

الشانبة الجريدة الحكيمية الزراعية

تسبع في كل شهر من اختيار اراعن الفلاحة وعن الاخبار المفيدة

١٢ شهر محرم سنة ١٣١٥ الحزب الاول الثمن ٤ بيس

المبادي

لا يدخلون في امور عالية ولا يتعمقون انفسهم كثيرا الا
بزرعون البزور ينتظرون الحصاد وهم في البيوت جالسين
(اما في زماننا هذا الكسل والبطل وهذا الاستعناء والنشل
لا يتبع بشيء * كل من حرك حصل * كل من جلس بطل *
ويعجزن المهم * وبها تنبعت الافكار الصائبة وتبعى الكسالة
الباطلة * وبها بين الا نام رباط المحبة وفلاحة المودة ولكنها
اشارة على العلم فقط فتنبوتهما من العمل عليها في الاتي * ونحن
عجلنا الانتشار هذه الجريدة بوجه فيها قياسنا على محاسن
ارض زنجبار وقابلتها بنيتن حصول المنافع الوفيرة لذا
لا نطبق ان نصير * ومنها ان اهل البلد من زنجبار وفيها
الذين يجدمون الزرع لا يعرفون شيئا من لغات يوروب
واخص علم الفلاحة ومعارفها في هذه اللغات مستور
ومعلوم ان علم الفلاحة هو اخص مسائل الزرع فالغرض
القوي من هذه الشانبة (اسم الجريدة) التعليم في
جميع المسائل اللطيفة * ونحن نعد فيها اول مسائلها خاصة
لنلا حين البلد * وناتيا نذكر فيها اخبار البلد * وثالثا
لا نترك اخبار بلدان اخرى * نحن لو نشغل في تذكر
علم الفلاحة ففسطدون امور اخرى فيمكن لا نحصل
فائدة تامة خاصة لنا في زنجبار
فهذه الجزائر بوساطة الشمس والمطر خضراء وعلى
اعتدال كلي من الغراء * فلذا اجرت الناعدة اهل الزرع

Figure 2.

From Journalism to Promotion of Goods: Why and How Did Press Publishers Establish Advertising Agencies in Egypt, 1890–1939?

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Introduction

Although there has been growing interest in the history of the press in recent years, most such research falls short of bringing together the content of newspapers and magazines and the operations of the publishing business.¹ Historiography, so far, has generally focussed on the press as a cultural institution or as a source for political, social, and cultural commentary on contemporary transitions.² The business history of the press has not been entirely ignored, but it is only secondary to the main topic. In other words, we still lack research discussing the influence of organisation and finance on the substance of the press. Nowhere is this more obvious than in the study of the development of the popular press, especially illustrated magazines, whose rise epitomised the entry of publishers into advertising and the search for new venues to carry advertisements successfully.

This article aims at closing this gap by bringing content (of advertisements) and context (the economics of publishing) together and discussing the interplay between the two. The article studies two periods in which press advertising developed significantly. The first, during the 1890s, a period characterised by a surge in Egyptian journalism, which coincided with an impressive local economic boom at the peak of Egyptian integration into the world economy. The second and more

1 Short sections from this article appeared earlier in a different context in 'Press Advertising in Egypt: Business Realities and Local Meaning, 1882–1956', *Arab Studies Journal*, 10:2 / 11:1 (Fall 2002–Spring 2003): 44–66.

2 For a cultural institution approach, see Ami Ayalon, *The Press in the Arab Middle East: A History* (Oxford 1995); Beth Baron, *The Women's Awakening in Egypt: Culture, Society, and the Press* (New Haven 1994). The literature that uses the press as a source of commentary on contemporary life is by nature more eclectic. For journalism as an interface between politics and culture see James Jankowski and Israel Gershoni, *Rethinking Nationalism in the Arab Middle East* (New York 1997). The press (especially popular magazines) has recently become a growing source of interest in studies on mass culture; see Walter Armbrust, *Mass Culture and Modernism in Egypt* (Cambridge 1996).

significant period, and that on which the article focuses more closely, was the 1920s and 1930s, when there were major developments in the operations of the Egyptian press accompanied by a significant increase in the number and quality of advertisements.

