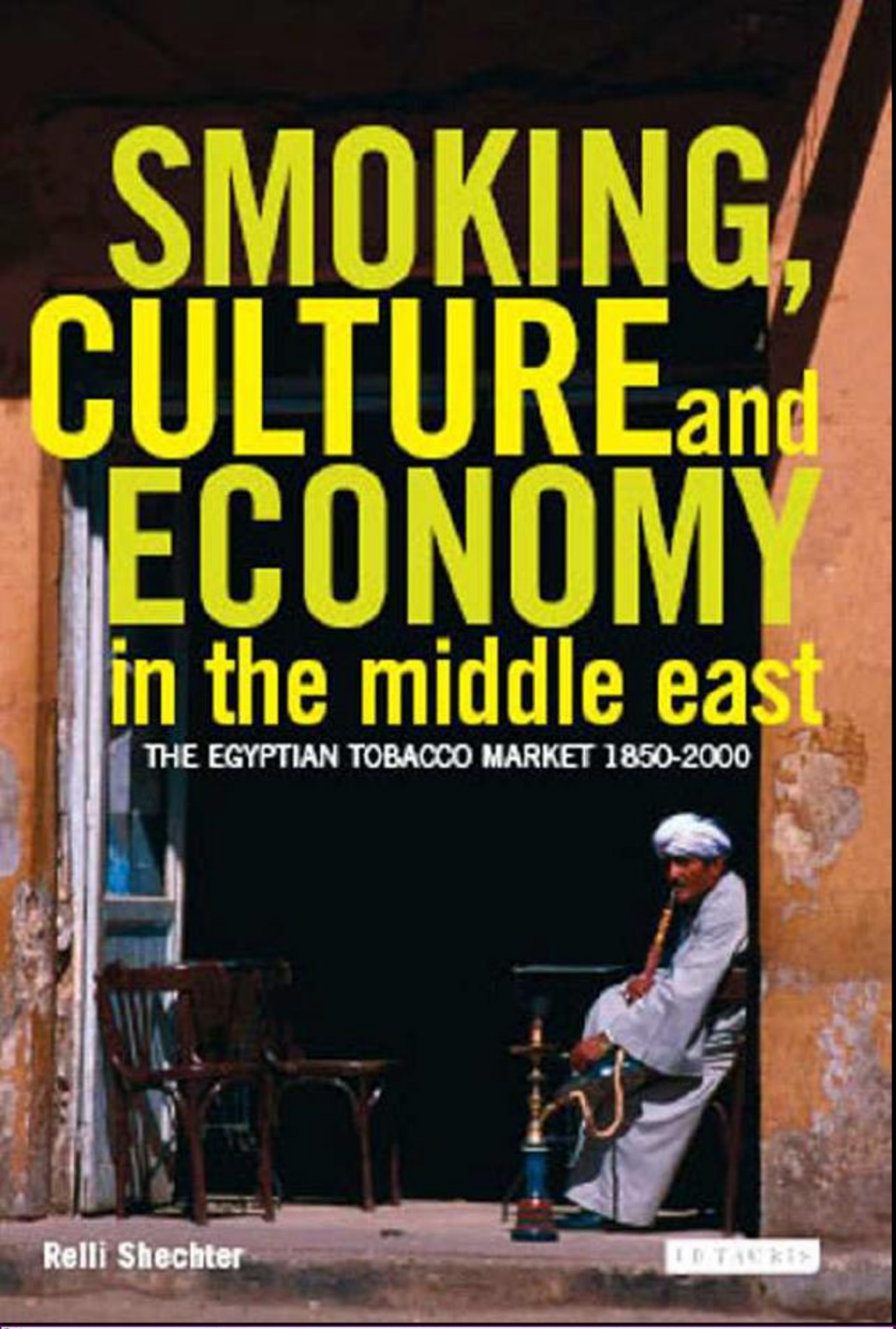
SMOKING, CULTURE and ECONOMY in the middle east

THE EGYPTIAN TOBACCO MARKET 1850-2000



Relli Shechter

I.B.TAURIS

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The Egyptian Tobacco Market 1850–2000

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I.B. TAURIS
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NOTE ON TRANSLITERATION

In the transliteration, I have attempted to use diacritics as little as possible, assuming that those who know Arabic will be familiar with the origin and those who don't can find other venues to study how words are pronounced. I did adhere to the *International Journal of Middle East Studies* (IJMES) conventions in keeping the *ayn* and *hamza*, the convention: -iyya for the adjectival –ya and for the *nisba*, and in capitalizing only proper names. I have also capitalized the first letter at the beginning of a title. Exceptions to the IJMES style were made in two cases: First, when a name or place was more familiar by its Egyptian pronunciation using *g* rather than *j*, e.g., Giza. Second, and more common, using original transliterations of names and places as they appear in the sources. When a variety of transliterations appeared, for example in the case of Azbakiyya, I opted for the standardized Arabic option. Italics appear when a technical term was used and to outline names of publications and films.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

The book started as a Harvard dissertation and thus owes much to this institution and the people who made it possible for me to go through rigorous training and endure the writing process. In particular, Roger Owen was my advisor and encouraged me to continue with the project throughout the years. The two Bobs, Tignor and Vitalis, also read the dissertation. Each, in his own way, taught me to think and write. The year that I have spent in Egypt while engaged in preliminary research and many subsequent journeys were further nurtured by friendships and willingness to help by many. All these people whom I thanked in the dissertation will remain unnamed, but not forgotten.

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INTRODUCTION

The meaning of market

With the exception of mainstream economists, social scientists have long been debating the elegant but reductionist definition of the market as a price-setting mechanism. Alternatives have arrived from many directions: political economists have emphasized the impact of the state and other political players on the production and distribution of goods and services; sociologists discussed how social structures shape various markets; anthropologists and students of culture have studied reciprocities between culture and the economy; and historians have examined diversity in different markets over time.[1] The recent tendency to award Nobel prizes to Developmental, Experimental, and Behavioural economists further suggests that scholars within economics are looking out to revise the neo-liberal orthodoxy. The message coming from research in these various disciplines is that markets, and the economy more broadly, constitute a web of interactions which cannot easily be disentangled. But it is still an open question where this insight will take scholarship. Is the task of investigating the market as a whole too cumbersome and counter-productive? Should research go back to individual disciplinary inquiries, each with its restrictive goals of providing good but limited answers? What does scholarship stand to gain from a more integrated study into markets?

This book sees much advantage in studying the market as such a web of interactions, and it focuses on a single market in discussing the benefits of this approach. It examines exchange, a notion that well expresses a complexity in which producers, sellers, buyers, and the state are involved in economic activity, and whose outcome is further dependent on multiple social, cultural, and political factors. The notion of exchange means both dialogue and reciprocal actions taken by market players, in varying real and symbolic places in which such actions are performed. This definition alludes to similarity between exchanges in markets and other, inter-personal,

exchanges. Like a conversation, market exchange takes place in several contexts, which determine its meaning and outcome.[2] Exchange in both cases also stands for power relations between players, expressed in economic-speak in the terms consumers' or producers' market, but seldom is researched any farther to explain what these terms mean for either side. Most important, exchange in markets and inter-personal exchange both carry the potential of ambiguity and multiplicity of intentions, which scholars have to learn how to discuss, while engaging in research that eschews a catch-all answer to a complex question.

Central to the meaning of exchange is the Polanyite insight of market as embedded in society, social relations, and institutions,[3] and the impact of various forms of embeddedness on exchange. Embeddedness allows distinctions between various kinds of markets: within the same economy it triggers an investigation into different exchanges in diverse markets. Among economies embeddedness alludes to a typology of economic regimes based on the nature of socio-cultural and political control over exchange. Here a command economy stands at one extreme in a spectrum, and a free market economy at the other.[4] This typology does not constitute an attempt to distinguish "traditional" from "modern" economies based on their level of embeddedness in or disembeddedness from society; nor is the intention to describe a shift from a market-place, a concrete context of exchange, to the market, defined as the abstract of such exchange where the principal rules that govern it are supposed to be universal and isolated/detached from outside interference.[5] Such efforts are not flexible enough either in a discussion of transitions in individual markets or in a comparison of different market regimes.[6] Embeddedness goes to the core project of this book, in fostering a better study of the market and the economy more broadly as a complexity which is dynamic and changing, but in less linear venues than considered in the past (see below).

The focus on markets locates the book between fields rather than within any one; most notably, this research makes an attempt to bridge Economic and Business History and Consumption Studies.[7] In respect to the former it responds to a limited focus on the supply side and the study of entrepreneurship, industrial and retailing enterprises, rational (or irrational) business decision making, and economic development more broadly, with little regard to the impact of demand on such issues.[8] There is also a growing dissatisfaction in that field with the sparsity of research dedicated to reciprocity between businesses and society.[9] As for Consumption Studies, the book's contribution goes the opposite way in better situating the cultural study of consumption that mostly dominates this field within the political economy of production, and within state politics that determines demand. In both cases the attempt is to suggest a closer probe of the interactions between supply and demand, and their extra-economic ties, via the study of exchange.

The market has been of much interest to scholars of Islamic societies before the modern era,[10] for this religion was widely spread thanks to the mercantile activities of its early followers. The interest in markets surprisingly waned in a period of fascinating transitions in the economy since the middle of the eighteenth century; the call for research on markets is partially a call to renew such past interest. Research on markets also sits well within the goals of Developmental Studies in looking for a diversity based on local knowledge and a broader definition of development itself – one that incorporates socio-cultural and political parameters in addition to narrowly defined growth embodied in such terms as industrialization or increase in GNP.[11] A better understanding of past and present markets in the Middle East may serve to create better development policies as well.

Modernization, Dependency, and markets

The focus on the complexity inherent in markets is especially useful in countering the lingering impact of two theoretical stands, Modernization and Dependency, which still dominate research and public debates on development in the Middle East.[12] Modernization and Dependency are usually portrayed as diametrically opposed. The first represents the benefits of implementing a Western model of development and a free-market economy outside the West; the second examines critically the inevitability of economic and political dominance of the West over the rest under such a world-system.[13] However, the two share similar underlying theoretical assumptions that ignore the more nuanced realities of development brought into relief when markets are examined more closely. To further demonstrate this point the following discussion of production, consumption, and the role of the state according to Modernization and Dependency juxtaposes their viewpoint with that of the study offered here. My argument and the examples I give pertain to the study of the Middle East, but they may be easily extended to other parts of the developing world.

Modernization and Dependency envision a linear development of supply from "traditional" to "modern", and fit societies in the periphery (colonial or semi-colonial territories) into stages in such transformation. The two conceive the collapse of traditional manufacturing and trade as preconditions for this transformation.[14] For Modernization this clears the way for economic development, but successful "take-off" depends on adopting a Western economic model and borrowing the socio-cultural and political institutions required for such a model to work.[15] Dependency, by contrast, suggests that the West never intended the rest to follow in its footsteps, and it uses economic and political power to block development in the periphery in an effort to maintain a "division of labour" more suitable to its own capitalist interests. Alternatives to either development through total renewal or under-

development under total domination are hardly considered, even those actually in operation on the ground.[16] Workshop manufacturing, the most significant lingering form of employment in production, has hardly been studied.[17] Neither approach, furthermore, makes much attempt to understand the development of industry and businesses in terms of exchange between unique local demand and supply. Natural protection (based on transaction costs and local preferences), technological adaptations, and especially the rise of repair and refurbishing services, conditions that shape distinctive economic patterns in the periphery, are also little considered. As a result, the venues where significant numbers of those employed in the economy earned their living before and after Western interference remain obscure.[18]

With large scale enterprises as their model for economic development, Modernization and Dependency have assigned a major role to the state in encouraging and bringing about economic transitions. According to Modernization, the state has been a central modernizing force, and its success or failure has been measured by its ability to create an infrastructure (physical and legal) to facilitate industrialization and to implement reforms, for example in education, to ease the transfer of knowledge from the West. The ability of the state to serve as a positive vehicle of change, i.e., to allow the introduction of free markets, has largely hinged upon its concurrent successful transformation into a national, Western-style liberal-democracy. For Dependency, modern state formation in the periphery has been associated with colonial or semi-colonial domination of the Core over local politics. Periphery states have been used as a tool in controlling local populations and enforcing Core interests in other parts of the world. For this reason Dependency largely saw national liberation movements in a positive light, and encouraged involvement of the state in the economy after liberation – to compensate for lost time and the relative weakness of the national bourgeoisie in supporting economic development.

Although the role of the state in encouraging or discouraging the development of supply was amply studied, most scholars from both schools have disregarded the state as legislature and regulator of demand. This, one suspects, has more to do with a broader paradigm that has dominated economics and the social sciences until recently, according to which research has been preoccupied with production rather than consumption of goods and services. The notion of exchange in markets enhances research into the political economy of state interference in supply; but it also looks into the less discussed politics that determined quality and quantity of commodities, entitled subjects/citizens to consume certain goods, and banned others.

Modernization and Dependency assume exports of modern goods and services and wholesale transfer of their intellectual/cultural baggage with little regard for their reception in local markets. Modernization has broadly taken such imports to be positive steps whereby colonial/developing

countries gradually converge to Western levels of production and consumption, and local people become more modern. Adaptation of modern culture based on secularism, individualism, and rationalism is further envisioned as a pre-condition for local economic growth and political freedom. For Dependency, material and cultural imports embody the unequal relations between the two sides because they facilitate Western economic growth via international commerce at the expense of less-developed countries. Western-style consumerism in periphery countries further enforces Dependency by establishing markets for commodities and services manufactured in Core countries, frequently at the expense of satisfying the real needs of societies mostly living close to subsistence level. For Dependency, still more for neo-Marxist cultural critics who share much of its negative view regarding the role of the West, Western cultural transfers are the continuation of Western Imperialism but by different means. Imported culture gradually replaces the local one, depriving non-Western peoples of self-expression and enforcing visions of the West as superior. Dependency suggests that consumption of imported material and cultural commodities has carried the problems of Western consumer society deeper into the periphery.[19]

Periods of fast globalization in the last part of the "long" nineteenth century (until World War I), and more recently since the late twentieth century, have surely demonstrated a large increase in international commerce and convergence in the availability of goods and services worldwide. However, growing evidence, including that in this study, suggests a more reciprocal exchange of commodities globally than the usual account, according to which finished or more sophisticated commodities reach the East from the West. Research into international trade also suggests a more complex transfer of goods and services that are specifically tailored to local markets. Modernization and Dependency further lack the sensitivity of recent insights coming from Post-Colonial and Subaltern Studies that emphasize agency and resistance in shaping local culture and identity.[20] They miss a nuanced research into Cross-Cultural Consumption that shows an interactive and open-ended reception of commodities, which is determined by mixed markets that sell old (traditional, Eastern) and new (modern, Western) commodities side by side. They further disregard consumer agency and resistance, and the potential hybridity of meanings inherent in consumption.[21] These insights nourish research on the complexity of markets in the periphery.

The Introduction so far calls for an understanding of the market as a web of interactions between various players and in varying contexts; taking different forms of market embeddedness within one economy and between different economic regimes to be crucial to understanding exchange. It has explored

the advantages of studying exchange against the backdrop of Modernization and Dependency and their linear, universalistic, and rigid structural approach, which created opposite but symmetrical views of economic development and under-development. The alternative, a more integrative and process-oriented research into markets, is not entirely new. Nevertheless, those using it are from a variety of disciplines, they apply it to set different agendas in their own fields, and cooperate little. Sidney Mintz, an anthropologist, studies production and consumption of sugar in the context of British colonial history.[22] His research exposes the close interactions between the development of a slave sugar plantation system in the Caribbean islands, and the Industrial Revolution that raised demand for sugar in Britain. David Hancock examines "reciprocal influence" and "conversation" between cultivators, producers, merchants, and American consumers in the creation of Madeira wine.[23] This approach enables Hancock, a historian, to demonstrate the significance of the Atlantic Ocean as a viable economic and socio-cultural unit. Fine and Leopold's "systems of provision" are reminiscent of the two approaches in bridging the gap between supply and demand and enjoying the dividends of bringing politics of production and socio-cultural aspects of consumption together.[24] The authors, coming from political economy, also rightly argue that past research on supply and demand has suffered from over-generalization, the result of aggregating markets for dissimilar commodities. Their project entails an effort to correct such oversights within national economies. While the study of markets as a complexity has not established itself yet as a field, it does draw the attention of scholars who stretch disciplinary borders to allow a more integrative research into synergies between economic and a variety of other socio-cultural and political market exchanges.

The Egyptian tobacco market, research objectives, and outline

Research into the history of tobacco facilitates a long-term perspective on continuity and change in Egyptian markets. Tobacco was consumed by rich and poor, and its study allows discussion of high and low/mass end-markets. A variety of tobacco products and smoking vehicles (pipes, water-pipes, snuff, and later the cigarette) make it possible to investigate fashions and shifts in consumer tastes and production over time. This is especially true for the cigarette, whose introduction stood for wider changes in local preferences, and the entry of modern commodities into existing and novel markets. Even more so, the cigarette was an international commodity whose study allows comparison with other places and offers insights into the global and local ways in which it was produced, sold, and consumed. For the state, which initially resisted the introduction of tobacco, this commodity became a major source of revenue, and the state became a large player influencing both

supply and demand. The study of the tobacco market is also significant in itself. Tobacco has been a major health risk, a large consumer expenditure, and a highly significant consumption habit in everyday life throughout its history. Tobacco production has also been one of the largest industries for commodities in Egypt and elsewhere. The current debates on government regulation and its production and consumption make the historical study of this commodity all the more relevant (see Epilogue).

The book is divided into three parts. The first examines the introduction of tobacco into the Ottoman Empire, including Egypt, and the later trajectory of the Egyptian cigarette as it became a unique colonial commodity sold worldwide. Chapter one discusses the creation of a new but "traditional" tobacco market in Egypt, one established by strong consumer demand, which finally overcame much opposition from the state. The tobacco market was indeed later co-opted by the state into the Ottoman command economy, a system that was designed to benefit the economic welfare and political stability of the empire. In the long-standing debate in historiography on the nature of the command economy, the analysis of the early tobacco market takes the middle ground on the question of agency in shaping the Ottoman market. It illustrates the flexibility and determination of the state as well as other economic players (consumers and producers) as they negotiated the place of this new trade in an already established system.

Chapter one further discusses a complementary process in which tobacco consumption was integrated into everyday Ottoman life. It provides the setting for chapter two, which begins with an analysis of changing consumer preference that stood at the core of establishing a new cigarette industry in Egypt. It also provides the setting for a discussion of representation of later tobacco consumption patterns in chapters seven and eight. Chapter two argues that the transition from the long pipe (chibouk) and the water-pipe (narghile) to the cigarette represented wider transitions in Egyptian consumption patterns. In this context, it explores old and new notions of leisure in Egypt as they were expressed in smoking. The chapter shows that the cigarette was so welcomed because while hinting the new lifestyle of its smokers, it also made possible the expression of older notions of time and sociability. Spreading at the same time around the world, the Egyptian cigarette, the chapter argues, was both a global and local commodity in the way it was produced, sold, and consumed. The cigarette was a "versatile commodity" that well indexed a variety of transformations in markets with the introduction of a more elaborate "world of goods" into Egypt.

The history of cigarette production in Egypt nicely demonstrates a period of "laissez faire" capitalism in a colonial country, in which a group of mostly foreign entrepreneurs was successful in producing luxury handmade cigarettes for local and international markets in a period of rapid globalization. Chapter two, however, emphasizes consumer demand as a major

factor in providing the initial impetus for the industrialization of cigarette production. Even more so, local consumer demand triggered cigarette production in Egypt (and other parts of the Ottoman Empire) earlier than elsewhere. The chapter examines the role of Greek entrepreneurs in building the industry, and managers, workers, and working relations in the business. It further discusses the restructuring of the Egyptian tobacco market, which is a textbook example of cooperation between expatriate businessmen and the colonial authorities, to the mutual benefits of either side. In the period before the First World War, the history of the Egyptian cigarette industry was an exception from the usual account of "division of labour" between centre and periphery because most of the production of these cigarettes was exported from Egypt to Europe. The study of such early industrialization further develops into a discussion on the role of cottage industries and small businesses in economic development in Egypt and elsewhere.

Chapter three discusses the unique place of the luxurious, handmade Egyptian cigarette in the history of retailing and advertising in Egypt; this territory in historical research has hardly been trodden for Egypt (or the Middle East). It further discusses a corresponding development in which the Egyptian cigarette (and "Turkish" cigarettes in general) became fashionable globally. The exotic image of the Egyptian cigarette in the eyes of consumers worldwide played a major role in its initial success in overseas markets. The chapter also engages in a cultural analysis of the development of Egyptian iconography (national imagery), which was enhanced by the commodification of tobacco and the promotion schemes, including advertising, used in selling cigarettes. It studies commercialized representations of Egypt, for example, on cigarette packets, and argues that they were no less important than more highbrow cultural products such as newspapers, books, and the visual arts in spreading such a national imagery. In sum, the first part of the book explores the meanings of "traditional" and "modern" markets in studying the role of consumers, producers/sellers, and the state in their establishment, and the wider interrelations of such markets with contemporary political structure, global trade, and local culture.

While the first part mostly discusses exchanges in upper class consumption, and the lucrative Egyptian cigarette, the second part of the book looks at the development of a mass but modest tobacco market where the majority of Egyptians bought their daily smoke. It explores the dynamics between consumers and producers/sellers, operating under the constraining realities of a highly price-sensitive market, and it further emphasizes the role of the state in shaping such a market. After the First World War the Egyptian cigarette industry experienced a rapid transformation when production for world markets collapsed, and manufacturers were left to compete for production for the local market of less-affluent consumers. It was a period when a large multinational, the British-American Tobacco company (BAT), was finally able

significantly to control the market after mechanization of the industry and a fierce struggle between local manufacturers. Monopolization of the industry by BAT further demonstrated the kind of corporate capitalism that became typical of Egypt of the period. Transitions in selling cigarettes quickly followed new modes of production and the changing consumer publics.

Chapter four examines consumption patterns of smokers living close to subsistence level, namely the majority of consumers throughout the period under discussion. It gives an account of life under poverty and inequality expressed in tobacco consumption, but it is especially attentive to the smoking "survival strategies" of the less affluent, which well indexed life under economic constraints. To date this topic has been little explored in consumption studies, whose main focus is on emerging markets where consumers progressively grew richer over time, in developed and developing settings alike. Chapter four also shows that state involvement affected less affluent consumers most severely because their demand was highly elastic – any change in taxation and regulation of the business exerted a powerful effect on poor consumers because it immediately meant a compromise on the quality or quantity of their smoke.

Chapters five and six discuss the impact of such a curtailed demand on local production. Chapter five starts with a discussion of early production and distribution to a modest but mass market, where only businesses that grew fast and developed economies of scale could survive. This was especially so after a bitter process of late mechanization, in which human cigarette rollers in the industry lost their place to machines. Furthermore, in the aftermath of mechanization the majority of smaller manufacturers succumbed to amalgamation in the business. This created a duopoly in the market consisting of the largest Egyptian manufacturer which merged with a tobacco multinational and a much smaller but efficient local competitor who survived this market convergence. Monopoly and duopoly were (and still are) a regular feature in the Egyptian economy; the explanation most often given for their existence is the relatively small size of the market in which they operated. While no doubt true, such an explanation is hardly supported by significant empirical research, which is provided in chapter six. Here a close inspection of production and distribution in the Eastern Tobacco Company, the largest tobacco manufacturer, furnishes insights into supply-side decision-making as the company attempted to reshape demand for tobacco to its own advantage. Using a unique set of data from the Egyptian Department of Companies, the chapter further investigates the involvement of Eastern (and of its parent company BAT) in the Egyptian tobacco market as a case in studying the pros and cons of foreign direct investment in a developing economy.

Before and after the First World War the state played an important role in shaping the tobacco and cigarette market, which is another major theme discussed throughout the book. In 1890, the colonial state gave a major

commercial advantage to Greek and Armenian importers over local tobacco merchants as it banned cultivation of tobacco in Egypt. But a decade or so later it refused to lower tariffs on re-exported tobacco to support these producers in their competition for international markets, which was one of the main reasons for the downfall of the export industry. More nationalistic governments after 1923, and even after 1952, declined to forego major benefits from indirect taxation on tobacco which the British introduced into the country. In both colonial and nationalist settings, the state demonstrated that its financial needs were more important than supporting producers and consumers (see Epilogue for similarities with the situation today). Since 1947, with the introduction of an Egyptianization law, but more effectively with the nationalization of foreign industries and services in the wake of the Suez war, the state replaced private capital in running production and selling of cigarettes in Egypt. In following this process chapter six provides a long-term perspective on the transition from private to state production and its impact on local markets.

While the second part integrates research into supply and demand in mass but modest markets, the third part takes such market realities into the cultural sphere (and vice versa) in discussing the social life of the cigarette and other tobacco products. Although price certainly played a major role in determining who smoked what, the cultural politics of smoking did not simply derive from economics. Rather, as chapters seven and eight demonstrate, representations of smoking in the press (including advertising), literature, and cinema constituted a significant part of the contemporary discourse on personal and group identity, and power relations between various social segments in Egypt. These chapters indeed trace a process of cultural canonization in which this cultural discourse increasingly reflected the gaze of a new "middle" in Egyptian society, an *effendi* group who negotiated a place for themselves as modern but authentic Egyptians. They examine the politics of social stratification expressed in various patterns of tobacco consumption which show exchanges between markets and culture, and study how personal, group, and national identities were negotiated through various manifestations of "You are what you smoke."

Chapter seven investigates smoking and otherness, or the venues where the new *effendi* group discussed its social place in relation to lower-stratum *shisha* (water-pipe) smokers and upper-class cigar puffers. It argues that *shisha* smokers were portrayed as authentic but backward, while cigar consumers were delineated as modern but foreign. Chapter eight examines *effendi* cigarette smokers – male, female, and youth, their smoking patterns, and the social hierarchies of power expressed in smoking within this group. It further studies notions of being modern but authentic by examining cigarette consumption in varying social contexts. The chapter explores the intricate meanings of such metaphors against which the *effendi* group re-defined itself.

It also discusses the cultural politics in which the cigarette was associated with modernity, gender, and the marginalization of women smokers, and explores the interaction between prevalent cultural norms and promotion of cigarette sales by advertising and other marketing techniques. This, in turn, had a significant impact on the tobacco market in shaping local demand. Finally, the chapter compares and contrasts smoking patterns in Egypt with those in Britain, probing local vs. global meanings of tobacco consumption and differences in smoking between the two places which well indexed wider economic and social gaps. In all this, part three expands the research on markets into the way they interact with the cultural meaning of consumption but it also studies the impact of culture on demand, and by extension on transformations in markets. Part three further challenges a uniform understanding of the "global" cigarette (and of other commodities) by suggesting that local interpretations of smoking interact, but at times also contradict global ones.

An extended epilogue aligns the three parts of the book in a concluding discussion on the tobacco market as both a physical and symbolic location where consumers, producers, sellers, and the state interact. The epilogue further brings the reader into the present with a discussion of the contemporary tobacco industry, partial privatization of the business, the current campaign against smoking, and the return of the water-pipe into fashion.

Part One

Novel Commodity – New Markets

1

TOBACCO IN EARLY-MODERN OTTOMAN ECONOMY AND DAILY LIFE

During the early sixteenth century, the European "age of discoveries" and an increase in international commerce led to the introduction of new staple commodities worldwide. In the literature on the Ottoman Empire, however, coffee is the only commodity seriously discussed for its economic and socio-cultural impact on local life.[1] Tobacco was another such commodity; the political economy of its dissemination and the discourse surrounding it demonstrate contemporary response to cross-cultural consumption and the creation of a new "tradition". Even more so, the entry of tobacco into already existing Ottoman markets allows interesting insights into the command economy of the period.

Early-modern Egypt (the period roughly corresponds with the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries) was part of the Empire; the reception of tobacco and the establishment of a tobacco market in this province closely interacted with transitions in other parts of the Ottoman state. As we shall see in the next chapter, this was the case even much later, after the cigarette was introduced to the Ottoman Empire in mid-nineteenth century. For this reason, the following account on the establishment of a new trade and a socio-cultural practice examines tobacco in the wider context of the Ottoman Empire with special reference to Egypt.

Reception and "counter blaste"[2]

Unlike most other substances such as sugar, chocolate, coffee, and tea, tobacco spread around the world without the backing of any empire but solely as a result of consumer demand.[3] Introduced into different royal courts and discussed by herbalists and doctors for its various medicinal merits,[4] tobacco was enthusiastically embraced by consumers from all social classes.[5]

The fact that tobaccos cause addiction must have played a major role in the rise in consumption of the new leaf, although it was its socio-cultural attributes that made its use a constant fixture (see below). Furthermore, because cultivation was not monopolized by any single source, a wide range of cultivators soon acquired the seeds. The tobacco plant readily adapted to cultivation in new soils and this further accelerated its expansion.

The Ottomans began to consume tobacco in the early seventeenth century, about a hundred years after it first arrived in Europe as a novel American curiosity. Ottoman Yemen was the first province to encounter tobacco in 1590 through merchants plying the trade routes of the Indian Ocean.[6] In 1598 or shortly thereafter, tobacco found its way to Syria and Egypt,[7] and about a year later English sailors and traders brought it to Istanbul.[8] Thereafter, tobacco spread throughout the Empire almost simultaneously.

The entry of tobacco for common consumption worldwide was met with stiff resistance. We can actually trace the spread of tobacco by scanning the years in which rulers decreed an official prohibition against consumption: England 1604, Japan 1607–1609, the Mogul empire 1617, Sweden and Denmark 1632, Russia 1634, Naples 1637, Sicily 1640, the Papal States 1642, China 1642, the Electorate of Cologne 1649, and Wurtemburg 1651.[9] Many in the Ottoman empire opposed the new fashion and deemed smoking a despicable social habit. Around the year 1635 the historian Ibrahim-i Peçevî (1574–1650) wrote:

> Sometimes I had arguments with friends about it. I said: "Its abominable smell taints a man's beard and turban, the garment on his back and the room where it is used; sometimes it sets fire to carpets and felts and bedding, and soils them from end to end with ash and cinders; after sleep its evil vapour rises to the brain; and, not content with this, its ceaseless use withholds men from toil and gain and keeps hands from work. In view of this and other similar harmful and abominable effects, what pleasure or profit can there be in it?"[10]

Consumption of tobacco was also rejected for economic reasons because, for example, in seventeenth-century western Anatolia, tobacco cultivation as a cash crop diverted land and resources from much needed foodstuffs.[11] Since smoking required the use of fire, it constituted a constant threat to city dwellers. Indeed, a disastrous fire that broke out in Istanbul in August 1633 spurred Murad IV to undertake a ruthless campaign against smoking.

Much like coffee, which was introduced into the Empire earlier than tobacco, the public debate over the use of tobacco was conducted in religious terms. However, until the turn of the seventeenth century, the debate over the legitimacy of coffee also involved a reaction against the coffeehouse, which officials of the Ottoman state saw as a potential hotbed for many social and political evils.[12] Because tobacco was not known at the time of the

Prophet, and therefore is not named in the Koran or the Sunna, the legal debate was based on the principle of deduction by analogy (*qiyas*). Legal scholars interpreted general guidelines stated in the Koran or the *hadith* to support their arguments for or against its permissibility. Relying on religious principles and terminology, the main question under debate was if the consumption of tobacco was harmful to the user and his or her surroundings. Those who advocated prohibition often quoted the Koranic verse "He made good things allowable for them and foul things forbidden."[13] This faction argued that tobacco was harmful and therefore forbidden. Pro-tobacco ulema, on the other hand, relied on a different verse: "He it is who created for you what is in the earth, as a whole."[14] They argued that tobacco was part of God's creation, and therefore saw no fault in its consumption. The use of tobacco was finally allowed by a *fatwa* by the chief mufti of Istanbul, Mehmed Baha-i Efendi, who earlier, in 1634, had been dismissed and exiled for smoking.[15] Despite this early *fatwa*, the question remained a source of much legal controversy in subsequent centuries.

Besides the religious debate a political struggle was being fought to eradicate the consumption of tobacco. In 1631 Murad IV tried to curtail tobacco consumption by outlawing its cultivation in the Empire,[16] but this campaign was not effective. In 1633 he therefore forbade tobacco consumption outright and inflicted severe punishment on smokers.[17] He also banned coffee and ordered the closure of all coffeehouses, where coffee and tobacco were consumed together.[18] This ban did not produce the desired results but proved that coffee and tobacco consumption were already well rooted.

Although tobacco consumption spread rapidly soon after its introduction into the empire several generations passed before it became a legitimate social practice. This is demonstrated by the lack of representation of smokers in art. According to Keall, "It is only in the coffeehouse illustrations of the eighteenth century and later that smoking seems to have become a moderately respectable pastime that could be freely illustrated."[19] This observation suggests that for an extended period of time the consumption of tobacco while common was at best tolerated rather than an acceptable practice.

Smoking in everyday life

Discussing tobacco consumption as an integral and intimate part of the local lifestyle creates theoretical and practical difficulties for the historian. Since the Ottomans themselves did not bother to document what they probably considered a trivial part of day-to-day life, in the following description we rely on European visitors to the Empire, whose accounts constitute the main source for this survey.[20] Travellers reported at length on this practice among men, women, and children of all classes. They came from a different environment so their testimonies should be taken with a grain of salt,

considering their limited understanding of local society and scarce access to sources. The descriptions in this and the next section therefore are an attempt to combine travellers' reports into illustrative accounts of the place of smoking (and other forms of tobacco consumption) in Ottoman day-to-day practices. The aim is not to set out an authoritative description on how and why individuals and various social groups within the Ottoman society smoked. Rather, it is to put the limited and sometimes biased information to good use by examining habits, locations, and meanings of smoking based on such historical reports so as to suggest a general etiquette of smoking shared by society at large.

Smoking started after the morning prayer, accompanied by a cup of coffee and continued throughout the day: after each meal, during a break from work, waiting for customers in the bazaar, and on various social occasions. Smokers consumed tobacco alone or in the company of family, friends, or business associates. They smoked in the privacy of their homes and in public spaces such as the workplace and even public baths (*hamam*).[21] The coffeehouse, which was established in the sixteenth century to promote the sale of coffee, became especially associated with tobacco consumption. Indeed, pipes were more prevalent in the coffeehouse than coffee.[22] Customers brought their own long pipes (most often called chibouk) and tobacco to the coffeehouse.[23] To increase their revenues, coffeehouse owners (*qahwagi*) also offered their customers water-pipes (*narghile*, *shisha*, or *goza*: see below) which were used for the consumption of tobacco and hashish.[24] While the use of the chibouk would later disappear with the introduction of the cigarette, the commercial interests of coffeehouse owners helped to preserve the water-pipe as a prevalent smoking device.

Before the introduction of tobacco into the Ottoman Empire, substances were not consumed by smoking.[25] Ottomans consumed hashish and opium, for example, mixed with a beverage or food. This was not unique to the Empire. The Chinese also started to smoke opium only after the introduction of tobacco. Ottomans adopted the process of smoking and the pipe at the same time. Between 1601 and 1603 pipe smoking became common in Egypt.[26] In 1612, when William Lithgow travelled between Aleppo and Damascus, tobacco pipes were already in use.[27] However, the Ottomans naturalized the pipe by developing their own unique versions. During the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries the typical chibouk was made from a long stem of wood that connected the *hajar*, a vessel made from clay that contained the tobacco burned in the pipe, to the mouthpiece. The pipe was generally between four and five feet long, although some pipes were shorter and others much longer. As we shall see, the quality of the pipe and its length were significant social signifiers during this period.

The water-pipe, a Persian invention, also dates from the early seventeenth century.[28] It was used to facilitate the smoking of Persian tobacco (*tumbak*),

which has a stronger taste than other tobaccos. The name of the water-pipe, *narghile*, is a variant of the Sanskrit word for coconut, *nariyal/narikela*, which passed to Persian via Hindi.[29] As the meaning of this word suggests, a coconut shell was initially used as a water container through which the smoke was filtered and cooled before it reached the user. A clay bowl holding the tobacco was placed on top of the container. The tobacco was burned by charcoal placed on top of the bowl and a flexible tube connected the container to a mouthpiece. In Egypt the water-pipe was called *shisha* after a glass container came to replace the traditional coconut shell.[30] During the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries elaborated glass containers came from Venice;[31] from the late eighteenth century a major source of such glassware was Bohemia. This serves as an interesting example of how world trade was integrated into the chain of supply of what we now consider a "traditional" commodity. The *goza*, (still made from a coconut shell connected to a cane tube) was used by the urban poor and the fellahs (peasants). Until the arrival of the cigarette, the pipe, and not the water-pipe, was the most common smoking device. This was because the pipe was easier to carry, and therefore its use was not limited to the house or the coffeehouse like the water-pipe.

In addition to smoking tobaccos, the Ottomans also consumed chewing and snuffing tobaccos. Such ready-to-use tobaccos were usually preferred by nomads because they did not require lighting a fire in order to smoke.[32] Snuff was also preferred by religious scholars (ulema), again because it did not require igniting a fire, a hazardous task for those in proximity to books. Although we find snuff makers' guilds in Egypt in the early nineteenth century, snuff was not the preferred tobacco consumption habit among the majority of Egyptians who lived in the countryside. When Mehmet Ali's short-lived tobacco monopoly tried to promote snuff among villagers, it met protests from the village sheikhs who said that no one used it.[33]

The socio-cultural meanings of smoking

The task of assigning meaning to smoking is quite complicated because there are no accounts on this matter. I therefore attempt to infer such meaning from the "archaeology" of the practice itself. I examine the physical qualities of pipes and tobacco to suggest what their use entailed and what symbolism it carried in Ottoman life. Pipe smoking required lengthy preparation. First the pipe was assembled, filled with tobacco, and lit with charcoal. It also required constant maintenance by the smoker or the person in charge of the pipe. Furthermore, as discussed below, the Ottomans chose to smoke very long pipes to ensure the cooling of the smoke before it reached the smoker's mouth. The size of the smoking device usually confined the smoker to one place and kept the smoker's hands occupied. Such practicalities suggest that tobacco consumption required much time, limited movement, and concentrated attention.

Tobacco use was also an act of ultimate consumption – transforming a substance into smoke. The fact that smoking, unlike eating or drinking, was not essential to sustain life further represented the satisfaction associated with spending time and resources on one's own non-utilitarian desires. At the same time, tobacco did not have a powerful consciousness-altering effect, which other drugs such as hashish or opium had; it could be integrated into one's everyday life without significantly interfering with one's mental state.

The practicalities associated with preparing one's smoke, the symbolism of smoking, and the fact that smoking was not related to any productive outcome, suggest that it was a clear manifestation of spending time for the sole purpose of pleasure. It was a practice closely associated with the individual's ability to enjoy free time, as well as a socio-cultural celebration of leisure through consumption. Because tobacco and pipes of different quality were widely available, this expression of leisure was not restricted to the upper class but shared by all. However, the quality of the smoke and the smoking device, as well as consumption of tobacco in various social settings, were visible manifestations of the smoker's place in society.

Because the pipe functioned as an important status symbol, the Ottomans paid much attention to its quality. Lane's elaborate description of the pipe is but one in a long tradition of European descriptions of the luxurious Ottoman pipe:[34]

> The greater part of the stick (from the mouthpiece to about three-quarters of its length) is covered with silk, which is confined at each extremity by a gold thread, often intertwined with coloured silks, or by a tube of gilt silver; and at the lower extremity of the covering is a tassel of silk. The covering was originally designed to be moistened with water, in order to cool the pipe, and, consequently, the smoke, by evaporation; but this is only done when the pipe is old or not handsome. . . . The mouthpiece is composed of two or more pieces of opaque, light-coloured amber, interjoined by ornaments of enamelled gold, agate, jasper, carnelian, or some other precious substance.[35]

The above description and contemporary illustrations of smokers and pipes[36] demonstrate the development of an elaborated craft that produced different kinds of pipes according to price and varying fashions. The remains of pipes are important today in the periodization of Ottoman archaeology based on their typology.[37]

Apart from the quality of the pipe, paintings and written reports on the smoking practices of the Ottoman elite illustrate that its size corresponded to the status of its user.[38] The affluent also used different kinds of pipes in accordance with the season, alternating between a hot smoke in cherry-stick pipes and a cold smoke in pipes made from *garmashak*, according to Lane, or jasmine, according to Phillips.[39] While regular smokers carried their pipes,[40]

the affluent kept a servant or a slave who carried their smoking devices and prepared their smokes for them. Moreover, the rich and powerful consumed high quality tobaccos, whose delicate smell made a strong impression in a society where everyone appreciated a good smoke. To have leisure time to smoke and the freedom to do so whenever one desired was another way to represent a person's ranking in society. Because tobacco was such an important symbol of power, the young were not allowed to smoke in front of their parents.[41] The distinctions suggested above strongly testify to the place of the pipe as a signifier of social hierarchy within Ottoman society.

Smoking also conveyed a variety of messages in accordance with the public spheres in which the tobacco was consumed. Because the use of tobacco was so widespread, offering tobacco was a standard act of courtesy when entertaining guests, family, and friends and at official gatherings. Travellers also gave and received gifts of tobacco as a token of appreciation for the help they hired and for their hosts. For the poor, sharing a smoke was a common practice in the countryside as well as in the city. Collective smoking probably reasserted a sense of belonging and communality. The sharing of the pipe also symbolized a mutual commitment to support an individual in times of need. Consumption of tobacco and coffee at the bazaar served to create a bond between buyer and seller in order to smooth the way for business transactions. According to Lane, "To a regular customer, or one who makes any considerable purchase, the shopkeeper generally presents a pipe (unless the former have his own with him, and it be filled and lighted), and he calls or sends to the boy of the nearest coffee-shop, and desires him to bring some coffee."[42] Offering a pipe and coffee before getting down to business communicated to the buyer that the seller appreciated his business. The practice of offering tobacco and coffee also communicated a certain generosity and a readiness to please, which implied that the soon-to-follow bargaining process would be carried out to the buyer's satisfaction.

Smoking on all such occasions suggests its multiple cultural meanings and the fact that this once imported consumption habit became an integral part of Ottoman-male material culture. A more subtle analysis of smoking, which better contextualizes it into Ottoman daily life, cannot be performed with the available data. Before the emergence of modern culture and new media including literature, cinema, and the press there are limits placed on the historical imagination that guides our "reading" of male smoking. (See chapter seven and eight for a more elaborate discussion of smoking habits and their meaning in Egypt during the first half of the twentieth century.)

It is even harder to infer smoking practices and their meaning for females during this period. European travellers in the Ottoman Empire often suggested that tobacco consumption among women was as common as among men.[43] At the same time, women would not ordinarily smoke in public, if only because they were regularly excluded from such spheres. Since

travellers had only limited access to the homes of local inhabitants, where women spent most of their lives, travellers' reports require some qualification. The women whom travellers encountered in public spheres such as the market place were usually of the urban or rural poor. Travellers also encountered women who worked in socially stigmatized professions like prostitution and dancing. These travellers' accounts represent a certain bias toward reporting tobacco consumption among women who were less compelled to follow conventional social practices.

Some travellers, mostly women, did get access to the harems of the Ottoman upper classes. Their accounts indicate the smoking practices of the female Ottoman elite, which were quite similar to those of males of high social status. Following these accounts, Davis also suggested that although we do not know exactly when these women began to smoke, by the eighteenth century smoking "was one of women's favourite pastimes"[44] (see fig. 1.1). This periodization correlates with the preceding discussion on the acceptability of smoking as a social practice within Ottoman society in general.

The sparse information we have allows only a glimpse into the two extreme poles of women's tobacco consumption. Lower class women, because they lacked social standing, and upper class women, because they were rich and powerful, smoked regularly. Other than that, we do not have sufficient information clearly to answer the question to what extent did the majority of women in the city and the countryside consume tobacco.

A market like any other

The introduction of a new commodity into an already established Ottoman command economy allows insights into its ways and means. In Ottoman historiography, a statist perspective has emphasized the motivation of the Ottoman centre to sustain three legged, political economy: provisioning (of cities, army, palace, and state officials), increasing the fiscal revenue of the state (by encouraging economic activity), and preservation of the traditional order.[45] Scholars, in turn, examined how the state implemented these principles or failed to do so in times of crisis. More recent work on a variety of Ottoman provinces tends to downplay the power of the state and contest the centrality of the state's role in Ottoman economic life. Instead, scholars assign more agency to the impact of regional, group, and private interests.[46] The following discussion takes a middle position showing that while the state failed to prevent entry of tobacco into markets it soon regulated and taxed the new trade, thus "co-opting" it into an already running system.

Because the tobacco plant could be grown in different climates, local cultivation started soon after the reception of tobacco for consumption. Egyptian cultivators introduced tobacco in the early seventeenth century.[47] By

Fig. 1.1 Women's smoke. Notice, in this unusual miniature from the early eighteenth century, the two women in the middle of the picture who smoke the chibouk. Source: Unknown artist, *"Hamse" of Atayi.* Courtesy of The Walters Art Museum.

the 1630s, tobacco was cultivated in western Anatolia and the Fertile Crescent,[48] as well as in the neighbouring Safavid Empire.[49] Later that century, it was also cultivated in Syria and the Balkans.[50] Tobacco became a widespread cash crop even before the political/religious controversy over its consumption had settled down.

The same was true regarding the taxation of tobacco. Against the objections of some state officials, tobacco nevertheless became an important source of revenue for Ottoman coffers. This was especially so because the state rendered tobacco, like coffee and alcohol, an "immoral" commodity and a "luxury" item, which it could tax with little popular resistance in contrast to other dietary staples. For precisely the same reasons taxation of tobacco, in one form or another, became the norm all over the world.[51] Initially the Ottoman government subjected tobacco growers to taxation similar to other cash crops cultivated on state lands, regardless of their use.[52] However, financially draining military campaigns, resulting from Habsburg counter-offensives in 1683–97, caused the government to increase taxation on tobacco. To benefit from taxation further the state increased control over tobacco production and sale, and the new revenue system also included duties on cured tobacco. Moreover, the Ottoman government came to control the production and sale of snuffing tobacco.[53]

During the seventeenth century, when commerce in tobacco first started in Egypt, a guild of tobacco sellers was registered on the *subashi's* (police prefect) lists.[54] The *subashi* was responsible for all "immoral" and criminal guilds, and tobacco sellers were lumped under his supervision together with prostitutes and pickpockets. This further strengthens the impression that the Ottoman authorities made little socio-cultural discrimination regarding the source when it came to extracting revenues.

The government strictly controlled import and export of tobacco. This had less to do with the principle of provisioning, one of the three legs of the Ottoman command economy whereby the state attempted to control international commerce in order to provide adequate supply to Ottoman cities, state officials, and subjects. It concerned a different principle, namely enriching the state by maximizing profits from taxation of tobacco because, with Capitulations (agreements conferring special trading and other rights to European subjects) and smuggling, efficient taxation of imports and exports alike was probably harder to achieve. Until the mid-nineteenth century, commerce in tobacco within the Empire was common, but tobacco was not imported or exported in significant quantities. Global demand for Ottoman, also known as Eastern, tobacco was not high since practically every major European country was able to secure its own tobacco sources through overseas colonies or by local cultivation. The Ottoman Empire became a significant exporter only after a temporary shortage of supply in world markets as a result of the American Civil War.[55] At that time Eastern tobacco gained in popularity in Europe and the United States, and cigarettes made

with such tobacco began to acquire a name for themselves on international markets (see chapter three).

A close look at tobacco commerce in Egypt shows that it was structured along the established lines of contemporary trade in both its organizational and spatial dimensions. Because local tobacco was poor, quality tobacco was imported to Egypt from other parts of the Ottoman Empire, mostly from the provinces of Syria.[56] Tobacco was also imported from Salonica and Cavalla.[57] During the eighteenth century tobacco shipments from Syria arrived at Damietta.[58] Later, with the demise of Demietta as a seaport, tobacco arrived at Alexandria. From there it was transported to Cairo, which was the centre of wholesale commerce and supplied the rest of the country.[59] In addition to the above-mentioned tobaccos, Egypt imported *tumbak* from the Eastern provinces of the Ottoman Empire and Persia. Merchants in Egypt branded tobacco according to its origins. High quality tobacco came from the Latakia area and was known as "mountain tobacco" (*jabali*, or *Latakia* to Europeans). Tobacco from the area of Tyre was of lower quality and its consumption was more common.[60] Local tobacco was called *baladi* or *akhdar*. Price lists in Artin, Girard, and Lane show that each kind of tobacco had a price-range.[61] This reflected the variety in quality within the same brand.

Tobaccos being an imported commodity, wholesale commerce in them took place in the *wakala*, which was the Egyptian name for the Ottoman Khan or Caravansary. The *wakala* served as a guesthouse, storage, and wholesale outlet for the big merchants who controlled the trade.[62] At the turn of the eighteenth century eight *wakalas* specialized in tobacco commerce, although not exclusively.[63] Five of these *wakalas* were situated in the areas between Bab al-Nasr and Gamiliyya and another three in the vicinity of Khan al-Khalili, which were important commercial areas for trade in imported commodities. These were the same areas where lucrative commerce in coffee took place. The location of the wholesale centre signified the importance of the tobacco trade in Cairene commercial life. As was typical for other commodities, tobacco retailers (*dakhakhini*) opened their shops in proximity to the *wakalas* and to one another. Being an import commodity, the tobacco trade was initially dominated by Turks and Syrians. With time Egyptians gradually took over tobacco retailing. However, Syrian and Turkish wholesalers, who maintained commercial ties with the cultivating areas, continued to play a significant role in imports. Although concentrated in Cairo, tobacco retailing was not exclusive to this city. Furthermore, retailing of imported tobacco was not limited to cities in general, nor its consumption to city dwellers. Al-Mansura, for example, was a centre of the tobacco trade from which tobacco was distributed throughout the province.[64]

Like other professions, tobacco manufacture and trade was organized into guilds. A tobacco guild was active in Egypt already when Çelebi visited in the 1670s, some seventy years after tobacco was first introduced into the country.

This was an early development in comparison with Istanbul, where a guild of tobacco sellers was officially recognized only in 1725.[65] Tobacco guilds were divided according to professional specialization and the location of the establishment. In 1801 we find seven different tobacco guilds in the greater Cairo area:[66] snuffing tobacco merchants and merchants of snuff in leaves in Cairo, retail sellers of smoking tobacco in Bab al-Zuhuma, retail sellers of smoking tobacco in Bulaq, sellers of smoking and snuffing tobaccos in Giza, sellers of snuffing tobacco in Bulaq, and sellers of smoking tobacco in Old Cairo. At the same time, Cairo had five guilds of pipe makers.[67] Because pipes were widely used among Egyptians from different social backgrounds, the pipe industry developed to serve a variety of tastes and budgets, but like other professions the industry tended to concentrate in one part of the bazaar. In Cairo, this area was located near al-Nahhasin quarter and named after the industry – the *shibukjiyya* (the place where the chibouk was produced).[68]

The establishment of a new tobacco market in Egypt suggests interesting interactions between the state (and its different representatives), consumers, producers, and sellers, and by extension a more elaborate working of the Ottoman command economy. The initial introduction of tobacco demonstrates the significant role that consumers played in promoting this commodity despite periodic backlashes on the part of the state. Growing consumer demand further encouraged cultivation and commerce in tobacco. The same had been true earlier with the introduction of coffee into Istanbul and other parts of the Ottoman Empire. The authoritarian but pragmatic Ottoman state later relaxed its total ban on tobacco (and coffee) in favour of the benefits of taxation and regulation of the trade within an already existing guild system. The business also became a profession like any other in the location and concentration of wholesale and retail trading, and its commercial practices. The reception of this new commodity demonstrates the notable aptitude of the Ottoman economy to adopt new markets and adapt them to an already running system, as long as they sustained certain equilibrium between consumer, producer/sellers, and the overall goals of the state. The next chapter demonstrates how, when a new colonial political economy emerged, this equilibrium broke down. Egypt would develop an entirely new tobacco market that also catered to a new consumer demand for a novel commodity – the cigarette.

2

BUILDING A NEW INDUSTRY IN EGYPT

The history of the Egyptian cigarette industry breaks away from the usual import-substituting-industrialization (ISI) story on the periphery, and presents an alternative – the establishment of an export-led industry based on local manufacturing advantages and talent. It also highlights the significance of early consumer demand, which is usually little discussed, in a successful transition into modern production. The chapter examines the role of new consumption preferences in spurring the build-up of the industry. It later discusses the changing political economy in a tobacco market under colonial government control, the gradual build-up of a factory system in the industry, and the new working relations within the factories and among workers and employers. In using a multi-causal analysis it connects the process of industrialization with the broader socio-cultural and political realities of Egypt before The First World War.

A shift in consumers' taste

Economic history was traditionally interested in production rather than consumption of things. This trend has been somewhat challenged in the last twenty years or so, since McKendrick, Brewer, and Plumb published their seminal work.[1] Nevertheless, economic historians tend to avoid this topic because explaining transformations in consumption often entails engaging in "soft" (qualitative) evidence rather than hard data; it also calls for expertise in cultural studies to understand the meaning of things and their impact on aggregate demand. In this section I attempt such an analysis in offering a demand side explanation for the transition to cigarette consumption in Egypt (and the Ottoman Empire), a process that facilitated the establishment of a successful cigarette industry. My narrative is not meant to replace production for consumption side explanations of economic transitions. It aims at

examining the benefit of socio-cultural analysis for economic research and the synergy in bringing demand and supply explanations together in examining such transitions.

The cigarette is the most recent fashion in tobacco consumption. Spaniards already smoked cigarettes in the seventeenth century, but the practice did not spread much beyond Spain until the nineteenth century.[2] In the 1830s the French were probably the first to imitate the Spaniards, and in 1843 or 1844 the French monopoly tobacco company was the first outside Spain to sell cigarettes. In the mid-nineteenth century the cigarette also found its way to the Ottoman Empire from France. Upon arrival, the cigarette spread quickly and its use became more prevalent than in France itself. According to one source, about a quarter of all tobacco consumers in the Ottoman Empire smoked cigarettes in the late 1850s or early 1860s.[3] Because cigarettes would later be successfully exported, many came to believe that the cigarette was an Ottoman invention.[4]

What caused smokers gradually to abandon their long honoured smoking practices and switch to this new smoking device? We may start examining the reasons for the change in smokers' taste by looking at the physical differences between the pipe (or the water-pipe) and the cigarette. Compared with pipe smoking, which was labour intensive, the cigarette was an easy-to-use smoke. In fact, the cigarette was a revolutionary device because it included the instrument of smoking and the smoke itself. Unlike the pipe, cigarettes did not require much preparation before being smoked. The cigarette was small and easy to carry and therefore it did not confine the smoker to one place. The cigarette was also a quick smoke since it took only a few minutes to consume.

The physical difference between the cigarette and the pipe also influenced the meaning of their use. While the pipe was a popular pastime, the cigarette represented the opposite: the enhancement of work and at the same time condensation of leisure. This "efficiency" of the cigarette was manifested in several ways: The mobility of the cigarette allowed the user to smoke while engaging in other activities. Its consumption did not require much attention by the smoker and therefore it could be done while he or she was at work. In fact, tobacco proved to be a work-enhancing substance. Unlike other substances, such as hashish and opium, tobacco did not seem to interfere with the mental process to the extent that slowed productivity. Moreover, it probably helped smokers to allay hunger and thirst, so they could concentrate on their work for an extended period. The cigarette was therefore the perfect commodity for obtaining relief and instant satisfaction while at work.

The efficiency of the cigarette as an instrument of leisure goes against the usual account of the ways in which modernity created separated spheres of work and leisure. According to this account, proposed mainly by historians of Europe, modernity stood for a more rigid distinction between work and

free time, and leisure is actually a modern concept that came to represent time free from work.[5] In Europe (especially Britain) such novel notions of a more structured time developed with economic changes, which we associate with the Industrial Revolution and in which working time and the working space became more structured/disciplined and separated units. They were also more sharply opposed to leisure time and leisure environments, which, nevertheless, also became organized (disciplined) in terms of activities allocated to these units (the right and wrong things to do with this leisure). The same account could potentially be put in local terms. Although Egypt did not experience an Industrial Revolution the province did go through significant changes with the introduction there of agro-business, coupled with an increase in labour squeeze and general productivity of work as it became gradually integrated into the capitalist world economy. This together with direct British economic and political control after 1882 further enhanced this process.

But what does the transition to cigarette consumption in fact tell us about such transitions? If we take the description above at face value, the pipe could have re-established itself as a habit of leisure in this new division between work and free time. However, it was the cigarette that resisted this division that came into fashion, because it allowed for leisure while at work, and at the same time catered to more structured leisure outside work. Its private and public consumption was thus efficient not only because it was quick and easy to use but because it enabled bridging the gap of this new dichotomy in everyday life. How this was accomplished by different segments of Egyptian society is explained next.

