Beyond departure: the Greek in Egypt, 1962-1976

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CHAPTER TWO

The Socioeconomic Environments of *Egyptiots* After 1962: Alexandria and Cairo

Introduction

The personal stories of *Egyptiots* who remained in Egypt demonstrated how opportunities and obstacles defined their experiences in the post-colonial Egyptian society. This chapter moves from the personal to the local, and looks at some of the layers of the economic and social histories of the two largest and most active *Egyptiot* communities, those of Alexandria and Cairo. Most *Egyptiots* who remained after 1962 were concentrated in these two cities. They were both large urban centers, but with distinct geographic differences, one being a port city on the Mediterranean and the other the largest city in the Arab world, situated on the Nile River; elements that shaped *Egyptiots'* and others' economic and social activities. This chapter discusses the political changes and socioeconomic developments that shaped *Egyptiots'* economic activities in Alexandria and Cairo. First it looks at how political and economic factors determined their activities prior to the 1960s, such as the economic crisis in 1929, the end of the Capitulations in 1937, the two World Wars and the formation of the Egyptian post-colonial state. It then examines how these activities continued and to what extent they were affected by the economic measures that were introduced in the 1960s and 1970s, such as Decree 263/1960 and the 1961 Nationalization laws, as well as the *infitāh* policies of the 1970s.

The section on Alexandria looks at four categories of labor and their respective economic environments that were the most prominent among *Egyptiots* in the city for more than a century (mid-19th to mid-20th centuries). These were the cotton and tobacco industries, the fresh produce and grocery businesses, the general category of the employees, which included both white collar workers and employees in industry, workshops and shops,

embassy and hotel workers, and employees of the *koinotētas'* institutions, and the category of industrialists and manufacturers, again as a general category of various kinds. The section on Cairo discusses the category of shopkeepers, which was the largest category of labor among the Cairo based *Egyptiots* after 1962. It looks at how *Egyptiots* established a dynamic network of shopkeepers and how they engaged with Cairo's commercial life, both as owners of stores and employees. As in the case of Alexandria, the category of employees was one of the most common categories of labor among *Egyptiots* in Cairo too, before and after 1962, although to a lesser extent. Then, it examines the tourism business, a very popular field among Egyptians in the 1970s. It shows how this became one of the Cairo *koinotēta's* adjustment goals to respond to the demands of the labor market, and consequently a new orientation for *Egyptiots.*

By discussing these two communities together, this chapter reveals the commonalities and differences among *Egyptiots* in these two cities and their experiences of labor, class and citizenship. The presence of employees, shop owners and technical professions in the 1960s and 1970s in these two communities demonstrated their predominant lower and middle-class nature. Nevertheless, the communities had multiple layers in their social and economic stratifications. Industrialists and manufacturers increased in the 1960s and 1970s due to the ways Gamal Abdel Nasser engaged with the capitalist classes and to Anwar Sadat's *infitāh* policies. This demonstrated that the social and economic presence of *Egyptiots* was not the same or linear between these two communities or within them. In addition, their economic activities show that despite the shrinkage of the communities in absolute numbers, *Egyptiots'* impact on the Egyptian economy did not necessarily contract.

2.1 *Egyptiots'* Economic Activities in Alexandria

The Cotton and Tobacco Industries

Under Ottoman rule Egypt fostered the establishment of local non-Muslim entrepreneurs and merchants, unlike the central government of the Ottoman Empire that did not promote such activities.[289] As mentioned in the introduction, the Capitulations played an important role in attracting foreigners, and specifically merchants, to Egypt and to the broader Eastern Mediterranean.[290] They allowed *Egyptiots* and others to reside in Egypt without paying taxes, and to address their legal issues to the Mixed Courts instead of local jurisdiction. Consequently, the Egyptian government had to operate under constraints due to the Capitulations and the benefits the latter had for foreigners. Alexandria, as one of the most important ports in the Eastern Mediterranean, became an important social and economic hub for empires and nation-states.[291] The city of Alexandria had a leading role in the cotton sector, being the seat of the Cotton Exchange at Minet el Bassal. The cotton sector was significant in the export-oriented economy of Egypt for more than a century (mid-19th to mid-20th