Press Advertising before World War I (WWI)

Press advertising began soon after the publication of the first Egyptian journal;³ the earliest advertisements appeared in the official journal of the Egyptian government (*al-Waqa'i' al-Miṣriyya*) a large number of which were government notices.⁴ In 1867 *Wadi al-Nil* was among the first privately owned newspapers to publish advertisements.⁵ Private persons also placed ads in both the government and the private press announcing in simple terms the sale of goods, properties, or services in the standard format of classified ads. Besides being inconspicuous, advertisements also occupied little space: seldom more than 5% of the total space of the newspaper.⁶ Real growth in advertising happened only when press publication in Egypt received a significant boost during the 1890s after the colonial government eased regulations on journalism.⁷ An economic boom that lasted until 1907 enlarged the financial means that facilitated the progress of the press. During this period the Egyptian press came to play a significant role in contemporary political and cultural life. At the same time, there were also important developments in publications aimed at women.⁸

The period before WWI experienced a corresponding development in the business of advertising, mainly in selling advertising space. Even more the press played an active role in promoting the business and attracting potential customers. *Al-Hilal* was especially busy in such promotion.⁹ Jurji Zaidan, the editor of *al-Hilal*, published several articles explaining the principles and benefits of advertising to his

3 Khalil Ṣabat, *al-I'lan: Tarikhuhu, Ususuḥu, wa-Qawa'iduhu, Fununuḥu wa-Akhlaqiyyatuhu* (Cairo 1987), 51.

4 Mona Russell, *Creating the New Woman: Consumerism, Education, and National Identity in Egypt, 1863-1922*, unpublished dissertation (Georgetown University 1998), 131-2.

5 Ṣabat, *al-I'lan*, 51.

6 Ayalon, *The Press*, 203.

7 Ayalon, *The Press*, 52; Russell, *Creating*, 132-3.

8 Baron, *The Women's*, 67-71.

9 Ayalon, *The Press*, 205. Ayalon cites the following examples: *al-Hilal* (1 Sep. 1892), 48; (1 Jul. 1895), 840; (15 Aug. 1895), 926-31; (15 Aug. 1900), 128. See also Russell, *Creating*, 134, citing *al-Hilal* (4 Sep. 1896), 344; (5 May 1897), 413-14; (10 May 1901), 151.

readers and *al-Hilal* frequently published calls for advertisers. After WWI Zaidan's sons continued to be in the forefront of publishers of keen business acumen who promoted press advertising in Egypt.

It was the larger and more established newspapers and magazines that received most advertising because they offered advertisers better exposure to potential consumers. Close ties with the political and economic elite of the country further improved their lot. Thus, *al-Ahram* had official approval to publish announcements by all the national and mixed courts, and it also secured the authority to publish stock-market announcements.¹⁰ While advertising certainly became a significant source of income, especially for the larger publications, it probably could not sustain most newspapers and magazines.¹¹ With the possible exception of the better-selling magazines and newspapers, the vast majority of the press must have received some sort of subsidies from the government, political parties, private investors, or publishers.

With the developments in the press, the quantity (space and size), quality (especially new illustrations), and number of commodities and services advertised significantly increased. Egyptian advertisements were similar to advertisements elsewhere because, with few exceptions, they promoted modern imported commodities and services. Egyptian advertising also followed the universal trend in which the most highly advertised items of the period were patent medicines and cosmetics.¹² Other commodities advertised included alcoholic beverages, ready-made clothing, furniture, and home and office appliances.¹³ Among professional services offered were law offices, doctors' and dentists' clinics, insurance, financial services, and translation offices. Still, limited literacy and circulation of the press during this period meant that even when local advertising followed the contemporary stylistic and thematic standards of Europe and the United States, it aimed at much more affluent consumers than those who would buy the same commodities in their countries of

10 Yunan Labib Rizk, 'Al-Ahram: A Diwan of Contemporary Life (205)', *Al-Ahram Weekly* (23-9 October 1997), 10.

11 Baron, *The Women's* (69) suggests the same for women's magazines of the period.

12 Russell, *Creating*, 135.

13 Russell, *Creating* (135-66), provides the best analysis of the content of advertising for this period. See also: Ayalon, *The Press*, 202-6; Rizk, *al-Ahram*, 10; Yunan Labib Rizk, *al-Ahram, Diwan al-Hayat al-Mu'asir* (Cairo 1995), 77-84.

origin. From this perspective, it is also significant that most locally produced commodities and the more traditional services were not represented in the press.