The cigarette became part of a new office culture that first developed with the establishment of a large state bureaucracy and educated professionals – the *effendiyya*. At the turn of the century, a survey among journalists, professionals best associated with the *effendiyya*, showed that most were passionate cigarette smokers.[6] Because of its work-enhancing qualities, the quick reception of the cigarette may indicate that a new work ethos was developing, putting extra value on efficient use of time, which became more structured and precious, and emphasizing sustained work. Much like the tarbush, whose use spread among this group at the same time, the cigarette was an icon of this new lifestyle. It further represented a break from the past and certain dynamism associated with modernity. The high quality Egyptian cigarette, soon to become famous around the world, was the perfect commodity for this purpose. Its consumption symbolized successful adaptation to global changes while still keeping an authentic Egyptian identity.

The fellah in the countryside switched to the cigarette at a time when a family's workload increased significantly due to the introduction of cotton and an increase in the duties of the corvée.[7] Traditional manufacturing was

gradually making way for production in workshops, and to a lesser extent factories, where work was more regimented and the pipe not welcomed. Because its components were so minimal, the cigarette could satisfy the tastes of the majority of Egyptians who lived close to subsistence level, albeit with lower quality of tobacco and wrapping paper. Furthermore, in the modern selling establishments, which opened in the new commercial districts of the big cities, old bazaar practices such as smoking the chibouk and drinking coffee with the client disappeared. In the bazaar, where this practice lingered, the cigarette replaced the chibouk.[8] In all these cases the transition to cigarette consumption was closely related to the intensification of work and an increase in workload, in which the cigarette offered quick satisfaction and comfort while at work.

The cigarette became a popular smoking device in the modern Egyptian army. An artillery soldier is credited with creating the first Egyptian cigarette, in 1832 during the siege of Acre.[9] When the squad's communal water-pipe broke this soldier rolled cigarettes from paper that was originally used to ignite the guns. Whether this is a true story or not, soldiers surely saw the advantages of smoking the easily carried and quickly consumed cigarette instead of the pipe. The cigarette also better suited the limited tobacco resources of the soldier in the field because it required less tobacco than the pipe. Cigarette smoking was not unique to the Egyptian army. During the Crimean war, British, French, Russian, and Ottoman soldiers smoked cigarettes.[10] As we shall see later, soldiers played a major role in the spread of cigarette consumption worldwide, and in so doing they furthered the initial success of the Egyptian cigarette industry.

The cigarette was not confined to the workplace or the battlefield, but also entered social life. There it represented the quality of this smoking vehicle in reverse – providing a business-like atmosphere in spaces of leisure. In Egypt under the khedive Ismail, the cigarette replaced the pipe at official gatherings. One day in 1869 the khedive was entertaining a group of American officers serving in his army.[11] After the reception the officers were offered cigarettes, coffee, and sherbet. This practice continued, for example, on one occasion in 1882, when British officers received cigarettes from the khedive Tawfiq.[12] Cigarette stores, which opened in the centres of the main cities, became a fashionable meeting place at that time (see chapter three), thereby well representing new notions of shopping as a form of leisure.

Women of the Ottoman elite also adopted the new fashion, and the cigarette became a favourite smoke in the Ottoman harem.[13] By the early twentieth century, according to one account, "pipe-smoking had gone out of fashion and had been replaced by cigarette smoking."[14] Emmeline Lott offers the following description of cigarette smoking in the harem of Ismail: "Each princess had five slaves to produce each cigarette. One arranged the papers, one prepared the tobacco, one rolled the cigarette, one passed it to the

princess on a silver tray and one handed her a piece of red-hot charcoal in silver tongs to light it with."[15] From this description it is clear that in the harem the cigarette was not used in the same business-like manner as it was by males. Women adopted the cigarette because it was a new fashion and was closely associated with a new Ottoman way of life. At least according to this description, however, their cigarette retained much of the work-intensive nature of the pipe, and therefore also a closer association with an older notion of leisure and of lavish spending of time.

While these descriptions focus on change, the transition from the long pipe to the cigarette was gradual and smokers continued to alternate between pipes and cigarettes. Around 1870 Klunzinger still describes the manufacture of a chibouk.[16] Yet this device was going out of fashion, and the guilds of pipe makers, whose industry eventually became obsolete, later disappeared. Today the pipe, once so prevalent in Ottoman life, completely escapes local collective memory. Although archaeological interest in pipes is growing, only a few samples are available in public collections of Ottoman artifacts.[17] The water-pipe fared better than the chibouk because it was protected by the interests of coffeehouse owners, who benefited from renting it to their clients. The water-pipe even enjoys a revival as a symbol of the local traditional lifestyle in the contemporary ongoing search for meaning and local identity.

Because cigarette consumption was not limited to the upper class and the cigarette was adopted simultaneously (and enthusiastically) by various segments of Egyptian society, the demand for this new product rapidly increased. This significantly played into the hands of Greek and Armenian immigrants to Egypt, who would establish the cigarette industry.

Business and politics under colonial government

Alongside the transition to the cigarette in Egypt, local cultivation and import of tobacco went through major changes, which accorded with wider transitions in the business environment after the British takeover of the Egyptian state. The following analysis of the struggles over state legislation and taxation of tobacco demonstrates how these changes helped to create a new tobacco market in Egypt, but also the broader issue of state and business relations under colonialism. Even more so, it accounts for regional exchanges that resulted from European interference in this part of the world such as migration and transfer of human and physical capital among different parts of the Ottoman Empire that promoted the establishment of cigarette manufacturing in Egypt.

In 1860, the impoverished Ottoman Empire imposed a state monopoly on tobacco.[18] Thereafter the Ottoman government brought cultivation, processing, and sale of tobacco under official control. These measures were especially marked after 1875, when the government issued new regulations

to ensure tighter control over the tobacco market.[19] That year the government delegated the right to collect taxes on the sale of tobacco to the Administration of the Six Revenues, a group of Istanbul bankers who collected six major revenues in order to pay the outstanding Ottoman public debt.[20] Later, in 1883, a tobacco Regie (administration) was established under the auspices of a consortium of several European banks, thus bringing Ottoman resources under direct European supervision.

The new regulation of 1875, and even more so the Regie activity that started in 1884, gave rise to major changes to the tobacco business. According to Quataert, the Regie began to supply cultivators with interest-free loans for up to 50 per cent of the estimated value of their crops. In this way it prevented tobacco merchants and local landholders from participating in financing cultivation. Furthermore, as the Regie started its own manufacturing and selling enterprises it forced out the already established tobacco manufacturers and sellers. As a result, approximately 300 tobacco factories were closed when the Regie began operations.[21] The process that brought tobacco under tighter control also drove numerous tobaccomen, many of Greek origin, to emigrate to Egypt. This group included merchants of tobacco leaf (wholesalers and retailers) and producers of ready-to-use tobaccos. They were soon to take control of the Egyptian tobacco market and reshape it to match their interests.

Tobaccomen started to arrive in Egypt in the 1870s, most emigrating there after the Regie began operations in 1884. They chose Egypt for many reasons: Egypt had a large Greek community, and the newcomers fitted easily into the country's mixture of Ottoman and European cultures. Even more important, Egypt did not have state control of tobacco, as was the case in other parts of the Ottoman Empire, and for certain periods of time in Greece, but it was conveniently located near these major centres of tobacco supply. Cairo, the centre of cigarette production, also had a hot and dry climate, which is required for the processing of the tobacco leaf.[22] Tobaccomen further found a thriving economy, due in large part to the aftermath of the cotton boom of the 1860s and the rapid expansion of cotton cultivation as well as the intensive build-up of an infrastructure to support cotton exports, especially after the British took over. The economic prosperity of the country, coupled with the establishment of large expatriate communities and a class of affluent Egyptians, created a growing demand for quality consumer goods. In fact, Egypt was an ideal place for aspiring businessmen and entrepreneurs of all sorts, who flocked to the country from the Ottoman provinces as well as Europe. Inevitably, emerging businesses, such as the tobacco industry, soon developed to meet these new consumer needs.

The cigarette industry further benefited from the commercial advantages that came with the first wave of globalization in the period before the First World War. Well integrated into the world economy via international trade routes, Egypt was an ideal place to start an export-oriented business, as the

cigarette industry would soon become. Even more so, Egypt became a part of the British Empire, which meant an increase in the volume of tourism and a constant movement of bureaucrats, soldiers, and businessmen in the country. This greatly enlarged the clientele and provided free advertising for the Egyptian cigarette abroad. The Egyptian cigarette industry soon became the most renowned industry in the region and cigarettes made with Eastern tobacco – the plant cultivated in the Ottoman Empire, Greece, and the Balkans – would be globally associated with Egypt. Not surprisingly, under such conditions immigrant tobaccomen quickly re-established their businesses in that country. Shortly after their arrival they would even reshape the Egyptian tobacco market to their own economic advantage.

The arrival of the immigrant tobaccomen created a rupture in the local tobacco market because they did not join the existing tobacco retail guilds and they opened new workshops, factories, and stores outside the bazaar – the traditional location of the trade. Moreover, these newcomers gradually replaced the older tobacco wholesalers and took over imports. Of major significance in this process was the shift in regional sources of imported tobacco. This shift was the result of the Ottoman Regie's decision to transfer tobacco cultivation from the *Sham* provinces to Anatolia and the European parts of the Empire,[23] which led to a decrease in the traditional trade in tobacco from Syria and Lebanon. Furthermore, the change in cultivation areas gave the newly arrived tobaccomen the advantage in utilizing existing networks in these new centres of tobacco. So the creation of the Regie, which impelled many to emigrate, also helped them to re-establish themselves in Egypt. However, it was the new tobacco taxation and import systems, established soon after, and a ban on local cultivation, that constituted the most significant changes and enabled the newcomers to take control of the Egyptian tobacco market.

Changes in tobacco taxation policies had started in 1857, when growing financial needs caused the Egyptian government to tax tobacco cultivation for the first time.[24] Still, the major shifts in taxation started in earnest some twenty years later. In 1878 a group (later organization) of tobacco importers of Greek origin sent a petition to the Egyptian government complaining that the current tax on local tobacco was too low and would ruin the commerce in imported tobacco. The merchants further argued that this endangered the financial interests of the state because tax revenue on imported tobacco would decline. The petition was effective not least because it also benefited the state itself, and the Egyptian government adjusted the taxation system in March 1879.[25] To enforce this tax increase, the government required growers to obtain special permission to cultivate tobacco and imposed high monetary penalties on tobacco grown illegally.

While petitioning the Egyptian government, the group of importers also cooperated with the Greek government, which was trying to open Egypt to

imports of Greek tobacco. Until 1884 the only tobacco imported into Egypt came from the Ottoman Empire. In that year the Greek and Egyptian governments (with the latter now under British influence) signed a commercial convention in which the Greeks agreed to allow the Egyptian government a free hand in imposing a tariff on imported tobacco, in return for the right to export tobacco to Egypt.[26] The Greek government also allowed the Egyptian authorities to search for smuggled tobaccos in Greek owned stores. This part of the convention, whose purpose was to circumvent restrictive regulations based on the Capitulations system, indicates that until then smuggling Greek tobacco into Egypt was common. Soon after the signing of the convention Greece became a major exporter of tobacco to Egypt.[27] Access to high quality Greek imports further improved the position of the newcomers at the expense of the local tobacco merchants.

After 1884, the Greek government developed a keen interest in promoting tobacco imports into Egypt and it lobbied the Egyptian government to limit tobacco cultivation in Egypt. According to Politis, the Greek consul-general, M. Byzantios, reported to his government several conversations he had held on this topic with the Egyptian minister of finance, Nubar Pasha, and the British financial advisor, Edgar Vincent, during the years 1887–1889.[28] The Greek consul lobbied for limitation of the area in which tobacco was cultivated as a first step in bringing about a total ban on cultivation. Supporting the consul were two prominent Greek tobacco merchants, Simeonidis and Papathanassopoulo, who submitted petitions to the Egyptian government, demonstrating the economic benefits for the treasury in banning local cultivation. Apart from personal motivation to increase revenues from the import business, the petitions also reflected growing dissatisfaction on the part of Egyptian consumers and importers abroad, who complained that blending local with imported tobacco reduced the quality and therefore damaged the reputation of the Egyptian cigarette.[29]

In 1888 the Greek consul and his associates realized their goals through an agreement signed by the Egyptian and Greek governments.[30] In this accord the latter approved a further increase in customs on Greek tobacco imported into Egypt; in return the Egyptian government limited the cultivation of tobacco in Egypt to 1500 feddans per year.[31] The government agreed to such a drastic step after an earlier increase in taxation failed to limit tobacco cultivation.[32] The effect on cultivation was immediate. In 1889–1890, the khedivial ministry of finance approved only 1,286 feddans of the 6,280 feddans for which it had received requests for tobacco cultivation.[33] On 25 June 1890 the Egyptian government banned the cultivation of tobacco in Egypt.[34]

Two days before the introduction of the new ban, Riad Pasha, the minister of finance, addressed an official report to the khedive Tawfiq in which he explained the reasons for introducing it.[35] In his report Riad Pasha argued

that locally grown tobacco reduced the government's revenues from customs on imports. Furthermore, an increase in tax on cultivation of local tobacco led to clandestine cultivation of tobacco and further stimulated the illegal cultivation of hashish, which growers cultivated in the same areas. Finally, the government wanted to avoid speculation on the price of local tobacco – which the fluctuation in taxation rates on local tobacco had created – by completely dispensing with local cultivation.

Riad Pasha failed to admit, however, that such fluctuation was largely caused by the government's own taxation policy and that the Egyptian government enacted a total ban because doing so was less complicated and less expensive than controlling local cultivation. Furthermore, the ban was necessary in order to re-organize the Egyptian tobacco market after the British model. Accordingly, the Egyptian government introduced taxes on imported tobaccos, while reinforcing the existing monopoly on imports of cigars and *tumbak*.[36] This produced a rapid increase in customs revenues on imported tobacco from £E441,443 (Egyptian pound) in 1889 to £E727,788 in 1890.[37] From 1890 to 1913 tariffs on tobacco were as profitable to the state as the duties on all the other commodities imported into Egypt combined. After 1895 tobacco constituted about 10 per cent of the total revenues of the Egyptian government.[38] The new tobacco revenue system was also part of a wider government taxation policy, aimed at avoiding confrontation with the public over financial matters. According to this policy the government did not raise direct taxes, and in some cases even reduced them.[39] Instead, it relied on an increase in indirect taxes and duties to satisfy its financial needs.[40] At the same time, the state took more immediate control over the levying of taxes. It preferred this to delegating the function to semi-private persons such as the tax farmer or the heads (*sheikhs*) of guilds, whose positions became a source of constant complaints of ineptitude in a period of rapid and deep economic change.[41]

Because tobacco was a significant staple commodity in Egyptian consumption, the new tobacco system was extremely unpopular in Egyptian public opinion and encountered strong opposition in the press.[42] Many realized that the ban on local cultivation and the increase in duties on imported tobaccos meant depriving the poor of a basic commodity.[43] Resistance to the ban by cultivators, merchants, and consumers assumed an active form in the illegal cultivation of tobacco and smuggling the substance into the country. In 1892 the government fought back by increasing fines on locally cultivated tobaccos.[44] It also made the *sheikh al-balad* – the official who represented a village before the state – accountable for illegal cultivation of tobacco in the village. The government further combated tobacco smuggling by offering financial incentives to those who reported illegal imports and commerce.

Critics periodically raised the question of re-introducing tobacco cultivation in Egypt, arguing that it offered an alternative to the problems

associated with monoculture of cotton.[45] This issue is discussed further in chapter six, in connection with an attempt by the British American Tobacco company (BAT), a multinational cigarette manufacturer, to re-introduce tobacco cultivation in order to control cigarette production in Egypt. Government dependency on tobacco revenues, however, discouraged any change in the tobacco revenue system throughout the colonial period and even under the Egyptian national government.

In the tobacco market that was created by the local ban and the new tariff system, immigrant Greeks and later Armenians came to dominate imports so completely that after 1890 local tobacco merchants lost most of their businesses. The only exception was the monopoly on imports of *tumbak* of which an Egyptian, Khalil Pasha Khayat, took charge.[46] The creation of the new tobacco market in Egypt was thus a textbook example of the tight-knit interrelationship between the development of new expatriate businesses and the colonial state. Expatriate tobaccomen backed by a foreign government cooperated with the colonial state in transforming the market to the mutual advantage of both sides. As we shall see in the following chapters, this was not always the case, and the demise of the export-oriented handmade cigarette industry would be largely the result of an official refusal to support exports by lowering taxation on re-exported tobacco. Furthermore, tobacco manufacturers (and consumers) would encounter problems with tobacco adulteration and brand counterfeits, which the colonial government, tied up by the Capitulations system, could do little to resolve. In all this, the establishment and operation of a new tobacco market and cigarette industry would constitute a mixed bag of cooperation, indifference, and inability to interfere in the relationship between expatriate businessmen and the Egyptian state.[47]

From made-to-order to factory production

The establishment of the Egyptian cigarette industry was exceptional among cigarette industries in colonial or semi-colonial countries. For example, by the early 1890s the cigarette was a luxury item in India and its consumption was mostly confined to non-Indians.[48] The local population adhered to its established preferences for pipe, chewing, and local versions of cigars (tobacco wrapped in leaves of other plants) much longer than in Egypt. The cigarette, therefore, was a typical import item and production and commerce were mainly in British and American hands. During the 1900s BAT – the first multinational cigarette producers – who introduced cigarettes to India, had to build a market for cigarettes based on imports first and only later could it switch to local production, responding to new tariffs on imported cigarettes and raw material in 1910.[49] The introduction of cigarettes into China was quite similar. BAT first imported cigarettes to China while competing mostly

with Japanese manufacturers who took advantage of Japan's partial occupation of China to promote their cigarettes there, and competition from local producers was initially minimal. The company further stimulated local production when it recruited local entrepreneurs to run its operations. Thus, in India, China, and most other countries under colonial influence, it was the activity of a multinational that stimulated production and consumption of a novel smoking device in order to open markets to global interference. Early shifts in consumer demand and a corresponding transition to production of cigarettes meant that, unlike elsewhere, Egypt already had a successful industry when BAT started operations overseas. In an era of rapid globalization, this had double significance. It allowed local industry to resist BAT incursion into the local market and enabled the rapid development of local industry through exports of cigarettes (see next chapter).

The establishment of a cigarette industry in Egypt was also an exception in local terms. Industries in Egypt mostly processed local raw material into finished products in markets where they had a comparative advantage. The best example for this was the sugar industry (the largest industry in Egypt) because the sugar cane had to be processed within a day from its harvest and therefore could not be exported.[50] Other successful industries enjoyed natural protection by manufacturing perishable foods (bread), commodities that catered to specific local taste (religious artifacts), or otherwise goods hard to transport, especially construction materials like cement. The new cigarette industry, however, had to import raw material from abroad and it did not enjoy any natural protection, as was the case with other industries. Nevertheless, it did have the benefit of certain advantages that proved highly significant for its initial success. Because Egypt did not have a state monopoly on tobacco or any other restrictions on its manufacture, tobaccomen went ahead and expanded their businesses to cigarette manufacture without any official constraints. Since making cigarettes by hand required little initial capital and was done in a small workshop, production could start gradually, while tobaccomen continued to run their already established businesses. This combination of few legislative barriers to entry, low capital investment, and relatively small risk involved in initial manufacturing made cigarette production ideal for small entrepreneurs. Indeed, for Greek and later Armenian immigrants, the business became one of the main channels of economic mobility in Egypt.

Cigarette production was also enhanced by conditions specific to Egypt's location in the regional tobacco market. Egyptian tobaccomen had higher transaction costs because they had to import their raw material, but they soon discovered that by re-exporting the finished product they generated more revenues than their counterparts in other countries who simply exported raw tobacco. Moreover, manufacturers created unique blends by mixing tobaccos imported into Egypt from different cultivation areas.[51] They surpassed local

industries in tobacco cultivating countries that used only their own tobacco to produce cigarettes. Most important, the entrepreneurs who created the cigarette industry in Egypt were especially skilful in adopting novel promotional schemes in marketing their goods in Egypt and abroad (see next chapter). We shall now see how such advantages were used in the building of the new cigarette industry in Egypt. This discussion, however, pertains to the establishment of facilities for the production of high-end, ready-made cigarettes. I will discuss the production and selling of cigarettes to the majority of Egyptians in Part Two of this book when studying the development of a mass market in Egypt.

Initially, with no industry to cater to the new fashion, smokers rolled their own cigarettes.[52] Tobaccomen in Egypt first took advantage of existing demand by producing made-to-order cigarettes, namely they rolled cigarettes for customers upon request and for an extra fee. They later expanded their businesses and began to produce and sell ready-made cigarettes on a regular basis. At that stage, cigarette production mainly required the knowledge that a good tobaccoman had of quality tobacco and the blending of different tobaccos, and some skill in rolling. Using revenues generated from dealing in tobacco, tobaccomen later established small workshops in their stores where they usually employed a few workers as cigarette rollers. By the second half of the 1880s most businesses had shifted to cigarette production. Moreover, new ones opened in response to a large demand from abroad.

The manufacturers of made-to-order cigarettes were in general Greeks, who had come to Egypt in the early years of tobacco activity. As the professional biographies of the leading Greek manufacturers show, most arrived in Egypt earlier than the major immigration wave of tobaccomen after 1883.[53] These entrepreneurs enjoyed the advantage of being first in the field, and when most immigrant tobaccomen arrived in Egypt, the already established businesses quickly absorbed these workers. Table 2.1 shows the volume of cigarette production in the larger factories of Cairo, which, with the exception of the Ed Laurens factory, located in Alexandria, dominated export production.

The rapid growth of business after 1884 led manufacturers to enlarge their production facilities, a development carried out in two steps. The first entailed movement from a simple workshop, often merely a room adjacent to the tobacco store, into a bigger place separate from the retailing facilities. Often these factories were residential buildings or palaces, which manufacturers renovated to suit their new purpose. When Nestor Gianaclis, the founder of the Egyptian cigarette industry, arrived in Egypt in 1864 he opened a tobacco store in Suez,[54] where he re-established himself as a tobaccoman and sold cut tobacco in boxes and rolling paper to cater to the new demand for cigarettes. To further enlarge production facilities for ready-made cigarettes, he moved from his factory to a palace in Midan Ismailiya built in 1871 by Khairy Pasha, a minister of education under Ismail.[55] Additional profits sparked the impetus to enlarge

Table 2.1 Major manufacturers of luxury cigarettes in Cairo, 1897–1901

	1897		1899		1901	
	Kilos	**Cigarettes**	**Kilos**	**Cigarettes**	**Kilos**	**Cigarettes**
Kiriazi Frères	76,386	51,726,550	120,987	89,414,500	140,654	108,174,225
Nestor Gianaclis	37,178	30,537,110	55,203	48,025,660	70,680	56,000,000
Dimitrino et Co.	24,569	18,564,135	27,916	21,982,380	30,980	26,000,000
Th. Vafiadis et Co.	21,568	14,033,900	23,861	16,330,060	32,067	23,000,000
M. Melachrino et Co.	17,920	12,096,340	20,782	13,936,626	60,237	46,000,000
Soussa Frères	0	0	0	0	29,260	24,000,000
Other	47,952	33,583,909	59,224	43,636,800	70,982	64,313,976
TOTAL for above companies	225,573	160,541,944	307,973	233,326,026	434,860	347,488,201

Source: Politis, *L'Hellénisme*, vol. 2, 338.

production and expand the factory. In 1907 Gianaclis moved to a bigger factory, which was also a renovated palace to which he added a large new wing. He leased his old factory building to the newly opened Egyptian University (later the American University in Cairo), which still uses it today. Gianaclis and other manufacturers designed the new factories for cigarette production with separate areas for the different departments of the business. They also built their factories to be self-sufficient at all levels of production. For this purpose they extended production to cutting cigarette paper and preparing packets, which formerly were outsourced. The factories of the main producers were large and included huge production halls where several hundred workers operated.

Although most of the production process was still manual, cigarette manufacturing had many of the characteristics of modern industry in its organization, which was based on novel principles of division of labour and hierarchical specialization in specific tasks. It is also important to keep in mind the duties and status of different groups of workers, especially the cigarette rollers, as later this will enable us better to understand production relations in the factories. Work was divided into three specific stages: processing the tobacco into ready-to-use blends, making cigarettes by hand, and packaging.[56] Production started when tobacco bales were brought from the customs depot. Because of the high tariffs on tobacco, manufacturers first kept it in special storehouses, which the tobacco revenue authorities built in

Alexandria in 1896 and Cairo in 1902.[57] Producers took out only the quantity they needed for immediate production, which enabled them to pay tariffs on imported tobacco in instalments. In the factory, workers opened the bales, sorted, and cleaned the tobacco leaves. The bigger factories used a special motorized machine to cut the tobacco. This was the only mechanized process in early cigarette production. The next stage, mixing different tobaccos into quality blends for cigarettes, required a worker with many years of training. The *kharman* – the person in charge of the mixing process – usually inherited the secrets of blending from his father or other family member in a long apprenticeship. With time, as the industry standardized its products, the duty of the *kharman* also included mixing the different tobaccos into specific blends according to the various cigarette brands. After this stage the tobacco blend was weighed, put into packets according to the exact quantity required for making a certain number of cigarettes, and sent to the cigarette-rolling hall.

Increases in the volume of production stimulated manufacturers to improve proficiency in preparing cigarettes. At first, a roller took a sheet of cigarette paper, filled it with tobacco, and hand rolled it into a cigarette. A skilled roller made 1,200–1,500 cigarettes in a working day of eight hours.[58] This method gradually disappeared and was used only in manufacturing exclusive cigarettes. Instead, manufacturers introduced a faster, more industrialized technique called "macaroni". The macaroni technique emulated that of machine cigarette production, pushing the tobacco blend into pre-prepared cylinders of cigarette paper. After the filling the roller's assistant (cigarette makers were called rollers even after the transition to the new system) trimmed either side of the cylinder with special scissors. Using this method, a skilled roller prepared between 2,500–3,000 cigarettes in seven hours, double the number of the hand-rolled cigarettes. All cigarettes were then inspected before being sent for packaging.

Manufacturers initially bought prepared cigarette packets, which were produced outside the factory. With time, they began to introduce packaging as part of production in their own enterprises. Packaging helped to preserve the quality of the cigarette and enabled manufacturers to store stocks. Another important influence of packaging was standardization of the cigarette, because it required uniformity in size and weight as well as taste and aroma. Packaging also led to the process of branding cigarettes because it enabled manufacturers to identify their products by specific names and images now printed on the carton and tin boxes. The significance of this development cannot be over-emphasized, as it was to transform the marketing of cigarettes and revolutionize their promotion.

The cigarette industry thus developed from small made-to-order manufacturing to large-scale production of a ready-to-use consumer good. The development of this new production system was based on the pro-

fessionalization of work through creation of a rationalized production line and standardization of the products. All these changes signified a major transition from a more traditional workshop production to a factory system, and this occurred even before cigarette manufacture became mechanized. The outcome was a fully finished product, which was easier to distribute and more profitable to sell. As a result, manufacturers experienced rapid growth of their businesses, a large proportion of production being exported. Although the big manufacturers controlled most of the business, production was not limited to factories. In fact, the profitability of trade brought about a proliferation of smaller manufacturers.[59] These manufacturers produced cigarettes in their stores-*cum*-workshops and even at home, where they enlisted the help of family members.

Management and workers in the transition to factory production

When cigarette businesses started as small entrepreneurships, they did not require much by way of management. One person or a partnership of two ran the typical tobacco business. This situation changed rapidly when production increased and new departments were added. Factories now required more managers to supervise production, as well as oversee the tobacco import and cigarette marketing procedures. The founding family of each cigarette factory initially provided extra help. For example, Jean Kiriazi, who was to become the biggest exporter of cigarettes in the period before the First World War, asked his brothers Épaminondas and Eustache to join the firm in 1886.[60] At that time, Kiriazi was transforming his business from tobacco importing to cigarette manufacturing, and he needed all the help he could get. Family-type management was not peculiar to the cigarette industry or, more broadly, to businesses in Egypt. As Chandler showed, Family capitalism (as opposed to Managerial capitalism) was then the norm in Europe and to a lesser degree in the States.[61] Even when tobacco businesses developed, and sometimes became shareholding companies, family members not only owned much of the company but also retained control of management.[62] When businesses expanded farther, their owners mostly hired new management from their own community. Professional networks reflected the same tendency to restrict the business to community members, and banks owned by the same community almost exclusively financed the trade. The Bank of Athens, for example, which was involved in many transactions related to the industry, even had tobacco specialists working for it.[63] The system of keeping financial matters within the community was also not unique to the tobacco business. Owen suggests that "As a rule, each bank would deal with members of a particular local community."[64]

The rapid growth of the cigarette industry also meant a major increase in the number of workers. According to Beinin and Lockman, the industry had

the largest concentration of workers engaged in production of commodities,[65] although the actual number of employees is somewhat unclear. The census of 1907 registered 3,162 cigarette factory workers,[66] but this number seems too low.[67] The figure of 4,992 employees registered in the 1917 census is probably closer to the number of workers in the industry ten years earlier.[68] Since Vallet suggested that more women were employed in the factories in Cairo than actually reported, it is reasonable to assume that the 1907 census also under-estimated the number of female workers (only 15).[69] In any event, women were hardly employed in the Egyptian industry, contrary to the practice in cigarette and cigar production overseas, and even though it was cheaper than employing men. Managers could not or would not hire many women because of the rigid segregation of women and men and the general seclusion of women from public life. Unspecified number of children worked in the factories in auxiliary tasks such as cutting the tips of "macaroni" cigarettes, which we may consider a form of apprenticeship. They also sorted tobacco and packaged cigarettes.

In the division of labour within the factory it was mostly Greeks, but also Armenians, Europeans, and Syrians, who held the better-paid jobs of cigarette rollers. Contrary to what we might assume about employment in a colonial state, the availability of cheap local labour was not a great attraction to manufacturers when it came to this demanding but well paid occupation. Local Egyptian workers, therefore, took simpler jobs and were paid less. Manufacturers preferred foreign workers as rollers not only in the first period of production, when the industry absorbed experienced immigrant workers, but also later when workers were trained at the factories. Moreover, they preferred to do this despite the foreign workers' demand for higher wages, better working conditions, and benefits. The preference for foreign workers did not change, even after the early strikes of 1899–1900 and 1903, when foreign workers disrupted production for long intervals.

One explanation for avoiding cheap local labour was a general belief among employers in the inability of local workers to adapt to challenging production tasks. Arminjon, an expert on Egyptian economy, describes the inherent qualities of the Egyptian workers as follows:[70] "Vigour, activity, endurance, sobriety, alert and lively intelligence, such are the natural gifts and the innate qualities of the fellah and the Egyptian worker; lack of foresight, carelessness, inconsistency, disorder, credulity, routine apathy, such are their faults . . ." Vallet, a sympathizer with the workers' cause, accepted this characterization and concluded, "Unfortunately, those faults negate in many cases the qualities of the Egyptian worker."[71] The lack of industrial discipline among fellahs-turned-workers in late nineteenth century lay at the root of the definitions above, but as with management, a worker's employment in a lucrative factory position was also determined by community affiliation. Employers stuck to existing social networks based on common identity,

religion, culture, and language when hiring workers, and this practice prevailed even much later, when better-trained Egyptian workers were surely available. Still, in the period under discussion Egyptian workers mostly came from the countryside with which they upheld strong ties. They also tended to view employment in industry as a temporary occupation.[72] It is not quite clear how far Egyptian workers were actually interested in a long-term commitment to factory production, which the better-paid jobs involved.

The creation of a factory system gave rise to a new dynamic between management and workers, especially cigarette rollers.[73] The cigarette industry was the first in Egypt in which workers organized and engaged in collective bargaining. Worker consciousness stemmed from the large concentration of workers in huge production halls that separated them from management and gave them opportunities to communicate among themselves. Many were literate, and according to Beinin and Lockman, "They would also probably have had access to up-to-date information about labor, syndicalist, and socialist movements in their homeland and elsewhere."[74] These ideas encouraged them to translate work grievances into collective action. Early protests by workers started in the late 1890s, when the export business was flourishing and growing quickly. It was mainly foreign (Greek) cigarette rollers who organized, although an association of Syrian and Egyptian workers – the Eastern Economic Association in Egypt (al-Jam'iyya al-Iqtisadiyya al-Sharqiyya li-'Ummal al-Lafa'if bi-Misr) – was also established in 1896, three years earlier than the first workers' association mentioned by Vallet.[75] The Association was not named as affiliated with any particular factory, but these rollers probably worked in one of the Armenian factories that produced economy handmade cigarettes. Nevertheless, the struggle between workers and their employers took place within the mostly Greek export-oriented industry.

As workers became aware of the financial success of the business, they demanded a share of the wealth in the form of better wages and working conditions. For this they were ready to strike, a tactic which cigarette factory workers were the first to employ in Egypt. The strikes started at least as early as 1896,[76] and culminated in December 1899 when a series of protests lasted for about three months. During this period, workers from different factories coordinated their activities and struck at the same time. The strikes lasted until factory owners ran out of inventories and had to negotiate with their workers in order to restart production. The Greek consul mediated an early set of collective negotiations. Later disputes were settled between each employer and his employees. The strikes brought immediate benefits to the workers, although they would be overturned a few years later. In 1903, following another series of strikes, the better-organized factory owners were able to break them and impose a lower and unified wage scale adhered to in all the factories.

The struggle between workers and managements facilitated the development of workers' consciousness (rather than a working class consciousness) and led to the establishment of new labour organizations and collective bargaining dedicated to achieving better terms for labourers. Nevertheless, workers remained dependent on their community and called for its support in their struggle. Indeed, the entire Greek community was engaged in the internal strife between employers and workers. Although the new factory system redefined management-labour relations, Beinin and Lockman are right in suggesting that early strikes remained "largely a struggle between Greek craft workers and Greek capitalists, an instance of class conflict within the Greek community in Egypt."[77]

Nevertheless, being among the first in Egypt, the struggle in the cigarette industry was to inspire similar developments in other industries and the gradual establishment of unionized labour. What started as intra-communal strife developed into broader industrial action in which Egyptian workers adopted similar tools, but with an interesting twist: they added national grievances to their workplace conflict but also utilized it in their struggle for better working conditions and payment.[78] Even more so, workers would enlist the support of the national movement in an attempt to influence government's taxation and regulation policies. In 1907, a decade or so after the initial strikes in the cigarette industry, this was vividly demonstrated in a series of strikes that paralyzed Cairo and took the colonial government by surprise. The impact of the early strikes in Egypt also suggests the idiosyncrasy of colonial life, in which expatriate workers and employers, both considered part and parcel of the colonization of Egypt, indirectly inspired nationally enhanced class action and a new venue in the national struggle against the occupation of Egypt.

3

SELLING QUALITY CIGARETTES IN A GLOBALIZING WORLD

The introduction of the cigarette in the world was usually associated with the union of technological innovation in production, which increased output, with more efficient ways to sell commodities such as a rationalized distribution system, branding, and advertising.[1] By contrast, the Egyptian cigarette was a handmade and expensive luxury item promoted in an exclusive market.[2] This market resembled others that sold modern commodities in the periphery (colonial or semi-colonial territories) and it was inherently different from selling cigarettes and other tobacco products in the Egyptian mass market, a topic to which I return in chapter five. Even more so, the Egyptian cigarette played a significant role in shaping international taste (preference) for cigarettes before mass production started worldwide. The globalizing world before the First World War experienced much convergence in consumers' tastes as many new commodities were entering international trade and their consumption worldwide was being enhanced by new marketing methods. The usual accounts of such processes maintain that metropolitan preferences trickled down to the periphery, often through transitions in local elite consumption; the impact of the Egyptian (and Eastern) cigarette on the international market tells a different story whereby a commodity from the periphery initially influenced global taste.

Novel outlets, novel shopping experience

During the second half of the nineteenth century, Egypt experienced a significant development in its "world of goods". An increase in consumption of new commodities in Egypt (and the Ottoman Empire) already started during the second part of the eighteenth century.[3] However, it was later significantly stimulated by state economic reforms and an export-led growth based on agricultural output, and boosted from

the outside by growing European motivation to enlarge trade. This dual process started in Egypt with Mehmet Ali's fierce reorganization of the economy. Around 1840, the infamous free-trade agreements between the Ottoman Empire and Europe opened Ottoman markets to cheap imports. Further developments of infrastructure, transportation (especially railways), and communication (the telegraph) under Abbas, Said, and especially Ismail facilitated the circulation of commodities throughout the country. Even more, such economic build-up enriched landlords, state officials, local minorities, and Europeans, who became the main targeted audiences for novel retailing.

If one event may be taken as marking the entry of new goods into Egypt, it was the great cotton boom of the early 1860s. This fundamentally enhanced consumption of new and mostly imported goods and made a significant impact on local preferences. A report on this matter by Rogers, a British consul in Egypt, is worth quoting at length:

> During the Civil War in America a considerable impulse was given to British trade in Egypt. Cotton was extensively and successfully cultivated here. The natives received much larger sums for their produce than they had therefore been accustomed to possess, and they spent their quick-earned money on European goods, which had been formerly regarded by them as luxuries beyond their power of acquiring.
>
> This increased trade has not been fully sustained, though it is still very much more considerable than it was before the epoch alluded to, as many of the articles formerly looked upon as luxuries have now become necessaries.[4]

While ignoring earlier developments that facilitated this rapid transformation, Rogers rightly points to the significant impact of the cotton boom in setting new consumerist standards in the country.

The introduction of new retailing businesses into Egypt was manifested throughout the country by the appearance of the Greek store, offering novel commodities and lending services, in practically every village in Egypt.[5] But it was in the city, especially in the newly built European-style parts of Alexandria and Cairo, that novel high-end retailing establishments became most conspicuous. This was especially so as the cotton boom and its aftermath fed Ismail's grand plans to transform Egypt into a Western country and Cairo into a second Paris, a vision best illustrated by the rebuilding of the Azbakiyya quarter, which became the centre of novel retailing in Egypt.[6]

Ismail's visit to the Exposition Universelle in Paris in 1867 influenced this large development project, which took shape promptly on his return; this was two years before the much-attended opening of the Suez Canal. The Azbakiyya plan included improvement of infrastructure such as filling old canals and enlarging the quarter's area, partly by demolishing the nearby

Coptic quarter. It involved road repairs and the building of new thoroughfares and a railway. Construction of buildings took two forms: public building of government ministries and 'Abdin Palace for Ismail's administration, and private building, which the government encouraged by allocation of land gratis to those willing to invest in luxurious residential and commercial structures. To further encourage the development of Azbakiyya as a European-style quarter Ismail built a new Opera House, which resembled Milan's La Scala, and a public park (Azbakiyya Garden) fashioned after the Parc Monceau in Paris.

Ismail's modernizing project, while unique in scale and its prompt execution, was typical of urban development in other large cities in the Ottoman Empire. One interesting comparison is with the development of Pera in Istanbul.[7] During the 1840s Pera began to change through the massive construction of European embassies coupled with private local and foreign entrepreneurship. Pera developed less as a result of state-led construction, as was the case in Azbakiyya, but it shared the same kind of urban environment as the latter. Built mostly in European Revivalism styles – a melange of classic, Gothic, and Baroque – both quarters had a large embassy presence, hotels, shops, department stores, restaurants, cafés, and theatres. Much like Azbakiyya's Kamil Street, Pera was dominated by a main street, Grand Rue, which served as the commercial heart of the quarter. Also like Azbakiyya, it was a European-style enclave and a new consumer environment where a crowd of expatriates, local minorities, Ottoman elites, and tourists lived and shopped.

The novelty in building European-style quarters was not limited to Ottoman cities. Starting around the 1870s, cities throughout Latin America similarly went through processes of "Parisization" in their urban planning, architecture, and modern retailing establishments.[8] This worldwide manifestation closely followed the modernization of Paris itself, known in France and around the world as Haussmanization after the planner and executor of this project, which started in 1854. It continued throughout the second Empire,[9] and it exemplified well the high level of contemporary convergence in global tastes.

To return to Egypt, the development of cigarette retailing in Azbakiyya closely followed the introduction of luxury, European-fashioned retailing into Egypt. As one observer scathingly commented: "A proof of the claim that Cairo is being Europeanized at an uncalled-for pace is suggested by innumerable shop-signs of cigarette-makers, announcing that they are 'Purveyors to His Highness the Khedive,' when that potentate is known to use tobacco in no form."[10] Indeed, when Greek and later Armenian tobaccomen arrived in Egypt they opened their stores, workshops, and later factories outside the bazaar, the traditional centre of production and sale, in the renovated quarters of the big cities.[11] Cairo was also the main centre of the trade, and

most retailing of high-quality cigarettes was located in or around Azbakiyya. All major manufacturers as well as many smaller producers opened outlets on Kamil Street, Azbakiyya's main north-south concourse. Shepheard's hotel, also on this street and the centre of Egyptian high society, was particularly targeted. Gianaclis and Melachrino had stores in the Halim building next door to the hotel. Mantazaris and Co., Dimitrino, and Cortesi opened stores opposite.[12] Other stores were situated near the Continental and the Savoy hotels, the streets surrounding Azbakiyya Gardens, inside the gardens, on Place de l'Opéra, and at 'Abdin Palace.

The new tobacco stores were so prominent in this urban retail landscape because often they were clustered together. In September 1899, one observer even related, "If you go in the streets of Cairo . . . you see more tobacco stores than other stores for the sale of different products."[13] Although this may be exaggerated, by 1906 Cairo alone had between 55 and 60 cigarette factories,[14] each with its own outlets. As noted in chapter two, Cairo also had a large number of smaller workshops that sold their own products. These were the years of high demand for the Egyptian cigarette and everyone was trying to get his share of the trade. The following quotation by A. Zicaliotti, a British importer and merchant of Eastern tobacco products who visited Egypt in 1894, clearly illustrates this trend:

> In Cairo, squatting in corners of the streets, I beheld cigarette makers on a low stool, leaning against a higher stool, making cigarettes, yelling to the passers-by to purchase their fine productions, just as our shoeblacks do in this country. In Alexandria and Port Said swarms of makers and street vendors fight to board the steamers, pestering passengers to buy, asking big prices, but content to get two francs per 100, or 1s. 8d. in our money.[15]

By the time of the outbreak of the First World War, cigarette retailing had spread throughout Egypt and the bigger manufacturers had opened branches in cities and tourist sites all over the country. Leopold Engelhardt Ltd. kept "retail rooms" in Cairo, Alexandria, Port-Said, Suez, Tanta, Zaqazig, Luxor, and Aswan, while the company's tobacco products were also on sale in Fayoum, Wasta, Beni Souef, Assiout, Keneh, Kom-Ombo, Wadi Khalifa, and Khartoum (see also fig. 3.1).[16] Some manufacturers also had agents in different parts of the country, but the role of independent distributors in the sale of quality cigarettes was limited, and each manufacturer was closely involved in the wholesale as well as retail marketing of his brands. This practice continued even after manufacturers developed large facilities and greatly increased production. Accordingly, manufacturers named their outlets after the name of the factory, which more often than not was their own family name. In promoting their cigarettes, they used the factory's name first, and then added the specific brand name of the cigarette. So long as

manufacturers also controlled their distribution, it was their name, rather than the cigarette brand name, that the public learned to recognize.

The new tobacco stores were not only situated in the modern parts of the cities but also adopted the façade and retail practices of Europe. Consumers were offered a new shopping experience, entirely different from that of the bazaar – the still dominant venue for the sale of commodities in Egypt. Unlike the bazaar, where retail was conducted in an open space,[17] the new stores lured consumers with their attractive shop windows. Furthermore, upon entering the store, consumers were secluded from the outside by these glass barriers, and their attention riveted on the commodities lavishly presented within. These were branded and packaged, rather than sold in bulk. The little information that we have on the interiors of the shops suggests that they were well decorated to entice customers still more. In 1933, an article in the Greek magazine *The Sphinx*, published in Egypt, described the Gianaclis store as "marvellous for its Arabian-style decor".[18] The cigarette stores were likewise highly specialized, offering a wide selection of different brands. In 1915, the price list of Dimitrino and Co., one of the bigger manufacturers, contained 55 different cigarette brands. Each was distinguished by the quality of the

Fig. 3.1 Cigarette stores in Port Said c. 1898. A close inspection of the photo exposes five cigarette selling venues in and across from the Savoy hotel building. Source: Courtesy of Robert J. Baxter.

tobacco blend, the size of the cigarette, the type of wrapping paper, as well as the type of filter (called the tip) that the manufacturer used. Retail stores sold cigarettes in cardboard or tin boxes and in different quantities – ten, 20, 50, or 100 cigarettes.[19] Such specialization was a far cry not only from retailing in the bazaar but also from the mass sale of cigarettes to the majority of Egyptian consumers, which I discuss in the following chapters.

Prices of cigarettes varied to the same extent as their quality. In Dimitrino's price list the difference between the cheapest and most expensive cigarettes was about 1:6. Because most cigarettes were exported, we should compare their prices with the price of cigarettes in a target country. In September 1915, Wills, the largest cigarette manufacturer in England, sold its Woodbine cigarettes for fivepence, Capstan for sevenpence halfpenny, and Gold Flake for eightpence (retail prices for a packet of 20).[20] At that time Dimitrino's cheapest brand, Lou, sold for 19 shillings and threepence (wholesale price per 1,000 cigarettes sold in Cairo) or about fivepence per 20. This means that Dimitrino's cheapest cigarettes were in the same price range as Wills' brands when a retailer bought them in Cairo. However, about half of Dimitrino's cigarettes cost £2 sterling or more, and Dimitrino's Famosa (*très grand*) even cost £6 sterling. So they were significantly more expensive than Wills' brands, especially considering that they still had to be shipped abroad, where they were subject to substantial import tariffs, and then distributed to retailers. Handmade Egyptian cigarettes were expensive by any standard, although tourists who purchased them in Egypt no doubt considered them a great buy compared with their price back home.

For consumers, exclusive cigarette venues were places to shop and socialize. Shoppers visited several different stores, compared the various brands for quality and price, and bought the cigarettes of their choice. They received service from knowledgeable salespeople, who spoke several different languages. The cigarette stores were also gathering places where people met to smoke.[21] Their location in the more fashionable districts of the cities, next to other highlights such as coffeehouses, restaurants, the Opera, and the big hotels, further integrated cigarette shopping with other modes of socialization and leisure. The settings of the stores and the retailers' marketing practices clearly suggest the identity of the targeted consumers: affluent Egyptians, foreign residents, and tourists. These crowds frequented fashionable quarters, travelled, and most important, were able to afford the expensive Egyptian cigarettes.

Advertising the cigarette

Manufacturers in Egypt were highly aware of various advertising schemes for selling commodities worldwide and they adopted many of them in promoting their cigarettes in and outside Egypt. Here I examine some of the promotion

techniques that they used, which will also serve for an overview of advertising in Egypt at that time and its impact on local culture.

In the 1890s, press advertising in Egypt had begun to develop, with a significant expansion of the press itself when censorship on journalism was relaxed.[22] An economic boom that lasted until 1907 furthered this process. Nevertheless, even after an increase in the circulation and number of publications, the role of press advertising in promoting goods remained limited because readership, translated into potential consumers, remained small. In October 1897, *al-Hilal* estimated a readership of 200,000 in Egypt, but Egypt of the time had 9,734,000 inhabitants.[23] Prior to a significant rise in literacy during the interwar period, press advertising, including advertisements for cigarettes, stayed limited and manufacturers used the local press only sporadically. The effectiveness of press advertisements was limited in promoting luxury cigarettes for two more reasons. First, affluent consumers mostly lived in cities where they were already highly exposed to the presence of retail cigarette establishments. Second, early advertisements were still an under-developed medium with basic slogans and no eye-catching graphic images.

Nevertheless, because there was a large overlap between educated Egyptians and smokers of handmade cigarettes, advertisers did use the press, albeit sparingly, to convey their message to potential consumers. *Al-Ahram* and *al-Muqattam* carried cigarette advertisements, but such advertising mainly served to win recognition for new producers and small retailers. Larger manufacturers occasionally used the media to communicate with an already established circle of consumers. Gamsaragan factory, for example, published an advertisement in *al-Muqattam* informing readers that in order to avoid further counterfeits, a major problem during that period, the factory had changed the image on the packet of the famous Abu-Najma cigarette.[24] Matossian also published official price-lists of tobacco blends and cigarettes.[25] These advertisements by Armenian manufacturers, who controlled production of cheaper brands, suggest that advertising in the Arab press targeted more modest consumers.

Cigarette production was largely oriented to consumers from minority communities living in Egypt, expatriates, tourists, and smokers abroad. Manufacturers were therefore keener to advertise in media printed in foreign languages, which catered to non-Egyptians as well as to a large segment of the Egyptian elite. This was especially so in regard to the lucrative tourist market, where brand recognition was highly important in competing for an ever-changing crowd. Still, advertising was limited even in the foreign press. *The Egyptian Gazette*, for example, carried a few cigarette advertisements, and although their numbers grew in the years before the First World War they never occupied significant amounts of space.[26] Manufacturers further advertised in travel guides, popular books on Egypt, and periodicals such as

the *Monthly Journal of the British Chamber of Commerce*. They also used more covert forms of advertising such as supplying information about their operations to publishers of books on contemporary Egypt.[27]

In the period under discussion, the most significant form of promoting cigarettes was on-site advertising because cigarette stores, with their central location, flashy window-cases, and large signs, were a constant advertisement to the crowd passing by. Manufacturers also used many other advertising devices that were in tune with international standards of promoting cigarettes. The following study of contemporary advertising techniques allows a glimpse into the contemporary art of persuasion, which was very much influenced by the development of the *spectacle* in Victorian Britain.[28] It further demonstrates how processes of commodification and commercialization of the cigarette (and other products) promoted popular iconography of Egypt in that country and abroad.

During the first quarter of the twentieth century, 27 companies in Egypt circulated 130 different series of cigarette cards.[29] These were small printed pictures or photographs that manufacturers placed inside cigarette packets. The purpose of the cards was to induce smokers to continue to purchase the same brand in order to collect the entire series. Some cards depicted Egyptian landscapes, politicians, famous actors and actresses, but a large proportion of these cards showed pictures of women in sexually suggestive poses. This indicates that cigarette manufacturers catered to predominantly male consumers. The association of the Egyptian cigarette with promiscuous sexuality may be further understood in the context of a period in which the local sex industry, while highly regulated, was legal, and enjoyed much demand from male consumers.[30] Manufacturers also attracted the attention of tourists and potential customers abroad by distributing free postcards, which consumers sent to family and friends, further spreading the manufacturers' names abroad. These postcards usually contained the manufacturer's name as well as illustrations of the cigarette factory or outlet. In addition to postcards, manufacturers distributed small gifts to customers. One such gift was a diary, which Nestor Gianaclis distributed in 1912. Decorated price-lists also served to promote sales, although the fact that manufacturers priced their brands per 1,000 cigarettes suggests that these lists were mostly intended for wholesalers or retailers rather than regular consumers.

Packaging, a novelty in world production and marketing of goods, was initially a practical device that helped to preserve taste and aroma. It also became a mobile advertisement, a constant reminder that enforced consumers' brand loyalty, and a promoter of the brand in the smoker's social environment. Each cigarette packet carried many slogans, including the description "Egyptian", the manufacturer's name, the cigarette brand name, and catchwords in praise of the cigarette's quality.[31] Packets also carried a variety of graphic images: pictures, trademarks, banners, and medals. These

slogans and illustrations imbued cigarettes and smoking with new meaning. This was not unique to Egyptian cigarette packets, although packaged cigarettes stood at the forefront of this development. Such commercial packet art encapsulated ". . . a set of aesthetic procedures for magnifying the importance of the most basic element of exchange, the commodity"[32] in the modern advertising of the day. A discussion of cigarette packet advertising allows a glimpse into the infusion of images of Egypt and Egyptian-ness into local material culture.

J. C. Lagoudakis, the Greek owner of a print-shop, was the first to introduce lithography (an essential technology in printing colour images) when he started to serve the special packaging needs of the Egyptian cigarette industry.[33] The bigger manufacturers soon followed his example in developing boxing and printing sections in their factories. The early significance of this innovation cannot be overstated because it allowed the colourful Egyptian packets to outdo the competition from other parts of the Ottoman Empire, where manufacturers mostly printed in monochrome.[34] Eye-catching packaging indeed helped the Egyptian cigarette to compete on the same level with European and American brands. Egyptian manufacturers used the same lithographic printing techniques, and their packets shared similar messages and layouts, to the extent that we may consider them a genre. With time, this genre became so canonical that even manufacturers of Eastern tobacco cigarettes abroad adopted it to promote their products. The similarities in packet representation may be explained by the fact that Egyptian manufacturers operated at close quarters – often coming from the same community, opening their factories and shops in immediate proximity, and keeping a watchful eye on the competition. They also directed their advertisements at the same potential consumers.

Manufacturers employed the snob effect in their advertising, implying through their packets that by purchasing cigarettes the consumer would join an exclusive group. They printed on cigarette packets the insignia and titles of their most distinguished customers, European and non-European nobility, to whom they supplied cigarettes "by appointment".[35] Manufacturers also branded their cigarettes after local and international celebrities. Dimitrino's price list included the brands Blum Pasha, Lord Cromer, Lord Rosebery, Lord Stanley, and Prinz Heinrich. Other brands were more generic: Pour la Noblesse, Pour les Princes, Baronne, Duchesse, Lords, Royal Court, Hanem, and Le Khedive. One manufacturer, George Kiriacou, playing on his own name, even called his factory King George and received royal permission to name one of his brands after King George V.[36] As further testimony to the exclusiveness of their products, manufacturers listed other prestigious customers such as national tobacco monopolies and the British army. They adorned their packets with pictures of the medals that their brands had won at international industrial exhibitions. In so doing, the manufacturers

averred that the Egyptian cigarette belonged to a unique group of internationally approved quality products, which consumers worldwide recognized. The fact that manufacturers printed their slogans in English and French served foreign consumers but also appealed to the taste for international commodities that the Egyptian upper class was developing.

Because "Egyptian" implied quality cigarettes, manufacturers made sure to indicate the origin of their cigarettes on the packet. Often they added a more specific location of "Cairo" or "Alexandria", or even their outlets' addresses to guide customers to their stores. To create quick visual recognition of their brands, manufacturers resorted to romantic Orientalist painting as a source of inspiration when promoting their cigarettes. This European art genre had developed before the nineteenth century, but it was Napoleon's invasion of Egypt, the opening of the Suez Canal, and the British occupation that intensified its artistic vigour in exploring Egypt as the Orient. Because this genre was so popular, manufacturers could play on a large repertoire of Orientalist images that consumers in Egypt and overseas easily recognized. Egyptian scenes, therefore, often filled the entire space of the packet. Manufacturers also adopted Egyptian icons as their trademarks, or simply used isolated items to ornament the packets (see fig. 3.2). A typical packet carried architecture, sculptures, and paintings of ancient Egypt. Most popular among these images were the Pyramids, the Sphinx, and obelisks. Some Greek manufacturers also printed Greek relics and gods. Packets showed Islamic architecture with its domes and minarets. They also depicted ancient Egyptians and Greeks as well as Arabs enjoying a smoke. A large proportion of these were sensual women. The Nile appeared often, with palm trees on its banks and a felucca or an ancient Egyptian rowing boat making its way in the water. Eagles, camels, crocodiles, and lions also found their way onto the packets. In all this, Orientalist art highlighted popular images of Egypt in that country and abroad.

The printed images went a step beyond simply associating cigarettes with images of Egypt. Packet designs also suggested to consumers that the cigarette originated in Pharaonic, ancient Greek, or medieval Arab cultures. They thereby obscured the modern and industrial nature of their commodities, and associated their smokes with ancient practices. Suggesting that cigarettes carried exotic and timeless tastes and aromas, they mystified smoking itself. Packet designs also associated smoking with travelling in depicting the experience of travel in Egypt. Moreover, the cigarette packet served as a souvenir for the visitor to Egypt. To convey such a message, manufacturers named their brands after famous Egyptian archaeological sites such as Halfa, Karnak, and Luxor, as well as more contemporary tourist attractions like the Khedivial Sporting Club and Shepheard's Hotel.[37] When exported, the packet designs provided "a journey" through Egypt even for those who had never visited the country.