[289] Greeks, like Armenians and Jews, had a very strong presence in trade in the Eastern Mediterranean under Ottoman rule. Indeed, minority merchants were very much involved in European trading and import-export businesses, unlike the Muslim merchants who controlled trade within the regions of the Ottoman Empire. Gad Gilbar explains why only a small number of Muslim *tujjār* managed to get involved in the foreign trade in Alexandria and in some other commercial centers of the "western crescent". Gad G. Gilbar, "The Muslim Big Merchant-Entrepreneurs of the Middle East, 1860-1914", *Die Welt des Islams, New Series* 43/1, (2003), Brill, 1-36, 24-25&27.

[290] As noted in the introduction, not all *Egyptiots* had been benefited by the Capitulations. More than a quarter of them acquired Ottoman nationality, and thus were exempt from the Capitulations, which I assume was the case for other foreigners too. Gorman, "Foreign Workers," 239.

[291] Alexandria, together with other port cities like Beirut, Izmir and Istanbul, among others, has been characterized in Middle East historiography as a 'cosmopolitan' Mediterranean port that connected maritime networks. Important questions have been raised by scholars concerning the access to such networks, their impact and the social and cultural capital they carry, as not everyone who was part of these cities, such as those living in the interior, could have the same access or was affected to the same degree by the sea and its networks. I use cosmopolitan/cosmopolitanism in quotation marks, as it is an ambiguous term loaded with nostalgia that was mainly referred to as such by the city's foreign elites. On this matter, see: Will Hanley, "Cosmopolitan Cursing in Late Nineteenth Century Alexandria" in Cosmopolitanisms in Muslim Contexts Perspectives from the Past, ed. Derryl N. MacLean, Sikeena Karmali Ahmed, (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University, 2013); Will Hanley, "Grieving Cosmopolitanism in Middle East Studies", *History Compass* 6/ 5, (2008), 1346-1367; Henk Driessen, "Mediterranean port cities: Cosmopolitanism reconsidered," *History and Anthropology*, 16/1 (2005), 129-141. See, also: Fernand Braudel and Siân Reynolds, *The Mediterranean and the Mediterranean World in the Age of Philip II, Vol. 1I,* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1995). On the absence of the native Egyptian population in Alexandria, and their role in the making of the city's contemporary social history see chapters 14 and 15 by Khaled Fahmy in *Alexandria, real and imagined*: Khaled Fahmy, "For Cavafy, with love and squalor: some critical notes on the history and historiography of modern Alexandria" and "Towards a social history of modern Alexandria" in *Alexandria, real and imagined*, ed. Anthony Hirst and Michael Silk, (London: Routledge, 2004).

centuries).[292] Specifically, it was very important to the *Egyptiots*, as they were involved in every stage of cotton production and exportation, with Egyptians providing the manual labor in this process.[293]

Egyptiots controlled all aspects of the cotton sector. They owned some of the largest ginning factories, cotton exporting firms, and farmable land in the Delta region. After being sold, ginned, and pressed into balls, the cotton was transported to Alexandria, and it was once again the *Egyptiots* who were its insurers, brokers, bankers, and exporters.[294] In addition, *Egyptiots* and other cotton merchants created the Alexandria General Produce Association in 1883, which regulated the market for cotton and other products, like cereals.[295] As Alexander Kitroeff has shown, fifteen out of twenty-four founding members were *Egyptiots*, with Theodore Ralli being the first president of the association.[296]

Egyptiots were also involved in the dominant industry of cigarette manufacturing.[297] The dry climate of Egypt, very suitable for processing the imported leaves, easy access to Turkish and Greek varieties of tobacco, and the cheap labor force attracted Armenian and Greek merchants from Constantinople and other parts of Anatolia to relocate their businesses to Egypt.[298] A very important tobacco merchant, Nestor Gianaklis, was the first to relocate from Constantinople to Egypt, beginning operations in Cairo in 1869. . Other Greek and