The restricted nature of the readership also meant that even some modern items were excluded from advertising. This was best illustrated in women's magazines, which were even more class-restrictive than the general press. Russell rightly points out the absence of labour-saving devices from the list of commodities advertised in *Anis al-Jalis*, the first women's magazine published and the heaviest publisher of advertisements.¹⁴ Unlike women in Western countries, women of leisure in Egypt did not need such devices, since labour was cheap and abundant. The world of goods and services represented in the press was, therefore heavily biased and exclusive; it exposed only small, albeit developing, new markets rather than a clear picture of the commodities and services available to the majority of the population.

The Press and Advertising during the 1920s and 1930s

After WWI, the circulation of Egyptian newspapers and magazines began to increase significantly. One of the reasons for this was a rapid rise in literacy, albeit mainly in urban areas, and demographic growth, which also enlarged the absolute number of readers. In addition, the prices of newspapers were lowered by subsidies of all kinds, technological improvement, and growing revenues from advertising. In fact, newspaper prices dropped significantly in real terms between the turn of the century and the outbreak of WWII.¹⁵ This enabled persons of small financial means to buy and read them. The expansion in newspaper and magazine circulation was also connected to the relative freedom of the press after 1923, with the introduction of a new constitution and the first Parliament.¹⁶

As during the 1890s, the press rapidly spread as the main form of democratic political expression. This, in turn, brought about a major increase in the circulation of existing newspapers and magazines and the establishment of new politically-affiliated ones such as *al-Kashkul*, *Ruz al-Yusuf*, and the short-lived weeklies, *al-Siyasa al-Usubu'iyya* and *al-Balagh al-'Usubu'i*.¹⁷ Egypt also experienced an intellectual revival,

14 Russell, *Creating*, 151.

15 Ayalon, *The Press*, 193.

16 'Abd al-Latif Ḥamza, *Qiṣṣat al-Siḥafa al-'Arabiyya fi Miṣr mundh Nasha'atiha ila Muntaṣaf al-Qurn al-'Ishrin* (Cairo 1985, 2nd edition), 166; Ṣabat, *al-'Ilan*, 56.

17 Ḥamza, *Qiṣṣat*, 169.

which manifested itself in all spheres of cultural production and found its fullest expression in new magazines such as *al-Thaqafa*, *al-Risala*, *Apollo*, and *Majallati*, which reflected conflicting visions of Egyptian cultural life and identity. The period further witnessed the establishment of many special-interest magazines: professional, Islamic, sport, women's, children's, etc.¹⁸

An important, but less discussed addition to the press of the period was popular illustrated magazines,¹⁹ especially those of *Dar al-Hilal*. This publishing house, now headed by Emil and Shukri Zaidan, the sons of Jurji, was the leading promoter of this new trend and it became the largest press business of the period.²⁰ During the 1920s and 1930s, *Dar al-Hilal* produced a long stream of popular magazines in Arabic and French,²¹ which created a different approach in the Egyptian press. The magazines discussed contemporary local and world events in less serious tones than did the political press and took a less highbrow approach to culture. Instead, the illustrated magazines introduced the concept of reading for leisure and they promoted a new style of journalism that highlighted new topics such as fashion, sports, tourism, and local and international cinema. They featured attractive layouts and high-quality illustrations, cartoons, and photographs, which were refreshing additions to the press of the day. Accordingly, they could cater for a larger audience which, unlike in the past, included semi-literate and even illiterate persons who could enjoy the magazines simply by looking at the graphic images. The advent of the illustrated press opened new options to advertisers. It promised high quality printing and graphic design. It further offered a modern ambience, which suited the advertised goods. Most important, illustrated magazines were among the best-sold press.²²

During the period under discussion, the press actively promoted the sale of advertising space and owners competed to increase their share in the advertising

18 Ḥamza, *Qiṣṣat*, 172.

19 See an article on contemporary development in the press with special attention to illustrated magazines, 'Jara'iduna wa-jara'iduhum', *Majallat Miṣr al-Ḥaditha al-Muṣawwara* (25 Dec.1927), 3-6.

