Linguistic Identities in the Arab Gulf States

Waves of Change

Edited by
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Rewind to early February 2020 when the COVID-19 pandemic had not yet directly impacted the lives of most people in the world, including those living in the Gulf countries of Bahrain, Kuwait, Oman, Qatar, the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia (KSA), and the United Arab Emirates (UAE). We were in Muscat, Oman, attending the 4th International Conference on Language, Linguistics, Literature and Translation at Sultan Qaboos University. Over cups of Arabian coffee freshly poured from bronze *dallahs*, we buzzed with ideas stemming from talks we had attended and subsequent discussions. One of the most interesting exchanges we had was with plenary speaker and series editor Reem Bassiouney. Our discussion related to her plenary talk on Arabic critical linguistics and recent changes we had witnessed in the Gulf. It was this conversation which set the grounds for the current book.

Within weeks of returning to Abu Dhabi, UAE, the COVID-19 crisis was identified as a pandemic and, in March 2020, the UAE's national airline, Etihad, announced all flights would be grounded (Ryan, 2021). As we looked back on the Omani conference, we realized it was the last face-to-face conference we would attend for years rather than months. These pandemic-induced changes heightened the already established 'culture of change' in the Gulf region.

The Gulf's 'culture of change'

If the Gulf region were to be given a signature word it would be 'change'. The Gulf nations share particularly dynamic histories. Since the mid-20th-century discovery of oil in the region, dramatic changes have taken place with regard to infrastructure, cityscapes, demographics, education, culture, sociolinguistic landscapes, and identities. Vast oil resources have enabled many Gulf cities to transform from sleepy desert outposts to world-recognized centres of banking, tourism, commerce, shopping, innovation, and culture (Karolak & Allam, 2020). In the case of Abu Dhabi, rapid changes started to occur in the period of the UAE's union (1971–1991), known locally as 'etihad' (Sosa & Ahmad, 2021), and this pace of change has not slowed in the last five decades. The scale of such changes is documented and discussed on online forums

such as the Facebook group 'Abu Dhabi Good Old Days', which has 11,000 members. Equally, 'Good Old Days' groups also exist for the Gulf cities of Dubai, Doha, and Muscat. On such sites, former and current residents share 'before and after' pictures and reminisce about often unrecognizable bygone cityscapes and spaces, which are testimony to the rapid changes that have taken place within a short space of time.

Not only have Gulf cities metamorphosized in terms of physical appearance and cityscapes, but Gulf demographics have also altered. Although South Asians have had a prominent presence in the Gulf region for centuries due to trade opportunities (Machado, 2014), the late 20th century saw large-scale waves of immigration, as foreign labourers and advisors were needed to help implement ambitious oil-funded transformations (Buckingham, 2017). As a result, transnational workers now outnumber local citizens in many Gulf states. While statistics vary, the UAE and Qatar have the highest percentage of transnational residents at just under 90% in both nations, and Kuwait's transnational residents comprise 70% of the population. Bahrain, the KSA, and Oman are more balanced, but still highly diverse, with approximately 52% of transnational residents in Bahrain, 45% in Oman, and 33% in the KSA (GLMM, 2016). Such demographic diversity together with globalization has affected the linguistic landscape of the region. Although symbolically powerful languages such as Arabic and English have a dominant presence, over 100 other languages are also part of the local linguistic ecology. When discussing 'Gulf linguistic identities' in this book, therefore, the concept is not restricted to Gulf nationals but to all those who call the Gulf their temporary, semi-permanent, or second home. While some chapters in this book focus on the identities of local citizens, whether it be Saudi Arabian Instagrammers in Chapter 4, Omani speakers of indigenous languages in Chapter 2, or generations of Kuwaiti citizens in Chapter 5, other chapters approach the topic of Gulf identities from the perspective of transnational residents such as UAE-based Bangladeshi third culture kids (TCKs) in Chapter 7 or multilingual foreign schoolteachers in Chapter 11.

