is working towards democratic development, there is little freedom of press and the FIFA committee and the Olympic Committee are both led by members of the ruling family. Qatar has the highest ratio of migrants to citizens in the world, with only 225,000 citizens in a population of 1.7 million. More than 1.2 million migrant workers—mostly from India, Pakistan, Sri Lanka, the Philippines, Nepal, and Bangladesh—live and work in Qatar. The largest sector, construction, employs 506,000 migrants. A recent report by Human Rights Watch has indicated that country has some of the most restrictive sponsorship laws in the Persian Gulf region, leaving migrant workers vulnerable to exploitation and abuse. Forced labor and human trafficking remain serious problems and labor laws are frequently violated, with the workers living in unacceptable conditions, without their families and spouses. Local media have estimated that the construction of the projects for the FIFA World Cup would require recruitment of hundreds of thousands of new workers from abroad. Will the FIFA International committee intervene to ensure that the construction for the World Cup infrastructures be carried out in humane and acceptable conditions, and that Human Rights will be respected?

On the level of sports education, the Qatar Football Association (QFA) is already undertaking various education and community programs through the Qatar Olympic Sport and Environment Council that will continue to promote sports activities and education, especially for youth and women. The outreach program will involve all stakeholders in planning and enable businesses to communicate their role in forward-looking and sustainability-oriented enterprises.

A Price to pay?
With such a high number of venues and a totally new transportation infrastructure to construct, Qatar is faced with many challenges related to the planning and timelines for such an important international event. With just 10 years until Qatar hosts football’s FIFA World Cup in 2022, Doha is focusing its attention on building the infrastructure required to host the event. In recent months, major state-backed construction projects, from regeneration schemes to science parks, have been cancelled or put on hold as the tiny Gulf state prioritizes projects essential to hosting the competition. Plans to redevelop the Doha Corniche and surrounding area in Doha and proposals to build an Aerospace research and tourist facility in Al-Khor have been shelved in recent weeks. The Doha Grand Park project in the center of the capital city, an urban regeneration project developing a park similar in design to New York’s Central Park and London’s Hyde Park, scheduled to contain food and beverage outlets, a museum and other attractions has also been shelved. Building $20bn-worth of road schemes, a multibillion-dollar metro network and $4bn-
worth of sporting facilities is set to provide planning and logistical challenges. Doha has realized that to complete everything within the set time frame, it has to focus on essential projects and leave others until later. (www.meed.com, 2012).

CONCLUSIONS

Urban design and re-weaving the public and social realm

What will be the global impact of the FIFA World Cup on Qatar and how will the small state face up to the many challenges that such an event may generate? What kind of spaces will be created for the new “cosmopolitan citizen” as a spatial response to this twining of cultural entertainment and tourist and sport industries will be created as legacies for Doha and Qatar? Qatar is currently the nation with the highest Carbon Footprint in the world. Qatar’s available capital can be wisely invested in research and development projects that will improve the urban environment and the quality of life, and reduce the environmental footprint of the country. Doha is a city that is currently organized around private transport, with urban highways crossing the city and intersecting with multiple lane roundabouts, serving islands of inhabitation like gated communities and mega-shopping malls. This creates a fragmentation of the urban realm, and results in little or no spaces for soft mobility – pedestrian, cycling, etc.

The FIFA World Cup is acting as a catalyst for the implementation of a public transport infrastructure, and good urban design will be able to remediate many of the negative effects of unplanned or badly planned developments. Particular attention should be placed around the transit nodes so that they be used as opportunities to encourage many modes of public or pedestrian transport, at the same time creating new public spaces that can help to create a new public realm and to connect soft mobility networks, reweaving the disparate fragments of the city. There is also an opportunity to introduce not only more mixed-use developments, especially around and along the transit nodes and routes, but also to introduce more “mixed-income” or “mixed-culture” developments, to begin to create a truly cosmopolitan and just city. The conditions and quality of life of the immigrant workers could be improved and they can increasingly become more integrated in public life and the public realm. The global branding of the emerging metropolis through its hospitality, airline, media network and Mega-Events, as well the “Qatarization” of the public realm through the establishment and construction of Qatari cultural spaces and museums could be accompanied by a real social and cosmopolitan integration of all the populations inhabiting the city of Doha. This would contribute to achieving the four pillars of the Qatar National Vision for a Sustainable Future, which include Social, Economic, Environmental and Educational development.

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