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**Discourses around Nubians**

American University in Cairo

Graduate School of Education

**Discourses around Nubians: A Critical Discourse Analysis of Egyptian****Social Studies and History Textbooks**

Submitted to

International and Comparative Education Department

In partial fulfillment of the requirements of Masters of Arts in

International & Comparative Education

by Nesma Assem Mansour

Under the supervision of: Dr. Malak Zaalouk

May 2017

The American University in Cairo

Graduate School of Education (GSE)

**Discourses around Nubians: A Critical Discourse Analysis of Egyptian  
Social Studies and History Textbooks**

A Thesis by

Nesma Assem Mansour

Submitted to the Department of International & Comparative Education

June, 2017

In partial fulfillment of the requirements for  
the degree of Master of Arts in  
International & Comparative Education

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## DISCOURSES AROUND NUBIANS

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**Abstract**

In an attempt to understand the Egyptian state's approach in handling diversity and inclusion in education and offer insights on possible improvements of the current social studies and history textbooks, the study explores the said and the unsaid about Nubian histories, culture, and struggles.

The study deals with the representation of Nubians in two periods, the ancient dynastic period and the contemporary period. In the study, I started by a review of literature that helps in situating the analysis into historical, socio-cultural, and political contexts that are an integral part of conducting a Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA). I followed this by a spatial quantitative analysis to contextualize the representation of Ancient Nubians vis-a-vis other Ancient civilizations represented in the textbooks. Then I moved to an in-depth qualitative analysis to understand how power dynamics might shape discourses about Nubians in Egyptian education. In the study I employed Fairclough's (2003) CDA tools to get insights into the discourses around Nubians in selected Egyptian social studies, history, and geography textbooks for the school year 2015/2016, coupled with van Leeuwen's (2008) tools for analyzing legitimation in discourse and analyzing visual images.

The study results show that the representation of Nubians, especially, in discussing the ancient Nubians in textbooks almost always appears within the discourses of power over Nubians. The dominant discourses include the discourse of superiority and othering, while legitimating power over Nubians for economic and security reasons. On the other hand, the discourses around contemporary Nubians are more inclusive and can be considered as attempts to positively represent Nubians through 'mentioning' their culture, histories, and displacement 'problem'; however these attempts are rather superficial and do not capture the complexity of the Nubian case.

Key words: Egypt; Egyptian Nubia; Nubia; history textbooks; critical discourse analysis; minority narrative

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### I. Chapter I: Introduction

Although diversity is highly related to survival, in a biological sense, if not properly embraced, diversity can lead to a disintegrated society. Historically, nation states dealt with racial, religious, language minorities and immigrants through ignoring their individual differences (Banks, 2008). According to him, most nations before the 1960s believed that to integrate a group within the society, the group has to give up their associations to any other cultural heritages be it language or ethnicity. They relied on the assumption that once the member of a certain group was integrated within the society, they will not need such associations. This continued to be the trend in handling citizenship until the ethnic revitalization movements in 1960s and 70s as Banks (2008) explains. Such movements allowed minority groups, African Americans, women's rights groups, and Mexican Americans to demand their right to attain their cultural rights, and their rights to become recognized in education through representation in curricula. From then on, the concept of a Multicultural approach to citizenship started to develop.

Marshall (1964) highlighted that citizenship is composed of three interrelated sets of rights: civic rights, political rights, and social rights. He explained that civil rights include freedom of speech, right to vote, right to own property, and equality before the law. Political rights include rights to participate in the political process, whereas social rights are right to health, education and welfare services that allow citizens to fully participate in their communities. The concept of citizenship was further developed according to Banks (2008) to include "cultural rights" (p.129). This to Banks is a natural evolution of Marshall's definition of citizenship that makes it more suited to the current time, when communities are becoming increasingly diversified due to immigration and globalization. Banks (2008) defines cultural rights as the rights of individuals and groups to keep their cultural heritage, languages, and religions, while enjoying the civil rights of the nation-state. Today, cultural rights are endorsed internationally through different international declarations and conventions. For example, Article 26 of the Universal Declaration on Human Rights, Articles 8, 13, 14, 15 of Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples, Articles 3, and 13 of the International Covenant on Economic

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Social and Cultural Rights, and Article 29 of the Convention on the Rights of the Child are all endorsing cultural rights, and are ratified by many nation-states including Egypt.

Despite that a multi-cultural approach to citizenship that ensures cultural-rights to all citizens has become a common place in many countries, including the Canada, the United States, and Australia. However, some countries like Japan and Germany were “reluctant” to be defined as multi-cultural, at least before the 2000s (Banks, 2008, p. 133). These inclinations or views of citizenship are usually clear in states’ approaches to citizenship on the policy and practice levels. Since formal education has always been a state’s tool for citizenship building, such policies are also reflected in the states’ education system structure, curricula and practice. Several national and international studies investigated how states approach citizenship education on policy and practice levels (for example Faour & Muasher, 2011), some of which focused on the aspect of diversity and inclusion in education (Abdou, 2015; Attalah & Makar 2014; Çayır, 2015; and Chu, 2015).

### A. Statement of the Problem

In today’s Egypt, one finds religious, geographical, ideological, socio-cultural, and some ethnic diversity. However, this diversity is not accurately reflected in curricula as different researchers have highlighted. For example, after conducting textbook analysis for contemporary history and national instruction curricula, Attalah and Makar (2014) conclude that the current dominant discourses in Egyptian national education are alarming due to the “insistence on omitting alternative histories, its suppression of diversity and [the] failure to promote tolerance and co-existence” (p.31). They highlight that “The histories of minority groups whether ethnic, religious or national are non-existent. The participation of groups including women, workers and others is silenced except when their actions appear within the framework of the ‘collective’” (p. 21). This is also in line with the findings of Abdou (2015) whose study on analyzing historical thinking and inclusion in Egyptian history textbooks concluded that the historical narrative presented in the textbooks conceals the multilayered Egyptian identity that the country’s long history contributed to, by producing an Arab-Muslim identity. In referring to different ethnic groups in Egypt Attalah and Makar (2014) were referring to Nubians in Egypt, who like other groups have been silenced in textbooks. Some rights organizations were also concerned with the

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impact of state's approach to education on the Nubian history and culture. For example, a report submitted by the Egyptian Center for Housing Rights to the Office of the High Commissioner for Human Rights on the occasion of the Universal Periodic Review of Egypt's fulfillment of its human rights obligations (2010), raised the concerns about the state's policies towards Nubians in Egypt. The report highlights that state policies are "pushing the Nubians into Arabicization through biased educational curricula at the expense of their own languages and culture" (p. 2). The report refers to the lack of governmental support of Nubians to preserve their indigenous languages, the lack of any educational programs to teach children the Nubian language, history or heritage, and the fact that existing educational programs do not mention Nubian culture or history at all in the educational curricula. The report adds that the educational curricula are biased toward the Arabic culture and language at the expense of the Nubian culture and languages. Today the state's approach to inclusion of Nubians has somewhat changed, Article 236 of the 2014 Egyptian constitution refers to the state's commitment to 'cultural and environmental patterns of the local community' (p.36), giving hope for a more inclusive approach for the previously underrepresented Nubians and other groups. Similarly, some curricula have been changed to include references to Nubians, Nubian history and culture. However the extent to which these references are representative of Nubians, what 'truths' are being promoted about Nubians through the discourses prevalent in national school textbooks is what this study aims to explore. Additionally, since Nubia has been historically and until this day divided across two African states, modern day's Egypt and Sudan, it is important to explore African-Egyptian relations reflected in the textbooks.

Power is defined by the Foucauldian School, as a force that creates subjects (people upon who power is practiced) and agents (people/entities with power). The concept is further developed by other critical discourse analysis theorists to include the ideology and how discursive practices can lead to "furthering the interest of one group over the other." (Jorgensen and Phillips, 2002, p.63). In the context of this study, power relations are the relations around knowledge construction, and how the state as an entity who has power (agent) through access to people's sources of knowledge (through formal education), constructs which comes to be perceived as the truth about Nubians.

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In light of poststructuralist analysis, the discourse whether written or spoken text, both creates power and is created by it. Those in power whether the state, media or other groups can control what is being said, and this control is in itself power and can shape what is perceived as reality or the objective truth (van Dijk, 1993). Additionally, power created by discourse opens spaces for resistance for those subjected to power (Foucault, 2000). This relationship between the discourse of the powerful and the resistance of those upon whom power is practiced is a relationship of power around meaning construction, and about construction of the 'truth'. Textual analysis helps in understanding those power dynamics, different subject positioning of powerful and less powerful, and helps in understanding how 'truth' is constructed.

### B. Aim of the Study

The study is essentially inspired by poststructuralist approaches to analysis of power including Foucault (2000), Fairclough (2003), and van Leeuwen (2008). It investigates the representation of Egyptian Nubians, or the 'narratives' about Nubians in formal educational settings and the power relations involved in the formulation of this narrative. Nubians are selected for the study as a group that has its own cultural, historical, and linguistic identity, yet that is essentially Egyptian despite its uniqueness and that is diverse within itself. The study should not be seen as an attempt to highlight 'difference' of Nubians only, or show how they are a separate group, but to see Nubians as an example of a distinct group of Egyptians, who, like other groups, have been included in the national' discourse in very particular ways. It is, however, to be seen as an attempt to explore an aspect of diversity that as far as the researcher knows has not been extensively tackled before in the educational field, that is, ethnic and racial diversity in Egypt. The complexity of the nature of Egyptian society is also considered, where thinking of Nubians as ethnically and racially different and completely separate from the rest of Egyptians is not accurate. Having clarified my point, I note that the representation of Nubians makes a very interesting case to include in this study. This is due to their racial, ethnic, and historical position in Egypt, the struggles they have been through in contemporary history, and that 'power' is very evident in relation to their discourses, as well as in discourses about them in both formal and non-formal forms of education.

The purpose of this study is to explore the Egyptian state's approach to citizenship and inclusion of Nubians through conducting a Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) of social studies,

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history and geography textbooks for Grades 4-10 for the academic year 2015/2016. Using the lens of power relations, this study explores how the Egyptian identity is constructed, and the extent to which it makes room for Nubians. It aims at analyzing the discourses about Nubians that are promoted by the state and whether such discourses enforce or challenge negative discourses about Nubians, and whether Nubians are included or excluded from the nationalistic discourse. This study serves as a step towards a more inclusive approach to education.

### C. Research Questions

1. What are the discourses around Egypt and Egyptians in the selected sample of textbooks?
2. What are the discourses around African-Egyptian relationship?
3. How are Nubians represented in the Egyptian National social studies and history textbooks?
  - a. What are the discourses that shape the representation of Nubians in Egyptian national textbooks?
  - b. How far is the discourse of power over Nubians manifested in the textbooks?
  - c. To what extent is Nubian heritage, culture, history, struggles, and views included in the textbooks?
  - d. To what extent are the differences among Nubians recognized in textbooks?

The following sections serve to contextualize the study. I will review literature on Nubians in ancient and in contemporary history (Ancient Nubia, Old Nubia and New Nubia), give an overview of New Nubia changing geography, and the challenges following the building of the High Dam. I will also give a brief overview of who Nubians are, their language, culture and heritage. Finally, I will review the state's discourse vs. Nubians discourse giving an overview of the images depicted in the Egyptian media. After setting the context of the study I will move to the conceptual framework upon which this study is based, review previous studies on diversity in education in national and international contexts, and then move to the methodology and analysis of textbooks.

## II. Chapter II: Literature Review

### A. The Case of Egyptian Nubia: Nubia Historically, Geographically, Culturally, and Politically

An integral aspect of a CDA is situating the analysis in socio-political and historical contexts (Fairclough, 2003). Thus, reviewing the literature to get a deeper understanding of the situation of Nubia historically, geographically, culturally and politically is an essential step for the analysis. The historical review, especially, the review about Ancient Nubia is important for the analysis since the textbooks in discussing Nubia, mostly focus on Ancient Nubia.

It is important to note that in the review, I was looking for significant events and documentations of interactions between Ancient Egypt and Ancient Nubia in order to compare it with what is present in the textbooks. Therefore, the historical review is not an actual historical analysis and does not cover all aspects of ancient Nubian civilizations or the Ancient Egyptian-Ancient Nubian relations, but a review of literature that I believe will help with the analysis.

#### 1. Old Nubia Historically and Geographically

Nubians like other African peoples, were seldom a homogenous group of individuals. In the early periods [...] there is evidence for the existence of several different groups of individuals, all of whom are for convenience termed Nubians, but who... may have possessed differing customs and who perhaps spoke different dialects of the same language or even different languages (Bianchi, 2004, p.31).

Geographically, Nubia in antiquity was the land between the first and the sixth cataract of the Nile between modern Aswan, South Egypt and Khartoum, North Sudan (Bianchi, 2004). Currently Nubia is divided into Upper Nubia and Lower Nubia. Lower Nubia is the Egyptian Nubia, and extends south of Aswan in the area between the first and second cataract. Upper Nubia on the other hand extends from the third to the sixth cataract from *Batn-El Hagar* (Belly of Rocks), southern frontier of lower Nubia further up the Nile (Bianchi, 2004; Kennedy 2005 p.6).

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Despite the archeological evidence pointing to different civilizations in the area currently known in Egypt as Nubia, Kennedy (2005) highlights that “there is ... uncertainty in the archaeological records regarding the antecedents of the modern Nubians” (p.6). Hamid (1973) discusses the contested origins of Nubians (residents of the area between the first and the sixth cataracts). He highlights that many of the 19<sup>th</sup> century anthropologists argue that Nubians are nations of African origin that originally migrated from the South settled in the area, and then mixed with Caucasian Africans from the Northeast and West Africa. On the other hand, others believe Nubians to be Caucasian Africans who mixed with other African nations migrating to Nubia from the South. The second scenario, Hamid (1973) highlights is supported by the Archeological Survey carried out by Reisner 1907-1908 where he compared ancient Egyptian monuments to Nubian monuments, and concluded that both Nubians and Ancient Egyptians were of the same ethnic descent, especially Egyptians and Nubians of the pre-dynastic era. Reisner adds that both Egyptians and Nubians of the time shared the same culture during the Old Kingdom known as A-Group, the New Kingdom known as the D-group (from the 17<sup>th</sup> to the 20<sup>th</sup> Dynasties) and the Roman, Christian, and Islamic eras. Whereas the B-Group (4<sup>th</sup>-6<sup>th</sup> Dynasties) and some parts of the D-Group, C-Group (Middle Kingdom covering the 7<sup>th</sup> to the 16<sup>th</sup> Dynasties), and X group (Byzantine era) both nations seemed to be different ethnically and culturally. Hamid (1973) highlights that the access of black Africans to Nubia, especially the area before the 2<sup>nd</sup> cataract, usually corresponded to the weakness of the Egyptian state. This was clear during the 4<sup>th</sup> and 6<sup>th</sup> Dynasties, the end of the Pharaonic state, and during the rule of the Ethiopian Empire. Conversely, Hamid explains, “Egyptianisation of Nubia” (p.27) and the restoration of Egyptian cultural and ethnic features in Nubia took place during times of strength of the Ancient Egyptian state, especially during the New Kingdom when ancient Egyptians fought African kings and pushed them further behind the 4<sup>th</sup> Cataract.

Apart from the contested shared origin of Egyptians and Nubians, archeological evidence points to the idea that different civilizations rose in Nubia (first-sixth cataract), including Ballana and Nobadia civilizations that lived during the fourth to the sixth centuries C.E in Lower Nubia (Bianchi, 2004, p.7). To the south of the fifth cataract the Abara and Nile rivers converge, and further on along the Nile lies Meroe, “capital city of one of the ancient Nubia’s most prosperous realms, which ruled the region until the fourth century C.E.” (Bianchi, 2004

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p.7). It may be seen that there has been different relations between the various ancient Nubian civilizations and ancient Egypt. They were at times friends and neighbors, and other times conquerors of one another's lands, and at different times Nubians served in the Egyptian Army, while during others Egyptians served Nubian rulers. Some of the interesting events during the Dynastic era include early "punitive expedition" sent by King Djer, the second king of the first Dynasty to Nubia that reached the second cataract (Keating, 1975, p.141). Egyptian forts built around the 12<sup>th</sup> Dynasty between the 1<sup>st</sup> and 2<sup>nd</sup> Cataracts to guard the Egyptian Southern Frontier (Bourriau, 1991, p.129) giving Egypt control over Nubia. During the 25<sup>th</sup> Dynasty, "King Pianky (of Nubia) conquered Egypt, crowned himself Pharaoh at Memphis, and started a 70-year rule of a Napatan Empire. The Napatan Empire "known for the ancients as: the kingdom of Kush and Misr (Egypt)" (Keating 1975, p. 168) extended from the Mediterranean to central Sudan, and Nubians of the 25<sup>th</sup> Dynasty continued to rule Egypt until the conquest of Assyrians (Keating 1975, p. 168).

By the 27<sup>th</sup> Dynasty the rule of the king of Egypt in Buhen gradually weakened until it became insignificant. By the 28<sup>th</sup> Dynasty the Kerma-Kush occupation of the first and second cataract (lower Nubia) took place (Bourriau, 1991, p. 135) and Nubians became the rulers of the area again. Towards the end of the 28<sup>th</sup> Dynasty, the earlier part of the second intermediate period, the remnants of Egyptian settlers of 28<sup>th</sup> Dynasty "were holding the fort for the Ruler of Kush, and conducting campaigns on his behalf" (p.132). The Nubian occupation of Buhen ended during the 3<sup>rd</sup> year of Kahmose, Tuthmosis I and Kerma was taken (by Egyptians), and as Bourriau (1991) highlights this re-conquest of Nubia for Egyptian kings was as important as conquering the Hyksos, one of Ancient Egypt's greatest enemies. Later on, there is evidence of the presence of Nubians in Upper and Lower Egypt, suggesting that Kerma Nubians moved northward after the reunification of Egypt by the Thebans (Bourriau, 1991, p.136). Thus, historical evidence shows that there were times of conquest among the ancient ancestors of Egyptians and Nubians, but there were also times of friendship and cooperation.

In contemporary history, Nubians were divided across the borders of current Sudan and Egypt during the Ottoman rule, separating Nubians of Lower Nubia, from those residing in



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Upper Nubia. Today Nubians of Lower Nubia are the Egyptian Nubians, with whom this research is concerned.

### 2. The High Dam and Resettlement of Nubians: New Nubia Changing Demographics

Egyptian Nubia that extends from Egypt's southern borders has gone through radical geographic changes during the early 1990s due to the different phases of building dams. The first Aswan Dam was built between 1898 and 1902, 30.5 meters high and 27 meters wide at its base, which endangered Nubian sites. In 1907, the Egyptian government decided to increase the height of the dam by five meters. Between 1929 and 1932, more work was done to make the dam reach 42 meters height and a length of 2441 meters. In 1959, the Egyptian government decided to build the present High Dam, which became operational on January 15, 1971, creating the Aswan reservoir<sup>1</sup>, 500 kilometers in length and 10 km in width (Bianchi, 2004; Hopkins & Mehanna, 2010).

The multiple attempts at building dams and saving Nile water, meant changes in the nature of the land and its production, as the agricultural land gradually became covered with water with each attempt to increase the height of any of the dams. According to Kennedy (2005), there were changes in life styles and work. In the 1960's, agricultural activities took place only 4 months a year and produced "marginal summer crops" (p.4), which depended on water levels, were highly uncertain, and only in North Nubia. The decrease of opportunities led many Nubians, especially males, to migrate to different parts of Egypt for work. Nubians began to migrate to Cairo and some other northern Egyptian towns beginning at least the 19<sup>th</sup> century. According to Hopkins and Mehanna (2010), Nubians moving to Egyptian cities were all known as "doormen, concierges, messengers, cooks and household help" (p.1) and were perceived as "honest and

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<sup>1</sup> The lake was created as a result of building the Aswan High Dam and submerged parts of lower Nubia in Egypt as well as parts of Upper Nubia in Sudan. It is usually referred to in Egypt as Lake Nasser, sometimes The High Dam Lake especially in textbooks, whereas in Sudan it is referred to as Lake Nubia, the name that is also preferred by some Nubians.

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reliable” (p.10), an image that continues to shape the ‘imagined identity’ of Nubians disseminated through media. on page 21

Building the High Dam, meant that more land would be submerged under the Nile water by Lake Nubia, and thus the state decided to relocate Nubians from their old lands to new lands-resettlement villages far from the Nile banks. Almost 50,000 Egyptian Nubians were relocated to Kom Ombo in Aswan, because of the High Dam, and around the same number of Nubians in Sudan were relocated in Khashemengerba, near the Ethiopian border” (Kennedy, 2005, xiv).

A sample survey in 1962 showed that “85% of adult male Nubians were out of the villages working in the city” (Kennedy, 2005, p.4). As Kennedy explains, before the building of the High Dam Nubians had 60 years of conditioning for accepting the resettlement, as they were suffering in their homeland, and the majority of Nubians welcomed the state’s promise for new housing services, education and healthcare was mostly. Despite their distrust of the state, they were hoping for a better life, and as Kennedy (2005) noted, “Only a few of the older generation viewed the resettlement as a disaster” (p.4).

The new resettlement led to huge difference in the lifestyle of Nubians whose life revolved around the Nile. “Millennia-old traditions were being lost, the ancestral language was being forgotten, and the quality of life was beginning to deteriorate” (Bianchi, 2004, p.11). There seems to be no reliable data on the number of Nubians currently, whether in New Nubia, or outside it in other parts of Egypt and the world. Records present today are either outdated or non-official. The 2005 parliamentary elections records showed that the number of Nubians living in Kom Ombo area is 52,155 persons. The Fadija constituted 57.8% (30, 115 persons), whereas the Kunuz group constituted 32.7% (17,050 persons), the Arabs only 9.5% (4950 persons) (cited in Abdel-Hafiz, nd). These numbers do not count the Nubians living outside Kom Ombo in other parts of Egypt or outside Egypt. A report submitted by Egyptian Center for Housing Rights (2010) to the Office of the High Commissioner for Human Rights, highlights that “the last official statistics on Nubians were in 1960, which estimated their numbers at 9860, adding that some non-official studies estimate the number of Nubians in Egypt to be about three million” (p. 2). The report highlights that even the national census does not consider Nubians a separate group; that is why there are no studies designated for them via Egypt’s Central Agency for

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Public Mobilization and Statistics (CAPMAS). This can be an indication to the state's approach to inclusion of Nubians and other minority groups within the Egyptian society, by ignoring their distinctiveness as a group. Additionally, Nubians before and after the building of the High Dam were migrating to other cities inside Egypt for work, and even to the Gulf, Europe and the United States, which makes it very difficult to know the number of Egyptian Nubians. Today and after the resettlement there is a fourth generation of Nubians, some of whom have never been to Old Nubia (submerged Nubia) or even New Nubia (Allen, 2015).

### 3. Nubian Distinctiveness and Intra-Nubian Diversity

Allen (2015) cautiously describes Nubians as a “linguistically and tribally diverse group of people who inhabit parts of Nubia [the land between the first cataract of the Nile and what is now known as Dongola in Sudan] (p.4). She relates them to the ancient nations, who occupied this land, the kingdom of Kush, that ruled intermittently from before the third millennium B.C. until 350 A.D. When discussing contemporary Nubians, there is often a link made between them as a group, and ancient Nubia, the same way discussions about contemporary Egyptians often begins with references to Egypt's Pharaonic history. However, Allen (2015) highlights that this link does not help in explaining the diversity among contemporary Nubians.

Egyptian Nubians are distinguished from the rest of Egyptians in different ways through ethnicity, language, location, and histories. However, this distinctness as a group does not mean they do not have their own intra-Nubian differences. In discussing the Nubian ethnic identity and Nubians as a group, Fernea and Rouchdy (2010) highlight that before the resettlement in 1964; Nubians did not identify themselves as a group, but by tribe, family origin, and district from which they came. Additionally, they did not refer to themselves as Nubians, and did not identify with all the other non-Arabic speakers who are “dark-skinned people living along the banks of the Nile between Aswan and the Sudan” (p.291). They argue that this group ethnic identity ‘Nubian’ was strengthened after the resettlement in 1964. Despite that, Fernea and Rouchdy (2010) clarify that Nubians still shared some views, attitudes and aspiration. First, they shared opinions about working-class Egyptians and *Saidis*. Second, they contrasted urban life in Lower Egypt with their “blessed land”, and third they shared “economic interest in the new settlements and residual claims of the lands of Old Nubia” (p. 297).

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Fernea and Rouchdy (2010) add that before the resettlement both Egyptians and Nubians felt superior to each other. “Nubians were perceived by most Egyptians as lacking the necessary qualities of ‘Egyptianness’...especially a sharp sense of wit and a gift for ironic repartee” (p. 293). Whereas Nubians identified with upper class Egyptians and felt superior to the masses that they perceived as “lacking in cleanliness and honesty”, as Fernea and Rouchdy (2010) phrase it (p.239). They explain that for Nubians, this feeling of superiority was derived from their good reputation among foreigners and high-status Egyptians for whom they worked, and from the sense of importance in their own lands.

In the articulation of their identity, how Nubians define themselves differs; some define themselves as Nubian, some as Egyptian, some as Egyptian-Nubian, and others define themselves ideologically as socialist, Islamist etc. (Allen, 2015). Additionally, Nubians, like any other group, have different socio-economic levels, and different levels of education. Today people of Nubian descent are found in every part of the Egyptian economy, they have occupational diversity unlike the past when their occupations were limited to agriculture and domestic services. Educated Nubians are taking administrative jobs in every branch of the local government, and they are the dominant political group in the Aswan region. Nubian urban clubs in Cairo and Alexandria are a great example of the socio-economic and occupational diversity among Nubians. Fernea and Rouchdy (2010) refer to this diversity through commenting on one of the Nubian clubs they visited and found, “men in western-style business suits drank coffee and mingled while young men played pool” (p.298). Adding that such clubs function as political, economic and social organizations working for the well-being of the Nubians in both their communities and in Upper Egypt. Migration of some Nubians to other parts of the world added to this intra-Nubian diversity, so today people from Egyptian-Nubian descent can be found holding prominent positions in different countries, for example, Nagwa Alba Goueli was recently elected the youngest MP in Spain (El-Gundy, 2016). Fernea and Rouchdy (2010) also refer to the fact that there are real disputes among the Nubian population based on old social and linguistic divisions combined with new interests (p. 297). It would thus be inaccurate, and rather superficial, to consider Nubians today as one homogenous group sharing a set of features and having the same demands.