Dubai and other Gulf cities have been named 'Globalization on Steroids' (Morehouse, 2008) due to elevated levels of linguistic and cultural diversity. This book recognizes the complexities of highly diverse globalized contexts and thus avoids celebrating diversity uncritically. Rather, the book explores paradoxical aspects of diversity and the resultant effects on Gulf linguistic identities. For example, on the one hand, there have been recent initiatives to promote tolerance in the region, such as the UAE's naming of 2019 as the 'Year of Tolerance' and many awareness campaigns promoting diversity and inclusion relating to nationalities, ethnicities, abilities, languages, and dialects (Hopkyns & van den Hoven, 2021). Diversity within the Arabic language has also been increasingly represented through popular media outlets, where varieties are gaining acceptance as a unifying force, as discussed in Chapter 6. On the other hand, there are also discourses, which are often part of Gulf national visions (e.g., Saudi Vision 2030 and

Qatar's National Vision), on the need to strengthen national identities by safeguarding Arabic as the region's official language and lessening reliance on transnational workers (Saleh & Malibari, 2021). Arabization agendas lie behind initiatives such as 'Bahrainization', 'Emiratization', 'Omanization', 'Qatarization', 'Saudization', and 'Kuwaitization', also known as 'Kuwait's expatriate quota system' (Al-Sherbini, 2020; Cook, 2016; Cummings, 2019). This book explores some of the challenges these initiatives face, especially in the context of Oman in Chapter 2. Further challenges to 'unity in diversity' goals (Nickerson, 2015) include social stratification tensions and linguistic hierarchies, which privilege certain groups over others (Ahmad, 2016; Le Renard, 2021). For example, Chapter 3 explores the cultural and linguistic friction between foreign domestic workers (FDWs) and the families they work for, as part of the Gulf's 'nanny culture' phenomenon (Hopkyns et al., 2021). Chapter 8 investigates issues of linguistic inclusion on signage, and Chapter 11 explores linguistic hierarchies in English-medium secondary schools.

Finally, changes in education could be seen as a microcosm for the Gulf's wider 'culture of change', with multiple reforms and a general increase in English reflecting the global trend of internationalization in higher education (Badry & Willoughby, 2016; Macaro, 2018). Several chapters in this book (Chapters 1, 2, 9, 12) explore neoliberal ideologies which promote English as a commodity as well as the symbolic power of English as a language of business amongst the Gulf's highly diverse populations. With English-medium instruction (EMI) policies being embedded in a context where English also dominates wider society, debates relating to 'Englishization' and its effects on linguistic and cultural identities are of direct relevance to both wider society and educational contexts (Hopkyns, 2020a).

Recent 'waves of change' affecting Gulf identities

Against the backdrop of the Gulf's broader culture of change, recent local and global developments have also impacted linguistic identities. A recent regional 'wave of change' includes reforms governing women's rights in Saudi Arabia such as legalizing women drivers and allowing for freer movement. In light of current developments, perspectives on gender and identity in the Arab world (Bassiouney, 2020; El-Azhary Sonbol, 2017; Elyas & Al-Jabri, 2020; Ghabra, 2015) are reflected on in Chapters 4 and 5. In an era when the media is perhaps at its most influential, this book also analyses representations of Arab identities through language use in various forms of media, and how audiences interact with such portrayals. As well as discussing women's dynamic and socially constructed identities on social media and in novels, the book analyses language use in a popular television series and subsequent debates regarding the status of Standard Arabic as a unifying force amongst Arabs, on the one hand, and its role in increasing multiplicity within Arab identities, on the other.