20 Ayalon, *The Press*, 78.

21 *Dar al-Hilal* publications included *al-Dunya al-Muṣawwara*, *al-Fukaha*, *Image* (in French), *Kull Shay'*, and *al-Muṣawwar*. Advertisement in *Taqwim al-Hilal* (1932), 11. It also included *al-Laṭa'if al-Muṣawwara*, Ḥamza, *Qiṣṣat*, 167.

22 *Al-Ahram*, the biggest newspaper of the time, had an average circulation of 70-80,000, *al-Muqattam* 10-15,000, *al-Siyasa* 5,000, and *Wadi al-Nil* also 5,000. In comparison, *al-Dunya al-Muṣawwara* had an average circulation of 30,000; *al-Muṣawwar* 21,000; *Kull Shay'* 19,000; *al-Fukaha* 15,000; *al-Laṭa'if al-Muṣawwara* 12-14,000 (the last four were published by *Dar al-Hilal*). *Balfour Trade Mission Survey*, 10-14.

business. The internal struggle in the press over advertisers became a major factor in the promotion of advertising. Most newspapers and magazines published information for advertisers on how to place advertisements (directly or via advertising agencies) and at times indicated the price of space. They also engaged in active advertising campaigns aimed at persuading businessmen to advertise. *Dar al-Hilal*, for example, ran continual promotional campaigns for advertising in *al-Muṣawwar* throughout the 1920s and early 1930s. The magazine ran slogans such as '[N]othing is more useful for you than the advertisement, which is the secret of success in this age.'²³ And, '[T]he best advertising is the one that is always in the hands of the customers. Advertise your merchandise in order to sell it to the people.'²⁴ Press rivalry over advertisements further stimulated integration between the press and the advertising business as a whole.

Initially, most publishers handled press advertising as part of the editorial office.²⁵ In time, the larger publishers such as *al-Ahram* established large advertising departments to cope with the growing business.²⁶ In addition to selling space, these departments provided customers with copy-writing and graphic services.²⁷ Later, the big publishing houses established their own advertising agencies in order to save on commissions paid to other agencies. *Al-Ahram* established *al-Ahram li l-I'lan*, *Dar al-Hilal* established *Wikalat al-I'lanat al-Afriqiyya al-Asiyawiyya*, *Akhbar al-Yawm* established *Wikalat al-Qahira li l-I'lan*, and *Ruz al-Yusuf* established *Wikalat Ruz al-Yusuf li l-I'lan*.²⁸ The larger agencies also had representatives abroad.²⁹

In establishing their own advertising agencies the publishers followed the model of *Société Orientale de Publicité* (SOP) established 1906. SOP was the oldest, largest, and probably the most technically-competent agency of its kind. A close look at the structure and activities of this company illustrates the high level of integration between publishing and advertising. *The Stock Exchange Year-Book* for 1939 described SOP as 'newspaper proprietors, printers, and advertising contractors,

23 *Al-Muṣawwar* (28 Dec. 1924), 3.

24 *Al-Muṣawwar* (6 Nov. 1931), 13.

25 See, for example, *al-Nahḍa al-Nisa'iyya* (Apr. 1922), back cover. *al-Nashra al-Iqtisadiyya al-Miṣriyya* (27 Jun. 1920), 44.

26 Ḥamza, *Qiṣṣat*, 173.

27 See an advertisement for such services in a self-advertisement, *Majallati* (1 Feb. 1935), n.p.

28 Ṭal'at al-Zuhayri, *al-I'lan bayn al-'Ilm wa al-Taṭbiq* (Cairo 1975), 155–6.

29 See, for example, an advertisement in *al-Ithnayn* (27 May 1935), 33, directing advertisers to the agents of *Dar al-Hilal* in Britain (London) and France (Paris).

including poster, illuminating signs, and all classes of outdoor advertising.'³⁰ The company owned the English-language dailies *The Egyptian Gazette* and *The Egyptian Mail* and the French-language dailies, *La Bourse Egyptienne* (Cairo and Alexandria editions). In SOP, business interests overcame political rivalry and the company represented both *al-Miṣr*, the 'opposition party organ,' and *al-Balagh*, the 'government party organ'.³¹ The chairman and managing director of SOP at that time was a Jew Henri Haim, but in the largely cosmopolitan business environment of the period, this did not seem to bother the owners of the national press.