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### 4. Nubian Tribes, Districts and Languages

Another aspect of diversity among Nubians is their tribal division with their different languages, culture and traditions. Nubians among themselves are divided into different groups and speak different languages. Kenuz; Aleqat; Fadija, Mahaz, and Dongolese are the different ethnic groups from north to south of Nubia. The Kenuz, who lived in the north spoke Kenzi. South of Kenuz from Wadi Sebu'a to Korosko lived the Arabic-speaking Nubians, who are known as Aleqat. South of Alaiqat lived the Mahas, they begin at Korosko and extend into Sudan and spoke Mahas (Fadija). The southernmost Egyptian Nubian area was Adendan and Mahas-speaking district. To their south in Sudan, the rest of Nile Nubians, speak Dongolese, which is similar to Kenzi. Thus, Egyptian Nubians originally spoke 3 languages according to their ethnic group, Kenzi, Mahas, and Arabic (Kennedy, 2005, xxviii). Allen (2015) highlights that those who spoke Kenzi did not understand Mahas/Fadija and vice versa.

Before the resettlement, most women from Kenzi and Mahas (Fadija) speaking groups spoke no Arabic, however, men who migrated to other Egyptian cities for work spoke Arabic. After the resettlement, there were major changes in the language and culture. The state started a process of assimilation through education, schools provided education in Arabic, planted nationalistic values, and urban nationalistic points of views. Additionally, mass media reached the new villages and it was in Arabic, soon enough, all Nubians started to speak Arabic. Today Nubian languages, "collectively known as *Rotan*", (Kennedy, 2005, p. xxix) are receding and Arabic is replacing them, despite Nubian attempts to revive the languages (Abdel-Hafiz, nd; Tomoum, 2013).

### 5. Post-resettlement cultural threats: Losing Cultural Heritage, and Language

Following the decision of the resettlement, the UNESCO mobilized for a huge campaign for saving the Egyptian Monuments, carrying out the famous relocation of the rock cut temples Abu Simbel (Bianchi 2004 p.11). The UNESCO campaign was criticized for caring more about the monuments and not the people of Nubia, whose homeland was being submerged forever under lake water, and whose culture was threatened forever. Especially that the relocation led to major changes in their lifestyles. Some Nubians even name the new villages "*Hell Valley*" or *Wadi Jahanam*, as many elderly people and newborns died on arrival due to the changes in the living

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conditions. Different studies were conducted after the resettlement to explore how the resettlement affected the use of Nubian languages, and whether there is a real threat of losing the different Nubian languages.

In trying to understand the attitudes of Nubians towards their languages versus their attitudes towards Arabic and the current use of Nubian languages, Abdel-Hafiz (nd) concluded that despite the positive attitudes Nubians have towards their language, Arabic is increasingly replacing Nubian among bilingual Nubians. He adds that this is especially true in discussing topics related to politics, religion, and sports, and that Nubian is usually limited to family domain, a conclusion that was further confirmed by Tomoum (2013). Both studies confirm that Arabic language is gaining precedence over Rotan (different Nubian languages) among Nubians despite the fact that Nubians are proud of their culture, heritage and language. What is interesting about Tomoum's findings is that the attitude of Nubians towards Nubian and Arabic languages is highly relevant to their age group and level of education. Older generations believe they do not need Arabic and rarely code-switched to Arabic in their conversations, whereas the younger generations, aged 20-45, code-switched to Arabic more often, and believed in the importance of Arabic for education and economic opportunities. The majority of this age group made a "conscious decision not to speak to their children in Nubian" (Tomoum, 2013, p.116), fearing that their children might find difficulty at school in which the language of instruction is Arabic. They also feared that Nubian would affect their Arabic accent. This led to a new generation of Nubians who understand Nubian but do not speak it. The difference between proficiency in Nubian language across different age groups shows that the language is under threat of loss, and that soon Arabic language would completely replace the Nubian languages. Both Abdel-Hafiz (nd) and Tomoum (2013) pinpoint that state's policies are among the main causes for this threat, and that there is a need for taking measures at the policy level to protect the Nubian languages and heritage, including teaching Nubian languages at schools, and raising awareness of its value among Nubians. On the other hand, a member of the consultative committee working with Nubian writer and activist Haggag Adoul on drafting the constitution 2014, Fatma Sakory, states that young Nubians who do not speak their mother tongue were keen to demand the teaching and preservation of Nubian language and history as part of Egyptian heritage (Sakory, 2013). Which shows that Nubians and especially younger generations are starting to realize the importance of

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language preservation. In fact, today, there are several groups and pages online that promote Nubian languages, and produce content in those languages including Nubia tube.

Nubian Egyptologist Mukhtar Kabbara wrote a book (1997) on how to write the Nubian language as a means for preserving the cultural heritage. He confirms that Nubian language was present in a written form twice, first, during the Dynastic era, in symbols that resemble the Egyptian Hieroglyphs, second, during the Coptic era starting the mid-sixth century and until the advent of Islam in Nubia in the 13<sup>th</sup> century that used a variation of the Coptic alphabet. He adds that the past seven centuries, Nubians have ceased to write their language, but continued to use it as their primary spoken language in all aspects of their lives until this day. In attempting to revive the language and preserve it from the threat of being lost, Kabbara set rules for the Nubian language using a Coptic alphabet. After the publication of Kabbara's book, many Nubian associations in Cairo started teaching the Nubian language, both spoken and written. Attendees are young and old members of the Nubian community in Cairo, and a few non-Nubians attended these courses (Tomoum, 2013).

### 6. Representation of Nubians in Egyptian Media

In her article, Powell (2013) discusses the initial representation of Sudanese and Nubian in the Egyptian art production especially in Sanu'a's works and how they are usually depicted as second class, mostly non-Egyptian, inferior, buffoons, sometimes because of being "black" other times because of their broken Arabic accent. The article also traces the shift in Sanu'a's treatment of the Sudanese after Al Mahdi's movement, and that then Sudanese were depicted as fellow supporters of Egyptians in the fight against colonialism. The article captures the different treatments of "black" in Egypt during the late 19<sup>th</sup> century and the early 20<sup>th</sup> century; it is helpful as it captures the traces of the current persisting depiction of Nubian in the media, as subservient and inferior to Egyptian "Cairean", and even to the different authentic *Saidis* and *Falahin*. Although Powell's analysis is for older media productions, stereotypes of Nubians in media persist the same way they did in the 19<sup>th</sup> century. An interesting blog capturing the racism and discrimination against Black people in Egypt and the Arab World *Black in Egypt* (2013), compiles snippets of Egyptian movies that depict black people whether Nubians or black Africans as servants, and as humorous material. One of the examples is, a song from a movie by

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Saad El Sughaiar, a pop singer, depicting different children dancing and playing, and slapping Saad El Sughaiar, except for one black boy, who appears to be the only servant among the children, and is in the end of the music video slapped by the singer himself. Another is a movie that was released in 1998, *Saidi Fi Al Jama'a Al Amrikeyya*, where the prostitute is black, which is not the problem as the writer of the blog explains, but the punchlines based on the girl- 'Samara' - are all about her skin color, and are, to this day, used to harass black girls in Egypt. These and other examples are evidence that the image of Nubians in media, and other black people residing in Egypt continues to be a negative one, where black is subservient to non-black Egyptian. Similarly, Lambert and Ramadan (2015) speak of racism or colorism in mainstream Egyptian media, whether newspapers or television shows, and relate it to what black Egyptians face in their daily lives from harassment. An example they gave was the comment made by the Chairperson of Zamelek soccer club, Murtada Mansour, about a black Egyptian football player Ahmed El Marghany, calling him a 'servant' and a 'doorman' on a live TV talk show. On the other hand, attempts to move away from such racism, and colorism also exist, for example, the popular animation series Bakkar features a Nubian boy who lives in Aswan and throughout the series, he embodies good values for children to follow. He is distinguished for his ethical behavior and patriotism. The series however need to be further analyzed to see whether it challenges homogenous views about Nubians, or maintains them. Recently, a short film Jareedy, was released totally in Nubian language, although the movie has not been released for the public, it is the first of its kind, and has won different international awards. Nubian online presence is also increasing and young Nubians are starting to produce videos and movies and interviews in Nubian language that are subtitled in Arabic, English, and French. A good example these efforts can be found on NubiaTube, a Facebook page and Youtube channel by Nubians in Nubian language.

### 7. State Discourse Vis-a-Vis Nubian Discourse

Looking into the different approaches Nubians handle discourse about their rights is very interesting, and reflects the complexity of the Nubian issue. After the resettlement, different Nubian groups were formed to demand rights for Nubians, whether development rights or rights of return to land, along the banks of the Lake submerging old Nubia or even rights of reclaiming



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their properties etc. Nubian groups varied from general Nubian clubs in Cairo and Alexandria, to professional organizations, to charitable societies, and approached the Nubian issues from different frameworks. Allen (2014) highlights different frameworks from which Nubians worked as follows: first, there is the development framework that she argues attempts to work within Nasser's discourse of justifying the displacement of Nubians. Nubians too used the same development discourse to return to the areas around the banks of the lake as Nasser used it to move them away from it.

Another framework Nubians employ is that of the 'right of return' that corresponds to the right of return of Palestinians to their homeland, given that the date of occupation of Palestinian land known as "Nakkba" was on the 15<sup>th</sup> of May, the same date of the beginning of the Nubian displacement "Tahgir". This comparison has led to a lot of criticism for Nubians promoting this discourse. A third framework Nubians employ is the minority framework, relying on international conventions to demand their rights. For example, the Nubian Knights group consistently cites the Universal Declaration on the Rights of Persons Belonging to National, Ethnic, Religious and Linguistic Minorities, adopted by UN General Assembly resolution 47/135 in December 1992, as a justification for Nubians' right to return' (Allen, 2014).

Finally, there is also the rights of indigenous people framework used by some organizations including the Egyptian Center for Housing Rights (ECHR) that was formerly headed by the Nubian activist Manal Al-Tibi. In their report to the Office of High Commission of Human Rights (HCHR), they relied in demanding their rights on the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights (ICCPR), and the International Covenant on Economic, Social, and Cultural Rights (ICESCR). For instance, they argued that the Egyptian government has violated a number of Nubian rights, including their right to self-determination, their right to their original land and natural resources, as well as, their collective and individual rights to adequate housing (Allen, 2014).

Although Nubians seem to be very active in demanding their rights, their attempts are often obstructed. Janmyr (2016) gives an interesting review of the hindrances Nubians' faced when attempting to mobilize for their rights, and for returning to their ancestral lands. She lists three major reasons for why mobilization among Nubians was difficult until the 2000s these are fragmentation of Nubians, Arab nationalism, and political marginalization of Nubians. Janmyr

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(2016) spoke of the idea of Nationalism and how Nasser promoted building the High Dam as ‘national development’ influencing Nubians who wanted the ‘best interest’ of their country, and discouraging other Nubians who would fear being called less ‘national’ for not supporting the project. The second reason why the mobilization was delayed is the fragmentation of the Nubians, as many since the displacement have moved to different cities, and even different countries for work. In addition to the division between the older and younger Nubian generations, with the younger blaming the older for framing the Nubian problems within the general narrative of Egyptians’ problems of unemployment, health etc. and not speaking about Nubian-specific issues leading it to become a taboo. Finally, Janmyr (2016) highlights that political marginalization of Nubians had roots in the Ottoman Empire, who looked down on the Nubians, followed by the Arab Nationalism, and assigning an Arab identity to Egyptians and considering Egyptians a homogenous group that is deeply rooted in the Arab culture and traditions, disregarding the African heritage. Janmyr (2016) also highlights how politically, the state discouraged organized group creation for supporting Nubians rights. For instance, during Mubarak’s era, attempts at the creation of organized groups to promote Nubian rights like the Egyptian-Nubian Association for Lawyers (ENAL) in 2007, were severely rejected by Egyptian authorities, and approved later on after framing the association’s activities more broadly. Similarly, during Morsy’s rule the Nubians were marginalized which was especially clear during writing the post 2011 revolution constitution. Manal Al-Tibi, the former chairperson of Egyptian Center for Housing Rights (ECHR), and Nubian activist, was a member of the committee writing the post-revolution constitution in 2012, but was among the first to resign due to her rejection of the constitution content, including ignoring Nubian rights (Allen, 2014; Janmyr, 2016). It is not until 2014 that Nubian rights to “comprehensive urban and economic development” as part of “underprivileged areas” areas along with Upper Egypt, Sinai, and Matrouh, becomes recognized and stated in the constitution Article 236. Article 236 also refers to the state commitment to ‘cultural and environmental patterns of the local community’. What is worth mentioning is that during the session designated for the discussion of Nubian rights in the constitution committee, “only six attendees from the 50 committee members attended the hearing of the Nubian case” (Janmyr, 2016, p. 139). This could reflect the lack of support for the Nubian cause from the committee that was selected to rewrite the country’s constitution, or a lack of understanding of

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the issue. Additionally, in more than one situation, state representatives would dismiss Nubians' demands to 'return' to the banks of the Lake, assuming they want to return to the land submerged under the Aswan reservoir or Lake Nubia, which reflects how uninformed state representatives are about the Nubian case.

Lately some decisions by President Abdel Fattah al-Sisi reignited the tensions between the state and Nubians. First, the Presidential Decree 444 in 2014 to remap the borders of governorates and to reclassify 110 square kilometers (42 square miles) of Nubian territories as a military zone. Second, the president's announcement August 2015 about the start of national development project of reclaiming 1.5 million feddans (2,432 square miles) and offering lands from Nubian Tushka and Forkund villages for investors ( Egypt's Nubians protest, 2016; Abdel-Baky, 2016 ). Both decisions as Aman, (2016) explains "brought back the controversy of the Nubians giving up their lands for the public interest, just like what happened when the Nubian villages were submerged to build the High Dam — to save Egypt from the risks of the Nile flooding and achieve development" (Parag. 11). Nubians considered including Nubian Tushka and Forkund village in the development plan a breach to their rights to return to these lands. Following the decision, around 150 Nubian activists headed by the Coordination Committee of the Nubian Return, organized a caravan that headed towards Nubian Tushka and Forkund villages to protest, but security forces stopped the group from reaching their destination. The protests continued and protesters started blocking the roads and Aswan railways in order to pressure the state into accepting their demands. According to (Aman, 2016) The Nubian return Caravan's demands included:

- Discarding the annexation of the Nubian Forkund villages to the 1.5 million feddans project.
- Excluding the region from the lands offered to investors.
- Amending the 2014 Presidential Decree 444 that considers the lands of 16 Nubian villages on the border to be military zones.
- Asking the parliament to accelerate the implementation of Article 236 of the constitution

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The state responded on several stages, first by sending representatives to discuss the issue with protestors; committees included MP member Ali Abdel Al, and field Marshall Hussein Tantawy former commander of the Egyptian Armed Forces and former chairperson of the Supreme Council of the Armed Forces (SCAF). The decision of sending Marshall Tantawy to Aswan stirred a controversy, and then it appeared that he has been assigned for the task due to his Nubian origins. The second response was by Prime Minister Sherif Ismail who announced that Nubians would have the priority for buying the lands, the thing that the protestors declined since they consider the offer an attempt to sell them their own lands (Nubians reportedly agree to disperse protests, 2016). Finally, a committee including MPs and other senior officials was sent to Aswan to initiate talks with the protesters in Nubia. The committee reached the agreement that the protests would be dispersed to give the state the time to fulfill its initial promises to Nubians. MP Abul Yazid reported to Al Ahram weekly that the Prime Minister had decided during a meeting with MPs not to include Toskha and Khorkund in the 1.5 Million Feddans Project and to allocate the land to Egyptian Nubians (Abdel Baky, 2016).

To conclude, the Egyptian state approach to Nubian demands had changed over time, and there is clear progress on the policy level in discussing Nubian issues, and responding to Nubian demands. Whether those policies will be effective, will remain unknown until the 10 years promised by the constitution have passed. However, despite the constitutional recognition, the long history of marginalization coupled by the negative image of Nubians depicted in the mainstream media had their impact on the social perception and daily lives of Egyptian Nubians. Besides the lack of understanding and lack of support from the majority of Egyptians including state representatives to the Nubian demands, struggles, histories, etc.

The previous section, through touching upon different aspects of Nubian culture, history, and language, as well as the post-High Dam building struggles and its repercussions on the social, cultural, geographical and demographic aspects of the Nubian life, serves as an explanation of why the issue of Nubians is a sensitive issue, and is considered a national security issue. It also establishes the historical, socio-cultural, and political background of the study that is an integral part of conducting CDA.

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### B. Conceptual and Theoretical Framework

Since the study looks into the issue of citizenship and inclusion of different groups in the construction of citizenship conceptions through formal education, it would be helpful to look into the idea of National identity and how it is created. It would also be helpful to look into the concepts of power and hegemony and its influence on these concepts, and then discuss the idea of hegemony and power from a poststructuralist discursive perspective.

#### 1. Discourse, Power and Ideology

Different theorists like Gramsci, Foucault, van Dijk, and Fairclough discussed the relationship between discourse and maintaining social power. Some critical discourse theorists deal with discourse as a form of action, some deal with it as a form of knowledge creation, and some see discourse as both action and knowledge creation. Two ways to define discourse; discourse as language (written and spoken forms) or semiosis, and discourse as “diverse representations of social actors which are inherently positioned” (Fairclough, 2003, p. 206); meaning different people or entities (actors) represent certain practices or other actors differently. For example the discourse about Nubians in mass media, could be different from that about them in school textbooks, and that could be different from the discourse or representation of Nubians on online portals as social media portals and blogs.

Foucault stresses that discourse is that which constrains or enables, speaking, writing and thinking. What he terms ‘discursive practices’ (spoken or written text) work both in inhibiting and productive ways (Hook, 2001); they can produce power or resist power. Foucault sees the power of discourse as tacit in its effect on knowledge creation. He was not concerned with physical power or power of state and government control over citizens, as much as he was concerned with the more subtle forms of power that create spaces for action upon “possible” actions of others (2000), one that is prevalent in and through discourse, which is the power of control through knowledge creation. Because of this concept, Foucault sometimes referred to power as power/knowledge, highlighting that discourse plays the role of both creating power and is in itself a result of power “instrument and effect of both power and resistance” (Powers, 2007, p.30). The job of Discourse analysis for Foucault was not to uncover the truth behind the text, but what constitutes the ‘truthfulness’ of a certain discourse/knowledge in a given context, what

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power underlies the promotion of a certain discourse as the truth. Thus, in analyzing discourse the key is to consider discourse as both a tool, and a product of power; it is used to create and maintain power, and is also an outcome of power structures (Hook, 2001). As Foucault (1980) highlights “We are subjected to the production of truth through power and we cannot exercise power except through the production of truth” (p. 94). Although Foucault accepts the idea that in modern societies the state controls power largely through managing different governing institution, he did not endorse the idea that power is entirely in the hand of a certain institution, or that power structures are intentional. To him, power has a certain direction; i.e. serves certain groups or entities and oppresses others, but it does not have a certain actor (Powers, 2007).

van Leeuwen also argues that discourse can be defined as a social practice in itself, or as a way of representing a social practice; “as a form of action; something people do to, or for or with each other [...] or discourse as a form of knowledge; things people say about social practice(s)” (Wodak, 2001, p.9). Unlike Foucault, both van Leeuwen and van Dijk gave weight to the role of ‘actors’ in maintaining power. van Dijk (1993) maintains that social power is based on privileged access to socially valued resources, “such as wealth, income, position, status, force, group membership, education or knowledge.” He thus introduced the concept of ‘access to discourse’ as one of the main tools of power. To him, power involves control by (members of) one group over (those of) other groups through controlling both their actions and their cognition. He argues like Foucault that modern form of power is influencing people’s cognition, but unlike Foucault, he believes that this is done intentionally through channels of power “enacted by persuasion, dissimulation or manipulation, among other strategic ways to change the mind of others in one’s own interests” (van Dijk, 1993, p.254). This control takes place for example through the use of mass media and mass education, that are usually in modern times controlled by the state, and thus disseminate the state’s discourse influencing the cognition of citizens.

van Dijk (1993) agrees with Foucault that power is not one-way, and that resistance has a role in the creation of power relations and can re-shift power. However he argues that ‘access to discourse’ has a great role in limiting the attempts of resistance by the less powerful or the oppressed to the extent that they might even not have access to listening to discourses about them. van Dijk (1993) differentiated between legitimate power, and illegitimate power through

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clarifying that ‘the abuse of power’ is the illegitimate power, and thus referred to illegitimate power as ‘dominance’. To him dominance is power that aims to breach “laws, rules and principles of democracy, equality and justice’ (p. 255). It is this illegitimate power that concerns critical discourse analysts, as their aim is to fight structures of power that seek to discriminate against certain groups for the benefits of other groups.

A closely related concept to power is the concept of ideology. van Dijk (1993) defines ideologies as ‘schematically organized complexes of representations and attitudes with regard to certain aspects of the social world, e.g. the schema [...] whites have about blacks, men over women’ (van Dijk, 1993, p. 258). Similarly, Fairclough (2003) defines ideologies as “representations of aspects of the world which contribute to establishing and maintaining relations of power, domination and exploitation (Fairclough, 2003, p.218). Wodak (2009) explains that dominant ideologies are the ones that succeed in appearing ‘neutral’, based on unchallenged assumptions. Using power, institutions that want to practice ‘dominance’ or abuse power would work on naturalizing their ideological preferences in the society. When such institution succeed in influencing society’s ideologies, and even influencing those upon whom power ‘dominance’ is practiced then they succeed in creating what Gramsci referred to as hegemony (Wodak, 2009, p.8). When most people in a society think alike about certain matters, or even forget that there are alternatives to the status-quo, we arrive at the Gramscian concept of hegemony.

According to Barrett “Hegemony is best understood as *the organisation of consent* – the processes through which subordinated forms of consciousness are constructed without recourse to violence or coercion (cited in Jorgensen and Phillips, 2002, p. 32). To Foucault (1980) this hegemony is created and maintained through the discourse of the ‘truth’

There are manifold relations of power which permeate, characterize and constitute the social body, and these relations of power cannot themselves be established, consolidated, not implemented without the production, accumulation, circulation and functioning of discourse [...] there can be no production of power without a certain economy of discourses of truth which operates through and on the basis of this association.

(p.92)

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Similarly, Fairclough (1995) explains, “Naturalized discourse conventions are a most effective mechanism for sustaining and reproducing cultural and ideological dimensions of hegemony. Correspondingly, a significant target of hegemonic struggle is the denaturalization of existing conventions and replacement of them with others.” (p. 95)

Thus analyzing discourse (text semiosis and talk) can help in identifying the underlying patterns of truth creation; the hegemonic thought that is naturalized whether intentionally or unintentionally, and legitimizes ‘power’ or actions of some groups over other groups through controlling ‘knowledge creation’. If in the past control was through religious entities, today this control over knowledge continues through other institutions like the school, and mass media.

### 2. Identity Formation and Subject Positioning

Another helpful concept driven from poststructuralists is the concept of subject positioning found in both Foucault, and Laclau and Mouffe. The idea of subject positioning entails that people are positioned as subjects through discourse, and are expected to act in certain ways. These positions become naturalized through discourse, and through this process of naturalization constitute the individual and the group’s identities (Jorgensen, and Phillips, 2002). Foucault (2000) explains that there are two types of subjects: “subject to someone else by control and dependence and tied to his own identity by conscience and self-knowledge... both meanings suggest a form of power that subjugates and makes subject to” (p. 331).

A related concept to identity is group identity or group formation, Laclau and Mouffe describe group formation as a political process, where ‘the other’ is excluded and the difference within the group is ignored (Jorgensen, and Phillips, 2002). van Leeuwen (2008) explains that a very clear sign of othering happens through omission from discourse; completely ignoring a certain group when in fact, it should have been included. For example, ignoring a certain ethnic, religious or racial member-group of a certain society from the nationalist discourse, the discourse of ‘us’ is considered an instance of othering. Another less severe type of othering appears when the speaker or the writer refers to a certain person or a group as others through lexical choices like ‘us, them, their’. van Leeuwen (2008), highlighted that othering can appear through other semiotic elements like visuals, where a certain person or a group can be depicted as distant from the viewer, higher or lower in status than the viewer through the choice of angles from which



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the photograph is taken. Finally, reducing a certain group to some aspects of their culture and traditions can make them seem less ‘civilized’ than the reader/listener /viewer, in other words ‘us’.

Thus, in conducting the CDA for the selected sample of textbooks, I employed tools from Fairclough (2003) as well as van Leeuwen (2008) to uncover instance of othering through omission, lexical choices, and images.

### 3. National Identity, Hegemony and Media

As Anderson (2006) highlights “nation, nationality, nationalism - all have proved notoriously difficult to define” (p. 3). There are different explanations for the concept of nationalism for different schools of thought, there are the primordialists who assume that nationalism is “natural and directly a continuation of a shared historical and cultural identity rooted in the past”. There are the perennialists, who believe that there is a shared history underlying the idea of nationalism, but argue that this is created by social organization, and not occurring naturally. Finally, there are the modernists who argue that nationalism is “imagined by product of modernism” (Fahmy, 2011, p. 11). That is the idea of having a homogenous nation is only an imagination created and maintained through modern institutions including transportation, postal offices, mass media and mass education. This is in line with Laclau’s argument that the society does not exist in itself, and that totality is a myth (cited in Jorgensen, and Phillips, 2002).

Fahmy (2011) convincingly considers the latter the most valid argument. He argues, however, that this imaginary is better interpreted within the culturalist approach as language has a huge impact on the creation of ‘nationalism’ or the imagined culture. When modern transportation and press were created in Egypt, they helped in the mobilization of residents of different citizens across the country, moving from Aswan, *Saiid* (Upper Egypt) to Cairo and Delta and vice versa. Additionally, press reached areas far from Cairo faster, highly influencing the nation’s common ‘imaginary’. Cultural production through different media channels, however, were mostly Cairene, in Cairene dialect, and influenced by the lives of the Cairene population, which according to Fahmy (2011) led to the creation of a homogenous culture, that Cairene became the normal, or at least the neutral as opposed to citizens of other territories in Egypt.

