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Business History

ISSN: 0007-6791 (Print) 1743-7938 (Online) Journal homepage: www.tandfonline.com/journals/fbsh20

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To cite this article: Christine Bischoff, Mehmet Demirbag & Geoffrey Wood (2025) Cosmopolitanism and its aftermath: The rise and fall of Greek and Turkish business in Alexandria, Business History, 67:2, 364-394, DOI: 10.1080/00076791.2023.2220278

To link to this article: https://doi.org/10.1080/00076791.2023.2220278

Published online: 21 Jun 2023.

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BUSINESS HISTORY
2025, VOL. 67, NO. 2, 364–394
https://doi.org/10.1080/00076791.2023.2220278

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Cosmopolitanism and its aftermath: The rise and fall of Greek and Turkish business in Alexandria

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ABSTRACT

This article explores the rise and fall of Greek and Turkish business and commerce in Alexandria, Egypt. As the existing literature alerts us, shifting forms of colonial rule made for a complex and multifaceted cosmopolitanism, in which each community secured a distinct economic space. In part, this was due to the insertion of Alexandria into the growing world economy of the nineteenth century, which allowed for both the rise of modern businesses in trade and manufacturing, and a resurgence of quasi feudal, yet export orientated, forms of agricultural production; we evaluate this process through recourse to state and private sector archives. It is concluded that neither community was able to survive the rise of Egyptian nationalism and the diminishing space it allotted to ethnic business. We explore the implications of these findings for the study of business, cosmopolitanism and decosmopolitanization.

ARTICLE HISTORY
Received 18 November 2021
Accepted 26 May 2023

KEYWORDS
Alexandria; ethnic minority business; population; cosmopolitanism; decosmopolitanizatin; Egypt; nationalism

Introduction

In his classic history of Thessaloniki, Mazower (2007) notes that, at the turn of the twentieth century, there were, in the Eastern Mediterranean, a number of great multi-ethnic and cosmopolitan cites – Thessaloniki/Salonica; Istanbul, Izmir/Smyrna; Beirut; and Alexandria. Of these, only Beirut survives in this form today, the others being radically transformed into largely mono-ethnic cities, reflecting the composition of their successor nation state. In all of these cities, a central feature of economic life was specific sectors dominated by ethnic owned businesses, typically drawing on wider regional networks in the former Ottoman Empire. Alexandria had large ethnic Greek and Turkish minorities, each of whom occupied conspicuous yet quite different niches in the economy. In each case, a period of opportunity and relative prosperity was followed by radical changes in political circumstances. If not ending as badly as was the fate of Greeks in Izmir/Smyrna or Jews in Thessaloniki, Greek and Turkish entrepreneurs faced diminishing opportunities in the city, encountered a general sense of being unwelcome, and at the same time, new opportunities in their historic homelands opened up.

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This article has been republished with minor changes. These changes do not impact the academic content of the article.
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Supplemental data for this article can be accessed online at https://doi.org/10.1080/00076791.2023.2220278.
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While ethnic owned businesses are often taken as businesses set up by relatively recent migrants, they may also be defined by minority ethnicity status and/or against a background of social exclusion by a specific ethnic grouping (Cooney, 2021). Following on successive waves of immigration, ethnic minority owned businesses have, since the 1950s, become an increasingly prominent feature in most developed economies, leading to a considerable body of literature on the topic (Barrett et al., 1996; Sonfield, 2005). A key concern of the latter is whether ethnic minority owned small businesses are in any way different to any other small and medium enterprises (Ram et al., 2000). Ram et al. (2000, p. 495) conclude that two distinguishing features that set the former apart are the particularly important role of family and the 'dynamics of workforce construction.' Other work suggests that, when confronted with social exclusion and racism, small business formation by ethnic minorities represent a survival strategy (Jones et al., 2000). Cooney (2021) notes that a feature of minority ethnic business is a tendency to rely on self-help, and informal family and community-based networks for support. Still further accounts highlight cultural effects and the impact of religious beliefs on entrepreneurship (Cooney, 2021; Smallbone et al., 2005). Many of these features also hold true for ethnic owned businesses in the developing world (Howell, 2019). However, during periods of imperial rule, a further feature was imparted by entrepreneurs from the colonising power (Zouache, 2018). Such entrepreneurs could, in almost all instances count, to a lesser or greater extent, on additional government protection, support and patronage (Konishi, 2020). At the same time, such a special relationship brought with it particular challenges in relations with the colonised, especially once the tides of empire had receded (Davis et al., 2017).

There is an extensive business history literature on the late Ottoman empire, dealing with topics such as business law (Ağır & Artunç, 2021), banking arrangements (Karakedikli & Tuncer, 2018), state and commercial interests (Fodor, 2020), how Western firms marketing products in the late empire coped with the latter's great internal diversity (Koese, 2008), commercial associations and the state (Ağır, 2019), and how Western oil and gas interests capitalised on Ottoman decline (Jones, 2022). However, few make explicit mention of Alexandria, other than as one of many sites of significant commercial activity (see Geyikdagi, 2011). At the same time, there are a number of specialised histories of the city in the late colonial and post colonial stages (Fahmy, 2017; Sedky, 1955) that provide insights into events and group formation, but without a deep focus on the history of business in the city. This study seeks to address this lacuna, primarily focussing on the time period from 1870 up until the 1960s, but taking account of developments earlier in the nineteenth century that are critical to understanding the development of the Greek and Turkish business communities. Hence, this study explores the rise and fall of Turkish and Greek owned businesses in the Egyptian city of Alexandria. It highlights how the intersection of particular patterns of colonial rule, the uneven and partial effects of Ottoman policy on each community, the opportunities that opened up along patterns of trade during the closing days of Ottoman power and the role of extended ethnic based networks of financing and support, all opened up opportunities in distinct ways for each of these communities. The study draws both on a diverse range of archival/primary documentary sources, as well as relevant existing scholarly research, the latter often conducted in disciplines outside of business and management studies. As such, it both tells the story of what was recorded at the time, both in terms of the ebb and flow of peoples, and the range of commercial and industrial activities performed by Turkish and Greek businesses and introduces new perspectives

from different disciplines to exploring the growth and decline of these communities. It is argued that central to the latter was a cosmopolitanism that emerged and reconstituted itself against shifting contours of political power, and the role of informal networks both within and between communities. It goes on to explore the reasons behind their decline, reflecting on the challenges in navigating post-colonial space, the pull of new opportunities abroad, and the push of rising ethnic-nationalism. Finally, we explore the broader implications for understanding the changing nature of business and society relations in the Middle East and the wider theoretical implications thereof. The study draws on the existing literature on cosmopolitanism (Braidotti et al., 2012) and business in cosmopolitan environments (İşcen, 2021; Pécoud, 2004). We add to this insights from the broad literature on decosmopolitanization (McFarlane, 2008) in exploring the decline of ethnic minority business in the city, emphasising the incremental nature of this process and its multifaceted causes; in contrast, most of the literature on decosmopolitanization focuses on forced and rapid process of ethnic reordering (McFarlane, 2008).

Minority business and cosmopolitanism

Ram and Smallbone (2002) highlight the challenges that ethnic small businesses face in 'mainstreaming' their activities, and in integrating with the wider economy. Jones et al. (2006) explore the proclivity of ethnic small businesses to hire recent immigrant labour, by illegal means if necessary, and ascribe it to a necessary survival strategy in fragile and hypercompetitive environments. This highlights a broader issue: the reliance of ethnic businesses on a community based 'ethnic resource microsphere' (Rahman et al., 2018). When the latter is diluted or removed, such business may battle to cope with an often hostile or unsupportive macro-regulatory environment (Rahman et al., 2018). Citing the US experience, Bates et al. (2018) conclude that in addition to the latter, minority owned businesses have weaker linkages to government, and battle to secure government contracts and support. Based on Chinese evidence, Howell (2019) notes that minority ethnic business tend to be associated with a much greater reliance on informal financing at the start-up phase.

This raises the question as to the relevance of work on cosmopolitanism and minority business in the case of Western countries to other parts of the world and in the past. Although the themes and issues identified in the preceding paragraph have salience, further issues intrude. In the case of countries under colonial and post-colonial rule, ethnic minority owned business-government relations are rather more complex. In common with the literature on ethnic business in the mature markets, informal provision of credit and associated informal ethnic and family-based networks of support feature prominently in ethnic owned business in the colonial and post-colonial world. However, a key difference is that in the latter, the definition, demarcation and support for private property rights was, in many instances, subject to considerable change (Onoma, 2006; Wood et al., 2013). A feature of colonial rule is capriciousness towards property rights, other than for those of the ruling nation, and such a legacy is often carried over to the post-colonial period (Wood et al., 2013), making mainstreaming even more challenging than would be the case for ethnic business in mature economies. In common with many, but not all, multi-national empires, the free movement of labour in the Ottoman era, which was carried over into the Khedivate period, enabled minority communities to draw on their ethnic peers from abroad, reflecting a shared sense of rights and obligations stretching along informal networks of support.

While nationals of the colonising nation could often count on superior treatment or support under the law, this was typically abruptly reversed or redefined following the winning of independence. Whether enjoying favoured status or not, ethnic minorities often faced challenges in coping with altered political realities, rightly or wrongbeing viewed often as agents of or collaborators with colonialism by the nationalist politicians and their followers (Wallerstein, 2005). In many post-colonial countries, this led to wholesale emigration, often prompted more by a general unease, and, a slow loss of past commercial advantage, rather than a general and immediate threat to their interests (Pearson, 2001).