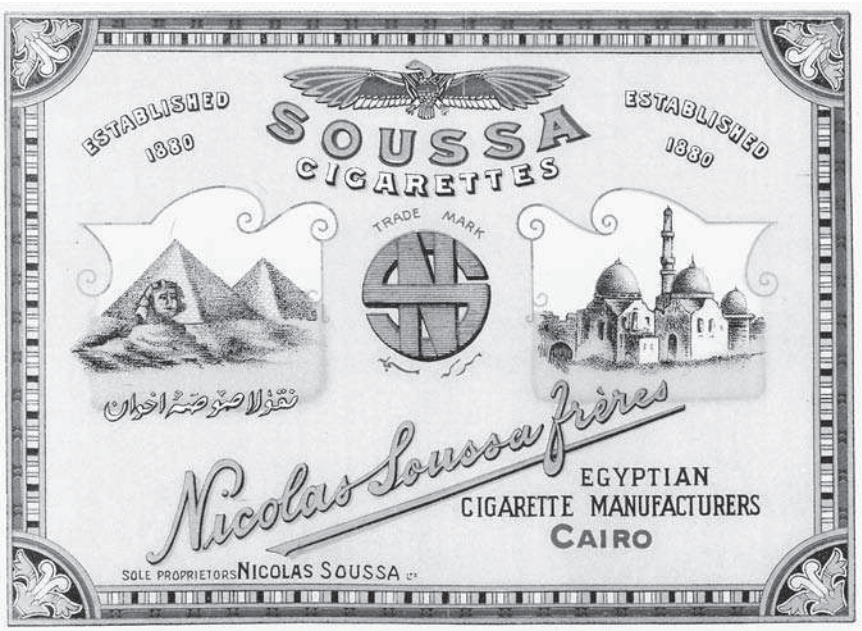

Fig. 3.2. Images of Egypt on a cigarette packet. Soussa cigarettes packet.
Source: Courtesy of Robert J. Baxter.

In her short story "An Egyptian Cigarette" Kate Chopin, a turn-of-the-century American novelist, nicely illustrates the exotic and mystical lure of the cigarette and the metaphor of a journey that it came to convey.[38] The story starts when the narrator's friend, an architect who has just returned from the Orient, offers her an Egyptian cigarette. After dinner, she retires to the architect's Oriental smoking den for a smoke. She takes "one long inspiration", and "a subtle disturbing current passed through my whole body and went to my head like the fumes of disturbing wine." She takes another deep inhalation and starts to hallucinate: "Ah! the sand has blistered my cheek! I have lain here all day with my face in the sand. To-night, when the everlasting stars are burning, I shall drag myself to the river." The author is in despair: "He [her lover] will never come back. He turned upon his camel as he rode away. He turned and looked at me crouching here and laughed, showing his gleaming white teeth." Her plight continues even after she reaches the river: "The water! The water! In my eyes, my ears, my throat! It strangles me! Help! Will the gods help me?" At last she wakes. "The gray-green smoke no longer filled the room. I could hardly lift the lids of my eyes. The weight of centuries seemed to suffocate my soul that struggled to escape, to free itself and breathe." The desert, the river, the cruel lover on camel-back, and the weight of centuries

leave no doubt that smoking Egyptian cigarettes took the author to Egypt. But it was the Egypt of Oriental painting and popular packet advertising, rather than the representation of a real country.

Until recently scholars mainly studied the development of Egyptian national iconography from a highbrow perspective. They examined the endeavours of Egyptian intellectuals and artists to shape national images through various fields of cultural production such as novels, poems, sculpture, and painting. What went missing were other, less conscious but not less important popular venues, through which such iconography was canonized. The analysis of cigarette packets demonstrates how commercialized geographic, cultural, and ethnographical images, with which manufacturers tried to advance the sale of their goods, contributed to this process. Such images of Egypt penetrated the everyday life of upper class Egyptians for whom the ready-made cigarette became a staple. It is therefore possible to suggest a connection between this commercial art and the development of national iconography in this country. After all, it was people like Lutfi al-Sayyid, a devout smoker,[39] who established the Pharaonic movement in Egypt and were responsible for the introduction of novel images into the repertoire of Egyptian nationalism. Even more so, while highly acknowledged as an essential symbol of national iconography, Mahmud Mukhtar's statue, Nahdat Misr (the awaking of Egypt), would not have looked out of place on a cigarette packet. The foregoing section thus suggested a dialogue between high and low cultures (if indeed a distinctive division between the two ever existed) in bringing about a graphic repertoire that would be associated with the Egyptian nation.

Selling cigarettes abroad

In the period before the First World War, apart from textiles cigarettes were the only significant manufactured commodity that Egypt exported.[40] While local demand impelled the early development of the cigarette industry, demand from abroad rather than from the local market played a key role in its rapid growth. Demand for cigarettes started to develop in Europe, Britain, and the US in the 1880s,[41] concurrently with rapid growth of the Egyptian cigarette industry. In the globalizing world economy before the war, it was easy for manufacturers of Egyptian cigarettes to export their goods because Egypt was conveniently located on major trading routes. Furthermore, the opening of the country and the rise in foreign trade after the cotton boom of the 1860s promised manufacturers reliable and cheap ways to ship their commodities. The development of a tourist industry increased cigarette sales locally, but also promoted them in world markets as tourists returned home with them.

Exports of cigarettes started casually when travellers, soldiers, and diplomats in Egypt spread the word about this new Egyptian attraction. The

British occupation contributed greatly to the propagation of the cigarette worldwide.[42] In 1882, Nestor Gianaclis received a boost to his export sales from a group of British army officers, who enjoyed his cigarettes at an official dinner party. On March 15 that year, J. Ornstein sent a letter to Evelyn Baring (later Lord Cromer) in India. Ornstein had earlier sent Baring 1,000 cigarettes and he now asked him if he would like a regular supply, adding that the present cost was 70 francs per 1,000.[43] Another British celebrity, Lord Kitchener, helped to popularize Melachrino's cigarettes after he first smoked them in Cairo.[44]

Cigarette producers were quick to capitalize on these initial opportunities, and they took active steps to promote their cigarettes abroad. Manufacturers regularly participated in international industrial fairs and won medals for the quality of their cigarettes. The cigarettes of D. Elefthriou won awards at the Athens Exposition of 1888 and the Paris Exposition of 1900.[45] Dimitrino won a "Diplome d'honneur a l'exposition universelle de Liège" in 1905, a "Medaille d'or à l'exposition industrielle de Cape-Town 1905", and "Grand Prix a l'exposition internationelle de Salonique 1928".[46] Egyptian exporters also promoted sales through local distributors and agents in Europe, European colonies, and the United States. To persuade retailers abroad to sell their cigarettes, they and their agents advertised in international tobacco trade publications such as *Tobacco* and *The Tobacco Year Book*. Apart from distribution through retailers abroad, Egyptian manufacturers provided cigarettes to social clubs all over the world and to the international nobility. This further guaranteed name recognition abroad and enabled manufacturers to use the names and banners of their celebrity customers in their ads and on their cigarette packets. Manufacturers also provided cigarettes to the British army and navy and sold their products through national tobacco monopolies in the importing countries. By the time other manufacturers of Eastern tobacco cigarettes in the Ottoman Empire and Greece reacted, the Egyptian cigarette industry was already enjoying a sharp increase in global sales. Because the cigarette was also a new commodity worldwide, manufacturers experienced little competition abroad. Until the establishment of such competition, manufacturers in Egypt did not encounter protective tariffs in the importing countries.

In 1903, the Egyptian government finally acknowledged the contribution of cigarettes to Egyptian exports and added a special cigarette section to its foreign commerce annual reports. Table 3.1 illustrates the main trends in exports between 1903 and 1914. Germany was the biggest importer of Egyptian cigarettes. Although imports to Germany dropped sharply after 1905, as a result of new tariff barriers, that country continued to be a very significant importer until 1914. Britain was the second largest importer of cigarettes from Egypt. British soldiers learned to smoke cigarettes during the Crimean war, when shortage of tobacco rations led them to adopt the

Ottoman and Russian habit of smoking Eastern tobacco rolled in paper.[47] Cigarettes made from Eastern tobacco were among the first produced in Britain, when Crimean veterans brought this new fashion back home. One such veteran was credited as the first producer of cigarettes made from tobacco originating in Latakia (Syria). According to another source, it was immigrant Greeks who brought this fashion with them to London.[48] In 1857 or 1858, N. Caranjanaki, a Greek merchant, retailed Eastern tobacco to "Greeks, foreigners, and travelled Englishmen, all masters of the art of rolling them up between their fingers, as was the general practice in the Levant."[49] Another Greek merchant, B. Mazzini, was also involved in the early import and production of Eastern tobacco products. In 1865 or 1866 A. Zicaliotti, a veteran producer of Eastern cigarettes in England, opened his business. However, he credited John Theodoridi to be the first retailer of Eastern tobacco (no year mentioned).

In the Victorian hierarchy of cigarette consumption Eastern blends ranked above the cheaper Virginia tobacco brands.[50] However, Britain had a well-established tobacco industry that soon moved to cigarette production, and machine-made cigarettes were introduced there in early 1884.[51] Under the influence of this industry most consumers smoked Virginia cigarettes, while Eastern cigarettes were relegated to a relatively small high-end market.

British colonies in the Far East, especially India, were the third largest market for Egyptian cigarettes. Egypt lay on the main trading route with the East via the Suez Canal, and manufacturers could easily export their cigarettes. In fact, the earliest mention of cigarette imports to India refers to cigarettes made by Vafiadis, a Greek manufacturer in Egypt.[52] Passengers en route to the Far East further helped increase sales upon arrival. Another significant importer during that period was the Habsburg Empire.

The cigarette found its way to North America from Britain, and American smokers gradually acquired a taste for Eastern tobacco cigarettes.[53] Still, the United States was never a large importer of cigarettes, although some Americans did show interest in the Egyptian cigarette. In 1889, S. Anagyros in the US began to import the brand "Egyptian Deities" from Egypt.[54] When he later produced his Mogul cigarette locally he promoted his brand using the slogan "Just like being in Cairo."[55] In October 1897, the American consulate in Cairo sent home price lists of major Egyptian manufacturers, responding to a request from the Department of State.[56] Nestor Gianaclis was perhaps the first Egyptian manufacturer to export cigarettes directly to the US, and his "Nestor" cigarette was later branded "the original Egyptian".[57] In the early twentieth century, when he realized that exports from Egypt could not adequately supply the growing local demand, he opened a factory in Boston. Gianaclis later moved his establishment to New York, next to another major Egyptian manufacturer, Melachrino, who opened his branch in 1904.[58]

Table 3.1 Export of cigarettes in kilograms from Egypt to different countries in 1903, 1905, 1906, 1909, 1911, 1913 and 1914

	1903	1905	1906	1909	1911	1913	1914
England		90,533	86,581	79,276	76,280	73,952	63,001
British possessions in the Far East	97,770	74,364	73,681	55,169	60,758	52,101*	46,205
Germany	243,798	368,645	266,458	108,223	100,778	109,985	48,939
Austria-Hungary	33,597	50,998	46,769	51,245	63,737	57,385	32,597
China and the Far East	15,698	25,054	21,937	29,146	33,979	47,613^	45,199
France	16,457	22,718	19,895	31,832	24,268	26,947	20,645
Sweden-Norway	13,882	12,900†	20,750†	46,519	81,842	28,883	30,211
All others	40,551	70,501	74,726	73,822	67,230	96,850	83,995
TOTAL	531,199	702,813	590,047	457,232	508,872	493,716	370,792

* Beginning in 1913, the category British possessions in the Far East was divided into the two categories of British India and other British possessions in the Far East. This figure represents the sum of these two categories.

^ Beginning in 1913, the category China and the Far East was divided into the two categories of China and other Far East states. This figure represents the sum of these two categories.

† The figure represents only Sweden in 1905 and 1906.
Source: based on *Commerce Extérieur*, various years.

Because the cigarette industry in the United States was developed initially by Armenian, Greek, and Turkish immigrants from the Ottoman Empire, Greece, and Egypt,[59] Egyptian and Turkish brands (both manufactured from Eastern tobacco) had a lasting influence on American cigarette manufacturing. Handmade Eastern tobacco brands maintained their reputation and continued to enjoy popularity among consumers, even after James Duke began selling cheaper brands made from American tobaccos when he introduced the Bonsack cigarette-making machine in the early 1880s. This was because ". . . there was a touch of high fashion about the foreign brands."[60] The initial charm of the Eastern tobacco cigarettes took longer to dispel, and as late as 1903 Eastern brands constituted about 25 per cent of the national market.[61] At this time Duke's American Tobacco Company (ATC), a conglomerate that came to control most US cigarette production, engaged in a negative advertising campaign against Eastern brands.[62] When it failed, the

company took over major Eastern tobacco manufacturers in the US such as S. Anagyros.[63] It later manufactured cigarettes from a blend of Eastern and American tobaccos to compete with the Eastern tobacco fashion.[64] The Bedrossian brothers, who had emigrated from the Ottoman Empire, first introduced this practice in the mid-1860s.[65] However, once undertaken by the ATC, blending became a standard feature in the production of American cigarettes. The American industry began to depend on supplies of Eastern tobacco leaf, and imports from the Balkans, Greece, and Turkey increased rapidly.[66]

In 1913 R.J. Reynolds, one of the companies created after the break-up of ATC under the anti-trust laws, introduced the first brand to be sold nationwide.[67] In the fierce competition that developed in the American market the company sought a way to excel. The brand-name Camel was picked in an attempt to compete against Liggett & Myers' leading brand, Fatima,[68] and the manufacturer further associated its brand with the Orient by printing the Pyramids, palm trees, and Islamic architecture on the packets in order to affiliate it with the renowned Egyptian cigarette. Many years later, when the reputation of the Egyptian cigarette has all but disappeared, Camel still stands as a reminder of its past glory and its influence on international production and consumption of cigarettes.

After 1905, the cigarette industry in Egypt experienced a decrease in exports as it suffered from competition abroad.[69] As overseas industries began to develop, they received their governments' support in the form of reduced taxes and high tariffs on imports. Britain was the first to raise tariffs in 1904, but it was in Germany that this step proved detrimental to Egyptian exports, since Germany was by far the biggest importer of Egyptian cigarettes at the time. Other countries soon followed, and Egyptian manufacturers found it increasingly harder to export. Not only did they have to pay high tariffs, they also had to compete with manufacturers abroad who imitated the taste and aroma of the "Egyptian cigarette" and at times counterfeited images and names of famous Egyptian brands. When manufacturers solicited the Egyptian government's support in preventing unfair competition abroad, the Egyptian customs administration printed special tax stamps, which were attached to the cigarette packets and included the name of the manufacturer and the title "Cigarettes Egyptiennes." For the same purpose, manufacturers officially registered their trademarks. These measures had little effect, and manufacturers suffered from counterfeiting abroad as well as at home.[70]

Of major significance in the downfall of the industry was the government's persistent refusal to help the industry by changing the existing tobacco import tariff system. A key issue here was the size of the "drawback" – the percentage of import tariff that manufacturers got back for tobacco re-exported. In 1906, manufacturers petitioned the Egyptian government to increase the amount of the drawback, which was then only 50 per cent.[71] They

argued that the government would not lose revenues as a result because an increase in the drawback would enable them to compete better in foreign markets, export more, and bring in larger customs revenue to the state.[72] In January 1916, the manufacturers petitioned again, and demanded a full drawback.[73] In response, the government's financial advisor, Lord Edward Cecil, published a report in which he argued that the import duty did not harm manufacturers, as foreign consumers were actually paying for it. He also argued that in the period before the war exports remained at the same level and that diminished exports as a result of the war were compensated for by alternative markets.[74] In January 1920 Nestor Gianaclis, one of the more respected producers in the trade, requested the British Residency in Cairo to reduce tariffs on imported tobacco and to increase the drawback on exported cigarettes. His request was also declined.[75] With or without connection to this last request, the Egyptian government gradually increased the drawback thereafter, and by November 1926 it finally decreed a full drawback.[76] In the mid-1920s, such an act was too little too late because the combination of growing competition, increased import tariffs abroad, high local tariffs, and low drawback was already taking its toll. Moreover, manufacturers of the handmade Egyptian cigarette lost ground to manufacturers abroad, who cut costs by using cigarette-making machines even for the better quality brands.

Because production of luxury cigarettes was essentially different from serving most Egyptians with economy cigarettes and cheap tobacco products, manufacturers of high quality cigarettes were unable simply to transform their businesses from export to mass-market production. For most, the shrinking export markets also meant the end of cigarette production in Egypt. After the First World War Kiriazi Brothers, the biggest manufacturer, transferred most of its production abroad to overcome high tobacco import tariffs.[77] Vafiadis sold his goodwill abroad.[78] Melachrino closed down.[79] Dimitrino was the only one to stay exclusively in the export business in later years.[80] Soon little was left of the largest producers of quality handmade cigarettes in the period before the war.

What does the unique case of the cigarette tell us about retailing and promotion of commodities in Egypt and abroad? The fashionable cigarette store stood at the forefront of introducing new retailing forms into Egypt. This is not to say that all retailing businesses in Egypt were soon to follow. In fact, most new commodities for mass consumption entered Egyptian markets through long existing retail venues such as the bazaar in Khan al-Khalili or through selling venues like al-Muski, a hybrid of new and old retailing establishments. However, situated in the modern part of the city, the new store, whether adopted, adapted, or temporarily ignored, made a lasting impact on the Egyptian retailing and shopping experience in constituting an alternative to existing retailing forms. The same was true for advertising the

cigarette in Egypt and abroad. In both cases, the success of local manufacturers in selling their luxury commodities testified to their skill in adjusting contemporary Western promotion techniques to the marketing of the Egyptian cigarette. In this it further demonstrated a convergence in selling worldwide that took place during a rapid era of globalization. Still more, in the period after the First World War, with the introduction of machine production to Egypt, earlier forms of promoting the luxury handmade cigarette also trickled down to selling practices in the mass market.

An analysis of cigarette packets showed how this luxurious colonial smoke was associated with a cultural hodgepodge of ancient Egypt, Greece, and the Arab East. It also demonstrated how these images, in turn, shaped the popular image of Egypt in the eyes of Egyptians and non-Egyptians alike. This opens (but leaves without conclusive answers) a whole new set of questions regarding the role of marketing and advertising in shaping mass culture and the iconography of Egyptian nationalism.

The role of the Egyptian cigarette in introducing cigarettes to new environments worldwide, and especially its lasting impact on American consumer taste and production, stands in contrast to the conventional association of modern (material and intellectual) commodities with Western origins and Western global dissemination of such commodities through trade and advertising. My case study implies a more open-ended exchange of commodities worldwide that further accounted for the development of a truly global taste for goods such as the cigarette. In this, it joins a growing volume of research on the advancement of modernity as an international process. The impact of the Egyptian cigarette on world consumption augments other examples of two-way exchanges between centre and periphery rather than simple, one-sided transitions (through consumption and production) of Western-style modernism, as usually described in the past.[81]

Part Two

Mass Market in a Developing Country

4

INCONSPICUOUS CONSUMPTION

Before the 1950s no aggregate statistics regarding poverty and income distribution were available in Egypt so there was no way of accurately measuring standards of living among various groups in Egyptian society.[1] Hansen's suggestion to use illiteracy (see table 4.1) as proxy for poverty gives us some indication of how widespread it was. In 1907, 87 per cent of Egyptian males and almost all females (98.6 per cent) were illiterate. In 1960, some fifty years later and eight years into a regime committed to social justice, the numbers were still high: 56.9 and 84 per cent respectively. Hansen's measurement over a few decades of per capita consumption of several commodities, while extending only until 1938, further suggests a trend of "a uniform increase [in consumption] until the first decade of the new [twentieth] century and a decline thereafter."[2] Indeed, the Egyptian economy in the first part of the twentieth century is usually described as stagnant, or "development without growth",[3] in which the vast majority of Egyptians hardly improved the quality of their material life over time.

Economic standstill moreover meant a social structure of deep inequality. In 1955, a British government report estimated that 1 per cent of the total Egyptian population had an annual family income of more than £E1,500, while 80 per cent of the population earned less than £E240.[4] This figure well corresponds with distribution of agricultural land, the main source of income in Egypt. In 1952, about 2,000 families owned some 20 per cent of such land, while two million families (about half the Egyptian population) owned fewer than two feddans per family.[5] In the same year, about 200,000 persons constituted the high echelon of society, four million persons could be roughly classified as "middle strata," and 17 million, or the vast majority of the population, constituted the lower strata. During the first part of the twentieth century (and earlier), the overall picture of social stratification was one of a broad base made up of the majority of Egyptians who lived close to subsistence level, a small but growing middle stratum of modest means, and a tiny but extremely affluent upper class.

Table 4.1 Illiteracy rates, population ten years old and above, selected years, 1907–1960.

Year	Male	Female	Total
1907	87	98.6	92.7
1917	84.8	97.7	91.2
1927	76.1	95.6	85.9
1937	76.6	93.9	85.2
1947	64	84.4	74.2
1960	56.9	84	70.5

Source: Adapted from Hansen, *Egypt and Turkey* (table 1.6, p. 25). Additional data was taken from *Annuaire Statistique*, 1947.

My account on production and retailing of cigarettes has so far focused on the important but relatively small market for ready-made quality cigarettes, which catered to the affluent, especially in the cities. Yet until mechanization in the post-First World War era, the majority of Egyptians smoked cigarettes that they rolled themselves, and even later their consumption of tobacco products remained constrained. In this part of the book I discuss how the Egyptian tobacco market developed (the term "Egyptian market" is used to differentiate it from the high-end international market for expensive cigarettes discussed in the last two chapters). Chapter four studies the consumption patterns of the majority of Egyptians who lived close to subsistence level and examines the role of the state in shaping the smoking patterns of the less affluent. Throughout the text, I use the term "less affluent" rather than "poor", to designate relative as opposed to absolute poverty as the everyday reality of most consumers. Chapter five goes on to study production and distribution of tobacco products in this market and it later unfolds the reshaping of the Egyptian tobacco industry after mechanization. Chapter six explores mergers, multinational interference, and a duopoly in a tobacco market that served a relatively large but highly elastic demand.

The reader may be initially puzzled by the connection made in this chapter between consumption and its meaning, and government regulation and taxation of tobacco. Yet, as I demonstrated in chapters one and two for the Ottoman and later colonial Egyptian states, it's impossible to study tobacco consumption (and that of other commodities) without bringing into account states' political economy, which significantly impact quality, quantity and price of goods. This is especially so for the less affluent, whose consumption patterns have been highly dependent on government policies and not on

free-markets alone. My aim here, therefore, is to study state interference with the transition of goods from "use" to "exchange" value when commodities enter markets – why, how much, and under what considerations does the state tax goods.

Understanding consumption under financial constraints

Consumption Studies have so far mostly focused on the development of affluent capitalist societies. They usually take as their premises the emergence and rapid development of mass markets in which progressively larger groups of relatively better-off consumers gain access to a gathering stream of commodities. In modern consumer societies (mostly in the West), luxury goods quickly become necessities. Although differences in quantity and quality of goods remain prevalent, there is a general notion of rapid "democratization" in consumption, which is largely responsible for the creation of consumer culture (or cultures). The study of more recently emerging consumer societies outside the West, in places such as the former Soviet Union, China, and India, mostly follows the same path in focusing on conspicuous consumption, and often on the development of local middle-classes, which is closely associated with such consumerism.[6]

Investigation of what I term "inconspicuous" consumption – consumption under economic constraints – is seldom taken by those who study consumption. It remains the business of scholars who focus on poverty and development in past and present societies, and is frequently discussed in terms of inequality and deprivation. My intention here is not to deny existing injustices, nor to ignore the want for change in the transfer of resources to those in need. It is, however, to suggest that even those living close to subsistence consume in ways that create meanings for themselves and their social surroundings. In other words, my aim is to demonstrate a variety of venues in which even inconspicuous consumption is shaped by choice.[7] We also need to explain rationale and entitlement in personal, family, and strata-based allocation of limited resources.

Methodologically, the following analysis integrates quantifiable variables in tobacco consumption with a qualitative study of varying smoking patterns under harsh economic conditions. Quantitative measurements are of use for studying sparing consumption in an attempt to quantify average and below average consumption of goods, in our case levels of per capita tobacco consumption. However, such standardized investigation alone, while allowing objective measurement and a comparable perspective on poverty and inequality, misses finer understandings of day-to-day consumption under constraints. Therefore, it is complemented by a qualitative discussion on the various smoking practices of the majority of Egyptians, and the venues where economic constraints or their temporary relief shaped the consumption of

tobacco products in Egypt. To reiterate what I argued above, while the narrative inevitably demonstrates poverty and inequality, my intention is not simply to outline socio-economic injustices. Rather, this analysis should shed light on daily realities of life closer to subsistence level, where personal, family, and group consumption choices were considered carefully under the threat of dropping below a minimal standard of living. The varying smoking strategies that consumers applied expose still more how a strong physical and socio-cultural habit was translated into a flexible demand for a variety of tobacco goods. They further emphasize the local aspect, as opposed to the global, in the unique smoking preferences of the less affluent.

In the late nineteenth and the early twentieth century, experts on the Egyptian cigarette industry pointed out that it benefited from the Egyptians being heavy smokers.[8] Furthermore, Arminjon suggested that between 1897 and 1907 the population grew by 1.5 per cent per year, and as a result consumption probably increased at the same rate.[9] Such an increase in consumption may be explained, as suggested above, by the fact that Egypt was at the height of an economic boom and this comment reflects an optimistic view of the growth potential of the industry based on this broader trend. But the combination of demographic increase and economic standstill soon brought tobacco consumption levels down, with a decrease of about 60 per cent between 1920 and 1936 (see table 4.2). Even when the world economic depression was gradually phasing out, the future, for the majority of Egyptian smokers/consumers, continued to signal limited ability to smoke.

Several estimates exist of relative expenditure on tobacco as a percentage of income of the "average" Egyptian in the city. Around 1911, Vallet estimated that an Egyptian worker spent P.T. 1 a day on tobacco out of a daily earning of P.T. 8–12.[10] This meant 8.3–12.5 per cent of the worker's salary. In 1920, a government study of the cost of living for low-level employees estimated that an employee spent 5.8 per cent of his income on cigarettes and other minor expenses.[11] For 1938, Anis estimated that expenses on cigarettes constituted 8.9 per cent of total private expenditures,[12] and cigarettes equalled about 14.2 per cent of total food expenditures. In 1945, this share rose to 10.2 per cent and 15.9 per cent respectively. Although these estimates are suspect for various reasons, as a group they indicate that tobacco, while expensive, remained an important item in the Egyptian diet and that average city consumers spent a significant proportion of their income on smoking.

In 1931, a "reliable source" calculated consumption in the countryside for the Balfour Mission, a British committee that studied economic conditions in Egypt in an attempt to improve British trade with that country. The calculation, based on a monthly list of living expenses for a family of five (officially quoted prices in Manufia, the mostly densely populated province, in September 1930) showed that expenses on tobacco took up a meagre 2.4

per cent of the total,[13] a much lower percentage than in the city. This is a valuable datum because the consensus that the fellah and his family in the countryside lived under harsh economic conditions generated little quantitative or other research to document them. More broadly, the general lack of such research indicates the marginality of the countryside and its inhabitants in the life of the nation.[14] Because statistics on tobacco consumption according to population groups do not exist for the period before 1963,[15] smoking habits in either the city or the countryside cannot in any way be quantified according to gender or age groups.

Table 4.2 Aggregate and per capita consumption of tobacco, 1920–1936

	Population in thousands*	**Aggregate consumption in tonnes**	**Per capita consumption in grams**
1920	13,216	8,403	636
1921	13,360	7,606	569
1922	13,503	7,083	525
1923	13,646	7,021	515
1924	13,787	7,271	527
1925	13,932	7,419	533
1926	14,070	7,302	519
1927	14,218	7,042	495
1928	14,354	7,550	526
1929	14,493	7,529	519
1930	14,632	6,875	470
1931	14,801	5,896	398
1932	14,945	5,422	363
1933	15,089	5,145	341
1934	15,230	5,426	356
1935	15,373	5,572	362
1936	15,515	5,715	368

*Population figures are estimates except for the year 1927, which is based on a census.

Source: *Annuaire Statistique, 1935–36,* 463.

Smoking under economic constraints meant that consumption of cigarettes and tobacco products was elastic and corresponded closely to changing economic conditions, such as increase or decrease in income and cost of living. Sherif estimated the effect of income elasticity on the demand for tobacco in Egypt between 1938 and 1945.[16] His calculation showed that the elasticity coefficient of 0.9 for tobacco was higher than for any other of the basic commodities, and therefore demand for tobacco corresponded most closely to changes in income. Mostafa and Mahmoud reached similar conclusions when they estimated expenditure elasticities based on the national household survey of 1958–1959.[17] Their expenditure elasticity coefficients for tobacco, cigarettes, and alcoholic drinks taken together were 0.86 for urban households and 0.94 for rural households, again exposing some disparity between average living conditions in the city and the countryside.

The elasticity of demand for tobacco (and other goods) was further corroborated in the 1931 Balfour report that suggested that tobacco, meat, and sugar disappeared from household consumption when money was short in the countryside.[18] Consumers responded to changing economic conditions by cutting consumption, but also by switching to cheaper cigarette brands and even changing their habits altogether. In the countryside, smokers gave up machine-made cigarettes and went back to rolling their own cigarettes. They even switched to smoking the water-pipe when their economic situation further deteriorated.[19] (Tobacco for water-pipes was the cheapest available on the market.) Consumption rose when economic conditions improved. Cigarette sales in the countryside increased in November, after the main sales of cotton.[20] They also rose, albeit less, in May after the sales of cereals.

Under such conditions, small wonder that consumers were highly price sensitive. Around 1938, Ayrout commented, "The fellahin love tobacco, but they buy the lowest grade of cigarettes, 20 for 5 piasters."[21] We do not have price lists for the larger manufacturers of the period, Eastern and Coutarelli, which would have constituted the best comparison of cigarette prices. But judging from advertisements in *al-Ahram*, in which smaller manufacturers promoted their brands, 20 for five piasters was the average price for lower quality cigarettes, while the more expensive brands of Mahmud Fahmi and Misr li-l-Dukhkhan wa-al-Saja'ir cost about double.[22] The most obvious characteristic of tobacco consumption among the less affluent was certainly high sensitivity to price and readiness to compromise on quality rather than quantity by the purchase of cheaper brands. This correlates well with broader observations on Egyptian purchasing habits found for the early 1930s in the Balfour Mission Report and for the 1950s in the article by El-Sherbini and Sherif. Such consumers developed unique shopping practices further to improve their buying power and adjust to cash shortages. For example, some

staple commodities were bought in bulk and most processing of food and clothing was done within the household. Less basic goods (such as the cigarette) were bought ad hoc: "Most consumers buy on a hand-to-mouth basis; the purchase of a cigarette, a razor blade, or an egg is customary because of inability to finance home inventories, the lack of home-storage space, and the absence of refrigeration."[23] Less-affluent consumers consumed a lower quality and a lower quantity of goods than the affluent, and they shopped differently from them.

Less-affluent smokers also had different day-to-day practices that helped them sustain consumption when times were rough. In Naguib Mahfouz's *Midaq Alley*, Zaita, "the cripple-maker", would smoke only half a cigarette at a time.[24] Smokers probably would share a cigarette or take a drag from a friend, limit the number of cigarettes that they smoked each day, or ration tobacco in other ways, although little information is available on such personalized fashions in economizing on tobacco consumption.

We know somewhat more about social practices related to smoking, which surely helped to maintain a certain level of smoking and to keep the practice afloat even during hard times. For example, a pack of cigarettes was a welcomed gift to a host. Cigarettes (and coffee) were offered to guests at meetings and wedding ceremonies, or to the *fukaha* (reciters of the Koran) in the intervals between recitations.[25] Scarcity increased the social value of cigarettes as tokens of appreciation and an expression of generosity or wealth, attributes that did not necessarily harmonize with the meaning of consumption among the more affluent. Last but not least, the aversion to women smoking in public and the absolute social ban on youth smoking in Egypt may, in the context of constrained consumption, be interpreted as an attempt to secure the prerogative to smoke (and the permit to spend much of the family budget on tobacco) for men in a male-dominated society. I will further discuss these issues when examining the smoking cultures of consumers in chapters seven and eight, where smoking constituted a symbolic boundary that separated men from women and youth and marked entitlement and distinction within and between a variety of social groups.

The discussion above described a quantifiable elasticity in demand coupled with an inelastic desire to smoke, which was manifested in the "survival strategies" of smokers under financial constraints. The relatively high percentage of expenditures on smoking further testify to the significance of this consumption pattern in (mostly male) life, considering that smoking also presented an alternative to other expenditures on food, clothing, and shelter. Here is a similar example from consumption of a different commodity. Ayrout, somewhat critically, reported how tea and sugar took precedence over other seemingly more substantial foodstuffs in the countryside: "This black tea [highly concentrated and very sweet tea] has become the drug of the fellah. Imports have tripled in a few years. The

government has on occasion raised the duty to three times its original figure, to make it less accessible to the fellah. But the evil has not diminished, for those who have acquired the habit will do without necessary food, and starve their families rather than give it up."[26] In both cases of the tea and sugar and the cigarettes, such diet preferences stood for stratification (class-oriented consumption patterns) and real-life choices of less-affluent consumers which were central to the quality and meaning of their life.

The role of government in determining consumption

From the first introduction of tobacco into the Middle East, Ottoman, colonial, and later national governments in Egypt were involved in its taxation and regulation (through legislation or ad hoc), and these forms of official interference had a major impact on both supply and demand in the Egyptian tobacco market. As discussed at length in chapter one, the Ottoman state initially attempted to block tobacco consumption on grounds of morality (religious), economics, and safety (both personal – health issues, and public – the danger of fire). When producers and consumers resisted, the pragmatic Ottoman state moved in two directions: it taxed production and sale of local tobacco and it outlawed imports in order fully to enjoy such taxation. It later regulated taxation and quality of tobacco goods by means of the guild system. In chapter two, I further discussed the political economy that led the colonial state to interfere in the Egyptian tobacco market by banning cultivation of local tobacco and establishing a new tariff system on imports, thereby obliterating the established commerce and production of tobacco. After the 1890 ban, cheap local tobacco, which the less affluent in the countryside consumed, was no longer available. But it was in the increase of import tariffs that the impact of the new government taxation policy was most striking.

The new tariff policy did not take into account the quality of imported tobaccos, and imposed heavy duties even on the cheaper types. For example, in 1897 Matossian marketed eleven brands of processed tobaccos, of which five cost between P.T. 35 and P.T. 39 per oka (see table 4.3).[27] At that time, the tariff on imported tobaccos was P.T. 20 per kilo of raw tobacco and P.T. 25 per kilo for tobaccos at more advanced stages of processing.[28] This meant that the price of Matossian's cheaper brands consisted on average of approximately 76 per cent tariff costs. By comparison, tariffs constituted about 23 per cent of Matossian's most expensive brand. So the system of indirect taxation on tobacco exerted a much greater impact on the prices of cheaper brands, and in fact on the proportional percentage of tax paid by the less-affluent consumers who bought them. Although the government changed its tariff policy from time to time, uneven taxation

remained constant. In 1948 duties still constituted about 70 per cent of the average price of manufactured tobacco.[29]

Table 4.3 Prices of Matossian's tobaccos in 1897

Type of Tobacco	Price in P.T.
Muluki	120
al-Balat al-Muluki	80
Buqja	56
Abu Riha	49
Naturali	44
Samsun bi-Riha	41
Harimi	39
Samsun Ultra	38
Samsun Nimra 1	36
Naturali Nimra 2	36
Fita Nimra 1	35

Source: Matossian advertisement. *Al-Muqattam* 10 April 1897: 3.

As also suggested in chapter two, tobacco was a common good, but unlike other staples, such as wheat, it was not considered a basic commodity, and at times, its consumption was even frowned upon by religious circles. Its taxation, while contested, did not put the government under any major political threat. Such taxation was a significant source of revenue for the Egyptian state, which preferred to ignore consumer protest for the sake of an easily collected tax, which was also an important tool in making up budget deficits. For example, in August 1915 the government increased duties to bring in much needed revenues during the war. In 1931, it did likewise, to compensate municipal and local councils for the abolition of the Octroi tax.[30] Tobacco was a good source for taxation because tobacco tariffs did not require direct contact with consumers, and therefore they were easy and cheap to collect. Furthermore, duties on tobaccos were not affected by the Capitulations.[31] The Egyptian government did sign international commercial treaties, which allowed certain states to export tobaccos to Egypt under favourable conditions, but it retained the right to increase duties as it pleased. Smuggling of tobacco, which might have impaired the system, was never mentioned as a major problem in government publications or the press.

After the First World War the government also utilized tobacco tariffs to regulate tobacco production by increasing or decreasing them on raw material and imported cigarettes. During the war manufacturers had begun to import large quantities of tobaccos from the Far East to compensate for the interruption of imports from the Ottoman Empire and Russia (see table 4.4). These were cheap tobaccos, which catered better to consumers' diminishing purchasing powers. Japanese tobacco was especially cheap because its leaf was light, and therefore it yielded double the number of cigarettes from the same tonnage.[32] Exports of this tobacco were also promoted by the Japanese government, which had a monopoly on its cultivation. Manufacturers continued to import cheap tobaccos even after the war was over, but such imports created a backlash because they made some consumers demand that the government exert control over production to protect the Egyptian smoker from these harmful tobaccos.[33] The industry itself was split over this issue. While manufacturers of cigarettes for the Egyptian market required cheap material if they wanted to increase production, those who produced mainly for export argued that the use of cheap tobaccos was ruining the reputation of the Egyptian cigarette and was therefore one of the main reasons for diminishing markets abroad.[34]

In March 1926, consumers' complaints, pressure from those struggling to keep exports alive, but also a decrease in tobacco revenues, caused the Egyptian government to increase the tariffs on raw and processed tobacco from countries that did not have a commercial agreement with Egypt.[35] This effectively meant a significant increase in prices of tobaccos from China, Japan, and the U.S.S.R. and a decrease in imports of tobaccos from those countries. With the change in the tariff system, Turkish tobacco became relatively cheaper and imports from Turkey regained and even surpassed their pre-war position. The foregoing discussion clearly shows a second pattern of government interference, namely taxation as a tool in directing the market (though not necessarily to the advantage of the less affluent, who would benefit from cheap imports), which the government was willing to engage in as long as it did not damage its financial affairs.

The Egyptian government further intervened to regulate the tobacco market for the public good in response to health hazards (and loss of revenues) due to improper use of low grade tobacco and other substances that manufacturers mixed with tobacco to increase its volume. High costs resulting from importing, and even more from duties on tobacco made low quality tobacco relatively expensive even before production. Manufacturers therefore used the cheapest tobacco available and mixed it with smaller quantities of better tobaccos to improve its taste. This became a constant source of consumers' irritation and complaints against the industry. In July 1896, it led to an allegation in the press that the tobacco produced in

Table 4.4 Imports of tobacco in tonnes to Egypt by country of origin, 1912–1928 (excluding 1917)

	British India	Habsburg Empire	Bulgaria	China	Greece	Japan	Russia/ U.S.S.R.	Turkey	All others	TOTAL
1912	0	529.4	199.7	0	3,008.6	0	1,511.1	2,812.3	144.6	8,205.7
1913	0	103.1	100.4	66.5	3,282	0	1,953.4	2,628.3	42.9	8,176.6
1914	0	72.4	144.9	30.9	3,378.1	0	1,583.3	1,720.2	109.2	7,039
1915	0	*	147.8	89	5,198.3	0	282	710.7	100.1	6,527.9
1916	0		95.4	253.1	5,568	0	68.5	312.9	111.6	6,409.5
1918	411.6		8	1,837.1	3,366	672	14	35	159	6,502.7
1919	318.2		11.8	2,855.4	3,563.5	353.7	58	452.5	121.5	7,734.6
1920	113.4		22.9	2,520.3	3,934.5	197	606.2	782.5	98.2	8,275
1921	44.9		138.4	2,352.2	2,938.3	36.6	982.5	762.4	98.1	7,353.4
1922	5.3		245.3	1,580.9	3,236.2	118.3	1,121.2	567.7	72.4	6,947.3
1923	6.2		131.5	2,246.9	2,288.6	697.9	760.8	448.4	87.4	6,667.7
1924	**		203.4	2,319.6	2,119.7	918.9	764.6	465.4	107.9	6,899.5
1925			248.9	2,262	1,904.2	1,287.7	676.5	546.7	132	7,058
1926			201.3	1,113.4	3,006.5	622.9	202.4	1,642.5	121.7	6,910.7
1927			569	586.6	2,444.1	309.7	36.8	2,740.1	40.5	6,726.8
1928			715.8	269.7	2,113.2	19	26.2	4,075.8	45.1	7,264.8

*Beginning in 1915, imports from the Habsburg Empire became insignificant and as such are not listed here per year, although they are included in the totals given for this table.

** Beginning in 1924, imports from British India became insignificant and as such are not listed here per year, although they are included in the totals given for this table.

Source: based on *Annuaire Statistique*, various years.

the Matossian factory was harmful to smokers.[36] The health department and the interior ministry investigated the matter and forced Matossian to improve the quality of its tobacco. In 1928, the Egyptian government finally began to address the issue of tobacco adulteration in a legal (rather than ad hoc) manner. The path of this legislation, whose aim was to outlaw such activity, demonstrates well the difficulties encountered in enacting even such basic laws in a system under political pressures from many (and sometimes conflicting) players. The law had to receive the sanction of the Egyptian General Assembly, the mixed courts, the British officials in Egypt, and the British government in London before being passed.[37] This was a not a new phenomenon and such obstacles had long plagued legislation on economic matters such as property rights, trademarks, and counterfeits, and caused constant grief to manufacturers and consumers alike. The government only had a feeble and slow cure for such matters as long as the duality of the Egyptian political system (an uneasy British and Egyptian rule) and legal system (regular and mixed courts operating under the Capitulations) continued.

The Egyptian government was also slow to interfere with the prevalent practice of mixing other vegetable and fruit leaves with water-pipe tobaccos, which manufacturers introduced in order to raise the quantity of the smoke without increasing its price.[38] On 7 November 1933, the government finally acknowledged this practice *de jure*, and put a cap on the percentage of other substances allowed in tobacco mixtures. It decreed that the ratio of black honey to tobacco in the *ma'asal* (the most popular water-pipe tobacco blend) might not exceed the relatively high rate of 250 per cent or 2.5:1.[39] Thus, the government further showed its reluctance to change its tobacco tariff system in order to limit this practice, and preferred to legalize this foul play.[40]

Between 1918 and 1926, the constant demand from consumers and industry alike for cheap tobaccos, coupled with an attempt to substitute cultivation of cotton by other agricultural products, to escape the perils of monoculture, led the Ministry of Agriculture to conduct a series of experiments on the local cultivation of tobacco.[41] In 1928, the Egyptian government also hired an American tobacco consultant in this matter.[42] In 1954, the ministry conducted more experiments of this kind. In all cases, the results were not encouraging and tobacco cultivation was never introduced. It would have been interesting to examine the exchanges within the Egyptian government had these experiments been successful: re-introduction of tobacco cultivation would have put the Ministry of Agriculture in direct confrontation with other government authorities responsible for taxation on imports. Furthermore, a public debate on this issue would have stimulated concrete input by consumers, which we often read about in official documents and the

professional press, but are less often exposed to in public channels such as contemporary dailies.

In 1938, Mahmud Fayid, a deputy in the Chamber of Deputies, suggested another method by which the government could effectively intervene in the tobacco market and increase revenues at the same time. Fayid asked the Egyptian government to consider establishing a tobacco monopoly in Egypt.[43] On the example of existing state tobacco monopolies in France and Italy, which controlled production and sale in those countries, Fayid concluded that the Egyptian government would be able to more than double its revenues from tobacco. The Minister of Commerce and Industry rejected the idea on the following grounds: "The Egyptian government is following the general economic principle which is enforced by most countries, namely, that the State should abstain as far as possible from undertaking commercial or industrial enterprises, except those which affect a public service." During this period the Egyptian government (like many others at the end of the era of globalization) was taking protective measures by raising tariff barriers in an attempt to encourage Import Substitute Industrialization (ISI) projects in the aftermath of the Depression, which in Egypt's case was especially severe because of the large size of its cotton export. The statement above, however, suggests that the Egyptian government was not yet ready to take a further step and engage in direct interference in supply, as it would do some 20 years later during the Suez crisis and later (see epilogue). The minister also rightly suggested that the deputy's calculation of revenues ignored differences in standards of living and purchasing powers between Egypt and those countries. It was implied that Fayid had not taken into account the negative effect that the increase in price would have on the level of tobacco consumption. The minister's argument goes to the core of our discussion in this chapter in suggesting that economic conditions in Egypt dictated different consumption patterns, but also a different kind of government interference in markets.

The case study of the tobacco market has allowed a glimpse into the usually less discussed but significant role of the state in shaping demand, especially consumption by the less affluent. Although there is no way to quantify it, taxation undoubtedly reduced the demand for tobacco. Because consumption was particularly elastic at low-income levels, this holds even more for those who lived closer to subsistence level, for whom even the smallest economic shift had a major impact on their propensity to consume. Nevertheless, the government did not hesitate to increase taxation on tobacco when it needed to balance its budget or when it came under pressure from the industry and from some (presumably better-off) consumers to control the quality of imported tobacco. The government also regulated the market ad hoc, and later through legislation, in order to safeguard minimal

production standards and curtail counterfeits and adulteration, which further increased prices. In all this, the state was highly influential in determining demand in a seemingly "free" market, not least for those with limited ability to consume, who still constituted the large majority of buyers in the Egyptian mass but austere tobacco market.

5

MANUFACTURING AND SELLING IN THE LOCAL MARKET

In a relatively impoverished local market, production and distribution of tobacco goods meant supplying consumers with large quantities of cheap products, a situation quite different from manufacturing and selling the handmade luxury Egyptian cigarette (see chapter three). But it was the only kind of industry to survive when world demand decreased, although it too had to go through a fiercely contested process of late-mechanization, and subsequently the amalgamation of the business in the form of a duopoly. In this chapter, I address supply in what I term the Egyptian market, namely the local mass market for tobacco products. I begin with early production and selling in this market, move on to a detailed analysis of the strikes against mechanization, and conclude with an examination of the industry after this process. The chapter should be read in close proximity with chapter four, which outlines the constraints on demand, hence the realities that manufacturers faced in producing and selling for the Egyptian market. The following narrative emphasizes the close interplay between supply and demand in an industry which, like its targeted consumers, was highly price-sensitive. In chapter six, I will discuss the final outcome of this, namely foreign intervention, and convergence in the business.

Supplying a modest demand

In the period before the First World War, the Egyptian market developed rapidly because Egypt's economic situation continued to improve and the demand for tobacco followed suit. The industry that provided this market furthermore changed significantly. A few large companies came to dominate production and distribution, and expatriate Armenians, who mostly ran these companies, focused on economies of scale in supplying the ample but price-sensitive local demand. Production for the Egyptian market consisted mainly

of cutting, blending, and packaging ready-to-use tobaccos (for water-pipes and cigarettes), but it also included preparing economy handmade cigarettes and a few quality brands.

Timing was a very important factor in successfully entering production for the Egyptian market. In 1890, the reorganization of the tobacco market created a vacuum in supply because local tobacco was no longer available and imports of substitutes had only just started. Tobacco imports increased from 3,248 tonnes in 1889 to 5,319 tonnes in 1890 (see table 5.1). By 1913, tobacco and cigarette manufacturers were importing 9,030 tonnes, almost three times the amount for 1889. The increase in the amount of imported tobacco was due to the shift from local to imported tobaccos. The general economic growth of the country coupled with demographic increase further accelerated tobacco consumption and enabled factories to develop rapidly in this period. The biggest Armenian manufacturers and Coutarelli (the only large-scale Greek producer for the Egyptian market) opened or developed their businesses immediately after 1890, thereby proving that the ban, together with the shift in taxation on tobacco, were crucial in the entry of newcomers into the Egyptian tobacco market.

Table 5.1 Aggregate imports of tobacco to Egypt in tonnes, 1889–1913

Year	Quantity	Year	Quantity
1889	3,248	1902	6,810
1890	5,319	1903	6,901
1891	5,126	1904	7,829
1892	3,458	1905	8,078
1893	4,146	1906	8,377
1894	4,856	1907	8,633
1895	5,044	1908	8,792
1896	5,242	1909	8,642
1897	5,432	1910	8,346
1898	5,627	1911	8,761
1899	5,621	1912	9,004
1900	6,116	1913	9,030
1901	6,446		

Note: The quantities quoted above include *tumbak* and cigars. However, *tumbak* was imported in small quantities, and the imports of cigars were insignificant. For example, in 1912, from the 9,004 tonnes of imports, 662 tonnes were *tumbak* and 72 tonnes were cigars.

Source: based on *Annuaire Statistique*, 1914, 303.

No one understood the new opportunities that lay ahead better than the Matossian brothers. Hovhannes Matossian opened a small workshop in Alexandria soon after the family emigrated from the Ottoman Empire in 1882. In 1886, his brother Garabed opened a similar business in Cairo. In 1896, the brothers joined forces.[1] The new company grew rapidly, and in 1899 the Matossians converted their business into a shareholding company with capital of £E100,000. By 1902, they had increased the capital of the factory to £E150,000.[2] This capital came entirely from the Matossian family, which for unknown reasons retained all the company's shares.

The Melkonian brothers owned the second largest tobacco enterprise, and the development of this business was similar to the Matossians'. The family had arrived in Egypt in 1875 and opened a tobacco shop in Alexandria, starting in retail and later moving to wholesale.[3] In 1883 or 1884, the Melkonians established a factory in Zaqaziq, followed in 1888 by a second factory in Fayyum. They later established a factory in Aswan and another in Alexandria. Around the turn of the century, the Melkonian brothers consolidated their business by transferring production to a new factory in Cairo.

The same business practices prevailed in Armenian-owned as in Greek-owned factories. For example, owners of each factory belonged to a single family and they employed Armenians in managerial posts. However, Armenian factories employed a large percentage of unskilled labourers, and the proportion of Egyptians among the workers was higher than in the luxury cigarette factories. Furthermore, these factories employed many more workers than the Greek factories, but the exact number of workers in the industry producing for the Egyptian market is unknown. We do know that before the transition to machine production the Gamsaragan factory employed 1,200 workers.[4] In the early 1920s, after mechanization, Melkonian had 1,300 workers,[5] and Matossian employed around 3,000 workers.[6] In comparison, calculations based on Politis, who wrote about production of cigarettes by Greeks, suggest that the five largest Greek factories employed altogether 2,200 workers.[7]

No less important than producing cheaply was the ability of Armenian manufacturers to develop nationwide distribution networks that promoted their products throughout Egypt, utilizing the closure of older retailing establishments. By distributing their own products directly to consumers, manufacturers cut the costs of middlemen, making the role of the traditional tobacco seller (*dakhakhini*) obsolete, although producers might have incorporated some tobacco sellers into their distribution networks. The large number of employees in the Armenian enterprises clearly suggests that distribution, and to some extent retailing, were closely integrated with production in these companies. For example, by 1918 Melkonian had 80 cigarette selling posts in Egypt and the Sudan.[8]

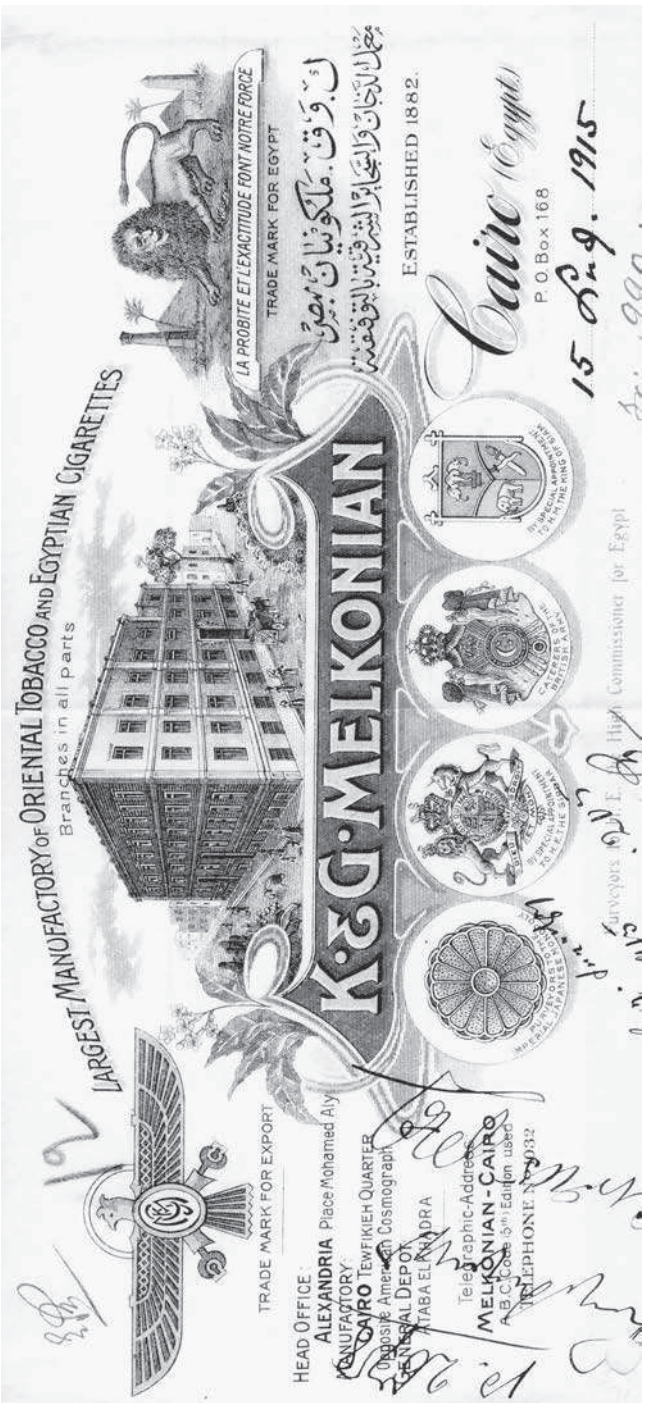

Fig. 4.1 Letterhead of the Melkonian factory.
Source: Author's collection.

Marketing in the cities was probably easier and more profitable because it entailed less travelling and served more affluent consumers, but the countryside, where the majority of the population lived, was not overlooked. An article in the *BAT Bulletin* suggests how cigarettes were promoted there (on British American Tobacco [BAT] and its involvement in the Egyptian market see below).[9] In this article, Mr. Stronach, the Bulletin's Special Correspondent in Egypt, describes a visit to a small village with a company Inspector, Johnnie, and an unnamed native Agent. The three met potential customers in villages near Luxor and they even had lunch at the home of one of their customers. This description corresponds well with others on promotion in Egypt as well as with BAT's operations in other places.[10] The purpose of such visits was to promote cigarettes by various advertising stunts, including handing in samples, and to establish working relations with local retailers. Distribution in the countryside was facilitated by the fact that Egypt had a well-developed transportation system of roads, railroads, and waterways. These were initially developed to facilitate the cotton export trade, but they were also significant in introducing novel commodities into rural areas.

Tobacco retailing was not limited to the distribution networks of manufacturers, and smaller retail establishments offered to their customers a selection of products produced by different manufacturers.[11] The development of nationwide retailing also meant that manufacturers for the Egyptian market, unlike the producers of luxury cigarettes, limited the number of their tobacco brands so as to facilitate distribution and increase brand recognition. For example, Gamsaragan became known for its Abu-Najma,[12] and Melkonian for its "house special" – the Maden (*ma'dan* in Arabic) cigarette.[13] Creating such brand recognition was an important stage in retailing nationwide because it enabled manufacturers to employ a large number of sales persons who were not tobacco specialists or simply to sell their cigarettes via general retailing venues (the Greek stores in the countryside). Packaging, rather than selling in bulk, as had been the custom in the past, also facilitated the retailing process; and branding and packaging together gave manufacturers advantage over independent retailers in creating consumer demand, which forced such retailers to keep stocks of their brands. None of this was unique to manufacturers in the Egyptian tobacco market, but typical of markets for tobacco products and other mass-produced goods worldwide. I will further discuss distribution for the Egyptian market in the next chapter, where documents of the Department of Companies show us the structure of the Eastern Tobacco Company, the firm that came to dominate production and distribution after 1927.

Around 1884, the first year when Egyptian manufacturers exported a significant quantity of handmade cigarettes, James Duke in the United States and the W.D. & H.O. Wills company in Britain began to produce machine-

made cigarettes.[14] The introduction of machines revolutionized the business by increasing production capacity while significantly reducing the price per cigarette. As a result, these two manufacturers came to dominate cigarette production in their respective countries. A "tobacco war" started when Duke's American Tobacco Company (ATC) tried to penetrate the British market. In 1902, when the war ended, ATC and Imperial Tobacco – a group of British manufacturers headed by Wills – began to cooperate in the global market.[15] For this purpose, they established one of the first multinational companies, BAT, which soon dominated international production of cigarettes and was to exert a major effect on the Egyptian industry in the years to come.