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Fahmy's argument is highly in line with van Dijk (1993) who argues that culture is created by those who have access to different channels of communication; including mass media and education. He described this access as "social power" (p.250) those who are in power are the ones creating different imaginaries. What van Dijk (1993) adds is that social power on the macro level influences the people in an institutionalized fashion; what is promoted by the powerful influences the public and influences what van Dijk calls "social cognition", so people act accordingly. The less powerful, less referred to, or negatively depicted in mass media and mass education sometimes internalize their inferior image, and others in power, consciously, or unconsciously recreate such inferior images through different channels. van Dijk (1993), however, highlights that there are counter-movements by the less powerful, to resist such structures that *oppress* them in Freirean terms, and that is why Fahmy (2011) is interested in the *ordinary Egyptians* cultural reproduction.

In discussing nationalism, national identity, and citizenship thus, it is important to look into power dynamics influencing the creation, and maintenance of a certain imaginary. It is helpful to look into such forces in textbooks to get insights into what influences the students' perceptions of the groups they belong to and other groups of fellow citizens. In Egypt, a study by Sobhy (2015) reveals that textbooks have been highly utilized in disseminating certain 'nationalist' ideals under different regimes. She noted that ideals of Arab nationalism and a socialist nation during were disseminated during Nasser's era, ideals of an open market capitalism during Sadat's era, ideals of national security, safety, a nation fighting terrorism during Mubarak's era, and ideals of Neo-liberal Islam during Mursi's era (Sobhy, 2015). This can be an example of how power is practiced to promote certain ideals through textbooks.

As Fahmy (2011) explained the homogenous image of the Egyptian nation, was highly Cairene, leaving no space for other territorial identities in Egypt. Even representations of other groups like *Saidi* and Nubian was from the eyes of Cairenes who had access to cultural creation through different mass media channels. Romanticizing some, demonizing others, and over the time those images created since the late 19<sup>th</sup> and early 20<sup>th</sup> centuries, have rarely been challenged and thus remained internalized in the social cognition of Egyptians. According to Fahmy (2011) Such images of rural as less civilized, less intelligent than urban, has been promoted for ages,

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and there was very little room for counter movements. Even when the non-Cairenes are referred to in media and textbooks in a positive way, they are simplified to some cultural traditions, and some physical features that do not capture the complexity behind their different identities.

Thus, understanding the impact of power on creation of an ‘imagined identity’ through discourse, and imposing certain ideas about certain groups through the said, and the unsaid, is crucial if we want to reach a more inclusive approach to citizenship; one that does not exclude based on power.

### C. Studies on Inclusion and Diversity in Education

#### 1. Importance of Textbook Analysis

Wallace and Allen point out that “textbooks are political statements or messages to and about the future of a society” (cited in Takeda, 2015 p. 450). Monforti and McGlynn highlight two reasons that make textbook analysis important; first they “determine and legitimize what the discipline deems as “mainstream” or “legitimate” knowledge..[and] function as the cultural vehicle and means of social control” they also confirm that “[t]extbooks thus become agents of socialization as limited classroom time leads to students taking the majority of what they read in textbooks at face value” (cited in Takeda, 2014, p. 450). Similarly, Yuting Chu (2015) provides an explanation of why curricular analysis is important in understanding how hegemonic cultures are created, as curricula are usually structured to reflect the hegemonic culture, highlighting that critical discourse analysis is good as a tool for analysis, and is useful in showing the relationship between power-relations and knowledge construction. The ideas presented in textbooks strongly affect what student perceive as ‘truthful’, and ideas missing from them might be perceived as untruthful, or at least insignificant. Thus, analyzing textbooks would help in identifying what kind of ideas are being put in the student’s minds, and whether those ideas are helping in the creation of a united society or a rather fragmented one, that does not embrace or even recognize diversity.

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### 2. Some Studies on Inclusion and Diversity on the global level: Cases from China, Turkey, and USA

Different empirical studies attempted to trace and analyze the representation of minorities in textbooks in different countries. Some of the interesting cases are from three culturally diverse countries, namely China, Turkey, and the USA. In her study Chu (2015) tries to examine the representation of the Chinese minority in the Chinese primary textbooks, analyzing the power relations involved and how the textbook is based on Han's (majority population) perspective. She carried out content analysis of all texts and visuals referring to any ethnic groups and concluded that the representation of minority ethnic groups is around 1% of the representations of any ethnicity, and that is a lot less than represented foreigners who constitute 11% of textbooks content. She adds that the quality of stories and images used to represent minorities are simplistic, depicting ethnic minorities as distant, primitive groups, focusing on their cultural traditions, dances, songs and outfits. Adding that the stories usually carry a paternal air where Hans are depicted as superior helpers, supporters of the poor helpless ethnic minorities. The voice of ethnic minorities is rarely there and there is usually a division of 'us and them'.

Another interesting case is the Turkish case, Çayır (2015) uses data collected from 245 textbooks, students' workbooks and teachers' manuals taught in every subject in the academic year 2012–2013 in addition to books by private publishers in social sciences subjects. One of the interesting findings Çayır presents in this research is that ethnic and religious minorities are excluded from the nationalist narrative in books. Turks are defined as the people from central Asia who moved towards Anatolia and adopted Islam, and anyone else is excluded. It is striking to see the details of how the politics are so powerful in textbooks, like the example the author gave about the reference to Armenians and Kurds is almost non-existing. Highlighting that, when the word 'Armenian' appears, it is to deny the idea of an Armenian genocide in Turkey, whereas when Kurd is mentioned, it is within context of "harmful societies" (p.529). What is even more striking is that in the elective Kurdish language book that the Turkish state introduced, as an attempt to embrace diversity, the word 'Kurd' is not mentioned at all. Çayır's (2015) conclusion is very interesting as it refers to the reform that has taken place, like including the Alevis in cultures and religions course, as a superficial advancement that represents Alevis

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from the perspective of the Sunni-Turkish eye, and in terms of Sunni interpretation of Islam. Çayır (2015) adds that this approach to multi-culturalism in curricula is superficial, and does not deal with the structural violence involved and inequities that aroused from ages of ignoring those minorities. Most importantly, Çayır's (2015) stresses that a critical multicultural approach to curriculum development is needed to make an effective change in curricula, and make students critically think of why there was prejudice and ways to end it. Both Chu (2015) and Çayır (2015) employ CDA to show the structural violence implicit in curricula in China, and Turkey respectively, and provide insights on how narratives can create a homogenous culture that in turn becomes internalized in the students' minds, and is reflected on their day to day activities.

Another study by Takeda (2015) looked into the representation of Asian-pacific as a minority group in twenty-eight introductory textbooks on America's government and politics. The study was a quantitative content analysis trying to answer three questions

- (a) To what extent (how many actual pages overall) are Asian Pacific Americans mentioned in textbooks?
- (b) When Asian Pacific Americans are mentioned, in which chapter(s) do they appear?
- (c) Which political figures and what historical events important to Asian Pacific American politics are mentioned, and if they are, in how many textbooks? (p. 431).

The findings showed that Asian Pacific Americans are marginalized in their depictions and that the "percent mean coverage of Asian Pacific Americans is 0.19%" (p. 435). This study is different from that of Çayır (2015) and Chu (2015) in that it is mainly quantitative, and only focuses on the number and places of appearance of the Asian Pacific Americans in textbooks. It only serves to show that Asian Pacific Americans are indeed ignored in textbooks, or are grouped as part of minority groups despite being part of an active growing American population. All those studies serve to highlight that exclusion is evident in different parts of the world, and that it has been given attention recently.

### 3. Studies on Inclusion and Diversity on the National level: Egyptian Textbooks

After the 2011 revolution different researchers have been trying to study why different groups in the Egyptian society have felt excluded, and find sources of tension in the Egyptian

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society. Many of whom have looked into educational policies, curriculum and educational practice explore whether the Egyptian education system helps in uniting or disintegrating the Egyptian society. They look into how the state defines concepts like citizenship, nationalism, and how it looks at the issue of social unity and cohesion. For example (Abdou, 2015; Attalah & Makar 2014; Sobhy, 2015).

In their study, Attalah and Makar (2014) analyzed the history and national instruction curricula for 3<sup>rd</sup> preparatory and 3<sup>rd</sup> secondary for the academic years 2012/2013 and 2013/2014 to uncover the “nationalist discourse” in the content. They conclude that, the exclusive narrative has continued from Nasser to Sisi, highlighting that the elements of exclusion include a “notion of historical determinism (inevitability), a simplistic approach to the development of time, a binary approach, the existence of an unchanging “Egyptian” identity that transcends time and space, the employment of modern language, and the silencing/exclusion of diversity” (p.16). The nationalist discourse as presented in Egyptian schoolbooks, they conclude, embraces a national character that does not reflect the historical sophistication of Egypt brought about by the different political systems governing the country across time. As Anderson argues, national character stems from a belief “that a primordial nation existed on that land, regardless of who ruled, or who colonized the area, something intrinsically unique about these people and this land could be identified” (cited in Attalah & Makar, 2014, p.21). Attalah and Makar (2014) warn from the threat of the predominant nationalist discourse on diversity; highlighting that the reference to histories of the “ethnic, religious or national” minorities in history textbooks is almost “non-existent”, and that “the participation of groups including women, workers and others is silenced except when their actions appear within the framework of the ‘collective’” (p. 22).

Abdou (2015) presents a very interesting study conducting CDA for history textbooks Grades 4 through 10 for the academic year 2013/2014. He traces and analyzes Egypt’s national history books focusing on two events: advent of Christianity, and advents of Islam. Abdou (2015) starts by a quantitative special approach; reflecting the space allocated in textbooks for Christian, Islamic, and modern eras, followed by a CDA influenced by Fairclough’s critical method of analysis. His approach to discourse analysis is further coupled with Seiax’s framework for

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enhancing historical thinking upon which he analyzed the text's effectiveness in promoting historical thinking skills. His paper looks into the different narratives allocated for different historical eras in Egypt: Christian, Islamic and Modern eras and reveals that the historical narrative presented in the textbooks does two things. First, it produces an Arab Muslim identity concealing the multilayered Egyptian identity that the country's long history contributed to; Second, the textbooks do not endorse historical thinking skills, but just report historical narratives as the one truth. By his conclusions, Abdou (2015) affirms the conclusions of Attalah and Makar (2014) of the simplicity, binary, and silencing nature of history curricula, and its exclusion of voices of minorities. His strong analytical framework provides deeper insights on how this exclusion happens.

In her study, Sobhy (2015) investigates how regimes from Mubarak to Sisi, have used nationalistic narratives to legitimize their rule. Sobhy (2015) analyzed secondary education national textbooks, focusing on Arabic language and Civics education *Tarbiawatania* books from 2009- 2014, to trace the nationalistic narrative and changes in textbooks during Mubarak, Supreme Council of Armed Forces (SCAF), and Sisi rule. She concludes that despite the changes, omissions and insertions in curricula from one regime to the other based on their respective political agendas; the recurrent nationalistic narrative highlights the central role of Islam as basis of good citizenship and morals in textbooks. She criticizes not only the exclusion of non-Muslims from such narrative, but also the simplicity of the representation of the Islamic history by voiding it from its complexity and showing only the positive examples. She also highlights the neoliberal narrative of a good citizen as being reduced to working, volunteering, and doing charitable acts with no mention to the role of active citizenship, opposition etc. Sobhy's findings seem to be consistent with the findings of Attalah and Makar (2014) and Abdou (2015) in their reference to the simplicity of the historical narrative, exclusion of minority groups, and the attempt to create a homogenous Egyptian identity. Adding to that the hegemonic narratives have been used in legitimizing the regime's actions.

### D. Research Gap

Some of the current research done on diversity in education in Egypt focuses on religious groups, like (Abdou, 2015) and to ideological and political narratives (Sobhy, 2015), or women

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representation among others. The research results as previously presented in the literature reflect that the exclusion of voices and views, and focusing on a national character has been the state's approach lately. Representation of Nubians and their inclusion in national textbooks is yet to be extensively explored, as according to the researcher's knowledge it has not been explored so far in a separate study. This does not mean that the Nubian issues have not been of interest to researchers in other fields. Several studies have looked into the effect of Nubian resettlement 1964 on their culture, and language (Abdel-Hafiz, nd; Tomoum, 2010) and on health, and economic situation; a compilation of some of those studies can be found in (Hopkins & Mehanna, 2010). Additionally, many called for a more inclusive education in which the culture, languages, and histories of Nubians and their voices are included as the report by Egyptian Center for Housing Rights (2010). However, according to the researcher's knowledge, no study so far has looked extensively at the issue in the educational context, or conducted textual analysis on inclusion of Nubians in educational textbooks despite the sensitivity of their issues.

Nubians, as the literature reviewed above shows, have gone through drastic changes on the social, cultural, and economic levels since their resettlement in Kom Ombo 1964. They are currently facing threats of losing their languages, which in turn threatens the loss of their cultural heritage, and identity (Abdel-Hafiz, nd; Tomoum, 2010). Until this day, many Nubians have not yet received residual claims of the lands of Old Nubia (Frenea & Rouchdy, 2010; Egyptian Center for Housing Rights, 2010), and many do not own their homes in New Nubia. They also have gone through ages of political marginalization (Jynmar, 2016); their demands internally (on the national level) are usually met with indifference or disapproval from the state. Whereas when they raise these demands externally or on the international level, they are sometimes considered treacherous separatists; who are attempting to divide the nation (Allen, 2015). These issues, besides being a distinct ethnic group makes Nubians relationship with the state very sensitive. Ignoring voices of one of the groups constituting the nation, their demands, histories, culture and traditions with the hope of creating a coherent society has proved to fail throughout the history, dividing more than uniting. An evidence is the revitalization movements in the 60s and 70s by African Americans, and women's rights movements that started for fighting exclusion and marginalization (Banks, 2008). Giving equal rights for all, including civic, political, social and cultural rights is a more equitable approach to national cohesion than attempting to eliminate



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differences and diversity through assimilation. One aspect of acknowledging those cultural rights can be achieved in and through education. Diversity and fair inclusion of different groups in curricula serves to protect some of their cultural rights, which in turn reflects on citizen's perception of the different groups (Social cognition in van Dijk's terms) . Studies mentioned above concluded that Egyptian textbooks do not fairly reflect the diversity of the nation, and that some histories are silenced or misrepresented whereas others are emphasized and rather glorified (Attalah and Makar, 2014; Abdou, 2015; and Sobhy, 2015). I attempt to look into the Nubian case as one group constituting this nation, and as one group that has been underrepresented on the policy level for years. In this study, I attempt to explore the discourses promoted through textbooks about Nubians that shape their social identity, and relate the textbook content to their social, political and historical struggles.

### III. Chapter III: Research Methodology

From a social constructivist perspective, the world can be seen as socially constructed; and reality is given meaning by people. The idea of meaning-making is influenced by different things, including but not confined to discourse, be it in its written or spoken forms (Fairclough, 2003). State textbooks as previously discussed are tools that are usually used by states to promote certain ideologies and as a vehicle of social control (Takeda, 2014; Chu, 2015). Thus, in trying to understand what ideas are being promoted by the state, and the state's approach to inclusion of different groups of the society, textbook analysis can be a helpful tool.

Within the general framework of Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA), I attempt to explore the discourse of power that creates the 'imagined' homogenous identity of Egyptians, and the extent to which it leaves out the multiple identities, and diversities that construct this nation. Inspired by Foucauldian discourse analysis, and employing tools introduced by Fairclough (2001) and (2003), I analyze the discourses around Nubians in social studies, history and geography textbooks. Adding van Leeuwen's (2008) tools for analyzing legitimation and the discourses reflected through visual images.

#### A. Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA): Definitions and Goals

van Dijk (2001) defines CDA as "a critical perspective on doing scholarship... discourse analysis with an attitude" (p.96). He argues that CDA should focus on social problems and the role of discourse in the production and maintenance of illegitimate power; what he termed 'domination' of some groups over others. CDA in doing so is biased, and does not deny its bias towards the oppressed against their oppressors; "those who abuse text and talk in order to establish, confirm, and legitimate their abuse of power" (p. 96). Fairclough (2001) considers Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) as both a theory and a method "A theoretical perspective on language and more generally semiosis (including 'visual language', 'body language', and so on) as one element...of material process which gives rise to ways of analyzing language or semiosis within broader analysis of the social process" (p.121).

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In analyzing discourse, discourse analysts and critical discourse analysts rely on the analysis of texts, but do not stop at the level of textual analysis. Fairclough (2003) and other CDA theorists, argue that analyzing discourse should not stop at the text level be it written or spoken; but analyzing the textual within different epistemological frameworks; historical, geo-political, or other, to look for power-relations and their impact on the situation on the ground. Both Fairclough (2003) and van Dijk (1993) argue that it is too simplistic to assume a direct effect of language on society, and that despite the relationship between some linguistic structures and the discourse of power, uncovering such structures would not be enough to measure the impact of discourse on people's minds and what they perceive as legitimate truth. Fairclough (2003) argues that although text has a causal effect on social power, this causality is neither direct nor regular, and is context-dependent. It is thus not possible to assume that a certain language feature is always associated with a certain social outcome. "we may textually construe (represent, imagine, etc.) the social world in particular ways, but whether our representations or construals have the effect of changing its construction depends upon various contextual factors – including the way social reality already is, who is construing it, and so forth" (Fairclough, 2003, p. 8). What is rather possible for discourse analysts is to try to explore patterns in and across statements, and identify possible social consequences of different discursive representations of reality as Jorgensen and Phillips (2002) clarify. For example, the use of linguistic structures like directive speech acts can be associated with exercising power and reproduction of dominance. While understating agency of social actors in certain events, can be a strategy for concealing social power (van Dijk, 1993; Fairclough, 2003). Through looking into such textual patterns, one can get insights about how the state, through textbooks, is trying to represent Egyptians, Nubians (both Egyptian and non-Egyptian), and Africans in general<sup>2</sup>. Additionally, through situating the analysis in socio-political and historical contexts, one can get deeper insights into hegemonic discourses prevalent in the textbooks, and how they serve to maintain or change discourses

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<sup>2</sup> Since Nubia is divided between two African countries Egypt and Sudan, it is essential that the discourses around Egyptians in general, and Nubians (Egyptian and Non-Egyptian) needs to be analyzed in relation to the discourse around other African nations; especially that in the textbooks, the discourse around Nubians is mostly situated in discussing the African-Egyptian relationship.

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around Egyptians, Nubians, and Africans. For example, examining discourses of separation, discourse of othering, discourse of superiority etc., or simplistic discourses that reduce Nubians to cultural events and traditions.

Thus, CDA is both a theory and a method of analysis that deals with a social problem, problem-based, it is biased in that the critical theorist and analyst takes the side of the less powerful in the power-struggle. Its goal is to uncover the tools of power and the effects of power of discourse on certain social groups 'the oppressed', with the aim of reaching a solution, this means that CDA is normative and has a moral goal of achieving equity. In my analysis thus, I started from the problems of Nubians the educational, social, cultural, and political levels that have been reviewed in Chapter II that served as a background for the textual analysis. I then situated my analysis within this background with the aim of uncovering the Nubian-related discourse of power that legitimizes actions, as well as struggle over meaning in textbooks, and coming up with recommendations for improving the current situation on policy and practice levels.

### B. Sample

Guided by Fairclough's frame work (2001, 2003), I carefully scanned 13 contemporary Egyptian history, geography, and social studies textbooks for the academic year 2015/2016 for Grades 4 through 10 as these are the textbooks covering historical and geographical topics, and are obligatory for all Egyptian students. The study is concerned with mainly two historical periods: the Dynastic era (3400 to 525 BC) , and the contemporary era starting the 1960s and the building of the High Dam. Thus, after scanning the books, I selected the textbooks that included themes that are relevant to the analysis, including themes around Egypt and Egyptianness, the African-Egyptian relationship, Ancient Nubia and contemporary Nubia. The final sample from which I collected excerpts for the qualitative analysis are the social studies books for Grade 4 (terms 1 and 2), Grade 5 (terms 1 and 2), Grade 6 (term 1), Grade 7 (term 1) and most importantly Grade 10 history book, that was the only book discussing Ancient Nubia and New Nubia in some detail, unlike other books that only offered very brief references to Nubia. It is important to note due to the scarcity of lessons discussing Nubia in the textbooks, many of the excerpts are bullet points and textboxes and not full paragraphs.

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### C. Textbook Analysis

Fairclough (2001) offers a framework to guide in conducting rigorous CDA suggesting the analysis goes through five stages as follows:

First, the analyst identifies the problem, and then in stage two the analyst looks into the social structures that indirectly add to the persistence of this problem. Stage three, the analyst analyzes the reasons why this problem persists and how it serves the 'social order', in stage four the analyst moves from negative to positive critique by looking into the possibilities for change within the current situation "the way things are"; failures within the domination in the social order, or matters of showing difference and resistance" (p.127). Finally, in stage five, the analyst reflects back on the analysis and sees how effective is its critique, and whether it "contributes to social emancipation" (p. 127).

Following this analytical approach, I started by looking into the problem of Nubians, the problem with the recognition of their distinctive culture, language, history, and socio-political problems. Then, I looked into the different representation of Nubians in different discourses (political, and media discourses), through the review of literature. In stages three and four, I focused on the analysis of textbooks as a state tool for maintaining social order and tried to uncover the discourse of power and of resistance (or more accurately the opportunities for positive representation of Nubians and Africans) within the selected sample of social studies and history national Egyptian textbooks. Stage three, covers both quantitative and qualitative analysis of the selected sample. Finally, in the conclusion section, I offer a reflective account on how the analysis can help in reaching a more inclusive discourse around minorities in Egypt through formal education and other platforms. The following are the tools used to employ the analysis described in stages three and four (textbook analysis).

#### 1. Quantitative Analysis

I started by a quantitative analysis to contextualize the representation of Nubians in the selected sample of textbooks in two different ways. First I looked into the number of occurrences

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of Nubian ancient civilization during dynastic era in comparison to other ancient civilizations (Pharaonic, Roman, Greek, Assyrian, and Phoenician) in Grade 10 history textbook, as it is the only book discussing Ancient Nubia. Second, I looked into the different ways the words Nubia and Nubian(s) have been used in the same textbooks (to refer to Egyptian Nubia/Nubians, Sudanese Nubia/Nubians, both, or unclear).

### 2. Qualitative Analysis

General framework: Guaranteeing the quality of the analysis

According to Fairclough (2003, p. 28) when we are analyzing texts, we are doing two things:

1. looking at them in terms of the three aspects of meaning, Action, Representation and Identification, and how these are realized in the various features of texts (their vocabulary, their grammar, and so forth); what Foucault refers to as power, knowledge, and morals respectively.
2. Making a connection between the concrete social event (textbooks) and more abstract social practices by asking, which genres, discourses, and styles are drawn upon here (interdiscursivity of the text), and how are the different genres, discourses and styles articulated together in the text?

As Fairclough (2003) explains representation is related to knowledge but also with ‘control over things’; Action is related to relations with others, ‘action on others’, and power. While identification is related to relations with oneself, ethics, and the ‘moral subject’. He highlights that these axes are a good opportunity for “enriching our understanding of texts by connecting each of the three aspects of meaning with a variety of categories from different social theories” (p. 28). His three dimensional model of CDA is very helpful in carrying out the analysis. Fairclough moves between the level of text analysis, to discourse analysis (different discourses that the text draws upon) and how meaning is negotiated between sender and receiver, and finally the level of social analysis and relating the text, representation, and social realities together. The analysis is rather a dialectic one, as the model allows the analyst to start the

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analysis at any of the tree levels. For purposes of this study, I relied on two of the three levels of Fairclough's model, textual analysis, and socio-political analysis, both together helped me identify discourses of power depicted in the text (interdiscursivity) while relating what is in textbooks to the socio-political situation of Nubians. I did not however get to the level of how meaning is negotiated between sender and receiver as this could need another strategy of analysis and would involve interviewing stakeholders (for example students and teachers). Such level of analysis would be very helpful as another separate study focused on how students understand the text, and how such understanding influences their ideologies, attitudes and so forth.

Identification of dominant discourses: Levels of analysis

According to Fairclough (2003), discourse does two things

- (a) Represents some particular part of the world, and
- (b) Represents it from a particular perspective or angle.

Accordingly, in textual analysis one can

- (1) Identify the main parts of the world (including areas of social life) which are represented – the main 'themes'.
- (2) identify the particular perspective, angle, or point of view from which they are represented. (Fairclough, 2003, p. 129)

As Fairclough (2003) points both "syntagmatic relations...that (are) relations between elements which are actually present in a text." (p.37), and paradigmatic relations which are "relations of choice, [that] draw attention to relations between what is actually present and what might have been present but is not – 'significant absences'" are integral parts of analyzing discourses (p.37). This applies on different levels – the text includes certain grammatical structures and a certain vocabulary and certain semantic relations and certain discourses or genres; it might have included others, which were available and possible, but not selected' (p. 39). Thus, my analysis looks into both what is present in the text and what is absent or omitted from the text, both on the level of lexical choices, and choices of which information to include, and which to exclude, based on the accounts covered in the review of literature.

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Fairclough (2003) explains that “Texts differ in the discourses they draw upon to represent particular aspects of the world, and they articulate different discourses together (hybridize or mix discourses) in various ways” (p.133). In answering my research questions the particular aspects of the world of interest are the representation of the African-Egyptian relationship in general and the representation of Nubians in specific. Looking into the various ways the authors chose to discuss the main themes around the representation of African-Egyptian relationship, and Nubia and Nubians in the selected sample of Egyptian national social studies and history textbooks, some major themes were identified. Some of these themes are the Egyptian identity, sacredness of Egypt, and Egyptian superiority, the Nile as a source of life for Egypt, and finally the security of Egyptian land. All these themes or discourses were employed together to build the discourse around Nubians, as well as discourses around African-Egyptian relationship in general. The angles or the point of view from which this relationship is represented throughout the selected sample include framing this African-Egyptian relationship within a discourse of security, power, and of trade and cultural cooperation respectively.

### Tools for Critically Analyzing Discourses

In my analysis I have relied on introducing four main tools that Fairclough (2003) identified for “distinguishing features of a discourse” (p.129) which are (i) vocabulary and Lexicalization, (ii) Lexical metaphors, and (iii) assumptions (iv) degree of dialogicality and then added van Leeuwen’s (2008) tools for identifying legitimation, and visual images analysis.