A strand of work on ethnic and minority business draws on theories of cosmopolitanism. It is argued that in cosmopolitan contexts, minority businesses may draw on resources from both within and outside of their ethnic communities, and this combination enables such businesses to survive and prosper. Within this, a critical entrepreneurial skill is an ability to navigate between these spaces, which, in turn, is founded on pragmatism, non-elitism and semi-conscious elements (Pécoud, 2004). In other words, it concerns an ability to operate effectively in different cultural and religious spaces, and within associated patterns of relations (Marsden, 2018). Cosmopolitanism may be defined as the coexistence of different groupings within a single community, whether or not under ideal circumstances (Braidotti et al., 2012); it is about both diverse values and close proximity (Braidotti et al., 2012). As such, it is a situation where social formations transcend the notion of the national; it may both predate the rise of the modern nation state, and follow the increased movement of peoples between locales (Cheah, 2006). Of course, all societies have cosmopolitan elements, and these features may be encountered around the world. However, what set the great cosmopolitan cities of the Eastern Mediterranean apart was that the shifting nature of political authority both created unique opportunities and challenges for different clusters of ethnic entrepreneurs and was associated with a particularly strong reliance on extended networks and informal conventions both within and between ethnic communities (Mazower, 2007). Sifneos (2005) argues that the process of cosmopolitanization began in the eighteenth century with the rise of trade between Europe and the Ottoman Empire, leading to the proliferation of multi-ethnic and religiously heterogeneous coastal cities, bringing together both traders from Europe and Ottoman subjects from elsewhere in the Empire; in the case of Alexandria, this included both Greeks and Turks. Many foreigners who came to Egypt built a sense of their own identity as well as their formidable economic and political organisations, and Alexandria, which was more a Mediterranean and cosmopolitan city than an Egyptian one, provided the backdrop for this. The push for economic expansion helped foster ties between the vast nationalities and religions and the motivation to form monopolies prompted entrepreneurs to set up appropriate agreements and in some cases combine their firms. An example of this is the cotton ginning industry which was an activity initially that smaller businessmen in the late nineteenth century were involved in. By 1915, the larger Greek and British firms merged to form the Associated Cotton Ginners of Egypt. However, these major economic activities needed considerable capital, managerial talent and market control than the resident entrepreneurs of any single community could marshal. They turned to their contemporaries in the other communities to provide this expertise, a clear example of the interconnected ethnic networks in the wider Mediterranean region (Tignor, 1980).

A caveat is in order here; the term cosmopolitanism should be treated with some qualification. Critics have charged that this represents a nefarious and catch all term that needs to be imparted with greater nuance (Jackson, 2012). For example, it may entail both cultural

intermixing and interchange and quite rigid social stratification, with different communities being concentrated into specific occupations, types of business activity, and indeed, relative prosperity (İşcen, 2021; Jackson, 2012). In turn, tensions and contradictions around this may contribute to the decline of specific communities, and, indeed, de-cosmopolitinzation by voluntary or forced means (c.f. Wallace, 2003). These are themes we return to in our analysis.

Although cosmpolitanization as a concept has been used to describe the transformation of cities from multi-ethnic to greater ethnic homogenisation (McFarlane, 2008), this has received only limited attention in the business history literature. In part, this reflects the extent to which one form of division or stratification is often caused by another, or because drives towards ethnic homogeneity rarely succeed in imposing uniformity even within the majority ethnic grouping (McFarlane, 2008). The limited literature on this topic highlights the extent to which indigenous business may be pulled in different directions, towards sustaining the status quo on account of their commercial ties to minority business, and towards championing the indigenous majority on the basis of entrenched solidarities and elite linkages (Miklian, 2019). However, in the broad process of decosmopolitanization, the interests of smaller business actors are often downplayed in favour of larger players (Barany, 2018; Miklian, 2019). While much of the literature on decosmopolitanization focuses on forced removals, the process is often a slower and more subtle one, driven by changes in economic circumstances, events and opportunities in the minority's country of origin, and/or a general sense of being unwelcome; the latter can include what is infused from political rhetoric, a tougher economic environment and greater difficulties in doing business, and/or a subtle sense of unease and uncertainty (Esenova, 1996; Sartor, 2021). This uncertainty can in turn, represent a by-product of indigenous national building (Sartor, 2021). These are all themes we explore within this article.

In telling the story of the rise and fall of the ethnic Greek and Turkish business communities in Alexandria, this study seeks to shed further light on the dynamics of this process, what specific sets of resources – or absence thereof – made particular differences at key historic stages and turning points. We further explore the lessons this experience holds for ethnic minority business around the world, especially in contexts where the relative extent and contours of cosmopolitanism are subject to change and redefinition.

The Egyptian context

The Egyptian path to independence is a particularly tortuous one. Prior to the nineteenth century, Egypt was firmly anchored in the Ottoman 'world system', characterised by extensive inter-imperial economic relations (Richards, 1977). In the nineteenth century, declining Ottoman power led to incursions by the French and British. Following on from the failed Napoleonic expedition, Mohammed Ali was dispatched to reinstate Ottoman power (Marsot, 1984). In 1805, he gained the upper hand in the country and proclaimed himself ruler of Egypt; a negotiated settlement with the Sublime Porte led to a nominal recognition of Ottoman authority, whereupon Ali proclaimed himself Khedive (Viceroy) of Egypt, and embarked on a period of economic, regulatory, and military modernisation (Dodwell, 2011). The former included the establishment of large-scale cotton cultivation and the wooing of merchants from Europe to help promote Egyptian exports (Dodwell, 2011; Marsot, 1984). Anglo-French intervention in 1882 ultimately resulted in increased British influence and de facto control, leading to a further promotion of the cotton industry (Tignor, 2015). In 1914,

the pro-Ottoman Khedive was deposed, and a British protectorate proclaimed. This was followed by successive waves of local resistance, leading to nominal independence in 1922 (White, 2000). British troop withdrawals to the Suez Canal Zone in 1947 did little to assuage nationalist sentiment. White (2000) argues that during this key period, imperial policy was more guided by the macro-economic and geostrategic than the interests of settler and other local business interests in the country. The defeat of Egyptian forces in the 1948 war with Israel eroded what little prestige the Egyptian monarchy, widely seen as a puppet of colonial rule, had (Jankowski, 2002). Finally, in 1952, the last king, Farouk, was toppled in a military coup, leading to the start of the Egyptian republic in 1953 (Jankowski, 2002).

During the Ottoman and early Khedivate periods, the Turkish minority enjoyed particularly close ties with the ruling grouping, and could count on this for government contracts and patronage. Meanwhile, and, up until the rise of Turkish – and Greek – nationalism, the Greek minority benefitted from Ottoman policies of religious tolerance, that lasted until the late nineteenth century (Lacorne, 2019), and from belonging to a large internal trading block. During the period of British control, such arrangements gradually unwound. While the Greek minority benefitted from burgeoning ties with the West, both were ill equipped for the rise of Egyptian nationalism (Hatzivassiliou, 2021).

Methodology

This study centres on a mix of primary, mostly archival sources and trade association publications, and secondary documentary sources. The former helped derive a picture of the shifting demographics of Alexandria and the relative insertion of Greeks and Turks into the local economy, whilst the latter provided further details of the complexities of specific types of economic activities, and contending narratives as to what this meant for the two different ethnic communities.

Identifying Turkish and other ethnic minority industrial and commercial activities in Alexandria in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries proved a real challenge. There has not been any systematic data collection by a central authority. As for the Turkish residents of Alexandria, they were sometimes counted as local and other times as foreigners. We identified The Directory of Egypt (in French) and a British Chamber of Commerce publication which provided a list of financial, manufacturing, transport, and other companies established in Egypt in Alexandria. The Directory of Egypt is an annual publication that provides a comprehensive list of commercial enterprises (and other professions) by cities and professions/activities. The directory does not report on the nationality or ethnicities of proprietors or the size of the enterprise. It does, however, provide the name of the proprietor, the location, industry/sector, and in some cases the name of enterprise and whether it is a partnership. We drew on The Directory of Egypt for 1907 as the ethnic minority businesses were at their highest levels (using the population figures as a proxy). The Directory of Egypt contains proprietors' names as well as business addresses that are all written in French. Authors of this paper are all multilingual and can read, write, and speak more than a dozen languages among themselves (Greek, Turkish (with a limited level of Ottoman Turkish (reading only), English, French, Italian, Dutch, German).

This methodology has been used before (see, Artunç, 2019; Artunç & Guinnane, 2017). Knowledge of names and naming conventions in different ethnoreligious groups allowed us to classify proprietors of these businesses reasonably reliably. Although we have checked various databases for names that we could not classify in the first instance (i.e. https://

namsor.app; https://www.ancestor.com; https://www.geni.com, https://www.myheritage.com) some degree of caution should be exercised particularly for the Turkish businesses due to complexities in differentiating Islamic names of the native Egyptians and the Ottoman Turks in Alexandria. We also used Sephardic Gen resources for Jewish names in Egypt (http://Sephardicgen.com). While we identify some caveats in classifying ethnicities by names, our intention was not to provide the details of European ethnicities, as the same names can be used across different nations (French names in Switzerland or Belgium; English names in the UK and USA; Germanic names in Germany, Austria, or Switzerland; (see Artunç 2019, p. 985 for details). Instead, we classified all Europeans in one group, and focussed on Turkish, Greek, Armenian, Jews and non-Muslim Arabs. Turkish names were more challenging to distinguish, but titles such as 'bey', 'effendi', 'aga', or phrases such as, 'Bartinli', 'Tokatli', and Urfali which describe towns/cities they migrated from helped to differentiate Turkish businesses from others. We do recognise that the title of 'bey' was also awarded to people of non-Turkic origin, but these were mainly in the civil service and we assumed that civil servants were not proprietors of these businesses. Classifying commercial enterprises along ethnolinguistic-religious lines is not without challenges particularly in using a directory that is 114 years old. The team discussed potential alternatives and in non-straightforward cases used web searches to identify the concentration of names in locations, genealogical websites, and ethnic names databases (i.e. http://Sephardicgen.com; http://ancestry.com). For Egyptian commercial and industrial enterprises, we use 'sedentary Egyptians' to make it inclusive of Christian-Coptic Egyptians. As there were some challenges distinguishing Ottoman subject Greeks from Greeks from Greece we counted all Greeks under the same ethnic group. It is a well-known fact that Ottoman Greeks claimed Greek nationality on their arrival in Egypt to be able to benefit from tax arrangements. Hanley (2017, pp. 246–247) provides details of such practices which created tension between Ottoman bureaucrats in Istanbul and the Cairo administration.

Non-Muslim and European ethnic minorities had their chambers of commerce and/or consulate general commercial sections (i.e. British Chamber of Commerce of Egypt, French Chamber of Commerce of Egypt, Greek Consulate in Alexandria). Therefore, data regarding these ethnic minority businesses were better organised and somewhat more available than that of the Turkish community: Turkish population-related industrial and commercial enterprise-level data has never been published or compiled. Ottoman records about Egypt's economic state were published in an official annal (Mısır Salnamesi, 1871) and were transcribed from Ottoman Turkish to Latin alphabet by Ozturk and Ozkaya-Ozer (2005). Mısır Sâlnâmesi of 1871 was an official annal for part of the empire, and summarised the overall economic, social and political picture (see online Appendix 1, supplementary materials). Other studies on the Turkish population in Egypt do not provide any statistical data regarding their commercial or industrial participation (i.e. Ihsanoglu, 2012; Kurekli, 2015; Ozkaya-Ozer, 2007).