A recent global 'wave of change' discussed in the volume involves the 'translingual turn' in education (Horner et al., 2011) as a way to promote 'multilingualism as a resource' (Illman & Pietilä, 2018). The translingual turn refers to students and teachers using their full linguistic repertoires (or hybrid language, semiotic, and ecological resources) to aid learning and strengthen linguistic identities. This umbrella term encompasses multiple 'trans-concepts' (Sun & Lan, 2021) such as translanguaging (García & Wei, 2014; Williams, 1994), translingual practice (Canagarajah, 2013), translinguistics (Dovchin & Lee, 2019), translingual literacy (Lu & Horner, 2013), and translingual dispositions (Lee & Jenks, 2016). Although the translingual turn began in the 2010s, earlier research mainly covered bilingual Spanish-English primary school contexts in the US. Only recently has research related to the translingual turn expanded to include various levels of education in under-researched contexts such as the Gulf. This book investigates the emerging transition away from monolingual ideologies towards embracing and legit-imizing multilingualism and translanguaging, as discussed in Chapters 1, 10 and 11. In addition, Chapter 12 explores Qatari university students' oscil-lating emotions of pride and shame around hybrid language use. The 'trans-concepts' are also discussed outside the domain of education in Chapter 7, where the related concept of 'glocalization' is explored amongst third culture kids (TCKs) navigating the creation of third spaces (Bhabha, 2004) through translingual practice and transcultural positioning.

The book also looks at how language can be decolonized by 'changing the human relationships of power around speech and language' (Phipps, 2019, p. 26). In this sense, Chapter 8 suggests ways in which language on public signage in Abu Dhabi can be more linguistically inclusive and Chapter 9 suggests alternatives to international English assessments which harbour cul-tural bias. Chapter 5 points to ways in which local Gulf writers' translingual practice can decolonize the Western canon. Such suggestions aim to address pressing issues of linguistic discrimination and social injustice.

Another 'wave of change', which has also not yet been investigated in a book-length publication, is the impact of the coronavirus pandemic on Gulf identities. In Gulf societies where populations are highly diverse, effective com-munication becomes especially vital in times of crisis, and linguistic divisions are often heightened rather than diminished (Ahmad, 2020; Hopkyns 2020b). For example, the COVID-19 pandemic has raised many social and linguistic questions relating to identity, inclusion, and belonging (Hopkyns & van den Hoven, 2021; Ahmad & Hillman, 2020). Covering such current and under-researched issues makes this volume timely, original, and relevant.

Interdisciplinary approaches to identity

This book employs an interdisciplinary approach to exploring language and identity in the Gulf countries. Being particularly wide in scope, the book investigates Gulf linguistic identities across various disciplines and domains.

Research presented in the book takes place in multiple sectors including education, media, domestic settings, and in the extraordinary era of the coronavirus. Within such domains, key themes explored include language and power, linguistic inequities, identities in transition, translingual and pluralized identities, and social justice. The present volume offers assessments of multilingual developments in the Gulf, employing a range of theoretical frameworks including critical applied linguistics, linguistic anthropology, ethnography, discourse analysis, semiotic analysis, linguistic landscaping, and case study approaches. The chapters in the volume take post-structuralist non-essentialized approaches to identities through a range of theoretical and conceptional lenses. The dynamic, changeable, and socially constructed nature of identities (Kroon & Swanenberg, 2020; Mercer, 2011; Norton, 2000; Suleiman, 2003; Zhu, 2017) is investigated with regard to how aspects of identity construction are intricately woven into and impacted by local and global developments.

Post-structural approaches to identity also pay attention to power, agency, and ideologies in understanding social dynamics and sense of self (Kayi-Aydar & Green-Eneix, 2019). For example, Chapter 12 illustrates how university students' linguistic identities may be positioned differently in an EMI university context, where English is highly valued, as opposed to in Arabic-speaking homes where Arabic is often preferred by family members. Fluidity and hybridity are further important components of identity construction commonly found in multicultural and multilingual contexts. Barriers or divisions between languages and linguistic identities often blur, and translingual identities become prominent. Here, plurality and complexity become critical elements to explore, as seen in Chapter 5 and Chapter 7.