[292] From 1910 to 1939 the country experienced a growth in industrialization and capital formation in agriculture. The Egyptian state gradually experienced depression in agriculture, and changes in the industrial sector, such as the establishment of a modern textile industry by Group Misr in the 1930s. However, industry was not an inclusive sector, but rather an exclusive domain for foreigners, with Egyptian capitalists and entrepreneurs investing in manufacturing and other modern enterprises. Due to the population growth, internal migration from rural to urban areas started to take place, and hence the service sector expanded. Due to this population growth, Egypt started becoming a labor-surplus economy, experiencing at the same time a decrease in agricultural labor force. Mabro, *The Egyptian Economy,* 15-16.
[293] See here the works of Alexander Kitroeff: *Greeks in Egypt,* 76; *Greeks and the Making,* 31-37.
[294] Kitroeff, *Greeks in Egypt*, 80.
[295] Kitroeff, *Greeks and the Making*, 64.
[296] Ibid., 64-65.
[297] On the rise of the Egyptian cigarette industry, see: Relli Shechter, "Selling Luxury: The Rise of the Egyptian Cigarette and the Transformation of the Egyptian Tobacco Market, 1850-1914," *International Journal of Middle East Studies*, 35/1 (2003), 51-75. On the history of the Greek cigarette industry, see: Penelope Giakoumakis and Manos Haritatos, *A History of the Greek Cigarette*, (Athens: Hellenic Literary and Historical Archive, 1997).
[298] Kitroeff, *Greeks in Egypt*, 97.

Armenian firms followed, such as M. Melachrino & Co., Dimitrino, Vafiadis, Matossian, and Melkonian, among others.[299]

Cigarette manufacturing was labor intensive and besides controlling a significant amount of capital in the cigarette industry, *Egyptiots* and other foreigners, together with Egyptians, were part of the different steps required for processing tobacco. The 'tobacco workers,' almost all Egyptians, carried out the first step of the process, by mixing the tobacco leaves and packing the cigarettes into boxes. Greeks from Anatolia or Greece were mainly 'cigarette makers' and together with other foreigners and Egyptians were also part of the 'tobacco cutters.'[300]