Ethnic minorities in Alexandria: demographics and commerce

Since the focus of our study is on Alexandria, we tried to find data on ethnic minority populations in the city. We used three different sources reporting census data or data compiled by foreign consulates. These sources comprised Misir Salnamesi, 1871 (official Ottoman annal for 1871), Hanley (2017) reporting on the census data for 1882, 1897, 1907 and 1917 and Zohry

(2018) reporting on the census data for 1947 and 1960. The Misir Salnamesi (1871) data was based on foreign consulates reporting on their citizens who had settled in Alexandria by 1870.

At the heyday of Alexandria's cosmopolitanism, the Ottoman official annal of Egypt for 1871 (Misir Salnamesi, 1871), indicates the total Egyptian population as well as the expanding foreign population (see Table 1). The foreign population made significant contributions to Egypt's economic, social and cultural activities.

According to Misir Salnamesi (1871), the total Egyptian population was 8 million, and 38 to 40% of this population was Muslim, with the remainder made up of Christians and Jews. The Misir Salnamesi (1871) document described residents by occupations in five groups. Firstly, Muslims of Arab origin were largely occupied with agriculture; secondly Turks were mostly in civil service, governmental positions; thirdly Coptic Christians who are original Egyptians, were mainly in bookkeeping, accounting; fourthly, African Arabs were predominantly servants and water carriers, and lastly, Europeans were in commerce, jewellery, shipping agents and print media (newspapers). Europeans resided in the cities of Cairo, Alexandria, Damietta, Tanta, Rashid, Suez, Port Said, and Ismailiyah. In short, there was a pronounced ethnic division among the occupations, with Europeans dominating the apex of trade and commerce, Turks the business of government, and with black Africans being largely assigned to the lowest positions. According to Sâlnâme figures, from 1869 to 1870, about 133,672 foreign individuals in total entered Egypt and 20% of them became residents in Egypt (Mısır Sâlnâmesi, 1871, pp. 3–5).

In the 1870 data, the first column of Table 2 (adapted from (Misir Salnamesi, 1871), indicates that almost 30% of Alexandria's population were non-Egyptians (foreigners who were called *ejanibs* in the Sâlnâme). Ottoman subjects (i.e. Turks, Greeks, Jews, Armenians) were not counted as foreigners, hence figures in the first column do not include non-Egyptian Ottoman subjects. Based on this, the level of cosmopolitanism in Alexandria in 1870 could be described as very high. The pattern of Alexandria's population structure becomes clearer from the 1882 census and onwards. The census figures of 1882 reveal that 21.5% of Alexandria's population were European ethnic minorities while Ottomans made only 0.2% of the total population. In 1897 however, the Ottoman population increased to 4.5% while Europeans (including Greeks) decreased proportionately, but not in absolute terms, to 14.4% of the total population in Alexandria. As stated in the footnote in Table 2, in the 1882 and 1897 censuses, Ottomans were counted as locals while in the 1907 and 1917 censuses, they were counted as foreigners and divided into subcategories (Turks, Greeks, Armenian, Jews, Arabs, and others) (Hanley, 2017, p.241). Some caution should be exercised in interpreting these figures as Hanley (2017) states, Ottoman population figures fluctuated from census to census. In 1907, the Ottoman population in Alexandria increased to 6.6% of the total population, of which 2.3% were Turks while Greeks made up 7.4% of the total Alexandrian population in the same period. We should also note that Alexandria's population dramatically increased over ten years from 1907 to 1917 (by 37%). Over the same time however, the

Table 1. Local and foreign population in Egypt in 1871.

Lower Egypt – (Mısır-ı Sufla)	2779667
Middle Egypt (Mısır-ı Vusta)	519582
Sa'id (Mısır-ı Ulya)	1163995
Up to 1849 (total)	4463244
Of which Foreign population (ejanib)	60000
From 1847 to 1869 increased foreign population	99271

Source: Mısır Sâlnâmesi (1871) (L 'Egypt, 1871).

Table 2. Population of Alexandria by ethnicity (1882, 1907, 1917, 1947 and 1960 censuses) (*).

	1870	1882	%	1897	%	1907	%	1917	%	1947	%	1960	%
Non-Egyptian													
Greek (**)	**31000**	**18688**	**8.1**	**15182**	**4.7**	**24602**	**7.4**	**25393**	**5.7**	**30753**	**3.3**	**24609**	**1.6**
Italian	14052	11579	5.0	11743	3.7	15916	4.8	17860	4.0	12370	1.3	6398	0.4
French	10000	8215	3.6	5221	1.6	4304	1.3	8556	1.9	3259	0.4	–	–
British	4500	3552	1.5	8301	2.6	8190	2.5	10656	2.4	9659	1.1	–	–
Austrian	3000												
German	500												
Israelis (***)										6071	0.6	1336	0.1
Syrians										393	0.0	1211	0.1
Other nationalities	683	7659	3.3	5671	1.8	6356	1.9	22257	5.0	1423		6328	0.4
Total Non-Egyptians	**53735**	**49693**	**21.5**	**46118**	**14.4**	**59368**	**17.9**	**84722**	**19.1**	**67104**	**6.9**	**44707**	**2.9**
Egyptian		**171854**	**74.3**	**254358**	**79.5**	**245136**	**73.8**	**321367**	**72.3**	**855489**	**93.1**	**1471527**	**97.1**
Bedouin		503	0.2	4984	1.6	714	0.2	2503	0.6	–	–	–	–
Sudanese		4367	1.9	–	–	5201	1.6	7130	1.6	–	–	2655	0.2
Ottomans (****)		**5169**	**0.2**	**14306**	**4.5**	**21827**	**6.6**	**28912**	**6.5**	**-**	**-**		
Turks						**8953**	**2.7**	**3549**	**0.7**	**2003**	**0.2**	**-**	**-**
Arabs						61		90		1172	0.1	3945	0.2
Armenians						2762	0.9	1827	0.4	–		–	
Greeks (***)						**-**		**2005**	**0.4**	**-**		–	
Jews						–		427	0.1	–		–	
Syrians						10,051	3.1	2795	0.6				
Other races						691		–		1	0.0	484	0.0
Unexplaine-d Ottoman subjects (****)								17528					
Total Egyptian and Ottomans (*)		181393	74.3	273648	85.6	245850	85.6	359912	80.9				
Total population	**180796**	**231393**	**100**	**319766**	**100**	**322246**	**100.0**	**444617**	**100**	**919024**	**100**	**1516234**	**100**

(*) 1870 figures are from Mısır Sâlnâmesi (1871, p. 44); 1882, 1897, 1907, 1917 figures are from Hanley (2017, p. 100); 1947 and 1960 figures are from Zohry (2018, p. 6). In 1882 and 1897 Ottomans are counted as local subjects and in 1907 and 1917 as foreigners (Hanley, p. 240).

(**)Israelis figure comes from religious section of Egyptian census reported by Zohry (2018).

(***) Greeks in 1870 is all Greeks (Ottoman Subject and Greeks from Greece) These two are are named differently in Mısır Sâlnâmesi (1871). Ottoman subject Greeks are called Rum, while Greek citizens are as Yunan.

(****) Unexplained Ottomans is the difference between two different reports. Hanley (2017) 1917 figure is an aggregate of all "local" categories except Egyptian, Bedouin, Sudanese, and Berberis which is 28912, but on page 241 where breakdown of Ottomans in Alexandria is provided, Hanley report total Ottomans with the breakdown into ethnicities as 11384. Unexplained Ottomans is the difference between these two figures.

European ethnic minorities decreased to 5% of the total population, with Ottoman subjects making up 6.5% of the total Alexandrian population. What this means in practical terms is that by the turn of the twentieth century the Greek community had declined in relative terms, and the Ottoman population had significantly increased. However, the cosmopolitan nature of Alexandria endured, and in many respects, this period represented the heyday of Greek economic power.

In the post-world war era (that is the First and Second World Wars) and within three decades, the Alexandrian population more than doubled (there was a 107% increase from 1917 to 1947). However, the ethnic minority population share within the total population declined dramatically, partially because of inward migration by the rural poor. Yet, despite their decline in relative term, between 1918 and 1948, the foreign community re-shaped the Egyptian economy. Upwardly mobile individuals became disconnected from loyalties to their ethnic communities, as they deepened commercial ties with members of other ethnic groups. This emerging haute bourgeoisie expanded the Egyptian economy and crafted new secondary, import-substitution industries which cut the country's reliance on the export of single-crop cotton (Tignor, 1980). Clearly, this foreign yet minority community influenced Alexandria's cosmopolitan character.

What the evidence shows in Table 2 also shows is that 1870 figures were only referring to non-Muslim ethnic minorities and therefore this excluded the Turkish population. As for the Greek population, this likely included both Ottoman Greeks (Rum), which in turn included those families who had lived in the city since ancient times, and more recently arrived Greeks from Greece (Yunan).[1] Unfortunately, The Mısır Sâlnâmesi (1871) did not differentiate between these two subgroups even though there were some significant implications for being Greek as an Ottoman subject, and Greek as a Greek national.

Alexandria's cosmopolitan business environment

Names of proprietors of businesses in Alexandria in selected activities (see Table 3, column 1 for sectors selected) were classified by authors along ethnoreligious lines.

The data presented in Table 3 indicates that machine shops were mainly Egyptian-owned but there was also a significant number of Jewish (30%) and European businesses in Alexandria in 1907. Table 3 also indicates that half of the foundries were European businesses (at 50%), followed by Egyptian businesses (at 35%). Scrap and related businesses followed a similar pattern to Iron-Metal which was within the same chain of business networks.

Alongside the Egyptians, there were Greek, Armenian, and Turkish tanners and furriers, with the non-Egyptian group of businesses exceeding the number of Egyptian businesses in this line of processing and production. However, in the soap production area, European companies were dominant players alongside some small Egyptian and Turkish businesses. Data presented in Table 3 indicates that Europeans were also dominant in construction material, with Greek businesses constituting a significant proportion of the count.

There were no Egyptian or Ottoman Turkish businesses in carbonated water. This area was dominated by Europeans and Greeks. A similar pattern emerges regarding related commercial activities (depot and retail), where there was some presence of Turkish businesses in traditional activities such as 'charcoal', 'millers', and creameries, with large groups of ethnic

Table 3. Alexandria's cosmopolitan business environment – business owners by ethnic (religious) background (based on a selected sample-not a full account of businesses) – based on Directory of Egypt, 1907.