#### i. Lexical choices

First, Fairclough (2003) argues that “discourses ‘word’ or ‘lexicalize’ the world in particular ways” (p.129), thus, vocabulary and lexicalization and the semantic relationship (synonymy, hyponymy, antonym) between words – how they classify parts of the world – as well collocations all help in identifying discourses. Additionally the choices of a certain lexical item and not the other also usually reflect a certain ideological meaning; the significant absences that Fairclough (2003) referred to are thus included in the analysis of lexical choices.



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### ii. Metaphors

Second, is metaphor, Fairclough (2003) argues that metaphors usually reflect a specific discourse, and it is helpful to analyze them. van Dijk (nd) argues that rhetorical tools such as hyperboles and metaphors can be used to emphasize the superiority of one group over the other, typically by focusing on “our good things and their bad ones” (p. 59).

Relying on Lakoff and Johnson (1980) work, Fairclough (2003) argues that metaphors are deeply embedded within cultures, and thus are reflective of certain discourses. Although he identified two types of metaphors: the lexical metaphors and grammatical metaphors, I only focused on lexical metaphors “in which words generally represent one part of the world being extended to another” (Fairclough, 2003, p.131)

### iii. Assumptions

Third, considering Fairclough’s argument that “What is ‘said’ in a text always rests upon ‘unsaid’ assumptions”, part of the analysis of texts is trying to identify what is assumed (2003, p.11). Fairclough (2003) argues that “presuppositions and assumptions can more generally be seen as discourse-relative (existential assumptions, propositional assumptions, value assumptions), can all be seen as potentially tied to particular discourses, and as variable between discourses... [because assumptions] are more or less pervasively held throughout societies or social domains or organizations” (p. 132). Fairclough (2003) argues that having a shared ground is indispensable for human communication, but power and ideology are involved in this process of common-ground creation. That is the powerful discourse creates what is seen and accepted as the natural course of events, which is an aspect of creating hegemony. Looking for assumptions and presumptions thus helps in understanding what ideologies are dominating and creating this common ground.

Fairclough (2003, p.55) distinguishes three main types of assumptions

- a. Existential assumptions: assumptions about what exists
- b. Propositional assumptions: assumptions about what is or can be or will be the case

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### c. Value assumptions: assumptions about what is good or desirable

Each of these may be marked or ‘triggered’ (Levinson 1983) by linguistic features of a text, though not all assumptions are ‘triggered’. Borrowing Levinson’s tools (1983), Fairclough (2003) offers guidance for analyzing assumptions, what he termed “triggers”.

For example, existential assumptions are triggered by markers of definite reference such as definite articles and demonstratives (the, this, that, these, those). Factual assumptions are triggered by certain verbs (‘factive verbs’) – for instance ‘I realized (forgot, remembered) that managers have to be flexible’ assumes that managers have to be flexible. Value assumptions can also be triggered by certain verbs – for instance, ‘help’ (e.g. ‘a good training programme can help develop flexibility’) assumes that developing flexibility is desirable (Fairclough, 2003, p. 56).

### iv. Degree of Dialogicality and the text’s orientation to difference

The fourth aspect of the analysis is measuring the text’s orientation to difference and degree of dialogicality. I will use tools Fairclough (2003) provided for looking into the text’s “orientation to difference” which puts the degree of dialogicality into focus to get a deeper view of whether one voice or different voices are being represented in textbooks, and how these voices (if any) are being represented. Fairclough (2003, p.42) identified five levels of orientation to difference that vary from accepting difference to completely ignoring difference; he also provided a scheme for dialogicality from the most to the least dialogical.

- a. an openness to, acceptance of, recognition of difference; an exploration of difference, as in ‘dialogue’ in the richest sense of the term; (inclusion of other voices)
- b. an accentuation of difference, conflict, polemic, a struggle over meaning, norms, power; (summary of the voices)
- c. an attempt to resolve or overcome difference
- d. a bracketing of difference, a focus on commonality, solidarity;
- e. consensus, a normalization and acceptance of differences of power which brackets or suppresses differences

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The different schemes of dialogicality highlighted by Fairclough from the most to the least dialogical are as follows:

- a. Quoting different voices
- b. Modalized assertion (using modals to make the words less assertive (could, might etc.)
- c. Non-modalized assertion
- d. Assumptions (assuming a common ground)
  1. Existential assumptions: assumptions about what exists
  2. Propositional assumptions: assumptions about what is or can be or will be the case
  3. Value assumptions: assumptions about what is good or desirable

Based on both schemes; orientation to difference, and degree of dialogicality, I analyzed textbooks to identify how far different perspectives about Nubians, their culture, histories, and political situation both ancient and contemporary are being incorporated in textbooks, how such perspectives (if any) are being framed, as well as what possible discourses such framing would promote.

Thus, in analyzing the discourses around African-Egyptian relationship and around Nubia and Nubians, I looked into vocabulary and lexicalization, Metaphors, and assumptions, which together reflected the text's degree of dialogicality and orientation to difference.

### v. Tools for Analyzing Legitimation

Another step I added to the analysis of text has to do with the idea of "legitimation of action" this step was triggered by the analysis, and after I have seen that the discourses of security and superiority in relation to Egyptian-African relationship are 'legitimized' or justified in the text.

Fairclough (2003) summarizes Berger and Luckman, Habermas, van Leeuwen and Wodak, and Weber's views on legitimation as follows:

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Any social order requires legitimation – a widespread acknowledgement of the legitimacy of explanations and justifications for how things are and how things are done. Much of the work of legitimation is textual, though texts vary considerably in how explicit or implicit legitimation is. Textual analysis can identify and research different strategies of legitimation – by reference to authority or utility, through narrative, and so forth. (p. 219).

In identifying features of legitimation of both security and superiority of Egyptians and Egyptian lands in relation to other African countries and in relationship to Nubia, I employed the tools offered by van Leeuwen (2008).

van Leeuwen (2008) identifies four categories of legitimation in discourse:

1. Authorization, that is, legitimation by reference to the authority of tradition, custom, law, and/or persons in whom institutional authority of some kind is vested.
2. Moral evaluation, that is, legitimation by (often very oblique) reference to value systems.
3. Rationalization that is legitimation by reference to the goals and uses of institutionalized social action and to the knowledges that society has constructed to endow them with cognitive validity.
4. Mythopoesis, that is legitimation conveyed through narratives whose outcomes reward legitimate actions and punish non-legitimate actions (p. 105-106).

He argues that these forms of legitimation can occur separately or in combination.

They can be used to legitimize, but also to delegitimize, to critique. They can occupy the largest part of specific instances of text and talk which may hardly refer to what it is that is being legitimized, or they can be thinly sprinkled across detailed descriptive or prescriptive accounts of the practices and institutions they legitimize (p.106).

van Leeuwen (2008) adds that these categories are usually employed in response to the question “Why should we do this? Or why should we do this in this way?” (p.106).

In the case of history, the questions can be why did (Egyptians of the time/ Egyptian state) do this? (for example, conquer other nations, build the high dam).

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## vi. Tools for analyzing visual material:

After finishing the analysis of text, I moved to the analysis of images representing Egyptians belonging to different geographical groups. Images play an important role in the representation of identities, as they complement the text in delivering the message.

van Leeuwen (2008) provides tools to answer two questions through the analysis of images:

“How are people depicted?” and “How are the depicted people related to the viewer?”

van Leeuwen (2008) considers three dimensions in answering this question: “the social distance between depicted people and the viewer, the social relation between depicted people and the viewer, and the social interaction between depicted people and the viewer.” (p. 138)

The relationship between the viewer and the people in the images are, as van Leeuwen highlights, imaginary and symbolic, but help show whether the people in the images are represented as close to the viewer ‘one of us’ or as far ‘different’ from them. They also serve to reflect the status of the people as equal superior or inferior, to the viewer, and as people that viewers can relate to or as objects for the viewers’ investigation.

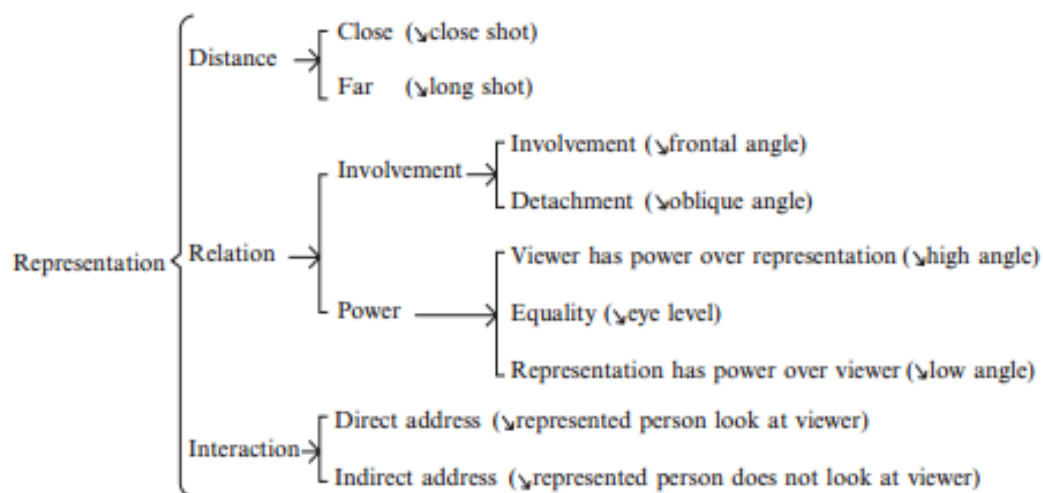


Figure 1 van Leeuwen (2008) *Representation and Viewer Network* p.141

As for the social relationship; or relationship of power that is clear from the angle of the shot both vertical and horizontal; the vertical angle as van Leeuwen (2008) explains are related

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to power. If the vertical angle views the people from above, it means they are inferior to the viewer, from eye-level then they are equal, or from below, then they are superior. Whereas the horizontal angle reflects symbolic involvement or detachment, the same effect of face-to-face interaction, as opposed to giving someone one's side or back. Finally Social interaction is measured through whether the people in the image are looking at the viewer or not, are they presented as subjects who are addressing us, asking us to do something, or as objects for the viewers examination; unaware that the viewer is looking at them. In answering the second question how are people depicted? van Leeuwen (2008, p.147) presents five different strategies that are used in visually representing people as others,

- a. the strategy of exclusion, not representing people at all in contexts where, in reality, they are present
- b. the strategy of depicting people as the agents of actions which are held in low esteem or regarded as subservient, deviant, criminal, or evil
- c. the strategy of showing people as homogeneous groups and thereby denying them individual characteristics and differences (“they’re all the same”)
- d. the strategy of negative cultural connotations
- e. the strategy of negative racial stereotyping

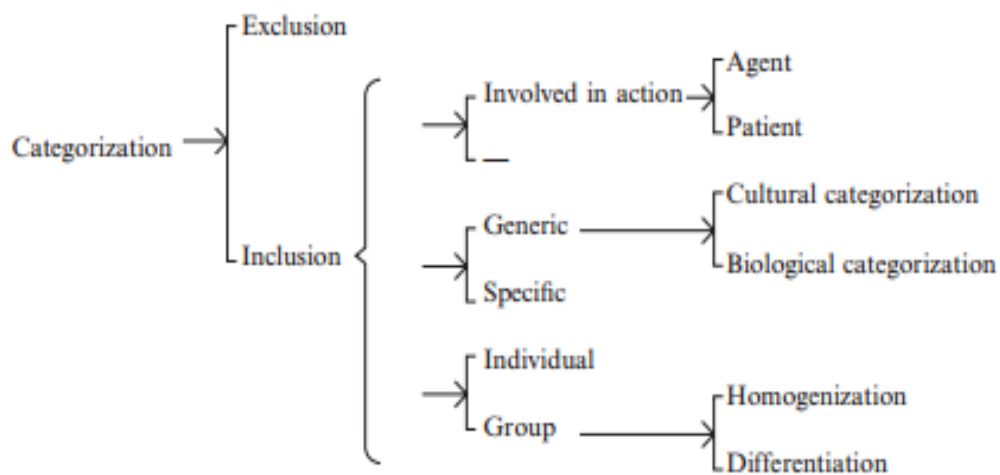


Figure 2 van Leeuwen (2008) Visual Social Actor Network p.147

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van Leeuwen's tools for analyzing images are very helpful for answering the research question on who is considered 'us' and who is depicted as the 'other', and how different groups of Egyptians are represented visually in the textbooks.

### D. Stages of Analysis

The analysis of the textbooks has been done in several stages. First, the stage of textbook scanning and selection of excerpts for analysis. The selected sample was identified based on whether Nubians and Africans are part of the text or not. All excerpts related to Nubians whether ancient, or contemporary Nubians, and excerpts that reflect African-Egyptian relationship in the selected sample (history and social studies textbooks for Grades 4-10 for the year 2015/2016) are part of the analysis. Second, the stage of conducting the spatial quantitative analysis that has been previously discussed. Finally, the stage of qualitative analysis based on Fairclough's analytical model was carried out in a dialectic manner, depending on what is available in the text. Followed by the analysis of legitimation of actions upon Africans and Nubians in the text using van Leeuwen's (2008) categories of legitimation in discourse, and finally the analysis of images depicting different groups of Egyptians.

### E. Limitations

CDA falls under the tradition of critical social sciences, which is motivated by the aim for questioning social life in moral and political terms. This means that discourse analysis itself highly relies on the analyst as one of the tools of the analysis, and the questions the analyst ask usually stem from a subjective interest. As Fairclough (2003) argues that text analysis cannot be an 'objective' analysis, even if what is meant by objectivity is an analysis which simply describes what is 'there' in the text without being 'biased' by the 'subjectivity' of the analyst as the analyst's ability to know 'what is there' is "limited and partial" (p.15). "our ability to know what is 'there' is inevitably limited and partial, and the questions we ask necessarily arise from particular motivations which go beyond what is 'there'" (Fairclough, 2003, p. 15). This however does not mean that the analysis results are predetermined by the analyst, as Fairclough argues the analysis can come with unexpected results. However, the analyst's subjectivity cannot be denied.

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Another limitation of this study, is that it will stop at the level of textual and socio-political analysis of the Nubian issues, and will not deal with students' perceptions and understanding of the information in textbooks which can be very helpful in linking the idea of 'meaning making', and the impact of discourse on social cognition.

In trying to overcome bias, I followed Fairclough's (2001) guidelines for conducting CDA, asked colleagues to read and reflect on my analysis and put their comments into consideration, and put the comments of my research supervisor, and thesis committee into consideration while reviewing my work. As for the impact of the discourses promoted in the textbook on the social cognition of the readers, this is a research gap that can be filled in a future study.



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## IV. Chapter IV: Analysis and Discussion

## A. First: The Representation of Egypt and Egyptian-ness

## 1. Egypt, Egyptians, and the Egyptian Civilization

The first part of the analysis is answering the question on the discourse around Egypt and Egyptian-ness. Analyzing the discourse around Egypt and Egyptian-ness will help in understanding the textbooks' authors' views on what it is to be an Egyptian, and what constructs the Egyptian identity, what are the features of Egyptians and what are the features of Egypt presented in the textbooks. Understanding the representation of Egypt and Egyptians is the first step, as it shapes the relationship between Egypt and Egyptians and 'others'. In analyzing the discourses around Egypt and Egyptian-ness, I looked into the lexical choices, metaphors and the use of assumptions and assertions.

The discourse of Egyptian-ness occurs in Grade 4, term 1 page 46 (See figure 3) and in Grade 10 history book p.14.

In bullet points titled 'Enriching Information' and is in a textbox, the book sets some ideas about Egypt and ancient Egyptians:

- a. The Nile river is the artery of life and source of abundance
- b. Egypt is rich in [Khirat] [خيرات] (a qur'anic term that means good things or resources)
- c. 'Ancient Egyptians excelled over others in agriculture construction, sculpture, mummification, medicine and engineering'
- d. Among the most important productions of Nubia in ancient times are gold, ebony and ivory
- e. The Egyptian army was divided during the great campaigns to four groups holding the name of the greatest state deities (Amon, Ra', Ptah, Seth)
- f. 'Egyptian civilization is the gift of the Nile and Egyptians'

In a textbox in Grade 10 history book p.5, 14, and 34 respectively



Figure 3: Enriching information, bullet points representing Egypt and Egyptians. Grade 4, book 1, P.46

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- g. 'Make sure to communicate with other civilizations and to take from them what is in accordance with our values, our beliefs' p.5
- h. 'Egyptians are one nation across all ages' p.14
- i. 'God has given Egypt great wealth which made it a cradle of civilizations and attracted the attention of aspirers, to the extent that every country seeking to build an empire sought Egypt in order to seize its wealth.' Do you know like who? (which occupiers) The Libyans, Assyrians, and finally the Persians, until Alexander the Macedonian conquered and ruled Egypt' p.34

As Kress (2003) explains,

Bullet points are, as their name suggests, bullets of information. They are 'fired' at us, abrupt and challenging, not meant to be continuous and coherent, not inviting reflection and consideration, not insinuating themselves into our thinking. They are hard and direct, and not to be argued with (p.12).

Thus, the very idea of using bullet points to discuss Egyptians and Egypt is significant in the analysis of the discourse of power, as it is trying to establish the information in the bullets as facts not to be argued with. Using lexical choices, metaphors and assumptions the textbooks authors presented created an image of Egypt, Egyptians and the Egyptian civilization.

#### Egypt as a rich land

In the excerpts above, especially, (a), (b), (d) and (i), Egypt is presented as a rich land because of the Nile, other resources [khairat], Nubian resources, and God-bestowed wealth.

In excerpt (b) there is a propositional assumption that Egypt 'is rich' in resources. Additionally, excerpt (i) has assumptions and assertions about Egypt's resources and its 'wealth'. First, there is a non-modalized assertion about God bestowing wealth upon Egypt. Second, there is an existential assumption about the 'existence' of Egyptian wealth in 'aspirers...sought Egypt in order to seize its wealth'. Finally, there is a value assumption assigned to the power of Egyptian wealth in creating empires in 'every country seeking to build an empire, sought Egypt in order to seize its wealth'.

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Besides establishing that Egypt is a land that is rich in resources, the bullet points referred to Nubian resources in excerpt (d). What interesting is that Nubia was mentioned in the same textbox without explaining whether the intended Nubia is Egyptian Nubia, or non-Egyptian Nubia. Instead, Nubia is only mentioned in context of its rich resources as opposed to Egypt that has been described as sacred, rich and superior to ‘others’. Since the exact period of time, and the meaning associated with Nubia (Egyptian or Non-Egyptian Nubia) is unclear, this could be an inclusion of Nubia as a part of Egypt that is rich in resources, or a representation of Nubia as a land of ‘others’ from which ancient Egyptians brought these resources either through trade or by force. It could also be an acknowledgement of a different rich land besides Egyptian land. The statement is both ambiguous and out of place, since ancient Nubia was not part of the lesson’s discussion.

### Egyptians

Egyptians in the excerpts are presented as people who excelled over others in different fields (c), as powerful people with a strong army that conducted ‘great campaigns’, as religious people who named their army groups after their deities (e), and as united people with shared values (g) and (h). Statement (c) is a non-modalized assertion stressing that Egyptians have ‘excelled’ in different fields over ‘others’ who are omitted from the text, and replaced with this vague lexical term ‘others’. This assertion implies that throughout the Pharaonic history Egyptians excelled over other civilizations in the fields of ‘agriculture, construction, sculpture, mummification, medicine and engineering’, and places Egyptians in a superior place as opposed to other ancient nations. Statement (e) is a statement about the ancient Egyptian Army, and offers a clear value assumption in using the word ‘great’ to describe the military campaigns the Army conducted, and presenting power over others through ‘campaigns’ in positive terms. The statement also reflects that the power of ancient Egyptians does not only stem from their excellence in different fields of knowledge, but also from their military excellence. Additionally, choosing to refer to the idea that Egyptians named their army groups after deity could be a subtle reference to Egyptian religiousness, which is usually assigned a positive value in the discourses around Egyptians.

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Statement (g) is an order to the students to communicate with other civilizations and take only what is in accordance with 'our values' and 'our beliefs', there are two important assumptions here. First, there is an existential assumption or an assumption about having an existing set of Egyptian beliefs and values that are common among all Egyptians across history regardless of time and space, and that these values and beliefs are known to the students. Second, there is a value assumption; or 'assumptions about what is good or desired' (Fairclough, 2003, p.55), that is assigned to such values and beliefs of Egyptians, drawing a relationship between what is Egyptian and what is good. Egyptians here can be considered to have positive values, upon which other values of other nations can be measured. The order or advice positions Egyptian values as the benchmark of desired values, and beliefs, and other values from other nations can be adopted in case they do not conflict with the existing Egyptian values. These assumptions are significant in that they reflect the discourse of unity and an underlying Egyptian national character. In statement (h) there is a declarative sentence informing the students and establishing a fact that 'Egyptians are one nation across all ages' This could be an existential assumption 'assumptions about what exists' (Fairclough, 2003, p.55). The unity of Egyptians across all ages is assumed here, there could also be an assumed shared national identity among Egyptians across all ages. What makes the statement inaccurate is that today's Egyptians are a hybrid of different nations that have blended in the society after years of living in Egypt. There are Armenians, Bedouins originally from Arab peninsula, and Libya, Greeks, and members of different countries, ethnicities, and religions who have moved to Egypt during different times in history (Metz, 1991). If one assumes that this statement refers to ancient Egyptians, it is still inaccurate as unity among Egyptians has not been fully achieved until Menes in (3200 BC). There is also a value assumption here as a positive value is assigned to this unity 'across ages'. Looking at the degree of dialogicality in statements (g) and (h), it would be fair to say that based on Fairclough's (2003) scheme, these statements aim to create consensus, on the idea of a pre-existence of an Egyptian national character, with shared values and beliefs. In Fairclough's terms, they create 'a normalization and acceptance of differences of power which brackets or suppresses differences' (p.42).

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## Egyptian Civilization

Through metaphors, the Egyptian civilization was presented as great civilization, a ‘gift of the Nile and Egyptians’ and as ‘a cradle of civilization’. The metaphor in ‘Egyptian civilization is the gift of the Nile and Egyptians’ is significant for two reasons. First, it is interesting as it is an echo of the famous quote by Herodotus ‘Egypt is the gift of the Nile’, which means that one of the main reasons of the rise of Ancient Egyptian civilization is Egypt’s fertile land which was a result of the Nile’s flood. However, the textbook authors added ‘Egyptian civilization, and Egyptians’ to the phrase turning the statement into “Egyptian civilization is the gift of the Nile and Egyptians” and, highlighting that both the Nile, and Egyptians are the creators of this ‘gift’, the Egyptian civilization. Second, the lexical choice in ‘gift’ can be considered a value assumption, to emphasize that the Egyptian civilization was the contribution of Egyptians to the world. Similarly, the metaphor in (i) is significant as it clearly frames Egypt as a sacred land, where civilization began ‘a cradle of civilizations’ and that is attractive to occupiers or invaders, especially ‘great’ invaders who seek establishing ‘empires’. They go to Egypt because of its God-bestowed wealth. Egypt here is not presented as the weak colonized country, but as a sacred land that ‘God’ chose to bestow ‘wealth’ upon, and as the means through which ‘aspirers’ and ‘the greedy’ could build empires. These metaphors are preceded by the statement about Ancient Egyptians ‘excelling’ over ‘others’ in different fields, which adds the aspect of sacredness to the aspect of superiority of Egypt and Egyptians over others. This ‘superiority’ to other countries is granted to Egypt by virtue of its sacred position, and to Egyptians, especially ancient Egyptians by virtue of their knowledge and excellence in different fields.

As discussed in the section above, the nine statements together help create the representation of Egypt, Egyptians, and Ancient Egyptian civilization in social studies and history textbooks. Egypt is presented as a rich, united country, Egyptians are presented as superior to others in knowledge, work, unity, and military power, and the Egyptian civilization is presented as a ‘cradle of civilization’ and a ‘gift’ to the world. By analyzing lexical items, assumptions, and assertions it is clear that the authors have created an image of a united Egypt

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across all ages, silencing by that all the struggles across time before Egyptians become united, and ignoring the diversity of today's Egypt by not explaining who those 'united Egyptians' are. This can be considered a discourse of unity that relies on silencing differences rather than embracing them through the inclusion of different voices'. The assumptions and assertions used position Egyptian civilization and Egyptians in a superior place to other civilizations and nations. These discourses of unity and superiority are recurrent discourses in the textbooks, and can be considered one of the main elements shaping the Egyptian-African relationship in the textbooks.

### B. Second: Discourses around the Nile and National Security

Analyzing the discourse around African-Egyptian relationship is crucial to understanding the Egyptian-Nubian relationship. One of the recurrent discourses in the book in relation to the Nile water and African countries is the discourse of security in both ancient and contemporary times. This discourse is especially clear in Grade 10 history book entitled 'Egypt the Civilization: The Civilization of Egypt and the Ancient world'. However, the first time the Nile was referred to was in Grade 4 first term social studies book entitled 'Egypt My Country'.

#### 1. The Nile in Ancient times

The last lesson of Grade 4 social studies, term 1 discusses the factors of the rise of the Egyptian civilization, and the Nile comes first as part of the natural factors that helped Ancient Egyptians build their civilization, followed by other natural then human-made factors like unity and the army. In the end of the lesson, and on the last page of the student's book, there is a textbox entitled 'enriching information' (See figure 3)

The first bullet point in the textbox is a metaphor related to the Nile

'The Nile River is the artery of life and a source of abundance (or good)' (Grade 4, term 1, p. 46).

In the same textbox there is another bullet point stating that

'Egyptian civilization is the gift of the Nile and Egyptians' (Grade 4, term 1, p. 46).

Another book that offers very good insight into the discourses around the Nile is Grade 10 history textbook. The below excerpts are good example.

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‘Ancient Egyptians *realized* that Egypt’s *National security lies in* (يكنم في) *protecting/securing the sources of the Nile*, that is why they *carried several security campaigns* in these areas, in addition to establishing trade, cultural and spiritual relationships with the Nile Basin countries’

‘*That is why* Ancient Egyptians *found* in the Nile *the teacher and the primary source of life*, so they glorified, sanctified it, and celebrated it through feasts.’