When discussing Gulf citizens' identities in the book, it is recognized that, while there is an identifiable 'Khaleeji identity' or Gulf identity grounded in cultural, social, historical, and political similarities, particular differences and complexities also exist depending on current geopolitical circumstances and intersecting identity aspects (Karolak & Allam, 2020). Intersecting identity aspects include gender, ethnicity, class, and religion, amongst other factors. Regarding religious identities, for example, divisions exist between Shi'a and Sunni Muslim collective identities in Bahrain and the east coast of Saudi Arabia (Guta, 2020). Not only do social and religious divisions affect identities, but they also shape linguistic norms, as discussed in Chapter 6.

This book is particularly wide in scope with chapters specifically covering five of the six Gulf states (Kuwait, the KSA, Oman, Qatar, the UAE). Several of the authors draw on research from Bahrain, despite it not being the sole focus of a chapter. Incidentally, when reviewing existing Gulf literature on language and identity, we found certain Gulf countries, such as the UAE and Oman, were more widely covered than others, such as Bahrain and Kuwait. The current volume features 14 authors who are based in seven countries (Canada, the KSA, Norway, Oman, Qatar, the UAE, and the US), and all either live or have lived in the Arab Gulf countries. The authors

represent the disciplinary interests of education, applied linguistics, humanities and social sciences, media and communication, and anthropology. All contributions explore linguistic identities in the Gulf in light of recent local and global changes, movements, and circumstances from various angles, with seven of the chapters including empirical data (Chapters 2, 4, 6, 7, 8, 11, and 12) and the remaining five building on theoretical arguments supported by current Gulf research (Chapters 1, 3, 5, 9, and 10). For the theoretical chapters, the chapter authors have conducted empirical studies on the topic of their chapter, meaning that any theoretical discussion has an empirical foundation.

Distinct but not exceptional: The regional and global relevance of the book

Although the Gulf setting is distinct from other global contexts in terms of its demographics, sociohistorical context, and linguistic landscape, this book acknowledges nuances between Gulf nations and parallels between aspects of the Gulf and numerous other global settings. There is a tendency in the literature to use exceptionalism as a discourse when analysing aspects of Gulf society, which dismisses complexities and implies that what happens in the Gulf is unconnected with what happens in other global contexts (Kanna et al., 2020). With this in mind, the book not only offers deep insights into factors influencing linguistic identities in the Gulf but also widens the debate to include other contexts that share similar dynamics. For example, when discussing issues such as social stratification, gendered identities, diversity and inclusion, and EMI, parallels are drawn with other contexts that share characteristics. As Siemund and Leimgruber (2020) state, there are many comparisons to be made between fast-growing Asian contexts such as the Gulf states, Singapore, and Hong Kong. For instance, although social stratification in the Gulf is often represented as exceptional, Lorente (2018) points out that such social and linguistic hierarchies also exist in Singapore, where firmly entrenched differentiations based on nationality are often made through the polarized labels of 'foreign talent' and 'foreign workers'. Similarly, the dominance of English in domains such as education and in public spaces is also recognized as a feature relating to many multilingual settings, not only the Gulf (Piller et al., 2020). Although the chapters focus on countries of the Arab Gulf states, as fitting the title of the book, many chapters situate the Gulf context within larger global discourses by relating to and building on wider research.

Introduction to the chapters

This book is divided into four parts, each consisting of three chapters. Part One looks at language, identity, and power; Part Two looks at Gulf linguistic and cultural identities in the media; Part Three looks at Gulf identities in

transition; and Part Four looks at Gulf identities in EMI contexts. Each chapter explores Gulf linguistic identities in relation to the overarching theme of change.