Sector	Sedentary Egyptians	Europeans	Greeks	Turks	Armenians	Jewish	Other Ottoman subjects	Other	Total
Machine shops	41	11	1	2	6	17	3		55
Iron and Steel Foundries	7	10	1	–	1	–	1		20
Scrap Metal/ Forges	17	19	3	4	1	7	2		53
Earthenware and Porcelain	14	4	5	–	–	1	–		24
Tanneries and furriers	8	1	4	2	5	1	–		21
Soap production	3	5	–	1	–	–	–		9
Construction Materials	9	25	8	2	1	–	1		46
Minerals	–	10	2	–	–	–	–	–	12
Carbonated water	–	1	5						6
Petrol (depots and retail)	–	7	8	1					16
Charcoal	5	3	10	1	–	1	–		20
Millers	2	2	1	1					6
Creameries	4	2	6	2					14
Manufacturers of Furniture	2	3	1	1	–	1	–		8
Timber	22	3	2	6	–	–	1		34
Brass	7	1	–	2	1	–	1		12
Gilders	4	4	1	–	–	2	–		11
Silverware and Goldsmithing	–	6	2	1	–	2	1		12
Paints and Varnishes	7	14	4	1	–	–	–	1	27
Opticians	1	4	3	1	1				10
Watchmakers	20	27	3	4	6	7	1	–	68
Groceries	50	72	45	15	5	5	1	2	195
Home decor	15	23	4	3	3	6	1		55
Cotton and cotton seed	7	31	14	5	1	2	3		63
Cereals	5	–	–	2	–	1		1	9
Onions	6	9	5	2	–	2			24
Agronomist (approved Agronomes)	2	7	2	1	1	1			14
Shipping agents and brokers		20	6		1	1			28
Freight forwarders	7	15	6	1	–	2			31
Bankers	6	18	13	1	1	20	3		62
EXPERTS (Area)									
Agricultural scientist		10	2	1					13
Furniture		2							2
Mechanics		2							2
Accounting	2	9			2				13
Scripts and Stamps	3			2	1				6
Engineering	1	1	1						3
Architecture		5		1					6
Chemist		1							1
Electrician		1							1
Maritime		1							1

Source: Compiled by authors from the Directory of Egypt, 1907.

minority Greek enterprises also active in these traditional areas of production. In furniture manufacture, there were Egyptian, European and Greek businesses, while in the timber and brass trades, there were more Turkish and Egyptian businesses than there were European businesses.

The figures presented in Table 3 also indicate that 'Gilders' were mainly Egyptians, Europeans, and Jews while there were no Egyptian businesses in Silverware and Goldsmithing. Silverware and Goldsmithing activities were dominated by Europeans (50%), Jews, Greeks, and other ethnic minorities. In the paints and varnish trade, there were mainly Europeans (51%) followed by Egyptians (25%) and Greeks (15%). Opticians were mainly Greeks (30%) and Europeans (40%). In watchmaking (repair and sale) there were largely European (40%) followed by Egyptian (29%), Armenian (8%), and Turkish (5%) owned businesses. In another area of retail business, groceries, Europeans (37%) outnumbered Egyptians (25%) and this was followed by Greek (25%) and Turkish businesses (7%). In short, a clear pattern emerges of an ethic division of labour, with particular groupings dominating specific trades, and with Egyptians under-represented in specific areas of activity.

'Cotton and cottonseed' was an area dominated by Greeks and other Europeans and was a very important area of commercial and industrial activity for Alexandria. In 1914 Egypt was a model single cash crop export economy. Raw cotton and cotton seed comprised over 80% of the value of all Egyptian exports. Urfali Mahu Bey (Maho Bey in some sources) (a Turkish officer who was also mentioned in Mısır Sâlnâmesi, 1871) revolutionised cotton agriculture by introducing an Ethiopian cotton variety, which was a significant turning point in Egypt's cotton agriculture. Europeans were the largest group of cotton traders (49%), followed by Greeks (22%) and Turks (8%). Indeed, the arrival of foreigners and foreign capital can be linked to the cultivation and export of cotton and Egypt's integration into the global capitalist economy. While Egypt was the producer of a single agricultural commodity, cotton, it was the foreign community in Alexandria that played a part in this multifaceted process of modern Egyptian historical development (Glavanis, 1989). The American civil war was lucrative for the Egyptian cotton trade and by the 1870s cotton was a very profitable cash crop, attracting vast amounts of foreign capital investment (Moore, 2012).

Another agricultural product we selected from The Directory of Egypt, is 'Onions'. Apart from the European group (37%), there were Greek (21%) and Turkish (8%) traders in the onion trade, a core vegetable crop. In service industries, agronomists, shipping agents and brokers, freight forwarders, and bankers were selected. As Table 3 indicates, shipping agents and brokers, and freight forwarders were mainly European and Greek owned businesses. More than 70% of shipping agents and brokers were European, followed by Greek firms (21%). The freight forwarders display the same pattern. As for bankers in Alexandria, a significant proportion of bankers listed in the Directory of Egypt were Jews (32%) followed by Europeans (29%).

Another service area, 'experts', was listed in the Directory of Egypt for each city in Egypt. The same method of classification was used to organise these experts according to their subject areas and ethnic backgrounds. The figures in Table 3 indicate the areas of expertise and their ethnic backgrounds. That is, European ethnic minorities were dominant in providing expertise in classified subject areas, particularly as agricultural scientists (agronomy), furniture, and mechanics. There were Greek and Armenian experts listed under accounting while Turks and Egyptian experts were listed under scripts and stamps. There was also a single Turkish architect listed as an expert.

Towards the end of the nineteenth century, the foreign population of Egypt reached 140,000. The European migration to Egypt had particularly increased under British occupation starting in 1882 (Ozkaya-Ozer, 2007). Accompanying this was an increase in trade. Mısır Sâlnâmesi (1871) reported that each year, 8000 ships entered or left the port of Alexandria (Ozturk & Ozkaya-Ozer, 2005, p.22). During 1869–70 some 2884 sailing ships with a total load of 1,263,144 tons entered the port of Alexandria. In addition to this, 1061 steamships brought 77,779 passengers to Alexandria (2260 of whom were soldiers). While the foreign and ethnic minority migration to Egypt had increased in general (starting with Muhammed Ali's policies), Alexandria stood out from the rest of Egypt since it was the commercial centre for Egypt, and a significant proportion of foreign arrivals landed in Alexandria.

It is worth reflecting that Alexandria was a small coastal town in 1790 (with a population of approximately 6000) but due to Muhammed Ali's decision to allow foreign ships to enter the port of Alexandria, and incentives for foreign nationals who could contribute to the development of Egypt, there was an influx of entrepreneurs, service providers and professionals from Europe, US and the rest of the Ottoman territories. The Mısır Sâlnâmesi (1871), based on foreign consulates' data in Alexandria), reported that 53,735 foreign nationals were living in Alexandria in 1870. Alexandria became a particularly attractive location for investors, entrepreneurs, and professionals from Europe, and capitulations played an important role in the increase of foreign direct investment (one may consider these businesses as early examples of foreign direct investment or international collaborative arrangements as many of them were foreign-local partnerships) (see Artunç & Guinnane, 2017). Both The Egyptian Directory (1907) and The British Chamber of Commerce of Egypt in Alexandria (1901) reported that a very high proportion of banks, insurance companies, and mortgage companies were from Europe (c.f. Bartolomei et al., 2019; Cannon, 2001). Ozkaya-Sofu (2019) argues that this policy resulted in Egypt losing control of its fiscal management, as part and parcel of a broader process of British dominance. In the following sections we explore in depth the changing fortunes of Greek and Turkish business and commerce in the city.

Greek business and Commerce in Alexandria

Sifneos (2005) argues that a defining characteristic of Greek and other small ethnic minority owned business was cosmopolitanism, combining commercial skills and networks, with a type of civic orientated philanthropy that contributed to the renewal and Europeanization of towns. An increased influence of the northern European colonial powers and nationalism challenged the basis of this cosmopolitanism. Both forces disrupted established patterns of regional trade and communication between Eastern Mediterranean ports, leading to the latters' decline, a flight of capital and the pressures to conform to the cultural identities of the independent nation state (Sifneos, 2005).

By 1800, there were two separate Greek communities in Egypt. The first group were those whose roots in Egypt preceded the Ottoman Empire and they lived in Cairo, Rosetta, and Damietta, working as carpenters, small merchants, tailors, and furriers (Tignor, 1980; see also Table 3). The second Greek community (*paroikia)* who came to Egypt as a result of the Ottoman conquest, established themselves in Alexandria during the reign of Mohammad Ali (1805–1849). This second group of Greeks was, in turn, split into four groups. The first sub-group was composed of Greeks coming from Greece. The second sub-group was made up of Greeks with Ottoman citizenship who had further obtained Greek citizenship before

1869. The third sub-group comprised Greeks who did not have satisfactory proof of birth and ancestry but encompassed both recent arrivals and those whose families had been long standing residents of the city, and the fourth sub-group included Greeks who had been Ottoman citizens and who had acquired Greek citizenship after 1869, but without permission from the Ottoman Porte (Kitroeff, 1989). Greek emigration to Egypt was prompted by political and military events in the Eastern Mediterranean, the Greek War of Independence in 1821, the creation of the Greek State in which Greece became a Capitulatory power in 1854 and the short break in Greek-Ottoman relations (and then Greek-Egyptian relations) during the Crimean wars (Deeb, 1978). Greek commercial expertise and capital helped integrate Egypt into the capitalist world economy in the nineteenth century. Greeks came to Alexandria as merchants and were involved mainly in commercial activities as well as in shipbuilding. The cotton boom produced the modern city of Alexandria and its commercial strength was cotton with its associated service sector.

The rise of the Greek commercial class was also in response to the Ottoman desire to reserve military and civil service careers for Muslims, leading to the pursuit of riskier alternatives, centring on shipping and trade (Harlaftis & Theotokas, 2004; Sifneos, 2005). The epicentre of the emerging cosmopolitanism was the trading house, which typically were represented in two or more countries, and operated according to partnership arrangements. Emerging elites drew on differing European cultural and economic models for inspiration, including architecture, patterns of industrialisation, credit and banking, and organisational forms (Sifneos, 2005). However, from the late nineteenth century onwards, inflows of capital from Western Europe crowded out established Greek players, leading to capital moving to newly independent Greece (Sifneos, 2005).