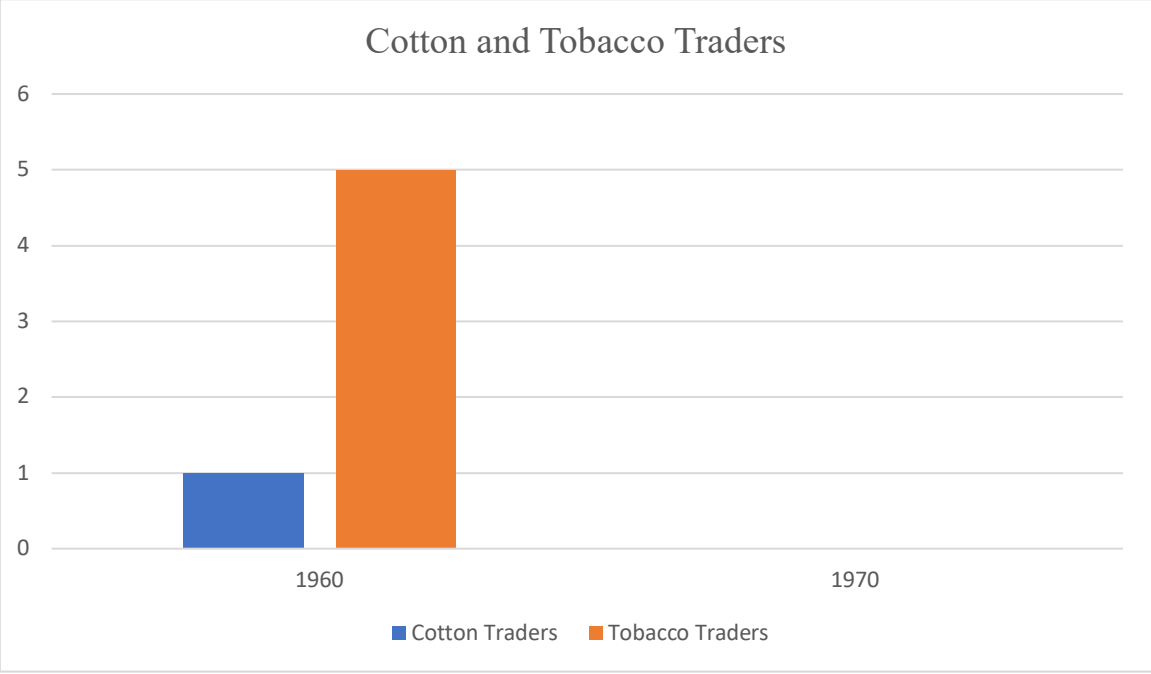
Through the cotton and tobacco industries, *Egyptiots* became part of a mercantile bourgeoisie that incorporated Egypt into the global capitalist economy.[301] These two sectors reached their peak in the late 19th and beginning of the 20th century, but they started to decline from the 1920s onwards. This affected *Egyptiots'* position in the labor market. Some reasons for the decline of the cotton sector were related to the effects of WWI, the declining demand for cotton in the international market, and the decline in value of the cotton crop that Egypt was exporting as its main product.[302] In addition, the decline of the cigarette industry was connected to the dependency on imported raw material, the government's fiscal policies and the lack of tariff autonomy.[303] The decline of the cotton sector strongly affected the capitalist classes who controlled it, as well as middlemen, cotton merchants, and retailers. In fact, the position of the latter underwent a decline prior to the 1920s, when Egyptians started

[299] Ibid., 98.
[300] Kitroeff, *Greeks in Egypt*, 105-106.
[301] Kitroeff, *Greeks and the Making*, 64-65. On Greek Levantine dominance, see also chapter 4, "British mercantile capitalism and the cosmopolitanism of the nineteenth century" by Jairus Banaji, *A Brief History of Commercial Capitalism,* (Chicago: Haymarket Books, 2020).
[302] On this matter see Chapter Four of Kitroeff, *Greeks in Egypt*. On the economic history of *Egyptiots* and, in particular, on cotton production also see Matoula Tomara-Sideris' *Oi Ellēnes tou Kairou [The Greeks of Cairo]*. Tomara-Sideris, *Ellēnes tou Kairou.*
[303] Kitroeff, *Greeks in Egypt,* 98.

to replace *Egyptiots* and other foreigners slowly due to the favorable credit terms they received from banks.

The decline of these two industries continued in the 1940s and 1950s. They were further impacted in the 1960s, when Gamal Abdel Nasser issued Ministerial Decree 263/1960, which heavily restricted foreigners who worked in the cotton sector and its related occupations.[304] The peak and drop of these two sectors reflected changes in the political economy of Egypt, which consequently impacted *Egyptiots'* labor activities. Indeed, according to Greek Chamber of Commerce in Alexandria (GCCA) archive, both categories in 1960 covered less than 1% of the total *Egyptiot* occupations. As the table shows below, in 1970, the categories of tobacco and cotton traders did not appear at all in the archival records:[305]

TABLE 2:1



[304] Some of those occupations were: cotton traders, commercial agents, brokers, weighers, and classifiers. *Apagoreuetai eis tous xenous*, April 24, 1962, File: *Correspondence 1960-1963*, Chambre de Commerce Hellenique D'Alexandrie, Archeio Emporikou Epimelitiriou Alexandreias, 1-2.
[305] Lists with the regular members of the Greek Chamber of Commerce in Alexandria, years 1958, 1960 and 1970, *Taktika Melē tou Ellēnikou Emporikou Epimelētēriou Alexandreias, Xrēsēs 1958, 1960 and 1970.* Chambre de Commerce Hellenique D'Alexandrie.