Soon after its establishment, BAT began to explore various venues in an attempt to enter the Egyptian tobacco market. BAT was motivated to seek inroads into the Egyptian cigarette industry because Egyptian cigarettes sold well in markets worldwide. Moreover, the company hoped to produce cheap cigarettes for the fast growing local market, as it was doing in other places such as China and India. BAT usually started operations by exporting cigarettes, and only later diversified by acquiring local firms and developing its own local ventures. For Egypt, the company had to choose a different strategy because the Egyptian market preferred Eastern to the Virginia tobaccos BAT used in its cigarettes, whose aroma and taste were different from those of Eastern tobaccos.[16] As we shall see in the next chapter, consumers' preference for Eastern tobacco would have an impact on BAT's operations, even after the company came to control most production in Egypt. Instead of exports, BAT purchased existing businesses and produced cigarettes with Eastern tobacco locally, and only started to export cigarettes to Egypt in 1913.[17] In 1905, Maspero Frères became the first BAT subsidiary and the centre of its activity in the country.[18] The company also acquired the African Cigarette Co. Ltd.[19] In 1907, BAT apparently established a new cigarette company, the Egyptian Tobacco and Cigarette Corporation Ltd. This company had significant capital of £E125,000,[20] only slightly less than that of Matossian, but the enterprise was not successful; by 1910 it was in liquidation. In 1908, BAT acquired an interest in the Alma cigarette company through Maspero.[21]

Only partially successful in entering the local market by buying local companies and imports, BAT attempted other strategies. In 1907, it introduced the first cigarette-making machines in Egypt via Maspero Frères.[22] However, the company soon discovered that production of cheap cigarettes did not yield the anticipated advantage over local competitors. This was because Egyptians continued to smoke water-pipes, and when they did smoke cigarettes they preferred to roll their own, or, if they could afford it, to buy handmade cigarettes, which were considered better quality than machine-made. In 1908, BAT tried yet again radically to change the existing tobacco market in Egypt.[23] The company approached the Egyptian government and

offered financial and expert help in resuming domestic cultivation of tobacco. BAT also offered to compensate the government for the annual sum of its current revenues from import tariffs, which was about £E1,700,000.[24] In exchange, BAT would have the right to control local cultivation and the government would prohibit tobacco imports to Egypt. This was not the first time that a tobacco multinational had tried to interfere with the region's tobacco market. In 1902, Duke's American Tobacco Company had attempted to gain control of the Middle Eastern supply market.[25] In 1913, unidentified Americans, who were probably associated with one of the large cigarette enterprises, also made a bid to acquire the Ottoman Regie.[26] BAT's offer, if accepted, would free the company of Egyptian competition in global markets, as well as enable BAT to control the local market by cutting the supply of tobacco to its competitors. It would further help the company to promote its cheap machine-made cigarettes in this captive market.

BAT's offer came at a time when the Egyptian government was under political pressure to re-introduce tobacco cultivation, and protests against the ban on cultivation came in every opening session of the General Assembly and the Legislative Council.[27] In March 1907, 'Ali Sha'arawi Pasha brought a protest against the tobacco ban before the Egyptian General Assembly. He was supported by Sheikh 'Ali Yusuf, the former editor of *al-Mu'ayyad* and the leader of the Reform Party. The press backed the suggestion to re-introduce cultivation in order to protect Egypt from the dangers of total economic dependency on cotton, and *al-Muqtataf* devoted two articles to this issue.[28] Although they shared the same interest, there was no open cooperation between BAT and this Egyptian lobby. BAT kept its offer a secret, and later even denied the very existence of such a plan.

For the Egyptian government, accepting BAT's offer required a major change in the existing tobacco revenue system in Egypt, discontinuing a profitable indirect tax, and a new dependence on an external source of revenues. It also required breaking commercial treaties, such as the one it had signed with Greece in 1884, which allowed imports of Greek tobaccos into the country. Government officials were probably more sceptical than the company was about the possibility of cultivating quality tobacco in Egypt. They would also have been reluctant to promote cultivation of tobacco at the expense of cotton, or to injure a successful local industry. Thus, the government preferred to continue with a successful revenue system, rather than risk a completely different one. The entire affair further testified to the limits of cooperation between private capital from the metropolis and the local colonial government. When the latter's interests were jeopardized, and with little lobbying from the Foreign Office or other official bodies, the colonial government in Egypt took a decision that best suited its own interests.

Until the end of the First World War, although it continued to grow, BAT operated in the existing Egyptian cigarette industry as one of many players.

The company made two other major acquisitions – Nicholas Soussa, one of the major early manufacturers for export, and Gamsaragan, the third biggest manufacturer for the local market.[29] These acquisitions enabled it to enlarge its share in the Egyptian tobacco market. Still, BAT did not attempt to mechanize these factories, and even Maspero continued to produce hand-made cigarettes until mechanization swept the entire industry.

During the period under discussion, new enterprises replaced older ventures in the Egyptian tobacco market by using economies of scale in production and novel distribution of their now packaged and branded commodities. But this textbook-like account on industrialization in Egypt, although true of other businesses as well, was not the only venue where manufacturing survived. Indeed, older ventures where economies of scale were less profitable, producers in areas such as the furniture industry, which benefited from the high costs of shipment incurred by imports, or producers of commodities that better catered to local tastes, also survived, albeit mostly in the form of small-scale (workshop) production. Moreover, modest consumers in Egypt could afford far fewer of the commodities that producers abroad increasingly sold in mass markets in developed economies. For example, the market for ready-to-wear clothing remained very limited for an extended period because textile production mostly took place at home or was tailored-made for the relatively small group of consumers who could afford it. Under such conditions, repair and refurbishing services also limited markets for new items. Nevertheless, large-scale manufacturing, such as tobacco production for the local market, had a long-term effect on the Egyptian economy and these businesses would also constitute the backbone of production by the state after nationalization in the wake of the 1956 events (see epilogue).

Late mechanization

Mechanization of cigarette production was a change waiting to happen. It was foisted onto the industry by the shape of local demand and innovation in production, which by that time had become a standard in the cigarette industries worldwide and was threatening local manufacturers. Nevertheless, for reasons discussed below, and in concert with wider economic and political change in the aftermath of the First World War, mechanization came late, and only after a fierce struggle between cigarette rollers and factory owners, which brought about the total demise of that group of workers. The following account, based on a close reading of the contemporary press, attempts to strike a balance between intra-industry conflict and its wider context, the dramatic events of 1919, in examining how this industrial change was integrated into a broader scheme of things: cross-industry workers' unrest, unionization, and a close relationship between workers and the national movement.[30]

Machine production of cigarettes started in the United States and Britain in the mid-1880s, and BAT's global activity quickly spread it around the world, including, to a limited degree, in Egypt. Furthermore, manufacturers in Egypt were aware early on that machine production would endanger their business. In 1895, they watched state factories in Greece experiment with machines.[31] In 1900, Lagoudakis, who founded the earliest paper mill catering to the production of handmade cigarettes, visited the United States.[32] There he observed for the first time the work of cigarette-making machines. He realized that these machines would make manual production obsolete, hence damage his business. He therefore decided upon his return to Egypt to convert his paper mill to production of other paper products. Nevertheless, the Egyptian cigarette industry delayed following this global transition by some three decades.

For manufacturers of luxury cigarettes, switching to machines was not an option because they produced a large number of brands, which required different blends and sizes of paper and therefore did not fit into standardized mass production. Even more so, customers valued the handmade cigarette, and manufacturers hesitated to ruin their reputation as makers of luxury cigarettes by introducing machines. In fact, Vallet argued that the only factor that slowed down the introduction of machines at that period was the belief, "true or not", that handmade cigarettes were superior to machine-made ones.[33] Even when mechanization swept the industry, manufacturers who produced quality cigarettes continued to employ human rollers rather than machines. Manufacturers for the Egyptian market followed a different set of considerations regarding mechanization. Machine production would benefit manufacturers for the Egyptian market since it would potentially enable them to sell cigarettes cheaply and for a higher profit than selling tobacco and cigarette paper separately. Moreover, customers potentially smoked more when they did not have to roll their own cigarettes. Manufacturers could also have used existing distribution networks to promote their new machine-made cigarettes, although they might have faced consumers' resistance to this new commodity. Nevertheless, introducing new technology into an already established industry also raised some serious financial and technical obstacles. Mechanization meant a heavy investment in importing machines and training operators. Maintenance of machinery was also expensive because skilled labour was scarce and spare parts would have to come from abroad. Manufacturers would have to provide their own energy source as well as change the layout of the factories to facilitate machine production.

Another major consideration in a mature industry was the difficulty of introducing machines that would make the work of cigarette rollers obsolete. Rollers constituted the elite of the workers in the factory and were paid significantly more than others. The skill and determination with which they had united and struggled to protect their interests in the past made it clear to

manufacturers that mechanization would not happen without a major conflict. Already in 1899 Fredric Courtland Penfield, US consul general to Egypt from 1893 to1897, wrote: "Machinery is not employed in any way except for cutting the tobacco, and it is said that the workmen wield sufficient power to render the adoption of machinery for making cigarettes a step too dangerous to be contemplated."[34] Sure enough, the struggle against mechanization started immediately after their initial introduction. In 1907, rollers went on strike against the introduction of cigarette-making machines in BAT's Maspero.[35] Thereafter machines were a constant threat to the rollers, and leverage that employers could use against demands from the best-organized workers in the industry. For example, in August 1908 workers at Matossian established a union to fight a reduction in their wages.[36] In response, the factory introduced cigarette-making machines and fired nine strikers.[37] This further drove workers to organize, and by 1910 the Matossian union had 200 members. Workers at Matossian also established the "Ligue internationale des ouvriers cigarettiers et Papetiers du Caire", which by that time had over 1,500 members from different factories.[38] Early strikes and labour unionism proved to manufacturers that rollers would fight any attempt to replace them with machines. Even more so, manufacturers hesitated to fire workers with whom they often shared language, religion, and community ties. As a result, mechanization was relatively slow to come. As long as manufacturers increased production and generated large revenues in a growing tobacco market, they preferred to continue with the business they knew rather than venture into the unknown territory of machine production. It required a major crisis in the business to bring about large-scale change, and this crisis came during the First World War.

When the war started, manufacturers faced decreasing demand as a result of diminishing purchasing power at home. Consumers also switched to cheaper brands or rolled their own cigarettes. Producers of luxury handmade cigarettes suffered diminishing exports. In August 1915, an increase in tariffs further cut demand by increasing the price of tobaccos.[39] Already in March 1915, factory owners attempted to counter diminishing exports by reducing the volume of work and wages by 30 per cent.[40] In protest, workers downed tools and demonstrated. At that time, Egypt was already under martial law, which prohibited such actions, and the governorate sent a police force to protect the factories and end the strike. At the same time, local officials received a representative of the workers who requested their intervention in the form of mediation between workers and employers.

As the war progressed it created severe shortages in food supply followed by high inflation. This exacerbated the workers' conditions and drove them to resume strikes. Cigarette rollers were the first among industrial workers to strike soon after political repression relaxed, when the front was pushed back from the Egyptian border. On 23 or 24 July 1917, some 300 rollers at Melkonian were the first to declare a strike.[41] On 27 July 1917, rollers at

Coutarelli went on strike.[42] On 4 September, a group of rollers at Salonica followed.[43] On 17 October 125 or 127 rollers at Ipekian's joined the strikers,[44] and in early November 45 rollers from Gamsaragan did the same.[45] In early February 1918, the initial strikes spread to other factories and workers in Alexandria went on a cross-factory strike. The local press offered two estimates of the number of strikers: on 11 February *al-Ahram* reported that about 1,000 workers participated;[46] on 24 February *Wadi al-Nil* counted 864 striking workers.[47] This collective action included workers at factories producing for the Egyptian market as well as at factories that specialized in high-end cigarettes. Employers bitterly resisted any increase in wages. They put pressure on workers to go back to work by hiring strike-breakers. On 17 March 1918, after pressure from local authorities, employers and workers reached a compromise. Workers won a modest increase of 15 per cent in their payment per 1,000 rolled cigarettes as well as the right of all strikers to go back to work.[48] In return they agreed to let those who were hired during the strike continue their work.

Two days after this settlement, tension between employers and workers erupted into open violence, after Ipekian refused to take more than 100 strikers back to work.[49] Workers from Ipekian demonstrated outside the factory and even entered the factory, where they attacked other workers whom the management had hired during the strike.[50] The workers also smashed windows and destroyed tobacco, cigarettes, and equipment. Many were injured, and 18 were arrested when the police came. The local authorities investigated the incident and finally charged 25 persons, including the factory manager, who during the clash had fired a gun, which he held without a licence.[51] Toward the end of April 1918, a similar incident happened at Melkonian.[52] In a brawl at the factory between striking workers and those who continued to work many were injured, and the strikers also damaged machines. The police arrested 85 strikers, and after investigation 66 workers were brought before a criminal court.[53] After this last incident, the tobacco industry was quiet for about a year, although workers unionized in order to continue the strikes. On 20 December 1918, some 1,000 workers from different factories gathered for a union meeting in the Alf Layla wa-Layla coffeehouse in Cairo.[54] This coffeehouse, like the Faransa coffeehouse in Alexandria, served as the regular meeting place for unionized workers.

The first period of strikes in the cigarette industry was experiencing in a period of major unrest in the countryside and the city.[55] This was the result of a more lenient British policy to workers' collective actions, as the front was moving away from Egypt, coupled with severe food shortages and the consequent high inflation, which severely damaged standards of living and brought many to the brink of subsistence. The end result of this was a major peasant revolt and a large wave of strikes and unionization in an attempt to improve wages and working conditions. Furthermore, the

period experienced a renewed rapprochement between workers and the Wafd (the national) party, when economic grievances fuelled national sentiments and the Wafd, in turn, encouraged potential support from workers by taking on their cause. The outcome was the massive organization of workers and ensuing work conflicts, which achieved different degrees of success for different groups of strikers (including cigarette rollers), depending on conditions within each industry. Such industrial action also fed the national struggle later, during the 1919 Revolution.

From mid-1919, however, and while existing alongside other industrial conflicts, the strife in the cigarette industry began to change in nature. What had started as a dispute over payment turned into a failed struggle against mechanization and redundancy. Around 16 May 1919 workers from Alexandria and Cairo were again among the first workers in Egypt to strike in demand for another pay raise to compensate them for a huge increase in the cost of living.[56] In early July, the strikes gained momentum when some 1,100 workers at Alma and Melkonian came out, demanding severance pay when fired.[57] This suggests that rollers acknowledged that machines would soon replace them. Because of its size and the fact that it employed many Egyptian workers, and therefore received a great deal of attention from the press, Melkonian played a central role in the negotiations between employers and their striking rollers. On 22 August, after long negotiations, the strike at Melkonian finally ended.[58] However, relations between workers and employers remained tense. Around 15 September the owner of Melkonian charged a group of workers with attempting to damage machines in the factory.[59]

In the months after these strikes, mechanization swept the industry and manufacturers began to dispense with the rollers altogether. Once started, mechanization had a domino effect because it was clear that those who stayed behind were bound to lose. The process of mechanization, therefore, engulfed all the manufacturers for the Egyptian market. It also included some manufacturers who earlier specialized in quality cigarettes, but now, after the cut in exports and the transition to cheaper cigarettes in Egypt during the war, also moved to production for the Egyptian market. On 19 August 1919, the Egyptian government set up the Labour Conciliation Board (LCB) to provide official mediation in work conflicts, which became very prevalent at this time.[60] According to a LCB report, between 1 January 1920 and 1 January 1921, 1,076 workers lost their jobs (see table 5.2). By 30 June 1921 another 125 workers had been dismissed. However, these numbers reflect only the period in which the LCB took an active role in mediating between rollers and employers. To these figures we should add a large but unknown number of rollers, especially at Matossian, who had lost their jobs earlier. Around 12 May 1919 Matossian fired 80 workers but the total number must have been much

higher considering that Melkonian, which was a smaller factory, fired 450 rollers.[61]

Table 5.2. Number of rollers in each factory during the process of mechanization

	January 1, 1920	January 1, 1921	June 30, 1921
Coutarelli	172	51	50
Gamsaragan	50	0	0
Ipekian	50	10	0
Laurens	79	78	40
Livanos	50	40	22
Matossian	0	0	0
Melkonian	450	0	0
Papatheologos	175	140	84
Salonica	85	48	47
A. Pangalos	120	0	0
FP Papadopoulo	6	0	6
Maspero Frères	282	76	69
TOTAL	1519	443	318

Source: Commission de Conciliation du Travail, "VII Rapport (Juillet 1921-Mars 1922)" (Alexandrie: Typo-Lithographie Nouvelle C. Molco & Cie., 1922), 3.

With the introduction of machines, employers became active in an effort to restore industrial peace. On 12 January 1920, owners of cigarette factories met and decided to send a delegation to the governorate to let it know that they would start a lock-out if cigarette workers continued to persist with their demands.[62] Factory owners further closed ranks when the LCB studied the work conflict in the industry and began to mediate between employers and their workers. On about 22 January 1920 the owners of Melkonian, Gamsaragan, Dimitrino, Manilidis, Melachrino, Sarkisyan, Maspero, Matossian, Papagalos, Vafiadis, Gianaclis, and Isherwood met at the Hotel Continental in Cairo to discuss the efforts of the LCB to resolve the conflict at the Melkonian and Papagalos factories.[63]

As mechanization went ahead rollers lost most of their leverage in the conflict because their position became redundant. They focused on the only advantage their work had in comparison to machines: the perceived quality

of the handmade cigarette. Around 11 October 1919 rollers complained that factory owners did not advertise the fact that their cigarettes were machine-made.[64] This was not a new complaint. When machines were first introduced, rollers went to court demanding that manufacturers label handmade and machine-made brands differently.[65] About a month later, factory owners in Cairo agreed to differentiate between "handmade" and "machine-made" in print on the cigarette paper.[66] But this had little effect in slowing down the mechanization process because now consumers were less reluctant to switch to cheaper machine-produced cigarettes, and economic difficulties forced them to smoke less or more cheaply. Furthermore, over a decade had passed since the first cigarette-making machines had entered the country, and consumers had gradually come to accept this novelty. Indeed, their shift to consumption of machine-made cigarettes was a major factor working for the quick transition of factories to machine production. Mechanization was unavoidable in an industry that specialized in mass production of cheap products.

Workers brought their struggle to bear on political life in an attempt to slow down mechanization and to improve severance payments. Around 15 March 1920, workers petitioned the prime minister's help in protecting their jobs from cigarette-making machines.[67] The rollers also received help from the press in this matter. On 22 October 1919, *al-'Umma* published an article in which it called on the government to impose a heavy tax on the cigarette paper that the factories used in their machines in order to discourage employers from replacing rollers.[68] On 12 November 1920, *Wadi al-Nil* asked the government to intervene to protect the workers against machines.[69] Other newspapers, while not always taking such a strong position in the struggle, did show compassion in their reports on the disagreeable situation of the rollers.

Once the struggle was transferred to the political arena, aspiring national politicians adopted the workers' cause. Muhammad Hussein Haikal and Aziz Mirhum, leaders of the Egyptian Democratic party, proposed the establishment of an Egyptian factory that would produce handmade cigarettes to counter layoffs of workers.[70] The Egyptian Workers Cigarette Company announced that its cigarettes would be available to the public in early August 1920,[71] but no further information is available on this project. In Zaqaziq, where workers struggled against the BAT-owned Gamsaragan factory, the local council resolved to impose a 9 per cent tax on the output of Gamsaragan, but the factory relocated rather than pay the tax.[72] These early attempts to bring politics to bear on the economy and create national projects in the cigarette industry were followed by others in the 1930s and echoed wider nationalist economic politics of the period. I will return to attempts at establishing a national cigarette industry in the next chapter.

After mechanization, no amount of political pressure could reinstate the rollers in their jobs. With no social security system in place and only minimal

compensation for severance, the consequences of being fired were often acute.[73] This was especially so because this group of workers, prior to the swift mechanization process, was at the top of the industrial work force. From now on, any position in the tobacco or other industry not only required retraining, but also meant an inevitable reduction in wage and living standards for the workers and their families.

Manufacturers' dire victory

In 1921, some 150 machines produced cigarettes in Egypt, and each was capable of doing the work of 70 rollers.[74] These figures indicate that manufacturers did not simply replace workers with machines but greatly increased their production capacity in the process. With mechanization, manufacturers also significantly reduced the production cost of ready-made cigarettes from P.T. 21.5 per 1,000 for handmade cigarettes to P.T. 1.5 per 1,000 for machine-made ones.[75] In turn, they could sell much cheaper cigarettes than before. The transition to mass production immediately brought about a surge in consumption of cheap ready-made cigarettes.[76] This, however, did not generate the expected result of rapid growth of the business. While consumers switched to cigarettes, the aggregate consumption of tobacco did not increase, and per capita consumption even decreased in this period, representing a broader economic downturn in Egypt (see table 5.1 for aggregate tobacco consumption, and chapter four for a discussion on per capita tobacco consumption). After a short and quick expansion, manufacturers saturated the market. From then on they would be locked in fierce competition for smokers.

To increase their sales, manufacturers began to advertise their cigarettes in the press more intensively than in the past. In April 1922, Matossian started an advertising campaign in *al-Kashkul*. It used large cartoons that depicted a gallery of popular Egyptian characters smoking and praising a cigarette from its factory in order to convert everyday Egyptians to smoking ready-made cigarettes. In July 1924, Matossian embarked on a second campaign, which advertised a lottery based on coupons tucked inside its cigarette packets. The company promised consumers that it would distribute prizes worth a total of £E4,000, without any change in the quality of the tobacco that it used in making cigarettes.[77] This promise was significant because, as suggested in chapter four, at that period manufacturers usually attempted to cut costs of production, for example, by using cheap and low quality tobaccos from the Far East. Matossian also distributed inside the cigarette packets photographs of members of the Egyptian parliament. On 14 November 1924, *al-Kashkul* received an angry letter from one of its readers.[78] He complained that he bought 60 packets of cigarettes and found inside 45 photos of Muhammad Bak Basyuni and 15 photos of Bayumi Bak Madkur. Both representatives were

from Giza, and because the reader did not know them or care about their photographs, he asked the magazine to deliver his protest to the manufacturer. (The Matossian factory was located in Giza and the factory probably had its reasons for promoting the pictures of politicians from the same district.) Matossian's advertising campaigns, however, were so successful that *al-Musawwar* used them as an example for other potential advertisers.[79]

Other manufacturers followed Matossian's footsteps. They gave away samples,[80] and put coupons, which entitled smokers to gifts, inside the packets. In April 1923, one firm included in every box of cigarettes a numbered lottery coupon for a prize of one million German marks.[81] This was a promotion ploy rather than the promise of a big win because Germany was experiencing hyper-inflation at the time. Nevertheless, such promotion campaigns soon evolved into a form of commercial war and they significantly increased marketing costs. Indeed, they helped the bigger manufacturers, who already enjoyed economies of scale in production, to force out smaller

Fig. 5.1 Matossian's advertisement for its prizes. Tut Anch Amon to the smoker:
"If you win a prize because you smoke Matossian's tobacco
buy me a new set of clothes – Tut Anch Amon style."
Source: *Al-Kashkul* 5 December, 1924: 17.

competitors. In 1924, Papatheologos, one of the smaller manufacturers, distributed coupons that promised consumers expensive cameras.[82] The fierce competition over selling cigarettes and the expensive promotion campaign proved detrimental to the company, and its owners soon had to sell their enterprise to BAT. In addition to consumer advertising manufacturers used indirect promotion methods such as rewarding retailers who sold their brands at a discount based on the quantity of cigarettes they sold.[83] This further aggravated the position of smaller producers. Indeed, the shift to machines, which led to over-production and an intense struggle in an already saturated market, would soon cause many manufacturers to forfeit their businesses in the rapid process of integration that swept the industry.

6

MULTINATIONAL INTERFERENCE AND ITS DEMISE

After the rapid mechanization of the early 1920s, constraints on demand and rapid saturation in the new market for machine-made cigarettes led to fierce competition among manufacturers and created conditions ripe for integration in the industry. As we shall see, this process was very rapid because BAT started to buy out companies immediately after mechanization, and its rival, Matossian, soon followed. Much as in the case of mechanization, the integration process started a domino effect because none of the smaller manufacturers could face the mounting competition, nor did they want to be left without any leverage in future selling negotiations. In 1927, a mere six years after most producers had mechanized their factories, the establishment of Eastern Tobacco Company assembled the majority of factories under one management.

Through the study of Eastern and its fortunes between 1920 and 1960, the chapter highlights issues relevant to the Egyptian industry at large, and the constraints on manufacturing commodities in markets that gradually grew in size, but where demand remained highly elastic and product development was limited by price. It also points at the evolutionary as opposed to the revolutionary process that shaped the transition from colonial to national domination over the economy.[1]

Eastern Tobacco Company and shifts in local demand

After the First World War, BAT expanded concomitantly with the new British control over parts of the Ottoman Middle East, now rearranged by the Mandate system. It could enter these markets with relative ease because the Ottoman Tobacco Regie, which earlier controlled cultivation and production of tobacco in these territories, was no longer in place. In September 1922, after confirming from the Foreign Office that the Regie concession was cancelled,[2] BAT reopened a branch of Maspero in Palestine, which had been

closed during the war,[3] and the British High Commissioner visited the factory. By early 1923, the factory had expanded production to four million cigarettes a month and dominated cigarette production in that country.[4] BAT later bought the Haifa-based Société de Tabacs et Cigarettes et [al] Watania, and the Jerusalem-based Baddour Brothers.[5] Between 1921 and 1922, the company tried unsuccessfully to gain a share of the market in Iraq.[6] In 1926, the company further established selling outlets in Aden,[7] and its subsidiaries in Egypt partly supplied the growing market of the Arab Peninsula. In 1927 and 1928, BAT established two factories in Transjordan.[8] From 1930, BAT attempted to enter the Syrian-Lebanese market, which was also open after the break-up of the Ottoman Regie. It found a strong competitor there in the form of a Parisian business group that bought the assets of the Regie and formed the Compagnie Libano-Syrienne des Tabacs.[9] After a failed attempt to establish a foothold in this market, BAT sold its business to the competition for 28.5 per cent of the latter's shares. In 1935, a tobacco monopoly (Regie) was formed in this territory; BAT continued to hold financial interest in the Regie through its share in one of the five companies now forming the monopoly.

While expanding into other Middle East markets, BAT also developed its operations in Egypt. BAT followed the major trend in the industry and mechanized its factories, not without resistance from rollers. But a report by the Labour Conciliation Board (LCB) implies that BAT was able to buy industrial peace by paying redundant rollers a substantial amount of severance pay.[10] The company, with its huge resources, also fared well in the mechanization process and in the inevitable struggle over consumers that soon followed. In fact, it rapidly expanded its operations in this period by buying other companies that came under financial constraints. BAT acquired the factories of Mavrides and Ipekian,[11] the fourth largest Armenian manufacturer. BAT also bought 65 per cent of Tabac and Cigarettes Papatheologos S.A.[12] By 1927 BAT owned six Egyptian factories,[13] which produced primarily for the local market. As a result, the company significantly increased its cigarette sales in Egypt (see table 6.1).

The expansion of BAT operations in Egypt brought it into direct confrontation with the Matossian factory, which earlier dominated production for the local market. Although Matossian seems to have suffered from the competition,[14] it was far from becoming another of BAT's subsidiaries. In the 1920s, Matossian concentrated production in a huge factory in Giza. It employed 4,000 workers and manufactured over two billion cigarettes per year, a quarter of which were exported. At that time the factory had 40 cigarette-making machines, each capable of producing 200,000 cigarettes daily. A rough estimate of its production capabilities compared with actual production shows that the company could further increase manufacturing by about a third. Management in the factory also changed. Hovhannes Matossian, the older of the two brothers who had established the business,

Table 6.1 BAT sales in million cigarettes in Egypt, 1921–1946

Year	Quantity	Year	Quantity
1921	289.1	1934	2805.4
1922	225	1935	2668
1923	391.5	1936	2755.5
1924	678	1937	2851.1
1925	1155	1938	2973.4
1926	1358.1	1939	2803.1
1927	2716.8	1940	3179.9
1928	4789.9	1941	4168
1929	4193.5	1942	5310.9
1930	3939.1	1943	5303.8
1931	3224.4	1944	5875.4
1932	2711	1945	6218
1933	2783.3	1946	6059.3

Note: The table reflects BAT sales until 1927 and Eastern sales thereafter.

Source: Howard T. Cox, "The Global Cigarette: B.A.T. and the Spread of International Business Before 1939," (Ph.D. dissertation, University of London, 1990), appendix 4.

died in 1927.[15] His sons, Jacques, Joseph, and Vincent, who already worked in the factory, now took control of the business.

In July 1927, BAT and Matossian merged under the umbrella of Eastern.[16] The strategic alliance between BAT and Matossian significantly took place after the death of the latter's co-founder and the ascendance of a new generation; BAT had made overtures prior to this and had been rebuffed. The alliance was mutually beneficial because each side brought different assets to Eastern. BAT saw an opportunity to emulate the success achieved in China, where the involvement of a leading domestic firm such as Matossian was paralleled by the role played by the Wing Tai Vo Company.[17] In China, BAT mainly took care of managing the production end and used the brands and distribution systems of the Chinese firm to build a nationwide presence, as it would in Egypt. Before the merger Matossian tripled its capital from £E250,000 to £E750,000.[18] However, it was BAT, which at that point was overflowing with resources, who increased the capital of Eastern to £E5,000,000, by far the largest investment made in any Egyptian joint-stock company with the exception of the Suez Canal Company.[19] Such investment also dwarfed other capital investments in factories

in the cigarette industry, which for most other tobacco companies were on average less than £E100,000.[20] It indicated BAT's very optimistic scenario in terms of anticipated growth.

Although BAT invested the lion's share in Eastern, the Matossian family received 50 per cent of the shares.[21] The family also retained much managerial control over Eastern, and the chairman of the Matossian company served as Eastern's first chairman of the Board.[22] BAT accepted Matossian's partnership under such generous conditions because the Matossians provided their up-to-date factory, which soon became the only production facility of Eastern, and still today is colloquially known as Matossian. The Matossians also provided well-developed distribution networks, local knowledge of the Egyptian market, and the ability to negotiate with the Egyptian authorities. Even more so, BAT was becoming more aware globally of the rise of nationalism and its possible negative impact on its business, and it sought to counter this issue by downplaying its direct involvement in such markets and operating via local subsidiaries.[23] While the Matossians were able to secure their own position in Eastern, Britons soon filled most of the important managerial and administrative positions in the company. BAT also brought to Eastern foreign expertise in production and access to international tobacco markets.

About two years after the merger the company brought employees and management together at an Annual Meeting that reflected its new (British) corporate culture.[24] On 7 April 1929, Eastern personnel convened at the highly respected National Sporting Club (also known as the Gezira club) in Cairo. The meeting included all the factories with the exception of Gamsaragan, which did not send its representative "owing to unforeseen developments on the eve of the Sport". The meeting included a concert by the Band of H.M. Royal Dragoons and sporting events in which teams from the various companies competed and managers served as judges and presented prizes to the winners. The event also included a Business House relay in which Eastern competed against Thomas Cook & Sons, Ltd. and the Marconi Sports Club. Through all this, the Annual Meeting was undoubtedly intended to develop a new *esprit de corps* among Eastern's staff, but it also underlined (to staff in Egypt and readers of the *BAT Bulletin* elsewhere) the new direction that Eastern was taking as a subsidiary of a larger multinational, which was to be run in the BAT fashion. Indeed, sporting events were part of BAT's global corporate culture, held in other places as well and reported in the company's organ.[25]

After the further acquisition of Melkonian, the second largest Armenian manufacturer, and the Athena Cigarette factory, Eastern controlled a total of nine companies, including some of the largest firms in the industry. Immediately after the merger Eastern for a short while entirely dominated production. According to one source, the company controlled 90 per cent of the Egyptian cigarette market.[26] By then Egypt had become BAT's fourth largest market, after China, India, and Java.[27] However, the impact of the

Great Depression soon stopped Eastern's initial success in increasing sales, just two years after the company had been established.

After June 1929, the Egyptian government, in an attempt to encourage local production, reduced duties on raw and processed tobacco while leaving duties on imported cigarettes the same.[28] As a result, Eastern's imports of cigarettes from Britain decreased. The company's local production, which might have benefited from the tobacco reform, was also hurt because the Depression had greatly reduced the purchasing power of Egyptian smokers.[29] At the same time, the company's exports from Egypt suffered as consumers' purchasing power abroad also diminished.[30] Eastern's sales, which in its first two years increased significantly, now dropped to their 1927 level and remained static even when the impact of the Depression on the Egyptian economy started to wane. As a result, Eastern had to slim production by closing all its other subsidiaries, moving production to the Matossian facilities in Cairo (Giza) and economizing on its distribution chains. According to a BAT internal account, as a result the company paid off 12,000 Egyptian workers.[31] In late 1936, after a period in which BAT had to fund Eastern's operations in Egypt, and after a series of shareholding transfers from the Matossians to BAT to compensate for some of the losses, Eastern's shares were written down from £E5,000,000 to £E2,000,000.[32]

Eastern's failure to increase sales was also related to the fact that the company tried to convert smokers from eastern to British cigarettes, which were made from Virginia tobacco (I use "eastern" without capitalization when referring to tobacco grown in the East to differentiate it from "Eastern" the company). Virginia cigarettes were BAT's stock in trade in other markets including China and India, but Egypt was different insofar as local smokers preferred the region's tobacco and would not easily switch to the new taste. Before the Depression Egyptians showed a readiness to smoke British when the price was right, but an increase in the price of imported cigarettes filled with Virginia blends quickly drove consumers back to smoking cigarettes filled with eastern tobaccos. The company's failure to cultivate Virginia tobacco locally (and more cheaply) further exacerbated this situation. Although the company began to produce Virginia blend cigarettes in Egypt, for example, Gold Flake,[33] to its dismay efforts to further promote Virginia brands had only minor success.[34] In all, the decision of the company to promote consumption of Virginia tobacco in Egypt had a negative influence on sales.

Eastern and Empire during the Second World War

Only during the Second World War did Eastern's fortunes change, when consumption of British cigarettes significantly increased due to the presence of Allied Forces in the Middle East. Even more so, local consumers faced a

new situation whereby Virginia was the more prevalent tobacco in the market. Eastern stood to gain twice from the wartime shifts: through close co-operation between BAT and British officials it secured supplies of raw material from abroad, enhancing BAT tobacco exports, especially from India and Rhodesia to Egypt; and it significantly increased production as a result of Allied demand. Taking advantage of British (and American) war efforts, Eastern finally overcame its initial debacle by temporarily evading the constraints of local consumption.

During the war, supply of raw tobacco to Egypt (and the Middle East in general) was re-organized by the newly established Middle East Supply Centre (MESC). MESC was established in 1941 in Cairo with the aim of reducing non-military imports into the region and thus helping the Allied war efforts by allowing more military shipping space.[35] It did so by introducing a system of licensing and controls, by encouraging local agricultural and industrial import-substituting production based on regional competitive advantage, and by working with local and mandatory governments to implement these policies. MESC also cooperated with British and American ministries back home, attempting to optimize imports (civilian and military) into the Middle East from available British Empire and American sources. This organization would have a long-term impact not only on the cigarette industry but also on Egyptian and other Middle Eastern economies in setting an example for central planning and intervention in local supply and demand.

Highly significant to the development of Eastern during the war was the fact that MESC regarded tobacco as a necessity. On 28 May 1943, in keeping with a broader policy of attempting to raise local consumption levels of staple goods as close as possible to their pre-war standards, MESC sent a widely circulating telegram suggesting that:

> "Political aspect of this problem [i.e., imports of tobacco into the Middle East] must be stressed. Tobacco is of much importance to local populations and territorial governments take a very close interest in supplies allocated to them. It is particularly necessary in the case of Egypt that we should not create ill will over our handling of this commodity, otherwise it may do us much harm in our efforts to get surplus foodstuffs from that country."[36]

Indeed, MESC was quite worried about cultivation of local agricultural products. It was greatly preoccupied with investigating ways to ensure adequate supply of the countryside with basic non-agricultural goods to secure a minimal standard of living for the fellahs, fearing the breakout of epidemics and reduction in production of much needed foodstuffs. This was further stressed at a meeting attended by J.G. Wells, a BAT director from London, a representative of the Economic and Inter-Allied Department of

Ministry of War Transport (who as Wells rightly wrote "appears to link this side with the MESC organization"), and another from the Tobacco Controller. At this meeting Wells noted, "A proper regard for keeping the civilian population in the Middle East reasonably satisfied with life was implicit in the discussions."[37]

Eastern used its parent company (BAT) influence in London to ensure sufficient imports of raw tobacco for its production facilities. For example, on 24 September 1942 G.L. Clutton at the Foreign Office wrote a dispatch to the Turkish embassy in Ankara. Clutton reported an earlier meeting between himself, Savage, the Turkish representative who was responsible for BAT's leaf purchase in Turkey, and an official of the Tobacco Controller in London. During this meeting, it was decided to continue tobacco purchases in Turkey for political reasons "notwithstanding the export tax of 10 per cent and the fantastically high prices now prevailing in the market."[38] At the meeting Savage also asked for certain official privileges for himself, such as an office at the British embassy in Istanbul and a diplomatic plate for his car, which went, ostensibly, with his position as a representative of broader British interests in Turkey. In a separate dispatch Savage further suggested that the previous year's Turkish tobacco purchases be shipped for storage in Egypt, to clear space for that year's purchase, and urged Clutton to approach the Ministry of War Transport and MESC on this matter. What Savage failed to mention, however, was that BAT was working on behalf of its subsidiary in Egypt, which needed raw material badly, as it was expanding its production capacity in that country. Indeed, Eastern was already arranging to purchase tobacco in Turkey through BAT channels at the same time.[39] While BAT's representative was negotiating on behalf of Eastern in London, it was also in touch with MESC regarding imports of tobacco from alternative sources, especially from India and Rhodesia, where BAT had strong interests in tobacco cultivation,[40] and from where large quantities of Virginia tobacco were indeed shipped to Egypt during the war.

Although MESC officials no doubt found it easier to negotiate matters concerning production with Eastern, which had a large share of the market and whose loyalty was assured, they also felt uncomfortable with such close cooperation that invited external pressure on its decision making regarding imports to the Middle East. Indeed, Eastern's (and BAT's) simultaneous negotiations with the British administrator in London and MESC officials in Cairo created institutional tensions between the two. On 28 May 1943, an official MESC send a telegram to the Ministry of War Transport, expressing such concerns, whose current cause was an attempt to assign Rhodesian tobacco to Eastern exclusively. He stated:

> We see difficulties in accepting this suggestion as distribution of available supplies within agreed quota limits has always been left in

> hands of the Government concerned. As a general matter of policy, we should require a specific direction from London to depart from this principle. To do so, would be a highly dangerous experiment and might jeopardize the Centre's position vis-à-vis territorial Governments."[41]

In other words, the official was expressing discomfort with London's dictates (under BAT lobbying) which ran counter to MESC's local way of doing things.

In August 1943, MESC raised this issue again, this time after the British Embassy in Cairo received a letter of complaint from Eastern. In the letter, the company suggested that the Tobacco Controller and the Economic and Inter-Allied Department of the Ministry of War Transport assure the above-mentioned BAT director J.G. Wells that Eastern would be allowed to import larger quantities of tobacco than the ones approved by MESC and would also enjoy a better ratio of the tobacco imported to the Middle East. In reaction to this, a MESC dispatch to the Ministry of War Transport ended:

> "We have often previously been embarrassed when Eastern Company have known details of tobacco quotas not only of Egypt but also Palestine, Aden, Saudi Arabia and Iraq while these were still under discussion between London and ourselves, and in view of the Centre's rigid rule that territorial quotas should not be disclosed to individual firms, we would be grateful if you could take the question up in London."[42]

The Ministry responded that the arrangement with BAT was for Eastern to produce cigarettes for the Allied Forces and not the Egyptian market,[43] and that BAT purchased tobacco for this purpose from the Board of Trade via the Tobacco Controller. Nevertheless, this example makes it clear that Eastern used the influence of its headquarters in London to promote its affairs in Egypt by contracting with the British authorities over the heads of army officials who organized local production.

War conditions also caused changes in local consumer taste. Consumers in Egypt were gradually converted to the Virginia cigarette because it was readily available, and widely smoked by Allied soldiers. In 1938, 13 per cent of tobaccos imported to Egypt were Virginian, compared with 46 per cent in 1946.[44] Furthermore, in the post-war era, 85 per cent of Egyptian smokers consumed ready-made cigarettes,[45] a much higher percentage than in the past. The result of this was that during the war Eastern's factory operated longer hours to supply the rising demand,[46] while the company further increased cigarette imports; Eastern's sales more than doubled between 1939 and 1945 (see table 6.1). Eastern continued to enjoy a period of growth after the war, when it further developed its production facilities, and in 1951–1952 the factory was modernized and extended. Between 1950–1951 and 1955–1956 its net profits almost doubled.

After the war consumers began to prefer American cigarettes – a mixture of Virginia, Burley, and eastern tobaccos – whose taste was milder than the British brands made only from Virginia tobacco,[47] and American cigarettes made deep inroads into the Egyptian market.[48] This happened not least thanks to aggressive promotion and advertising campaigns by American manufacturers. At first Eastern and other manufacturers felt threatened by this new development and called for an increase in taxation on imported cigarettes. Soon they started making their own American brands.[49] By 1953, imports of American cigarettes had dropped significantly. Ten years later the vast majority of Egyptian smokers in Cairo and Alexandria preferred American cigarettes to British and eastern brands.[50] At that time, 97.3 per cent of Eastern's sales were of American brands.[51]

Employment and work relations in Eastern

The following detailed description of Eastern's structure is based on a remarkable set of data from the Department of Companies Archive (DCA), now at the Egyptian national archives (Dar al-Watha'iq, DW). The department was an official body established by the Egyptian government to implement the Egyptianization Law of August 1947.[52] The law required that at least 40 per cent of the board of directors of every Egyptian joint-stock company be Egyptians.[53] It stipulated that companies should employ at least 75 per cent Egyptian employees, to whom they should pay at least 65 per cent of the total salaries paid to employees. For the purposes of Egyptianization, the law defined an employee as a person who performs administrative or specialized tasks or supervises others' work. The companies had to employ at least 90 per cent Egyptian workers, to whom they had to pay at least 80 per cent of the total salaries paid to workers. The legal definition of workers was not provided in the law; perhaps it was assumed that those who were not employees were workers.

As an Egyptian joint-stock company, Eastern was subject to this law. The files of the DCA therefore contain reports from Eastern, including the name, nationality, position, department, date of appointment, and salary and benefits of each employee. The reports also provide the names of non-Egyptian workers and workers of unknown nationality, along with the same information stated above for each. The company added statistical tables containing percentages of Egyptian/non-Egyptian employees and workers as well as wage distribution among its employees and workers. The DCA files further include correspondence between the company and the Department, as well as the Department's reports on the state of Egyptianization at Eastern. They allow an insider view of Eastern (and other companies), which facilitates the study of the pros and cons of Foreign Direct Investment (FDI) for Egyptian industry of that time.

After the merger with Matossian, and because it had to scale down and rationalize its operations to adjust to a major decrease in demand, Eastern

concentrated production in the Matossian factory and eliminated the activities of its other subsidiaries. By 1947, all former BAT subsidiaries were dormant.[54] These companies had no workers or employees and they all carried the same address as Eastern's headquarters in Giza.[55] Eastern also reported to DCA that its subsidiaries were no longer involved in any business activity. At the insistence of DCA, however, Eastern filed official reports in which it disclosed the names and nationalities of members of the boards of those companies.[56] All members were from Eastern's board of directors or General Administration. While keeping its other former subsidiaries dormant, Eastern liquidated Ipekian and Mavrides, which BAT had acquired after the war, as well as Melkonian and Athena, which were added to Eastern after the merger. The company, however, used the goodwill of these companies and continued producing brands that carried their names.[57]

Eastern employed staff that provided services that were unavailable in Egypt or those that before integration tobacco factories outsourced. Thus, the factory had its own clinic, garage, metal and wood workshops, electric power experts, engineers, as well as guards and tailoring and dining services. In the realities of the Egyptian economy of the time, when such services were hard to come by and often unreliable, employing its own specialists and equipment assured the company that production would run smoothly. This form of vertical integration was not unique to Eastern. Indeed, difficulties in getting adequate services outside the factory led many large manufacturers to what El-Sherbini and Sherif called "forced" integration in order to secure production.[58]

Administration in Eastern was highly specialized, and the company's administration included the following departments: legal, accounting, advertising, statistics, stenography, translation, storage, imports, imported goods, exports, transportation, sales, and invoices. A high degree of specialization was also evident in the production process, where different departments within the factory were responsible for the various stages of production such as sorting, cutting, blending, box manufacturing (regular and tin), packaging, as well as shipment and exports. Eastern's main product was the ready-made cigarette. In 1948, according to an Eastern source, cigarettes constituted some 76 per cent of sales of all tobacco products manufactured in Egypt.[59] Apart from production of machine-made cigarettes (eastern, British, and later American), the factory had departments for production of handmade cigarettes and cigars, *ma'asal*, and *tumbak*. The factory also produced small quantities of snuff.

Eastern had five directors, and a General Administration of 28 managers and heads of administrative departments. The factory and the distribution networks also had their own managerial hierarchies (see below). BAT controlled Eastern by placing a small number of Britons in key management and administrative positions. With the exception of the Matossians, only Britons sat on Eastern's board. Eastern also had a hiring policy according to

which it appointed only Britons to central posts, and the company kept these posts open until it found the right candidate.[60] Apart from the placement of Britons in key positions, there seems to have been little interference from BAT's London headquarters in the day-to-day running of Eastern, as was also the case in other BAT overseas operations.[61] Directors on Eastern's board came from the staff in Egypt, rather than being recruited abroad by headquarters. By 1947, Eastern's board members had already spent most of their working lives with the company in Egypt. Some, like Ewan John Taylor, the chairman of the board, had worked for BAT in Egypt even before the establishment of Eastern.

Non-Egyptian "employees" served in middle- and low-ranking managerial positions, including supervision of distribution and production, administration, and skilled technical positions in the factory. Armenians were the majority among these non-Egyptians. They constituted a large proportion of BAT employees even before the merger and their importance increased after the transition of Eastern's production and management to the Matossians' factory; the latter's patronage and the support of other community and family members already working in the factory further helped Armenians to secure positions.[62] In contrast, Egyptian Muslims and Copts occupied relatively few management and professional positions. Those they did hold tended to be lower, such as clerks in the administration and heads of sections in the factory. The vast majority of the employees were men, but a few non-Egyptian women were employed in administration as secretaries, stenographers, and one telephone operator.

Eastern had two sales managers and 650 employees in marketing.[63] For the purpose of distribution, it divided the country into four districts: Cairo, Alexandria, Lower Egypt, and Upper Egypt. Eastern kept storehouses in different parts of the country from which it supplied its distributors as well as independent retailers. The company had 42 national distributors, who delivered its products by car throughout the country, and 471 local distributors who delivered cigarettes to retailers in their districts. The chain of command in Eastern's distribution system is not entirely clear. The company employed four chief supervisors, 13 supervisors, 19 assistant supervisors, six area heads, and 40 heads of section, but there is no way to ascertain the division of labour within this group. Positions within the distribution system were divided according to community of origin, the more skilled and better-paid positions going to Armenians, Greeks, and other foreign nationals. Egyptians occupied all local distribution positions, and most of them had joined the company in 1944 or 1945 when it was expanding production rapidly. Their wages were determined by Eastern according to seniority rather than as commissions.

In 1947, Eastern had 4,076 "workers". Only 80 of them were registered as non-Egyptians. Non-Egyptian workers occupied technical positions such as

mechanics and machine operators, and certain tasks in the factory were controlled by specific community members. Thus, guards and doormen (*bawab*) were Armenians; Greeks dominated cigarette rolling; and Levantine Christians worked in production of British cigarettes. The DCA files did not specify the workers' or employees' sex or age. However, according to names, men dominated most positions at Eastern.

The pay scale at Eastern followed the hierarchy of positions within the company. Foreign "workers", who constituted 2 per cent of the workers, earned 5.7 per cent of the total wages paid to workers. They earned more because they tended to do more skilled work, and not solely because of their nationality. The gap in wages is more striking when we examine the payment scale for "employees". In 1947, 18 of the 25 best-paid employee positions in the company went to Britons and seven were occupied by other foreign nationals, mostly Armenians but also Greeks and one Italian. Britons occupying senior positions in Eastern received high compensation; even when they performed similar tasks to their peers they were better paid. Stephan Philipossian and Lazar Lifshitz, for example, who served as managers of the factory, earned about 40 per cent less than the third manager, S.A. Redwood, who was British. The gap in wages between Britons and the rest was not limited to managerial positions but was common among other employees as well. The Matossians were the exception. Joseph Matossian's salary and benefits as a vice-chairman were about 20 per cent higher than those of Eastern's British chairman.

The fact that Britons earned more did not necessarily imply discrimination according to nationality. It suggested that Eastern was willing to compensate employees with special skills for their relocation to Egypt. Furthermore, Eastern had to pay its British employees wages comparable to similar positions in other BAT enterprises. Yet this does not mean that other employees, who in many cases served the company longer than their British colleagues, did not resent the fact that they were not as well compensated. Moreover, Eastern's pay scale shows a huge gap in wages between management and employees. Ewan John Taylor, the chairman of the company, earned approximately £E833 per month, S.A. Redwood, the factory manager, earned approximately £E277 per month, and B.F. Tashrow, the sales manager, earned approximately £E144 per month.[64] In comparison, most district distributors, the worst paid category of employees, earned £E5-10 per month.[65] Here again, the gap in wages should be attributed to the nature of the capitalist system, but the fact that practically all distributors were Egyptian created an inevitable overlap between nationality and wages.

In 1935, Eastern experienced its first major labour dispute over the transfer of men from one section in the factory to another, which led to a strike and a lockout at the Matossian factory.[66] Workers organized according to their sections within the factory, such as tobacco cutting, sorting, and

packaging. Each of these small unions seems to have had its own leadership. Goldberg comments that this ". . . indicate[s] the relatively low orientation toward a sense of class on the part of the unions at Matossian's and a correspondingly high orientation toward craft forms of association."[67] However, it may also represent the ethnically diverse composition of different parts within Eastern's working force. The workers welcomed the brokerage of the Wafd (the national party) in their negotiations with management. The Wafd was highly motivated to advance workers' demands in order to improve its position among the workers against that of Abbas Halim, who was especially interested in the cigarette industry (see below). Still, it was unable to resolve the strike to the workers' satisfaction.

A more successful form of organization in Eastern began after the Wafd government legalized unions in 1942. In October 1943, a new union was established, ending the Wafd's hopes of absorbing workers into an already existing party-dominated union.[68] The union was formed and headed by Fathi Kamil, an Egyptian employee in the factory with early experience in trade unionism. It included all the workers in the factory, with relative representation from the different production units according to their size. Unionization this time carried a different social and political character from earlier workers' activism. Native Egyptians, rather than foreign nationals, dominated the union, and they negotiated with the non-Egyptian management for better working conditions. This gave them some leverage in such negotiations because British management was keen on maintaining industrial peace in an environment that was progressively becoming less tolerant of a foreign presence and economic domination. Indeed, at Eastern workers had little contact with high British management.[69] Instead, real tension existed between Egyptian workers and their direct supervisors, who were mostly Armenians, Greeks, and Italians. In his memoirs, Kamil was very resentful when he described the part non-Egyptians played:

> This group of *khawajat* [a term used to denote non-Egyptian, mostly Christian foreigners] lived at the expense of both sides. They depicted the Egyptian workers to the British as wild animals, and they presented themselves, the Armenians, Greeks, and Italians, as protectors of the British against the viciousness of these animals. At the same time, they tried to convince the Egyptian workers that the British were man-eaters, and without the presence of the "friends", the Greeks and the Armenians, the British would devour the Egyptian workers.[70]

Of major importance in the success of the new union in attracting workers was the positive reaction of Eastern's management. Shortly after the union was established, the company increased workers' wages by 20 per cent, and as a result 80 per cent of the workers joined in.[71] Eastern continued to pay its workers wages significantly higher than those in most other industries. It also

provided other social benefits such as annual vacations and free medical care for workers and their families. The company's generosity towards its workers stemmed from the fact that at that time it enjoyed a period of increased production as a result of the war. Furthermore, Eastern was sensitive to its position as a British company in Egypt. It encouraged non-political unionism, which Kamil proposed, and was willing to pay relatively high wages to ensure smooth operation. The comfortable place of Eastern in the tobacco market, with relatively little competition and increasing profitability, enabled the company to compensate its workers to an extent that most other industrial enterprises in Egypt could not afford. As a result, the company was strike-free between 1943 and 1954. Moreover, in 1955, only four other industrial enterprises offered social benefits comparable to those at Eastern.[72] Eastern's generous employment policy in Egypt resembled that of the BAT-owned leaf tobacco processing enterprises in India, where the company paid higher wages than the competition and some benefits.[73]

What can be learned from the above study about the larger issue of a multinational's activity in a local industry at that time? Although BAT worked through a subsidiary, Eastern was to a large extent a British enterprise, structured and managed as a BAT venture. As such, it introduced a new business model of a professionally managed company to Egypt, rather than the family-run business type that earlier dominated the industry (and businesses generally in that country). Although this model would be limited to a few larger enterprises, and many businesses continued to be family-run, this transition surely had a lasting impact on the structure of Egyptian businesses, especially when nationalization took place after 1956 (see below). The relatively smooth transition from British to Egyptian management after nationalization would further suggest transfer of managerial and technical skills from Britons to Egyptians. Inequality in earnings between foreign management and local employees was another feature of a multinational's activity in Egypt. Local non-Egyptian staff also earned more than their Egyptian colleagues. Still, Eastern's "welfare-capitalism", its readiness to buy industrial peace, meant that Egyptian staff was among the best-compensated and enjoyed benefits equalled only by few in other industries, which contradicts the somewhat stereotypical view of multinationals as exploiters of local workforce. Although Eastern benefited from its empire connections during the Second World War, the everyday realities of a multinational working in an environment that was becoming increasingly nationalistic and less tolerant of foreign interference created much leverage for employees over management.[74] Some profits left Egypt in the form of dividends paid to BAT as a major shareholder. Nevertheless, in the period after the Second World War Eastern was a well functioning and profitable venture, one of the better industrial enterprises in the country, and, while surely not intended by the company, a major prize for the state as it put industry (and other

businesses) under its direct control. BAT's experience in Egypt (through Eastern) thus suggests a complex picture, which was closely related to specific political and economic conditions, and defied neo-liberal or dependency/anti-globalist generalizations regarding the role of FDI in local economic development.

The tobacco industry after integration

In the 1930s, while Eastern was experimenting with Virginia blends, it created a void in the cigarette market, which was quickly filled by Eastern's main competitor – Coutarelli. This company was located in Alexandria, where it opened a new factory in 1920.[75] It began machine production in 1922, when it bought its first three cigarette-making machines. Coutarelli was the last company to negotiate with Eastern, and it held out for a price slightly higher than Eastern offered.[76] There is also an indication that rivalry between the Coutarelli and the Matossian families further sabotaged the deal.[77] In 1928, the company prepared to compete with Eastern by introducing nine new machines into the factory.[78] Furthermore, unable to control the wholesale trade, which was dominated by Eastern, Coutarelli skilfully developed its direct sale to the retail trade.[79] Both schemes were well calculated and Coutarelli was able to compete successfully with Eastern. In the early 1930s, the factory was estimated to control 30 per cent of the market. Kitroeff further suggests that "From 1930 onwards, Eastern Tobacco . . . controlled 70 per cent of the Egyptian market while Coutarelli accounted for the remaining 30 per cent – a situation which remained unchanged up to the 1950s."[80] Although he does not take into account the share of smaller manufacturers in production, his figures have some merit. In 1948, according to Eastern's unpublished data, the company's share in the total value of tobacco sales in Egypt was 62.5 per cent.[81] We may conclude that Eastern and Coutarelli manufactured most tobacco products in Egypt. In 1945, an article in *La Reforme* suggested that Coutarelli employed more than 5,000 persons in production and distribution, thus putting the percentage of persons employed in Coutarelli at slightly less than a third of the total number employed in the business.[82]

The Egyptian government decennial censuses of 1927, 1937, and 1947 indicate that an array of medium and small-size enterprises were employed in both production and retailing.[83] With few exceptions, such manufacturers did not produce machine-made cigarettes and instead concentrated on tobacco products that did not require mechanization. Unable to enjoy the advantages of large capital, economies of scale, or mechanization, such businesses nevertheless survived due to the relative advantage of using abundant cheap labour. Many continued to produce handmade cigarettes because after mechanization rollers' wages decreased.