The text highlighted some values that Egyptians gained from the Nile:

‘The role of the Nile did not stop here, since Egyptians *gained* from it many values’

The third value identified is relevant to the analysis:

‘Continuation among themselves and with others: The Nile made *Egyptians interested* in building ships, and sailing to the North with its flow, and pushed back to the south by the dominating Northern wind. This helped Egyptians *build connections* (اتصال المصريين) among themselves, and *become united/coherent* (تماسكهم), as well as *spread their civilization among neighboring nations*, bringing about the *exchange of civilization between Egyptians and neighboring civilizations* (تأثير والتأثر) ‘Affect and become affected by the neighboring nations’

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**ولم يقف دور النيل عند هذا الحد فقد استفاد منه المصريون قيمًا كثيرة مثل:**

**– الوحدة والتضامن:** فقد كان فيضان النيل سببًا في توحيد جهود المصريين لإقامة الجسور وحراسة مياه الفيضان، فعاشوا شعبًا واحدًا عبر التاريخ.

**– التكافل والتكامل:** فتبادل المصريون المحاصيل، ونشطت التجارة الداخلية بين الشمال والجنوب.

**– التواصل فيما بينهم ومع الآخرين:** ساعد وجود النيل المصريين على الاهتمام ببناء السفن والتي يحملها تياره نحو الشمال، وتدفعها الرياح الشمالية السائدة نحو الجنوب، فساعد ذلك على اتصال المصريين وتواصلهم وتماسكهم مع بعضهم بعضًا، ونشر حضارتهم في البلاد المجاورة، فكان التأثير والتأثر الذي تميزت به الحضارة المصرية القديمة.

**اقرأ وناقش**

**ناقش مع معلمك**

- العلاقة بين نهر النيل وقيام الحضارة المصرية .
- أهمية التعاون مع دول حوض النيل.
- أهم المقترحات للحفاظ على مياه النيل؟
- الحلول البديلة في حالة نقص مياه النيل.
- التحديات التي تواجه نهر النيل حاليًا وتهدد الأمن القومي المصري.

**أمن مصر القومي**

المصريون القدماء أدركوا أن أمن مصر القومي يكمن في المحافظة على منابع النيل، لذلك قاموا بالعديد من الحملات الأمنية لهذه المناطق، بالإضافة إلى إقامة علاقات تجارية وثقافية وروحية مع دول حوض النيل، لذلك وجد المصريون القدماء في نيلهم المعلم، ومصدر الحياة الأولى؛ فعضموه وقدسوه، وأقاموا له الاحتفالات والأعياد

**احرص على التعاون مع دول حوض النيل.**

Figure 4: The discourses around the Nile and National Security. Grade 10 History Book: P.14

In analyzing the 5 excerpts about the Nile in order to understand what themes or discourses are mentioned, and what angles are used to view such discourses, I looked into

- (a) Lexical Metaphors
- (b) Assumptions
- (c) Vocabulary and lexical choices (and significant absences in the choice of lexical items)

In the statements the lexical choices combined with the metaphors and the assumptions are all weaved together to create a hybrid of discourses around the Nile including the sacredness of the Nile, the value of the Nile, the greatness of Egyptian civilization, and the discourse of the Nile as a source of National security.



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### Metaphors

It is striking that most statements about the Nile are based on lexical metaphors. In the first excerpt, the Nile is compared to the ‘artery of life’ and Egypt is implicitly compared to the body that would only live through its artery. In the second metaphor, the Nile is compared to a creator of the gift ‘the Egyptian civilization’. The third excerpt the sources of the Nile are compared to a safe place where National Security (a nominalized process, and a grammatical metaphor) lies. In the fourth excerpt the Nile is compared to the teacher, and the primary source of life, and implicitly compared to a sacred place that has been ‘glorified’ and ‘sanctified’ and ‘celebrated’ by Egyptians. Finally, the last excerpt ‘the role of the Nile did not stop here, since Egyptians gained from it many values’ is another metaphor where the Nile is the teacher of great values. The metaphors and the lexical choices combined together draw a picture of the Nile as indispensable to the existence of Egypt and Egyptian civilization; it is ‘the artery of life’ and ‘source of life’ without it the body [Egypt] would not survive. Then it is compared to the safe place where National Security lies, and protecting this safe place means ‘conducting several campaigns’ in ‘these areas’ (the sources of the Nile). This statement is especially significant as it reflects the discourse of National security in relation to the Nile Basin countries, Egyptians conducted campaigns to protect their National Security (the Nile) and implies that this is the right thing to do. Finally, the Nile is compared to ‘the teacher which provides one more reason why the Nile should be considered sacred. The Nile is represented as ‘the [only] teacher’, so ancient Egyptians ‘glorified, and sanctified’ it. What the Nile taught Ancient Egyptians: the values of unity, self-sufficiency, and continuation among themselves and with other civilizations (respectively). The metaphors thus reflect two things: the importance of the Nile, and the relationship between the Nile, and Egyptian National security.

### Assumptions and Lexical choices

The excerpts also offer some interesting assumptions. There is an existential assumption in stating that there is an artery of life for a country without which the country would perish, and that there is such thing as ‘national security’ and an implied existential assumption that there is a ‘threat’ to the national security that needs Egyptians to conduct campaigns. There is also the propositional assumption about the Nile being ‘*the* artery of life and the Egyptian civilization being the gift to both the Nile and Egyptians; there are no other ‘arteries’ of life but the Nile.

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Through the use of factive verbs like ‘realized’ and ‘found’ in ‘Ancient Egyptians *realized* that Egypt’s National security *lies in* (يكنم في) protecting/securing the sources of the Nile’ and ‘That is why Ancient Egyptians *found* in the Nile the teacher and the primary source of life.’ The authors are stressing the truthfulness of these ‘realizations’, additionally the non-modalized assertions convey the meaning that ‘Ancient Egyptians ‘realized’ and ‘found’ the Nile to be the (main or only) source of life and security for Egypt and so should we (students/contemporary Egyptians)’. Assumptions are attempts to establish a fact; or naturalize the idea of conquest for securing Nile water ‘Naturalization gives to particular ideological representations the status of common sense, and thereby makes them opaque, i.e. no longer visible as ideologies’ (Fairclough 1995, p.42). The ideological value of this combination of assumptions is that they reflect the importance of the Nile for Egypt and Egyptians, the tension around the Nile water, and present the Egyptian-African relationship within a discourse of national security.

The excerpts despite being highly metaphorical can be considered the ideological basis for the discourse around the Nile in history and social studies textbooks. The Nile is sacred to Egyptians, and is the main source of Egypt’s national security; without the Nile there would be no Egypt or Egyptians. Together, these statements pave the way to more concrete references of the Nile as a major if not the only source of ‘national security’. The following instances of framing the Nile in terms of national security is Grade 10 history book p. 14.

### Lexical choices

Besides the use of metaphors and assumptions, there are significant lexical choices in the previous excerpts. As Fairclough (2003) highlights either the “syntagmatic relations...or relations between elements which are actually present in a text” (p.37), and paradigmatic relations which are “relations of choice, and they draw attention to relations between what is actually present and what might have been present but is not – ‘significant absences’” (Fairclough, 2003, p.37) are important to the analysis of text. The significance of using words like *gift* and *sanctified* and *glorified* has been discussed in the metaphors section, as words that reflect the status of the Nile for Egyptians and sacredness of this Nile that it was even *celebrated* in feasts, and can be a reflection of Egyptian superiority.

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The following statements are also full of ideologically-loaded lexical choice

The statements in Grade 10 history book that frame the relationship between Ancient Egyptians and their African neighbors ‘continuation among themselves and with others’ is the first time in the book where African countries are referred to as neighboring countries. In framing the relationship between ancient Egypt and its Nile basin neighbors, the authors start by referring to how the Nile helped Egyptians ‘Spread their civilization’ to others’. However, in the end of the sentence the authors highlight that through this contact facilitated by the Nile, Ancient Egyptians ‘Affect and become affected with neighboring nations’. Although there is priority given to Egypt’s influence on other nations by the organization of lexical choices, yet there is still an acknowledgement of the equal exchange of civilizations among African Nations. The order of the values which the Nile helped Egyptians acquire can also be considered significant. The Nile taught Egyptians unity, then self-sufficiency (which together can be considered internal security), followed by external cultural and trade relations. The order could be a reflection of the state’s priorities, and the order of Egyptians influencing then being influenced by others, and can be considered a subtle reference to Egyptian superiority, especially that, this was preceded by ‘spread their civilizations among neighboring nations’.

The second statement is even more ideologically loaded. As mentioned before in the section on assumptions verbs like ‘realized’ are used to establish a fact; ‘they realized’ that national security lies in protecting the sources of the Nile; means that the sources of the Nile is for fact the place where national security lies, and should be protected, and Ancient Egyptians discovered this ‘truth’ about National security. It is not clear from the text where exactly those security campaigns were carried out; the authors used ‘these areas’ to refer to the ‘sources of the Nile’, whereas when referring to the trade and cultural and spiritual relations the Nile basin countries previously referred to as ‘areas’ are clearly mentioned. This contrast between using ‘those areas’ when talking about the security campaigns and the use of ‘Nile basin countries’ when talking about the less problematic ‘trade and spiritual relationships’, could be attempts to tone down the idea of conquest, as referring to lands where the campaigns were carried out including Nubia can be considered problematic by the authors.

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Another significant absence can be found in the choice of ‘security campaigns’ rather than ‘military campaigns for instance. This is a choice that frames war and invasion of other nations’ lands in a positive frame. After clarifying the importance of the ‘security campaigns’ for the Egyptian national security, the author(s) proceed to discuss other achievements of Ancient Egyptians in terms of (the less important) foreign relations. Additionally, there is no clear explanation of the meaning of ‘national security’, the reader is left without an answer, it is just something that one has to defend, and that is highly linked to the Nile, and the lands, no further explanation is provided on this matter.

### Legitimation

According to van Leeuwen (2008), legitimation of an action can take place through the instrumental rationalization, a way of justification of an action as a means to an end. In this light, the action of ‘conduct [ing] security campaigns’ is legitimized by being introduced as the means of protecting the national security that *lies in* the sources of the Nile. Presenting the idea of securing the sources of the Nile as the only way to national security is significant here, as it is an invitation to accept the ‘security campaigns’ in ‘these areas’. What is problematic here is that this legitimation is coupled with vagueness that has been previously discussed about the ‘Sources of the Nile’ are not clearly defined, protecting the sources of the Nile where? On non-Egyptian lands? Here is a justification of war in the name of protecting the sources of the Nile and the threatened national security.

Following these statements, is the metaphor of the Nile being the teacher, ‘That is why Ancient Egyptians found in the Nile the teacher and the primary source of life, so they glorified and sanctified it, and celebrated it through feasts.’ The Nile is presented as the primary source of life that has been glorified by Ancient Egyptians. The use of ‘That is why’ here as another legitimation of the importance of the Nile to Egyptians, their lives depends on it, it is the primary source of life, without the Nile Egyptians will perish. The message behind this image comparing the Nile to ‘The teacher’, is adding to its sacredness, it is ‘the [only] teacher’ a deeper level what this statement could be is another legitimation of the importance of the Nile what van Leeuwen (2008) refers to as ‘Role Model Authority’. In the case of role model authority, ‘people follow the example of role models or opinion leaders. The role models may be members of a peer group

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or media celebrities imitated from afar, and the mere fact that these role models adopt a certain kind of behavior, or believe certain things, is enough to legitimize the actions of their followers.’ Ancient Egyptians are the role model in this case, they considered the Nile sacred, and knew that they had to protect its sources, and so should we, contemporary Egyptians.

Besides the four metaphorical statements, some other statements reflect the discourses around the Nile and African-Egyptian relationship, but this time the text shifts from discussing Ancient Egypt to discussing contemporary Egypt. The statements appear on the same page where the excerpt on Egypt’s National Security occurred (Grade 10, History textbook, p.14). In considering Fairclough’s argument that ‘What is ‘said’ in a text rests upon ‘unsaid’ assumptions’, part of the analysis of texts is trying to identify what is assumed (2003, p.11).

### 2. The Nile in Contemporary times

#### Assumptions and Lexical choices

The first statement in a textbox: ‘Make sure to cooperate with the Nile basin countries’ is a direct order to the student readers, encouraging them to cooperate with the Nile basin countries. In this excerpt, there is a propositional assumption about the students’ ability to cooperate with the Nile basin countries. There is also an assumption that there are opportunities available for students to cooperate with the Nile basin countries, an existential assumption. These assumptions are attempting to reposition the African-Egyptian relationship in terms of cooperation; it could be considered an attempt to tone down the strong tone that was set while discussing national security. However, the statement is superficial, as the authors are asking 10th Grade students to cooperate with the Nile basin countries without offering opportunities or even examples on how to make such cooperation possible for students now or in their future lives. Especially that, all the relationship between Egypt and African countries has been framed in security and trade terms. Not much has been provided for the students in this matter, and no channels of cooperation have been discussed.

Following the lesson that is highly dominated by the theme of National Security, despite being originally about the factors giving rise to the Egyptian civilization, and the Nile being one of the factors, the following discussion questions are raised.

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**Read and Discuss:** with your teacher

1. The *relationship between* the Nile River and the rise of Ancient Egyptian Civilization
2. The *importance of cooperation* with Nile Basin countries
3. The most important suggestions for preserving the Nile water
4. Alternative solutions *in case of the* decrease of the Nile water
5. The current challenges facing the Nile River and threatening National security

A discussion question: National security: Discuss with your teacher the issue of National Security and means of *protecting* our national security in the *coming phase.*' (Grade 10, history book, p.16).

The questions present a number of existential assumptions that are relevant to the issue of National security. First, there is the assumption that there is a need to preserve the Nile water, second, that there are challenges facing the Nile River and threatening the country, and that there is such thing as National security that can be threatened, finally, there are important and less important suggestion for preserving the Nile water. There is also the modalized assertion about the probability of the decrease of the Nile water through the use of 'in case of' the decrease of the Nile water. These questions and the assumptions in them are crucial in shaping the Egyptian-African relationship, especially Egyptian-Nile Basin countries relationship.

The discussion statements on page 14 and the question on page 16 further stress the discourse of national security, and the fear from the loss of the Nile water. They reflect that Egyptian relations with the Nile basin revolve around the idea of preserving the Egyptian portion of the Nile water. The lexical choices reflect this air of discomfort, for example, words like 'preserving' 'decrease' 'challenges' 'solutions' and 'threatening' 'problem' and the repetition of 'National Security' all suggest that there is fear of the loss of the Nile water, or the existence of a problem that needs a solution.

Stressing the discourse of national security, once more, the message becomes clear: cooperation with the Nile basin countries is connected to the 'protection' of the Nile water and Egyptian national security, a discourse that echoes the current state's discourse regarding the Nile, and the fear of losing the Egyptian portion of the Nile water because of the new Ethiopian

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Dam. This is how the African-Egyptian relation is represented within the discourse of power, security and unity. What is significant is that this discourse is absent when discussing the European and the Phoenician, and Iraqi civilizations.

There is a clear interdiscursivity present in the text; discourses from different orders of discourse meet. There is the discourse of civilization in relation to Ancient Egyptians and the Nile, and there is in contrast the discourse of threatened stability of contemporary Egypt and its need for security. There is also the discourse of cooperation between Egypt and the Nile basin countries. The text mostly ignores the cooperation between Egypt and African countries that are not part of the Nile Basin, and the student is asked about the importance of cooperation with the Nile Basin countries specifically, and not all African countries. The contrast between the past and the present state of Egypt is very clear here, in the past it was a civilization that thrived on the Nile which ancient Egyptians strived to secure, currently it is a struggling country trying to find solutions for the probable threats for water resources and national security. In all the excerpts around the Nile, the degree of dialogically is one that attempts to “consensus, a normalization and acceptance of differences of power which brackets or suppresses differences” (Fairclough, 2003, p.42). There is only one perspective offered, that is the Egyptian perspective of the Nile being Egyptian, that could be offering legitimation of Egyptian actions on other nations (security campaigns), and presenting Egypt’s perspective on national security as the truth through assumptions and assertions.

To conclude this section, in discussing the Nile as one of the main factors of building Ancient Egyptian civilization, the discourse of power was very evident. Through the analysis of the lexical choices, the use of metaphors and the meanings they convey; and the assumptions upon which the text is based, it is clear that the African-Egyptian relationship has been portrayed in terms of power and security (legitimized Egyptian power over Nile Basin countries). The Nile has been presented as sacred, and indispensable to Egypt’s existence, accordingly Egyptians have the right to ‘secure it’. The tension is very clear as national security is at the heart of the Egyptian-African relationship, and the most important relationship with African neighbors is the relationship with the Nile basin countries, as the Nile ‘the source’ and ‘artery of life’ ‘lies there’ and accordingly so does ‘National Security’. This discourse of power could be a reflection of the

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current state discourse in relation to the Nile issue, and building the Ethiopian Dam, and of the state's attitude with Nile Basin countries; there is caution, and there is a subtle reference to how these nations are a 'threat' to national security.

### C. Third: Representation of African-Egyptian Relationship during the Dynastic period

There are several discourses around the African-Egyptian relationship during the dynastic eras including Egyptian-Nubian relations. First, there is the discourse of security that revolves around securing the Nile water, Egyptian land and Egyptian borders; there is the discourse of power that justifies and legitimizes ancient Egyptian military and security campaigns in neighboring lands, including but not confined to, African neighbors. Additionally, there is the discourse of civilization that excludes non-Pharaonic African civilizations, and finally, there is the discourse of the trade and cultural cooperation with African nations as neighboring nations, to which Egypt is sometimes depicted as superior. In setting the African-Egyptian relationship land, borders, and the Nile are keywords that are recurrent and stressed across different textbooks discussing the ancient Egyptian dynastic period. This relationship is sometimes framed through discussions about ancient Egyptian kings and queens' achievements in terms of land expansion, and construction works (building of fortresses, and temples), and other times as ways to strengthen trade and cultural cooperation.

#### 1. Omission: The discourse of civilization

White argues that history is always 'history for', or taking a certain side. In any history book, the facts 'are constituted rather than given' and the writers 'choose, sever and carve selected facts for narrative purposes' (cited in Peled-Elhanan, 2009, p. 93.) Peled-Elhanan (2009) adds that history school books are similar to other history books in that they are also "re-contextualized' to serve the state's social and political ideologies" (p.93). Lyotard explains that in grand narratives of emancipation '[...] many events go into the dustbin of history or spirit. An event will be retrieved only if it illustrates the master's views' (cited in Peled-Elhanan, 2010, p.390). This Peled-Elhanan (2010) explains is understandable as social practices cannot be represented in a way that includes all narratives about them, accordingly some facts are selected and others are left out. However, when it comes to state discourse, the selection and exclusion have to be thought of as ideological. This is in line with van Dijk's (1993) idea of access to



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discourse, and the state's use of mass media and mass education to control discourse. Fairclough (2003) refers to such omissions or selectiveness of narratives as 'significant absences' (p.37). He recommends that the critical analysis of text goes beyond internal relations of texts or 'syntagmatic relations...that (are) relations between elements which are actually present in a text.' (p.37), to paradigmatic relations which are 'relations of choice, and they draw attention to relations between what is actually present and what might have been present but is not – 'significant absences' (p.37). In this light looking at what information was chosen by the textbooks' authors and what was left out of textbooks can add to the understanding of the text, and help in understanding the discourse of power around Africans in general and Nubians in specific.

The first step to do that was to look at what is included in the textbooks, so I reviewed all the tables of contents of the selected sample (Grades 4-10) social studies and history textbooks, to see how much space is dedicated to African civilizations other than the Pharaonic civilization. The aim was to compare the representation of African civilizations of which, ancient Nubian civilization is part, as opposed to other 'foreign civilizations' that have ruled Egypt at some point in history like the Ptolemaic, Greek, and Roman civilizations, and later the Islamic rule. One of the significant findings is that there are two books dedicated to Egypt as part of the Arab world: Grade 7 term 1, and term 2 'Our Arab Homeland: Geographical Phenomena and an Islamic Civilization'. On the other hand, there are no books dedicated to Egypt as part of Africa, and African civilizations. Additionally, while there were chapters in different textbooks dedicated to Greco-Roman civilizations, namely (Grade 7 term 2, and Grade 10 History book) and lessons on the rule of these civilizations in Egypt, there were no chapters or even lessons dedicated to the Nubian rule over Egypt. The Nubian rule of Egypt was completely dropped from all the analyzed social studies and history textbooks (Grades 4-10). The only book that discusses in some detail the Nubian ancient civilization is Grade 10 history book. In fact the Grade 10 history book is one of the most significant textbooks in the sample as the contrast between Ancient African civilizations representations and other European and Asian –associated civilization is very evident in this book. By looking at the table of contents of Grade 10 history book, one would not guess Nubian-associated civilizations would be mentioned, but after looking inside the lesson on African civilizations and the relationship between Egypt and Africa there are references to

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Nubian civilizations under the lesson: the continuation of Ancient Egyptian Civilization with Africa.

Additionally, the fact that there is no unit dedicated to the African Civilizations (other than the Pharaonic civilization) is interesting and could be sign of power. Somalian and the 'loosely' defined Nubian civilizations are part of the one lesson on the relationship between Ancient Egypt and Africa. This could be based on the fact that Egypt is an African country, but it is very clear that African civilizations were given less attention in terms of space compared to Asian, and European civilizations. This imbalance in representing African-associated civilizations vis-a-vis other civilizations could be a sign of power; the black African-associated civilizations are given less attention than the Arab-associated civilizations and the European-associated civilizations. Although the book does not discuss 'Arab', both Phoenicia and Assyrian civilizations belong to contemporary Arab countries: Levantine and Iraq respectively.

To demonstrate the difference between the representation of Nubian-associated civilization as opposed to other ancient civilization namely, Pharaonic, Mesopotamian, Phoenician and Greco-Roman; I followed Abdou (2015) in carrying out a quantitative spatial analysis (Table 1). As explained in the methodology section, I chose Grade 10 history book as it is the only book that mentions Nubian-associated civilizations, other books discussing ancient civilizations only discussed the ancient Egyptian (Pharaonic) and Greco-Roman civilizations, like Grade 7 textbook.

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Table 1: Quantitative Spatial analysis (by number of pages allocated for each civilization)

Civilization	Egyptian	Nubian	Mesopotamian	Phoenician	Greco-Roman
Period	Pharaonic 3500-525 BCE	Sudanese 2000 B CE-300 CE	Iraqi 3500-550 BCE	Levantine 1500-322 BCE	European 500 BCE-500 CE
Total life span of the civilization (Approx.) A	2975	2,300	2,950	1,178	999
Proportionate number of pages B	23	18	22	9	8
Actual Number of Pages C	37	2	8	7	26
Years covered per page (A divided by C)	80	1150	369	168	38

Table 1: The number of pages covering different ancient civilizations in Grade 10 History textbook

The figures were reached by dividing the approximate number of years of each civilization (Row A), based on hystero-graphic sources, by the actual number of pages dedicated to this civilization in the textbook (Row C). The results show that while approximately 80 years of Pharaonic civilization were covered per page, 369 of Mesopotamian civilization were covered per page, and 168 years of Greco-Roman civilizations were covered per page, around 1150 years of Nubian civilization were covered per page. The figures reflect the disproportionate representation of the Nubian civilization as opposed to other ancient civilizations, since the proportionate number of pages were the length of the civilization taken into consideration should

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be around 23 pages; around 11 times more than the actual number of pages offered in the textbook.

It is clear from Table 1 that the ancient African civilizations, excluding the Pharaonic civilization, are the least represented in this textbook. The book is entitled: Ancient Egyptian Civilization: Egypt and the Ancient world, so it is expected that Egyptian Pharaonic civilization is the center of the book, and other civilizations are represented in relation to Egyptian civilization. However, the way European and Asian civilizations are represented versus the way Ancient African (Nubian and Somalian<sup>3</sup>) are represented shows that African civilizations to which Nubian-associated civilizations belong are the least represented.

Images and especially maps used in the book also reflect this bias against African civilizations. Figure 5 for example, is a map that shows the flow of civilization from one part of the world to another. The caption below the map says ‘The great civilizations started in Ancient Egypt, Mesopotamia (the land between the two rivers) and Persia, and all are eastern civilizations’. The book goes on and explains: ‘The civilization then moved to Greece and Rome in the west, then parted the west for many centuries, around 1000 years, to settle in its place in the east on the lands of the Islamic civilization.’ ‘Civilization moved to the west once more, to form the modern western civilization’ ‘The question is: where will civilization settle once more?’

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<sup>3</sup> The Somalian civilization or civilization of Punt appeared on the same lesson with the Nubian civilization and occupied 1.5 pages of the book, but was excluded from the quantitative analysis due to the lack of information on the duration of the civilization of Punt.