Activities in these two sectors indicated a noticeable decline shared also by *Egyptiots* in other sectors, for example the total number of businesses and freelance occupations in 1960 (see Appendix 1). Indeed, 263/1960 not only affected the cotton and tobacco merchants but other occupations too, such as white-collar employees, for example accountants and lawyers.[306] *Egyptiots'* activities continued to decline in the mid-1960s, as the total number of GCCA registered members dropped from 717 in 1960 to 177 in 1964,[307] and even more in the coming years. For example, by 1970, the GCCA had just 138 registered members (see Appendix 2).[308]

Undeniably, certain categories of labor experienced dramatic declines, as shown in the appendices.[309] The political changes in the mid-20th century, such as the end of the Capitulations and the formation of the Egyptian post-colonial state, together with economic developments, for example Decree 263/1960 and the 1961 Nationalization laws, impacted *Egyptiots'* and others' economic activities. Nevertheless, not all professions were affected to the same degree. Indeed, there were certain categories of labor that continued to be active, and even flourished in the decades of the 1960s and 1970s when the community shrunk. An element that demonstrates that the economic presence of the community was not similar, nor linear for all. In the following sections, I examine some of these categories, such as the 'grocery business,' the 'employees,' and the 'industrialists and manufacturers.'

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[306] *Apagoreuetai eis tous xenous*, April 24, 1962, File: *Correspondence 1960-1963*, Chambre de Commerce Hellenique D'Alexandrie, Archeio Emporikou Epimelitiriou Alexandreias, 1-2.

[307] Out of the 177 members, 83 had already repatriated (*epanapatristheis/epanapatristheisa*) and 94 of them were active members who had paid their membership. It is important to note that only those who had paid their membership on time to the chamber (*tamiakōs en taxei*) were listed in the document. Hence, taking into consideration the previous years' long lists of those who did not pay their membership on time, I estimate that the number indicated here could not be accurate. Nevertheless, the members were more than those registered in the documents, yet decreased. *Taktika melē tou Epimelētēriou mas etous 1964, Tamiakōs en taxei.* Greek Chamber of Commerce, Alexandria.

[308] 58 of which had paid their annual membership to the chamber and 81 had not. In addition, as shown in Appendix 2, some *Egyptiots* in the list had an undefined occupation. *Taktika meli tou Ellēnikou Emporikou Epimelētēriou Alexandreias, Chrēsēs 1970, 1-3.* Greek Chamber of Commerce, Alexandria.

[309] See, for example some examples from the appendices, such as representatives of International Companies and merchants of colonial products, whose number dropped by half between the 1960s and 1970s. In addition to the GCCA's archive, the archive of the *Syllogue Scientifique Hellenique "Ptolemee 1er"* indicated the registrations of scientists in Alexandria in 1967 (see Appendix 3).

Egyptiots in The Grocery Business

Until the interwar period, the majority of *Egyptiot*s belonged to the lower and middle classes, which included white-collar workers, retailers, technicians, small-scale business owners, artisans and traders.[310] Among the retailers, the greengrocer (*baqqāl)* was a particular popular category among *Egyptiots.*[311] *Egyptiots* owned grocery stores beyond the main urban centers, and almost throughout the country. It is likewise important to note that a stigma was associated with *baqqāl* owners, and their reputation often doubled as 'moneylender,' who took advantage of others, especially of their fellow Egyptian.[312]

Economic developments in the late 1920s and the 1930s, such as the economic crisis in 1929, impacted negatively the economic activities of Egyptian and foreign shopkeepers and greengrocers, including *Egyptiots*. Specifically, the position of *Egyptiots* in the grocery business was further impacted due to Egypt's tariff's autonomy, which decreased the trade between Egypt and Greece, and the government's measures that favored Egyptian grocers, like the tighter control and increase in taxation of goods, among others, and thus their number started to decline.[313] The declining numbers of *Egyptiot* grocers continued in the following years. However, one cannot generalize from this field of labor when it comes to at least the *Egyptiot* community as, until now, there have been no studies to examine *Egyptiot* grocers' activities in specific cities/areas of Egypt. For example, according to my findings, the grocers' activities in Alexandria differed from those in Cairo, as I demonstrate below.