Small and medium-size manufacturers consisted of three broadly defined groups. The first was manufacturers who earlier had produced high quality handmade cigarettes, especially for export, but after the First World War shifted to manufacturing for the Egyptian market. Some, like Kiriazi, transferred most production abroad but kept the factory in Egypt. The factory of Nestor Gianaclis was a good example of this group of manufacturers. Gianaclis died at the end of 1932,[84] and around that time his company was sold to Papastratos, a cigarette company located in Greece, and Gianaclis factory became a shareholding company. In January 1948, the Gianaclis factory employed 558 persons. However, as with many other manufacturers at the time increasing demand for machine-made cigarettes during and after the war pushed the company away from manufacturing. Between 1948 and 1952 the number of workers in the company decreased from 429 to 172.[85] The company kept most of its employees (persons not related to production), who probably distributed cigarettes manufactured in Greece.

The second group of manufacturers in the industry consisted of Armenian and Greek businesses that produced primarily for the Egyptian market but were not big enough to attract BAT's or Matossian's attention during the process of integration in the industry. Some, like Hovagim Sirkejian, opened tobacco businesses even after the establishment of Eastern.[86] Because they were small and did not invest much in production, these businesses could also switch from production to commerce according to changing demand in the market. Although the total number of venues producing tobacco products changed from one period to another, depending on demand on the market, about half of all such establishments were small workshops of ten persons or fewer. These businesses distributed and sold their own products, but they probably also retailed tobacco goods manufactured by others. Such activities of smaller tobacco and cigarette enterprises were not very different from those of other enterprises in Egypt. In an economy dominated by large monopolies such businesses had to employ cheap labour to survive, depended on small-scale trade, and when unable to compete successfully in manufacturing switched to services (repair and refurbishment) and retail of commodities.

A third group consisted of latecomer Egyptian manufacturers who developed their businesses in the 1930s. Although none of them became a significant producer, the press coverage that they received and their own extensive advertising campaigns enable us to see how these manufacturers politicized competition within the industry and used national sentiment and the "national struggle" to promote private interests. One such manufacturer was al-Ittihad (the Union), which was established in late 1934 with much support from Abbas Halim, an Egyptian aristocrat who built a political power base by promoting labour issues. Commenting on the reasons for establishing

a new cigarette factory, Halim stated that he decided to cooperate with the nation's working classes in order to free Egypt from foreign economic domination.[87] Halim also suggested that the remedy for this situation was the establishment of Egyptian projects, such as the cigarette factory, in the main spheres of Egyptian economic life. To this end, al-Ittihad was established as a joint-stock company in which workers were encouraged to own shares. The new company even kept the price of each share low enough for workers to afford. In reality, however, "Halim's factory was essentially a political device rather than an economically viable venture, and it was Halim's despite its claim to be worker-financed and profit-sharing."[88] Indeed, the Workers' Leader, as he became known in the local press, gained much media attention in the process of promoting the project, and the factory's cigarettes were even called Abbas Halim.[89] Al-Ittihad set out to "conquer" the Egyptian cigarette market with a small original planned capital of £E60,000 divided into 15,000 shares of £E4 each. It sold shares to major Wafd (the national party) leaders such as Makram 'Ubayd and Mustafa Nahas, the head of the party, with whom Halim cooperated closely at that time.[90] The factory also advertised extensively in the Arabic press, suggesting to readers that "the way to economic independence leads through buying shares in al-Ittihad tobacco and cigarettes company."[91] Still, what kept the factory afloat was Halim's loan of £E30,000.[92] When this was used up, in 1936, the factory went out of business.

In 1937, Bank Misr, a venture whose official agenda was to promote Egyptian businesses in an effort to economically sustain the national cause, launched another attempt to create a national cigarette factory.[93] The bank established the Egyptian Tobacco and Cigarette Company with an initial capital of £E40,000. This capital was divided into 10,000 shares, of which 6,000 could be bought only by Egyptians. The bank kept the majority of these shares, while Ahmad Midhat Yeghen Pasha and Muhammad Tal'at Harb Pasha, who were much involved with the bank, owned most of the rest.[94] Yeghen was also the chairman of the board, and Tal'at Harb became vice-chairman and manager. In March 1939, the factory, which was located in the popular Sayyida Zaynab quarter in Cairo, commenced operations. It produced Egyptian cigarettes,[95] and it employed more than 500 workers and 250 salesmen and staff.[96] In a supportive article in *Majallat al-Sina'a* the author suggested that the new company would "return" manufacturing and commerce in cigarettes to Egyptian hands.[97] He also emphasized that the company employed educated youth, whose unemployment was a major socioeconomic problem at that time. He concluded: "Every smoker who chooses this company's cigarettes over the cigarettes of other companies will also take part in the awakening of Egypt."[98] But the Egyptian public was in no hurry to change its cigarette preferences, and the company went into liquidation only two years after having started production.[99]

A more viable project was the Mahmud Fahmi cigarette factory. In late 1934, this small factory began to use overtly nationalistic appeals in its new advertising campaign. In one ad it attacked other manufacturers for being "false Egyptian cigarette companies",[100] while stating that "the only essential Egyptian cigarette company in its capital, and the men who run it, is Mahmud Fahmi's Cigarette Company." The factory also began to promote a new cigarette, "Bayt al-'Umma, 1919", the name of Zaghlul's headquarters, which became known as the National House during that year's famous uprising.[101]

In chapter three, I suggested a connection between the development of national iconography and the proliferation of commercialized images of Egypt on cigarette packets and in cigarette advertisements, which facilitated this process. The discussion above implies another connection between market-oriented promotion practices and the spread of nationalism, but also the use of national ideology for commercial purposes. Mahmud Fahmi's cigarette factory was not the only one to advertise itself as an authentic Egyptian enterprise. In the 1930s, it was common among Egyptian manufacturers and retailers in other businesses to promote their venues in the same fashion.[102] In the cigarette industry, even the cigarette factory of al-Bustani, an emigrant from Lebanon, added the title *Watani* (national) to the name of the factory.[103] Such factories exploited this advantage over the larger competitors to the limit in advertising extensively in the Arab press of the period, even more than Eastern or Coutarelli. This proliferation of slogans calling for economic nationalism was surely significant in shaping public opinion in Egypt, and bringing about processes of Egyptianization, and later nationalization of the economy discussed in the next section.

Economic nationalism and Eastern

In 1947, the government attempted to Egyptianize the economy by passing the Egyptianization Law. The DCA files show how even after the implementation of the law, its impact on Eastern's managerial hierarchies was minimal. To respond to the new requirements of the law, the company had to make only minor adjustments to its board of directors because Joseph and Vincent Matossian were already Egyptian citizens. The company preferred to add Egyptians to the board rather than replace British directors by Egyptians. Between 1947 and 1955 the board of Eastern increased from seven to nine members,[104] and during most of this time Britons outnumbered Egyptians by one. Eight years after the Egyptianization Law was first implemented, Egyptians played only a marginal role in actual decision making on Eastern's board. The company repeated the same types of measures in high-level management, though the Department of Companies constantly pressured Eastern to increase the percentage of native Egyptians in its General Administration. Eastern, however, did promote a few native Egyptians to

higher positions within the company. In 1948, an Egyptian manager of labour affairs was appointed, and another was hired in 1949. Later, two Egyptian supervisors and one head of the employees' department joined the General Administration.[105] In 1949, the company hired an Egyptian financial and legal secretary. However, by 1955 the General Administration was still composed of a majority of Britons and Armenians; it had only five native Egyptians in a staff of thirty-four.[106]

As Karanasou showed, since most cigarette distributors were native Egyptians the number of Eastern's Egyptian employees exceeded the required minimum even before implementation of the Egyptianization Law. Still, to comply with the law Eastern had to adjust the distribution of wages between its non-Egyptian and Egyptian employees. In 1947, foreign employees constituted 17.4 per cent of the entire staff, but they earned 39.2 per cent of the salaries. The main reason for this gap was the large salaries paid to Britons in the General Administration. The company had to take steps to guarantee that a minimum of 65 per cent of salaries was paid to its Egyptian employees. Eastern encouraged a large number of its foreign employees to become naturalized and it retired some foreign staff. The company also hired more Egyptian employees. By 1955, the number of foreign employees had dropped to half of their number in 1947.[107]

Because the vast majority of the workers were native Egyptians the company was not required to further Egyptianize this segment. Nevertheless, many of the non-Egyptian workers acquired Egyptian nationality in this period. Eastern did not need to change the distribution of wages between Egyptian and non-Egyptian workers. Non-Egyptians earned more than Egyptians, but their small number affected wage distribution only slightly.[108]

The situation in Eastern, like that in other foreign-owned businesses, changed dramatically in 1956. On 1 November 1956, the Egyptian government began to sequester British, French, and Jewish property in the wake of the Suez Crisis.[109] The government put major industrial companies under the jurisdiction of the newly established Egyptian Economic Organization (al-Mu'assasa al-Iqtisadiyya).[110] On 23 May 1957, the government expropriated British and French shareholdings in nine of these major companies,[111] including Eastern, in an act that finalized what was by now de facto nationalization of these companies. After nationalization, BAT filed a protest at the British Foreign Office.[112] The company was ready to settle by offering the Egyptian government a large block of shares in return for permission to resume business in Egypt. BAT's offer was generous because it had much to lose; the company held 75 per cent of the shares in Eastern, whose capital was £17 million. BAT's profits from Eastern reached £1 million on average each year. As it turned out in the negotiations that followed, the Egyptian government had no intention of reversing its actions. Instead, it took steps to tighten its grip on nationalized companies still more.

After nationalization the British members of Eastern's board resigned, and three Egyptian managers from Eastern took their place. A few months later two representatives of the Economic Organization were appointed as directors and served on the board together with six other members.[113] In December 1958, the board had seven members, four of whom were representatives of the Economic Organization[114] – testimony to the increasing control by the Egyptian state. The state also worked through the long-existing Chamber of Egyptian Tobacco and Cigarette Producers.[115] In December 1959, the Chamber was restructured by government decree and it played a central role in long-term planning for the industry.

Nasser's regime did not stop short at nationalizing foreign property, but continued to bring the entire economy under strict government control. In October and November 1961, the regime moved to rid itself further of the influence of the local businessmen. It arrested thirty-seven individuals, among whom were Joseph and Jean-Pierre Matossian.[116] Soon Eastern came completely under the supervision of the state bureaucracy. Around the same time, Eastern's old competitor Coutarelli was nationalized as well, and became the Nasser Cigarette Company. With Eastern and Coutarelli, the Egyptian Public Sector now dominated tobacco production in Egypt to a much larger degree than in the past. After 1956, many of the smaller remaining tobacco establishments dissolved when non-Egyptians left the country. The Egyptian government nationalized some of the medium sized companies that stayed in business. However, Egyptian officials found it harder to fit smaller enterprises into public sector production, and they chose not to nationalize those enterprises that seemed less profitable. Hovagim Sirkejian avoided nationalization by portraying a bleak financial situation of his business to the officials who came to check his company.[117] As a result, a small number of independent tobacco businesses continued to operate privately during this period.

Eastern's experience between 1920 and 1960 makes possible a long-term perspective on the impact of economic nationalism as an ideology and practice on transitions in the Egyptian economy. Economic nationalism implicitly served workers to improve on their bargaining power against foreign and local minority employers and allowed non-market based entry to new Egyptian entrepreneurs. Through Egyptianization it had the potential of advancing employment of local nationals in public companies at both blue and white collar positions, and to better their wages and benefits. Nationalization later facilitated a major asset transfer to the Egyptian government, a process made easy by the highly integrated structure of the cigarette industry and many other large businesses in Egypt.

The description above supports an evolutionist perspective on transitions from the "old" to the "new" regime in Egypt, by emphasizing continuity and

gradual transformations, rather than the Revolutionary account on the role of the Nasserite regime in bringing about swift economic change. Economic transitions were no doubt facilitated by immediate historical developments such as the establishment of MESC during the Second World War. Nationalization also took place under the clout of the 1956 war, and Arab Socialism later emerged under the influence of a bi-polar international system. Nevertheless, Egyptian economic nationalism, which stood at the core of these transitions, was a long-term development linking the Monarchical and Revolutionary eras. As the next two chapters demonstrate, it also had its firm roots in the rise of a new middle social stratum in Egypt whose politics and culture came to shape those of the nation.

Part Three

Global Habit in Local Culture

7

SMOKING AS A CULTURAL DISTINCTION

The next two chapters are somewhat different in their treatment of tobacco consumption. Earlier I discussed actual smoking habits in the early modern Ottoman Empire, and the transition to the cigarette, as a real and significant part of contemporary material culture. Although tobacco consumption was no less real or significant in the period discussed here (post-First World War to the 1960s), my analysis in chapters seven and eight focuses on representations of smoking rather than the practice itself. This perspective was somewhat explored earlier in connection with different aspects of commercialization, and novelties introduced in promoting tobacco products. Examples are the popularization of Egyptian national iconography in the sale of packaged and branded cigarettes (chapter three) and the spread of national ideology and the idea of national economics through competition in the Egyptian tobacco market between "locals" and "foreigners" (chapter six). The present chapter and the next aim to bring market and culture even closer by discussing how transitions in supply and demand supported cultural discourses on social stratification and the meaning of modern life in Egypt. In turn, such discourses had an impact on consumption (the size of the market) and the schemes (most notably advertisements for cigarettes) which producers used in promoting tobacco goods. Through the study of smoking, the two chapters thus explore the reciprocity between market transitions and socio-cultural change.

Smoking cultures

Smoking was used to demarcate social groups and novel social hierarchies in a changing Egyptian society; representations of tobacco consumption created a sense of "You are what you smoke." As such, smoking delineated the boundaries between three social categories: *ahl al-balad* (sons of the country),

a lower urbanite stratum, *effendiyya* (the educated), a middle stratum, and *ahl al-dhawat* or *bashawiyya* (the rich and aristocratic), an upper stratum.[1] The discussion below demonstrates that each group was represented as having its own corresponding smoking preference, the *shisha* for *ibn al-balad*, the cigarette for the *effendi*, and the cigar for *ibn al-dhawat*. Such metaphors gradually developed into a new *effendi* cultural (including material culture) canon, creating an effendi outlook that came to dominate the Egyptian national culture. They were also at the core of inclusion and exclusion processes based on creating binary oppositions between "modern" and "traditional" from below, and "Egyptian" and "western/foreign" from above, through which the new *effendi* middle negotiated a place for itself within the nation as modern but authentic. This was well expressed in the three categories of cultural classification suggested above: *ibn al-balad* (traditional but backward), *ibn al-dhawat* (modern but foreign), and *effendi* (modern and authentic/Egyptian).

In this chapter, representations of lower stratum *shisha* smokers and upper class cigar puffers are investigated. It is argued that representations of *shisha* consumption, and still more so cigars, were conflated with notions of otherness. They suit a Bourdieu-type analysis of different kinds of smoking as means of creating social distinctions.[2] Chapter eight examines representations of *effendi* – male, female, and youth – cigarette smokers. It follows their smoking patterns, gender and generational power relations, and different notions of being modern but authentic expressed in smoking within this group. In exploring the more intimate representations of the cigarette, and the varying meanings of its consumption in different contexts, the chapter goes against the formal analysis of distinctions that operates well in the case of the *shisha* and the cigar. Rather, it emphasizes negotiations of identity within the *effendiyya* based on various smoking patterns, standing for agreements, tensions, and contradictions in the discourse on the nature of this group. Put differently, chapter eight explores the more intricate representations of *effendi* agency rather than the externalized, more rigid category-based manifestations of otherness employed in representations of the other social groups. The two chapters together offer insights into the history of socio-cultural change in Egypt through an exploration of local consumption and its meanings. But they also suggest a methodological difference between analysis of stratification-based consumption and the role of consumption in formulating more intimate personal and group identities.

We should not confuse representations of smoking, which I closely identify with a novel *effendi* (middle stratum) outlook, with actual smoking practices of contemporary Egyptians. The categories suggested above are more discursive than analytical and they are treated here as cultural rather than social typologies. Real-life consumption practices certainly corresponded with such representations, or were taken against such backdrops; but smoking preferences were also grounded in the economic realities discussed in earlier

chapters, which determined a person's ability to consume tobacco. The cultural analysis of smoking therefore suggests insights on the desire to smoke and its impact on (or frustration by) the market.

Readings in *effendi* culture production encompass cinema, literature (including autobiography), and the local press (contemporary advertising, images of smokers in photographs and cartoons, and written commentaries on smoking). For the purpose of my discussion, I intentionally ignore the boundaries between "popular" and "normative" culture (sometimes referred to as "low" and "high," "mass" and "elite" culture) because the variety of sources I use complement each other. The portrayal of smoking in literature in characterizing protagonists and advancing the plot offers an understanding of smoking in everyday life, which is further corroborated by a graphic analysis of smokers, smoking, and even the tobacco fumes in films. The study of cigarette advertisements aimed at promoting cigarette sales offers insights into the seductive side of smoking, and shows various images of smokers as envisioned by advertisers when they attempted to segment the market. In the press, cartoons and pictures of smokers and references to smoking further display a facet of contemporary understandings of smoking. Taken together, such forms of representation enable me better to cover various aspects of the cultural politics conveyed in tobacco consumption.

The scale of such a project defies a systematic content analysis of the different sources. However, I have attempted to sample cinematic and literary production in Egypt in the period under study by referring to canonical works in both fields.[3] I watched some twenty films and after closer examination I used twelve in my analysis. The list of literary works included some 30 books by contemporary authors among which I found the writing of Mahmud Taymur and Ibrahim 'Abd al-Qadir al-Mazini especially sensitive in their treatment of smoking. In addition, I have used the work of Naguib Mahfouz, whose social realism during this period has long made his novels a significant source for socio-cultural research. As for the press, I sampled *al-Ahram* for the years from 1920 to 1960, covering the first two days of every month, and *al-Musawwar* from 1924 (when the magazine was first published) to 1960, examining the first issue for each month. I chose *al-Ahram* and *al-Musawwar* because they represented mainstream dailies and illustrated magazines respectively. For reasons related to availability, I sometimes had to make do with the only issues accessible for certain months. This more or less systematic survey was supplemented by a sporadic study of other magazines such as *'Akhar Sa'a* 1948, 1951, 1956–1959; *al-Ithnayn*, 1937–1939; *al-Kashkul* 1924–1928; *Majallati* 1934–1937; *al-Nahda al-Nisa'iyya* 1922–1932; *Ruz al-Yusuf* 1931–1935; *al-Siyasa al-Usbu'iyya* various issues of 1926; and *Taqwim al-Hilal*, 1932–1937.

The starting point of my discussion is somewhat artificial, because all the smoking venues discussed in this and the following chapter existed earlier. Nevertheless, it is only from the 1920s that a significant increase in number

and variety of cultural means, and their consumption by a growing *effendi* audience, allows an analysis of contemporary smoking culture. Such an increase both provided the tools and heightened the cultural discourse regarding economic, political, and cultural change in Egypt. Although I start my analysis in the post-First World War era, I briefly discuss earlier representations of both *shisha* and cigar smokers to delineate continuity and change in their representations over time. My ending point at the height of the Nasserite era does the same in exploring the transition between the so-called *ancien régime*, which is at the centre of my analysis, and the Revolutionary period. Even more so, in exploring the triumph of the cigarette over the cigar in the representation of the new regime, personalized by Nasser's avid cigarette smoking, I want to hint at the wider victory of an *effendi* cultural outlook that came to dominate Egypt of the time.

Shisha – tradition and backwardness

In the post-First World War era, representations of *shisha* smoking in films, literature, and the press often associated it with traditional lifestyle. This is not surprising considering that the *shisha* was going out of fashion among the western-style educated *effendis* and the ruling elite already at the turn of the twentieth century (see chapter two). Nor was this peculiar to Egypt: a similar trend is revealed in Palmira Brummett's close examination of the Ottoman press in Istanbul during the Revolutionary years of 1908–1911.[4] In the Revolutionary press, consumption of the *shisha* stood for political reaction and was associated with Ottoman and other autocratic regimes. The Iranian shah was portrayed as an avid *shisha* user, who smoked a *shisha* while crushing the Constitutional Revolution or committing other atrocities against his people and their representatives.[5] The press also used the *shisha* to delineate idle Ottoman officials who spent their time smoking instead of attending to their public duties such as preparing for a new election or policing the city and protecting its inhabitants against crime.[6] In a wider cultural sense, the *shisha* was associated with a backward "Eastern" way of life: "to live without ambition and without ideal, to partake of great cups of coffee, to smoke the narghile, to dream at length, to dream all day and to die, in the end, without regret and without complaint" (Loti, the famous Orientalist, defends the "authentic" Ottoman way of life in a cartoon).[7] This passive worldview of the Ottoman *ancien régime* was unfavourably juxtaposed to the enthusiasm and dynamism of the younger Revolutionary generation, which also upheld a modern lifestyle in which the *shisha* was "out".

In Egypt the *shisha* was not associated with state officials' backwardness and reactionism; such qualities were assigned to the cigar, which represented the overly westernized elite (see below). Instead, cultural references to *shisha* consumption used it as shorthand in commenting on the lifestyle of *ahl al-*

balad – the residents of the common neighbourhood (*hara*). Although many an *effendi* rose from this social group and its environment represented a familiar social background, it was also the place from which one departed and which became the antithesis of the protagonist's new lifestyle after he had improved his social status through education (I use masculine forms in this analysis because the protagonists in such narratives were overwhelmingly male). In this context the consumption of *shisha* served to emphasize the gap created by the perceived development (or advancement) of the *effendi* over his former social environment, and his own former life. In such representations, little attention was paid to the common neighbourhoods as a dynamic setting, expanding to accommodate demographic growth and urbanization and being transformed in the process. Instead, the *hara* was represented as an unchanging place which embodied tradition.

In contemporary narratives the *shisha* was an essential prop in the exposition of the local coffeehouse, the site of frequent interactions for the dwellers of the *hara*. The popular (*sha'bi*) coffeehouse, the quintessential leisure environment of *awlad al-balad*, was an all male environment, where men wearing *galabiyyas* sat down, talked, or played backgammon and dominoes, while drinking coffee. Even more so, smoking, the smell of the smoke, and the fumes themselves constituted a significant part of this atmosphere. Patrons sometimes smoked the *goza* rather than the *shisha*, to further associate the coffeehouse with lower class origins. The coffeehouse had an elaborate smoking etiquette, which was often used to portray a lifestyle associated with *awlad al-balad* and to identify relations between the protagonists such as companionship or imbalance of power. Sharing a smoke was an expression of friendship, paying for others' *shisha* was a manifestation of wealth and generosity, and careful attention to one's *shisha* by the waiter or even the owner of the coffeehouse himself was a sign of respect for the person who smoked and a signifier of his elevated social standing. Furthermore, the notion of traditional smoking in the popular coffeehouses, in which one seemingly spent time for no purpose other than a passing pleasure, stood in contrast to an *effendi* sensibility which emphasized utilitarian use of free time and was therefore critical of unstructured time and resources endlessly wasted (see next chapter).

Shisha consumption was also a fixture in the *hafla* (party or celebration), where onlookers smoked while watching belly dancing or a vocalist performing. In both the coffeehouse and the *hafla*, the smoke itself was significant in adding to the intimate, sexual, shady, or outright sinful atmosphere of such places. Furthermore, *shisha* smoking in the neighbourhood coffeehouse and the *hafla* stood in contrast to the more formal environment of the European-style café and the stylish nightclub, places of leisure frequented by the up-and-coming *effendi* and the upper class *basha*, in which the cigarette and the cigar were the main smoking preferences.

Often *shisha* smoking was associated with traditional men of social and economic influence and father figures. It represented their authority but also their backward world-view, as opposed to that of the modern *effendi*. In one scene from the film *Ibn al-Haddad* (Son of the Metalworker, 1944) the young graduate, played by the not so young Yusuf Wahbi, went to discuss his future employment plans with his father (see fig. 7.1). In the conversation, the father, seated, dressed in a *galabiyya* and smoking a *shisha*, followed the conventional wisdom of his age by suggesting that his educated son would improve his lot by seeking a post with the government. His son, standing before his father, wearing a European suit and refraining from smoking, had quite a different plan: to look for a more productive occupation in the free market by developing his father's metal workshop into a steel factory.

As suggested in chapter four, smoking was an expensive habit for the majority of Egyptians. Conspicuous consumption of the *shisha* was therefore associated with some affluence but also with extravagance and improper social conduct. In his semi-autobiography, Taha Hussein used conspicuous consumption of *shisha* to criticize a former teacher at al-Azhar, whose excessive smoking was the inverse of his ability as a religious scholar. This sheikh smoked *shisha* "… which was brought [to] him by the café proprietor in the morning and afternoon, and at nightfall, or sometimes prepared by himself or his small [young] servant. This made a deep impression on the students, who were as astonished at the sheikh's affluence as they were

Fig. 7.1 Smoking scene from the film *Ibn al-Haddad*.

contemptuous of his ignorance and stupidity."[8] *Shisha* smoking was associated further with immorality, and sometimes outright criminality, because those who had the money to smoke and took the time to frequently do so often lived at the expense of others. Moreover, the *shisha* (and the *goza*) were used as vehicles in the more sinister practice of hashish consumption, which was a constant source of contemporary struggle between residents of common urban quarters and the Egyptian state.[9] In Naguib Mahfouz's controversial novel, *Awlad Haratina* (Children of the Alley), we encounter frequent consumption of hashish in coffeehouses, hashish dens, and privately at home.[10] Hashish consumption was the main occupation of many a protagonist in the plot, and the hazy atmosphere such smoking created went well with the dark, almost surrealist feeling of the book.

When such quotes are taken as evidence of a differentiation process, the descriptions above stand for *effendi* criticism of lax attitudes to spending, and place an implicit value on austerity and a properly budgeted expenditure. In addition, they contrast a "rational" approach, associated with calculated allocation of time and money, to the *ibn al-balad*-type "irrational" (and "wasteful") treatment of such resources. Accordingly, *effendi* criticism created "right" and "wrong" ways to consume and group distinctions based on consuming (or not consuming) in the right way. In her analysis, based on interviews with dwellers of lower-class neighbourhoods in Cairo, el-Messiri demonstrated that this group gave a very different interpretation and value judgment to similar consumption patterns among (self-identified) *ibn al-balad* persons of a later period.[11] Her interviewees suggested that conspicuous consumption of time, money, and hashish was significant in raising the status of the *ibn al-balad* in local eyes. Such testimonies show an independent *ibn al-balad* differentiation process from "below", rather than from the "centre", which was diametrically opposed to the *effendi* values discussed above.

Although the coffeehouse and *shisha* smoking were often denigrated, we do encounter an *effendi* yearning for a less intense and relaxed environment, which for some was closely associated with the comfort and familiarity of such a traditional venue and smoking practice. In Mahmud Taymur's short story *al-Shaytan* (the Satan) the obviously *effendi* protagonist took a break from the pressures of everyday life when smoking a *shisha*: "In the evening of the next day after I finished supper at my home I went to a small coffeehouse close to the station to smoke a *shisha* and release my soul from some of the depression that surrounded it."[12] Although this may look like an inversion of the *effendi* code, such an act only strengthens the notion of *shisha* smoking as "tradition", set in sharp contrast to the "modern" day-to-day life of the protagonist. I discuss such a notion further in the epilogue, where I examine the current return to fashion of the *shisha*.

The press had no advertisements for *shisha* or its tobacco, although manufacturers that produced tobacco for the *shisha* did advertise their

cigarettes, and cigarettes were among the most advertised commodities of the time. Their decision not to advertise undoubtedly had much to do with the fact that consumers of such a well-established commodity would not be persuaded by an advertisement in the press. As I showed elsewhere, advertisements of the period were mostly a showcase for new commodities rather than a means for increasing sales of established ones.[13] Even more important, readers were mostly from the *effendis*, and advertisers saw no point in promoting the *shisha* for such an audience. On the rare occasions when the *shisha* appeared in advertisements these were for other products; the *shisha* served to enforce the popular nature of the advertised commodity and the claim that it was intended for all.

In the period under discussion, taking snuff, another long-standing tobacco consumption habit, was becoming a rarity, mostly confined to religious circles. An interesting episode in Haikal's novel *Zainab* tells how a mechanism of social control over who smoked what worked in the case of the snuff. A group of fellow students have come to visit Hamid, the novel's hero. One of the students – Ali Effendi – offers another friend, Sheikh Khalili, a cigarette. His companion Hassanin snatches the cigarette box away, saying: "God forbid! You 'sheikhs' [students of religious schools] are greedy enough. How could you think of smoking? Go and take your snuff instead!"[14] This indicates that a person's education and professional background dictated his entitlement to smoke cigarettes. I will further explore social entitlement to smoke and control of tobacco consumption in the next chapter when examining smoking among women and youth.

Cigar – power and parody

The cigar was the opposite of the *shisha* in that it was never truly naturalized; it remained an imported commodity, and was an exclusive foreign smoke whose consumption was restricted by price. While the *shisha* and its tobacco were too popular to be promoted by advertisements in the press, the cigar would not have looked out of place in the context of contemporary advertised goods, which were mostly new and modern, imported, and luxury commodities. Nevertheless, unlike quality cigarettes, the cigar stayed aloof and was never broadly advertised in the press. This had much to do with the size of the market, which was even smaller than that of the rather expensive advertised cigarette. Moreover, the imagery associated with the cigar was that of an "art object" and its appearance in advertisements might have damaged this notion. This treatment of the cigar was not unique to Egypt: as a British commentator noted, the cigar demanded "that touch of art which mass production never knows."[15] Rather than promoting it via advertising, as in the case of other recently introduced commodities, and risking jeopardizing its non-commercialized image, retailers avoided its promotion in such a manner altogether.

The cigar was also very different from the cigarette. Stronger in smell and larger in size, it stood for power, authority, and success. Although both the cigar and the cigarette were associated with modernity, the vision of modernity suggested by these two commodities was different. The indigenous *effendi* cigarette stood for a local modern way of life (see chapter two). In contrast, the cigar was the perfect stranger (or Other); it took its meanings and allure from abroad and was coveted but also made to look sinister for the same reason. It manifested affluence and was associated with the hedonistic and westernized upper-class Egyptians (*al-bashawiyya* or *ahl al-dhawat*).

Representations of the cigar as an upper-class consumption pattern were frequent in journalistic photographs of the period, in which public smoking of the cigar, very much like the consumption of the chibouk a few generations earlier, was consciously used to display power and authority.[16] The cigar was commonly seen at official gatherings, political meetings, and aristocratic sites of leisure such as high society parties.[17] Such occasions are often recorded as group-photos of elderly politicians, bulky figures wearing three-piece suits or long coats, a tarbush, and occasionally round, black plastic glasses, with one or more also holding a cigar. Pictures also portray individuals, such as Tal'at Harb, the founder of Bank Misr and one of the captains of the Egyptian economy, enjoying a cigar. A particularly telling photograph is that of Ibrahim Rashid, a member of Majlis al-Shuyukh (the Egyptian Senate), on a visit to the site of the *mawlid* (memorial ceremony) of Sayyid Ghazi (see fig. 7.2). Rashid in the foreground, wearing an elegant white suit and holding a cigar, stands before a *baladi-* (native-) dressed elderly woman, a chickpea (hummus) vendor, squatting on the ground beside her merchandise. The photograph, taken from a bottom-up angle, creates a clear physical-cum-social gap between the tall and fashionable Rashid and the fellaha (peasant woman). Rashid's well tailored white suit and cigar also stand in sharp contrast to the *effendi*-style grey-striped suit of the person standing to his left (presumably a local official responsible for the visit). Such photographs were surely taken by permission or even officially sponsored by those photographed, which suggests some purposefulness on their part in shaping these images.

Because the cigar became such a clear icon of upper-class Egyptians, it was often used in cinema, literature, and the press (in cartoons) as shorthand to criticize such persons. Even more so, cigar smoking was associated with economic inequality and the excesses, or even corruption, of politicians and businessmen. These explicit representations became more manifested after the Second World War in the image of the war profiteer and later, during the Nasserite era, when the cigar was wholly associated with the decadence and abuse of power by the Egyptian *ancien régime*. In the film *Fi Baytina Rajul* (A Man in Our House, 1961), the Egyptian Prime Minister, identified only by his hand holding a cigar and a picture of King Faruq on the wall, gave the order

Fig. 7.2 Ibrahim Rashid and his cigar.
Source: *Sijil al-hilal al-musawwar, 1892–1992*, vol. 2, 1320.

to crush brutally a peaceful student demonstration against British imperialism in Egypt and against those who clearly cooperated with it, namely the government itself. The Prime Minister would be assassinated a few scenes later by the young and idealistic protagonist of the film – a clear inference to the slaying of Ahmad Mahir in 1945.

The sinister image of the cigar and the ridiculed image of its smoker had a long history in press cartoons, going back to the late nineteenth century and Jacob Sanua's magazine, *Abou Naddarra*.[18] In one cartoon,[19] the first in a series of six entitled "La Lanterne magique d'Abou Naddarra" (The Magic Lantern of Abou Naddarra), Abou Naddarra makes fun of the khedive (viceroy) Tawfiq's ignorance of state financial affairs while blaming John Bull, the quintessential Englishman, for taking advantage of the situation (Abou Naddarra was the name of both the magazine and of its main narrator/commentator – an archetypical bespectacled Egyptian sheikh, in the image of Sanua himself). The following is the entire dialogue of the cartoon (translated from the French original) in which the cigar represents the economic and political corruption of the westernized Tawfiq and his British accomplices:

> Abou Naddarra: The first picture represents to you, ladies and gentlemen, Tewfick-Pasha, who [is standing] first thing in the morning with his hands behind the back, his fat stomach bounces and a big cigar in his mouth. He is blissfully happy. There is also John Bull taking advantage of his highness by using the seal attached by a watch chain to this blissfully happy person, and by sealing all sorts of papers. Listen to the comments that they exchange.
>
> Tewfick: So tell me, John Bull, when will you stop tickling my tummy and pulling the seal of my watch-chain. You are boring me with all this document signing.
>
> John Bull: If I tickle your highness, it is because I am afraid of pinching him. But everything is already done now! Your highness's cigar gives off an exquisite aroma.
>
> Tewfick: I should think so! It is dear Sir Edgar Vincent [financial advisor to the Egyptian government] who takes good care of my supply [of cigars] himself! How regrettable it is that according to some the fume of his budgets does not smell as fine as his cigars.

To return to contemporary Egypt the cigar also stood for unequal power relations in government service and private enterprise between the upper-class cigar-smoking employer and his *effendi* employee. This was especially

manifested in cartoons where cigar smoking helped to ridicule the pompous *basha* (see fig. 7.3). Such images further suggest growing social friction and outright criticism of the contemporary economic elite, and by extension also the political.

Because the cigar represented conspicuous consumption and an overstatement of affluence it was especially identified with the *nouveaux riches*. For example, in the film *al-'Izz Bahdala* (Afflicted by Affluence, 1937), Shalom, the main protagonist, was offered a cigar by a bank official, a clear initiation into the rich world, when notified that some equity, which he had earlier bought cheap, now made him a millionaire. Cigar smokers were also often associated with a more shady economic activity and even with outright crime. In the film *Si 'Umar* (Mr. Umar, 1941), Jabir Effendi (Nagib al-Rihani) assumed the character of 'Umar, the son of Halim Basha who was away in India, when Halim Basha's family mistook him for their son. The impersonator-turned-rich-heir smoked a cigar, to symbolize his new place in life, but also to hint at the unlawful way in which he had got there.

The cigar was used to delineate unequal power relations and denial of entry into the upper-class most intimate circle – the family. In a scene from

Fig. 7.3 A cartoon entitled "love letter". The manager:
"My hand shudders and trembles as I write you this letter . . . my love!"
Source: *Al-Ithnayn wa-l-Dunya* 19 June, 1950: 44.

the film *Rudda Qalbi* (in the English translation of the film Back Alive, 1957) Anji's father, a member of the Egyptian royal family, smokes a cigar when confronting his daughter regarding her forbidden love for 'Ali, the son of his head gardener. Anji is not allowed to marry 'Ali and agrees to marry a person of her family's choice so that 'Ali's father may keep his job. There is a similar scene in *Bidayya wa-Nihayya* (Beginning and the End, 1960), a film based on a 1951 novel by Naguib Mahfouz. Hasanin, who like 'Ali has ascended the social ladder by enrolling in the Military Academy (al-Kuliyya al-Harbiyya) and becoming an officer, is rejected by another cigar-smoking *basha* when he comes to ask his daughter's hand in marriage. Thus, the *effendi*-turned-officer (a typical Revolutionary character) quickly reaches the ceiling of upward mobility when attempting to convert his new professional standing into social status in what was presented as the rigid hierarchy of the pre-Revolutionary regime.

Like snuff, the Western pipe was not a prevalent smoking preference but its being exceptional actually enhanced its significance as a representative of difference. Pipe smoking was closely associated with the Westernized intellectual in a reflective mood, but also with the inaction and passivity of such a position. Although pipe smoking could constitute a significant expense (depending on the quality of the pipe and the pipe tobacco), pipe smoking did not share the cigar's image of exclusion by price. Rather, its exclusionist nature came from its ultimate foreignness to the smoking cultures of Egypt, immediately associating the smoker with Europe. This is well illustrated in the film *Qindil Umm Hashim* (The Lamp of Umm Hashim, 1968), where Ismail, a doctor trained in Germany, keeps up his pipe smoking habit on returning to Cairo.[20] In Sayyida Zaynab, his old neighbourhood, this practice and his European outfit stand in sharp contrast to the *sha'bi* (popular) environment of his childhood. Similarly, Ismail finds it hard to re-acquaint himself with this traditional setting. This is clearly conveyed in several scenes in which he walks the streets observing local life, the pipe ever in his hand or mouth. The pipe (but not the European outfit) only disappears after Ismail begins to work in a local eye-clinic and finds a way to combine his scientific medical approach with a popular belief in the healing powers of the wax dripping from a candle burning to honour the local saint. In this environment the pipe has to go, because resuming his true vocation Ismail regains his Egyptian-ness and his hands are now too full, metaphorically and in reality, for him to smoke.

The discussion above showed that the *shisha* and the cigar were strong metaphors of distinction and otherness. *Shisha* smoking represented a spectrum of *effendi* encounters with (and often criticism of) the life he left behind when he climbed the social ladder through education. It stood for "traditional" life in the *hara*, sometimes a nostalgic past but mainly the site of

missed opportunities, backwardness, a stifling resistance to change, and even immorality. Cigar smoking, by contrast, represented a distinction "from above" and was identified with foreign modernity and inequality, a limit to entry, economic and political dominance by the contemporary elite, and outright corruption. While coffeehouses kept the tradition of *shisha* smoking alive, the cigar never "trickled down" to other social groups in Egypt and was soon to disappear. It was the cigarette, rather than the cigar, that came to represent Nasser and his regime, whose rule would be strongly associated with the coming of age of *effendi* culture.

8

THE CIGARETTE AND EFFENDI IDENTITY

In the period under discussion, machine-made cigarettes entered the mass-market and their consumption was "democratized" in the sense that it was available for all, albeit with differences in quantity, quality, and price. Nevertheless, representations of smokers in literature, cinema, and the press frequently disregarded the prevalence of the cigarette among different social groups, and the cigarette was closely associated with negotiations of various aspects of *effendi*/middle stratum lifestyle and worldview. As such, representations of cigarette smoking were employed in intra-group debates rather than inter-group distinctions discussed in the previous chapter.

There were right and wrong ways to smoke a cigarette, and an elaborate etiquette determined where, when, how, and with whom one smoked. This was clearly demonstrated in contemporary magazines, where contributors commented on the smoking preferences of celebrities, offered interpretations of different fashions of cigarette consumption, and guided readers in the correct ways to light, offer, and smoke a cigarette. Authors and scriptwriters/directors further used these smoking conventions as shorthand to portray their protagonists, delineate the social environments where their stories took place, and denote the relations between different characters in the plot. Advertisers took advantage of this etiquette in promoting their brands.

Representation of cigarette smoking facilitates an investigation into the development of a new social stratum in a period when it was taking shape as a social group and coming to dominate the cultural scene and finally the Egyptian state with the Free Officers' Revolution. They offer insights into an *effendi* perceived tropes of male, female, and youth, and their place within the family and in society at large. But as the discussion below suggests, such tropes were not canonized without contention, and the meaning of cigarette smoking continued to be somewhat ambiguous. Analysis of cigarette smoking

further allows insights into unresolved tensions along gender and generational lines, more broadly, into local modernity and its contested trappings.

Male smokers – leisure, companionship, serenity, and vice

The development of an *effendi* smoking etiquette well demonstrates the middle ground between a desire to appear modern, and consequently different, and a strong need for authenticity and belonging, which was at the root of contemporary identity politics, including national identity.[1] Although the cigarette was a novel commodity, and quite different from the *shisha*, the etiquette of public cigarette smoking was not dissimilar from that of the more traditional smoking vehicle. On occasion, smoking served a person as a buffer, shielding him from the crowd and providing a relaxing activity in an awkward social situation. But the cigarette, like former tobacco smoking devices, was more often used as a means to socialize. Smokers offered a cigarette to a friend, or lit a cigarette for a companion as a token of camaraderie and respect. One also offered a cigarette to a stranger as an icebreaker, a token of courtesy and admiration, a way to solicit help, or thanks for a service rendered. Smoking took place during a conversation, while watching a show, or drinking coffee or alcoholic beverages with others. In all this, cigarette smoking remained quite similar to that of the *shisha*, and it expressed the same sense of authenticity and familiarity which was earlier associated with the consumption of the water-pipe.

In chapter two I suggested that cigarette consumption represented a less clear division between work and free time than earlier smoking devices. As such, it contradicted the usual historiographic account of the development of modern life in which time was more strictly divided between toil and hours spent for one's leisure. Instead, cigarette smoking represented a liminal temporality in which smoking stood betwixt and between free time and work.[2] This notion was very prevalent in contemporary representations of *effendi* cigarette smokers. The cigarette emerged in the office, the novel-turned-quintessential *effendi* working space, where its consumption was integrated into short breaks from work. Even more so, it was at the setting for countless other activities – standing, walking, writing, waiting for work at one's desk (or in line), and talking over the phone – where past smoking vehicles could not fit in. Cigarette smoking represented a busier lifestyle, in which one took one's leisure (in the form of smoking) when one could and sometimes even on the job.

Contemporary literary and cinematic narratives usually focused on the social rather than the professional life of their protagonists, and work, while significant in establishing the background of the protagonist's social standing, was rarely discussed in detail or taken as a central theme in the plot. It was the relatively more relaxed and safer atmosphere of the leisure environment

that made possible excursions into self and group identity that lay behind contemporary stories, and where smoking could be explored at length.

When the cigarette appeared in novel leisure environments such as the European-style coffeehouse, nightclub, bar, hotel, and private party (as opposed to neighbourhood festivities open to all), it created a similar feeling as in the workplace, but in reverse – transforming leisure spaces into more structured and business-like environments. These environments were less communal and more segregated. For example, unlike the neighbourhood coffeehouse, the European-style coffeehouse where cigarette smoking often took place was ostensibly open to all but in practice it was exclusive in price, status-symbols (clothing), and location (in the newer parts of the city). The physical arrangement of the modern coffeehouse, where patrons sat around separate tables, was dissimilar from that of the more traditional venue where clients sat around the room. The party, another common leisure space in contemporary plots, was even more exclusive because to get in one had to be invited. In these two and other environments such ambience indicated a different kind of social interaction, more hectic – a casual chat rather than passing time together – and formal, time dedicated to build new social networks but also establishing connections with the opposite sex. The cigarette blended well into these novel surroundings and social practice because it was small, easily carried, but also authentic and sociable.

Advertisers often played on the cigarette as a modern socializer because it meant that one's smoke was there for all to see so one's cigarette brand was an important status symbol. In examining such advertisements, it is important to remember that the cigarettes advertised and the commodities promoted by such images were expensive and exclusive; contemporary advertising did not cater to mass consumption but to limited groups of upwardly mobile *effendis* and the affluent. After the First World War, cigarette advertising experienced a significant shift from a focus on the commodity and its qualities to the consumer. This was not unique to cigarette advertising nor to Egypt, but signified a broader transition in the way advertisers promoted goods worldwide.[3] Nevertheless, advertisers in Egypt were quick to adopt and adapt this novelty in promoting cigarettes in Egypt; they learned to play on the cigarette and its public consumption as representing one's social status, equating the smoker with the brand he smoked.

Advertisers especially used snob-effect to persuade up-and-coming *effendi* smokers to buy their cigarette brands. This is well illustrated in a 1931 Kiriazi Frères advertising campaign in *Ruz al-Yusuf* that promoted their Zenith brand. In this campaign the advertisers portrayed Zenith smokers as upper-class Egyptians (*al-dhawat*) and suggested that it was the cigarette of this class.[4] In one of their advertisements we find two such notables drinking coffee and smoking cigarettes in a luxurious office, while engaging in the following conversation:

> Visitor: I see that you also fell in love with Zenith cigarettes.
> Senior official: I am madly in love with it and I can't smoke anything else but this cigarette. I [also] noticed that the *basha* and many of our friends/colleagues here and in the club smoke it as well.[5]

The origins of the two speakers (the senior official and his friend), the *basha*, and the private social club, clearly associated Zenith, and its connoisseurs, with upper-class lifestyle.

Images of smart looking Egyptian smokers were also used in promoting other commodities, especially male attire, where the elegant dresser also consumed a cigarette. In such cases, cigarette smoking accorded with a modern lifestyle, a sophisticated leisure environment where to exhibit such clothing was important, and product satisfaction. The advertisements associated conspicuous consumption with the socio-economic success of the buyer. They hinted at the importance of public display in a society going through rapid transitions, where the individual found himself in new environments in which older status symbols, and the familiarity associated with village or neighbourhood life, were gradually fading and being replaced to some extent by the consumption of goods.

The trend suggested above was further exemplified by the introduction of fashion, and its appearance in the promotion of goods associated with a new lifestyle. Two cartoons from *al-Nashra al-Iqtisadiyya al-Misriyya* ridiculing fashion emphasize its prevalence at that time. In one cartoon, a bewildered male *effendi* is smoking a cigarette and standing among five females wearing the latest vogue. The second cartoon, entitled "the modern chic," demonstrates a variety within this new world of fashion. Male garments and their matching smoke emphasize stratification through dress and "different smokes for different folks" – an *effendi* character smokes a cigarette while the more elegant and upper-class figures smoke a cigar or a European pipe.

Advertisements suggested that it was important to smoke the right brand to be considered fashionable, modern, and successful. They often associated their cigarettes with white-collar, public- and private-sector occupations, and celebrities. For example, Kiriazi's advertisements for Alf Layla, featured Husayn Higazi (a sportsman: *Ruz al-Yusuf*, 15 August 1932), 'Abbas Hafiz (a journalist: *Ruz al-Yusuf*, 22 August 1932), Doctor Zaki Mubarak (a philosopher: *Ruz al-Yusuf*, 5 September 1932), and Mahmud al-Falaki (an astrologer – quite an exceptional profession compared with the foregoing: *Ruz al-Yusuf*, 10 October 1932). Al-Bustani's Nabil cigarettes showed 'Abd al-Rahman 'Abd al-Hamid (a pilot: *al-Musawwar*, 12 May 1933). The Mahmud Fahmi cigarette company advertised an endorsement from the poet Ahmad Shawqi (*Ruz al-Yusuf*, 24 April 1933). It is interesting to note that the images employed in the advertisements were those of modern men but not necessarily young; success and celebrity status were still largely associated with

age. Occasionally, however, ads did imply the young as trend setters in smoking the cigarette. In an advertisement to Gianaclis' cigarette Zamzam (named after a holy well in Mecca, *al-Ahram*, 1 April 1937), which perhaps attempted to appeal to more "traditional" smokers, a young *effendi* invites the sheikh that stands beside him to smoke a Zamzam cigarette. In the background we see an urban environment including Muslim architecture, modern residential houses, and factories which suggests one integrated locality in which both young and old share this brand.

In chapter five I discussed the promotion of cigarettes through an appeal to national sentiments and a call to consumers to support local industry and the Egyptian worker. Fascination with industry as a venue to develop the national economy was well rooted in the desire to be modern. Fahmi's Amun cigarettes capitalized on such fascination when its ad presented this brand as a factory's chimneys, creating a strong association between modern economic life symbolized by the factory and an "industrialized" smoking vehicle, which stood for a novel way of life.[6]

Press photography and journalistic commentary provided further observations on *effendi* cigarette consumption, especially the smoking habits of the contemporary social idol of this stratum, the intellectual. On 2 June 1934, *Akhar Sa'a al-Muswwara* published an amusing report on the smoking preferences of contemporary journalists, opening with the following comment:

> There is a rule with no exceptions among the carriers of the pen according to which they strongly and firmly believe that the writer would not be able to seek the aid of the goddess of imagination or to capture his ideas without lighting a cigarette and following it with another and being ready to smoke a third. When he fills his chest with cigarette smoke, the writer feels that something in his mind is giving him a sign and that this something is inspiration, which descends on the mind of the good writer . . . Many of the writers in Egypt would squander [their salaries] on buying and smoking cigarettes and exchange eat and drink for a smoke!

Mahmud Taymur often introduces the cigarette in his writing, but he also counted the cigarette among the sources of inspiration that enhanced his ability to concentrate on his work: "The perfumed smoke puffs up from the cigarette and pulls me along, saying: 'You should not trouble your nerves too much. One drag from me will bring back your calmness.'"[7] Smoking here seems to imply more a relief from anxiety than a "source of inspiration" suggested by Taymur. But the general message from the two quotations is clear: for the intellectual the cigarette was an energizer and a relief while at work.

In literary and cinematic narratives, smoking was further associated with reflection, but usually of a more emotional nature; the protagonist would

pause to smoke a cigarette and contemplate before or after a dramatic episode. Impatient cigarette smoking was practically a convention in the depiction of characters waiting for someone to arrive or some event to happen. On other occasions smoking was used for a completely opposite purpose – to stop oneself drifting into unpleasant thoughts and as a sign of inaction. Consider the following quotation from al-Mazini's *Ibrahim the Writer*: "From the moment he [Ibrahim] had gone to his room he had been chain smoking, lighting each fresh cigarette from the stub of the one before. He did not, however, like smoking, but he smoked to distract his mind from the thoughts which were seething within him."[8] In another example, from Latifa al-Zayyat's *The Open Door*, Isam regains his faculties by smoking, after a stressful confession of his love to his cousin, Layla: "He managed to reach his chair and collapsed onto it. With a shaking hand he lit a cigarette, sucking in the smoke to hold it in his chest, clamping his mouth shut, then finally relaxing it for the smoke to emerge in circles that twined around each other or bumped against one another as he stared. Gradually his face relaxed; he closed his eyes and went on smoking."[9] The cigarette served as a symptomatic "pain-killer" and a vehicle to face emotional stress, often caused by the anxieties of modern life, arguably the biggest of which was the re-negotiation of relations between the sexes in contemporary society (see further below).

Smoking sometimes manifested the problem rather than the solution for varieties of emotional turmoil such as extreme boredom, nervousness, distress, impatience, insecurity, fear, bewilderment, and confusion. In al-Mazini's *al-Harib*, Jamil Bak becomes absent-minded after a disturbing phone call. His internal agitation is outwardly manifested as follows: "He stood up and began pacing briskly, lighting a cigarette, putting it in the ashtray, forgetting about it, and lighting another instead, until four cigarettes, some shorter than others, were gathered in the ashtray . . ."[10] In another example from Mahmud Taymur's short story *al-Hadid*, cigarette smoking and its mess helps to convey the chaotic state of mind of the protagonist's friend: "I found him lying on the sofa smoking in a state of extreme apathy, cigarette butts piled on the floor, the air filled with smoke, and dust covering the books and papers in heavy layers."[11] In such cases, excessive cigarette smoking stood for the decay caused by a chaotic personal state.

Other negative undertones of cigarette smoking represented social malaise, religious transgressions, immorality, and outright criminality, much like the *shisha* before it. Notorious characters were delineated by heavy smoking, for example, the racketeer grocer and heavy smoker Sayyid in the film *al-Suq al-Sauda'* (The Black Market, 1945) who made a fortune from war profiteering. In compromising leisure environments such as a bar or a sinister card game, the heavy haze of cigarette smoke contributed to the dark and insidious atmosphere of the place, again much like the *shisha*. Because the cigarette was present everywhere, interpretation of smoking as proper or not

depended on the broader context. In the office, smoking was usually presented as the normal thing to do when taking a break from work, or it was socially legitimate when receiving a friend, a colleague, or an honoured guest. But smoking also signified waste of working time, inefficiency, and disrespect for one's employer or a waiting customer.

Although smoking was associated with wasting time and money, emotional distress, and even pathological behaviour, impropriety, and outright criminality, for some people such qualities paradoxically enhanced the attraction of the cigarette as a form of self-indulgence and even self-destruction. Smoking was also a major economic expense and it represented entitlement to spend money on one's desires. Being a health risk it further downplayed regard for personal well-being. In all this smoking indicated the consumer's "freedom" to take his pleasure in a manner that suited him with seemingly little regard to personal, family, and social propriety.[12]

For others, however, the negative attributes of the cigarette (and smoking in general) simply remained so, and abstention or smoking a little was presented as a virtue. In Ahmad Amin's autobiography, moderate cigarette consumption clearly became a metaphor for virtuous personal conduct when Amin proclaims: "Thank God, I have no addiction to cigarettes, which I smoke without inhaling."[13] The piety of his beloved father was further expressed in total abstention from smoking: "My father went out of his house to his work and his mosque then returned home; he did not smoke and did not sit at a café."[14] In another autobiography, Salama Musa repeats the convention in describing his own character: "While the years passed I never came to appreciate the pleasures of sitting in company to drink coffee, and I have to this day remained ignorant of round games, the simple card-game of chance and the life by which others pass their time. I never took to smoking either."[15] Beyond the actual facts, avoiding sitting in coffeehouses and smoking represented, for both intellectuals, as for Taha Husayn in an earlier example regarding the *shisha*, an elevated form of industrious life signified by minimal consumption and self-indulgence, and dedicated to cultural production, which stood in contrast to conspicuous consumption of leisure and tobacco. Still, this was a highbrow/elitist perspective, with little impact on the general desire to smoke.

Although Amin associated smoking with wasting time and resources, he considered an environment in which people were allowed to smoke (and drink coffee) more relaxed, casual, and preferable in social terms. This was well demonstrated in his description of two different bookshops, which he frequented, and their owners. In the Arabic bookshop of Ahmad Adham: "Bibliophiles came to him and sat down in tranquillity and talked about everything while they drank coffee and smoked cigarettes, spending hours on end."[16] The English bookstore was quite different: "As for the English bookshop, it was a well-arranged and organized one. We used to call its owner

Professor Faraj. It had no room for sitting, drinking coffee, or smoking. Its owner had no conversation except about a book to be sold or a price to be paid."[17] In these quotations we again find an ambivalent treatment of the cigarette – while frowned upon for personal use, cigarette and coffee consumption was allowed in a more relaxed and discussion-prone environment, which was lacking at the austere English bookstore. As metaphors of "East" and "West," the two bookstores represented the pros and cons of both cultures, and throughout the autobiography the reader senses that Amin, while aware of its deficiencies, felt much more at ease in the former, more authentic bookstore.

As the discussion above suggests, it is impossible to reduce the cigarette to one role, and its representation as a public and private male consumption habit was quite nuanced. But such representations do provide a perspective on contemporary negotiations of everyday life in matters such as the meaning of work and the time one spent on pleasure, the changing spaces in which work and leisure took place, and the enhanced role of fashion and consumption as social mobility quickened its pace. Continuity over time in much of the public smoking etiquette, and in some of the (good and bad) associations of tobacco consumption, even after the transition from the *shisha* to the cigarette, well demonstrate how a novel consumption practice was imbued with long existing meanings and conventions. As a private practice, cigarette smoking further exposed manifestations of the self, possibly the most radical thematic insertion into contemporary literature, cinema, and the art of selling things.

Female smokers – gender roles and sexuality

The following discussion is inspired by recent literature on women, veiling, and gender politics in the Middle East.[18] It studies the extension of gender conventions into contemporary consumption patterns by exploring representations of women smokers. Women's smoking was a "veiled" activity, so women (like other categories of subordinates such as youth) were not supposed to smoke in front of people who had authority over them, and most of them, in fact, did not. Representations of women smokers, therefore, were more limited than those of men smokers. Furthermore, with few exceptions narratives were doubly biased – written, painted, or directed by men, and mostly focused on men as their main heroes with female protagonists playing secondary roles. Contemporary depictions under-represented women smokers not only in what they showed but also in the lack of real day-to-day sketches of females smoking, most conspicuously images of women smoking in the company of other women and at home. Advertising might have offered a different outlook on female smokers when catering to women consumers. But even the potential of equality in the market was largely subdued as advertisements engaged the male gaze when portraying female smokers. For these reasons the following discussion cannot do full justice to our

understanding of the meanings of smoking for women although many of the smoking practices discussed above for men surely carried the same meanings (and ambivalence) for women. Rather, it explores a male-dominated cultural perspective as to why women smoked.