Greeks were large merchants and traders and part of the Greek merchant diaspora around the Mediterranean and Black Sea, Smyrna, Aleppo, and the Greek archipelago (islands of the Aegean and the Ionian Seas). Alexandria was at the centre of Greek merchant, finance and industrial endeavours as there was a natural harbour, facilitating the maintenance of contacts with the region's commercial networks (Dalachanis, 2017), connections to the commercial networks of the eastern Mediterranean as well as the import-export houses in southern and northern Europe (Glavanis, 1989; Tignor, 1980). They relied on the smaller merchants in these networks to move Egypt's commercial merchandise to the European markets. Greek migration to Egypt also involved the movement of a mass movement of labourers, mostly from the Dodecanese islands (Rhodes, Kos and other islands) who came to work on the construction of the Suez Canal (Dalachanis, 2017). They settled in Cairo and Alexandria, in the old town of Suez as well as in the new cities established across the Suez Canal area, Port Said and Ismailiyah and they moved into the interior cities of the Nile delta such as Mansoura, Tanta, and Zagazig, and Upper Egypt (Moore, 2012). The sea and waterway transportation were vital for commercial activities. From 1809 to 1811, 28 ships that carried 100–150 tons of cargo were produced by Greek workers in Suez. Greeks from the mountainous Pelion area relocated to Egypt after the local artisan economy crumbled in the mid-nineteenth century; Greeks from the Peloponnese region moved to Egypt because of overpopulation and a scarcity of opportunities in Greece. Many Greeks who came to Egypt also worked as grocers and money merchants.

In the latter part of the nineteenth century and in the early decades of the twentieth century, the *paroikia* increased in economic importance, and were dominant in key sectors of the local economy in Alexandria, namely cotton exports, banking, commerce, and the emerging industrial sector. Greeks were the middlemen in Alexandria's key trades and

financed Egyptian peasant farmers but many who boarded ships for passage to Alexandria were also craftsmen and small merchants. By the late nineteenth century, the Greek community in Alexandria was firmly part of the eminent mercantile communities in the Eastern Mediterranean, with the other two communities situated in Istanbul (Constantinople) and Izmir (Smyrna).

The opening of the new canal that connected Alexandria to the Nile in 1820,[2] and the major transformation in land tenure, irrigation works and the planting of cotton for commercial purposes all greatly influenced the wealth of Alexandria (Tignor, 1980). At the scale of the global colonial system, the Greeks were the financiers and representatives of the imperialistic powers, particularly Great Britain (Argiantopoulos, 2019) and the Egyptian cotton boom in the 1860s was equally appealing to Greek workers. Alexandria was strategically located as the gateway to Egypt and it benefitted from Europe's need for raw cotton. Cotton was not only an extremely profitable export product, but it was how Egypt bought foreign goods that arrived largely at and through Alexandria. Alexandria became the leading distribution centre for European imports facilitated by Greeks who helped Egypt move towards modernisation.

By the 1830s, the built environment of Alexandria gained from the success of these trades. Alexandria was also one of the first cities in Africa to have a modern infrastructure, electricity, Italianate villas, wide boulevards and grand squares (Dora, 2006) and the city became the centre for Egyptian Hellenism. Wealthy Greeks founded schools and the like. These were the 'first class Greeks' who had migrated to Egypt by 1863 and were considered as representatives of the Greek commercial and banking capital (Argiantopoulos, 2019). After 1830, another wave of Greek immigrants (and Italian) Berbenni, 2023) followed which Table 4 shows. The 'second class Greeks' had come to Egypt a few years before the British occupation, between 1871 and 1878 and were in Alexandria by the late 1880s and 1890s. They were the entrepreneurs and established companies and businesses, while others were active in commercial activities, they were moneylenders and they were cotton exporters (Tignor, 1980). This group was linked to the British businesses involved in banking and commerce.

Table 4. Greek Population numbers in 19th and twentieth century Egypt.

Year	Population		
1798–1801 (Egypt under French occupation)	3 000 (2 000 in Cairo, 1 000 in Alexandria)		
1821	5000 (total)		
1833	10 000 (total)		
1850	8 000 (only in Alexandria)		
1871	25 500 (only in Alexandria)		
1878	79 696 (total)		
British occupation of Egypt (1882)			
1897		76 208 (total)	
	Greek Foreign Citizen	Residents of Greek Origin in Egypt	Greeks of another citizenship in Egypt
1937	68599	90456	21897
1947	57427	77595	20168
Geographical allocation of Greek residents in Egypt	Alexandria	Cairo	Suez Canal
1961	20190	12500	6546
1967	8000	6500	1500
1992	700	800	–

Source: Argiantopoulos (2019).

These two groups of Greeks were economic rivals and held different political views, the 'first class Greeks' supporting more traditional parties in Greece whilst the 'second class Greeks' backed an Anglophile political party in Greece. As indicated earlier on, a precise calculation of the total number of 'foreigners' in Alexandria was quite difficult as nationalities were not accurately defined.

Prominent Greek businessmen occupied important social positions in Egypt and were part of the social elite. They became Mayors, ministers and ambassadors and they were leading figures within the Greek community. Greeks also provided social services to the Egyptian society and indeed, the economic activities of Greeks benefitted not just themselves but the population of Egypt, uplifting many lives. In the establishment of the *paroikia* in Alexandria, the names of four Greek merchants are regarded as its founders: Tossitsas, Stournaras, Zizinias and d'Anastasy. Greek manufacturers in Alexandria founded five branches of the manufacturing sector, namely: cotton-ginning, paper, confectionery, leather tanning and construction (Glavanis, 1989).

Tossitsas was the first Greek Consul-General in 1833 and he helped establish the institutional, socio-economic and cultural structures of the Greek community in Alexandria (Argiantopoulos, 2019). In 1901 the Greek chamber of commerce was established in Alexandria and in 1923 in Cairo.

In 1875, Soleas established the first mechanised production of confectionery and his firm became one of main exporters of confectionery. The Charalambos brothers and Bolonachis established a leather tanning factory in 1850. Although there was a state-owned factory in Alexandria producing leather for the Egyptian army, using manual means in the tanning process, the Bolonachis factory was the first to introduce steam-run machines for the tanning process, producing quality leather for the consumer market in Alexandria (Glavanis, 1989).

The Zizinias merchant firm was the leading firm in Alexandria and acquired both economic and social status in Alexandria. Construction firms were founded by Zouros in 1850 and with ship-building as its main activity. This was a partnership between Zouros, who was from the island of Chios, and his two brothers-in-law, Trehakis from Chios and Sarris from the island of Siros. The Greeks in Alexandria also founded marble-cutting that was used in buildings. Michailidis set up the first factory in 1872, using steam-powered tools for cutting, shaping and polishing marble, becoming a monopoly in marble-based buildings in the city and in the region until the 1930s (Glavanis, 1989).

Low quality alcohol was produced by an Egyptian government enterprise as it had a monopoly over sugar production. However, alcoholic beverages became another branch of industry developed by Greeks in Alexandria. A factory was set up in 1884 by Bolonakis and as the firm needed high quality alcohol for the alcoholic beverages, Bolonakis relied on three Greek merchant firms in Alexandria to import it from Germany, Austria and Russia. Two beer factories, one being the Crown Brewery of Alexandria, was established in 1897, by the Klonaridis brothers. The candle industry was totally in Greek hands in Alexandria, with two factories operating in the city, supplying Christian churches in Egypt. Greeks also dominated modern confectionery manufacturing with the first factory established by a woman, Mitziali, in 1882 in Alexandria (Glavanis, 1989).

Agricultural products such as rice, sugar cane and broad beans were cultivated using traditional methods, but it was cotton commercial activities that were immensely profitable in Alexandria, involving brokers, quality controllers, administrative employees and merchant dealers (Moore, 2012). In the cotton-ginning industry, activities were carried out by Greek

businessmen in the late nineteenth century (Tignor, 1980) (see also Table 3). Zerbinis purchased six presses in 1895 to extract oil from the cotton seeds and in 1897 and he bought a machine to manufacture soap from the cotton seeds. Zerbinis was the principal director and major shareholder of the Kafr al-Zayyat Cotton Co (Ltd) which was set up in 1894. Vital communication technology, irrigation programmes and business networks were already in place and Alexandria quickly benefitted from the cotton boom. Greek cotton-exporting firms were set up in Alexandria, and cotton was purchased in the villages. The British occupation of 1882 further boosted investment in cotton cultivation, and it became the leading export product by 1884. Alexandria was the 'cottonopolis' as much as Manchester and Liverpool were. The most profitable period was during the American Civil War and by the 1870s, cotton was an extremely lucrative cash crop, encouraging vast quantities of foreign capital investment. By the First World War, Alexandria had the largest cotton exchange, the Bourse (outside of Lancashire). In 1884 cotton made up 75% of the total value of exports and by 1910–1913 it was 92%. In 1915 the larger Greek and British firms merged as the Associated Cotton Ginners of Egypt (Tignor, 1980). Cotton prices continued to climb (along with other products) and the accumulation of capital was vast. Zerbini's Kafrel Zayat Cotton Company Limited (as well as the Associated Cotton Ginners of Egypt Ltd) further developed cotton processing (Argiantopoulos, 2019). These companies were financed by Greek as well as English capital. The cotton boom saw a considerable upsurge in Greek emigration to Egypt (Deeb, 1978) and Alexandria's population also increased. The cotton boom in turn boosted the consumption of new and mainly imported goods and led to the institution of new retailing businesses in Egypt such as Greek stores that sold commodities and provided lending services, in many Egypt villages, as well as in the newly built European-style parts of Alexandria and Cairo (Shechter, 2006).

From 1882 until 1918, the foreign control of finance, banking, trade, and various joint-stock companies was far-reaching. There was only one Egyptian firm amongst the thirty-five main cotton exporters. Wealthy Egyptian landowners did not invest in the ginning industry, as it was mostly owned by the cotton exporters of Alexandria, many of whom were Greek (Deeb, 1978). However, the Egyptian economy became over reliant on a single cash crop and Alexandria was soon exposed to the fluctuations of the cotton economy (Moore, 2012). On the one hand, there were great advancements made in agriculture and an immense network of light railways sprung up to effectively transport cotton to the port. Yet the cotton industry was subject to the adverse effects of the climate and certain geographical challenges, such as cotton drainage, a steady decline in yields and an unproductive harvest in 1909. Greek emigration decreased after the financial crisis in Egypt of 1907 (Deeb, 1978) and then emigration stopped when World War One broke out. The post-war slump impacted negatively on Alexandria's trading warehouses as there was a noticeable decline in international and domestic demand. Economically a transformation was underway in Alexandria as European capital stopped flowing into the cotton economy and as many Europeans disposed of their interests in agricultural land.