[310] Kitroeff, *Greeks in Egypt*, 126.
[311] The word *baqqāl*, which translates from Arabic to English as grocer, came to be synonymous with the Greek *Egyptiot*, due to the popularity of *Egyptiots* in the grocery business. Ibid., 127.
[312] Ibid.
[313] Consequently, those changes also affected the *Egyptiot* importers and their goods. Even though these developments were on the economic level, they were also seen as part of the Egyptian government's anti-foreign policy that favored Egyptians over foreigners in the labor market. Ibid., 128-129.

Therefore, the grocery business provides us with an illustrative example to observe the differences between the socioeconomic environments of Cairo and Alexandria, and the differing nature of the two communities when it comes to their labor activities.

The number of grocers in Alexandria declined greatly, indicating that it was one of the professions that suffered dramatic consequences due to changes in the Egyptian economy such as tight control of the market by the state, the departure of foreigners and the increase in Egyptian grocers in the market. Alexandrian *Egyptiots* seemed to have formed more closed ethnic networks in this field that could not survive the changes in the Egyptian economy. For example, as Angelos Dalachanis noted, the number of grocery stores (*pantopōleia*) in Alexandria decreased by 71.5% between 1936 and 1958.[314] In 1970, some groceries were still active, although their number was shrinking. For example, according to the GCCA, the total number of shop owners was estimated at 28.9% of total registered businesses in 1970.[315] Within this number, the owners of grocery stores were calculated at 12.5%.[316] The decline in the number of grocers continued in the mid-1970s; according to the Averofeio school registrations in 1974-1975, only 2% of students stated it as their father's occupation.[317] The Averofeio students' registration cards cannot provide us with a complete picture of grocers' activities, and in general those of shop owners in Alexandria. However, they can suggest trends in this profession and in *Egyptiot* labor practices. Below I discuss trends in male *Egyptiot* occupations as reflected in the information found in the Averofeio students' registration cards.

[314] Dalachanis, *Akyvernētē Paroikia,* 170-171.
[315] *Taktika melē tou Ellēnikou Emporikou Epimelētēriou Alexandreias, Chrēsēs 1970, 1-3.* Greek Chamber of Commerce, Alexandria.
[316] The owners of restaurants and patisseries were the largest category within the 'shop owners' and they were calculated at 32.5%. Ibid.
[317] The complete examination of the students' registration cards from the Aberōpheio Gymnasium for the 1974/1975 academic year will be provided later in this section. *Katastatiko Aberōpheiou Gymnasiou*, Student's Cards: 1966/1967 & 1967/1968, Aberōpheio Gymnasium school, Archeio Ellēnikēs *Koinotitas Alexandreias*.

In Cairo, *Egyptiot* grocers were affected too, but to a smaller degree. As a matter of comparison, I will refer to some of the findings here, but I will analyze them in detail in the Cairo section. For example, between 1947 and 1961, grocery stores only dropped by 31.4%, which was only half the drop witnessed among grocers in Alexandria (71.5%) in about the same period.[318] Between 1962 and 1978, grocery stores in Cairo made up of the majority of shops. Specifically, they amounted to about one fifth of the total number (close to 20%), which was almost double the proportion of grocers in Alexandria.[319] Businesses like bakeries/patisseries and liquor stores followed, making up together with groceries almost half of the businesses in the 'stores' category.[320] One reason that could explain the differences between these two cities is that *Egyptiots'* stores in Cairo were spread throughout the city, and not concentrated in predominantly *Egyptiot* neighborhoods.