A few years later the newspaper *al-Miṣr* bought half the SOP business and the company changed its name to the *Société Egyptienne de Publicité* (SEP).³² *Al-Miṣr* had developed from a party organ to one of Egypt's largest newspapers, and its owner probably felt that it needed to keep up with other large publishers who had their own advertising agencies. At that time press-advertising agencies operated as the sole representatives of their publications and competed with other agencies for advertising space in the newspapers and magazines that were affiliated with it. Thus SEP operated as the sole representative of *al-Miṣr* and the SOP press. The agencies of *al-Ahram* and *al-Hilal* did the same and did not accept advertisements from SEP. All this indicates the high level of convergence between press publishing and advertising, and the monopolistic tendency in selling advertising space. These characteristics were not unique to publishing and advertising but fairly common in most Egyptian businesses of the period.³³

The Operations of the Business

After WWI two inter-related developments in advertising accelerated in Britain and the United States.³⁴ The first was professionalisation, in which those recruited into the

30 *The Stock Exchange Year-Book of Egypt* (Cairo 1939), 609.

31 *Ibid.*, 609–10.

32 Tom J. MacFadden, *Daily Journalism in the Arab States* (Columbus, Ohio 1953), 80–1.

33 On monopolies in the Egyptian economy, see A.A.I. El-Gritly, *The Structure of Modern Industry in Egypt* (Cairo 1948), Chapter 8. Charles Issawi, *Egypt at Mid-Century: An Economic Survey* (London 1954), 160–1.

34 On the development of advertising in Britain and the US, see Roy Church, 'Advertising Consumer Goods in Nineteenth-Century Britain: Reinterpretations', *Economic History Review*, LIII 4 (2000), 621–45; Jackson Lears, *Fables of Abundance: A Cultural History of Advertising in America* (New York 1994); Lori Anne Loeb, *Consuming Angels: Advertising and Victorian Women* (Oxford 1994). Roland Marchand, *The American Dream: Making Way for Modernity, 1920–1940* (Berkeley 1985); N. McKendrick, 'George Packwood and the Commercialization of Shaving: The Art of

business were required to go through prior training, usually in business and commerce. Professionalisation also encouraged a second and more important development in the business: the use of statistical tools to measure human behaviour and preferences. Advertising agencies began to conduct market research and provide data on the tastes of consumers that helped advertisers target specific groups of buyers for their commodities and services. Agencies also began to utilise advances in psychological research when preparing advertising campaigns. Scientific advertising services initially supplemented and gradually replaced the impressionistic slogans and illustrations and the simple sale of newspaper advertising space that had characterised early agency activities.

To what extent did international developments in the business of advertising influence the local Egyptian scene? Local economists and the commercial press publicised some of the developments in international advertising and tried to promote scientific advertising in Egypt. In 1921 Ḥasan Ṣalih al-Jadawi published a series of articles in *al-Jarida al-Tijariyya al-Miṣriyya* in which he discussed different advertising tools.³⁵ In April 1927 the official organ of the Commerce and Industry Authority (*Ṣahifat Maṣlaḥat al-Tijara wa l-Ṣina'a*) reviewed a book on advertising by Yaḥya Fahmi Effendi. In July 1928 *Ṣahifat al-Iqtisad wa l-Tijara* published an article on the importance of advertising in contemporary life in which it reported on advances in advertising in Europe and the United States.³⁶ In 1933 Milayka 'Iryan, a professor at the High Commerce College (*Madrasat al-Tijara al-'Ulya*), published a book on advertising.³⁷

The attention paid to advertising by journalists and scholars had little influence on the business; scientific advertising of goods and services never reached the level of advanced countries in the West. This was mainly due to the fact that publishing and

advertising were controlled by a few leading companies which had little incentive to introduce these novelties into the business. As a result, advertising in Egypt largely remained the business of selling space in newspapers and magazines. Even in the early 1950s, when academic research was first performed on the state of advertising, the agencies in Egypt adopted few of the professional practices of businesses elsewhere.³⁸

The underdeveloped operations of the business also reflected the slight trust local manufacturers and merchants had in advertising (for several good reasons). Egyptian commodity markets remained small and the overall volume of trade was confined to the larger cities. Moreover, local industry developed monopolies or monopolistic conditions that did not encourage competition and the widespread use of advertising as a tool in this struggle. Under contemporary economic conditions, services such as banking, insurance, and internal tourism, which would be big advertisers elsewhere, were still limited. In the Egyptian business culture sellers and buyers appeared to prefer personal and communal connections to an advertisement in the newspaper. Moreover, for most consumers price rather than quality or fashion continued to be the most significant factor in determining the purchase of commodities and services. Therefore promoting the image of commodities was less significant. The end result was that under normal conditions established local businesses did not feel the need to advertise in order to increase sales, and they would usually do so only under pressure of competition.