Part I: Language and power

The book's first part (Chapters 1–3) explores the theme of language and power from multiple angles, including an exploration of power relations between languages and their speakers in the Gulf. In Chapter 1, Hopkyns and Elyas explore how bottom-up and top-down language policies in the Gulf countries interact with wider language ideologies and discourses related to globalization, the internationalization of higher education, and neoliberalism. Drawing on Irvine and Gal's (2000) theories of the semiotic formation of language ideologies and Bourdieu's (1991) theory of language and symbolic power, Hopkyns and Elyas critically examine the interrelatedness of language ideologies, symbolic power, and policies surrounding Arabic and English and the resultant effects on linguistic identities. The chapter explores how the Arabic and English languages are often symbolically polarized even though, on the ground, the languages are interwoven through translingual practice. Hopkyns and Elyas go on to suggest concrete ways in which to bridge this ideological divide through glocalization and the legitimizing of translingual practice in multiple domains, including English-medium education.

Following the overarching exploration of language policies, practice, and ideologies across the Gulf provided in Chapter 1, Chapter 2 holds a microscope to one of the Gulf nations, the Sultanate of Oman. In Chapter 2, Al-Issa analyses the planning of language identity in Oman by employing a linguistic anthropology perspective. Through the analysis of two speeches from former leader, and founder of modern Oman, Sultan Qaboos bin Said Al Said, and current leader Sultan Haitham bin Tariq Al Said, Al-Issa argues that there is a mismatch between the goals for Omanization put forward in the speeches and the failure to implement such initiatives effectively. Al-Issa problematizes the neoliberal push towards English at the expense of Oman's less powerful indigenous languages. Al-Issa suggests that the strengthening of linguistic identities in Oman can be achieved through enhanced teacher education and a revitalization of indigenous languages. Al-Issa argues that such changes would be a welcome development against the backdrop of arguably stagnant discourses and policies.

In Chapter 3, the focus turns to language and power in domestic domains across the Arab Gulf countries. Taha-Thomure takes a critical approach to the linguistic effects of the 'nanny culture' on Gulf identities. With the hiring of foreign domestic workers (FDWs) being a well-known phenomenon in the Gulf, Taha-Thomure argues that there is a profound yet often unacknowledged influence on children's language development as well as their linguistic and cultural identities. Drawing on studies from several parallel global contexts such as Singapore, Hong Kong, and Taiwan, Taha-Thomure explores

the complexities around power dynamics in households where foreign nannies reside, raising concerns over Arabic attrition in home environments where non-Arabic-speaking FDWs play a major role in raising children. Suggestions are made for the adoption of greater parental awareness, more transparent definitions of nannies' roles, open dialogue and discussion, and an investment mentality.

Part II: Gulf linguistic and cultural identities in the media

The book's second part (Chapters 4–6) explores media representations of Gulf linguistic identities through the mediums of social media, modern fiction, and television drama. In Chapter 4, Hurley provides a semiotic analysis of Saudi Arabian women's Instagrammable identities following the campaign for the right to drive in the KSA. Hurley describes how the 2018 law granting women the right to drive in the KSA sparked the social media movement '@ women2drive'. Hurley's study asks how the change in legislation regarding women's right to drive represents a rebranding of Saudi women's identities. The chapter focuses on two prominent Saudi influencers' Instagram posts and analyses the content of these posts through semiotic critical discourse analysis. Hurley argues that, while the new driving legislation has not impacted all women in the KSA, the prominent Instagrammers in the study offer tangible examples of Saudi women's serious commitment to gender equality by challenging disempowerment.

In Chapter 5, Buscemi explores the representation of Gulf linguistic and social identities in modern literature through an analysis of the Kuwaiti characters in Layla Alammar's 2019 novel *The Pact We Made*. Specifically, Buscemi takes readers on a journey through the thoughts, emotions, and reflections of the book's main character, 29-year-old Dahlia. A traumatic childhood event leads Dahlia to reflect on the affordances and constraints in Kuwaiti society for young women. In addition to cultural analysis, Buscemi explores the changing linguistic identities seen in the novel through the use of translingual practice and the ways in which characters change their language according to their audience. Here, the chapter offers important insights into social stratification and power dynamics within households and across gender and generational lines. Buscemi argues that the novel helps 'de-exoticize the non-West' (Lionnet, 1995, p. 5) by decolonizing the Western canon as seen in Alammar's authentic linguistic choices.