Indeed, from the registration forms I examined at the Greek Chamber of Commerce in Cairo (GCCC), *Egyptiots* had established businesses in several neighborhoods of the city, from Bulaq and Shubra to Wust el-Balad (downtown) and Ezbekia.[321] This could indicate that operating in the Egyptian capital impacted the socioeconomic nature of the Cairo community in different ways. Compared to their fellow-grocers in Alexandria, who were impacted by the departure of foreigners and the increasing numbers of Egyptian grocers, among others, the *Egyptiot* grocers in Cairo, due to the fact that they lived in a much larger city and operated in its many areas, seemed to have been able to bypass their ethnic borders and survive the economic changes of that period.

The *Egyptiot* Employees

[318] Dalachanis, *Akyvernētē Paroikia,* 170-171.
[319] *Deltia eggrafēs Ellēnikou Emporikou Epimelētēriou Kairou, 1962-1978, (Registration Forms),* Greek Chamber of Commerce, Cairo.
[320] Ibid.
[321] Ibid.

Employees characterized the 'backbone' of the *Egyptiot* community, and they were not affected either by the nationalizations of 1961 or the land reforms of 1963.[322] Regardless of the *Egyptiot* decrease in absolute numbers, the category of employees continued to remain stable.[323] It is important to note that this was applicable to *Egyptiots* across the communities of Alexandria, Cairo and the Suez Canal region.[324] This category, even though it usually appeared as a general term, included employees in shops, industries and workshops, accountants, employees of the *koinotēta's* institutions, or at the Greek Consulate, among others.[325] *Egyptiot* employees formed the largest category post-1962, and worked mostly in businesses that continued to be largely operated by *Egyptiots*. I discuss here the male *Egyptiot* employees. Due to the nature of their work, employees did not appear in the archival material of the Greek Chamber of Commerce (both in Alexandria and Cairo), thus my analysis relies on the Averofeio community school's registrations, which indicated the father's employment of the *Egyptiot* children. Even though the registration cards cannot sketch a complete picture of *Egyptiot* economic activities in Alexandria, they provide us with a good indication of their employment. As I discuss in chapter five, the Averofeio school was the most popular school among *Egyptiots* in Alexandria in the 1960s and 1970s, and gathered *Egyptiots* of all economic and social strata.

According to archival material found on the Averofeio community school, employees constituted the largest category throughout the 1960s and 1970s.[326] Indeed, about fifty

[322] Dalachanis, *Akyvernētē Paroikia,* 344.
[323] According to Angelos Dalachanis and the census of the *Egyptiot* community in 1949-1950, the category of 'employees' was the largest, covering 33.5% of the total number of the *Egyptiot* population. 'Freelance' occupations, like waiters and drivers, followed, with 26.1% and technical professions made up 13.2%, including mechanics and electricians. Dalachanis, *Akyvernētē Paroikia,* 128-129.
[324] I explore this in detail in the next section on Cairo and the next chapter on the Suez Canal region.
[325] In the archival material I discuss, the term 'employee' appeared as a general category most of the time, without an indication of a specific occupation or employer. In a few cases, there was the indication of *dieuthēntēs* which could be translated as director or manager of a company, showing that a number of *Egyptiots* held highly skilled, managerial positions. Nevertheless, this number was very limited in the decades I discuss.
[326] Here I refer to the student registration cards of the Aberōpheio Gymnasium school between the academic years of 1961/1962 and 1974/1975. Next to the father's occupation, the cards indicated the place of father's origin and the student's birth year. Until 1967, no citizenship status was stated. From that year onwards, all

percent[327] of Averofeio students listed this category as their father's occupation, indicating that *Egyptiot* employees remained in Egypt after 1962, and they were not of those professions that were impacted to a significant degree by the economic changes. For example, for the years 1966-1967 and 1967-1968, 44.6% of the total number of students[328] indicated that their father was working as an employee in a company. Within this number, employees at the *koinotēta's* institutions, such as teachers and secretaries, and at the Greek consulate were included. As the graph below indicates, the categories of 'merchants'[329] and 'mechanics/electricians' followed the popularity of employees in those years, showing the high number of *Egyptiots* employed in technical professions and trading: [330]