In cinema and literature, smoking was a metaphor for unequal relations and male dominance within the family because in the "proper" family it was usually the father who smoked. His entitlement to smoke came from the hardship that he had to endure outside the house while toiling to earn a living for his family. It also came from his position as the head of the family because the cigarette manifested power. Even more so, smoking was associated with masculinity and a distinctly male practice, which was enforced by a male etiquette of cigarette consumption discussed in the first section. For these reasons, when the mother figure smoked it symbolized the exceptional character of such a woman and, in a kind of a zero-sum game within the family, the diminished role of the male protagonist. This was especially true in depictions of lower-class families, as in the case of the mother of Fatima in the film *al-'Azima* (Resolution, 1939).[19] In one scene, Fatima enters the family's living room to find, to her obvious discontent, her mother, her father, and her younger brother in the company of the neighbourhood strong man, the butcher. The parents are seated on either side of a sofa. The father, small-bodied, old, drunk, and passive sits in the far corner, away from the guest. The mother, an imposing, large woman, dominates the room and the conversation. She sits at the end of the sofa closer to the guest, and smokes a cigarette with grand gestures throughout the scene. It is to her, rather than to the father, that the butcher signals his intentions towards Fatima, and from whom he receives assurance that this arrangement may materialize in due course. By this behaviour, the mother clearly robs her spouse of his role as the head of the family and breaches his *ibn al-balad* manliness.

Women also smoked in the absence of the male head of the family in cases of death or divorce. This was especially so for older women, whose age gave them immunity from criticism, and for financially independent women who could also flout social conventions. For example, in Naguib Mahfouz's *Midaq Alley*, the leisure habits of Sania Afifi, a wealthy widow in her fifties, are described as follows: "Her pastimes were not, fortunately, those that would lead to criticism of a widowed lady like herself. Her only passions were a fondness for coffee, cigarettes and hoarding of banknotes."[20] Umm Hamida, another female smoker, is an elderly matchmaker for whom smoking is also a form of satisfying indulgence: "She took a cigarette from a case, lighted it and smoked it with a look of deep pleasure on her face."[21] Such women smoked for the same reasons as men, that is, for pleasure, to overcome emotional distress, while in a contemplative mood, etc. Although cigarette consumption represented their financial independence, and the protection of age against social criticism, it also presented their dubious occupations.

Another type of woman who smoked was young, usually upper class, and liberated, best illustrated by Layla in al-Mazini's *Ibrahim the Writer*. Layla, with whom Ibrahim falls in love while vacationing at Luxor, is good looking, with the "complexion and features of an Egyptian but her clothes were European,"[22] and thus she is clearly westernized and somewhat foreign to her Egyptian surroundings as is attested further by her behaviour. Layla stays in the hotel on her own, certainly not a typical scenario for the period. Neither is her liaison with Ibrahim. An amusing episode that involved smoking further characterizes Layla as an unusual female character who transgresses the unwritten codes of female-male conduct when she prefers Ibrahim's cigarette to his heavy-handed attempt to compliment her:

> With a gesture of her soft hand Layla motioned to him not to continue. Then bending towards him she said in a gently bantering tone: 'Thank you, but allow me to doubt the genuineness of what you have just said. There is only one thing I am sure of: if Shakespeare [to whom Ibrahim had referred in his compliment] had known me he would have offered me a cigarette.'[23]

Here Layla rejects outdated courtship in pursuit of a more egalitarian companionship based on the joint pleasure of smoking.

Women smoking publicly in the company of men should be conceptualized more broadly, within the social debate on courtship leading to compassionate marriage – a core theme in the contemporary discourse on modernity. In this discourse, Layla represents the uncompromising modernist view that promoted free interaction between the sexes, as long as it took place in the relative safety of a public place of leisure and manifested itself in the act of smoking. It was only in this kind of environment, which was situated outside the boundaries of the patriarchal "veiling ideal", that such an act could take place. But even in such liminal space this act was at times frowned upon and unaccepted. Indeed, Layla's confident and daring public smoking was unconventional in the environment in which most narratives took place. It could easily be interpreted as a sign of promiscuity: for young women to smoke in public was to walk the thin line between asserting themselves and forfeiting their respectability. In Taymur's *Salwa fi mahab al-rih* a young woman is considered courageous for accepting an invitation to tea at a social club and, even more so for smoking there in the company of a man.[24] In al-Mazini's *Khuyut al-'ankabut*, a modern hairstyle and cigarette smoking, which a young woman regards as symbols of the new age, are fiercely opposed by her mother.[25] This scene further suggests that smoking, standing for the liberated female, was censured by conservative women as well as men, and that in some cases females' smoking was a cause of contention because it symbolized generational frictions within the family.

The only way for women's public smoking to be socially acceptable, albeit still conspicuous, was under the patronage of men. This allowed courtship without a complete break with past tradition that prescribed the authority of men over women, and such romantic practices are evident in contemporary advertisements for cigarettes: Young and modern in outlook, the female smoker is nevertheless always portrayed in the company of a man (or men). When smoking the man would offer a cigarette to the woman, light it for her, or, in more sexually explicit scenes, the couple would smoke together. Furthermore, contemporary etiquette did not allow a woman to light a cigarette for a man,[26] which meant that a woman would have to wait for a man's invitation to smoke, or, as with the more daring Layla, ask a man to light her a cigarette. Smoking etiquette did give women some leverage in requiring a man to ask the woman's permission to smoke. In al-Mazini's *Asa'ilat al-layl*, a quarrel between a couple starts when the man does not ask his wife's permission before lighting up.[27] A cartoon in *al-Ithnayn wa-l-Dunya* further indicates a possible point of contention between the sexes whose origin is the politics of consumption in the family and male vs. female entitlement to spend.[28] In this cartoon the wife complains: "When you want to smoke American cigarettes you have the money, but when I ask for something you don't have it, do you?" This suggests that in male-female relations smoking was less a shared pastime and more a male habit tolerated by women at best, and a practice causing friction and discontent in couples.

Advertisements where women smoke alone are usually devoid of any social context: the image of the smoking woman, while formally dressed, appears with no background, in a private sitting room, and especially next to the cigarette box (see fig. 8.1). In such cases it is not clear whether the advertisement was meant to promote smoking among women by using female images of smokers or to sell cigarettes to men by using a pretty face. During the early 1950s, two large-scale advertising campaigns that used photographs of actresses in the promotion of cigarettes in effect asserted the latter.[29] The campaign involved the newly imported Wasp cigarettes and the more established Atlas brand by Coutarelli. Promotion of cigarettes by means of celebrities was not new in the industry; already in the early 1930s the cigarette companies of al-Bustani and Kiriazi had employed female stars to endorse their brands.[30] But the campaigns of the early 1950s were significantly bigger and included major screen, theatre, and musical talents. For example, Lola 'Abdu, Fatin Hamama, Layla Murad, and Hada Sultan with Anwar Wagdi posed for Wasp, and Fatin Hamama (again) with Mahmud Zu al-Faqar, Sharifa Mahir, Layla Murad with Anwar Wagdi (again), 'Afaf Shakir, and Madiha Yusri promoted Coutarelli's Atlas brand.

The advertising campaign followed earlier conventions of female smokers, with photographs taken in neutral studio settings. In the majority of the photographs, the woman star holds the cigarette in her hand, usually smiling

Fig. 8.1 Cigarette advertisement for women? Fahmi's al-Umara' (Emirs) cigarette was promoted using a snob effect: "The Egyptian aristocracy welcomes its new cigarette," but also by suggesting its authenticity and Egyptian-ness: "Made by Egyptian hands."
Source: *Ruz al-Yusuf* 24 September, 1934: 22.

at the camera. But in a few cases, such as 'Afaf Shakir in an advertisement for Atlas, the cigarette is held in Shakir's lips, which together with a seductive look and a generous cleavage sends a clear sexual message to the viewer.[31] Although these women undoubtedly fired the imagination of men and women alike, the compromising reputation of their professions did not allow other women simply to treat them as fashion leaders and to take up smoking. This further suggests that advertising campaigns, while introducing female smokers, catered mostly to men.

By far the most common representations of female smokers in Egyptian literature, and more especially in cinema, were those of actresses, dancers, and singers, or simply "women of vice", whose sexuality was enhanced by smoking and who often entered romantic liaisons with the main male protagonists. In the film *Shabab Imra'a* (A Woman's Youth, 1956) smoking is at the centre of a seduction scene in which Tahiya Karyoka, playing Shafa'at, the rough and sexually mature *bint al-balad*, asks the naïve student, Imam, to light her a cigarette. Imam does so, and in an attempt to smoke he starts coughing – a clear sign of his sexual inexperience, which was just about to end. The film *Rudda Qalbi* (Back Alive, 1957) has a similar, albeit less explicit seduction scene, in which a smoking female dancer entices the broken-hearted young officer into a romance, which ends up in an unhappy marriage, quite a typical development on such occasions.

The scenes above and various others were clear invitations to sex and they sometimes represented sex itself. But they also stood for women's empowerment through their sexuality, and by implication their threat to the social order, which explains how women of disrepute and seemingly precarious social standing were often portrayed as dominant in their relations with men. This is well manifested in another scene from *Shabab Imra'a*, where Shafa'at drags Imam home after catching him watching a female dancer whom she considered a rival. On their way home Shafa'at also snatches the cigarette Imam is smoking and throws it away. This is an obvious sign of unequal power relations and inversion of the male and female roles, in which she, who taught him to smoke (and have sex), can also censor his smoking and sexuality. In their smoking, as well as in their dancing, singing, and acting, female artistes were represented as independent of men's support or censorship. But living beyond conventional social restrictions in imaginary plots in make-believe spaces (the movie, the novel) was a far cry from the lives of most women in the real world, whose restricted smoking behaviour signified male control over their public behaviour and consumption habits.

Smoking youth – a rite of passage

> One day I had a five-piaster piece and tried to change it at a cigarette seller's shop. My elder brother saw me and began asking me questions

> and investigating as if he were the deputy prosecutor and I the accused, lest I should have bought cigarettes to smoke. No one at home would even think of smoking a cigarette.[32]

Ahmad Amin's testimony shows a direct connection between the ban on a child's smoking and the limited household budget. However, the restriction on children smoking in Egypt did not stem from the economics of consumption under poverty alone but was enforced for socio-cultural reasons. Children were not allowed to smoke because such entitlement was an adult male prerogative, which was socially justified by the economic and social responsibilities shouldered by men, and because of the direct association between cigarette consumption, power, and sexuality. In Tawfiq Hakim's *The Return of the Consciousness*, Shahala, the leader of a group of female musicians at a wedding celebration, demands cigarettes for her players and coffee for herself before starting to play. Even she, who is not to be associated with the sensibilities of a more conventional society, thinks it shameful when Muhsin, her young protégé, asks for a cigarette for himself.[33] As suggested in the scene from *Ibn al-Hadad* discussed in the last chapter, refraining from smoking in front of one's elders was an act of respect and acceptance of authority, even when the son was no longer a minor.

For the same reasons that children's smoking was frowned upon by adults it was coveted by adolescents as a significant rite of passage to mature life. Smoking a cigarette in secret was often represented as a common teenage experience, which manifested resistance to the unequal power relations between youth and adults. In *Fi jahalat al-shabab,* al-Mazini gives a semi-autobiographical account of the ritual of covert smoking among a group of teenagers, which was followed by a thorough clean-up to avoid suspicion.[34] In Taymur's *Shabab wa-ghaniyyat*, smoking stolen cigarettes becomes the basis for relations between two young protagonists.[35] Although a significant socio-cultural rite of passage, initiation into smoking had to be done in secret, to avoid adult sanctions, which more broadly emphasized the social ambivalence and liminality that surrounded cigarette consumption.

Fikri Abaza's journalistic account on the development of his smoking habits, as in the example above from the film *Shabab Imra'a*, further implies a close parallel between learning to smoke and reaching sexual maturity.[36] Abaza learned how to smoke under the influence of a woman he loved, and he later switches brands successively according to the smoking preference of the women he dates: "In this way I moved from one young woman to another and from one cigarette brand to another and from one cigarette to another until I extinguished all the cigarette companies from Gamsaragan to Melkonian to Matossian, and when I fell in love with an American she turned me over to Camel Cigarettes and I ended up [smoking] Lucky Strike" (does the name of the last cigarette tell us something about this relationship?)

Earlier I suggested that advertisements did not significantly target any specific age group, although some of the themes used in promoting cigarettes, such as social mobility, the association of the cigarette with a modern lifestyle and novel white-collar professions, and romantic scenes, were surely more appealing to a younger crowd. We do not have statistics on the spread of the cigarette over time among youth, but one suspects that its reception had something to do with a generation gap: where the fathers smoked the *shisha* the younger generation leaned towards the cigarette. Such a trend was no doubt enforced by the long established role of smoking as signifier of power, in which to smoke a cigarette was to confront the father (and his generation) twice, first by smoking and second by preferring a different smoking vehicle to do so.

As discussed in the last chapter, under the Revolutionary regime in Egypt the cigar became associated with the *ancien régime* and the *nouveau riche* who attempted to join it. At the same time, the cigarette entered the iconography associated with the new regime. In many scenes from the film *Fi Baytina Rajul* (A Man in Our House, 1961), the main protagonist Ibrahim Hamdi, a student-turned-revolutionary (and in his charisma resembling Nasser), chain smokes, alone or in the company of his revolutionary friends, when planning an action, waiting for one, or anticipating its results. Under the Revolutionary regime of the Free Officers, the imagery of heavy cigarette consumption while at work was ascribed to the image of Nasser himself, the leader who smoked while working tirelessly to provide a better future for his people. Being modern but gradually becoming more popular, hence authentic, over time, the cigarette during this era both represented the self-imagery of Nasser's seemingly youthful and dynamic regime and stood as the antithesis of the cigar of the politicians of the older generation (see fig. 8.2). The cigarette, in a sense, well represented the victory of the *effendiyya*, which now politically, as well as culturally, had won the day.

Health – a non-issue

Since the introduction of tobacco at the turn of the seventeenth century, opponents of its consumption raised health risks and other concerns as significant reasons for outlawing smoking on religious grounds.[37] Writing on this topic never ceased even when the practice became common throughout society during the eighteenth century. It included, according to one source, about thirty treatises, some of them circulating in new editions well into the twentieth century.[38] In late nineteenth and early twentieth century the tone of the debate became more "scientific". Evidence was adduced from medical research and other life sciences, with reference to sources (not necessarily named) such as the international press and foreign books, which had not been available in earlier Islamic writings on this topic.[39] (On the contemporary debate see the Epilogue, below.)

Fig. 8.2 Nasser and his cigarette. This photo appeared in a special issue of *Sanabil* (a semi-official periodical) entitled "Farewell Abdel Nasser", where the life of the recently deceased president was celebrated in words and images. Notice the popular leader in an army uniform seated on the ground drinking from a jar and holding a cigarette.
Source: *Sanabil*, 11 October, 1970: n.pag.

The scholarly discussion over tobacco consumption, however, had only a minimal impact on consumers. As these debates suggest, smokers were aware of some of the risks involved in the use of tobacco. This was manifested in the early questions-and-answers sections in *al-Hilal* and *al-Muqattam*, in which readers raised various issues: what are the dangers of smoking? Which way of smoking is less harmful (the *shisha* or the cigarette)? How can one quit smoking? Allusions to the harm caused by smoking appeared in literature

too. In *al-Tadkhin* (Smoking), a short story by al-Mazini, the hero (the story is told in the first person) attempts for a short time to stop smoking after experiencing an alarming deterioration in his health.[40] But as suggested in this story, and in another scene from al-Mazini's *Ibrahim the Writer*, the ill-effects are simply presented as the price that the smoker is willing to pay for indulging in the habit: "Ibrahim lay down and coughed a little [he was sickening for pneumonia], but he did not pay much attention to the cough as he attributed it to his long habit of smoking."[41]

In June 1913, an article in *al-Hilal* reported a new kind of healthy cigarette, invented by Dr. Bustani, which, the doctor claimed, was less hazardous to smokers.[42] For the next decade or so Bustani's advertising campaign for his new invention unsuccessfully attempted to persuade smokers that his healthy cigarette was good for them.[43] The cigarette factory that he established finally succumbed to popular demand, and it switched to successful production of regular cigarettes[44] thus further attesting to public unconcern with health-related risks in smoking.

Health concerns in connection with smoking were not raised in films, and if anything viewers took to the cigarette through imitating what they saw on the screen. Advertisements of the period did not refer to health risks linked to smoking. In the period under discussion and much later, tobacco as a health concern was a non-issue. The damages that smoking caused were taken for granted, and totally ignored as a social, economic, or political concern. The public was not entirely aware of all the tobacco-related ailments and the high statistical probability of being severely afflicted by them. It was only in the early 1960s that medical research institutes in the United States, Britain, and elsewhere proclaimed the strong connection between tobacco consumption and serious health conditions. But for many years to come smokers (and their environment) ignored such risks for the sake of the perceived emotional, mental, and socio-cultural benefits of this practice.

Smoking like an Egyptian?

By way of conclusion to this chapter and the foregoing, this section compares Egyptian with British smoking cultures, based on Matthew Hilton's book on this subject.[45] The purpose here is to highlight local vs. universal smoking practices and their meaning, and to examine the effect of different economic and socio-cultural settings on the way people smoked. I intentionally limit the discussion to Britain and Egypt rather than engaging in a broader consideration of smoking habits in "East" and "West" in order to avoid essentialist dichotomies between the two by historicizing the comparison as much as possible.

Commentators in Britain and Egypt made strikingly similar group-based distinctions between a person's social origins and his/her smoking habits.

Working-class Britons did not smoke the *shisha* like the Egyptian *ahl al-balad*; but their equivalent was the clay pipe,[46] which like the *shisha* received unilinear treatment. As Hilton suggests, "In many ways, authors were not concerned with exploring the smoking culture of the ordinary man, but in using his smoking as a deliberate juxtaposition with the smoking cultures of the bourgeoisie and aristocratic characters."[47] This was further revealed in Britain and Egypt in the under-representation of regional differences in lower-class smoking and their manifestation in the oral culture of the period. In other words, smoking the *shisha* and the clay pipe was reduced to Otherness. In Britain this was especially so for working-class tobacco consumption cultures, and in Egypt it was expressed in the complete marginalization of rural smoking experiences.[48] Nevertheless, *shisha* smoking was at times represented as a familiar and comforting smoke giving relief from the contemporary hectic pace of life. Similar attitudes resonated in Britain towards smoking the briar pipe.[49] In both cases this was a distanced perspective of a nostalgic middle-class or *effendi* glance back at a smoking habit which was on the wane in both social spheres.

In the nineteenth century the cigar came into fashion in Britain, and with time it became naturalized and its consumption trickled down to lower social classes, although the price prevented cigar smoking from ever becoming truly widespread.[50] At the same time, cheap brands of cigars were frowned upon by middle- and upper-class connoisseurs because they dented the status of the cigar as an art object, demoting it to the realm of cheap industrial production. In Egypt the cigar was a latecomer, its allure arising from its being a western/foreign smoke through which *ahl al-dhawat* signified their social prominence over the rest of society. With time, however, representations of cigar smokers in both Britain and Egypt developed common themes, and around the mid-twentieth century it was increasingly associated with the corruption and decadence of the immoral professional, the war-profiteer, and the newly rich.[51] In Egypt, the cigar was also rejected because it was associated with the political and economic elite of the *ancien régime*.

In the last part of the nineteenth century in Britain, pipe and cigar smokers objected to the introduction of the cigarette in the press because they associated it with the coming of the mass market and a threat to the more individualistic and refined smoking culture. Writers also portrayed the cigarette as inferior in taste, effeminate, and passive, and equated its consumption to the evils of speed and pressure associated with modern life.[52] In Egypt, the public was less engaged in a comparable discourse, but if actions stand for words, the rapid disappearance of the chibouk and the significant rise in local demand for cigarettes suggest a much more rapid reception of this novel smoking fashion. As indicated in chapter two, the Egyptian cigarette was well received because it embodied the qualities of the cigar, being a handmade, high-quality, and expensive smoke, which stood for

modernity; yet because it was locally manufactured it was also considered Egyptian in nature.

From the late 1880s the production and promotion of machine-made cigarettes closely indexed the "democratization" of consumption in Britain. The cigarette now took a more egalitarian turn, gradually bringing smoking patterns of working-, middle-, and upper-class male smokers together, first in war (beginning with the First World War) and then in peace.[53] The popularization of the cigarette was enhanced by representations of smoking in popular culture, especially in contemporary British advertising. In Egypt, everyone rolled cigarettes earlier than in Britain. Representations of cigarette smoking in contemporary culture, however, stayed focused on male-*effendi* consumers and were thus less "democratized" in the sense that such representations still frowned at public smoking of other segments of the population.

In British and Egyptian cultures smoking stood for masculinity and male entitlement, but the cigarette played a different role in each society. In British (and American) culture smoking was largely portrayed as an individualistic act which was epitomized in the smoking habits of popular fictional characters such as the private investigator, the secret agent (James Bond), or in many of the cinematic roles played by Humphrey Bogart and James Dean.[54] Through such characters the cigarette represented a unique way of life, a self-styled morality, and smoking became an act of defiance against the social surroundings. In contrast, public smoking in Egyptian *effendi* culture, inspired by the earlier smoking cultures of the chibouk and the *shisha*, was mostly an experience shared with others, and it stood for camaraderie, respect, and appreciation of one's social milieu; even negative portrayals of smoking were made against this backdrop. Consumption of the cigarette, which in both countries represented modernity, stood for different values in each.

The study of Egyptian smoking culture showed that cigarette consumption in private meant different things in different contexts: an aid to concentration (to enhance both emotional and intellectual endeavours); a distraction from a painful experience or a means of recovering from one; an instrument for passing time or relieving boredom; a habit of leisure. All of these usages were associated to a certain degree with the introduction of modern life into Egypt. Still more, the study suggests that in an intricate way the negative qualities of smoking, being a waste of time and resources and a health risk, enhanced its attraction. The stakes involved in cigarette consumption were high, hence also the level of "freedom" in the person's choosing to engage in it. This quality of the cigarette seems to be a major reason for its global attraction.

Prior to the First World War, Britain evinced striking similarity to Egypt in the critical representations of women smoking in public.[55] Nevertheless, earlier economic transitions and the introduction of mass markets into Britain led to a gradual increase in female employment, which made women

more financially independent. This was especially true in times of large demand for women's employment during the First World War. After the war women's increased role as consumers further contributed to the spread of female tobacco consumption and its gradual socio-cultural acceptance. Much as in the case of British male smokers, the development of an advertising industry and mass culture, especially the cinema, further legitimized and enhanced female smoking. In Britain, young women smoked in increasing numbers, and although their "liberty" in doing so continued to be scrutinized even after the Second World War, the increasing presence of women in various leisure and working spheres contributed to smoking among women.

In Egypt's economic "development without growth"[56] the slow increase in the role of women as producers and consumers outside the home was well indexed by the continuing negative representations of women smokers in contemporary culture, and by the actual low numbers of female smokers even in the later period under discussion (see Epilogue). In other words, there was a direct relation between women's economic and social dependency on their family of origin and, after marriage, on their husbands, and the negative or constrained images of female smokers. This was because entitlement to smoke came only with economic independence. Judging from the experience of British women, the relative exclusion of women from public spheres further limited female smoking because smoking (for both males and females) was much about social life, namely a habit taken up for social reasons at work and especially public recreation environments. The limited access of females to such spheres further curtailed their smoking. Nevertheless, the dominant male cultural gaze of the period had no access to women's private spheres where smoking probably took place most often – the woman alone or in the company of other women.

Some upper-class or otherwise well-off women in Egypt, being financially and socially independent and therefore more powerful, enjoyed the entitlement to smoke freely in public. Other women could ignore social restrictions on account of their age. But the majority of women who smoked in public did so only under the tutelage of men. The other group of female smokers, which was disproportionately represented in contemporary cultural production, was women whose power and money, a precondition for smoking entitlement, came from socially dubious occupations such as acting, dancing, and singing. Such occupations were often associated with loss of virtue and deviant sexuality, so Egyptian female stars, unlike their contemporaries in Britain, could not become role models for other women.

In Britain, child and teenage smoking was part of the culture of the street, where most working-class adolescents spent their leisure time and the little money they got from employment or odd jobs, and their smoking was tolerated by adults. We have much less information on the clandestine youth culture of smoking in Egypt. Still, much as in the case of women, economic

and social dependency of youth on their families, the stronger association than in Britain between smoking and power within the family and society, and tighter social control restricted public smoking by youth. For these reasons, initiation into smoking was described as a significant but secretive rite of passage – an entry into adult male life and mature masculinity which was closely guarded by contemporary norms. This was also why sons would not smoke in front of their fathers, out of respect and to avoid challenging the older generation on such grounds.

On occasion, in an attempt to reduce or even ban tobacco consumption, anti-smokers in Britain and Egypt raised issues such as economic waste and health risks. But public opinion was more or less indifferent to such grievances, and smokers clearly preferred to continue smoking, ignoring such potential damage. A change in the attitude to smoking would be slow to come, even when medical evidence was publicly declared from the 1960s; it would also take place slower in Egypt than in Britain.

What can we observe more broadly from the comparison between the cultural histories of smoking in Britain and Egypt? There was no essential difference between the smoking cultures in the "East" and the "West". In both, the vehicles for smoking changed over time to accommodate economic and socio-cultural transitions. Such transitions in Egypt and Britain showed similarities in the decline of the *shisha* and the clay pipe; they were quite different in the reception of the cigar, and assigned diverse and at times contradictory meanings to the public consumption of the cigarette. The final victory of the cigarette as the ultimate modern smoke worldwide suggests certain similarities in the way this small and quick smoke fitted global transitions (and the success of advertising the cigarette). But this comparison defies a linear all-encompassing analysis of the cigarette's reception. Rather, it demonstrates that tobacco cultures prior to the arrival of the cigarette, and varying patterns of economic and social development in each country, shaped the unique contours of public tobacco consumption (and by extension consumption in general) in both places.

This and the previous chapter have further demonstrated a difference in the Egyptian smoking culture between the relatively rigid distinctions assigned to the smoking of persons outside the dominant cultural group and the more nuanced interpretations of in-group tobacco consumption. They suggested that cultural formulations of consumption patterns were significant in building social categories of otherness and self, and thus helped shape the collective identity of the *effendi* middle stratum. The spread of mass consumption of cigarettes did not damage this process because the multifaceted cigarette could withstand being imbued with many, sometimes conflicting, meanings.

EPILOGUE: SMOKE-SIGNALS TO THE PRESENT

Exchange, markets, and smoking

The Introduction to the book highlighted the theoretical and methodological advantages of research into exchange, to better understand the web of interactions which constitutes a market. Engaging a Polanyite notion of market embeddedness, it further emphasized the benefits of such a perspective over a more reductionist economic analysis of the market as a price-setting mechanism, and called for a more interdisciplinary study that discusses different aspects of markets as geographical and abstract (symbolic) locations. The advantages of such research were discussed in comparison with that of the two theoretical stands, Modernization and Dependency, which still feed into much of the discussion in both "East" and "West" on economic development and social progress. The Introduction argued for a more process-oriented, internal, and integrative stand, over the linear and universalistic (and by implication Western) model that has mostly served as a yardstick for success and failure so far. The following summary of the three parts that constitute this book illustrates the advantages of this approach in studying the Egyptian tobacco market.

The first part discussed the synergies between initial demand, early development of production, and the role of different forms of government in creating tobacco markets, first under an Ottoman command economy and later during the first period of globalization in the last part of the nineteenth century and until the First World War. In both cases the reception of tobacco and later of the cigarette reflected a broader economic, socio-cultural, and political adjustment and an earnest "conversation" between producers/sellers, consumers, and the state. At the turn of the seventeenth century, tobacco arrived from abroad and was received with suspicion and at times with fierce resistance by state officials, including the Ottoman sultan. However, smokers' enthusiasm soon won the day and the state had to accept

the persistence of this commodity in local markets and daily life. The state's command economy was flexible enough, however, to take full advantage of this new commodity by regulating supply through the guild system and maximizing profits from its consumption via taxation.

Some two and a half centuries after its initial introduction the enthusiastic shift from the chibouk and the *shisha* to the cigarette well indexed a wider economic and socio-cultural change in Egypt. In that country the luxury handmade cigarette stood for a modern but authentic lifestyle; its early introduction demonstrated a close interaction between producers and consumers in the initial creation of a new cigarette industry, and close cooperation between foreign and ethnic minority groups and the recently established colonial government. Cigarette retailing and promotion significantly contributed to the development of a local consumer culture, albeit one that was still limited to small groups of affluent local and foreign consumers. The globally successful Egyptian cigarette industry was an exception to the "division of labour" in manufacturing between the West and the rest. Egyptian firms were among the first cigarette producers worldwide, and were able to capitalize on the advantages of the exotic cigarette by adopting up-to-date marketing and advertising tools in promoting their goods.

The second part of the book complemented the first in providing insights into the local mass market for tobacco and cigarettes from the late nineteenth century until the nationalization of the industry in the late 1950s. It suggested a different understanding of demand and consumption among the less affluent, who constituted the majority of Egyptian consumers at that time (and have done so ever since). Relatively high expenditures on tobacco goods, and various consumer survival strategies that maintained this habit even under severe economic constraints showed the significance of smoking in daily life. The state played a large part in determining the quantity, quality, and price of tobacco consumption through taxation and regulation of the industry, and this had the strongest impact on consumers living closest to subsistence. The interference of the state in the tobacco market well exemplified the often downplayed role of states in shaping local consumption patterns.

The tobacco industry that supplied a modest market was heavily influenced by the shape of local demand. Production required economies of scale, to reduce manufacturing expenses to a minimum. As in most other Egyptian industries and services, this meant an inevitable convergence in the business. Mechanization occurred after a fierce struggle between managers and the embattled cigarette rollers. Over-production and cutthroat competition between manufacturers set the scene for BAT's large-scale involvement in Egypt, and in cooperation with the Matossians it transformed the market. Since the 1930s, the Eastern Tobacco Company dominated production in Egypt and this situation was further enforced when the state nationalized the industry.

Eastern's profits continued to be dependent on local consumption and closely tied to upheavals in local economic conditions. The company's history also demonstrated the emergence of a new Nasserite command economy in Egypt, albeit with more continuity than suspected in the past between the "*ancien*" and the Revolutionary regime: Nationalization of the economy came hard on the heels of the MESC experience of central control and planned economy during the war and an experiment in Egyptianization of the economy since 1947. Existing monopolies greatly facilitated a takeover by the state.

The third part of the book examined representations of tobacco consumption in the context of cultural politics roughly between 1920 and 1960, especially the canonization of an *effendi* perspective that gradually came to dominate national culture. This perspective created socio-cultural distinctions between *shisha*, cigarette, and cigar consumers based on "You are what you smoke", and it stratified smokers according to their smoking patterns: *shisha* for the *ibn al-balad*, cigarette for the *effendi*, and cigar for *ibn al-dhawat*. Even more so, representations of cigarette consumption among males, females, and youth served to identify dominant cultural classifications within the e*ffendiyya* and manifestations of power-relations, agreements, and contentions within this group. Although the book's third part took pains to distinguish representations from actual smoking patterns among Egyptians, it argued for some correlations between the two, which were reflected in relatively low, "veiled" female smoking and high, socially-boosted cigarette smoking among men. In this the third part showed that interactions within the market could not be fully understood without taking into account the role of culture in determining preference and choice.

The study of the Egyptian tobacco market opens the door for future research: we need to create a better typology of markets based on the unique qualities of a variety of commodities and services in individual economies, to build up scholarship which is more in tune with diversity in local markets. Even more so, current research on the contemporary Middle East is largely focused on the role of religion and politics, and such research downplays the significance of the economy in the life of countries in this region. The study of markets is a reaction to such exclusiveness. But to prove efficient both it, and study of the economy more broadly, need to be more aware of different notions of economic embeddedness in society, and intensify their attention to reciprocity between economic, socio-cultural, and political changes. This is especially so if we aim at development, economic and other, that will improve the quality of life of the peoples of the Middle East.

Contemporary production and privatization

The discussion below bridges past and present in examining the Egyptian tobacco industry since it was brought under state control, and its partial

privatization. It further examines current trends in tobacco consumption, and pays special attention to the anti-smoking campaign that started in the late 1990s. A focus on recent efforts to curb smoking illustrates the core argument of this book, namely that the market is best understood as a web of interactions, a complexity that needs to be examined as such if we want to develop, or in our case to eradicate, its operations.

In the period after nationalization Eastern remained a successful venture, enjoying government protection and an ever-growing, albeit sensitive, captive market. A somewhat laconic description in Eastern's website suggests that the company made a significant investment in machinery between 1975 and 1982,[1] a period of increase in revenues coming from a significant boost in sales during the "oil-boom", and again in the early 1990s, to prepare for partial privatization and competition from abroad. Privatization started in June 1995, when the holding company for Mining and Refractories, the state's economic body responsible for Eastern, sold 20 per cent of its stake in the company divided equally between employees and the public.[2] In 1999, the company made another public offering, and the state now holds 66 per cent of Eastern with the public holding the remaining 34 per cent. The Egyptian government has recently offered to allow a strategic investor to take another 15 per cent stake in Eastern, but it would not allow it to hold more than 49 per cent of the company's stock, or hold any managerial control.[3] Still more, the government is committed to keeping restrictions on price, which puts a cap on earnings. As a result, two large tobacco multinationals competing in the Egyptian tobacco market, Philip Morris and BAT, showed little interest in buying into Eastern and preferred to venture into the high-end segment of the cigarette market on their own. Still, Eastern is a profitable company, which, unlike others, the government will not be in a hurry to sell. Instead, the company has made long-term plans to become more efficient and increase production. It now operates a ten-year relocation plan, which will take it from its main production facilities in Giza to a new industrial complex in Sixth of October city, and enable it to consolidate production and distribution and to introduce new technology.[4]

The Egyptian government enjoys significant revenues received in the form of profits from Eastern; since the second half of the 1990s, the company's profits have been on the rise. In the year ending in June 2000 Eastern's net profits were £E266.07 million.[5] Total profits in the 2002 fiscal year increased by six per cent over the year before to £E2.3 billion.[6] The government enjoys even larger funds coming from indirect taxation on cigarettes and tobacco. In 1999, taxes on imported cigarettes amounted to 65 per cent of the final price, and 61 per cent on domestic ones.[7] In 1997 total revenues from taxes were $319 million, and they constituted 2.5 per cent of the total government tax revenue for that year. The significance of profits from the industry and revenues from taxation play against any anti-smoking campaign (see below).

The Egyptian government is also politically committed to securing relatively low prices for lower/popular brands, as part of its "social contract", now in retreat, of safeguarding reasonable consumer prices for the majority of the population. From October 1991, cigarettes became a "strategic commodity".[8] Prices of domestic cigarettes were therefore fixed between 1992 and 1998, with only a slight increase of 3 per cent in real price (adjusted for inflation) in 1999.[9] In real terms, prices have been falling throughout the period. Such control does not necessarily work against government financial interests because any price increase in the highly price-sensitive local market may cause a decline in sales and taxation. Keeping a low and controlled price also obstructs entry of competition from abroad.

So far tobacco multinationals have been barred from producing locally and competing with Eastern's tight hold over local demand. In January 1997, Philip Morris, the most active multinational player in Egyptian and other Middle Eastern markets, failed to pressure the Egyptian government to yield, even after the company solicited the help of the US ambassador in Egypt who met with the prime minister regarding this matter.[10] Eastern, on the other hand, has long produced international brands (including those of Philip Morris) under licence from abroad. Contemporary competition in the Egyptian cigarette market is only over the more expensive brands imported into the country and where Philip Morris enjoyed much success in eradicating other multinational competitors, BAT and Japan Tobacco.[11] In 2001 Philip Morris held 11.4 per cent of the Egyptian cigarette market,[12] most of its sales coming from the company's leading brand Marlboro, with local distribution managed by the Loutfy Mansour International Distribution Company.[13] Nevertheless, Eastern's sales constitute 85.9 per cent of the market, with the modest Cleopatra brand counting for some 80 per cent of the sales (the latter is the 1999 estimation).

Consumption – continuity with little change

Throughout the twentieth century, the majority of consumers opted for price rather than quality in buying their smoke, and the rise or fall in levels of tobacco consumption has been a good proxy for consumers' economic fortunes. Per capita cigarette consumption increased during the period of oil boom and economic upturn from the early 1970s to the mid-1980s, and then levelled off when this period ended and economic conditions deteriorated. This happened even though the government fixed cigarette prices from 1992.[14] While smoking is mostly limited to cheap brands, Egypt has the highest cigarette consumption level in the Middle East (and North Africa), a region known for its high levels of tobacco consumption.[15]

An estimated 28 per cent of Egypt's population smoke, that is, about 19 million smokers in 2000, with the numbers expected to grow in the future.[16] In 1999 Egyptians consumed 46,600 million cigarettes with average consumption

per adult (15 years and older) standing at 54 packs.[17] Aggregate numbers are misleading because the majority of smokers are male, as they were in the early twentieth century. In 1997–1998, 43.6 per cent of males over 18, 4.8 per cent of females over 18, 13.2 per cent of male youth between 14 and 18, and 3.3 per cent of female youth between 14 and 18 smoked.[18] As was true in the past, these numbers should be taken with caution, especially regarding women and youth. For the majority of females, smoking is still a "veiled" practice, not to be discussed with researchers by either the man or the woman of the household. Women's social and economic dependence on family of origin and their spouses, and even more so the limited opportunities for work and recreation outside the house, still play against the "freedom" to smoke.

Youth smoking is also under-reported; in many cases the young are not expected to smoke in the company of their family. Gradual development of youth culture in Egypt with more opportunities for (mostly male) adolescents to study and abundant leisure environments such as public gardens, shopping malls, the cinema, and especially coffeehouses away from home, partly explain the increase in smoking among Egyptian youth. A recent interview with a kiosk owner in the district of Shubra (a lower middle-stratum environment) revealed an interesting insight: "Sure, I sell cigarettes to kids from my neighbourhood – they buy one or two at a time, not by the pack . . . I know it is not good, but these kids work and come to buy with their own money. How can I refuse them?"[19] Although no doubt apologetic, the quotation above still demonstrates that entitlement to smoke and the freedom to do so comes from having a private income at one's disposal. Indeed, a 1998 study showed that working boys smoked twice as much as non-working boys.[20]

Heba Nasser's recent research into household tobacco expenditures and elasticity of demand for tobacco exposes different levels of tobacco expenditures in different social strata,[21] although the data mask variations in quantity and quality of tobacco products consumed. Families that buy tobacco goods lay out on average some 10 per cent of their total food and beverage expenditure on tobacco, which is also equal to about 6 per cent of those families' total expenditures, with no marked difference between urban and rural households.[22] These numbers are quite consistent with family expenditures on smoking in the early twentieth century, and with the findings of a more recent study of the late 1980s,[23] suggesting a continuous trend in family budget allocation, according to which a significant sum is dedicated to the man's pleasure.

Higher education of the head of the family in urban areas (although not in rural ones) lowers average family expenditures on its cigarettes and suggests higher household incomes or more awareness of the perils of smoking, or both.[24] The unemployed (mostly young people) in urban areas and those defined as family workers in the countryside tend to spend more on smoking than other categories of smokers, and this reflects the economic

hardships and possibly boredom and frustration encountered by the unemployed and fended off by smoking.[25] As may be expected, the poor spend more on their tobacco goods than the more affluent; households where the family head is employed in a better paid profession spend relatively less on their smoke.[26] Price elasticity of cigarettes (increase or decrease in demand in relation to increase or decrease in price) was -0.397, -0.412, and -0.385 for average national, urban, and rural households of smokers respectively, which means that a 1 per cent increase in the price of cigarettes will cause demand to fall by about 0.4 per cent.[27] If this prediction is true, the numbers prove the effectiveness of a tax raise in both increasing government revenues on tobacco and reducing consumption levels at the same time (see further below).

Since the late 1990s there has been a revival in *shisha* smoking in Egypt and elsewhere in the Middle East. While *shisha* consumption diminished in the past, it never stopped in popular circles or left the lower-class coffeehouse. The *shisha* and hand-rolled cigarettes have also replaced machine-made cigarettes for those suffering financial hardship in the past and in the present.[28] Nevertheless, the recent trend is more associated with a fashion of the middle and upper strata, and their renewed quest for authenticity (similar to the one discussed in chapters seven and eight).[29] Some, aware of the perils of cigarettes, also (wrongly) conceive the *shisha* as a less harmful way to smoke. Considered "traditional" and "local" *shisha* smoking among such crowds is quite different from lower-class consumption at the venues where smoking takes place, the tobacco used, and the meaning of smoking.

Smoking takes place in coffeehouses located in the older quarters of the city such as Sayyida Zaynab or Khan al-Khalili, but middle and upper-class puffers are not local residents; for such persons to frequent a popular coffeehouse is to engage in internal tourism to an exotic environment. Furthermore, *shisha* smoking has found its way to surroundings more common for such consumers – luxury hotels, chic coffeehouses, and restaurants. Fashion smokers are usually young students and professionals, and women smoke as well as men. When asked by reporters, women invariably suggest that smoking in public asserts their freedom and independence; these testimonies are then contrasted with the reaction of "the man in the street", sometimes even the waiter serving the *shisha*, who condemn women's smoking as inappropriate, disgraceful, and "mannish". Much like in the past, the "daring" act of smoking and the identity politics associated with it are mitigated by the safety of leisure environments and are expressed in a leisure activity – the risk involved in breaching social norms is limited and contained. Even more so, females who smoke the *shisha* often do so in the company of peers, and frequently with the woman's fiancé or spouse present, to assert implicit male authority and permission. Young females also smoke away from home and most often without the knowledge of their family, especially their fathers.

Ma'asal (tobacco mixed with molasses) is the most common *shisha* tobacco. Tobacco with apple fragrance is also a favourite, but other fruity flavours and even Cola and Cappuccino ones have been recently introduced. Much as with the early introduction of the cigarette into Egypt, local industry was quick to capitalize on this fashion, and Eastern built a new factory especially for that purpose. Production of mixed tobaccos also created an entry for an array of smaller manufacturers now taking advantage of the new demand in Egypt and abroad, especially in the Gulf. Increase in overall industrial production is bound to promote this fashion even more.

Half-hearted anti-smoking campaign

The anti-smoking campaign, which started to gain momentum since the late 1990s, throws into relief the complexity inherent in markets in which producers, consumers, multiple state players, and other organizations interact and put forward conflicting agendas regarding the future of smoking. The campaign is promoted by government ministries and other officials responsible for health and environmental issues, World Health Organization (WHO) workers, anti-globalists, and Islamic ulema. Triggering the local campaign is growing international awareness of the risks associated with smoking which has been enhanced recently by the large tobacco lawsuits (and settlements) in the United States. These also brought large sums of money to research on smoking and stepping up anti-smoke promotion worldwide. The entry of tobacco multinationals into developing markets, the result of their diminishing access to consumers in developed countries, draws additional fire from the anti-smoking campaign, now also associated with a struggle against "neo-imperialism". Local and global producers on the other hand do their best to stall legislation and regulation on advertising and consumption of tobacco, and they cooperate with state officials responsible for the industry and revenues from taxation on tobacco. Meanwhile consumers are more aware of the dangers of smoking, but are little impressed by them when it comes to quitting smoking.

Government anti-smoking action started with legislation in the form of a 1977 ban on radio and television cigarette advertising[30] and a 1981 law stipulating that health warnings must be printed on cigarette packs together with the tar and nicotine content of the cigarette.

Still, regulation rather than the legislation has always been the problem, and although the discussion below shows some progress, much remains to be done in this area. Until very recently control over advertising was irregularly enforced, and smoking in public spaces was the norm. Education aiming at modifying consumer behaviour and deterring potential young smokers was non-existent. In August 1997, a smoking control department was established in an attempt to coordinate all ministries involved in the anti-smoking

campaign.[31] In August 1998, representatives from the ministries of Environmental Affairs, Health, and Information, and the Medical Syndicate, convened to try to figure out ways to make the best of a paltry $300,000 allocated to anti-smoking activities.[32] That month the Egyptian Environment Ministry drafted a new law aimed at restricting smoking in government institutions and public spaces to special zones.[33] Some restrictions already existed earlier, but the intention of the law was to restrict public smoking even more. The Health Ministry also announced that it was launching a $300,000 anti-smoking campaign (interestingly enough, this was the sum allocated to the entire campaign). In August 2000, the Health Ministry further announced a new policy according to which it would only hire non-smokers from then on.[34]

From April 2001, the public campaign against smoking was stepped up, when the First Lady, Suzanne Mubarak, embraced its cause at an anti-smoking conference.[35] Consequently, the governor of Cairo announced that the police would ban persons under eighteen from frequenting coffee shops in Cairo, where the *shisha* is widely consumed.[36] In June 2002, the head of the People's Assembly Health Committee and the Medical Syndicate was successful in enforcing legislation against tobacco advertising and the sale of tobacco to minors (under eighteen), after a similar attempt in the early 1990s had failed (for the reasons for the failure see below). The space on the packet dedicated to the health warning was enlarged to a third. In October 2002, the governor of the southern province of Qena, in a step reminiscent of that of the Ottoman sultan some 350 years earlier, simply decreed a ban on *shisha* smoking in his province,[37] which as in the past will be all but impossible to enforce.

There are some signs of change on the ground. In February 1999, a shopkeeper was arrested for selling cigarettes to a minor.[38] The same month an advertising campaign for Eastern's Toshka cigarettes, a brand named after the grand state plan to develop the Western desert, was withdrawn after a prominent newspaper editor complained about the association of such a project with smoking.[39] In January 2000, an official from the Environmental Authority said in a televised interview that the Ministry had begun to crack down on smoking in public places.[40] The TV reporter of the same show suggested that this campaign was successful in controlling smoking in restaurants and public offices, most of which now have designated smoking areas. However, the $300,000 allocated to the educational and anti-advertising campaign, and the erratic way in which enforcement seems to be taking place, leave much to be desired. This is not least because the rank and file of those responsible for day-to-day persuasion and enforcement of anti-smoking measures still needs to be converted. For example, recent statistics show that 34.4 per cent of male doctors smoke, an average close to that of the entire male population (40 per cent), and such doctors would have to be coerced by the Medical Syndicate to stop smoking even during working hours.[41]

Possibly the biggest boost to the anti-smoking campaign so far has come from religious circles. As suggested in chapters one and eight, the religious establishment has been split over the permissibility of tobacco consumption ever since its introduction at the turn of the seventeenth century. Still, in 2000 tobacco was outlawed in a *fatwa* from the grand mufti of Egypt, a person highly ranked in the religious establishment.[42] Already in 1977 the *Fatwa* Committee of al-Azhar had issued an anti-smoking *fatwa*. But the most authoritative announcement was recently made by Sheikh Nasr Fadil Wassel, who ruled that smoking is sufficient grounds for divorce, thus enabling women to take action against their smoking husbands.

This *fatwa* did not go without controversy within the religious establishment, encountering an objection from Sheikh al-Azhar Mohammed Sayed Tantawi (who earlier served as the grand mufti himself) arguing that divorce was not the right social solution to the problem. However, it received high profile by government officials involved in the anti-smoking campaign. For example, Sami Ghanem, director of the Ministry of Health's anti-smoking programme, suggested that religious sheikhs (*imam*s) were now encouraged to preach on the dangers of smoking.[43]

Even before the current decree, the WHO representatives in Egypt praised the grand mufti for his earlier anti-smoking *fatwas*. The WHO staged a unique joint public effort between an international organization (perceived as Western) and a highly respected religious authority whose stand on other issues, such as supporting female circumcision, would not necessarily be in agreement with that of the WHO. The WHO's Tobacco Free Initiative (TFI), a task force located in Nasr city and aiming at research, education, and lobbying for legislation to help eradicate tobacco consumption, capitalized on the *fatwa* in its public anti-smoking action in Egypt, posting 80,000 posters featuring the *fatwa* on bulletin boards nationwide.[44]

The biggest obstacle so far to anti-smoking campaigners, government and non-government alike, has been the government itself and the high stakes that the state has in the tobacco industry and revenues from taxation. Government officials responsible for the industry continuously push for an increase in cigarette production quotas. The Planning and Budget Committee and the representative of the Minister of Finance, moreover, recently turned down an anti-smoking initiative to increase taxation on tobacco by 10 per cent. There seems to be genuine fear in such circles that an increase in taxation will hurt the overall take. During a debate on the request in the People's Assembly, the chairman of the Committee commented, "Breadwinners who smoke will not stop buying cigarettes even at higher prices and will cut into their families' budget."[45] The government is still half-heartedly committed to an economic policy according to which tobacco (considered a necessity) should be supplied cheaply to the majority of the population. Until such attitudes are replaced by a greater awareness of the

perils of smoking and a broader understanding of its overall negative contribution to the budget (in the form of medical expenses and loss of work capacity), they are bound to slow down the anti-smoking campaign.

The tobacco industry has long been lobbying the government against any change in the status quo.[46] In 1980, Philip Morris established contacts via Eastern with Hassan Soleib, vice-chairman of the People's Assembly Committee of Industrial Development, in an attempt to prevent any legislation against tobacco advertising. Soleib made it clear that no such legislation could pass without going through his committee first, and he asked Philip Morris for a "scientific paper" on smoking and health. The legislation passed only after direct intervention by the then president of Egypt Anwar al-Sadat. Philip Morris later enlisted the help of its representative in Egypt, Mustafa El-Beleidi, who was also chairman of the Egyptian Chamber of Commerce in further lobbying the government (especially the Minister of Health) in an attempt to delay implementation of the same law until the company's current and in preparation stock could be sold, and as long as possible thereafter. In 1993 an internal Philip Morris document entitled "The threat of a total ban on tobacco advertising in Egypt – strategy guidelines and action plan" outlined various ways in which the company, with aid from other factors in the tobacco industry, should react against a proposed law on advertising; the same year such a law failed to pass in the Egyptian People's Assembly. Information on industry intervention with the government is available only for tobacco multinationals, but one may assume that Eastern was also actively involved in lobbying regarding tobacco laws and regulation in Egypt.

Information on the harm associated with smoking is currently better disseminated in the public sphere than in the past. There exist fairly reliable statistics on smoking, information on the economics of tobacco, and the health hazards associated with smoking, including analysis of illness and death related to tobacco consumption. Chapter eight argued that smokers and their environment were partially aware of damage caused by smoking, even before the 1960s when health issues were amplified by Western and later other health establishments globally. Such awareness has grown ever since; a 1992 General Consumer Survey by Philip Morris for Egypt showed that the vast majority of smokers and non-smokers alike were also aware of the perils of passive smoking.[47] Furthermore, about two-thirds of interviewed smokers felt uncomfortable smoking in a non-smoking environment, demonstrating their awareness of health and other disturbing aspects of this habit.

So why is it that convincing smokers to stop still constitutes an up-hill battle? Significant physical and emotional habituation are an obvious answer. However, the difficulty in persuading smokers to kick the habit also lies in the undeniable fact that the cigarette really complements contemporary life on many levels. Consumers weigh personal costs and benefits in either rational

or irrational ways,[48] and they vote with their feet (or lungs) in favour of this habit. On a social-state level breaking habituation is an expensive thing: it is increasingly dealt with in developed countries by chemical solutions and personal and group counselling aimed at relieving the symptoms. But such resources are currently generally unavailable in Egypt and other developing countries through private or government suppliers. The rather pessimistic conclusion here is that as long as smoking remains a personal choice enhanced by social custom people will continue to do it.

The lingering and perhaps expansion of smoking is no doubt exacerbated by contemporary advertising. Cigarette promotion schemes and advertisements contribute to the fascination with smoking; they play on the human desire to enhance brands and entice persons to smoke. A study sponsored by Philip Morris, entitled "Marlboro Qualitative Image Study, Egypt, 1993," demonstrates the level of knowledge available to advertisers when they plan their advertising schemes.[49] In this study researchers conducted in-depth interviews (each lasting one and a half to two hours) with 80 smokers from which they pieced together the socio-cultural images of Marlboro and its smokers in relation to those of other cigarettes. The research sketched the "type" of those drawn to such images, their lifestyle, and ways to promote Marlboro to this group. It also came up with specific recommendations on brand management and how to improve the company's advertising campaign to better compete against other brands, especially Eastern's Cleopatra. In an age of globalization, the efforts of cigarette (and other) multinationals to sell more are augmented by local knowledge of indigenous advertising experts, such as the ones who provided Philip Morris with the above information.

With little change in consumers' attitudes, and manufacturers happy to increase production, an immediate boost to the anti-smoking campaign can only come from raising the price of cigarettes and other tobacco goods. This is a top-down, and some may argue a paternalistic, solution, but from past experience and current research it is one that could prove useful in limiting consumption. Better regulation of tobacco advertising and control on smoking in public places might help; so might education, including anti-smoking advertising. However, these measures require more determination than that currently demonstrated by those involved in the campaign, and many more resources dedicated to this cause. Religious sanctioning should further prove efficient in convincing smokers to quit and others, especially the youth, to never start, but it needs to be more resolute and better broadcast to be effective. Eradicating smoking in the short and medium term should therefore prove to be only partially successful.

NOTES

Introduction

1 For various definitions of markets in the social sciences see: Don Slater and Fran Tonkiss, *Market Society: Markets and Modern Social Theory* (Cambridge: Polity, 2001); Richard Swedberg, "Markets as Social Structures," in *The Handbook of Economic Sociology*, eds. Neil J. Smelser and Richard Swedberg (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1994).

2 David Hancock has used the notion of conversation in discussing the complexity of interactions in the Atlantic economy. See his: "Commerce and Conversation in the Eighteenth-Century Atlantic: The Invention of Madeira Wine," *Journal of Interdisciplinary History* 29, 2 (Autumn, 1998), 197–219.

3 Karl Polanyi, *The Great Transformation: The Political and Economic Origins of Our Times* (Boston: Beacon Press, 1970 [1944]).

4 The command and the free market economy are themselves relative terms. Chapter one discusses the limits of a command economy when examining the introduction of a tobacco market into an already established Ottoman economic system. The free market economy is also never entirely free: see Avner Offer, "Why Has the Public Sector Grown so Large in Market Societies? The Political Economy of Prudence in the UK, c. 1870–2000," http://www.nuff.ox.ac.uk/Economics/History/Paper44/44web.pdf.

5 On the distinctions between market-place and the free market see: Winifred Barr Rothenberg, *From Market-Places to a Market Economy: The Transformation of Rural Massachusetts, 1750–1850* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1992), chapter one; Don Slater, *Consumer Culture and Modernity* (Oxford: Polity, 1997), chapter two; Slater and Tonkiss, *Market Society*, chapter one.

6 My critical analysis here is inspired by Braudel's appraisal of Polanyi's work. See Braudel's introduction to his own study of markets in *Civilization and Capitalism, 15th–18th Century*, translated and revised by Siân Reynolds, volume 2 (New York: Harper & Row Publishers, 1981), 26. On the differences between Polanyi and Braudel's approaches see further in Thomas L. Haskell and Richard F. Teichgraeber (eds.), *The Culture of the Market: Historical Essays* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996 [1993]), introduction.

7 In comparison with research on developed economies, scholarship on the economic/business history of the Middle East is far less developed and the study of consumption just recently started to emerge. Much of the literature on the economic and business history of the Middle East was written in the context of debates between Modernization and Dependency in the study of this region's integration into the world economy and discussed below. For Consumption

Studies in Middle East studies see: Donald Quataert (ed.), *Consumption Studies and the History of the Ottoman Empire, 1550–1922* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 2000); Relli Shechter (ed.), *Transitions in Domestic Consumption in the Modern Middle East: Houses in Motion* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2003). For Egypt see: Mona L. Russell, *Creating the New Egyptian Woman: Consumerism, Education, and National Identity, 1863-1922* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2004); Nancy Young Reynolds, "Commodity Communities: Interweavings of Market Cultures, Consumption Practices, and Social Power in Egypt, 1907-1961," (Ph.D. dissertation, Stanford University, 2003).

8 Dissatisfaction with the dichotomy between the supply and demand was initially expressed in Neil McKendrick, John Brewer and J.H. Plumb, *The Birth of a Consumer Society: The Commercialization of Eighteenth-Century England* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1982). This book launched a debate over the interpretation of the British Industrial Revolution, and has become one of the seminal works in Consumption Studies.

9 The recent establishment of the journal *Enterprise and Society* and the work of business historians such as Andrew Godley, *Jewish Immigrant Entrepreneurship in New York and London, 1880–1914: Enterprise and Culture* (Basingstoke: Palgrave, 2001) further demonstrate the contemporary trend within economic/business history to extend research into interactions between supply and its socio-cultural and political environment.