In Chapter 6, Zoghbor and Alqahtani turn to explore the representations of Gulf linguistic identities in the popular Arabic-medium television series *Khawaja Abdulqader*. The chapter examines the linguistic choices of the TV drama's main character Khawaja Abdulqader, after whom the series is named. Zoghbor and Alqahtani reveal how Khawaja Abdulqader, a British man who changed his name from Herbert to Khawaja Abdulqader after converting to Islam, utilizes linguistic resources to reveal the multiple identities of a non-Arab who speaks Arabic as a foreign language. Five scenes from the series

are analysed through discourse analysis with a focus on the phonological and morphological features of three Arabic variations: Standard Arabic, Sudanese dialect, and Egyptian dialect, shedding light on the differences and similarities between the dialects and Gulf varieties such as the Emirati dialect. In their analysis, Zoghbor and Alqahtani argue that variation across the Arabic dialects, including the Gulf variations, can unify rather than distance Arabic-speakers' identities.

Part III: Gulf identities in transition

The focus of the book's third part (Chapters 7–9) is on how local linguistic phenomena are situated in broader dynamic social movements. The transitions discussed in this section are wide in scope, ranging from an analysis of Gulf expatriates' ambivalent identities to changing sociolinguistic landscapes during the coronavirus pandemic. A further transition is the move away from culturally biased international English tests used in the Gulf towards locally produced assessments which better match Gulf sociolinguistic identities. Such a move relates to wider decolonizing movements seen globally. In Chapter 7, Khondker explores the social and linguistic identities of Bangladeshi third culture kids (TCKs) living in the UAE. TCKs are often defined as second-generation migrants who are born and raised in a foreign country (Useem & Useem, 1967). The chapter provides a rich discussion on the conceptualization of identity and the impact of the 'glocal turn' as it relates to the identities of TCKs in Gulf expatriate communities. Khondker shares narratives from three Bangladeshi TCK interlocutors and one Indian TCK interlocutor. Through an analysis of the narratives, Khondker argues that ambivalence is a key feature of many TCK identities. Unlike earlier studies that label TCKs as 'culturally homeless', Khondker notes that TCKs in the Gulf are starting to position their ambivalent identities as a source of strength in a highly globalized and multivalent society.

   In Chapter 8, Hopkyns and van den Hoven discuss transitions in Abu Dhabi's linguistic landscape during the coronavirus pandemic. They take an ethnographic approach to linguistic landscaping where they analyse the languages and semiotic resources used on coronavirus signage in community and leisure spaces, with a focus on how these choices affect Gulf identities and sense of belonging. Findings revealed a prevalence of monolingual and bilingual signage which favoured the nation's official language, Arabic, and the global lingua franca, English. While Hopkyns and van den Hoven found examples of effective trilingual signage, these were the exception rather than the norm. The chapter argues that a greater linguistic inclusion of languages other than English and Arabic is needed to reflect Abu Dhabi's multilingual ecology and ensure safety messages are more accessible. Raising awareness of linguistic diversity in society as well as implementing translation drives are suggested as ways to promote a greater inclusion of common third languages on signage during the pandemic period and beyond.