Another major factor that influenced the volume of advertising was the structure of the Egyptian labour market. Egypt, like many other developing countries, enjoyed an abundance of cheap labour that provided relatively inexpensive household services such as cleaning, cooking, sewing, and repairs. In addition, women rarely worked outside the home, making family members, especially daughters, more readily available for household-related tasks. Local households benefited little from ready-made, easy-to-use, labour-saving items, which were among the staples of contemporary advertising in the West.

During the period under discussion, advertising was mainly by foreign companies that imported and distributed foreign goods and services. Foreign

Eighteenth Century Advertisements', in N. McKendrick, J. Brewer, and J.H. Plumb (eds), *The Birth of a Consumer Society: The Commercialization of Eighteenth Century England* (Bloomington, Indiana 1982); T.R. Nevett, *Advertising in Britain: A History* (London 1982); James D. Norris, *Advertising and the Transformation of American Society, 1865-1920* (New York 1990); Thomas Richards, *The Commodity Culture of Victorian England: Advertising and Spectacle, 1851-1914* (Stanford 1991); John Sinclair, *Images Incorporated: Advertising as Industry and Ideology* (London 1987); Susan Strasser, *Satisfaction Guaranteed: The Making of the American Mass Market* (New York 1989); Vincent Vinikas, *Soft Soap, Hard Sell: American Hygiene in an Age of Advertisement* (Ames, Iowa 1992).

³⁵ See, for example, his article on catalogue advertising (7 Nov. 1921), 1.

³⁶ *Ṣahifat al-Iqtisad wa l-Tijara* (July 1928), 275-8.

³⁷ See advertisement for the book in *al-Uṣbu'* (29 Nov. 1933), 30.

³⁸ Abdel Aziz el Sherbini and Ahmed Fouad Sherif, 'Marketing Problems in an Underdeveloped Country—Egypt', *Egypte Contemporaine* XLVII (285) (July 1956), 71.

companies advertised because they believed, on the basis of their experience at home, that advertising would improve sales. They were unfamiliar with Egypt and searched for inroads into markets. The fact that many of the imported items were new to Egyptian markets further encouraged advertising in order to promote new habits and preferences of consumption. However, the most important reason to advertise was probably the fact that Egypt was experiencing growing business competition among European and later Japanese and American producers for local markets.

The Content of Advertisements

The content of advertisements well demonstrated the fact that advertising catered mostly to manufacturers abroad and local retailers who promoted imported goods.³⁹ After WWI, pharmaceuticals and cosmetics continued to be among the best-advertised non-durables, products increasingly manufactured by large multinationals such as Bayer, Colgate, Gillette, and Lux, rather than by the obscure chemists and doctors who had earlier controlled patent medicines. Household non-durables such as detergents and pesticides (Flit), which were a rarity before WWI, began to occupy growing space. The same was true for foodstuffs and canned foods such as baby food, biscuits, cereals, chewing gum, coffee, spring water, and tea, whose presence in advertisements became more manifest (see Fig. 1). This reflected a second trend according to which advertisers were aiming at a wider audience whose more humble means would suffice for practical day-to-day goodsising for ready-made clothing and the large-scale introduction of fashion to promote its sale. It further witnessed an increase in the promotion of imported mechanical products.

The period after WWI saw the spread of advert durables such as pens, sewing machines, and watches, whose consumption had been restricted in the past. Electric appliances like radios, refrigerators, and fans were a novelty in advertising. Such items, together with advertisements for European-style furniture, suggested a shift in the content of the home, which followed new notions of domesticity and family space

³⁹ The analysis is based on the following newspapers and magazines: *Akhar Sa'a* 1948, 1951, 1956–9; *al-Ithnayn*, 1937–9; *al-Kashkul* 1924–8; *Majallati* 1934–7; *al-Muṣawwar* 1924–37, 1947, 1949–50, 1959; *al-Nahḍa al-Nisa'iyya*, 1922–32; *Ruz al-Yusuf* 1931–5; *al-Siyasa al-Uṣbu'iyya* various issues 1926; *Taqwim al-Hilal*, 1932–7.