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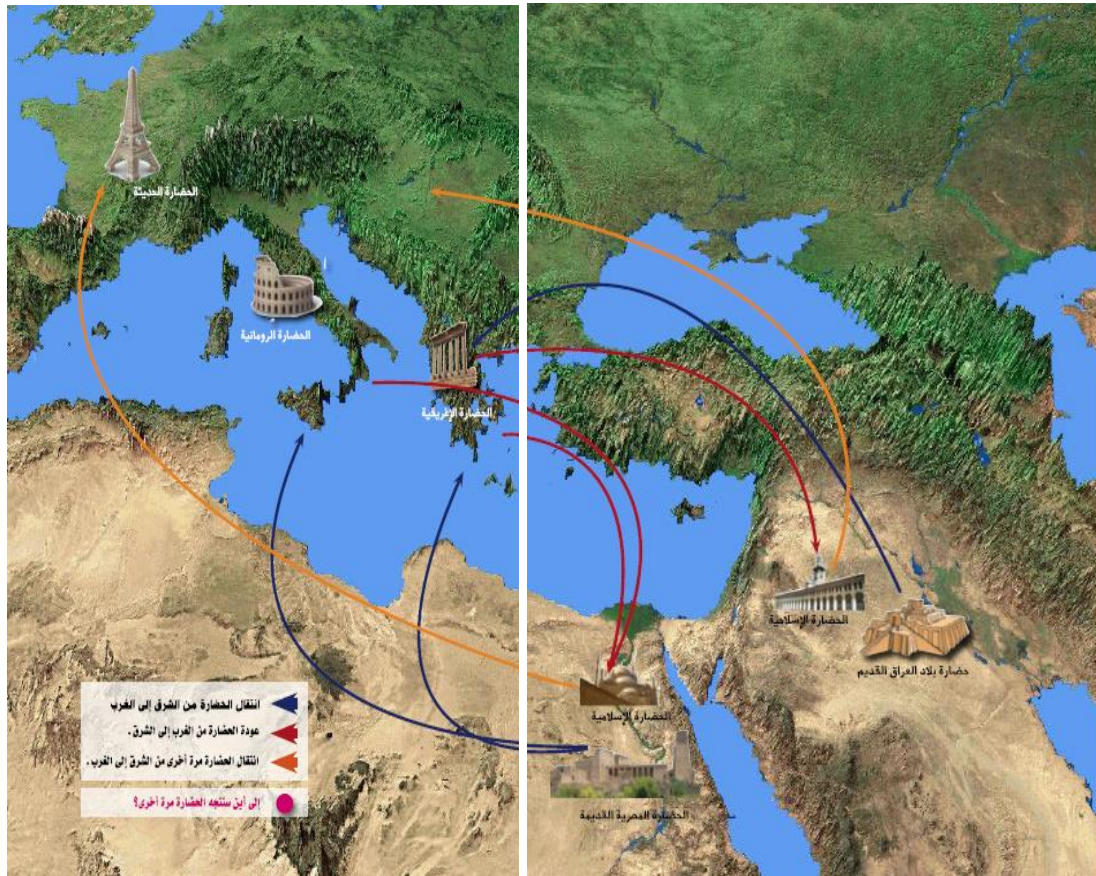


Figure 5: A Map showing the cycle of civilization. Grade 10 History book, p.1

Figure 5 represents the cycle of civilization and how it moved from the East to the West, then returned to the east, and once more back to the West. The civilizations depicted in the picture are the ancient civilizations. The blue arrows represent the flow of civilization from one part of the world to another. On the left, the Iraqi civilization is shown to have influenced Greek civilization, and in the bottom Ancient Egyptian civilization influenced Roman civilization. The Red arrows represent the return of civilization from the West to the East once more, so it flows back from Greek and Roman civilizations to form the Islamic civilization in Egypt and the Levantine. Finally, Islamic civilization flowed back to ‘modern civilization (orange arrows) in Europe. The map shows the continuation between civilizations and the cycles of history, but completely excludes African civilizations apart from Pharaonic civilization (that has more often been described as Egyptian or Arab than African). The problem here is that the Nubian civilization and other African civilizations like Punt were totally dropped. This instance of

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omission is a major aspect of the discourse of power, here the authors use power of ‘exclusion’ whether intentional or non-intentional it is clear that this is silencing. African civilizations are neither considered part of the East or the West, and are not part of the ‘greatest civilizations of ancient times’

This exclusion is also found in other maps. Figure 6



Figure 6. A map showing Ancient world civilization. Grade 10 History book p.13

Figure 6 is found in the same book under the lesson entitled: ‘Factors of the Rise of Civilizations’ the map is entitled ‘Civilizations of the Ancient World’ and excludes all African civilizations including Nubian-associated civilizations like the Kushite Empire. Above the map, a caption states ‘God Almighty has gifted the Arab region with many foundations and factors that helped in the rise of civilization’ Here the map includes Yemen, but excludes other ‘Arab countries’ that are also African, like Sudan for instance. Another instance of omission is found on page 7 of the same book. In the first chapter the first lesson about Civilization and History, historic eras are divided into 4 eras: Ancient Era, Middle era, Modern Era, and contemporary era. While defining each of these eras, Egyptian, Iraqi, Phoenician, Persian civilizations are mentioned under ancient era, Byzantine under middle era, the Christian era, and the Islamic era from China to Andalusia. Whereas the identified rulers of the modern era were the Ottomans, and the contemporary era discusses Europe. Despite the fact that Nubian- associated civilizations

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should have been mentioned under the ancient civilizations, once more they were excluded from the discourse of ‘civilizations’.

The omission of Nubian civilization did not stop at the level of exclusion from maps and table of contents, there were also omissions inside the lesson on Nubian-associated civilization referred to as the civilizations of ‘North Sudan’. The most significant omission is the omission of the time Nubian Empire ruled Egypt. As some archeological evidence suggests since the early 18<sup>th</sup> Dynasty lower Nubia (contemporary Egyptian Nubia) was ruled by Kerma-Kush and not Ancient Egyptians, until Egyptians led by Kahmose, Tuthmosis re-conquest it during the late 18<sup>th</sup> Dynasty (Bourriau, 1991, p. 135). Another time when Nubians ruled Egypt was during the 25<sup>th</sup> Dynasty ‘When king Pianky conquering Egypt, crowned himself Pharaoh at Memphis started the empire ‘known for the ancients as: the Kingdom of Kush and Misr (Egypt)’, that extended from the Mediterranean to the central Sudan.’ Nubians of the 25<sup>th</sup> dynasty continued to rule Egypt until their conquest by Assyrians who ruled Egypt until the 26<sup>th</sup> dynasty King Psmatik succeeded in fighting them and regaining control over Egypt (Keating, 1975, p. 168).

Both instances of Ancient Nubian power over ancient Egypt were totally omitted from all textbooks discussing ancient civilizations, despite having lessons dedicated to rule of Greeks, Ptolemis and Romans in Egypt. Instead when ancient Nubia was mentioned it was usually referred to as either a neighboring country with which Egyptian cooperated especially in trade, or as part of the Egyptian ‘empire’ ruled by Ancient Egyptians with the purpose of securing the Nile water, Egyptian borders, or fighting an enemy. Examples of this omission are found in both Grade 7 social studies book, and Grade 10 history book when discussing the Late Kingdom (dynasties 21:30). The authors omitted any signs of Nubian rule over Egypt (the 25<sup>th</sup> Dynasty) and found it sufficient to refer to the period as the age of deterioration that was followed by the 26<sup>th</sup> dynasty that is considered an age of revival of Egyptian power by Pismatik and Necho. In other times the authors referred to all other colonizers that conquered Egypt during the Late Kingdom like Persians, Romans, Greeks, and Assyrians but not Nubians. The omission seems to be systematic, all references to the 25<sup>th</sup> dynasty are completely omitted. On the other hand, the 26<sup>th</sup> Dynasty is referred to apparently because it is a powerful Dynasty during which Egypt had military advances over its enemies and occupiers ‘the Assyrians’. The period is described as a

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‘renaissance period’ because of the restored ‘freedom and economic independence’. The idea that Assyrians had taken control over Egypt by conquering Nubian rulers of the 25<sup>th</sup> Dynasty is completely ignored.

*..during which the country suffered from weakness that exposed it to the external ambitions and the falling under foreign power, until a prince came and rescued it from this’.* (Grade 7, term 1, p.64)

In the previous excerpts, the authors only referred to the occupiers of Egyptian lands during the Late Kingdom as ‘external ambitions’ and ‘foreign power’, without any details of who those occupiers were. The text continues to recount the story ‘until a prince came and rescued [Egypt] from this occupation’. Then the King Psamtik I of the 26<sup>th</sup> Dynasty is referred to as the ‘conqueror of Assyrians’, and his period is described as ‘the age of renaissance’ that did not continue beyond the 26<sup>th</sup> dynasty. ‘*However the age of renaissance did not continue for long, since the Persians occupied Egypt in 525 BC, ended the 26<sup>th</sup> Dynasty and ruled the country until the 30<sup>th</sup> Dynasty and after them came the Greeks, then the Ptolemais then the Romans, until the Islamic conquest came and saved it from the hands of those occupiers in 641 AD.*’ (Grade 7, term 1, p. 65).

As it is clear from the excerpts all occupiers of Egypt of the Late Kingdom are clearly named ‘Assyrians, Persians, Greeks, Ptolemais, and Romans’ whereas Nubians as occupiers during the 25<sup>th</sup> Dynasty are omitted. The thing which reflects the imbalance in presenting power when it comes to African civilization; Egypt can be represented as a conqueror of African neighbors, but the opposite is not possible. What is also significant and is worth mentioning is that the Islamic conquest is represented as a salvation from occupation and not as occupation. This is another instance of power over African nations as opposed to power of Islamic/Arab nations. It seems that it is not acceptable that Africans rule over Egypt, but it is welcomed that Arabs with the power of Islam rule Egypt, and the Arab conquerors are even considered ‘saviors’. This is a clear reflection of the state’s discourse around the preference of Arabism or Arab nationalism over African-ness of Egypt, and Egypt belonging to the Arab Islamic world.

The same omission is repeated in Grade 10 textbook, which reflects systematic handling of the ancient Nubian rule over Egypt through omission and silencing. ‘*The Modern state ended*



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*and the period of weakness and deterioration began, during which the nation experienced a state of disintegration, lost all its possessions outside the country, and foreign occupation controlled it, starting by the Persian occupation and ending by the Greek'. (p.26)* Here the authors did not have a problem referring to the Persians and the Greeks, although they omitted other occupiers. The key words in this statement are 'starting by', and 'ending by'. There is an implied meaning that before the Persians there was no occupation of Egyptian land during the Late Kingdom, and after the Greeks there was no occupation of Egyptian land (essentially because that is the end of the Dynastic era.). By using 'starting by' the authors omitted both Assyrians and Nubians from the list of conquerors; however, Assyrians have been mentioned as occupiers in other instances in the selected sample, whereas Nubians were never mentioned as occupiers.

To conclude, it is clear that there has been omission of non-Egyptian civilization of Africa. The Nubian civilization was omitted from the discourse of civilizations, and the 25<sup>th</sup> Dynasty known as the Kushite Dynasty was omitted from the parts discussing the Late Kingdom in the selected social studies and history textbooks. These omissions together are significant in framing the African-Egyptian relationship especially when other factors are considered like what civilizations have been included. When the Arab-related civilizations (Islamic civilizations), Asian related civilizations (essentially the Arab-affiliated ones as Iraq and the Levantine), and the Western ancient civilizations (Roman, and Greek) are all discussed as either colonizers, or neighbors with whom ancient Egyptians cooperated, and Nubian rule over Egypt is completely dropped it must be a strong sign of power. In discussing the degree of dialogicality in this part, the silencing or the omission of the 25<sup>th</sup> Dynasty can be considered an attempt to ignore differences in the representation of Nubians, the presented ideas and the systematic omission create 'a truth', in Foucauldian sense, that there was no such thing as Nubian power over ancient Egypt. As Fairclough (2003) puts it is an attempt to "consensus, a normalization and acceptance of differences of power which brackets or suppresses differences" (p.42).

### D. Ancient Egyptian-Ancient Nubian Relationship: The Discourses of Power over Nubia

The previous section explained that there is power exercised over African countries in general and Nubia in specific through excluding them from the discourse of civilization, and omitting any instances of power of Nubia over Egypt. This part is dedicated to show the power-

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relations between Ancient Egypt and Nubia has been presented through lexical choices, assumptions and legitimation, the section will also be concluded with a comment on the discourses the text is drawing upon, and the text's degree of dialogicality. Before getting into the analysis of the discourse of power present in the textbooks, it helps contextualize the nature of power-relations between Egypt and Nubia in ancient times through the lens of archology in some detail.

According to Shennie (1996) archeological evidence refers to some Egyptian presence in Nubia during the Old kingdom in Buhen, stronger presence during the Middle kingdom evident through the accounts on Egyptian military expeditions in Lower Nubia, and the establishment of forts by Senusret I, and later forts of Semna and Kumma south of the second cataract by Senusret III. It is argued that the fortresses were built to have a strong frontier for Egypt in the south "to defend and control the commercial traffic" (p. 79) thus, cannot be considered occupation in a colonial sense. As Shennie (1996) noted, there was no Egyptian occupation of Nubian lands in a colonial style until the New kingdom. According to Shennie (1996) this occupation happened when "Egyptian military and civil administrators ruled in former territory of Kerma and built towns and temples and imposed Egyptian rule so effectively that it lasted for nearly five hundred years and left a permanent impression on the native inhabitants" (p.78). Shennie (1996) argues that the "occupation of Nubia began effectively with Ahmose...the first king of the eighteenth Egyptian dynasty" (p.79), highlighting that during this time "a form of direct rule of Nubia was established under an Egyptian governor or viceroy" (p. 82), and that during this period, Egyptian governors collected taxes from Nubians that were taken to the Pharaoh. Shennie (1996) explains that the taxes were generally "precious and exotic products of Africa- gold ivory, ebony, ostrich feathers and eggs, wild animals, incense and various precious and semi-precious stones" (p. 82). Almost all signs of Egyptian presence in Nubia disappeared by the end of the 18<sup>th</sup> dynasty, and later the 25<sup>th</sup> dynasty in Egypt was ruled by the Nubian king Piankhy, succeeded by Shabako, then Taharqa before the end of Nubian reign of Egypt on the hands of Assyrians (Shennie, 1996; Keating, 1975).

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## 1. Lexical choices

The excerpts below are helpful in trying to understand the representation of power-relations between Ancient Egyptians and Nubians in national textbooks.

- a. 'Nubia *gained great attention from* Ancient Egyptians since its northern parts extended to the borders of Aswan. And for *benefiting from its resources* from diorite, and gold mines in its eastern desert, besides the *desire to establish trade markets in its inhabited areas* and *taking it as a way to connect with the Sudanese* land beyond it.' (Grade 4, term 1, p.48)
- b. 'Among the *most important productions* of Nubia in ancient times are gold, ebony, and ivory.' (Grade 4, term 1, p. 46)
- c. Enriching information

'*Egyptians (frequently visited) Nubian land* and *knew it since the ancient times* with the aim of trade, or mining, or for *repelling raids*, they also *reached the second cataract* under the rule of King Djer, the second King of the first dynasty' (Grade 7, term 1, p.48).

- d. 'King Khafra made his famous statues from diorite *that he brought from Nubian quarries*' (Grade 7, term 1, p.50).
- e. 'Ancient Egyptians started *to pay attention to Nubia* (North Sudan) which *has been a part of the* (Southern) Egyptian borders *since ancient times and still is.*'

The student reader is then asked a follow up question to clarify/justify the interest of Egyptians in Nubia (North Sudan) (Grade 10, History book, p.68).

- f. 'Do you know why? [Egypt has been interested in Nubia (North Sudan)] *for protecting Egypt's Southern borders* from the successive Bedouin raids and *creating trade relations with the region's nations.*' (Grade 10, History book, p.68).
- g. 'Now come along and learn about the features of continuation of civilization between Egypt and *North Sudan* (Grade 10, History book, p.68).

Political and Military continuation

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Ancient Egyptians *carried out many military campaigns in North Sudan for protecting borders, and built military castles and fortresses.* In addition, King Senusret I *divided Nubia (North Sudan) into administrative regions that are identical to the Egyptian division, and hired (recruited) rulers for those provinces and there were members for Nubia working in the Egyptian Army in the Kingdom of Thebes.*' (Grade 10, History book, p.68).

## h. Nubia, the land of glories

Ancient Egyptians named citizens of Nubia (Nubian area) Ta seto, and named their land Ta seti meaning the land of bows because they were known for their skill of bows and arrows and *participated in the Egyptian Army as soldiers for fighting the enemies and defending the homeland*' (Grade 10, History book, p. 69).

i. *Senusret III: 'secured Egypt's southern borders, since he built the fortresses of Semna and Kumma for this reason. Since the Nubian area was considered the strategic depth for Egypt from the South.'* (Grade 7, term 1, p. 55).j. The New Kingdom: The kings of this period were keen to increase their reign (ملكهم) and enlarge the size of their empire... they were able to establish the first empire in history that extended outside the borders of Egypt in Asia and Africa... *including the Levantine, Mesopotamia, and Punt.* (Grade 7, term 1, p. 59).

## k. King Tuthmosis III: Established the first and the oldest empire known to history that extended from the Euphrates from the north to Nubia in the South. (Grade 4, term 2, p. 30)

## l. King Tuthmosis III: 'reinforced (ثبّت) the rule of Egypt in Nubia' (Grade 7, term 1, p. 61).

From the excerpt above, it appears that there are three main recurrent themes or discourses when talking about Nubia. First, the discourse of 'interest' that is mostly related to the Egyptian interest in Nubian resources generally in the light of commercial relations or trade. Second, the discourse of interest in Nubia's geographical location for securing Egyptian borders and repelling raids, as well as accessing trade routes. Third,

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the interest in terms of military power over Nubia, which appears in the discussions about carrying out security campaigns, or establishing an Egyptian empire that extends to Nubia. The lexical choices in discussing these themes have two main features, first they depict Egyptians as the more powerful party in the relationship 'doers' ; second, there is ambiguity regarding the nature of the relationship between the two ancient civilizations.

### Ambiguity

In the analysis sample, the word 'Nubia' was used to refer to different geographical areas, and the word 'Nubians' was used to refer to both Egyptian Nubians and Sudanese Nubians. In the selected sample, Nubia was mentioned 10 times as Egyptian, 11 times as a foreign country (or area), 13 times as Sudanese, specifically North Sudan, and 10 times, it was unclear which Nubia the authors referred to (see Appendix A). The ambiguity extends to discussions about the Egyptian-Nubian relationship, especially, in defining the Egyptian economic and military interest in Nubia. Excerpts a, b, c, and d, all show signs of economic interest in Nubia. The ambiguity in defining the type of economic relation is problematic as it might be interpreted as either an equal relation of trade, or a relation of power where the resources of Nubia are exploited by Egyptians. Especially, that the literature shows that at times there was indeed equal commercial relations, while others there was exploitation of Nubian resources through taxes as (Shinnie, 1996) highlights. Accordingly, this ambiguity could be a sign of covering of power-relations dynamics between ancient Egypt and Nubia.

An interesting example of this ambiguity is excerpt (b). The lesson in which this excerpt appeared was discussing the factors that led to the establishment of an Egyptian civilization, and the statement above was mentioned on the last page of the lesson in a textbox entitled 'enriching information'. As previously discussed, the statement appeared among other bullet points about Egyptian land, people, the Nile, and army that summed up the reasons for Egyptian's superiority over other nations (Figure 3). The statement thus appears to be out of context, but since archeological evidence cited above shows that Egyptian rulers of the 18<sup>th</sup> dynasty received these products specifically as taxes, it could be a hidden reference to power of Egyptians over Nubians, especially that it was preceded by statements about Egypt's excellence and superiority over 'others'.

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Another example of ambiguity shows in excerpt (a) in using ‘Nubians gained attention’ since attention can be interpreted as interest in cooperation terms, as a foreign neighbor that can be a good ally, or in colonial terms as a land that is rich in resources that would be helpful for Egypt. In excerpt (c) ‘Egyptians ‘frequently visited’ (ارتاد المصريون) Nubian land and knew it since the ancient times with the aim of trade, or mining, or for repelling raids, they also reached the second cataract under the rule of King Djer, the second King of the first dynasty’. The use of ‘frequently visited’ (ارتاد) is another example of ambiguity in using language when describing Egyptian-Nubian relationship. These lexical choices rise the questions of whether Egyptians were visiting as neighbors or invaders. When ‘trade’ frames the relationship as an equal-status relationship of power as trade is based on mutual agreement between both nations or at least superficially this is the case, ‘mining’ and ‘repelling raids’ can be considered a sign of power over Nubians. The more powerful usually goes to mine in the land of the less powerful, and uses their land for security purposes. The use of ‘knew’ is also ambiguous, what does it mean to know of Nubia since ancient times? It is not clear what this means, but the use of words like ‘frequently visited’ and ‘knew Nubia’ frame Nubia as an external friend, or a land of interest to Egyptians, outside their own land. The use of ‘with the aim of’ adds to this framing of relationship of power, Egyptians had aims from this relationship, and that’s why they frequently visited the land, this sounds like a one-way interest, a top-down relationship and not an equal relationship of power. The next part of excerpt (c) ‘They also *reached* the second cataract under the rule of King Djer, the second King of the first dynasty’ Here the use of ‘reached’ the second cataract is also unclear, does that mean the Egyptian land was extended to the second cataract during King Djer’s reign? Was it a peaceful ‘reaching’ for trade? The lexical choices create an instance of ambiguity, and can be an attempt to understate the power-relation between ancient Egyptians and ancient Nubians since archeological evidence points to Djer’s ‘reaching’ the second cataract as “sending out a punitive expedition to the second cataract region” (Keating, 1975, p.141).

Lexical choices: Language of power

The theme of military power in relation to Nubia, appeared in excerpts (f), (g), (h), (i), (j), (k), and (l). The first and recurrent military interest in Nubia is presented for security reasons:

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protecting the southern borders, and repelling Bedouin raids through building fortresses (f) and (i). The second military interest is establishing an empire and appears in excerpts (j), (k) and (l). In describing the Kings of the new kingdom as *keen to increase their reign* (ملكهم) and enlarge the size of their empire...in Africa and Asia. Nubia was not stated as one of the areas included in the Egyptian empire in excerpt (j), but then was mentioned in the following excerpts discussing the achievements of King Tuthmosis III. Where the text highlights that the king *established the first and the oldest empire known to history that extended from the Euphrates from the north to Nubia, and reinforced/ stabilized* *ثبتت the rule of Egypt in Nubia*’. Both themes of military interest show power over Nubians, and also legitimize this power using instrumental legitimization (a means to an end) or through moral evaluation legitimization, through positively presenting the military power over Nubians as a great empire ‘oldest empire known to history.’

The language of power is also very evident in the lexical choices showing Egyptians as actors, and Nubians as acted-upon. Some examples are, Egyptians *payed attention, knew, frequently visited* Nubian lands, *carried out several military campaigns and built military castles and fortresses*’ in their lands, *reached the second cataract, brought* resources and *mined* in their lands. Egyptian kings *divided* Nubian lands into provinces that are identical to Egyptian provinces and *hired* governors for these provinces. Egyptians even *named* citizens of Nubia (Nubian area) Ta seto, and named their land Ta eti meaning the land of bows’. The only actions Nubians carried out in all the previous excerpts is that they *participated* in the Egyptian Army as soldiers for fighting the enemies and defending the homeland’, basically serving Egyptian interest. Additionally, in context of military power, the only time they were described in positive terms ‘The land of glories’ (f), which essentially benefited Egypt as they worked for Egyptians.

**أولاً : التواصل الحضارى بين مصر وشمال السودان :**

بدأ اهتمام المصريين بمنطقة النوبة (شمال السودان) ، والتي كانت جزءاً من الحدود (الجنوبية) المصرية منذ أقدم العصور ولا تزال ... **فهل تعرف لماذا ؟**

وذلك بغرض تأمين حدود مصر الجنوبية من غارات البدو المتلاحقة ، وإقامة علاقات تجارية مع شعوب المنطقة.

**والآن تعال ممّا تتعرف ملامح التواصل الحضارى بين مصر وشمال السودان ...**

**–التواصل السياسى والعسكرى :**

قام المصريون القدماء بالعديد من الحملات العسكرية إلى شمال السودان؛ لتأمين الحدود، وأنشأوا العديد من القلاع والحصون الحربية، كذلك قام الملك سنوسرت الأول بتقسيم النوبة (شمال السودان) إلى أقاليم إدارية شبيهة بالتقسيم المصرى بالإضافة إلى تعيين حاكم عليها، وكان هناك أفراد من النوبة يعملون بالجيش المصرى فى مملكة طيبة.

أحرص على التبادل التجارى مع دول الاتحاد الإفريقى.

**أعلم**

أن النوبة تنقسم من العصر الفرعونى إلى جزئين الأول مصرى داخل الحدود المصرية والآخر فى السودان الشقيق ولذلك يجب أن نحدد أن النوبيين فى جنوب مصر مصريين ولهم كل الحقوق وعليهم كل الواجبات كأي مواطن مصرى.

جنود النوبة المصريون

Figure 7 The issue around Nubian identity and Egyptian-Nubian borders (Grade 10, History book p. 68)

Excerpts in Figure 7 from Grade 10 history book are some of the most significant excerpts in all the textbooks discussing Nubia, as power is very clear in them, especially that the struggle around the meaning of Nubian identity and Egyptian borders are evident here. First, the idea that in the title of the lesson Nubia has been referred to as ‘North Sudan’ without using the word Nubia at all establishes that Nubia and Nubians discussed in the lesson are non-Egyptians, a foreign nation. This can be an admission of the existence of a separate Nubian civilization that existed in (North Sudan), but the content of the lesson makes the relationship between the two civilizations, one of power. Second, the issue of Egyptian borders is also discussed in this excerpt to stress the difference between Ancient Egypt, and Ancient Nubia in ancient times, and Egypt and Sudan in contemporary times. The authors use non-modalized assertions to stress that Nubia (North Sudan) to have been ‘part of Egyptian (Southern) borders since the most ancient times, and still is’

(جزءاً من الحدود (الجنوبية) المصرية منذ أقدم العصور، ولا تزال) to reflect that this is a truth not to be disputed. Similarly, the textbox on the left of the same page Figure 7 further stresses the difference between Lower Nubia (Egyptian) and Upper Nubia (Sudanese) through non-modalized assertions, but this time with clearer lexical choices explaining that Lower Nubia has been ‘inside Egyptian borders’ and Upper Nubia has been ‘in Sudan (the sister state)’ since the



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pharaonic era'. Third, the text establishes through the same textbox that contemporary Nubians in Egypt are Egyptians, and in Sudan are Sudanese. In saying 'Nubians in south Egypt are Egyptians and are entitled to all the rights and responsible for all the duties like any Egyptian citizen', there is a non modalized assertion of the Egyptian-ness of Nubians in South Egypt 'Are Egyptians and are entitled to all rights and responsible for all duties like any other Egyptian citizen'. The clarity here is intentional as the rest of the page is strictly referring to Nubia as the other (North Sudan). Thus, the lexical choices serve in stressing the Egyptian-ness of lower Nubia and the foreignness of Upper Nubia not only in contemporary times, but also in ancient times.

Despite stressing the Egyptian-ness of the Nubians of Egypt in ancient and contemporary times, the struggle over meaning of Nubian and the Nubian identity is reflected in discussing the Nubian soldiers. After establishing that Nubia in North Sudan was under the power of Egyptians under the reign of, Senusret I, the authors use ambiguous terms to refer to Nubians, and specifically, Nubian soldiers. First, the authors highlight that there were 'persons from Nubia' [افراد من النوبة] working for the Egyptian Army in the kingdom of Thebes'. Second, a picture Figure 7 on the bottom left side of the page was used to show Nubian Soldiers with a caption that reads: Egyptian soldiers of Nubia [جنود النوبة المصريين]. Both instances the lexical choices are vague, and do not clearly reflect the identity of the soldiers. 'Persons from Nubia' could mean that they are non-Egyptian, but come from Nubia, and serve in the Egyptian Army, especially that Nubia has been consistently referred to as North Sudan throughout the lesson. Whereas 'Egyptian Soldiers of Nubia' gives a confusing meaning as it considers those soldiers Egyptians. Translating the caption is problematic as it is vague in Arabic; were the soldiers Egyptians who were placed in Nubia, or Nubian soldiers who became Egyptians by virtue of defending Egyptian land? It is unclear.