However, Greek tobaccomen discovered a flourishing economy in Egypt, when they arrived, attracted by the cotton boom and an infrastructure that had backed cotton exports providing logistics which could be used to service their industry. Egypt did not have state control of tobacco, unlike in other parts of the Ottoman Empire. Although there was a local tobacco market, Greek tobacco leaf merchants (wholesalers and retailers) and producers of ready-to-use tobaccos assumed control of the Egyptian tobacco market. Instead of joining

the existing tobacco retail guilds, Greek tobaccomen founded new workshops, factories, and stores in the cities, outside of the bazaar, which had been the traditional centre of production and sale. The substantial expatriate communities and the affluent Egyptians were well served by this quality consumer good. Although Cairo was at the heart of cigarette production, due to its hot and dry climate which was necessary for the processing of the tobacco leaf, the import of tobacco for the nascent cigarette industry was an important sphere in which the Greek merchants in Alexandria had an effective monopoly over. Laghoudakis of Alexandria imported cigarette paper from Europe for rolling tobacco. In 1882, he started manufacturing cigarette paper (and initiated the paper industry) after receiving a payout from the British Authorities when Alexandria and his factory were destroyed (Glavanis, 1989). In 1884, new tobacco taxation and import systems were put into place, banning local cultivation. Greek tobaccomen had superseded the older tobacco wholesalers and controlled the imports, with Greece becoming the chief exporter of tobacco to Egypt (Shechter, 2006). The Egyptian Treasury obtained large revenues from the duties on the import of tobacco.

Egypt was already incorporated into the world economy through international trade routes and was geared up for export-oriented businesses which helped the Greek manufactured made-to-order cigarette industry. The Ed Laurens factory was located in Alexandria and the firm was active in export production (Shechter, 2006). Within the Greek-owned factories, Greeks as well as Armenians, Europeans, and Syrians, were employed as cigarette rollers and as this involved some complexity, they were highly remunerated. The local Egyptian workers were employed in simpler jobs that were less well paid. The tobacco industry continued to absorb mostly immigrant workers, training them and paying them the higher wages that they demanded, providing better working conditions and benefits. It was the immigrant workers who carried out major strikes in 1899 until 1900 and again in 1903 (Shechter, 2006).

The archives of the Greek Consulate in Alexandria list Greeks registered with the Consulate in 1842 as follows: 31% stated that their occupation was craftsmen of various sorts and 26% reported that they were employed in the service sector. That is, over half (57%) of those Greeks registered in the Consulate were not part of commercial or financial activities (Glavanis, 1989). Indeed, many who came to Alexandria were also from the lower middle class and of humble origin. Some were part of the 'shopocracy' and were vastly incorporated into the retail economy of Alexandria, controlling certain trades. They interacted daily with the Egyptian and Ottoman populations and as they were of modest means, they lived in neighbourhoods where Egyptians and Ottomans resided. Greeks also worked in the palaces as gardeners, constructors decorators. Much later on Greeks were workers in factories, doctors and they were interpreters in the army. As early as 1847, the records of the Greek Consulate in Alexandria indicated that there were 46 occupations, other than merchant or financier, that Greeks were involved in such as grocers (26), workers in firms or shops (32) tailors (32), carpenters (9), servants (7), bakers (4), coffee-shop owners (6), tobacco salesmen (4), shoe-makers (3), artisans (5) and house-painters (2) (Argiantopoulos, 2019). As Table 3 shows, in 1907, there were 165 Greek-owned businesses, most notably grocers (46), cotton and cotton seed companies (14), bankers (13) and charcoal manufacturers (10).

We also examined our results by comparing findings reported in Table 3 with another cosmopolitan city to find out whether these findings create some patterns in terms of

similarities or differences in other cosmopolitan cities. In the Ottoman capital of Istanbul (in the same time period – 1906) Greek businesses reported in Annuaire Oriental (1906)[3] display some similar patterns when compared with Greek business ownership in Alexandria. Our calculations, for instance, reveal that 23% (45/195) (See Table 3) of small businesses (groceries) in Alexandria were run by the Greek ethnic minority population, while the same figure in Istanbul for Greek small business owners was 32%.[4] Greek insurance and shipping agents display almost very similar patterns in Istanbul and Alexandria (17% in Istanbul and 21% (6/28) in Alexandria). Similarly, in cotton and cotton seed businesses, Greek businesses played a significant role in Alexandria but Greek businesses in Istanbul did not display such a pattern. Greeks, however were dominant players in tannery and furrier related businesses in Istanbul (66%) whereas in Alexandria this figure was less than 20% (4/21). While the Greek ethnic minority population consisted of a significant proportion of bankers in Istanbul (29%)(24/82), this figure in Alexandria was slightly smaller in comparison to Istanbul (21%)[5] (13/62). Therefore, findings presented in this study reveal that Greek and Turkish businesses in Alexandria displayed significant similarities in other cosmopolitan contexts but there were some elements of context related businesses.

By 1910, the industrial activities in which Greeks were involved included factories for food processing, leather and cotton processing, alcohol, tobacco and soap processing and the manufacturing of products such as chocolate and pasta. By 1920, metallurgy and textile products were being produced. The 1917 census data in Egypt reported on some of the professional employment status of the Greek population, in Figure 1, below.

These 1917 census figures show that just under half (48%) of Greeks were employed as tailors, small hotel-keepers, coffeeshop owners, and traders in food products (Tignor, 1980). Some Greeks were self-employed and were craftsmen or part of family enterprises. Others set up hotels, theatres, movie halls, coffee shops and wine markets. The Greeks of Egypt were more intimately incorporated into their own ethnic community than with any other section of Egyptian society. Within the Greek community, a substantial number of members of the

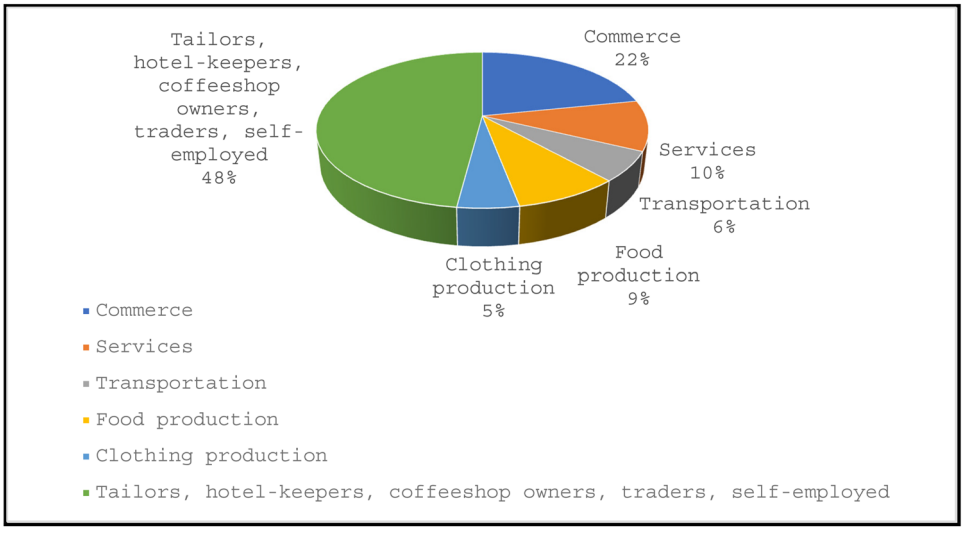


Figure 1. Greek professional employment in Egypt (%) (1917).
Source: Argiantopoulos (2019).

community's jobs and livelihoods were contingent on the ruling industrial and business class and its clientelistic network (Kazamias, 2009). The Greek community was kept together by a markedly ethnic network of production relations and services. The hoteliers, shopkeepers, restaurateurs, waiters, engineers, artisans, accountants, doctors, and other Greek professionals relied on the patronage of their Greek clients as the basis for their livelihood.

The 1917 census figures also show that a larger number of Greeks resided outside the Governorates or main cities of Egypt than any other foreign community. The total number of Greeks in Egypt was at its highest in the 1920s (Deeb, 1978).

The new foreign immigrants arriving in Alexandria during the interwar years came before 1927 and as a consequence of the population movements that followed the fall of the Ottoman Empire. Many new immigrants were poor and had fled with their meagre possessions when they were expelled. The poorest residential areas of Alexandria remained mixed in their population composition. Census records are not precise about the residential mix but oral history accounts suggested that it was extensive (Moore, 2012). By 1921, one out of five residents of Alexandria were Greek (that is, 20% of the total population of Alexandria was Greek). There was, in other words, a substantial increase in the foreign population after the First World War (Moore, 2012).

Importantly, under the Ottoman Empire, foreign communities were not subject to Egyptian legal frameworks but to those of their own consular powers. Foreigners were excluded from some forms of local taxation and they were afforded particular legal rights, most notably when in dispute with Egyptian subjects. This system was known as the Capitulations and because of it, many Europeans could remain in Egypt on a permanent basis without embracing local citizenship. The Egyptian government could not impose taxes on anyone without the permission of their country of origin, but the British administration imposed some taxes (Argiantopoulos, 2019). Foreigners did not need to show their passports to the Egyptian government when entering the country nor could they be deported. The Egyptian state could not enforce laws on foreigners without the permission of their motherland and also, they could not make them appear before Egyptian courts. The religious and personal freedoms of foreigners were greatly protected in Egypt, more than in any other province of the Ottoman Empire.

A mass nationalist movement started in 1919 and after a popular uprising, nominal independence was given to Egypt in 1922. Egyptian nationality was enacted in the 1920s and these new nationality laws called for foreigners to select their nationality (religion was not an obstacle to Egyptian nationality). While some Greeks moved back to Greece, some Egyptianised Greeks took on Egyptian nationality and others held dual Greek and Egyptian nationality (Moore, 2012).

A substantial concern of the nationalist movement was economic indigenisation, and the objective was increased Egyptian participation in economic enterprises and a more diversified economy.

As a result of the trend towards economic nationalism in the 1920s and in the inter-war years, the 'Egyptianization' policy was enacted by the Wafd governments of the 1920s and comprehensive Egyptianization laws were passed by a Sa'adist government. The Egyptian government circulated a ministerial decree in 1927 regarding joint-stock companies and it stipulated that at least two members of the board of directors of any company formed had to be Egyptian nationals (Deeb, 1978). Greeks, foreign citizens and residents had already grown anxious as more restrictions by the Egyptian government were put into place after it was granted conditional independence.

However, Greek owned businesses flourished in Egypt until the late 1930s despite the international financial crisis and the on-going nationalisation of the Egyptian economy. In 1937, Capitulations, the special status and privileges afforded to foreigners, shielding them from taxation and sheltering them from local courts, ended and as such, Egyptians moved into economic fields previously dominated by foreigners. In what was a transitional period up until 1949, reforms in Egypt were slowly implemented but at the end of this period, all foreigners would be under the Egyptian law. Another law for the joint-stock companies was passed in 1947 and it stipulated that Egyptian companies had to be at least 51% Egyptian-owned and the following measures were put into place: 40% of the board of directors, 51% of the capital, 75% of the employees and 90% of the workers had to be Egyptian nationals (Tignor, 1980).