10 Some examples for research into medieval and early-modern workings of markets are: Suraiya Faroqhi, *Towns and Townsmen of Ottoman Anatolia: Trade, Crafts, and Food Production, 1520–1650* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1984), chapter two; S.D. Goitein, *A Mediterranean Society* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1967), chapter three; Nelly Hanna, *Making Big Money in 1600: The Life and Times of Isma'il Abu Taqiyya, Egyptian Merchant* (Syracuse, NY: Syracuse University Press, 1998); Ira M. Lapidus, *Muslim Cities in the Later Middle Ages* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1984 [1967]), chapter four; Abraham Marcus, *The Middle East on the Eve of Modernity: Aleppo in the Eighteenth Century* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1989), chapter five; Bruce Masters, *The Origins of Western Economic Dominance in the Middle East: Mercantilism and the Islamic Economy in Aleppo, 1600–1750* (New York: New York University Press, 1988), chapter four; André Raymond, *Artisans et commerçants au Caire au XVIIIe siècle*, vol. 1 (Damascus: Institut Français de Damas, 1973).

11 See, for example, Amartya Sen, *Development as Freedom* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001 [1999]).

12 The literature on Modernization is huge, and encompasses a variety of disciplines including development studies, politics, sociology, anthropology, and history, each emphasizing different aspects of this theory. In the scholarship on the Middle East, two of the most quoted works inspired by Modernization have been Daniel Lerner, *The Passing of Traditional Society: Modernizing the Middle East* (New York: Free Press, Collier-Macmillan, 1958); Bernard Lewis, *The Emergence of Modern Turkey* (London: Oxford University Press, 1961). The term Dependency is most immediately associated with the work of André Gunder-Frank. Scholarship on the Middle East has largely followed Wallerstein's World-System analysis. However, the two approaches are close enough to be paired in the criticism above. I use the term Dependency because it better reflects the dichotomy between Modernization and its critique. For the Middle East such research was best developed in the work of Turkish scholars; see especially Huri Islamoğlu-Inan (ed.), *The Ottoman Empire and the World-Economy* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987); Reşat Kasaba, *The Ottoman Empire and the World Economy: The Nineteenth Century* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1988); Şevket Pamuk, *The Ottoman Empire and European Capitalism, 1820–1913: Trade, Investment, and Production* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press,

1987). This approach was until recently dominant in historiography of Middle Eastern economies.

13 I use the terms West, East, Core, and Periphery while discussing both theories in their own terms. It should be clear from the discussion that these terms are part of the problem in creating too sharp dichotomies between West and East on the one hand, and downplaying differences within these categories on the other.

14 An argument along the same lines is made by John Chalcraft "The Striking Cabbies of Cairo and Other Stories: Crafts and Guilds in Egypt, 1863–1914" (Ph.D. dissertation, New York University, 2001), 16–19. See his extensive footnotes for bibliography of both Modernization and Dependency scholarship on this topic.

15 Possibly the best manifestation of (and source of inspiration for) such a model of economic Modernization is: Walt Whitman Rostow, *The Stages of Economic Growth, a non-Communist Manifesto* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1960).

16 Donald Quataert, however, has consistently argued for the viability of the Ottoman economy before and after its integration into the world economy. See his *Ottoman Manufacturing in the Age of the Industrial Revolution* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993).

17 See for an exception to this rule: Roger Owen, "The Study of Middle Eastern Industrial History: Notes on the Interrelationship between Factories and Small-Scale Manufacturing with Special References to Lebanese Silk and Egyptian Sugar, 1900–1930," *International Journal of Middle East Studies* 16, 4 (November, 1984), 475–487. For more contemporary emphasis on the significance of small (and more flexible) production units see Chalcraft, "Striking Cabbies."

18 To counter this lacuna there is a growing interest in research on developing economies where the grey/hidden/informal/unofficial economy is sometimes as big as the official/measured one.

19 An example of such research is: Timothy James Burke, *Lifebuoy Men, Lux Women: Commodification and Cleanliness in Modern Zimbabwe* (London: Leicester University Press, 1996). Although more a neo-Marxist than Dependist, and writing from a Frankfurt school perspective, Burke's work sits well within Dependency's deep suspicion of Western-liberal economic, political, and cultural motives and modernity at large.

20 Ilan Kapoor, "Capitalism, Culture, Agency: Dependency versus Postcolonial Theory," *Third World Quarterly* 23, 4 (2002), 647–664; Timothy Mitchell (ed.), *Questions of Modernity* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2000). While Postcolonial and Subaltern theories do not discuss consumption of material goods and services directly, their focus on consumption of culture is readily translated into a discussion of the reception of commodities.

21 On cross-cultural consumption see: David Howes (ed.), *Cross-Cultural Consumption: Global Markets, Local Realities* (London: Routledge, 1996). On the meaning of similar commodities in different environments see: Krisztina Fehérváry, "American Kitchens, Luxury Bathrooms, and the Search for a 'Normal' Life in Postsocialist Hungary," *Ethnos* 67, 3 (2002), 369–400; Charlotte Jirousek, "The Transition to Mass Fashion System Dress in the Later Ottoman Empire," in Quataert (ed.), *Consumption Studies*; Daniel Miller, "Coca-Cola: A Black Sweet Drink from Trinidad," in *Material Cultures: Why Some Things Matter*, ed. Daniel Miller (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1998).

22 Sidney W. Mintz, *Sweetness and Power: The Place of Sugar in Modern History* (New York: Viking, 1985).

23 Hancock, "Commerce and Conversation."

24 Ben Fine and Ellen Leopold, *The World of Consumption* (London: Routledge, 2001 [1993]). See also: Ben Fine, "From Political Economy to Consumption," in *Acknowledging Consumption: A Review of New Studies*, ed. Daniel Miller (London: Routledge, 1995).

Chapter 1: Tobacco in Early-Modern Ottoman Economy and Daily Life

1 Ralph S. Hattox, *Coffee and Coffeehouses : The Origins of a Social Beverage in the Medieval Near East* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1985); Cengiz Kirli, "The Struggle over Space: Coffeehouses of Ottoman Istanbul, 1780–1845" (Ph.D. dissertation, State University of New York, 2000). See also: James Paul Grehan, "Culture and Consumption in Eighteenth-Century Damascus" (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Texas at Austin, 1999), 277–296.

2 In 1604, King James I published his *Counter Blaste to Tobacco* (originally issued anonymously), which ever since has remained the most famous manifesto against the consumption of tobacco. While presumably unaware of this pamphlet, opponents of tobacco consumption in the Ottoman Empire echoed most of the British king's arguments against the use of this plant, as discussed in this section.

3 Fernand Braudel, *Capitalism and Material Life, 1400–1800*, translated by Miriam Kochan (New York: Harper Torchbooks, 1973), 189–190.

4 Both King James I in his aforementioned *Counter Blaste to Tobacco* and Peçevi in his *Tarih* grudgingly admitted the value of tobacco in curing some "wet" diseases, a notion based on classical medical theories prevalent at the time. See E. Birnbaum, "Vice Triumphant: The Spread of Coffee and Tobacco in Turkey," *The Durham University Journal* XLIX (new series vol. XVIII) (1956–1957), footnotes 28, 25, pages 24 and 25 respectively.

5 Jordan Goodman, *Tobacco in History: The Cultures of Dependence* (London: Routledge, 1993), 47.

6 Edward J. Keall, "One Man's Mede Is Another Man's Persian; One Man's Coconut Is Another Man's Grenade," *Muqarnas* 10 (1993), 279, citing a Yemeni source: *Nashr al-'Arf* (Cairo: 1359 [1940] and 1376 [1956] 2: 646). This Yemeni source is cited in R. B. Serjeant, "The Market and Business Life, Occupations, the Legality and Sale of Stimulants," in *San'a: An Arabian Islamic City*, eds., R.B. Serjeant and R.B. Lewcock (London, 1983), footnote 213, 175.

Around 1840, when Tamisier visited Arabia, tobacco was called *bortugal* – reminiscent of its early introduction into this area by the Portuguese. Tamisier, *Voyage en Arabie*, vol. 1 (1840), 377, quoted in O. Comes, *Histoire, géographie, statistique du tabac* (Naples: Typographie Cooperative, 1900), 232.

7 Mishal Murqas, *Zira'at al-tibgh fi Lubnan*, part 1 (Beirut: Manshurat Markaz al-Abhath, 1974), 21, citing Patriarch Istifan al-Dawayhi, *Tarikh al-azmina*, for the year 1598. According to Cooke, *The Seven Sisters of Sleep* (London: no date), 25, quoted in Comes, *Histoire*, 163 and based on El-Js-Hakee, this happened between 1601–1603.

8 Berthold Laufer, *Introduction of Tobacco into Europe* (Chicago: Field Museum of Natural History, 1924), 61, citing J.T. Bent, *Early Voyages in the Levant* (no publisher, no date), 49. According to Katib Çelebi, who wrote in the 1660s, this happened around the year 1601. See: Daniel Goffman, *Izmir and the Levantine World, 1550–1650* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1990), footnote 75, 181–182. Birnbaum, "Vice Triumphant," (24) cited Peçevi, *Tarih* vol. 1, 365–366 for the same information. For slightly different dates by other sources see: Birnbaum, "Vice Triumphant," footnote 26, 24. Felix Klein-Franke, "No Smoking in Paradise, the Habit of Tobacco Smoking Judged by Muslim Law," *Le Museon* 106 (1993), 156, cites the Turkish historian Naima (1652–1715), who suggested that tobacco consumption spread in the year 1014H/1605–1606.

9 Braudel, *Capitalism*, 190.

10 Cited in Bernard Lewis, *Istanbul and the Civilization of the Ottoman Empire* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1963), 134.

11 Goffman, *Izmir*, 74–75.

12 Kirli, "The Struggle," chapter one.

13 Surat al-a'raf, verse 157. Quoted in Klein-Franke, "No Smoking," 158. On the religious debate over tobacco consumption as well as its legal interpretation see

Klein-Franke, "No Smoking;" 'Atiyya Saqr, *al-Islam wa-al-tadkhin* (Cairo: al-Azhar, 1412H/1991–1992).

14 Surat al-baqara, verse 28. Quoted in Klein-Franke, "No Smoking," 159.

15 Lewis, *Istanbul*, 136.

16 Rhoads Murphey, "Tobacco Cultivation in Northern Syria and Conditions of Its Marketing and Distribution in the Late Eighteenth Century," *Turcica* 17 (1985), 205, citing *Mühimme Defterleri*, vol. 85, 134, 185, cited in I. H. Uzunçarşılı, *Osmanlı Tarihi*, vol. 3 (reprinted Ankara, 1973), 191.

17 Peçevi, *Tarih*; Ahmad Refik, *Eski Istanbul* (Istanbul: no publisher, 1931), 33, both cited in Birnbaum, "Vice Triumphant," 26.

18 *Tarih-i Naime*, vol. 3 (Istanbul, 1283H/1866–67), 168–69, quoted in Murphey, "Tobacco Cultivation," 205. Kirli, "The Struggle" (49–58) also argues that this ban further took place in the context of the state's attempt to block political criticism from below and improve what it perceived as declining public morality of the period.

19 Keall, "One Man's," 279.

20 The description in the text is based on "Pipes and Meerschaum," in *Pipes: A Familiar History. The Pipes of Asia and Africa*, part 2 (Liverpool: The Office of the Copes Tobacco Plant, 1893); Comes, *Histoire*, 162–168, 229–247; Amelia B. Edwards, *A Thousand Miles up the Nile* (London: Darf Publishers, 1993 [1877]), 43–44; Grehan, "Culture and Consumption"; V.G. Kiernan, *Tobacco: A History* (London: Hutchinson Radius, 1991), 62–63, 128–130; Edward William Lane, *An Account of the Manners and Customs of the Modern Egyptians* (Hague: East-West Publications; Cairo: Livres de France, 1978 [1836]), 139–142, 331, 333; Abraham Marcus, *The Middle East on the Eve of Modernity: Aleppo in the Eighteenth Century* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1989), 232–233; Ed. de Montulé, *Voyage en Amérique, en Italie, en Sicile et en Egypte pendant les années 1816, 1817, 1818 et 1819* (Paris, 1821), 354–355; Henry Phillips, *History of Cultivated Vegetables* (1822), quoted in Laufer, *Introduction of Tobacco*, 63–64; Bayle St. John, *Village Life in Egypt*, vol. 1 (Boston, 1853), 140–141. George Viscount Valentina, *Voyages and Travels to India, Ceylon, the Red Sea, Abyssinia, and Egypt, in 1802, 1803, 1804, 1805, and 1806*, vol. 3, year 1806 (London, 1809), 341–342.

Graphic sources such as the *Description de l'Egypte: publiée par le ordre de Napoléon Bonaparte* (Köln: Benedikt Taschen, 1994) and Lane, *Manners and Customs*, have also been useful in studying Ottoman smoking habits.

21 Flaubert, hoping to seduce the bath-boy, rented a bath for himself: "five francs including masseurs, pipe, coffee, sheet and towel." "Letter from Flaubert to Louis Bouilhet," cited in Francis Steegmuller, ed., translator, *The Letters of Gustave Flaubert, 1830–1857* (Cambridge MA: The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1980), 111.

22 Pipe smoking in the coffeehouse is mentioned by practically every traveller to the Empire. On the association between tobacco and coffee consumption see: Michael Tuchscherer, "Les cafés dans l'Egypte Ottomane (XI–XVIII^{e} siècles)," in *Cafés d'Orient revisités*, eds. Hélène Desmet-Grégoire and François Georgeon (Paris: CNRS editions, 1997), 106–107. For the same in Damascus see: Brigitte Marino, "Cafés et cafetiers de Damas aux XIII^{e} et XIX^{e} siècles," *Revue du monde musulman et de la Méditerranée* 75–76 (1995), 284–285.

23 Lane, *Manners and Customs*, 335.

24 M. de Chabrol, "Essai sur les moeurs des habitants modernes de l'Egypte," *Description de l'Egypte*, vol. 2, part 2 (Paris, 1809–1828), 438; Lane, *Manners and Customs*, 335.

25 Keall, "One Man's," 278–279.

26 Rebecca C.W. Robinson, "Tobacco Pipes of Corinth and of the Athenian Agora," *Hesperia* 54, 2 (April-June, 1985), 151.

27 Cited in Alfred Dunhill, *The Pipe Book* (London: A & C Black, 1924), 152–153. Comes, *Histoire* (165), wrote that the pipe must have arrived in Egypt together with the introduction of tobacco.

28 In *Tobacco: Its History & Associations* (London, 1876), 204, F.W. Fairholt remarks that the Persian water-pipe (narghile) was first described by a western source in *Tabacologia* (1622).
29 Keall, "One Man's," 282.
30 Lane, *Manners and Customs*, 141.
31 Na'ama Brosh, "'Have a Nargileh': Water Pipes from the Islamic World" (catalogue for an exhibition of the same title, Jerusalem: The Israel Museum, 2000), 13.
32 Jan Rogoziński, *Smokeless Tobacco in the Western World, 1550–1950* (New York: Praeger, 1990), 150.
33 Kenneth M. Cuno, *The Pasha's Peasants: Land, Society, and Economy in Lower Egypt, 1740–1858* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992), 54, citing 'Abd al-Rahman Ibn Hasan al-Jabarti, *'Aja'ib al-athar fi al-tarajim wa-al-akhbar*, vol. 4 (Bulaq, 1880), 103–104.
34 Bowring, for example, visited Mehmet Ali Pasha in Shoubra. He found the Pasha "smoking one of the splendidly decorated pipes – dazzeling with multitudinous diamonds which are used on great festivities …" *Bowring Report*, PRO FO 97/326, 328–329. For another description see: Sonnini, *Voyages dans la Haute et Basse Egypte*, vol. 1 (Paris, 7. d. l. Rep.), 268, quoted in Comes, *Histoire*," 166–167.
35 Lane, *Manners and Customs*, 140–141.
36 For a detailed illustration of the chibouk including the mouthpiece and the decorated *hajar* see: *Description* (1994), vol. 2, plate 2, 738.
37 On the role of pipes in Ottoman archaeology see: Robinson, "Tobacco Pipes;" Uzi Baram, "Clay Tobacco Pipes and Coffee Cup Shreds in the Archeology of the Middle East: Artifacts of Social Tensions from the Ottoman Past," *International Journal of Historical Archeology* 3, 3 (1999), 137–151.
38 See, for example, "The master of the house smokes," *Description* (1994) vol. 2, plate 92, 669; "The grand vizier receiving foreign ambassadors," Giulio Ferrario, *Il Costume Antico e Moderno* (Milan, 1828) reproduced in Carla Coco, *Secrets of the Haram* (New York: The Vendome Press, 1997), 148. For written descriptions see: Lane, *Manners and Customs*, 138. Also: Hasselquist, *Voyage dans le Levant*, translated by Eydous, vol. 1 (no place, 1769), 115; Denon, *Voyage dans la Basse et la Haute-Egypte* (no place, 1802), 80, both quoted in Comes, *Histoire*, 164. For the same practice in Damascus see: Briano, *La Siria e l'Asia Minore* (no place, 1841), 311, quoted in Comes, *Histoire*, 242. For Istanbul see: H. Phillips, *History of Cultivated Vegetables* (no place, 1822) no page, quoted in Laufer, *Introduction of Tobacco*, 64. For the Ottoman army see: Kiernan, *Tobacco: A History*, 139, citing *The Times* [London] 18 February 1856: 9.
39 Lane, *Manners and Customs*, 140–141; Phillips, *History of Cultivated Vegetables*, quoted in Laufer, *Introduction of Tobacco*, 64.
40 In 1777, Irwin, *Voyage à la Mer Rouge*, translated by Parraud, vol. 1 (no place, 1792), 209, quoted in Comes, *Histoire*, 163, suggested that the Egyptians carried their pipes wherever they went. At the turn of the nineteenth century, Denon, *Voyage*, 80, quoted in Comes, *Histoire*, 164, reported the same practice.
41 Briano, *La Siria*, 36, quoted in Comes, *Histoire*, 243. The same was true for coffee drinking.
42 Lane, *Manners and Customs*, 317–318.
43 See, for example: Delaporte, *Le Voyageur François,* 4th edition (no place, 1772), 94, quoted in Comes, *Histoire*, 240.
44 Fanny Davis, *The Ottoman Lady: A Social History from 1718 to 1918* (New York: Greenwood, 1986), 165.
45 See analysis of the Ottoman command economy in: Mehmet Genç, "Ottoman Industry in the Eighteenth-Century: General Framework, Characteristic, and Main Trends," in *Manufacturing in the Ottoman Empire and Turkey, 1500–1950*, ed. Donald Quataert (Albany, NY: SUNY Press, 1994), 59–68; Dina Rizk Khoury, *State and Provincial Society in the Ottoman Empire: Mosul, 1540–1834* (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1997), 3–10; Şevket Pamuk, *A Monetary History of the*

Ottoman Empire (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2000), 11–13; Traian Stoianovich "Cities, Capital Accumulation, and the Ottoman Balkan Command Economy, 1500–1800," in *Cities and the Rise of States in Europe, A.D. 1000 to 1800*, eds. Charles Tilly and Wim P. Blockmans (Boulder: Westview, 1994), 63–65.

46 This trend is best discussed in Khoury, *State and Provincial*, 3–10. For the special case of Istanbul in the Ottoman economic system see: Edhem Eldem "Istanbul from Imperial to Peripheralized Capital," in *The Ottoman City Between East and West, Allepo, Izmir, and Istanbul*, by Edhem Eldem, Daniel Goffman, and Bruce Masters (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), 141–142.

47 Comes, *Histoire*, 167. On tobacco cultivation in Asyut see *Ibid*, 167, citing Hamilton, *Remarks on Several Parts of Turkey*, part. 1 (1809), 423. On tobacco cultivation in al-Fayyum see Comes, *Histoire*, 167, citing Gomard, *Mémoire sur le Lac Moeris comparatif au Lac du Fayoum* (no place, 1800), 3.

48 Goffman, *Izmir*, 74. In 1637, Olearius, *Voyage . . . en Moscovie, Tartarie et Perse*, translated by Wicquefort (no place, 1727), 832, mentions cultivation of tobacco around Baghdad, quoted in Comes, *Histoire*, 229.

49 Olearius, *Voyage*, 999, quoted in Comes, *Histoire*, 225.

50 Charles Issawi (ed.), *The Economic History of the Middle East 1800–1914: A Book of Readings* (London: University of Chicago Press, 1966), 60.

51 Rogoziński, *Smokeless Tobacco*, 61–64.

52 Murphey, "Tobacco Cultivation," 205.

53 *Ibid*. 210.

54 This is according to Evliya Çelebi, who visited Cairo in the 1670s. See: Gabriel Baer, *Egyptian Guilds in Modern Times* (Jerusalem: The Israel Oriental Society, 1964), 13.

55 Issawi, *The Economic History*, 60.

56 H.A.R. Gibb and Harold Bowen, *Islamic Society and the West: A Study of the Impact of Western Civilization on Moslem Culture in the Near East*, second edition, vol. 1, part 1 (London: Oxford University Press, 1951), 304; Charles Issawi, *The Fertile Crescent, 1800–1914* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1988), 298, citing "Report on Tobacco Cultivation in Syria," CC Damas, vol. 2 (1845–1848); Lavallee, *Géographie univ. de Malte-Brum*, vol. 5 (no place, 1862), 75, quoted in Comes, *Histoire*, 239.

57 Sestini, *Viagio di Ritorno da Bassora a Costantinopoli* (no place, 1788), 166, quoted in Comes, *Histoire*, footnote 5, 167. A list of merchandise imported into Egypt during 1775 can be found in Chabrol, "Essai sur les moeurs," *Description*, vol. 2, part 2, 499–503.

58 Hamilton, *Remarks*, 373, quoted in Comes, *Histoire*, 167. Tobacco was included in a list of commodities imported from Syria to Damietta in 1783. See: Daniel Panzac, *Commerce et navigation dans l'Empire Ottoman au XVIII^e siècle* (Istanbul: Les Editions ISIS, 1996) table 12, 49; Pockoke, *Voyages en Orient*, translated by Eydous (no place, 1779), 88, quoted in Comes, *Histoire*, footnote 16, 239; Sestini, *Viagio*, 127, quoted in Comes, *Histoire*, 239.

59 Belzoni, *Viaggi in Egitto ed in Nubia* (no place, 1831), 107, quoted in Comes, *Histoire*, 167; André Raymond, *Artisans et commerçants au Caire au XVIII^e siècle*, vol. 1 (Damascus: Institut Français de Damas, 1973), 338.

60 For descriptions of tobaccos consumed in Egypt see: Karl Baedeker (ed.), *Egypt: Handbook for Travellers*, part 1, (Leipzig, 1885), 27; Lane, *Manners and Customs*, 141.

61 Yacoub Artin, *Essai sur les causes du renchérissement de la vie matérielle au Caire dans le courant du XIX^e siècle (1800 à 1907)* (Cairo: Imp. de l'Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale, 1907), 129; M. Girard, *Description,* vol. 2, part 1, 646–647; Lane, *Manners and Customs*, 316.

62 On the *Wakala* see: Raymond, *Artisans*, vol. 1, 254–260. See also: Nelly Hanna, *Making Big Money in 1600: The Life and Times of Isma'il Abu Taqiyya, Egyptian Merchant* (Syracuse, NY: Syracuse University Press, 1998), chapter six.

63 Raymond, *Artisans*, vol. 1, 339 calculated this number based on the *Description*.

64 Cuno, *The Pasha's Peasants*, 53, citing the registers of the Islamic law-court of al-Mansura.
65 Gibb and Bowen, *Islamic Society*, vol. 1, part 1, 291.
66 Raymond, *Artisans*, vol. 1, 273.
67 Raymond, *Artisans*, vol. 2, 514. The development of a pipe industry was not unique to Egypt. The bazaar in Izmir also had a quarter devoted to the selling of pipes. Comes, *Histoire*, 245, citing Hamilton, *Researches in Asia Minor*, vol. 1 (no place, 1842), 57. Around 1862, Damascus had 43 manufacturers of pipes. Comes, *Histoire*, 243, citing Lavallee, *Géographie*, vol. 5, 80, citing Laorty-Hadji.
68 M. Jomard, "Description abregée de la ville et de la citadelle du Caire," *Description*, vol. 2, part 2, 722.

Chapter 2: Building a New Industry in Egypt

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3 Charles Issawi (ed.), *The Economic History of the Middle East 1800–1914: A Book of Readings* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1966), 63, citing *Ziraat Tarihinie bir Bakiş* (Istanbul: n.p., 1938).
4 Nannie May Tilley, *The Bright-Tobacco Industry, 1860–1929* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1948), 504.
5 Peter Burke, "The Invention of Leisure in Early Modern Europe," *Past and Present*, 146 (February, 1995), 136–150.
6 This survey was reprinted in "Al-tadkhin 'ind al-kuttab wa-al-sahafiyyun,"*Akhar Sa'a al-Mussawara*, 2 June 1934: 31–32.
7 Roger Owen, *The Middle East in the World Economy, 1800–1914* (London: I.B. Tauris, 1993), 68.
8 Stanley Lane-Poole, *Cairo; Sketches of Its History, Monuments, and Social Life* (New York: Arno Press, 1973 [1892]), 122.
9 George Edward Lockwood, "A History of the Origin and the Development of Egyptian Cigarettes," *Tobacco* [New York] 24 April 1924: 11.
10 Compton Mackenzie, *Sublime Tobacco* (New York: Macmillan Company, 1958), 265–266; Robert Sobel, *They Satisfy: The Cigarette in American Life* (Garden City, New York: Anchor Books, 1978), 11; Tilley, *Bright Tobacco*, 506.
11 James Morris Morgan, *Recollections of a Rebel Reefer* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1917), 271.
12 Athanase G. Politis, *L'Hellénisme et l'Egypte moderne,* vol. 2 (Paris: Librairie Felix Alcan, 1930), 333.
13 Fanny Davis, *The Ottoman Lady: A Social History from 1718 to 1918* (New York: Greenwood, 1986), 165–66; Godfrey Goodwin, *The Private World of Ottoman Women* (London: Saqi Books, 1997), 177.
14 Lucy M. J. Garnett, *Home Life in Turkey* (New York: no publisher, 1909), 276–77, quoted in Davis, *Ottoman Lady*, 165–66.
15 Quoted in Trevor Mostyn, *Egypt's Belle Epoque: Cairo 1869–1952* (London: Quartet Books, 1989), 6–7.
16 C.B. Klunzinger, *Upper Egypt: Its People and Its Product* (New York: AMS Press, 1984 [1878]), 11–12.
17 Rebecca C.W. Robinson, "Tobacco Pipes of Corinth and of the Athenian Agora," *Hesperia* 54, 2 (April-June, 1985), 150–161; Uzi Baram, "Clay Tobacco Pipes and Coffee Cup Shreds in the Archeology of the Middle East: Artifacts of Social Tensions from the Ottoman Past," *International Journal of Historical Archeology* 3, 3 (1999), 137–151.

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19 Mishal Murqas, *Zira'at al-tibgh fi Lubnan*, part 1 (Beirut: Manshurat Markaz al-Abhath, 1974), 24–25; Donald Quataert, "Ottoman Reform and Agriculture in Anatolia, 1876–1908," (Ph.D. dissertation, University of California, Los Angeles, 1973), 262–263.
20 This and the following information on the Regie is taken from: Donald Quataert, *Social Disintegration and Popular Resistance in the Ottoman Empire, 1881–1908: Reactions to European Economic Penetration* (New York: New York University Press, 1983), 14–17.
21 This large number suggests that these "factories" were in reality small workshops.
22 Arnold Wright and H.A. Cartwright, eds., *Twentieth Century Impressions of Egypt* (London: Lloyd's, 1909), 485.
23 Issawi, *The Economic History of the Middle East,* 60, citing Verney and Dambmann, *Les Puissances etrangères dans le Levant, en Syrie et en Palestine* (no place, 1900), 183–184.
24 Yusuf Nahas, *Misr wa-zira'at al-dukhkhan* (Cairo: Matba'at al-Balagh, 1926), 9. An earlier French version of the same book was published in 1915.
25 *Ibid.* 10.
26 "Commercial and Customs Convention between Greece and Egypt," article 5. PRO FO 881/4939.
27 Between 1859–1880 and 1881–1890, the share of tobacco leaf exported from Greece to Egypt rose from 14.82 per cent to 41.24 per cent of the total volume of tobacco leaf exports. In the later period, tobacco exports to Egypt were higher than to any other country. Lois P. Labrianidis, "Industrial Location in Capitalist Societies: The Tobacco Industry in Greece, 1880–1980," (Ph.D. dissertation, London School of Economics, 1982), table 3.3.3, 116.
28 Politis, *L'Hellénisme*, 348, citing the archives of the Greek consulate-general in Alexandria. Nahas, *Misr*, 11–12 also mentioned that a group of tobacco merchants petitioned the Egyptian government in 1887 and 1888 for an increase in tax on local tobacco. He and Politis may well have been referring to the same group. See also Alfred Chamass, "La Culture du Tabac et du Tombac en Égypte," *Almanach de la société sultanienne d'agriculture* (Cairo: Imprimerie de l'Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale, 1916), 188.
29 Wright and Cartwright, *Twentieth Century*, 485.
30 Nahas, *Misr*, 12.
31 A feddan is a unit of land area, approximately 4,200 square metres.
32 *Times* [London] 29 October 1889: 5.
33 Achille Sékaly, "La culture du tabac au point de vue de l'économie Égyptienne," *L'Egypte contemporaine,* Cinquième Année (January 1914): footnote 1, 357, citing Ph. Gelat, *Répertoire de la legislation et de l'administration Énnes, 1882–1892,* vol. 2, no page.
34 Sékaly, "Culture du tabac," 354–355.
35 See: Sékaly, "Culture du tabac," 356–362; Nahas, Misr, 16–17; Isma'il Muhammad Zayn al-Din, *Al-zira'at al-Misriyya fi 'ahd al-ihtilal al-Britani* (Cairo: Al-Hay'a al-Misriyya al-'Amma li-l-Kitab, 1995), 119–121.
36 On the revision in tobacco taxation that year and subsequently see *Annuaire statistique, 1914,* 283. Full details for this and other government serials are found in the Bibliography.
37 *Annuaire statistique, 1914* table 16, 432.
38 Compare *Annuaire statistique, 1909* table 2, 39 with table 3, 40.
39 See *Annuaire statistique, 1909* tables 2–5, pages 39–43, and pages 64–67 for data and discussion regarding changes in government revenues between 1880 and 1908.
40 The idea that an increase in the tobacco tax could supplement government earnings was not unique to the Egyptian government and should be seen in a

wider imperial context. For example, in 1909 the government of India introduced tariff on imported tobacco and tobacco products to compensate for a fall in revenues from opium sales. See: Howard Cox, *The Global Cigarette: Origins and Evolution of British American Tobacco, 1880–1945* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), 202.

41 On the final demise of the guilds see John Chalcraft, "The Striking Cabbies of Cairo and Other Stories: Crafts and Guilds in Egypt, 1863–1914," (Ph.D. dissertation, New York University, 2001), 384–405.

42 Sékaly, "Culture du tabac," 362.

43 Octave Borelli, *Choses politiques d'Egypte, 1883–1895* (Paris: Ernest Flammarion, éditeur, no date), 395.

44 Al-Hukuma al-Misriyya, Nizarat al-Dakhiliyya, *al-Qawanin al-idariyya wa-al-jina'iyya*, vol. 2 (Cairo: al-Matba'a al-Amiriyya, 1914), 93–101.

45 The question of monoculture was raised in P.M. Masraff, "Le Sériciculture et les dangers de la monoculture en Egypte." *L'Egypte contemporaine*, 16 (November 1914 – January 1915): 89–101. It was also discussed in Nahas, *Misr*. See further: I.G. Lévi's review of Nahas' book in *L'Egypte contemporaine* 16 (November 1914 – January 1915): 351–353; Sékaly, "Culture du tabac." During this period, the problems associated with monoculture and the debate over re-introduction of tobacco cultivation was also repeatedly discussed in various articles in *al-Muqattam* and *al-Hilal*.

46 The British Chamber of Commerce of Egypt in Alexandria, "List of Companies Established in Egypt" (Alexandria: British Chambers of Commerce of Egypt, 1905), 45; Sékaly, "Culture du tabac," footnote 2, 355.

47 For further discussion of this point regarding the sugar and other industries see: Uri M. Kupferschmidt, *Henri Naus Bey: Retrieving the Biography of a Belgian Industrialist in Egypt* (Brussels: Académie Royale des Sciences d'Outre-mer, 1999), 15.

48 Cox, *Global Cigarette: Origins and Evolution*, 203, 205.

49 *Ibid*. 203–217.

50 Kupferschmidt, *Henri Naus*, 18.

51 Politis, *L'Hellénisme*, 334.

52 This practice continued even after the establishment of the cigarette industry. Until the massive introduction of cigarette making machines in the wake of the First World War, the ready-made cigarette was a luxury item for most Egyptians.

53 The following is a list of the five major Greek cigarette manufacturers and the dates of their arrival to Egypt. In cases where no information about the year of immigration was available I give the date when they first established their businesses in Egypt: Gianaclis arrived in Egypt in 1864; Vafiadis established his business in 1870; Melachrino arrived in Egypt in 1873; Kiriazi had already started his business by 1874; Dimitrino opened his business in 1886. Information was taken from Manos Haritatos and Penelope Giakoumakis, *A History of the Greek Cigarette* (Athens: The Hellenic Literary and Historical Archive, 1997), 131, 142, 147, 152, 159.

54 Haritatos and Giakoumakis, *A History*, 152; Politis, *L'Hellénisme*, 331.

55 Information supplied by Professor Roger Owen. Also: Laurence R. Murphy, *The American University in Cairo: 1919–1987* (Cairo: American University in Cairo Press, 1987), 14, citing Herbert W. Vandersall, "Reminiscences regarding AUC property, Staff Conference, 29 October 1947," AUC History file, AUC archives, Campus Caravan, [Cairo] 1 December 1950. See image of Gianaclis's factory in Midan Ismailiya c. 1900 in *Cairo and Egypt and Life in the Land of the Pharaohs*, sixth edition (London: Simpkin, Marshall Ltd., 1902–03), 177.

56 The description of the production process is based on: G. Lecarpentier, *L'Egypte moderne* (Paris: Librairie Pierre Roger, 1925), 82–84; Jean Vallet, *Contribution à l'étude de la condition des ouvriers de la grande industrie au Caire* (Valence: Imprimerie Valentinoise, 1911), 96–101; Wright and Cartwright, *Twentieth Century*, 486–487.

57 'Abd al-Rahman Farid, *Al-dukhkhan wa-iqtisadiyyatihi* (Alexandria: Al-Dar al-'Arabiyya li-l-Kitab, no date), 75; Sékaly, "Culture du tabac," 349–350.
58 Wright and Cartwright, *Twentieth Century*, 486.
59 Around 1899, Frederic Courtland Penfield, *Present-Day Egypt* (New York: The Century Co., 1899), 76, estimated that nearly 100 export establishments operated in Cairo. See also: Baron A. Forgeur, "L'Industrie de Cigarettes en Egypt," (no place, no date), 2, quoted in Pierre Arminjon, *La Situation économique et financière de l'Egypte* (Paris: Librairie genérale du droit & de jurisprudence, 1911), 318; *al-Nashra al-Iqtisadiyya al-Misriyya* 8 August 1920: 303.
60 Politis, *L'Hellénisme*, 335.
61 Alfred Chandler, *The Visible Hand: The Managerial Revolution in American Business* (Cambridge, MA: The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1995 [1977]), 491, 499.
62 See, for example, the business history of the Matossian family in chapter five.
63 Hovagim Artin Sirkejian, tobacco producer, personal interview, Cairo, 6 May 1997.
64 Owen, *Middle East*, 235.
65 Joel Beinin and Zachary Lockman, *Workers on the Nile: Nationalism, Communism, Islam, and the Egyptian Working Class, 1882–1954* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1987), 50.
66 *The Census of Egypt Taken in 1907, 280.*
67 A calculation based on Politis shows that the combined number of workers in the five biggest Greek factories alone was about 2,200. The two non-Greek big export factories, Laurens and Soussa Frères, employed many other workers, and so did numerous smaller factories and workshops that operated at that period. The large Armenian factories that mainly produced economy cigarettes and other tobacco products employed even more workers than the Greek factories (see chapter five).
68 *The Census of Egypt Taken in 1917,* 367.
69 Vallet, *Contribution*, 96.
70 Arminjon, *La Situation économique et financière de l'Egypte* (Paris, 1911), 152, cited in Vallet, *Contribution*, 9.
71 Vallet, *Contribution*, 9.
72 Beinin and Lockman, *Workers*, 37.
73 Unless otherwise mentioned, the following account is based on: Ra'uf 'Abbas Hamid Muhammad, *Al-Haraka al-'umaliyya fi Misr, 1899–1952* (Cairo: Dar al-Katib al-'Arabi li-l-Tiba'a wa-al-Nashr, 1967), 50–51; Beinin and Lockman, *Workers*, 50–54; Amin 'Izz al-Din, *Tarikh al-tabaqa al-'amila al-Misriyya mundu nash'atuha hatta Thawrat 1919* (Cairo: Dar al-Katib al-'Arabi li-l-Tiba' wa-al-Nashr, no date), 56–59, 63–67; Vallet, *Contribution*, 100–102, 141–143.
74 Beinin and Lockman, *Workers*, 51.
75 *Al-Ahram* 7 July 1896: 2; *Al-Sharq* 24 August 1896: 3; Vallet, *Contribution*, 141.
76 *Al-Ahram* 24 November 1896: 2.
77 Beinin and Lockman, *Workers*, 51.
78 See Beinin and Lockman, *Workers*, for the Tramway workers' strike in Cairo, 57–66. Chalcraft has expanded this argument in his "Striking Cabbies," 405–456.

Chapter 3: Selling Quality Cigarettes in a Globalizing World

1 Alfred Chandler, *The Visible Hand: The Managerial Revolution in American Business* (Cambridge, MA: The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1995 [1977]); Sherman Cochran, *Big Business in China: Sino-Foreign Rivalry in the Cigarette Industry, 1890–1930* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1980); Howard Cox, *The Global Cigarette: Origins and Evolution of British American Tobacco, 1880–1945* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000).

2 Until mechanization of production after the First World War, most Egyptians consumed packets of tobacco and wrapping-paper.
3 Edhem Eldem, Daniel Goffman, and Bruce Masters, *The Ottoman City between East and West: Aleppo, Izmir, and Istanbul* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999); Fatma Müge Göçek, *Rise of the Bourgeoisie, Demise of Empire: Ottoman Westernization and Social Change* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1996); Peter Gran, *Islamic Roots of Capitalism, 1769–1840* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1979).
4 Report sent from Cairo, 14 November 1873. "Commercial No. 3 (1874). Reports by Her Majesty's Consuls on British Trade Abroad" (London, 1874), 108–109 (PRO ref. bks. 327.41 con).
5 Alexander Kitroeff, *The Greeks in Egypt, 1919–1937: Ethnicity and Class* (London: Ithaca Press, 1989), 127.
6 On the reconstruction of Azbakiyya under Ismail see: Doris Behrens-Abouseif, "Azbakiyya and Its Environs: From Azbak to Ismail, 1476–1879," *Supplément aux annals islamologique*, cahier 6 (Cairo, 1985).
7 Information on Pera is taken from Zeynep Çelik, *The Remaking of Istanbul: Portrait of an Ottoman City in the Nineteenth Century* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1993 [1986]), 133–137.
8 Arnold J. Bauer, *Goods, Power, History: Latin America's Material Culture* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001), 160–162.
9 For the development of Azbakiyya, termed Haussmannization, see: J.C. McCoan, *Egypt* (New York, 1898), 56. Frederic Courtland Penfield, *Present-Day Egypt* (New York, 1899), 46, refers to "Haussmannized avenues" in a description of a traditional merchant's vision of Cairo in a dream.
10 Penfield, *Present-Day Egypt*, 40.
11 I base this conclusion on the addresses of cigarette outlets, which manufacturers printed in advertisements, cigarette packets, price-lists, and stationery. Another source is tourist and other guidebooks to Egypt. Robert Baxter, a member of the British Cigarette Packet Collectors club, who specializes in Egyptian brands, further supplied me with very helpful lists of manufacturers, their brands (including dates of manufacturing), and the location of their outlets. Another source is A. Zicaliotti, a British (of Greek origin) manufacturer of Eastern cigarettes who reported on the Egyptian cigarette industry in his *Record of the Cigarette Industry* (London: Cigar & Tobacco World, 1904).
12 Karl Baedeker, *Egypt: Handbook for Travellers* (Leipzig: Karl Baedeker Publishers, 1908), 36.
13 *Al-Hilal* 1 September 1899: 691–692.
14 E.R.J. Owen, *Cotton and the Egyptian Economy, 1820–1914: A Study in Trade and Development* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1969), 298, citing *Jaridat al-Tijara al-Misriyya* 22 October 1906: 4–5.
15 Zicaliotti, *Record*, 29–30. The prices above were recorded in pre-1971 British Pounds. Each such Pound contained twenty shillings and each shilling twelve pence (referred to as d). For the conversion of the older Pound to current prices see: http://www.eh.net/hmit/ppowerbp/.
16 I have retained the spelling of these places as printed in this manufacturer's advertisement in *The Lands of Sunshine: A Practical Guide to Egypt and the Sudan* (Cairo: Whitehead, Morris and Co., 1908), 80.
17 For a description of retail practices in the bazaar see: Edward William Lane, *An Account of the Manners and Customs of the Modern Egyptians* (Hague: East-West Publications; Cairo: Livres de France, 1978 [1836]), 316–320.
18 *The Sphinx*, 30th anniversary issue, 1933, quoted in Manos Haritatos and Penelope Giakoumakis, *A History of the Greek Cigarette* (Athens: The Hellenic Literary and Historical Archive, 1997), 152.
19 G. Lecarpentier, *L'Egypte moderne* (Paris: Librairie Pierre Roger, 1925), 79.
20 B.W.E. Alford, *W.D. & H.O. Wills and the Development of the U.K. Tobacco Industry, 1786–1965* (London: Methuen, 1973), table 41, 335.

21 Haritatos and Giakoumakis, *A History*, 152.
22 On the history of press advertising in Egypt before the First World War see: Mona L. Russell, *Creating the New Egyptian Woman: Consumerism, Education, and National Identity, 1863–1922* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2004), chapter 4; Relli Shechter, "Press Advertising in Egypt: Business Realities and Local Meaning, 1882–1956," *Arab Studies Journal* 10:2/11:1 (Fall 2002–Spring 2003), 45–48.
23 *Ibid.* 47.
24 *Al-Muqattam* 21 October 1896: 2.
25 *Al-Muqattam* 10 April 1897: 3.
26 This analysis is based on examination of *The Egyptian Gazette* in January and February of 1895, 1900, 1905, 1910, and 1913.
27 See a chapter on the cigarette industry in Arnold Wright and H.A. Cartwright, eds., *Twentieth Century Impressions of Egypt* (London: Lloyd's, 1909), 485–96. See also information on Ed Laurens in *The Lands of Sunshine*, 91–94.
28 Thomas Richards, *The Commodity Culture of Victorian England: Advertising and Spectacle, 1851–1914* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1990).
29 Haritatos and Giakoumakis, *A History*, 82.
30 On the Egyptian sex industry see Bruce Dunne, "Sexuality and the 'Civilizing Process' in Modern Egypt" (Ph.D. dissertation, Georgetown University, 1996). On the laws regulating prostitution see: Al-Hukuma al-Misriyya, Nizarat al-Dakhiliyya, *al-Qawanin al-idariyya wa-al-jina'iyya*, vol. 2 (Cairo: Al-Matba'a al-Amiriyya, 1914), 511–517.
31 I base this analysis on packets obtained from the following sources: *The Cigarette Packet*, special Egyptian issue, 1996. Robert Baxter, the editor of this issue also, supplied me with additional photocopies of packets. In addition to illustrations in his book *A History of the Greek Cigarette*, I have used photocopies of cigarette packets that Manos Haritatos kindly allowed me to reproduce from his private collection.
32 Thomas Richards, *Commodity Culture*, 195.
33 Athanase G. Politis, *L'Hellénisme et l'Egypte moderne*, vol. 2 (Paris: Librairie Felix Alcan, 1930), 364–366.
34 For samples of Ottoman packets see Haritatos and Giakoumakis, *A History*, 112–127.
35 See, for example, Melachrino cigarette packet in Haritatos and Giakoumakis, *A History*, 98. See also figure 4.1.
36 Haritatos and Giakoumakis, *A History*, 146.
37 Dimitrino's price-list, 1915.
38 Per Seyersted, ed., *The Complete Works of Kate Chopin*, vol. 2 (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1970, c1969), 570–573.
39 "Al-tadkhin 'ind al-kuttab wa-al-sahafiyyun," *Akhar Sa'a al-Mussawara* 2 June 1934: 31–32.
40 *Annuaire statistique, 1914* table 9, 306–307. Full details for this and other government serials are found in the Bibliography.
41 Jan Rogoziński, *Smokeless Tobacco in the Western World, 1550–1950* (New York: Praeger, 1990), 51–52.
42 Zicaliotti, *Record*, 26.
43 Information kindly supplied by Professor Roger Owen based on a private set of Cromer's Papers.
44 "Bright Outlook Foreseen by Turkish Cigarette Expert," *Tobacco* [New York] 24 April 1924: 29, 37.
45 Haritatos and Giakoumakis, *A History*, 159.
46 *Ibid.* 131.
47 Compton Mackenzie, *Sublime Tobacco* (New York: Macmillan Company, 1958), 265–266; Robert Sobel, *They Satisfy: The Cigarette in American Life* (Garden City, New York: Anchor Books, 1978), 11–13; Nannie May Tilley, *The Bright Tobacco Industry, 1860–1929* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1948), 506.

48 Zicaliotti, *Record*, 20.
49 *Ibid.* 20.
50 Matthew Hilton, *Smoking in British Popular Culture, 1800–2000* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2000), 27–28.
51 Alford, *W.D. & H.O. Wills*, 150.
52 Howard Cox, "International Business, the State and Industrialization in India: Early Growth in the Indian Cigarette Industry, 1900–1919." *The Indian Economic and Social History Review* 27,3 (1990): 292, citing O. Goswami, "Then Came the Marwaris," *The Indian Economic and Social History Review* 22, 3 (1985): 225.
53 Tilley, *Bright Tobacco*, 506–507.
54 Haritatos and Giakoumakis, *A History*, 172.
55 See the advertisement in Chris Mullen, *The Cigarette Pack Art* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1979), 81.
56 NARA RG 59, "Despatches from U.S. Consuls in Cairo, Egypt, 1864–1906," T-41, reel # 20.
57 Lockwood, "A History," 13.
58 Wright and Cartwright, *Twentieth Century*, 491.
59 Haritatos and Giakoumakis, *A History*, 171; Robert K. Heimann, *Tobacco and Americans* (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1960) 206; Tilley, *Bright Tobacco*, 507.
60 Maurice Corina, *Trust in Tobacco: The Anglo-American Struggle for Power* (London: Michael Joseph, 1975), 62–63.
61 Heimann, *Tobacco and Americans*, 210.
62 Haritatos and Giakoumakis, *A History*, 172.
63 Corina, *Trust in Tobacco*, 62.
64 Mackenzie, *Sublime Tobacco*, 281.
65 Sobel, *They Satisfy*, 18; Lockwood, "A History," 11.
66 Robert Carey Goodman III, "The Role of the Tobacco Trade in Turkish-American Relations, 1923–1929," (MA thesis, University of Richmond, 1987), 6–9.
67 Jordan Goodman, *Tobacco in History: The Culture of Dependence* (London: Routledge, 1993), 103–104.
68 Tara Parker-Pope, *Cigarettes: Anatomy of an Industry from Seed to Smoke* (New York: The New Press, 2001), 12.
69 Politis, *L'Hellénisme*, 339–340; Achille Sékaly, "La culture du tabac au point de vue de l'économie Egyptienne," *L'Egypte contemporaine*, Cinquième Année (January 1914), 347–349.
70 In Egypt manufacturers constantly warned their customers against counterfeits in their advertisements. See: Gamsaragan in *al-Muqattam* 21 October 1896: 2; Melkonian in *The Egyptian Gazette* 8 February 1913: 5. The government fought counterfeits with some success. In April 1908, the police arrested and brought to justice an Armenian cigarette manufacturer who used the trademark of Matossian to promote his cigarettes. *Al-Akhbar* 10 April 1908: 2. See also *al-Muqattam* 25 March 1916: no page, about the imitation of cigarette packets produced by Gamsaragan. The reports on police action against counterfeiters suggest that counterfeits were fairly common.
71 Sékaly, "Culture du tabac," 347.
72 Wright and Cartwright, *Twentieth Century*, 485.
73 *Wadi al-Nil* 6 January 1916: 4. The same information is repeated in *al-Akhbar* 7 January 1916: 2.
74 Kitroeff, *Greeks in Egypt*, 99–100.
75 PRO FO 571/5022.
76 Kitroeff, *Greeks in Egypt*, table 5.3, 103.
77 Haritatos and Giakoumakis, *A History*, 142.
78 "Al-'Azma al-mukhayyima 'ala sina'at al-saja'ir wa-tijaratha," *Misr al-Sina'iyya* December 1925: 34.
79 Commission de Conciliation du Travail, "VII Rapport (Juillet 1921 – Mars 1922)" (Alexandria: Nouvelle C. Molco & Cie, 1922), table 2, page 4, note 2.

80 Haritatos and Giakoumakis, *A History*, 131.
81 On modernism as an international project see further in Timothy Mitchell (ed.), *Questions of Modernity* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2000).

Chapter 4: Inconspicuous Consumption

1 Bent Hansen, *The Political Economy of Poverty, Equity, and Growth: Egypt and Turkey* (Oxford: Published for the World Bank by Oxford University Press, 1991), 24.
2 Hansen, *Political Economy of Poverty*, 45. See also his: "Income and Consumption in Egypt, 1886/1887 to 1937," *International Journal of Middle Eastern Studies* 10, 1 (1979): 27–47.
3 Roger Owen and Şevket Pamuk, *A History of Middle East Economies in the Twentieth Century* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1999), 35. The authors borrowed this term from the title of the conclusion in Robert Tignor, *State, Private Enterprise, and Economic Change in Egypt, 1918–1952* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1984), 243, and the title of chapter three in Bent Hansen's *Egypt and Turkey* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1991), 64.
4 Charles Issawi, *Egypt in Revolution* (London: Oxford University Press, 1963), 118 and 156, cited in Galal Amin, *Whatever Happened to the Egyptians? Changes in Egyptian Society from 1950 to the Present* (Cairo: The American University in Cairo Press, 2000), 32.
5 Amin, *Whatever Happened*, citing A. Barakat, *al-Milkiyya al-zira'iyya bayn thawratayn, 1915–1952* (Cairo: Al-Ahram Center for Political and Strategic Studies, 1978), 61. For more information on land distribution and ownership during this period see Hansen, *Political Economy of Poverty*, 47–49. A feddan is a unit of land area, approximately 4,200 square metres.
6 See, for example, Deborah S. Davis, *The Consumer Revolution in Urban China* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2000); *Ethnos* 67:3 (2002), a special issue on consumption in ex-Soviet countries; Karl Gerth, *China Made: Consumer Culture and the Creation of the Nation* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2003); Maris Boyd Gillette, *Between Mecca and Beijing: Modernization and Consumption among Urban Chinese Muslims* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2000); Mark Liechty, *Suitably Modern: Making Middle-Class Culture in a New Consumer Society* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2003); Susan E. Reid and David Crowley (eds.), *Style and Socialism: Modernity and Material Culture in Post-War Eastern Europe* (London: Berg, 2000).
7 This insight is inspired by Unni Wikan's seminal work. See her "Living conditions amongst Cairo's poor," *Middle East Journal* 35, 1 (1985), 7-26; *Tomorrow, God Willing*: *Self-made Destinies in Cairo* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1996). See also Diane Singerman, *Avenues of Participation: Family, Politics, and Networks in Urban Quarters of Cairo* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1995); Diane Singerman and Homa Hoodfar (eds.), *Development, Change, and Gender in Cairo: A View from the Household* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1996). For the anthropology of poverty and Development Studies more broadly the argument made above is true in reverse in that insights made in the study of consumption may help to explain better life under economic constraints.
8 Pierre Arminjon, *La Situation économique et financière de l'Egypte* (Paris: Librairie générale du droit & de jurisprudence, 1911), 321; Achille Sékaly, "La culture du tabac au point de vue de l'économie Egyptienne," *L'Egypte contemporaine*, Cinquième Année (January 1914), 350.
9 Arminjon, *Situation économique*, 321.
10 Jean Vallet, *Contribution à l'étude de la condition des ouvriers de la grande industrie au Caire* (Valence: Imprimerie Valentinoise, 1911), 11. £E =P.T.100. P.T. was also known as piaster or qirsh.

11 Reported in *Annuaire statistique, 1922–23*, 187. Full details for this and other government serials are found in the Bibliography. The study originally appeared as "Report on Cost of Living," *Monthly Agricultural Statistics*, November 1920, supplement.
12 Muhammad Amin Anis, *A Study of the National Income of Egypt* (Cairo: S.O.P. Press, 1950), table 6, 681.
13 This calculation is based on a table in appendix two of the report: "Purchasing Power of Egypt's Agricultural Population," PRO BT 60/29/2, pages 65–67.
14 On the marginality of the countryside in Egypt see Martina Reiker, "The Sa'id and the City: Subaltern Spaces in the Making of Modern Egyptian History" (Ph.D. dissertation, Temple University, 1997).
15 In 1963, the American University in Cairo conducted the first survey on cigarette consumption in Cairo and Alexandria. The American University in Cairo, Social Research Center, *Tobacco Smoking in Cairo and Alexandria* (Cairo: no publisher, 1964).
16 Abdel Aziz El-Sherbini and Ahmed Fouad Sherif, "Marketing Problems in an Underdeveloped Country – Egypt," *L'Egypte contemporaine* XLVII, 285 (July 1956), table 13, 23.
17 M.D. Mostafa and M.W. Mahmoud, "Analytic Study of the Relationship between Consumption Expenditure on Different Groups of Commodities and Total Annual Consumption Expenditure for the Household Sector, Urban and Rural Regions" (Cairo: I.N.P., Memo No. 497, 1964), 62–67. Quoted in Hansen, "Income and Consumption," 38.
18 "Purchasing Power," PRO BT 60/29/2, page 67.
19 Fathi Kamil, *Ma'a al-haraka al-niqabiyya al-Misriyya fi nisf qarn* (Cairo: Dar al-Ghad al-'Arabi, 1985), 8.
20 G.H. Selous, Department of Overseas Trade, *Report on the Economic and Commercial Conditions in Egypt, 1936* (London: His Majesty's Stationery Office, 1937), 96.
21 Henry Habib Ayrout, *The Egyptian Peasant*, translated by John Alden Williams (Boston: Beacon Press, 1963 [first published in French in 1938]), 82.
22 See the ads for Mahmud Fahmi and Misr li-l-Dukhakhan cigarettes in *al-Ahram* 23 April 1936: 1 and 28 June 1939: 3 respectively.
23 Harper W. Boyd, Jr., Abdel Aziz el-Sherbini, and Ahmad Fouad Sherif, "Channels of Distribution for Consumer Goods in Egypt," *Journal of Marketing* 25, 6 (October 1961): 29.
24 Naguib Mahfouz, *Midaq Alley*, translated by Trevor Le Gassick, second edition (Washington DC: Three Continents Press, 1977 [first published in Arabic 1947]), 109; the same practice is described on page 194.
25 Winifred S. Blackman, *The Fellahin of Upper Egypt* (London: Frank Cass, 1968 [1927]), reports various occasions for handing out or sharing cigarettes on pages 82–83, 93, 114.
26 Ayrout, *The Egyptian Peasant*, 81. The increase in demand for sugar among the fellahs in a period of greater squeeze that followed the commercialization of agriculture, but also with the establishment of large-scale cultivation and production of sugar in Egypt, echoed Mintz's description of the reciprocity between increase in demand for sugar among British working class since the Industrial Revolution and the establishment of plantations and sugar refineries in the Caribbeans. See: Sidney W. Mintz, *Sweetness and Power: The Place of Sugar in Modern History* (New York: Viking, 1985). On the Egyptian Sugar industry see: Uri M. Kupferschmidt, *Henri Naus Bey : Retrieving the Biography of a Belgian Industrialist in Egypt* (Brussels: Academie royale des sciences d'outre-mer, 1999).
27 One oka equals 1.248 kilos.
28 *Annuaire statistique, 1921*, 178.
29 M.F. Abou-el-Fetouh, "A Quantitative Study of the Tobacco Industry in Egypt with Particular Reference to the E.T.C. Firm," (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Lancaster, 1976), table 35, page XLVIII.