The authors' reference to the soldiers as 'Persons from Nubia' could be another attempt to avoid the conflict stemming from questioning their identity (are they Egyptians or Nubians from North Sudan), but if they work for/work in the Egyptian Army then they are 'the other' that is a friend and works for the Egyptian Army. This ambiguity could be an attempt to hide the discourse of power, by implying Nubians willingly served in Egyptian army. In fact, there are

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archeological records of Nubians serving in Egyptian army, but also records of Egyptians serving Nubian rulers (Keating, 1975), showing one side of the political and military continuation between Egyptians and Nubians is another instance of silencing alternative narratives.

Besides the issue of borders and Nubian identity, on the same page the discourse of power over Nubians of (North Sudan) continues. The authors start by discussing political and military continuation of civilization between Egypt and Nubia. However, the choices of words here do not only shape the relationship between Egypt and Nubia in terms of security that has been previously discussed, but also in terms of superiority, since Egypt is represented as the civilized who can bring civilization to the other's land by ruling them. This meaning is implied through the use of value assumptions when discussing how King Senusret I *divided* Nubia (North Sudan), and *hired/recruited* administrative rulers over Nubian provinces that were created to be *identical* to Egyptian provinces. This is a reference to the time Egyptian governors were ruling Nubia that Shinnie (1996) discussed, which could be a representation of a colonial era in positive terms.

After analyzing the lexical choices, the few assumptions, and legitimation of power over Nubia included in the representation of Egyptian-Nubian relationship, borders between Upper and Lower Nubia, and the identity of Nubians, it is clear that there is implicit intertextuality. Despite representing the Egyptian perspective and ignoring other perspectives, the text is clearly drawing upon discourses present outside the textbooks namely, the contested origins of Nubia, issue of borders, and the common origins of Nubians of Lower and Upper Nubia. This intertextuality is however implicit, as the authors do not directly quote or refer to these discourses, but build on them in an attempt to deny them. In measuring the degree of dialogicality in the text, it is obvious that the authors through relying on non-modalized assertions are attempting to create "consensus, a normalization and acceptance of differences of power which brackets or suppresses differences" (Fairclough, 2003, p.42). This is reflected in the references to the issues of borders and Nubian identity from one perspective implying that these are facts and not historical readings especially that the issue of borders in ancient times is not a clear-cut issue.

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### E. Discourse of Continuation with Nubia: Cooperation and Mutual influence

As Fairclough (2001) highlights sometimes the current situation offers gaps that offer spaces for challenging the homogenous discourse, and it is the duty of the analyst to find those gaps or what he refers to as “failures within the domination in the social order, or matters of showing difference and resistance” (p.127). In the analysis of textbooks, I looked for attempts to positively represent the relationship between Ancient Egyptians and Ancient Nubians on the one hand, and to find references to ‘alternative discourses’ or resistance to the homogenous narrative of power of Egyptians over Nubians on the other hand.

In Grade 10 history textbook, when discussing the continuation between Egypt and Nubia referred to as ‘North Sudan’ the authors listed four areas:

1. Political and Military continuation
2. Economic continuation
3. Cultural and artistic continuation
4. Social and Religious continuation

The discourse of ‘influence’ was the controlling discourse over the 4 areas.

Excerpts from Grade 10 history book.

#### Political and Military continuation

Ancient Egyptians *carried out many military campaigns* in North Sudan for protecting borders, and *built military castles and fortresses*. In addition, King Senusret I *divided Nubia (North Sudan)* into administrative regions that are identical to the Egyptian division, and *hired (recruited)* rulers for those provinces and there were *members from Nubia* working in the Egyptian Army in the Kingdom of Thebes.

#### Economic Continuation:

‘Egypt exported to North Sudan copper products, weaponry, and textiles, and import incense, perfumes, mummification materials, oils among others. Aswan was one of the centers of trade in the region, and some Nubian products were influenced by some Egyptian productions/industries like the textile industry and using beads for decorating clothes among others.’

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‘The Kings of the sixth Dynasty also *sent trade missions supervised by one of the head employees*. Among the most famous of those employees during this age was Harkhuf, who is considered the greatest traveler of the old kingdom’

Cultural and artistic continuation:

Excerpts from Grade 10 history textbook

Nubia (North Sudan) was *saturated* with elements from the ancient Egyptian civilization such as building tombs in the form of small pyramids, the method of burial and the paintings of tombs, the spreading of tradition of men wearing large circular earrings. In addition, the Egyptian *artist introduced modifications* to the red Nubian clay and *created very detailed pieces* (Shapes). Egyptian artists *also participated in building and decorating (beautifying) the temple of Kawa and the famous temple of Amon in Jabal Barkal in Nubia; one of the temples in North Sudan.*

Social and Religious continuation:

Nubian elements (North Sudan) penetrated in the Egyptian Life, some princesses in the house of the king in Thebes were from Nubian origin, and Nubia (North Sudan) was influenced by Egyptian ideas about life, death, resurrection and immortality.

Additionally, the Egyptian deities like Amun and Hathor *were commonly worshipped* in Nubia (North Sudan), and Egyptians *acknowledged some Nubian gods and included them among their gods for which they built temples like Dedun that was worshipped in Semna and Khnum that was worshipped in Kumma*. Additionally, Senusret III *was worshipped as a god in the following eras due to his great exerted efforts in it.*

Some Egyptian names appeared among the (owners)/residents of the king in Napata and the spread of Egyptian priests in Nubian temples (north Sudan) until the area of the fourth cataract *had an impact on the spread of the Egyptian culture and beliefs.*

### 1. Lexical choices and Assumptions: The discourse of cooperation and continuation

In discussing continuation with Nubia, the idea of influence was a major theme. The discussion about the influence of Egyptians over Nubians, and of Nubians over Egyptians in

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military and political, economic, culture and art, and social and religious areas reflects the discourse of power and at times the discourse of Egyptian superiority, but also offers areas of representation of the alternative discourse on Nubia as an influencer.

The first area ‘Political and Military continuation’ as previously discussed, the discourse was clearly that of power of Egyptians over Nubians. Egyptians ‘carried out many military campaigns’ in Nubia (North Sudan) and ‘built military castles and fortresses’ on their lands. Egyptian King Senusret I ‘divided’ their lands into provinces that are identical to Egyptian provinces and ‘hired’ governors for these provinces. The only actions Nubians carried in this excerpt is that they ‘participated in the Egyptian Army as soldiers for fighting the enemies and defending the homeland’, serving Egyptian interest. Thus, the influence in the political and military continuation is one-way influence where Egypt influenced Nubia (North Sudan), and benefited from Nubian soldier’s skills.

In the second area ‘economic continuation’, the influence is a two-way influence as Egyptians ‘exported’ to Nubia and ‘imported from’ it certain products. However, when the word ‘influence’ is used it is in the context of Egypt influencing Nubia: ‘and some Nubian products were *influenced* by some Egyptian productions/industries like the textile industry and using beads for decorating clothes among others.’ Additionally, the actor is Egyptian in ‘Egyptian kings of sixth dynasty *sent* trade missions’ to Nubia.

The third area, cultural and artistic continuation, is another example of the one-way Egyptian influence over Nubians. Nubia is described as ‘*saturated*’ with elements from the ancient Egyptian civilization. Egyptians ‘introduced modifications’ to the red Nubian clay and ‘created very detailed pieces (Shapes).’ Egyptian artists ‘also participated in building and decorating (beautifying) the temple of Kawa’, and ‘created’ detailed pieces. All the verbs used are used as actions by Egyptians over Nubians; Egyptians are the ones who influenced, introduced, and participated. The discourse of superiority of Egyptians over Nubians is also very clear in the use of value assumptions; the actions practiced by Egyptians are introduced as actions of positive value. For example, ‘introduced modifications’ implies that the Egyptian touch to the Nubian clay made it better. Similarly, using beautifying ‘تجميل’ the temple instead of decorating ‘تزيين’ is another value assumption, that could mean that the Egyptian artist made the

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temple more 'beautiful' than it would have been had a Nubian artist decorated it . Additionally, describing the temple to be a 'famous temple', a special temple, is another value assumption. Finally, describing the Egyptian clay pieces as 'very detailed pieces' 'أشكال دقيقة للغاية' is also assigning positive value to the quality of these pieces. All the used value assumptions, and lexical choices put Egyptian art and culture in a higher position than Nubian art and culture. When Nubia is described as 'saturated' with features of Egyptian elements, the Egyptian borrowing of Nubian elements is represented as a contribution to the Nubian culture, and not an equal exchange of art and culture.

التواصل الحضاري  
المصري مع إفريقيا

الدرس السابع

كما قام ملوك الأسرة السادسة بإرسال بعثات تجارية يرأسها أحد كبار الموظفين، ومن أشهر رؤساء البعثات في هذا العهد «حرخوف» الذي يعد أعظم رحالة في الدولة القديمة.



إحدى المعابد في شمال السودان

احرص على التعرف على لهجات منطقة النوبة ودورهم الحضاري وتواصل مع أبنائهم.

### ٣- التواصل الثقافي والفني :

تشبعت النوبة (شمال السودان) بعناصر مميزة للحضارة المصرية القديمة، مثل بناء المقابر على شكل أهرامات صغيرة، وطريقة الدفن ورسوم المقابر، وانتشار عادة التحلي بالأقراط المستديرة بالنسبة للرجال، كما أدخل الفنان المصري تعديلات على الفخار النوبي الأحمر وأنتج منه أشكالاً دقيقة للغاية، كما أسهم فنانون مصر في بناء وتجميل معبد كوة، وكذلك معبد آمون الشهير بجبل البركل بالنوبة .

### ٤- التواصل الاجتماعي والديني :

Figure 8 Grade 10 history book p. 69

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منطقة النوبة ودورهم الحضارى وتواصل مع أبنائهم.

ع- التواصل الاجتماعى والدينى :

تغلغلت العناصر النوبية (شمال السودان) فى الحياة المصرية ، كما أصبحت هناك بعض الأميرات من البيت المالك فى طيبة من أصل نوبى، وتأثرت منطقة النوبة (شمال السودان) بالأفكار المصرية عن الحياة والموت والبعث والخلود، كما انتشرت المعبودات المصرية مثل «أمون» «حتحور»، فى منطقة النوبة (شمال السودان) ، كما اعترف المصريون ببعض الآلهة النوبية وأدخلوها ضمن معبوداتهم التى شيّدوا لها المعابد مثل «ددون» الذى عبد فى سمّنة، و«خنوم» الذى عبد فى قمّنة، كذلك عبد سنوسرت الثالث كإله للنوبة فى العهود التالية نظرًا لما قام به من جهود عظيمة فيها.

كما ظهرت بعض الأسماء المصرية بين أصحاب البيت المالك فى نبتة، وكان انتشار الكهنة المصريين فى معابد النوبة (شمال السودان) وحتى منطقة الشلال الرابع أثر كبير فى نشر الثقافة والعقائد المصرية.

الإله النوبى القديم «ددون»

حتحور على أحد أعمدة معبد دندره

Figure 9 Grade 10 history book p. 69

Finally, the social and religious continuation reflects mutual influence, as for the first time in the textbook Nubians are active actors who 'penetrated' the Egyptian life. Some Nubian princesses lived in the Egyptian king's place, and Egyptians 'acknowledged' Nubian gods, and built temples for them. Despite that, all other verbs aside from 'penetrated' are actions by Egyptians over Nubians. For example, Nubians were 'influenced' by Egyptian beliefs, whereas Egyptians 'acknowledged' and 'included' Nubian deities among the gods for whom they 'built' temples, also Egyptians 'appeared' in Nubian King's palace and Egyptian priests 'had an impact' on the spread of Egyptian culture and beliefs. The difference between Egyptian deities *were* 'commonly worshiped' in Nubia (North Sudan), and Egyptians 'acknowledged' some Nubian gods and 'included them among their gods' is striking, as there is higher value assigned to Egyptian deities over Nubian deities.

Although in the four areas of continuation between Ancient Egyptians and Ancient Nubians an image of Egyptian superiority over Nubians is reflected in the authors' choice of lexical items and assumptions; there are points where the authors acknowledged the importance of the Nubian cultural and historical heritage, as well as the influence of such heritage on Ancient Egypt. In Fairclough's terms, this can be an attempt to "bracket difference, [and] focus on commonality, solidarity" (2003, p.42) between ancient Egyptians and Ancient Nubians through representing

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the areas of continuation between them, and showing for the first time Nubians as actors, and influencers. The degree of dialogicality is still low, but can be considered an attempt to include other perspectives.

### F. Attempting to tone-down the discourse of power

Going by the rule set by Fairclough ‘what is ‘said’ in a text is always said against the background of what is ‘unsaid’ – what is made explicit is always grounded in what is left implicit’ (Fairclough, 2003, p.17). It is necessary to look for signs of the unsaid in the text and ask the question of what discourses are drawn upon in the text. Grade 10 history book is the most significant for the analysis not only because it is the only textbook that discusses the Nubian civilization and the Ancient Egyptian-Nubian relationship in some detail, but also because following the discourse of power over Africans and Nubians, the authors use highlighted textboxes in an attempt to positively frame the African-Egyptian and Egyptian-Nubian relationship. This seems like an attempt to tone-down the discourse of power over other Africans. The lexical choices are more positive and inclusive of Nubians and Africans despite the persistence of the discourse of power. The statements (superficially) represent Africa, and Nubia in a positive way through the discourse of inclusion and cooperation. The following excerpts are scattered across the lesson on the continuation of civilization between Egypt and Africa and are examples of the authors’ attempt to down-tone the discourse of power by denying it at times, and by offering a tolerant inclusive image of Egypt at others.



Figure 10: Grade 10 History textbook, p.67



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The excerpt in Figure 10 about Africa frames Africa as the colonized helpless land. The authors use a metaphor as a title to the excerpt 'Africa that is intended to starve to death'. Here Africa is not a doer, the agent is the colonizer that wants to starve Africa to death. The text stresses the African-ness of Egypt through the possessive pronouns 'our great continent'. Then the writers go on to describe the riches of Africa like its fertile land, clear water, and animals in addition to metals and energy resources, 'the thing which made it vulnerable to the occupying invaders who looted it and left it suffering from 'ignorance, disease, conflicts and debts.' Here Africa including Egypt is represented as a place that colonizers are interested in because of its natural resources, and that is an attempt to show solidarity with Africa.



Figure 11 Grade 10 History book, p. 68

'Nubia, the land of glories

Figure 11 is an image of an excerpt titled 'Nubia: the land of glories'. Following is the translation of the excerpt: 'Ancient Egyptians named citizens of Nubia (Nubian area) Ta seto, and named their land Ta seti, meaning the land of bows because they were known for their skill of bows and arrows and *participated in the Egyptian Army as soldiers for fighting the enemies and defending the homeland.*' (Grade 10 History book, p.68).

As clear from the excerpt above, Nubia is positively framed as 'The land of glories' the title sets expectations about the excerpt to be about those glories of Nubia. Instead of stating the

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Nubian ‘glories’ the text authors chose to refer to Nubia from the eyes of Ancient Egyptians, so Egyptians become the doers and not Nubians. Egyptians ‘named citizens of Nubia (Nubian area) Ta seto, and named their land Ta seti meaning the land of bows’. The only actions Nubians carried out in all the previous excerpts is that they ‘participated in the Egyptian Army as soldiers for fighting the enemies and defending the homeland’, serving Egyptian interest. Which is one of the very few instances in which ancient Nubians are described in positive terms.



Figure 12 Grade 10 History Book p.69

## Civilization of Kush

‘It appeared in the area of Nubia (North Sudan) and was a united independent country. Many temples were built in it following the Egyptian temples, and Egyptian deities spread to the extent that the capital of Napata became a twin for the city of Thebes, and a second headquarters for the official god of the country ‘Amun Ra’.’

Attached to the textbox, is a discussion point: ‘Extract from the text what emphasizes the continuation of civilization between *ancient Egypt and Nubian area*’ (Grade 10 History Book, p. 69)

The excerpt in Figure 12 is the first reference to the Kushite civilization. The authors described the Kingdom of Kush as ‘united and independent country’ which is considered an acknowledgement of the independence of a Nubian-associated civilization from the Egyptian civilization. Although the title ‘Civilization of Kush’ implies that the whole passage will be discussing the Kushite civilization, instead the authors chose to discuss the influence of Egyptian civilization over the Kushite civilization. All the details that follow the first sentence show the

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influence of Egypt over Nubia ‘Many temples were built in it following the Egyptian temples, and Egyptian deities spread to the extent that the capital of Napata became a twin for the city of Thebes, and a second headquarters for the official god of the country ‘Amun Ra’. The students are then asked to extract from the text the signs of continuation between both Ancient Egypt and ‘Nubian area’ ‘منطقة النوبة’, instead of just using Nubia; since it has been described as a ‘united and independent country’ in the short passage. Here the tension between Ancient Egypt and Ancient Nubia being separate countries or a country and an ‘area’ is clear, and reflects the struggle over the meaning of Nubia.

Finally, the book presents some advices, and some highlighted pieces of information for the students in an attempt to counter the discourse of power over Africans in general and Nubians in specific.

Examples of such attempts:

- Make sure to communicate with other civilizations and to take from them what is in accordance with our values, our beliefs’ p.5
- Make sure to communicate with African friends p. 67
- Make sure to carry out trade cooperation with countries of the African union p.68
- Make sure to learn about the *dialects* in the area of Nubia, and their role in civilization and connect with their children’ p. 69
- Make sure to learn about your African continent since you are an integral part of it p. 70
- Make sure to cooperate with the Nile basin countries p.67

The six advices scattered across the lesson on African-Egyptian continuation can be considered as an attempt to tone down the strong tone of superiority and power of Egyptians over other Africans, and the issue around Nubian rights. The authors are asking students to achieve seemingly unrealistic goals without opening spaces or offering tools for enabling them to achieve them. For example, students are asked to somehow find a way to ‘communicate’ with other civilization, or, ‘communicate with African friends’, when these are some-what achievable if channels of communication were open, other statements seem to be only ideological statements that are not directed to the students. For example, the 10<sup>th</sup> Grade students are asked to carry out

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‘trade cooperation’ with countries in the African union, and ‘cooperate with the Nile basin countries’. The advices seem to be there in the textbook to prove that Egypt supports trade cooperation with African union members, and is for the creation of channels of communication between Egyptians and citizens of other African countries. However, the way these messages are presented reflects that they might not be advices directed to the students, but political message, or politically correct statements to add to the textbooks.

In analyzing the text for assumptions, the authors’ use of multiple existential and propositional assumption that reflect the discourse of inclusiveness. For example, an existential assumption that Egyptian students (readers of the book) have African friends, this might be resting upon the idea that Egypt has Sudanese immigrants, and refugees from different African countries, but the textbook does not mention anything about where to make these ‘friend(ship)s’ in the first place. The advice for students to carry out trade cooperation with countries of the African union assumes that the students can carry out trade cooperation at this age is a propositional assumption, or an assumption about what ‘can be’ done. How can a student be expected to work in trade on a regional level? This is unclear. As for the advice to learn about the dialects of the area of Nubia, and their role in civilization and connect with their children’ It has an existential assumption about students having access to dialects in Nubia, and this assumption is reflective of the discourse of inclusion. However, the lexical choices ‘dialects of the area of Nubia’ لهجات منطقة النوبة, instead of ‘languages’ could be an attempt to cover the distinctiveness of Egyptian Nubians. The problem, however, increases with the use of ‘connect with their children’ as superficially it seems to be a positive piece of advice, encouraging connection among Egyptian citizens, but calling Nubian ‘the other’ through the use of ‘their children’ (ابنائهم) is reflective of the discourse of othering of Nubians. Here, the student reading the textbook is assumed to be the original Egyptian who will connect with the ‘other’ Nubian children. How does a Nubian student perceive this seemingly positive piece of information, and how do non-Nubian students perceive it are questions worth thinking about. Thus, despite attempting to positively representation the African-Egyptian relationship, and attempting to positively represent Egyptian Nubians, the statements above added another layer to the discourse of power through attempting to hide or refute it.

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What has been discussed here in the six pieces of advice rests upon discourses said elsewhere outside the text these are the discourses of otherness, the discourse of lack of inclusion in Egypt, discourse of lack of cooperation with African countries, the issue around the identity of Egyptian Nubians and their cultural rights, and their relationship with Sudanese Nubians. The advices are highly interdiscursive and intertextual. They seem to be ideological additions to the book to tone-down all the previous discourse of power over Africans and Nubians, and counter balance the discourse of superiority of Egyptians that is evident throughout the lesson. However, the degree of success of these statements in balancing the power dynamics and resisting the discourses (outside the text) against Egypt's policies in relation to African countries and in relation to the issues of Egyptian Nubians is suspected. Additionally, as it is the case with most the excerpts featuring Nubia or Africa, the text is not creating a space for dialogue, it is one sided and attempting to create "consensus, a normalization and acceptance of differences of power which brackets or suppresses differences" (Fairclough, 2003, p.42) by only presenting the one sided Egyptian perspective.

### G. Contemporary Egyptian Nubia in Egyptian Textbooks: Political, Social and Cultural Representation

The previous sections of the analysis were about the representation of Nubians and Africans during the pharaonic era, this section is about the representation of contemporary Nubia in the selected sample of textbooks. Contemporary Nubia has been referred to in the section on toning down the discourse of power, where the textbooks writers attempted to present an alternative discourse to the discourse of power through drawing upon the discourse of cooperation and continuation between African nations and Egyptians, as well as, the discourse of unity and inclusion of Egyptian Nubians. Other than those attempts discussed in the previous section, contemporary Egyptian Nubia, and Egyptian Nubians appeared in the textbooks in three occasions. First in discussing the repercussions of building the high dam and Nubians displacement, second in discussing Nubia as a touristic place with touristic sites, and finally in discussing the distinct culture and history of Nubians. These references were very brief, and not elaborate, but provide insights on the representation of contemporary Egyptian Nubians culture, heritage and struggles. The analysis of this section will rely on the analysis of lexical choices and

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assumptions as well as the degree of dialogicality of the text in relation to two themes: The high Dam and its repercussions, and the Nubian cultural representation.

## 1. First: The High Dam

I consider the High Dam one of the key words, or in Foucauldian terms nodal points for the analysis of the Nubian issue, due to its role in contemporary struggles of Nubians. The High Dam has been mentioned in a positive frame as one of Egypt's post 52 revolution greatest achievements, whereas the issue of Nubians displacement caused by building the High Dam has been referred to only one time in all the textbooks.

The High Dam was mentioned around six times in the selected sample:

- a. 'The high dam *protected* Egypt from droughts and the dangers of floods and it is an *important source* for the generation of electricity' (Grade 5, term 1, p.6).
- b. 'The building of the high dam started in 1961 and it was officially inaugurated in 1971, and it is the *greatest engineering* project in the previous century' (Grade 5, term 1, p. 14).
- c. 'Do you know: That Egypt used to face flooding each year, *until this danger was removed due to building the high dam, which protects Egypt from the dangers of the floods*' (Grade 7, term 2, p. 26).
- d. 'The building of high dam was completed in 1971 *for the preservation of the excess water of the flood, and for generation of electricity and enlarging the area of reclaimed agricultural land. The building of the dam led to the formation of a huge lake to its south known as Lake Nasser, and is considered a permanent reservoir for the flood's water*' (Grade 6, term 1, p. 19).
- e. Among the problems of population of rural areas listed was the displacement of Nubians after the building of the high dam. 'The problem: the displacement of Nubians after the building of the high dam, since the lake's water *submerged their villages*, and agricultural land. State's efforts to solve it: The ministry of population is establishing some residential villages like the village of Abrim, Abu Simbel, Wadi El Arab). The ministry of industry

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is establishing an area for small industries for employing the youth' (Grade 6, term 1, p. 25).

- f. 'With the aid of the School's library and the World Wide Web, learn about how the UNESCO saved these temples' (Grade 5, term 2, p. 32).

## Lexical Choices:

Whenever the high dam was mentioned, it was mentioned in a positive frame: it protected/protects Egypt from the dangers of floods, and created a lake that has become 'a permanent reservoir' of excess water. The High Dam has been described as an 'important' source of electricity generation and 'the greatest engineering project during the previous century'. One of its listed benefits is also increasing the reclamation of agricultural land. The statements above legitimate the building of the High Dam in the light of its benefits as a means to an end, to use van Leeuwen's (2008) terms, this can be considered instrumental rationalization legitimation. The benefits of the High Dam are highlighted, and the repercussions are either silenced or understated. Additionally, there is moral evaluation legitimation in using 'the greatest engineering building of the past century' the use of greatest in the century not only in Egypt but in general is another way to legitimate the building of the High Dam through moral evaluation. The only time that the high dam was referred to as a problem for Nubians appears in the context of problems facing the population of rural areas and the state's efforts to solve them. (e) 'The problem: the displacement (تهجير) of Nubians after the building of the High Dam, since the lake's water *submerged their villages*, (غمرت مياه البحيرة قراهم) and agricultural land.' This statement is the only reference to the Nubian displacement, thus can be considered an attempt to include the discourse of Nubians and their struggle in the aftermath of building the High Dam. However, in comparison to the recurrent discourse of development in representing the High Dam building, the problem is clearly not given sufficient space. All what is offered about the issue is that 'Lake Nasser's water submerged Nubian's villages and agricultural land' and they were displaced, no further explanation of where they moved, or how will they be or have been compensated for their lost lands and homes.

Following the statement of the problem, the textbook explains that the state took two steps to solve the problem. What is interesting about this part is using the continuous tense as if

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the solution is just now being taken, only now the state is establishing residential villages and industrial areas. The ministry of population *is establishing some residential villages like the village and*, ‘the ministry of industry *is establishing an area for small industries for employing the youth*’. The issue of displacement of Nubians goes back to the 60s after the decision of building the High Dam, and the state did provide residential areas for resettling Nubians in Kom Ombo, but the textbook ignores the past events and the state’s approach to solving the problem as it occurred, and only lists the state’s current efforts; ‘establishing’. This could be an attempt to silence difference, or cover the struggle of Nubians in the contemporary times.