By 1937, 1135 of the 2988 industrial companies in Egypt were Greek owned (Argiantopoulos, 2019). Greek businessmen also financed other companies and were part of their boards. For example, the Salvago family, an important Greek family, had interests in Alexandria's public utilities, in export and import businesses and were on the boards of no fewer than seven of these companies (Tignor, 1980). Greek businessmen helped establish banks in Egypt, notably the National Bank of Egypt (founded in 1898) and the Land Bank of Egypt (established in 1905). These banks offered loans and deposits to farmers. Greek banks such as the Bank of Athens, Banque d'Orient, Emporiki Bank and Ionian Bank had branches in Egypt too. These banks supported Greek commercial investments and offered attractive payment options.

Thus, Greeks had benefitted enormously from the Capitulations, and as it exempted foreigners from taxation, it boosted economic activity. The Capitulations were abolished in 1937 and traditional tax concessions and loopholes ended. By this stage, Alexandria's cotton economy had declined and its key competitive edge in enticing external investment and foreign residents was gone.

By 1937, 78% of the total number of Greek citizens lived in Alexandria and Cairo (Deeb, 1978). Over 1937 to 1962, the number of Greek communities in Egypt declined, as Table 4 shows. During the Second World War, many foreigners and Greeks came to Egypt. As noted, the exact number of Greek communities in Egypt is imprecise and their numbers fluctuated as some left between 1937 and 1947, according to the Egyptian censuses of 1937 and 1947.

The Greek Civil War of 1946 played itself out on the streets of Alexandria. The wealthier Greeks in Alexandria were more conservative but many other Alexandrian Greeks supported the communist-supported Democratic Greek Army. From 1946 many Greeks in Alexandria left to support their families in the Greek Civil War or they immigrated to other parts of the world. There were international 'pull factors' that offered Egyptian-Greeks new opportunities from the late 1940s onwards such as those in emerging migrant societies like Australia and the speedy modernisation of Greece in the 1950s and 1960s. Approximately 40% of the Greek community left Egypt between 1927 and 1952 (Kazamias, 2009) making the decline of the Greek community in Egypt gradual.

The Revolution in 1952 and the coming to power of Gamal Abdel Nasser saw many more Greeks leave Egypt. During the Suez crisis (in July 1956 President Nasser proclaimed the nationalisation of the Suez Canal) the Greek community were united in their support of President Nasser. Many Greek volunteers joined the Egyptian forces and some Greeks had acquired Egyptian national status. However, as they had only acquired this status recently, that is not before 1946, they became subjected to Nasser's laws (Moore, 2012).

Egyptianization Laws were passed in January 1957. Two of three laws were implemented in 1956–57 and the third was completely withdrawn. 'Egyptianization' meant the Egyptians were in control of the governance of the country, the army, trading, industrial activities and finance. These laws transformed foreign owned enterprises into Egyptian owned enterprises. This applied to banks, insurance companies and commercial dealerships, all passing into the hands of Egyptian businessmen. A delegation from the Greek communities of Alexandria and Cairo pleaded for Greek enterprises to be excluded from this, arguing that the presence of Greeks in Egypt benefitted the country. The prime minister of Greece, Karamanlis visited Egypt in 1957. It was clear that Greece was in no position financially to accommodate a large number of migrants from Egypt. Karamanlis suggested that Egyptian citizenship be granted to the Greek population and that Greeks be treated in the same way as the Egyptian citizens were (Kazamias, 2009). At first, Nasser consented but ultimately, the regulation was not passed. It is estimated that 4000 to 5000 Greeks left Egypt during 1957 as they lost their jobs because of the Egyptianization Laws (Sakkas, 2009).

The socialist nationalisation of the big industrial companies took place in July 1961 and Nasser's policies also affected many medium-sized enterprises in which Greeks were most prominent, which seriously damaged the foundations of Greek economic power. Nationalisation was driven by the socialist principle of positioning capital under the ownership of the state. To be specific, Law 117 nationalised the last of the banks and insurance companies as well as 42 industrial, commercial, and other firms. Law 118 saw the partial (50%) nationalisation of 83 establishments. Law 119 restricted individual ownership to a maximum of LE 10,000 in 145 listed companies. All excess holdings were handed over to the state in exchange for 15 year, four percent government bonds. The Greek (and other) businesses that were affected by these laws included textiles, cigarettes, soap, minerals, glass, pharmaceuticals, and real estate (Sakkas, 2009). The retail economy changed as Egyptian nationals assumed control of trades controlled by Europeans previously. The mass nationalisations took place between July 1961 and August 1963 but only affected 38 Greek firms which belonged to many families and as such, the assets of a few Greeks were affected (Kazamias, 2009). In 1961, Kafr al-Zayyat Cotton Co. Ltd was nationalised.

Many of these Greek business owners did not stay to claim compensations for their nationalised assets. Their Greek employees were left without the leadership and protection when the Greek business owners fled from Egypt. Importantly, the socialist laws affected not just Greek capital but Greek workers too (Sakkas, 2009). The personnel of the Greek nationalised companies were dismissed. The thousands of Greeks who left Egypt in the 1960s were connected to each other by a closed system of economic, social, cultural and power associations and they were greatly reliant on the plutocratic system of the big industrialists and businessmen whose firms had been nationalised. To be sure, the departure of the Greek workers and employees of the nationalised industries had profound consequences for the professions and small businesses who were unable to replace their traditional Greek clientele with new Egyptian customers (Sakkas, 2009).

In 1961, the Greek foreign Minister Averoff proposed to Nasser a bilateral agreement for the compensation of fellow nationals be drawn up. This was accepted by President Nasser and according to this proposal, affected businessmen would receive their compensation from the Greek government in Athens, while the Greek government would be given its equivalent from the Egyptian state in the form of free imports over a period of several years. However, by this stage, many Greek industrialists had smuggled substantial parts of their

assets to Greece and there was no law that necessitated that these assets be returned. The Egyptian government chose not to take any action either and issued exit visas for anyone wishing to leave. Later on in 1966, the Egyptians repudiated compensation claims submitted by the Greek government on behalf of those who had lost their properties (Kazamias, 2009).

As Table 4 shows, by the 1960s, more than 100 000 Egyptian Greeks had left Egypt for Greece, Australia, Canada, the United States and South Africa. By 1966, the physical, economic and cultural presence of the Greek *paroikia* in Egypt came to an end. As noted, some had vast wealth accumulated and with their skills, they made new and successful lives in Greece. Many were destitute and this hindered the Greeks of Egypt materially and made integration into Greek society all that more challenging, with the Greek state doing very little to support them. Thereafter, legislation concerning the expropriation and distribution of land that had belonged to foreign owners was passed in order to benefit poor Egyptian farmers. Greek entrepreneurs and those far less privileged had their properties confiscated. Egyptian rural immigration into Alexandria picked up pace and more Egyptians moved into suburbs formerly inhabited by Europeans (Moore, 2012). In the following section, we explore the changing fortunes of their Turkish counterparts.

Turkish business and commerce in Alexandria

The word 'Turk' and 'Ottoman' was used interchangeably in many contexts, including in Egypt, even though it is common knowledge that the Ottoman Empire had many ethnic and religious groups. Ethnic Turks arrived in Egypt starting with the conquest of Egypt, but a significant increase of arrivals took place at the time of Muhammed Ali (1769–1849) from Anatolia, Rumelia (The Balkans), or other territories such as Caucasia.

Although it was known as the Turkish empire, the Turkish population's status, commercial activities, and legacy issues associated with such communities have not been examined when the empire lost control of places like Egypt. This lack of information is not unique to Egypt, or Alexandria and the same problem is true for other parts of the Ottoman empire. Ihsanoglu (2012) also points out that the status of the non-military Turkish population in Egypt has been largely neglected. The previous literature and work on the Turkish population in Egypt (Ihsanoglu, 2012; Kurekli, 2015) did not cover, nor did it analyse details of the commercial activities of Turks as an ethnic group in Egypt.

There are several reasons behind this. Firstly, the lack of data and the destruction of census microdata (Saleh, 2013) are factors. Saleh (2013) argues that 'the microdata for the censuses over the period 1882–1976 were destroyed either by choice or by chance'(p.6). Secondly, Turks were not as organised as other ethnic groups in Egypt (Ihsanoglu, 2012). Ihsanoglu argues that the Turks of Egypt were never considered as an ethnic minority, and never had the status of non-Muslim or European ethnic minorities in Egypt. In many ways, non-Muslim ethnic minorities were better organised and networked (separate hospitals, schools, orphanages, cemeteries, etc.); with the end of Turkish rule, they could not count on the state either for patronage or as a locus of group identity.

As for the Turkish population in Egypt, while Mamluks were of Turkic origin, Ottoman Turks' migration (or settlement) started with the conquest of Egypt by Selim the First in 1517. Bowring's report to the British government speculates that 35,000 Turks settled in Egypt following the conquest of Egypt (nine thousand settled families, with family members 35,000

in total). Another estimation suggests a total Turkish population of 20,000 to 30,000 in 1833 (Ihsanoglu, 2012). Indeed, these are speculative estimations, and caution should be exercised in interpreting such data.

The Bowring report stated that a large proportion of the Turkish population lived in Cairo and Alexandria (cited in Ihsanoglu, 2012). Ihsanoglu (2012, p. 1) argues that, while Turks formed a small percentage of Egyptian population, some of them occupied the 'highest offices and ranks in military and civilian life'. This is only one segment of the Turkish civil service and military service population that had settled in Egypt, particularly in Cairo. The second segment of the Turkish residents of Egypt settled throughout years, and this rate of settlement increased from the 1870s. There are difficulties however, in using census data in Egypt's context (see, Saleh, 2013). Some of these residents married Egyptians, hence further complicating the data that emerged in the census.

As per the Directory of Egypt (see Methodology Section), based on counts of businesses, actual volumes are not known to us, but the emerging patterns indicate Turkish businesses were mainly in traditional areas of manufacture and retail, in addition to agriculture. Europeans dominated more advanced manufacturing-related areas and provided expertise in those areas too. In contrast, Turkish manufacturing firms seemed to have been more orientated towards traditional craft-based manufacturing in areas such as timber and metalworking, although there was also a Turkish retail presence, mostly in the form of small shops. This does not mean that there were not large Turkish economic actors, but these tended to be agricultural landlords, who were engaged in associated aspects of the cotton industry.