30 Sir Percy Loraine, Egyptian High Commissioner, to Arthur Henderson, British Foreign Minister, in response to a Foreign Office enquiry into this matter. PRO FO 371/15416 J.
31 On the development of the tariff system see *Annuaire statistique, 1921*, 178–179.
32 E. Homan Mulock, Department of Overseas Trade, *Report on the Economic and Financial Situation of Egypt Dated June, 1926*, 10.
33 *Al-Tijara* 3 October 1926: 1.
34 On the debate in the industry see "al-'Azma al-mukhayima 'ala sina'at al-saja'ir wa-tijaratha," *Misr al-Sina'iyya* December 1925: 32–36.
35 Mulock, *Report . . . 1926*, 10.
36 *Al-Muqattam* 6 July 1896: 2.
37 On the law see: PRO FO 371/13880.
38 Alfred Chamass, "La Culture du Tabac et du Tombac en Egypte," *Almanach de la société sultanienne d'agriculture* (Cairo: Imprimerie de l'Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale, 1916), 189–90.
39 Al-Bank al-Ahli al-Misri, "al-Nashra al-iqtisadiyya" 7, 1 (Cairo, 1954), 207.
40 It is interesting to observe that this fashion of smoking tobacco leaves mixed with other substances, which initially stemmed from financial constraints, gradually came to represent "tradition" in smoking the water-pipe. Today, with the revival of water-pipe smoking in Egypt and elsewhere, tobacco mixtures are still popular, and this practice has lately been rejuvenated by the introduction of various new tastes.
41 Abou-el-Fetouh, "Quantitative Study," 3.
42 See information on this matter in PRO FO 371/13880.
43 This paragraph is based on American Legation to State Department, 12 August 1938. NARA, RG 59, 883.61331/2, 1930–1939. See also a dispatch on this matter from the British Embassy in Alexandria to the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs dated 22 August 1938, PRO FO 371/21956.

Chapter 5: Manufacturing and Selling in the Local Market

1 Hovhannes Kh. Topuzyan, *Yegiptosi Haykakan Gaghuti Patmutyun (1805–1952)* [History of the Armenian Colony of Egypt, 1805–1952] (Yerevan: Haykakan SSH Ga Hratarakchutyun, 1978), 101.
2 A list of shareholding companies is in *Annuaire statistique, 1910,* 332. Full details for this and other government serials are found in the Bibliography.
3 Muhammad Rifa'at al-Imam, *Al-Arman fi Misr* (Cairo: Matba'at al-Nubar, 1995), 92.
4 Ellis Jay Goldberg, "Tinker, Tailor, and Textile Worker: Class and Politics in Egypt 1930–1954," (Ph.D. dissertation, University of California, Berkeley, 1983), 313, citing Amin 'Izz al-Din, *Tarikh al-haraka al-'amila al-Misriyya fi al-thalathinat* (Cairo: Dar al-Sha'b, 1972), 183–84.
5 Ali Soliman, *L'Industrialisation de l'Egypte* (Lyon: Bosc Frères, M et L. Riou, 1932), 156.
6 'Iryan Mala'ika, *Markaz Misr al-iqtisadi* (Cairo: Matba'at Ra'msis, 1923), 97.
7 For further discussion on the number of workers in the Egyptian cigarette industry see chapter two.
8 Advertisement on the back cover of Suren Partevean, *Egyptahay Tarets'uyto'e* [Egyptian-Armenian Almanac] year 5, 1918 (Alexandria: Gasabean printers, no date).
9 *BAT Bulletin* April 1921: 268–269.
10 Harilaos N. Carvellis, tobacco merchant, personal interview, Cairo, 24 April 1997. On distribution and advertising of cigarettes by BAT in Aden see: *BAT Bulletin* September 1926: 150–154. For BAT's marketing operation worldwide see: Sherman Cochran, *Big Business in China: Sino-Foreign Rivalry in the Cigarette Industry,*

1890–1930 (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1980); Howard Cox, *The Global Cigarette: Origins and Evolution of British American Tobacco, 1880–1945* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000).

11 See, for example, advertisement by Charisto Demitropolo in *al-Ahram*. Quoted in Yunan Labib Rizk, "Al-Ahram: A Diwan of Contemporary Life," *Al-Ahram Weekly* 23–29 October 1997; Advertisement by Hovhannes Pembedjian in the *Armenian-Egyptian Almanac, 1918,* 55.

12 *Al-Muqattam* 21 October 1896: 2.

13 Advertisement in *The Egyptian Gazette* 8 February 1913: 5.

14 Jordan Goodman, *Tobacco in History: The Culture of Dependence* (London: Routledge, 1993), 230–231; B.W.E. Alford, *W.D. & H.O. Wills and the Development of the U.K. Tobacco Industry, 1786–1965* (London: Methuen, 1973), 150.

15 Alford, *W.D. & H.O. Wills,* 269; Howard Cox, "Growth and Ownership in the International Tobacco Industry: BAT 1902–1927," *Business History* 31, 1 (January 1989): 45–46.

16 Virginia is a generic name for a bright flue cured tobacco. Virginia tobacco was originally associated with cultivation in the British colony of Virginia, but cultivation of Virginia seed tobaccos around the world was common in the period under discussion. Jan Rogoziński, *Smokeless Tobacco in the Western World, 1550–1950* (New York: Praeger, 1990), 51.

17 According to Cox, *Global Cigarette: Origins and Evolution,* appendix 3, British exports of manufactured cigarettes to Egypt only started in 1913. Because BAT produced the majority of ready-made cigarettes in Britain, we may assume that BAT was responsible for most of the cigarette imports to Egypt. In 1913, the value of tobacco products imported into Egypt from Britain almost doubled, from £E5,677 to £E10,026; *Commerce Extérieur, 1912* table 1, 108; *Commerce Extérieur, 1913* table 1, 118.

18 Howard T. Cox, "The Global Cigarette: BAT and the Spread of International Business before 1939" (Ph.D. dissertation, University of London, 1990), 385.

19 Cox, "Growth and Ownership," 52–53.

20 *Annuaire statistique, 1910,* 328.

21 Arnold Wright and H.A. Cartwright, eds., *Twentieth Century Impressions of Egypt* (London: Lloyd's, 1909), 495.

22 Jean Vallet, *Contribution à l'étude de la condition des ouvriers de la grande industrie au Caire* (Valence: Imprimerie Valentinoise, 1911), 103 reports a workers' strike against mechanization that year. Although he does not name Maspero, the coincidence of the introduction of machines and BAT activity in Egypt is surely not accidental.

23 Cox, "Growth and Ownership," 53, citing *Indian Trade Journal* XIII, 162 (1909): 126; *Tobacco* 339 (April 1909): 61.

24 *Annuaire statistique, 1909,* table 3, 40.

25 Robert Carey Goodman III, "The Role of the Tobacco Trade in Turkish-American Relations, 1923–1929" (MA thesis, University of Richmond, 1987), 5.

26 Cox, "Growth and Ownership," footnote 38, 65, citing *Tobacco* 338 (April 1913): 26; Goodman III, "Role of the Tobacco," 10.

27 Achille Sékaly, "La culture du tabac au point de vue de l'économie Égyptienne," *L'Egypte contemporaine,* Cinquième Année (January 1914), 362.

28 *Al-Muqtataf* 32, 4 (April 1907): 318–320; *Al-Muqtataf* 32, 10 (October 1907): 849.

29 Cox, "Global Cigarette," 207.

30 Goldberg, "Tinker, Tailor," 302–330; Joel Beinin and Zachary Lockman, *Workers on the Nile: Nationalism, Communism, Islam, and the Egyptian Working Class, 1882–1954* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1987), 85–87, 125–126, and passim; Amin 'Izz al-Din, *Tarikh al-tabaqa al-'amila al-Misriyya mundu nash'atuha hatta Thawrat 1919* (Cairo: Dar al-Katib al-'Arabi li-l-Tiba'a wa-al-Nashr, no date), 161–174; Amin 'Izz al-Din, *Tarikh al-tabaqa al-'amila al-Misriyya* (Cairo: Dar al-Sha'b, 1970), 74–79.

31 Lois P. Labrianidis, "Industrial Location in Capitalist Societies: The Tobacco Industry in Greece, 1880–1980" (Ph.D. dissertation, London School of Economics, 1982), 124.
32 Vallet, *Contribution*, 264–268.
33 *Ibid.* 102–103.
34 Frederic Courtland Penfield, *Present-Day Egypt* (New York, 1899), 76.
35 Vallet, *Contribution*, 103.
36 *Ibid.* 142; *al-Muqattam* 5 March 1909: 5.
37 According to a later report in *al-Muqattam* 15 March 1909: 5, only eight workers were dismissed. The conflict was resolved when management agreed to take back two workers and to employ the rest when it needed their services.
38 Beinin and Lockman, *Workers*, 52.
39 *Wadi al-Nil* 6 October 1915: 5.
40 *Al-Ahram* 17 March 1915: 5; *Wadi al-Nil* 17 March 1915: 4.
41 *Al-Akhbar* 25 July 1917: 2.
42 *Al-Akhbar* 29 July 1917: 2.
43 *Al-Akhbar* 6 September 1917: 2.
44 *Al-Muqattam* 18 October 1917: 5; *Wadi al-Nil* 18 October 1917: 3.
45 *Al-Akhbar* 7 November 1917: 2; *Wadi al-Nil* 8 November 1917: 3.
46 *Al-Ahram* 11 February 1918: 3.
47 *Wadi al-Nil* 24 February 1918: 2.
48 *Al-Muqattam* 18 March 1918: 3.
49 *Wadi al-Nil* 19 March 1918: 2.
50 *Al-Muqattam* 20 March 1918: 3; *Al-Muqattam* 21 March 1918: 3; *Wadi al-Nil* 20 March 1918: 2; *Wadi al-Nil* 21 March 1918: 1–2; *Wadi al-Nil* 22 March 1918: 2; *al-Ahram* 22 March 1918: 2.
51 *Wadi al-Nil* 1 April 1918: 2.
52 *Misr* 25 April 1918: 1; *Misr* 26 April 1918: 2; *Wadi al-Nil* 26 April 1918: 1–2; *Wadi al-Nil* 27 April 1918: 2.
53 *Al-Ahram* 26 June 1918: 2; *Al-Ahram* 3 July 1918: 2–3; *Misr* 20 June 1918: 2; *Wadi al-Nil* 27 June 1918: 2.
54 *Misr* 30 December 1918: 2.
55 This paragraph is based on Marius Deeb, "Labour and Politics in Egypt, 1919–1939," *International Journal of Middle Eastern Studies* (*IJMES*) 10, 2 (May 1979), 187–203; Ellis Goldberg, "Peasants in Revolt: Egypt 1919," *IJMES* 24, 2 (May 1992), 261–280; Zachary Lockman, "British Policy toward Egyptian Labor Activism, 1882–1936," *IJMES* 20, 3 (August 1988), 265–285.
56 *Al-Watan* 16 May 1919: 2.
57 *Al-Minbar* 6 July 1919: 2; *Wadi al-Nil* 8 July 1919: 2; *al-Umma* 9 July 1919: 2.
58 *Al-Minbar* 23 August 1919: 1; *al-Muqattam* 23 August 1919: 2; *Wadi al-Nil* 23 August 1919: 3.
59 *Al-Minbar* 15 September 1919: 3; *al-Muqattam* 15 September 1919: 2.
60 Beinin and Lockman, *Workers*, 116.
61 *Al-Umma* 12 May 1919: 2.
62 *Al-Umma* 12 January 1920: 2.
63 *Al-Minbar* 22 January 1920: 2.
64 *Al-Muqattam* 11 October 1919: 2; *al-Muqattam* 14 October 1919: 3.
65 Vallet, *Contribution*, 104–05.
66 *Al-Muqattam* 12 November 1919: 2.
67 *Al-Umma* 15 March 1920: 3.
68 *Al-Umma* 22 October 1919: 1.
69 *Wadi al-Nil* 12 November 1920: 1.
70 'Izz al-Din, *Tarikh* (1970), 77–78.
71 *Al-Nashra al-Iqtisadiyya al-Misriyya* 25 July 1920: 239.
72 Goldberg, "Tinker, Tailor," 313.
73 Beinin and Lockman, *Workers*, 125–26.

74 Commission de Conciliation du Travail. "VII Rapport (Juillet 1921 – Mars 1922)" (Alexandria: Nouvelle C. Molco & Cie, 1922), 2.
75 Alexander Kitroeff, *The Greeks in Egypt, 1919–1937: Ethnicity and Class* (London: Ithaca Press, 1989), footnote 40, 107, citing Labour Questions FO 371/7751. Elinor Burns, cited in Goldberg, "Tinker, Tailor," 311, estimated that machines cut production costs by about 90 per cent.
76 Commission de conciliation, "VII Rapport," 2.
77 *Al-Mahrusa* June 19 1924: 4; *al-Kashkul* July 11 1924: 2; *Wadi al-Nil* July 13 1924: 5.
78 *Al-Kashkul* 14 November 1924: 4.
79 *Al-Musawwar* March 12 1926: 11.
80 Hovagim Artin Sirkejian, tobacco producer, personal interview, Cairo, 6 May 1997.
81 E. Homan Mulock, Department of Overseas Trade, *Report on The Economic and Financial Situation of Egypt Dated April* 1923, 22.
82 Kitroeff, *Greeks in Egypt,* 108–109.
83 Sirkejian, interview.

Chapter 6: Multinational Interference and Its Demise

1 By revolutionary I mean both the nature of the transition, and the historiography of the Nasserite regime that emphasized the newness and radical characteristics of this process.
2 PRO FO 371/6380 E1273.
3 The factory was first established in 1911. Howard T. Cox, "The Global Cigarette: BAT and the Spread of International Business before 1939" (Ph.D. dissertation, University of London, 1990), 386.
4 Cox, "Global Cigarette," 207; Robert Baxter, "Mysteries of Egypt," *The Cigarette Packet*, special Egyptian issue, 1996, 11.
5 Howard Cox, *The Global Cigarette: Origins and Evolution of British American Tobacco, 1880–1945* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), 285.
6 Cox, "Global Cigarette," 386.
7 *Ibid.* 386.
8 Hershlag only mentions that these factories were British. However, BAT was the only British cigarette company active in the Middle East at that time. Z.Y. Hershlag, *Introduction to the Modern Economic History of the Middle East* (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1980), 271.
9 Cox, *Global Cigarette: Origins and Evolution*, 286.
10 PRO FO 141/779. The report did not name BAT, but discussing the struggle between rollers and employers it suggested that "The general demand was for liberal compensation and in some cases, wealthy firms did give their workmen a sum of money (L.E. 50 a head in one case), but such liberality was unfortunately impossible to other firms that were not so wealthy." BAT fitted well the category of "wealthy firms". Even more so, such policy corresponded closely with the company's welfare-capitalism in Egypt (see a discussion on this matter later in this chapter).
11 Report on Eastern in *The Stock Exchange Yearbook of Egypt, 1942,* 400. Full reference for this financial serial is found in the Bibliography.
12 Alexander Kitroeff, *The Greeks in Egypt, 1919–1937: Ethnicity and Class* (London: Ithaca Press, 1989), 108.
13 These companies were: Maspero Frères, Nicolas Soussa, Tabacs et Cigarettes Papatheologou S.A.E., Kevork Ipekian, A. Gamsaragan, and S. Mavrides. *The Stock Exchange Yearbook, 1942,* 400.
14 After the First World War Matossian processed only ten tons of raw tobacco per day compared with 15 tons in the period before the war. Tigrane Matossian supplied the information on the Matossian factory in this period. On production in Matossian before the war see chapter five.

15 Artashes W. Gartashean, *Nyuter Yegiptosi Hayots' Patmutean Wamar, Patmutyum Yegiptosahay Barerarneru yev Krtakan Wasta Tutuyunneru* [History of Egyptian-Armenian Benefactors and Educational Establishments] vol. 2 (Venice: no publisher, 1986), 146.
16 The origin of Eastern is not entirely clear. In *The Stock Exchange Yearbook, 1939*, 408, we find the following description: "Eastern Company was formed on July 12, 1920 and is of Egyptian constitution. It has acquired the share of certain of the principal industrial companies engaged in manufacturing Egyptian cigarettes." From this description it looks as if BAT established Eastern as a holding company for new acquisitions of subsidiary companies. *The Stock Exchange Yearbook, 1942*, 400, gives a different account of the origins of the company: "Eastern Company, S.A.E. first commenced trading in Egypt under the name of Export Tobacco Co. Ltd. In July 1927, the British-American Tobacco Company Ltd., with its Egyptian subsidiaries, and Tabac et Cigarettes Matossian, S.A., formed the present Eastern Company, S.A.E." From this it seems that Eastern was already operating in 1927 as a BAT subsidiary and it changed its function at that time to accommodate the merger. This description is further verified in al-Hukuma al-Misriyya, Wizarat al-Maliyya, Maslahat 'Umum al-Ihsa' wa-al-Ta'adud, *Ihsa' sharikat al-musahima, 1943* [Arabic version of the Stock Exchange Yearbook, 1943] (Cairo: Al-Matba'a al-Amiriyya, 1943), 844. Eastern is reported to have sold its existing shares to a certain Mr. Fomaroli, before re-establishing the company with new capital.
17 I thank Howard Cox for suggesting this comparison and for many other useful comments on an earlier draft of this chapter.
18 E. Homan Mulock, Department of Overseas Trade, *Report on the Economic and Financial Situation of Egypt Dated May 1927*, 14.
19 A.E. Crouchley, *The Investment of Foreign Capital in Egyptian Companies and Public Debt* (New York: Arno Press, 1977), 86.
20 *The Egyptian Trade Index of November 1944* lists the capital of most of the large companies in the industry: Boustani £E100,000; Cassimis £E31,055; Gianaclis £E90,000; Salloam Frères £E88,000; and Salonica £E88,320. We have no information about the capital of Coutarelli, but considering the large volume of its business it must have been higher than that of the smaller enterprises.
21 Cox, "Global Cigarette," 208, according to *Tobacco* 564 December 1927: VII.
22 Mulock, *Report . . . 1927*, 14.
23 Cox, *Global Cigarette: Origins and Evolution*, 339.
24 *BAT Bulletin* June 1929: 27–31.
25 Cox, *Global Cigarette: Origins and Evolution,* footnote 97, 235–236.
26 Cox, "Global Cigarette," 208, according to *Tobacco* 564 December 1927: VII.
27 Cox, "Global Cigarette," 386.
28 Tariffs on raw tobacco decreased from 1,000 to 850 millièmes per kilo, and processed tobacco from 1,100 to 950 millièmes per kilo. The tariff of manufactured cigarettes remained at 1,200 millièmes per kilo. *Annuaire statistique, 1926–1927,* 426; *Annuaire statistique, 1929–1930,* 482. A millième = £E1/1000.
29 G.H. Selous, Department of Overseas Trade, *Report on the Economic and Commercial Conditions in Egypt*, 1936 (London: His Majesty's Stationery Office, 1937), 96. See also Table 4.2.
30 Customs Administration, *Report on Foreign Trade of Egypt in 1930* (Cairo: Government Press, 1931), 12.
31 Cox, *Global Cigarette: Origins and Evolution,* footnote 134, page 286.
32 *Stock-Exchange Yearbook, 1937,* 362. Cox, *Global Cigarette: Origins and Evolution,* 287, gives the slightly later date of July 1937.
33 Husayn 'Ali al-Rifa'i, *al-Sina'a fi Misr* (Cairo: Matba'at Misr, 1935), 450–451. See also: Selous, *Report . . .* 1936, 97.
34 Kitroeff, *Greeks in Egypt,* 109, citing C.N. Nanopoulos, Eastern's concessionary distributor in Alexandria.
35 Roger Owen and Şevket Pamuk, *A History of Middle East Economies in the Twentieth*

Century (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1999), 70. On MESC see also Mirfat Subhi Ghali, *al-'Alaqat al-iqtisadiyya bayn Misr wa-Baritanya, 1935–1945* (Cairo: Al-Hay'a al-Misriyya al-'amma li-l-kitab, 2001), chapter five; Robert Vitalis and Steven Heydemann, "War, Keynesianism, and Colonialism: Explaining State-Market Relations in the Postwar Middle East, " in *War, Institutions and Social Change in the Middle East,* ed. Steven Heydemann (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2000), 100–145.

36 PRO FO 371/35486. On the broader issue of commodity supply to the countryside see: P. A. Wilson, "Consumer Goods and Grain Extraction, Report on a Survey Undertaken between November 1943 and May 1944." PRO FO 922/404.

37 A letter from Eastern to the Commercial Counsellor at the British Embassy in Cairo, no date. PRO BT 11/1918.

38 PRO FO 371/3334–6.

39 A telegram from Angora to the Minister of State in Cairo, 8 September 1942. PRO FO 371/3334–6.

40 A telegram from MESC to the Ministry of War Transport, 11 June 1942. PRO FO 371/32493.

41 PRO FO 371/35486.

42 PRO BT 11/1918.

43 *Ibid.*

44 *Al-Kitab al-dhahabi li-ittihad al-sina'at al-Misriyya* (Cairo: Imprimerie Schindler, 1948), 205.

45 *Ibid.* 204.

46 Fathi Kamil, *Ma'a al-haraka al-niqabiyya al-Misriyya fi nisf qarn* (Cairo: Dar al-Ghad al-'Arabi, 1985), 7.

47 For the difference between American and British (Virginia) cigarettes see: Jordan Goodman, *Tobacco in History: The Culture of Dependence* (London: Routledge, 1993), 104, citing N.M. Tilley, *The R.J. Reynolds Company* (Chapel Hill, North Carolina: University of North Carolina Press, 1985), 211.

48 "Guide des industries d'Egypte," *l'Informateur,* special issue 1950: 39. *Registre de l'économie Égyptienne et des industries* (No place: Near East Publication, 1952[?]), 536.

49 Al-Bank al-Ahli al-Misri, "al-Nashra al-iqtisadiyya" 7, 1 (Cairo, 1954), 207.

50 The American University in Cairo, Social Research Center, *Tobacco Smoking in Cairo and Alexandria* (Cairo: No publisher, 1964), tables 29–38, pages 50–56.

51 M.F. Abou-el-Fetouh, "A Quantitative Study of the Tobacco Industry in Egypt with Particular Reference to the E.T.C. Firm," (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Lancaster, 1976), table 2.4, 34.

52 Floresca Karanasou, "Egyptianisation: The 1947 Company Law and the Foreign Communities in Egypt," (Ph.D. dissertation, St. Antony's College, University of Oxford, 1992), 189. Karanasou used the DCA files extensively to examine the implementation of the Egyptianization law and its influence on the foreign communities in Egypt. In the following analysis I use her findings as well as the original documents from the archives.

53 Karanasou, "Egyptianisation," appendix, 358: "Law no. 138 of 1947", originally published in: *Supplement au Journal Officiel*, 74, 11 (August 1947).

54 Letter from Eastern to the Department, 7 April 1948, DW DCA 142/1, page 7.

55 Letter from Eastern to the Department, 22 March 1949, DW DCA 142/2, page 7.

56 See reports on the boards of Eastern subsidiaries in DW DCA 142, folder 115, pages 108, 111, 114, 117, 123, 129.

57 During 1933–34 Eastern had launched a promotional campaign for its Soussa cigarette. See advertisements in *al-Musawwar* 17 March 1933: No page; *Ruz al-Yusuf* 7 May 1934: 27. In 1960, even after nationalization, the company sold cigarette brands that carried the names of its old subsidiaries: Maspero, Matossian, Melkonin, Soussa. See: Federation of Industries in the United Arab Republic, *Year Book 1960* (Cairo: S.O.P. Press, no date), no page.

58 Abdel Aziz El-Sherbini and Ahmed Fouad Sherif, "Marketing Problems in an Underdeveloped Country – Egypt," *L'Egypte contemporaine* XLVII, 285 (July 1956), 51.
59 Abou-el-Fetouh, "Quantitative Study," table 8, page IX.
60 At the end of 1954 these posts included: managing director, production manager, two directors, personal assistant to the vice-chairman, personal assistant to the chairman, manufacturing executive, manager in factory number one, manager in factory number two, engineer, leaf tobacco executive, two tobacco buyers, leaf tobacco accountant, secretary and taxation, financial accountant, three general and cost accountants, advertising manager, assistant advertising manager, Alexandria manager, purchasing and printing manager, assistant purchasing and printing manager, and manager of Middle East territories outside Egypt. Karanasou, "Egyptianisation," footnote 12, 194–195, citing letter from manager of Eastern Company to Department, 27 December 1954, DW DCA 143/4, pages 57–59.
61 Cox, *Global Cigarette: Origins and Evolution,* 341, 346.
62 Kamil, *Ma'a al-haraka*, 28.
63 The figures are from Karanasou, "Egyptianisation," table 8.6, 200. I have changed some of the job titles to follow the Arabic original more closely.
64 The wages, as reported by the company, included compensation for increase in living expenses and a yearly bonus.
65 Distributors' wages included compensation for increase in living expenses but no bonus.
66 Ellis Jay Goldberg, "Tinker, Tailor, and Textile Worker: Class and Politics in Egypt, 1930–1954," (Ph.D. dissertation, University of California, Berkeley, 1983), 317.
67 *Ibid.* 322.
68 Joel Beinin and Zachary Lockman, *Workers on the Nile: Nationalism, Communism, Islam, and the Egyptian Working Class, 1882–1954* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1987), 306.
69 Kamil, *Ma'a al-haraka,* 27.
70 *Ibid.* 28. I translated this quotation from the Arabic original.
71 Beinin and Lockman, *Workers*, 306.
72 *Ibid.* 306–307, citing Hussein Ali Orphy, "An Analysis of Welfare Programs in Egyptian Industries: A Tobacco Factory Case Study," (B.A. Thesis, American University in Cairo, 1955), 11. On workers' benefits at Eastern see also: "Industrial Production: A Supplement of Egyptian Industry" (Cairo: No publisher, 1957), 80.
73 Cox, *Global Cigarette: Origins and Evolution,* 235–236.
74 See another case study with similar conclusion in Robert Tignor, "In the Grip of Politics: The Ford Motor Company of Egypt, 1945–1960," *Middle East Journal* 44, 3 (Summer 1990), 383–398.
75 Manos Haritatos and Penelope Giakoumakis, *A History of the Greek Cigarette* (Athens: The Hellenic Literary and Historical Archive, 1997), 140.
76 Kitroeff, *Greeks in Egypt*, 109.
77 A few years later, when Samuel Gillchrest was negotiating a possible merger between Eastern and Coutarelli on behalf of BAT, Coutarelli indicated that his family would be reluctant to enter a business in which the Matossians were involved. Cox, *Global Cigarette: Origins and Evolution*, 287.
78 Kitroeff, *Greeks in Egypt*, 109.
79 Cox, *Global Cigarette: Origins and Evolution*, 287.
80 Kitroeff, *Greeks in Egypt*, 109.
81 Abou-el-Fetouh, "Quantitative Study," table 36, XLIX.
82 The *Census of Industrial Production, 1944* (Cairo, 1947), table 2, 15 counted 16,130 workers in the industry. This number may have been exaggerated by the magazine or by the fact that smaller businesses tended to be under-represented in the censuses.
83 *Industrial and Commercial Census, 1927* (Cairo, 1931); *Industrial and Commercial Census, 1937* (Cairo, 1942); *Industrial and Commercial Census, 1947* (Cairo, 1955).

The following analysis is based on an earlier study of the censuses in my dissertation "The Egyptian Cigarette: A Study of the Interaction Between Consumption, Production, and Marketing in Egypt, 1850–1956," (Harvard University, 1999), 168–172.

84 Haritatos and Giakoumakis, *A History*, 152.
85 Gianaclis's report cited above, and for the later period from Letter from Gianaclis to the Department, 31 December 1952, DW DCA 145.
86 Hovagim Artin Sirkejian, tobacco producer, personal interview, Cairo, 6 May 1997.
87 *Al-Musawwar* 4 January 1935: 11.
88 Goldberg, "Tinker, Tailor," 314.
89 *Al-Musawwar* 12 July 1935: 4. Also *al-Musawwar* 6 December 1935: 20, 29.
90 Goldberg, "Tinker, Tailor," 313–314, citing Kamil 'Izz al-Din's memoirs in *al-'Amil*, 14 November 1946.
91 *Al-Musawwar* 25 January 1935: 2.
92 Goldberg, "Tinker, Tailor," 315.
93 On Bank Misr see: Eric Davis, *Challenging Colonialism: Bank Misr and Egyptian Industrialization, 1920–1941* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1983); Robert Vitalis, *When Capitalists Collide: Business Conflict and the End of Empire in Egypt* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1995).
94 *The Stock Exchange Yearbook, 1937,* 545.
95 *The Stock Exchange Yearbook, 1939,* 606.
96 *The Stock Exchange Yearbook, 1941,* 666.
97 "Sina'at al-saja'ir wa-tijaratha fi Misr, ma tu'addih Sharkat Misr li-l-Dukhkhan wa-al- Saja'ir min khidm li-Misr," *Majallat al-Sina'a* December 1939: 210.
98 *Ibid.* 210. I translated this passage from the original Arabic text.
99 *The Stock Exchange Yearbook, 1942,* 678.
100 *Ruz al-Yusuf* 5 November 1934: 19.
101 Mahmud Fahmi's advertisement, *Ruz al-Yusuf* 11 February 1935: 48.
102 Relli Shechter, "Press Advertising in Egypt: Business Realities and Local Meaning, 1882–1956," *Arab Studies Journal* 10,2/11,1 (Fall 2002–Spring 2003), 57.
103 See, for example, al-Bustani's advertisement in *Ruz al-Yusuf* 23 May 1932: 22.
104 Karanasou, "Egyptianisation," table 8.1, 190.
105 *Ibid.* 195.
106 *Ibid.* 196.
107 *Ibid.* 207.
108 In 1947, the company paid 94.3 per cent of the wages to Egyptians. This percentage had increased to 98.7 per cent by 1955. *Ibid.* table 8.11, 211.
109 Robert L. Tignor, *Capitalism and Nationalism at the End of Empire: State and Business in Decolonizing Egypt, Nigeria, and Kenya, 1945–1963* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1998), 128.
110 *Ibid.* 137.
111 *Ibid.* 141.
112 *Ibid.* 142.
113 List of board members in Eastern on December 24 1957, DW DCA 143/5, page 84.
114 List of board members in Eastern on December 27 1958, DW DCA 143/5, page 23.
115 Federation of Industries, *Year Book 1960*, 162. In May 1935, manufacturers established the Chamber of Egyptian Tobacco and Cigarette Producers in order to lobby the government more effectively regarding issues related to import tariffs on tobaccos, exports, and protection of local industry against foreign competition. Al-Ittihad al-Misri li-l-Sina'at, *al-Ma'rid al-zira'i al-sina'i al-khamis 'ashr bi-al-Qahira sanat 1936* (Cairo: Amirayan wa-Sharikahu, 1936), 77. On issues that occupied the Chamber see also: Wizarat al-Tijara wa-al-Sina'a, *Taqrir lajnat al-sina'at* (Cairo: Al-Matba'a al-Amiriyya, 1948), 191–196. The Chamber was part of the Egyptian Union of Industries and was located in Alexandria. Its members

represented the main Egyptian producers, and Jacques Matossian, who was the chairman of Eastern became the Chamber's first chairman. Al-Ittihad al-Misri li-l-Sina'at, *al-Ma'rid,* 87.

116 Tignor, *Capitalism and Nationalism*, 165.

117 Sirkejian, interview.

Chapter 7: Smoking as a Cultural Distinction

1 On the division in Egyptian society into three social groups see: Sawsan el-Messiri, *Ibn al-Balad: A Concept of Egyptian Identity* (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1978); Marilyn Booth further used these categories in her *Bayram Tunsi's Egypt: Social Criticism and Narrative Strategies* (Exeter: Itacha Press, 1990). On the *effendiyya* see: Morroe Berger, "The Middle Class in the Arab World," in *The Middle East in Transition*, ed. Walter Z. Laqueur (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1958), 61–71; Michael Eppel, "The Elite, the *Effendiya*, and the Growth of Nationalism and Pan-Arabism in Hashamite Iraq, 1921–1958," *International Journal of Middle East Studies* 30 (1998), 228–235; Israel Gershoni and James P. Jankowski, *Redefining the Egyptian Nation, 1930–1945* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), 7–22. For a study of the Egyptian upper class during this period see: Magda Baraka, *The Egyptian Upper Class between Revolutions, 1919–1952* (Reading: Itacha Press, 1998).

2 Pierre Bourdieu, *Distinction: A Social Critique of the Judgment of Taste*, translated by Richard Nice (London: Routledge, 1984).

3 In selecting the literature for the project I have used the following sources: J. Brugman, *An Introduction to the History of Modern Arabic Literature in Egypt* (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1984); Pierre Cachia, *An Overview of Modern Arabic Literature* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1990); Julie Scott Meisami and Paul Starkey (eds.), *Encyclopedia of Arabic Literature*, vol. 1 (London: Routledge, 1998). For sources on Egyptian films see: Walter Armbrust, *Mass Culture and Modernism in Egypt* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996); Viola Shafiq, *Arab Cinema: History and Cultural Identity* (Cairo: American University in Cairo Press, 1998). I have also consulted Mahmud Qasim, *Dalil al-aflam fi al-qarn al-'ishrin* (Cairo: Maktabat Madbuli, 2002) for further cinematographic information.

4 Palmira Brummett, *Image and Imperialism in the Ottoman Revolutionary Press, 1908–1911* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 2000).

5 See cartoons in *Ibid.* 99, 104.

6 See cartoons in *Ibid.* 88, 270.

7 *Ibid.* 205.

8 Taha Hussein, *The Stream of Days: A Student at the Azhar*, translated by Hilary Wayment, 2nd edition, (London: Longmans, Green and Co., 1948 [first published in Arabic 1939]), 63.

9 For contemporary accounts on hashish and narcotics in Egypt and the efforts of the police to eradicate them see: Harry D'Erlanger, *The Last Plague of Egypt* (London: Dickson & Thompson, 1936); Thomas Russell, *Egyptian Service, 1902–1946* (London: John Murray, 1949).

10 Naguib Mahfouz, *Awlad haratina* (Beirut: Dar al-Adab, 1967 [originally published in *al-Ahram* during the last months of 1959]).

11 El-Messiri, *Ibn al-Balad.* See especially pages 46–53.

12 This story was published in Mahmud Taymur, *Abu 'ali 'amil artist wa-qisas ukhra* (Cairo: Al-Matba'a al-Salafiyya, 1934), 84.

13 For analysis of the contemporary advertising business and meanings of advertisements see: Relli Shechter, "Press Advertising in Egypt: Business Realities and Local Meaning, 1882–1956," *Arab Studies Journal* 10,2/11,1 (Fall 2002–Spring 2003), 44–66. See also chapter 3 on the early advertisement of luxury cigarettes. Another significant source on contemporary advertising (and consumer culure more broadly) is Mona L. Russell, *Creating the New Egyptian Woman: Consumerism,*

Education, and National Identity, 1863–1922 (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2004), see especially chapter 4.

14 Mohammed Hussein Haikal, *Zainab*, translated by John Mohammed Grinsted (London: Darf Publishers, 1989 [first published in Arabic 1913]), 88.

15 H. Warner Allen, "After Dinner," *Saturday Review* 155 (28 January 1933): 91. Quoted in Matthew Hilton, *Smoking in British Popular Culture, 1800–2000* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2000), 118.

16 See chapter one on the chibouk's iconography and meaning.

17 The discussion above is based on the press resources suggested above and on *Sijil al-Hilal al-musawwar, 1892–1992*, two volumes (No place: Dar al-Hilal, no date).

18 On the magazine see: Beth Baron, "Nationalist Iconography: Egypt as a Woman," in *Rethinking Nationalism in the Arab Middle East*, eds. Israel Gershoni and James Jankowski (New York: Columbia University Press, 1997), 106–108.

19 *Abou Naddarra*. 28 March 1889:14.

20 The film is based on a story by Yahya Haqqi about his stay in Europe between 1935 and 1939. For an analysis of this film as an expression of liminality in Arabic literature see: Anja Hänsch, "Emigration and Modernity: On the Twofold Liminality in Arab and Franco-Arab Literature," in *Between Europe and Islam: Shaping Modernity in a Transcultural Space*, eds. Almut Höfert and Armando Salvatore (Brussels: Peter Lang, 2000).

Chapter 8: The Cigarette and Effendi Identity

1 See Walter Armbrust, *Mass Culture and Modernism in Egypt* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), 7–8, for a discussion on modernity and nationalism.

2 I use the term liminal here in a Turnerian sense to denote a temporary transgression of socio-cultural boundaries between free time and work caused by smoking. See Victor Turner, *Dramas, Fields, and Metaphors: Symbolic Action in Human Society* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1974).

3 Such a transition closely followed contemporary developments in market research and the introduction of insights from psychology to the sale of goods. For an analysis of a similar trajectory in American magazine advertising see: Richard M. Ohmann, *Selling Culture: Magazines, Markets, and Class at the Turn of the Century* (New York: Verso, 1996). See also: Jackson Lears, *Fables of Abundance: A Cultural History of Advertising in America* (New York: Basic Books, 1994); Roland Marchand, *The American Dream: Making Way for Modernity, 1920–1940* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1985); Susan Strasser, *Satisfaction Guaranteed: The Making of the American Mass Market* (New York: Pantheon Books, 1989).

4 *Ruz al-Yusuf* 3 July 1931: 17. See also an advertisement for al-Bustani's Nabil cigarettes (*Ruz al-Yusuf* 11 April 1932: 13) which announced that: "The Aristocratic class smokes Nabil, the excellent and esteemed cigarette."

5 *Ruz al-Yusuf* 7 December 1931: 15.

6 *Ruz al-Yusuf* 8 May 1933: 30.

7 *Al-Ithnayn wa-al-Dunya* 30 January 1950: 15.

8 Ibrahim 'Abd al-Qadir al-Mazini, *Ibrahim the Writer*, translated by Magdi Wahba, revised by Marsden Jones (Cairo: General Egyptian Book Organization, 1976 [first published in Arabic 1931]), 100.

9 Latifa al-Zayyat, *The Open Door*, translated by Marilyn Booth (Cairo: American University in Cairo Press, 2000 [first published in Arabic 1960]), 88. See another example in Ibrahim 'Abd al-Qadir al-Mazini, '*Awd* '*ala bad*' (Cairo: Matba'at al-Ma'arif, no date [1943]), 123, where the narrator considers smoking a good way to help his friend calm down.

10 Ibrahim 'Abd al-Qadir al-Mazini, *Fi-l-tariq* (Cairo: Maktabat Al-Nahda al-Misriyya, no date [1937]), 95.

11 This story was published in Mahmud Taymur, *Abu ʻali ʻamil artist wa-qisas ukhra* (Cairo: Al-Matbaʻa al-Salafiyya, 1934), 91.
12 In the observation above I have taken some liberty in venturing into the psychology of smoking, which cannot be immediately deduced from the evidence brought. This analysis is based on the assumption that smokers must "rationalize" their harmful consumption habit in some way to avoid constant internal conflict (cognitive dissonance). It further takes its clue from countless talks with smokers who still feel good to be bad.
13 Ahmad Amin, *My Life*, translated by Issa J. Boullata (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1978 [first published in Arabic in 1950]), 228.
14 *Ibid.* 18.
15 Salama Musa, *The Education of Salama Musa*, translated by L.O. Schuman (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1961 [first published in Arabic in 1947]), 9.
16 Amin, *My Life*, 114.
17 *Ibid.* 116.
18 This endnote cannot adequately cover the burgeoning of gender studies in the Middle East. The following edited volumes exemplify the literature that has influenced my understanding of this field: Lila Abu-Lughod (ed.), *Remaking Women: Feminism and Modernity in the Middle East* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1998); Amira el-Azhari Sonbol (ed.), *Women, the Family, and Divorce Laws in Islamic History* (Syracuse, NY: Syracuse University Press, 1996); Suad Joseph and Susan Slymovics (eds.), *Women and Power in the Middle East* (Philadelphia, University of Pennsylvania Press, 2001); Nikki Keddie and Beth Baron (eds.), *Women in Middle Eastern History: Shifting Boundaries in Sex and Gender* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1991).
19 Another dominant mother character is Salwa's mother in Mahmud Taymur, *Salwa fi mahabb al-rih* (No place: No date [1947]). See especially the conversation between Salwa and her mother on pages 55–59.
20 Naguib Mahfouz, *Midaq Alley*, translated by Trevor Le Gassick, second edition (Washington DC: Three Continents Press, 1977 [first published in Arabic 1947]), 16.
21 *Ibid.* 125–126. See also the smoking female protagonist in "al-Sitt tawaddud", in Mahmud Taymur, *al-Sheikh jumʻah wa-qisas ukhra* (Cairo: Al-Matbaʻa al-Salafiyya, 1925).
22 Al-Mazini, *Ibrahim the Writer*, 216. A character similar to Layla, although somewhat less flamboyant and sexually opened was Bahira Hanim, the protagonist of the film *al-ʻAris al-khamis* (The Fifth Fiancé, 1942). Bahira Hanim also did not hesitate to smoke in public, even in the company of men. Interestingly enough, a part of the movie also took place in Luxor, but Bahira Hanim who took refuge there from her inexhaustible suitors was accompanied by her maid.
23 Al-Mazini, *Ibrahim the Writer*, 244.
24 Mahmud Taymur, *Salwa*, 132.
25 Al-Mazini, *Khuyut al-ʻankabut* (Cairo: Matbaʻat ʻIssa al-Babi al-Halabi wa-Shurakah, no date [1935]), 365.
26 Such male-controlled smoking was further enforced in the smoking etiquette suggested in *al-Musawwar* 1 November 1940: 1–2.
27 The story appeared in the collection *Sunduq al-dunya* (Cairo: Dar al-Turki li-l-Tabʻ wa-al-Nashr, 1929), 166.
28 Cartoon in *al-Ithnayn wa-l-Dunya* 27 March 1950: 31.
29 Advertisements from these campaigns were reproduced in *Misr al-mahrusa* 15 December 2001: 88–117.
30 For promotion of al-Bustani cigarettes see: *al-Musawwar* 25 December 1931: backcover. For Kiriazi see: *Ruz al-Yusuf* 19 September 1932: 25. In 1939–1940, Coutarelli also used the images of foreign actresses, whose photographs promoted its Atlas brand. See: *al-Ahram* 7 November 1939; 4 December 1939; 3 January 1940; 8 January 1940 (all on the front page).

31 'Afaf Shakir in an advertisement for Kiriazi's Atlas cigarettes. Source unknown, dated August 15, 1951. Reproduced in *Misr al-mahrusa* 15 December 2001: 99.
32 Amin, *My Life*, 18–19.
33 Tawfiq al-Hakim, *Hayta ruh akheret: roman Mitsri*, translated into Hebrew by Shmuel Regulant (Tel-Aviv: 'Aynot, 1957 [first published in Arabic 1933]), 90.
34 The story appeared in the collection *Khuyut al-'ankabut,* 58–59.
35 Mahmud Taymur, *Shabab wa-ghaniyyat* (No place: Dar al-Fikr al-'Arabi, no date [1951]), 7.
36 Fikri Abaza, "'Awwal sijara wa-kas wa-hubb!" *al-Ithnayn wa-l-Dunya* 12 June 1950: 6–7.
37 On the long debate over the permissibility of smoking in Islam see chapter one.
38 For an estimate of the number of treatises and a partial list see: 'Atiyya Saqr, *al-Islam wa-l-tadkhin* (Cairo: Al-Azhar, 1991–92), 18. See also: Felicitas Opwis, "Is Smoking Permissible in Islamic Law? Answers from Arabic Manuscripts in the Beinecke Collection," *Yale University Library Gazette*, supplement, 2001, 178–184; Felix Klein-Franke, "No Smoking in Paradise, the Habit of Tobacco Smoking Judged by Islamic Law," *Le Museon*, 106 (1993), 155–192. For an example of a reprint see 'Abd al-Ghani al-Nabulsi (1641–1731), *Risala fi ibahat al-dukhkhan* (Damascus: Matba'at al-Islah, 1924).
39 See, for example, Mahmud Tahir, *Kitab tahdhir al-ikhwan min sharb al-dukhkhan* (No place, 1894). Mahmud Tahir was a professor at the Khedivial Arts and Crafts College. Salama Bin Hasan al-Radhi al-Shadhli, *al-I'lan bi-'adam tahrim al-dukhkhan* (Cairo: Matba'at Sharikat al-Tamaddun al-Sina'iyya, 1911). Note the name of the publisher of the latter book, roughly translated as The Industrial and Social Refinement Company.
40 In al-Mazini's *Khuyut al-'ankabut*, 108–116.
41 Al-Mazini, *Ibrahim the Writer*, 264.
42 "Al-Tibgh al-sahi," *al-Hilall* June 1913: 557–558.
43 See advertisements in *al-Musawwar* 20 February 1925: 7 and 27 February 1925; *Sahifat al-I'lanat* 23 August 1925.
44 Information supplied by his son Sharif Bustani, in a phone conversation during December 1998.
45 Matthew Hilton, *Smoking in British Popular Culture, 1800–2000* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2000).
46 *Ibid.* 47.
47 *Ibid.* 48.
48 See Martina Reiker, "The Sa'id and the City: Subaltern Spaces in the Making of Modern Egyptian History" (Ph.D. dissertation, Temple University, 1997), for an attempt to account for this marginalization.
49 Hilton, *Smoking*, 119–122.
50 *Ibid.* 51–53.
51 *Ibid.* 122–124.
52 *Ibid.* 27–28.
53 *Ibid.* 126–127.
54 *Ibid.* 133–134.
55 *Ibid.* 141–157. See for comparison with the United States: Nancy Bowman, "Questionable Beauty, the Dangers and Delights of the Cigarette in American Society, 1880–1930," in *Beauty and Business: Commerce, Gender, and Culture in Modern America*, ed. Philip Scranton (New York: Routledge, 2000).
56 Roger Owen and Şevket Pamuk, *A History of Middle East Economies in the Twentieth Century* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1999), 35. The authors borrowed this term from the title of the conclusion in Robert Tignor, *State, Private Enterprise, and Economic Change in Egypt,1918–1952* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1984), 243, and the title of chapter three in Bent Hansen's *Egypt and Turkey* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1991), 64.

Epilogue: Smoke-signals to the Present

1 http://www.easternegypt.com. For more information on Eastern's production in the 1970s see M.F. Abou-el-Fetouh, "A Quantitative Study of the Tobacco Industry in Egypt with Particular Reference to the E.T.C. Firm" (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Lancaster, 1976).
2 The World Bank, "Economics of Tobacco in Egypt," http://www1.worldbank.org/tobacco/pdf/country%briefs/egypt.doc. This document was preceded by a more comprehensive report by Heba Nasser also carrying the same title and sponsored by the World Bank, which was published in March 2003. Retrieved in http://www.emro.who.int/tfi/tobaccoeconomics.egypt.pdf. To distinguish the two I refer to the latter as Nasser "Economics of Tobacco".
3 Alexis Stacchini, "Price Rises Steer Smokers Back to Local Brands," *World Tobacco* 1 September 2002. Retrieved from Lexis-Nexis.
4 Eastern's website, section entitled "The New Projects;" Stacchini, "Price Rises."
5 Robert Weissman, "Philip Morris, BAT Sniff at Egypt's Eastern," Reuters report, 12 June 2002. Retrieved from Lexis-Nexis.
6 Daniel Lynx Bernard, "It's Not Easy Being Eastern," *Business Today* 1 March 2003. Retrieved from Lexis-Nexis.
7 World Bank, "Economics of Tobacco in Egypt."
8 Nasser "Economics of Tobacco," 19.
9 World Bank, "Economics of Tobacco in Egypt."
10 The Tobacco Free Project of the San Francisco Department of Public Health, *Global Initiatives*, section entitled "Egypt and Jordan," http://tobaccofreekids.org/campaign/global/casestudies/.
11 *Ibid.*
12 World Health Organization, *Country Report*, "Egypt," http://www.who.int/tobacco/media/en/Egypt.pdf, 154. Information based on the Maxwell Report (full citation of the report is found in the website).
13 Information retrieved from the American Chamber of Commerce website: http://www.amcham.org.eg/Membership/MembersDatabase/View_ Member_ Details.asp?MI=502.
14 World Health Organization, "Egypt," 154. Taking 1970 as a starting point (indexed as 100), per capita consumption rose to 190 by 1980, decreased to 181 by 1990, and remained quite constant (178) by 2000. This should not disguise the fact that aggregate consumption of tobacco significantly increased throughout the period, mostly due to rapid demographic growth.
15 World Bank, "Economics of Tobacco in Egypt."
16 *Ibid.*
17 *Ibid.*
18 Nasser, "Economics of Tobacco," 20. According to the Egyptian National Cancer Institute and the Ministry of Education.
19 Yasser Talaat, "Health-Egypt: Political Fog Surrounds Smoking in Egypt." Report by Inter-Press service, 28 February 1999. Retrieved from Lexis-Nexis.
20 Nasser, "Economics of Tobacco," 49. According to this study 15.45 per cent of working boys smoked compared with 7.6 per cent of non-working boys.
21 The research is based on the 1995–1996 and the 1999–2000 Household Budget Surveys.
22 Nasser, "Economics of Tobacco," figures six and seven, 27–28. These and the following numbers are approximated from the figures in Nasser's report.
23 See estimations of household expenditures on tobacco in chapter four and analysis of a study by Sherif Omar in Nasser, "Economics of Tobacco," 16.
24 Nasser, "Economics of Tobacco," tables 12, 13, pages 29 and 30 respectively. These observations are based on figures that convey relative family expenditure and not sums, amounts, or qualities of tobacco products consumed.
25 *Ibid.* tables 14, 15, pages 31 and 32 respectively.

26 *Ibid.* tables 16, 17, pages 33 and 34 respectively. See tables 18, 19, pages 35 and 36 respectively for varying household expenditure levels and their respective expenditures on tobacco.
27 *Ibid.* 12.
28 See chapter four for past smoking strategies among the less affluent and the poor, and Nasser, "Economics of Tobacco," 20, for a contemporary report on similar strategies.
29 The following discussion on the return of the *shisha* to fashion is based on personal observations, gained while on research trips to Egypt in the late 1990s and early 2000s. For reports in the Western press see: Hassan Mekki, "Egypt Tobacco," Agence France Presse report, 17 June 1997; Anthony Shadid, "Egyptian Women Smoking up a Storm," *The Toronto Star,* 26 March 1998; Daniel J. Wakin, "For Women, a Male Mannerism: The Water Pipe," *The New York Times*, 22 October 2002. All retrieved from Lexis-Nexis. See also: Nasser, "Economics of Tobacco," 12.
30 World Health Organization, Regional Office for the Eastern Mediterranean, Cairo, "The Tobacco Industry's Tactics and Plans to Undermine Control Efforts in Egypt and North Africa," 3. www.emro.who.int/tfi/tfiegypt.pdf.
31 Nasser, "Economics of Tobacco," 58.
32 Sherine Nasr, "War on Smoking?" *Al-Ahram Weekly on-line*, 13–19 October, 1998, http://weekly.ahram.org.eg./1998/390/eg6.htm. On the sum of money dedicated to the campaign see a report by the Xinhua News Agency, 1 August 1998. Retrieved from Lexis-Nexis.
33 Report by the Deutsche Press-Agentur, 13 August 1998. Retrieved from Lexis-Nexis.
34 Sarah el-Deeb, "Egyptian Health Ministry Hires only Nonsmokers," Report by The Associated Press, 22 August 2000. Retrieved from Lexis-Nexis.
35 Amira Howeidi, "Tobacco Exposed," *Al-Ahram Weekly on-line*, 14–20 June 2001.
36 "Cairo Authorities Ban under 18s from Coffeeshops to Prevent Smoking. Report by the Agence France Presse, 4 June 2001. Retrieved from Lexis-Nexis.
37 Wakin, "For Women."
38 Talaat, "Health-Egypt."
39 "Ads Pulled for New Egyptian Cigarette Named after Irrigation Project," *Business and Industry*, 5 February 1999. Retrieved from Lexis-Nexis.
40 CNN World Report, 23 January 2000. Transcribed in Lexis-Nexis.
41 Sherine Nasr, "War on Smoking?" Nasr actually suggests that 40 per cent of all doctors smoke; the figure quoted above (34.4 per cent) is taken from World Health Organization, "Egypt," 154.
42 Hossam Hassan, "Religion-Egypt: *Fatwa* Ban on Smoking Divides Muslims." Report by the Inter Press Service, 4 October 2000. Retrieved from Lexis-Nexis.
43 El-Deeb, "Egyptian Health Ministry."
44 Howeidi, "Tobacco Exposed," 15. The World Health Organization's TFI research into smoking in Egypt is also the most quoted by public officials involved in the anti-smoking campaign and journalists who report on this issue.
45 Hala Sakr, "Anti-Smoking Scores," *Al-Ahram Weekly on-line*, 13–19 June 2002, http://weekly.ahram.org.eg./2002/590/fe2.htm. See Stacchini, "Price Rises," for similar information on government resistance to price-hike.
46 Information on tobacco industry lobbying is taken from World Health Organization, "The Tobacco Industry's Tactics." A shorter version of this report appeared in (or leaked to) Howeidi, "Tobacco Exposed."
47 "General Consumer Survey, Egypt, 1992," conducted for Philip Morris by Rada Research and found in Legacy of Tobacco Document Library, pages 2024218636–202418644. The library's website address is: http://legacy.library.ucsf.edu/.
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GLOSSARY OF TOBACCOS AND SMOKING VEHICLES

Akhdar/baladi (green/local)—Local Egyptian tobacco. Before the ban on cultivation (1890), consumption of local tobacco was common among the less affluent, despite its inferior quality. Those who could afford it preferred smoking imported brands (see *jabali*/Latakia tobacco).

American blend—A mixture of Virginia, Burley, and Eastern tobaccos, which came to be the standard in American cigarettes. The mixture of Eastern with American tobaccos testifies to the impact of the early cigarette industry in Egypt, the Ottoman Empire, and Greece on production in the United States.

Chibouk—Since the introduction of tobacco into the Ottoman Empire at the turn of the seventeenth century, this long pipe became the most favourite local smoking tool. Well entrenched throughout society, its consumption conveyed social status based on the quality of the chibouk, its length, and the social etiquette associated with its smoking. Manufacturing of chibouks was also an important industry. The chibouk disappeared during the second half of the nineteenth century when the cigarette was introduced.

Cigar—Never a popular smoking preference in the Middle East, the cigar was a symbol of upper class westernization and "foreignness", although some brands were produced locally.

Eastern/Egyptian/Oriental/Turkish cigarette—In the late nineteenth and early twentieth century, this handmade, luxurious cigarette spread worldwide. Demand initially came from expatriates and all sorts of visitors to the region (tourists, soldiers, politicians, businessmen). The early establishment of manufacturing in the region further facilitated the spread of such cigarettes as a global upper-class smoking trend. Many years later, R.J. Reynolds' Camel cigarette, which once attempted to borrow its exclusiveness, stands as a reminder of the Eastern cigarette's past glory and its influence on international production and consumption of cigarettes.

Eastern/Oriental tobacco—A generic name for a variety of tobaccos cultivated in the Middle East, especially Turkey, and the Balkans, including Greece. Eastern tobaccos are generally more aromatic and milder in taste than Virginia or Burley tobaccos (see American blend).

English/British/Virginia cigarette—Cigarette made of Virginia tobaccos (compare with American blend) which became the standard in British cigarette production. Initially resisted by Egyptian smokers, the Virginia cigarette enjoyed a short period of success just before and during the Second World War, but was quickly replaced by the American cigarette in the following years.

Jabali/Latakia tobacco—Syrian tobacco cultivated in the vicinity of the city Latakia (hence the European version of its name) and known for its quality. *Jabali* (mountain) tobacco was imported to Egypt where it was consumed by the wealthy. Latakia was also used in early production of Eastern cigarettes in Britain.

Ma'asal—A mixture of tobacco and molasses smoked in the narghile. Initially introduced as a measure to save on precious tobacco, the *ma'asal* and other mixtures, especially *tufah* (apple), have become part of the water-pipe's smoking tradition.

Narghile—The water-pipe (hubble-bubble) is the most recognizable smoking vehicle of the Middle East. It was originally a Persian invention dated to the early seventeenth century. The word "narghile" is a variant of the Sanskrit word for coconut, *nariyal/narikela*, which passed to Persian via Hindi. As the meaning of this word suggests, a coconut shell was initially used as a water container through which the smoke was filtered and cooled before it reached the user. In colloquial Egyptian the word "*goza*" was later assigned to a variety of the narghile, which was consumed in the countryside and among the poor. "*Shisha*" came to designate the narghile after a glass container replaced the coconut shell. Unlike the chibouk, the water-pipe survived the cigarette thanks to the interest of coffeehouse owners who rented it to clients. It now enjoys a revival among the young and trendy who earlier forsook it for the more modern and quick smoke.

Snuff (*nashuq*)—Consumption of snuff in the Middle East was often limited to those who found smoking tobaccos impractical. It was mainly restricted to nomads, for whom lighting the pipe or carrying the water-pipe was a burden. Ulema (Muslim scholars) who lived in the company of precious books also avoided lighting-up.

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