In Chapter 9, Freimuth examines the cultural bias found in international English examinations and its effect on Gulf linguistic and cultural identities. The chapter begins by exploring the dominance of English as a global language since the early 1600s to the present day. Educational reforms with a move towards more and more English are then outlined. Freimuth goes on to examine the cultural content of common international English exams used in the Gulf, including the International English Language Testing System (IELTS) and the Test of English as a Foreign Language (TOEFL). Both exams have been found to harbour a cultural bias which can affect test takers' cultural identities, comfort levels, and achievement outcomes. Freimuth goes on to examine the relatively new Emirates Standardized Test (EmSAT) in terms of familiarity of topics and potential for cultural bias. Although further analysis on the EmSAT exam is needed, Freimuth suggests it could be a more culturally appropriate choice for the Gulf region. The chapter proposes a period of transition towards more locally produced English assessments.

Part IV: Gulf identities in English-medium instruction contexts

The final part of the book draws readers' attention to English-medium instruction contexts in the Gulf which cover secondary schools, government universities, and international branch campus (IBC) settings. Each chapter in this section approaches the topic from a different angle by exploring translanguaging for transformation, multilingual teacher identities, and the emotions of students studying in EMI IBCs.

In Chapter 10, Carroll explores ways in which teachers can transform educational experiences by valuing Gulf students' multilingual repertoires in English-medium classrooms. Carroll, in positive alignment with the suggestions made in Chapter 1, argues for the validation of translanguaging as a way to combat monolingual ideologies in educational settings. Carroll provides a comprehensive theoretical overview of translanguaging, with a discussion on the differences between strong and soft versions. Readers are then taken on a journey through the historical use of monolingual ideologies in Gulf education to a shift towards multilingualism in recent years. Carroll illustrates what translanguaging in formal education looks like by sharing practical applications from previous global research. The chapter reflects on how implementing a soft version of translanguaging in Gulf classrooms can result in a transformational educational experience where the translingual identities of learners are recognized and supported.

In Chapter 11, Calafato explores multilingual teacher identities in the UAE. The chapter discusses findings from an exploratory study investigating the perspectives of language teachers (English, Arabic, and French) at private EMI schools on multilingualism as a pedagogical resource. Findings revealed that, although language teachers valued multilingualism and tried to promote it in their classrooms, not all teacher participants made an effort to learn languages themselves. The study also revealed perceptions on

linguistic hierarchies, with English being placed at the top. Calafato provides suggestions for ways in which linguistic hierarchies can be dissipated and how multilingualism can be promoted in classrooms as well as amongst teachers. The chapter also stresses the importance of improving the teaching of Arabic in schools to make it more relevant, equitable, and attractive to learners. The chapter argues that such moves would allow teachers and students to harness their multilingual potential.

In the final chapter of the book, Chapter 12, Hillman explores emotions and EMI in Qatar. Hillman's chapter takes a critical perspective to examine notions of identity and belonging for Qatari national students who attended mixed gender EMI international branch campuses of the Qatar Foundation's Educational City. Specifically, Hillman explores the concept of linguistic shame, which is 'embarrassment in using a language resulting from the social discourses and practices that denigrate the identities and outcomes attached to such language use' (Liyange & Canagarajah, 2019). The students interviewed on emotions relating to EMI oscillated between discourses of pride and shame in relation to language use, leading to conflicting identities. Such emotions provoked students to navigate new understandings of what it means to be Qatari. Hillman suggests that students in Qatar could benefit from more space to reflect on the emotional aspect of being IBC students and how to traverse cultural and linguistic tensions.

Concluding remarks

This volume provides rich insights into multiple aspects of Gulf identities. The chapters report on how identities interact and are influenced by the Gulf's 'culture of change' and current 'waves of change'. When identifying the need for the volume, we noted a growing body of book-length research on various aspects of Gulf identities. Such books, however, each have their own primary focus, such as identity and education, identity and politics, identity and the arts, or identities relating to one area/country of the Gulf. Assessing existing coverage in previous publications led us to identify the need for the current volume. The topics covered in the current volume expand and move beyond existing literature by primarily focusing on how language and identity interact with current and ongoing societal changes. The volume also covers timely topics not yet discussed in relation to Gulf linguistic identities, as outlined previously.

Acknowledgements

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