Another subtle reference to the damage done to Nubian land is encouraging students to research the internet for information about how the UNESCO helped in saving the temples of Edfu, Dendera, and Philae. Although this is not a clear and direct message that building the High Dam threatened Egyptian and Nubian monuments, as well as Nubian agricultural land, the use of the verb ‘saved’ is a reference to the threat from which the UNESCO saved those temples. If the students are encouraged to read about the UNESCO’s efforts they would learn a lot about the repercussions of building the High Dam, and the Nubian people’s struggles. This part of the text that discusses Nubian displacement and the UNESCO’s efforts in saving ‘threatened’ temples can be considered one of the gaps that Fairclough (2001) discussed that provide an area for alternative discourses to occur. The degree of dialogicality in this part is clearly higher than in any other previous excerpts about Nubia, since the perspective of Nubians is referred to. It was not elaborated or discussed in detail and there are no external voices that are clearly quoted or referred to, so it can be considered an attempt to resolve difference; or bracket difference and a focus on commonality and solidarity. It is a good sign that the authors did acknowledge the ‘displacement’ of Nubians as a problem, yet the discussion was very brief, and did not provide sufficient representation of the struggle of Nubians following their displacement.

### 2. Second: The Cultural representation

There are very brief references to the Nubian cultural heritage, traditions, and languages. Nubian languages are mentioned once as ‘dialects’, there are some references to Nubian temples, and one excerpt that refers to Nubian traditions but does not really discuss them. For example the following statement occurs in Grade 10 History book ‘Make sure to learn about the *dialects in*



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*the area of Nubia*, and their role in civilization and connect with their children' (p. 69). As discussed before the reference to Nubian 'dialects' can be considered an attempt to tone-down the discourse of power and exclusion. The authors are trying to advice the student readers to learn about Nubian 'dialects' and communicate with Nubians. However, in attempting to represent Nubian's distinctiveness, the authors used a language of power. First referring to the Nubian language as dialects, gives the impression that Nubian language is derived from the Arabic language, and is only a dialect. Second, in advising students to communicate with 'their children' the authors created an instance of othering, Nubian children are represented as the 'other' with whom the Egyptian student is advised to communicate. Since Nubian children are in fact receivers of the very same textbooks and are educated in the same educational system a statement like this statement will be read by Nubian teachers and students, and can have the effect of alienating Nubian students instead of integrating them.

As for the Nubian cultural heritage, it appears in Grade 6 textbook:

'Due to the geographical relationship between Nubia and the Nile, Citizens of Nubia/ the Nubian population سكان النوبة have traditions that are related to the Nile, especially in the occasion of birth, marriages, and death. *They also have a cultural heritage that is noble (or deep-rooted) rich, and diverse. The Nubia art reflects the special Nubian culture that is an integral part of the Egyptian history and culture.*' (Grade 6, term 1, p.22).

The lexical choices describing Nubian heritage as '*noble (or deep-rooted) rich, and diverse*' and '*special*' is a clear positive framing of Nubians. Then adding 'integral part of Egyptian history and culture adds to the positive framing and counters the discourse of othering that occurred in previous excerpts, like the excerpt on 'Nubian dialects' and ordering students to communicate with 'Nubians' children'.

This cultural representation, along with the reference to the Nubian displacement can be considered what Fairclough (2001) refers to as "contradictions", "failures within the domination in the social order, or matters of showing difference and resistance" (p.127). The authors are presenting here the discourse of unity through diversity as opposed to the discourse of othering and silencing of difference. This along with the attempts to tone-down the discourse of power

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presented in the previous section can be considered opportunities of positive representation of Nubians within the current situation, providing a space for alternative discourses to occur.

## V. Chapter V: Conclusion

### A. Discourses around Egyptian, African, Nubian

When discussing Ancient Nubia, Nubia was for the most part, discussed as a foreign country, a neighboring African civilization. Whereas, when discussing contemporary Nubia, a distinction was made between Egyptian Nubia, and Sudanese Nubia. Thus, the distinction between Egypt and Nubia in the analysis is a distinction between the two countries or civilizations in the ancient era and not the contemporary era. Through conducting CDA and focusing on lexical choices, assumptions, metaphors, legitimation, in evaluating the text's intertextuality and inter-discursivity, as well as conducting image analysis some recurrent discourse were traced in relation to Africa, Egypt, and Nubia. These discourses did not appear separately, but were hybrids with other power-related discourses.

#### 1. Discourse of Superiority

In discussing topics where ancient Egypt and Egyptians encounter ancient Africans in general - and ancient Nubians in particular, Egyptians were depicted as superior. This superiority as the analysis highlighted was legitimized through stressing the sacredness of Egyptian land, knowledge and power of Ancient Egyptians, especially, military power that allowed Egyptians to exercise power over their African neighbors, build grand temples and fortresses on their lands, and even help them become as civilized. The discourse of superiority appeared in the textbooks through using lexical choices that highlighted Egypt and Egyptians' greatness, power, and excellence. Additionally, it appeared through depicting ancient Egyptians as actors or doers, and other Africans in general including ancient Nubians as subjects upon whom the action falls.

The discourse of superiority of Egyptians over Africans in general and Nubians in specific was also clear in discussing the *other* as an object of Egyptian military and economic interest, due to their resources and strategic importance. The use of metaphors was very significant in showing Egyptians as superior by representing Egypt as a *sacred* land that has been chosen by *God*. Several references to Egypt and the Nile are metaphorical references that show superiority of Egypt and Egyptians.

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When discussing the continuation between the ancient Egyptian and the ancient Nubian civilization in four areas: Political and military , economic, cultural and artistic, and social and religious areas, the influence was generally a one- way influence of Egyptians over Nubians, again through the use of verbs where Egyptians are actors and Nubians are objects of their actions. There were also very few cases where the influence of Nubians over Egyptians was recognized. For example, the social and religious continuation, as well as the economic continuation reflected mutual influence, Nubians are represented as active actors who *penetrated* the Egyptian life and *influenced* Egyptians, and exchanged trade, which can be considered an equal relationship of power. However, even in these instances of mutual influence, the Egyptian influence was presented as superior, and Egyptians were presented as more powerful, more sophisticated, and more talented.

The use of value assumptions was also an important aspect of the discourse of superiority of Ancient Egyptians over their contemporary Nubians and other Africans in general. The actions practiced by Egyptians are introduced as actions of positive value *introduced modifications* implies that the Egyptian touch to the Nubian clay made it better. Similarly using *beautifying* 'تجميل' the temple instead of *decorating* 'تزيين' is another value assumption, that could imply that the Egyptian artist excelled over Nubian artists.

### 2. The discourse of othering of Africans and Nubians

The discourse of othering appeared in different ways. First, through omission and exclusion of non-Egyptian ancient African civilizations from the discourse of civilization including Nubian-related civilizations. Second, through the use of lexical choices that reflect othering to refer to Nubians or Africans, and finally, through using images that showed Nubians as well as other Egyptians as distant from the viewer, or as the other in van Leeuwen's terms (2008). Selectiveness in choosing the narratives to include in a textbook is necessary, but when there are what Fairclough (2003) refers to as 'significant absences' (p.37), or absences of specific narratives when they should have been included, it cannot be discarded. For example, exclusion of all ancient African civilizations from the discourse of civilizations is very significant. When Arab-associated civilizations, European Associated civilizations and Asian associated civilizations are clearly referred to in the textbooks, African-associated civilizations (except for

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the Egyptian Pharaonic civilization) were totally dropped from the table of contents and from images mapping out civilizations of the ancient world (Figures 5 and 6). There was also a clear omission of historical evidence of ancient Nubian power over ancient Egyptians, like the 25th Dynasty, while recognizing other conquerors of Ancient Egypt like Assyrians, Persians, Ptolemis, Romans, and Greeks, and the Arab Islamic conquest of Egypt that has been presented as a positive conquest that is welcomed.

The discourse of othering also occurred in some lexical choices. In the lesson discussing the ancient Nubian civilization, Nubia was strictly described as (North Sudan) to clarify to the reader that this Nubian civilization appeared on the others' land and not on Egyptian land. Although it is necessary to clarify the distinction between Egyptian Nubia and Sudanese Nubia, and stress the Egyptian-ness of today's Nubians in Lower Nubia, and across Egypt, the way the textbook's authors chose to handle the issue contributed to the discourse of othering through superficially tackling the issue of Nubian identity. The textbooks authors stress that that current Egyptian Nubians are Egyptian citizens assuming they are completely unrelated to Sudanese Nubians. There was no reference or explanation offered on why both areas have been called Nubia when they have 'always belonged to different countries? What are the commonalities between Egyptian Nubians and Sudanese Nubians? The textbooks offer a distinction between Nubians of North Sudan, and Nubians of South Egypt, but do not explain any of the contested origins of Nubians, or acknowledge that Lower and Upper Nubia according to archeological evidence could have belonged to the same ancient civilizations.

In referring to contemporary Egyptian Nubians, there were lexical choices that contributed to the discourse of othering. For example, advising student readers to learn about Nubian *dialects*, and *their* role in civilization and connect with *their* children. Clearly referring to the children of Nubians as the other, as different from the student-readers to whom the advice is directed.

### 3. Discourse of Power and Security: Legitimation of actions over the other

Another recurrent discourse in discussing the ancient Egyptian-African and ancient Egyptian-Nubian relationship is the discourse of power. The idea of 'interest' in another nation's land for security and economic reasons has been very evident especially in defining the Egyptian – Nubian relationship. Nubia was presented in the light of possible colonial interest through lexical

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choices, metaphors and assumptions. The rule of Egyptians over Nubia was clear in discussing the military continuation and Senusret I's power over Nubia, as well as Thutmose's ruling an empire that extended to Nubia, but the rule of Nubia over Egypt was completely dropped which clarifies the imbalance in presenting the Egyptian-Nubian power relations.

There are different approaches to legitimizing power over Nubia, but the most evident in the selected sample were what van Leeuwen (2008) refers to as the instrumental rationalization legitimation, and moral evaluation legitimation. The former, is one which justifies action over the other through representing the action as a means to an end, or for a goal, like justifying power over Nubia for security or economic reasons. Whereas the latter, is one that shows the action in a positive moral light, as in implying that Egyptian kings rule over Nubians helped Nubians become as civilized as Egyptians, or showing that the conquest of Nubian lands created a great *Egyptian Empire*.

There could have been also implicit legitimation of animosity with African neighbors, especially, with the Nile Basin countries, due to the *threat* of losing the Egyptian share of the Nile water. This has been done implicitly through presenting the Nile as sacred for ancient Egyptians using metaphors, highlighting its importance to ancient Egyptians and the building of the ancient Egyptian civilization, and suggesting it should also be as sacred for us as today's Egyptians. While the Nile did have a major role in the rise of Ancient Egyptian civilization, and a major role in the existence of today's Egypt, the recurrent theme of national security in discussing the Nile, and stressing the threats of losing Egypt's share, can be considered a reflection of the state's discourse of security in relation to Nile Basin countries.

### B. Degree of dialogicality and text's orientation to difference

One of the main tools of the analysis is measuring the text's degree of dialogicality and orientation to difference. By degree of dialogicality Fairclough (2003) meant the space in text for dialogue between different voices discussing the same issue. Fairclough (2003) identified five degrees of dialogicality that vary from accepting difference through incorporating different voices, to completely ignoring difference through attempting to silence it. He argues that the most dialogical option is when the authors quote different voices, and the least dialogical option is relying on assumptions and assertions to present one perspective and ignore other perspectives.

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After finishing the analysis, it appears that the textbooks authors in representing Nubian-related narratives relied on assumptions and assertions especially value assumptions in presenting ancient Egyptians as superior to ancient Nubians. The Nubian history is presented mostly from the Egyptian perspective of power over Nubians. Contemporary Nubian narratives about their struggles after building the High Dam are completely silenced and only referred to once as one of the *problems* that led to their displacement, but that has been solved, and has been even justified in light of the benefits brought about to the whole nation after building the High Dam.

Contemporary Nubian cultural distinctiveness was reduced to the *dialects* they speak and a reference to their traditions that are related to the Nile. These traditions were only mentioned in a textbox ignoring by the presented discourse the Nubian voices. Additionally, the intra-Nubian distinctiveness was not recognized, as Nubians were generally represented as a homogenous group. The text's orientation to difference mostly falls in Fairclough's (2003) category (e) one that attempts to create consensus, a normalization and acceptance of difference of power which brackets or suppresses differences in most cases, and in some cases in category (c) as attempts to bracket difference and focus on commonality and solidarity. The normalization of difference or creating a hegemonic narrative about Nubians is clear through the recurrent use of assumptions and assertions and total exclusion of voices, whereas the attempts to bracket difference appears in the use of textboxes that highlight Nubian's Egyptian-ness, refer to their distinct cultural heritage and traditions, and present their displacement as a problem. These references can be considered an attempt to positively frame Nubians that have been represented as the other, and thus can be considered a good entry point for improving the narrative about Nubians in national textbooks.

Similarly, representation of African neighbors included assumptions about them being a threat to Egyptian national security, especially the Nile Basin countries who share the most sacred Egyptian source of life, the Nile. The discourses about African countries are all from an Egyptian perspective, and do not discuss issues that are important to African nations, except in representing Africa, including Egypt as a continent that has always suffered from colonial abuse of its resources, attempting by this reference to focus on the commonality between Egypt and all other African nations. Other instances of creating dialogue appear in questions asking students to

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research Nubia, and Nubian culture and traditions, or engage in an online discussion about the Nubian impact on the Egyptian civilization. Which if took place, might be a good opportunity for learning about Nubian culture and heritage from different perspectives. Overall, the textbooks approach to difference is mostly one that creates a hegemonic narrative, and does not open space for dialogue, except for few instances where there are attempts to focus on commonality, which is another non-dialogical option according to Fairclough (2003).

### C. Representation of Contemporary Egyptians in Textbooks

In evaluating the representation of Nubians in textbook images, it was necessary to look into the representation of other groups of Egyptians in order to compare the representation of Nubians to that of other groups. The first realization after looking at the pictures chosen for representing Egyptian groups is that Egyptians were presented as members of a specific geographical area in the light of the professions they assume, and its economic benefit for the nation. Generally, Nubians were considered as a distinct group that works in agriculture as part of Egyptians living in the Valley of the Nile, as opposed to the population of the Delta. Other groups presented included the industrial population that lives across Egypt, and which was generally depicted working in factories, Bedouin residents of the desert who were depicted as shepherds, and the population of coastal areas that was depicted as fishermen.

In analyzing the images relying on van Leeuwen's (2008) tools for image analysis, it appears that there was very little variation in the representation of different groups of Egyptians. In most of the images across different textbooks, the persons in the images were depicted as distant from the viewer or in van Leeuwen's terms as the other. They were all depicted as an object for the viewer's evaluation, unaware of the viewer's presence, and unengaged in any dialogue with the viewer, and finally they were mostly depicted as inferior to the viewer, or if equal, they were still reduced to objects.

The only image that depicted Nubians, Figure 13, was clearly reducing them to the role of entertainers or dancers, dressed in dancing costumes that do not reflect the Nubian dress. Their action as dancing was not referred to as a 'celebration' as is the case with images of Bedouins and coastal area residents when the dance was clearly referred to as a celebration. When all other



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groups were presented doing some job related to their geographical environment, Nubians were only presented dancing.



Figure 13 A group of Nubian men and a woman dancing and a group of men working in a field in one of the rural areas of the Delta

The scarcity of visual images representing Nubians made it difficult to draw concrete conclusions on the representations of contemporary Nubians in textbooks, but gave insights into the representation of different groups. It is worth mentioning that some groups were completely dropped like Armenian Egyptians, Amazigh, as well as Syro-Lebanese. Women were almost not part of the representations of all coastal area residents, and almost all members of the industrial areas were men, whereas women were either Bedouin women working in simple hand-made productions or as shepherds. Apart from the images, the discourses about minorities in specific, and about different Egyptian groups in general is not substantial, and generally excludes their voices, and overlooks the inter-group diversity representing each group as a homogenous group that is presented as essentially homogenous with the rest of Egyptians.

#### D. Egypt's approach to inclusion of Nubians and other Minorities

The results of the study seem to be consistent with the results of national and international studies on inclusion of minorities in textbooks. The literature shows that ethnic minorities are largely underrepresented in textbooks (Attalah & Makar, 2014; Chu, 2015), and that the approach to multi-culturalism in curricula is rather superficial and misrepresentative of the minorities cultures, histories, and struggles (Çayır, 2015). The literature also highlights that in Egyptian national textbooks, the Arab-Muslim identity covers the multiple identities that

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construct the Egyptian nation (Abdou, 2015; Sobhy, 2015). All of these conclusions seem to be consistent with the findings of this study, since Nubians, like other minorities nationally and internationally, are underrepresented in textbooks, and their culture, history and struggles are superficially tackled and sometimes even omitted.

This representation of Nubians can be considered as the state's attempt to recognize diversity in education, but it does not seem to be a very successful attempt as it fails to denaturalize the negative discourses around Nubians or address their struggles. The discourse of 'othering' is present in the textbooks through silencing, omission, and lexical choices, as previously discussed. The discourse of superiority of Egyptian to Nubian in ancient times is also very strong. As for the contemporary struggles of Nubians and their rich cultural heritage, they are reduced to a couple of lines scattered across the textbooks. What is significant is that Nubians as a minority can be considered somewhat represented in textbooks, as opposed to Bedouins who are completely silenced and more alienated, and other minorities like Armenians and Amazigh and religious minorities like Shiites, and Baha'is who are not present in any of the textbooks.

### E. Resistance of Hegemonic Discourses: Spaces for Counter-Narratives

Fairclough (1995), Foucault (2000) argue that the discourse of power that naturalizes certain ideologies opens up spaces for resistance of such power. When the textbooks offer one-sided narratives, and create a homogenous representation of Egyptians, they also create the opportunity to resist such narrative through counter-narratives. In fact, this resistance is currently taking place through different channels like independent media, social media, and civil society organizations. This resistance is also taking place through the works of educational researchers who believe in the value of diversity and try to offer through their various research focuses a closer perspective on power, its uses, its impact, and ways to challenge it in and through education.

As discussed before, different Nubian activists have created Facebook pages, YouTube channels, and blogs to promote their narrative, teach and learn Nubian languages, as well as promote for civil and cultural rights. Lately, there have been short movies, and documentaries offering people's narratives of social and historical struggles of different groups. For example "Jareedy" that was released (2016) is the first movie in one of the Nubian languages, acted by

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Nubians in Egyptian Nubia. “We are Egyptian Armenians” released in (2016) is also a new documentary telling the story of Egyptian Armenians, and historical events in Egypt through the eyes of Egyptian Armenians. Previous attempts include Jews of Egypt (2013), Italians of Egypt (2011) and other minority narratives. These movies can be considered positive attempts to highlight the silenced diversity in Egypt and help Egyptians learn about the different groups constructing the Egyptian nation. These non-formal channels of education can in fact be a good start for encouraging inclusion, and would be very useful if included in the teaching of history lessons at schools.

### F. Research implications for Education: Recommendations for Policy and Practice

One way towards inclusion in education is to provide substantial representation of all groups constructing the Egyptian society; including their histories, culture and traditions from their own perspective in order to move away from the hegemonic discourse. This can encourage students’ understanding of the value of diversity, and open channels for them to make use of this diversity, instead of fearing it. Additionally, introducing other cultures and histories from around the world is also necessary for the world histories and cultures are interconnected, and especially that Egypt, as the textbooks highlight, has been a hub for different nationalities across time. In today’s world, where millions of people are forced to leave their countries due to wars and terrorism, it is essential that the students understand the culture and histories of the affected nations. Especially that members of these nations, whether from Africa like the Sudan, or the Middle East like Iraq and Syria, are gradually becoming part of the Egyptian society. This is a crucial step towards endorsing tolerance and understanding of the other, who has become part of us. It is essential that students become connected to their fellow Egyptians, citizens of Egypt, as well as citizens of the world if we truly want them to become tolerant, and accepting of differences.

Learning about differences and commonalities among Egyptians, and between Egyptians and others is one step, but is not enough, since students need to learn to critically think and make use of this knowledge. Several studies highlight the importance of introducing critical thinking skills to social studies, history, geography, and citizenship education curricula; and moving textbooks’ orientation from telling the students what to think and introducing history as facts, to

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empowering students with critical thinking skills. Abdou (2015) recommends introducing historical thinking skills, he suggests introducing the cultural continuity and change paradigm as a first step towards improving the current hegemonic discourse that covers Egyptian diversity “to prepare the textbooks to become more multi-perspectival and inclusive” (p.21).

Finally, as discussed before, Egypt on the policy level endorses, to some extent, equal social, cultural, and political rights for all Egyptians, what remains is fulfilling these promises on the ground through strategically reforming structures that hinder the achievement of equity whether inside the educational institutions or outside them.

In case of preserving Nubians cultural rights in and through education Nubian languages preservation is very important due to the strong relationship between language and cultural heritage. Since civil society organization and different groups are already working on reviving the Nubian languages, it would be a good opportunity for the state to cooperate with these groups and help develop strategies for saving the Nubian languages from the possible threat of being lost. Including Nubian languages at schools as optional courses, especially, in Aswan where the majority Nubian population resides can be a good start.

Adopting a more inclusive approach to citizenship in and through education requires a reform of structural hindrances to its realization in schools including curriculum reform, policy reform and teacher education. However, as previously noted, inclusion should not be seen as an end in itself, but a step towards achieving social equity and cohesion through education. This will definitely need a more elaborate structural reform on the state level. For the short term, embracing diversity in education through revising and developing textbooks content to be more inclusive, encouraging critical thinking, and protecting cultural rights of minorities, can be considered as good steps towards a more inclusive approach to citizenship that promotes tolerance and learning to live together.

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## Appendices

## Appendix A

Egyptian	Foreign	Sudanese	Unclear/unidentified
10 times	11 times	13 times	10 times
يحرص الاف السياح على زيارة النوبة بأسوان Hundreds of tourists are keen on visiting Nubia in Aswan	حظيت النوبة بإهتمام المصريين Nubia gained the attention of Egyptians	النوبة (شمال السودان ) Nubia (North Sudan) 12 times	من أهم منتجات النوبة في العصور القديمة Among the most important products of Nubia in ancient times..
يقدر دور ابناء النوبة في الدفاع عن الوطن Learns to appreciate the role of children of Nubia in defending the home land	ارتاد المصريون ارض النوبة منذ اقدم العصور Egyptians regularly visited Nubia	تأثرت المنتجات النوبية ببعض الصناعات المصرية Nubian products were influenced by Egyptian industries	صنع الملك خفرع تماثيله المشهوره التي حصل عليها من محاجر النوبة <i>King Khafra made his famous statues from diorite that he brought from Nubian quarries</i>
النوبيين في جنوب مصر مصريين Nubians in South Egypt are Egyptians	اقامت مصر تجارة خارجية مع فينيقيا.. والنوبة والسودان Egypt created trade relationship with Phoenicia. Nubia and Sudan	ان النوبة تنقسم الى جزئين ... الاول مصرى... والآخر في السودان الشقيق Nubia is divided into two parts. the first is Egyptian... and the	اقيمت العديد من الحصون في النوبة Many Fortresses were built in Nubia

## DISCOURSES AROUND NUBIANS

		second in Sudan (the Sister State)	
من ابرز الآثار فى النوبة معبد كلابشة وبيت الوالى ومعبد دندرة وغيرها	أسس اسوار امنمحات المبجل ببلاد النوبة		أقام اقدم امبراطورية عرفها التاريخ امتدت من نهر الفرات شمالا الى النوبة جنوبا
Among the most prominent monuments in Nubia are Temples of Kalabsha...	Built the walls of Amnemhet the great in the Nubian lands		He built the oldest empire in history that extended from the Euphrates in the North to Nubia in the south
جنود النوبة المصريون The Egyptian Soldiers of Nubia	ثبت حكم مصر فى بلاد النوبة		... حيث كانت منطقة النوبة بمثالبة البعد الاستراتيجي لمصر
	Strengthened Egypt's rule in Nubia		Since the Nubian area was considered the strategic depth for Egypt (Grade 7, term 1, p.55)
تهجير سكان النوبة بعد بناء السد العالى حيث غمرت مياه البحيرة قراهم وأراضيهم الزراعية	استورد المصريون من النوبة		من أهم آثار النوبة المعبد الضخم الذى شيده حتشبسوت داخل جدران قلعة بوهن.
The displacement of the residents of Nubia after building the High Dam.	Egyptians imported from Nubia ...		Among the most important monuments of Nubia is the huge temple built by Hatshepsut in Buhen.
سكان النوبة بالوادي	لنوبة ارض الامجاد		انتشرت المعابد فى النوبة .

## DISCOURSES AROUND NUBIANS

The residents of Nubia in the Nile Valley	Nubia, the land of glories		Temples spread in Nubia.
نظرا للعلاقة الجغرافية بين النيل والنوبة فإن لسكان النوبة عادات وتقاليد مرتبطة بالنيل Due to the geographical relationship between Nubia and the Nile.	استنتج من النص ما يبرز التواصل الحضاري بين مصر القديمة والنوبة Extract from the text what highlights the continuation of civilization between Ancient Egypt and Nubia		افراد من النوبة يعملون فى الجيش المصري Persons from Nubia working in the Egyptian Army
كما توجد بمنطقة النوبة العديد من الآثار التي تعكس اشكال التراث النوبي There are many monuments in Nubia reflecting the Nubian heritage	تمر بها السفن لتسهيل حركة التجارة مع النوبة Ships pass through it to facilitate trade with Nubia		ما اهمية النوبة بالنسبة لمصر What is the importance of Nubia for Egypt?
احد منازل النوبة A Nubian house	احرص على التعرف على لهجات منطقة النوبة ودورهم الحضاري وتواصل مع ابنائهم Make sure to learn about the dialects of the Nubian area and their role in civilization, and communicate with their children		ناقش مع زملائك ... الدور الحضاري لمنطقة النوبة عبر التاريخ Discuss with your colleagues the role of (the Nubian area) in civilization across history

## DISCOURSES AROUND NUBIANS

	منطقة النوبة The Nubian area (Nubia)		
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