(see Fig. 2).⁴⁰ Cars were also newly- and widely-advertised, but buying a car remained out of reach for the majority of Egyptians.

Advertisements of foreign manufacturers focused on persuading readers to begin utilising their products, to use them on a regular basis, and to prefer their items to those of the competition. In contrast, importers and distributors, while sometimes also promoting sales based on the qualities of the commodity, concentrated on advertising the retail establishment itself and inducing consumers to buy by introducing new fashions, suggesting low prices, announcing sales, and offering credit. The most devoted to advertising in this category were the large department stores such as Çicuril, Şidnawî, and 'Umar Effendi (see Fig. 3). This was at least partly because, unlike smaller retailers, they also had the financial means to carry out such promotion.

With the exception of banks and insurance companies, services were not well-represented in advertising. In fact, ads by service providers such as doctors, lawyers, and translators, which were quite abundant in early advertisements, almost disappeared. This was probably because the price of advertising space increased beyond the means of private advertisers. It may also be that individual service providers did not see much benefit in advertising for services offered locally in the national press.

While advertisements for locally produced goods and services constituted only a small proportion of the advertisements, they brought something unique to the advertising of the period, as they often used national Egyptian sentiments to promote their items (Fig. 4). Such advertisements portrayed local production and consumption of items 'made in Egypt' as patriotic. Egyptian advertisers also played on national pride by suggesting the higher quality of local products and the superiority of local commerce and services. They further used the notion of 'Egyptianness' to gain leverage over the competition, which was usually from abroad. By doing so, they probably contributed to the politicising of economic thinking during this period and supported the creation of a nationalist economic ideology.

⁴⁰ Nancy Y. Reynolds, 'Sharikat al-Bayt al-Misri: Domesticating Commerce in Egypt, 1931–1956', *Arab Studies Journal* (Fall 1999/Spring 2000).

Conclusion

The development of advertising in Egypt was the result of an interaction between demand for advertising space and the motivation of local press to provide it. Competition over Egyptian markets played an important part in promoting local advertising. However, both before and after WWI there was an even closer correlation between rapid periods of development in the Egyptian press, especially the introduction of popular magazines, and growth in advertising. While promoting and eventually monopolising the business, the large publishing houses curtailed further professionalisation of advertising, and Egyptian agencies adopted very few of the scientific practices that gradually became the norm in advertising elsewhere. The professional industry would only develop much later, during the Sadat era and under the impact of the Egyptian 'Open Door' policy—the *Infitah*. Nevertheless, contemporary advertising was significant in the commercialisation of this rapidly evolving public sphere (the press), and in fostering the entry of modern commodities and services into Egyptian markets. For these reasons, the advertising business and its products deserve our attention in studying the history of journalism and, more broadly, in explaining the synergy between cultural change and the development of local capitalism in Egypt and elsewhere in the Middle East.

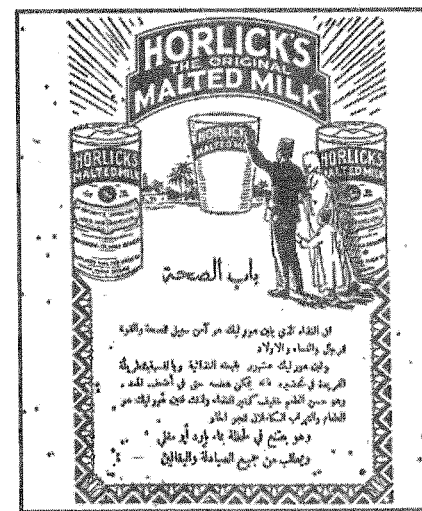


Figure 1. Advertisement for Horlick's: 'The original malted milk.' *Al-Muṣawwar* (14 Oct. 1927), 17.



Figure 2. 'A happy family thanks to Bort Bonir clock.' *Al-Ithnayn* (15 Jul. 1935), n.p.



Figure 3. 'Great clearance sale', an advertisement for Umar Effendi department store. *Al-Ithnayn* (1 Oct. 1934), n.p.



Figure 4. 'Your Egyptian cigarette: produced with Egyptian capital and by Egyptian workers.' *Al-Ahram* (3 Mar. 1939), 5.