Property rights in Egypt had an interesting development process.

Up until the late nineteenth century, all the land in Egypt was owned by the Ottoman state. From the sixteenth century onwards, land within the Ottoman Empire was increasingly leased out to tax farmers, the *multezim*, who gradually attained hereditary status, and by the eighteenth century had led to the emergence of the *a'yan* sub-class of aristocratic rural landowners (Heyworth-Dunne, 1940). Egypt had a large landholder class (Abbas & El-Dessouky, 2011) The main components of the large landholding class were the ruling family, their descendants, *wali*'s (vice-roys), ruling family *waqf*'s (endowment for their charity). The second group of Turks that held land were high state offices (high ranking civil servants. Abbas and El-Dessouky (2011, p. 60) report that this group 'included a mixture of Turks from Anatolia, Moroccan, Tunisians, Circassians, Kurds, Syrians and Armenians.'

During the era of Muhammad Ali, it was very common to grant agricultural land to high-ranking civil servants up to 3000 *feddans*.[6] For instance, army officers were also granted agricultural lands depending on their rank (between 100 to 500 feddans). Some of the high office holders acquired a very significant size of land. One example is Muhammad Sharif Pasha (who was a minister, then the prime minister) who managed to acquire more than 20,000 *feddans* spreading over several cities (Abbas & El-Dessouky, 2011, p. 61). The third component of landholders were A'yan (the rural elite). These were important families that emerged in the Egyptian countryside (Abbas & El-Dessouky, 2011, p. 64). Copts (Christian Egyptian) and Europeans were also landholders in Egypt.

Landlords and tax formers, a significant number of whom were of Turkish origin, tended to afford concessions to the peasants, to keep them content, and thus avoided interference by the central government; the multezims and a'yans often lived in urban areas, and largely left the peasants to their own devices (Rodrik, 1982). However, from 1811 to 1814, tax

collection shifted into the hands of the state and a rise of private ownership, with a significant influx of Turkish landlords, in turn, sparked waves of rural resistance (Abul-Magd, 2013). Abbas and El-Dessouky (2011) argue that landowners had by now become important actors not only in agriculture but also in industry and commerce. In 1821, Mohamed Ali introduced commercial cotton farming to Egypt, making the sale of cotton to a state monopoly compulsory. This transformed the fate of the peasantry, who now were compelled to grow cotton and compete on a commercial market. The Nile allowed easy transhipment abroad, whilst disruptions to US cotton production as a result of the US Civil War opened up new export opportunities (Rodrik, 1982). Meanwhile, commercialisation led to a rise of peasant indebtedness, with the land being seised by those unable to repay their debts; this led to increasing land ownership by rich urban landlords, with layers of subletting isolating them from the peasantry (Heywood-Dunne, 1940; Rodrik, 1982). In turn, the landlords gained a strong foothold in Egyptian politics (Goldschmidt et al., 2005).

Peasants had increasingly little to lose from challenging landlords, and turned to other elite interests for support, which ultimately led to the decline of the landlord class (Rodrik, 1982). The agrarian reforms of the 1950s, which immediately followed the military coup, broke up the great estates through limiting landholdings to between 200 and 300 acres and the confiscation of the royal estates (Harris, 1967). These have been depicted as a drawing of a line between the feudal and capitalist eras (Dawood, 1956). It also represented the end of significant economic power by ethnic Turks in Egypt, although many had long pre-empted the move by returning to Turkey decades earlier.

Indeed, the ethnic Turkish population had declined from the start of the turn of the century. It escalated in 1926 with Egyptian legislation of nationality (the Nationality Act). Given the developments in the post-Ottoman era (Nov 1914), and subsequent citizenship law of 1926, Turks found themselves in a worse position than other ethnic minorities, as there was a strained relationship between the new Turkish Republic and Egypt (Bas, 2015). Hence, the departure of the Turks took place earlier and more rapidly than that of the Greeks. As noted above, the decline of the ethnic minority population continued even further following the Egyptian revolution and the land reforms; by 1960, the Turkish population had almost disappeared, with some being assimilated into the larger Alexandrian population (Ihsanoglu, 2012).

Discussion and conclusion

Alexandria underwent a process of de-cosmopolitanization through much of the twentieth century. An integral part of this process was the decline of ethnic owned business. Much of this had to do with the rise of Egyptian nationalism, and the end of state support, protection and patronage, first under the Ottomans, then the Khedivate, and final under hybrid colonial-monarchial rule. During the Khedivate, Turkish incomers gained significant landholdings, in addition to job prospects in the civil service and small-scale commercial activity. Paradoxically, changes in land ownership under Mohammed Ali combined elements of feudalism, with the introduction of cash crops; ultimately, this led to Turkish and Egyptian landowners in Alexandria (and Cairo) having diminishing ties to the land. This process accelerated in the colonial-monarchial era, at the same time as new nationality laws made matters more challenging for ethnic Turks. The Greek entrepreneurs benefitted from the reforms of the Khedivate era, which opened up Egypt to world markets; to some extent, they could

count on British colonial protection, which made matters less challenging for them thereafter than was the case with the Turks. Yet, for religious reasons, ethnic Greeks could not take the path of quiet assimilation followed by a proportion of the Turkish population; they joined many Turks in the final wave of mass 'foreign' emigration following the establishment of the Egyptian republic. In short, whilst both communities were remarkably adept in navigating different political and cultural spaces (c.f. Pécoud, 2004), and in prospering through pragmatism, the challenges posed by Egyptian nationalism ultimately proved too daunting. In part this was due to the nature of Alexandrian cosmopolitanism; successive political regimes afforded the Turkish and Greek communities very different economic spaces, the Turks around land ownership and the Greeks around shipping and associated trade, even if they interacted in a much wider economic playing field. Whilst both Greeks and Turks used such opportunities to play a much wider economic role, each community was in its own way, vulnerable to changes in the local and global political economy.

At a theoretical level, this highlights some of the paradoxes of cosmopolitanism. Arrangements between, and the relative status of different actors, while making economic activity possible, were sustained, reconfigured, and altered through developments in the political sphere. As such, cosmopolitanism represents both a series of pragmatic accommodations, and something that was actively, if often inadvertently, managed by the state. This is of much wider relevance in understanding the changing fortunes of minority owned businesses; even in developed liberal markets, non-market orientated decisions by governments (e.g. migration and nationality policies) may seriously challenge ethnic businesses. The study highlights how cosmopolitanism was not simply about cultural and commercial interchange; it also was characterised by quite a rigid stratification (Jackson, 2012). During the Ottoman period, the Turkish community enjoyed an elite status, buoyed by strong ties to the state, but which was ended under British colonial rule and Egyptianisation; in turn, the status that flowed from land ownership was rendered more precarious. Furthermore, the Greek community was stratified internally, most notably between the Greek community that dated to ancient times, which was concentrated in crafts and trades, and more recent arrivals, who constituted an outward looking commercial class.

This study highlights the changing circumstances of ethnic businesses under incremental decosmopolitanization, a phenomenon that has received limited attention in the business history literature. Although the nationalisations of land and industry in the 1950s and 1960s finally brought Alexandrian cosmopolitanism to a close, both ethnic communities were in gradual decline before then. However, although much of this had to do with economic and formal regulations, the social and cultural elements should not be ignored; at different stages, ethnic minorities felt more or less welcome through overt and subtle signals (c.f. Pearson, 2001), the latter bound up with the shifting contours of Egyptian nationalism and elite composition, and associated political rhetoric and policy around both Egyptian national identity and pan-Arabism (c.f. Jankowski, 2002). Moreover, the rise of the Greek and Turkish nation states provided a powerful pull in both instances: if one felt less at home abroad, there was a more clearly demarcated national home to return to.

Finally, the story of the ethnic minorities in Alexandria is not simply one of capitalist development. Rather, the rise of Turkish land ownership in part represented a strengthening of pre-capitalist forms of production, even if Egyptian cotton became integrated into the world market. Meanwhile, if the rise of Greek businesses followed on the opportunities for

trans-national trade, their position was precarious and sustained by the vagaries of Khedivate and colonial-monarchial policy; the socialist modernisation of the military government made their position increasingly as untenable as it did for their Turkish peers.

We acknowledge a number of limitations with this research. In the end, we were reliant on incomplete archival sources in a range of different languages and a multi-disciplinary secondary literature. Missing from this is the story of ethnic business owners in their own words: at the same time, this provides an opportunity for future research based on oral histories, albeit that the natural span of human lifetimes leaves a rapidly diminishing window of opportunity. In exploring issues of decosmopolitanization, the study helps demarcate an important avenue for future research in business history. The past 150 years have seen the decline of ethnic minorities and their businesses in many national settings, even as new minorities have established themselves in others; the former is relatively under-researched, especially in case of the many instances where the process has been incremental.

As Hobsbawm (2021) notes, the decline and fall of great empires in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century was a process characterised by rising nationalism, great movements of people, with many multi-ethnic communities being replaced with single ethnic ones. Although the latter is often associated with forced expulsions (e.g. Greeks in Izmir/Smyrna) or genocide (Jews in Thessaloniki/Salonika), Alexandria represents a case of gradual decline. The latter was at least in part a product of rising Egyptian nationalism, but this included both direct (e.g. land reform) and indirect (e.g. a sense of gradual unease) effects. This means that rather than businesses collapsing (owing to the flight or death of owners and/or staff), they either slowly declined or were simply sold on to local owners. Future research could incorporate a comparative element in exploring decosmopolitanization around the world, and the relationship between this and the decline of multiethnic states, and differences in the way this process has played out through the twentieth century.

Future research could further explore the full range of what drives of incremental decosmopolitanization, and how not just individuals, but also businesses might relocate themselves in response to a range of subtle and overt pressures. A further issue is how local businesses respond to decosmopolitanization, not simply as an opportunity, but also a process that imposes costs, most notably in terms of a loss of exchange partners.

Notes

1. These are terms used in Mısır Sâlnâmesi (1871).
2. There was a canal in Ptolemaic times that had silted up, and a second canal may have briefly been brought into service in the fourteenth century.
3. Authors' own calculations based on data available in Annuaire Oriental (1906), Istanbul, Ottoman Empire.
4. Istanbul related figures are not reported in Table 3, we report these figures only in text.
5. These figures were calculated by authors based on The Egyptian Directory (1907) and Annuaire Oriental (1906).
6. After 1830, one feddan is 4,200.833 square meters (about 1.038 acres). (see, What is the unit called a feddan? (sizes.com)).

Disclosure statement

No potential conflict of interest was reported by the authors.

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