TABLE 2:2

Egyptiot Professions Based on Fathers' Professions Listed on Students' Cards, 1966-1968

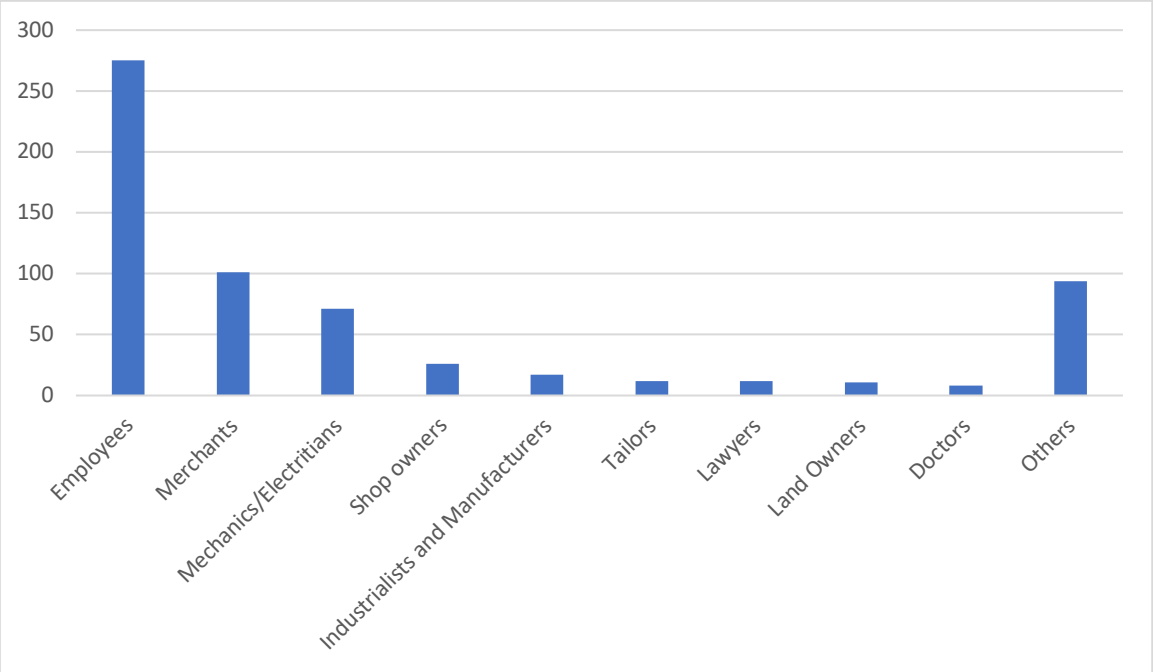
student cards had the father's citizenship written. *Katastatiko Aberōpheiou Gymnasiou*, Student's Cards: 1966/1967 & 1967/1968, Aberōpheio Gymnasium school, Archeio Ellēnikēs *Koinotitas Alexandreias*.

[327] This is an estimate after examining the student cards from the academic years 1961/1962 to 1974/1975. In some years the percentage was smaller, but the category of 'employees' remained the largest. Ibid.

[328] In numbers this was 275 out of 616 students.

[329] Concerning the category of 'merchants,' this usually appeared undefined, but in some cases, the specific category of trading was noted, such as paper or fur, *chartemporas* and *dermatemporas* in Greek. Only a few cases mentioned the cotton merchants, *vamvakemporas* in Greek, illustrating the decline of this trading product, as discussed earlier. *Katastatiko Aberōpheiou Gymnasiou*, Student's Cards: 1966/1967 & 1967/1968, Aberōpheio Gymnasium school, Archeio Ellēnikēs *Koinotitas Alexandreias*.

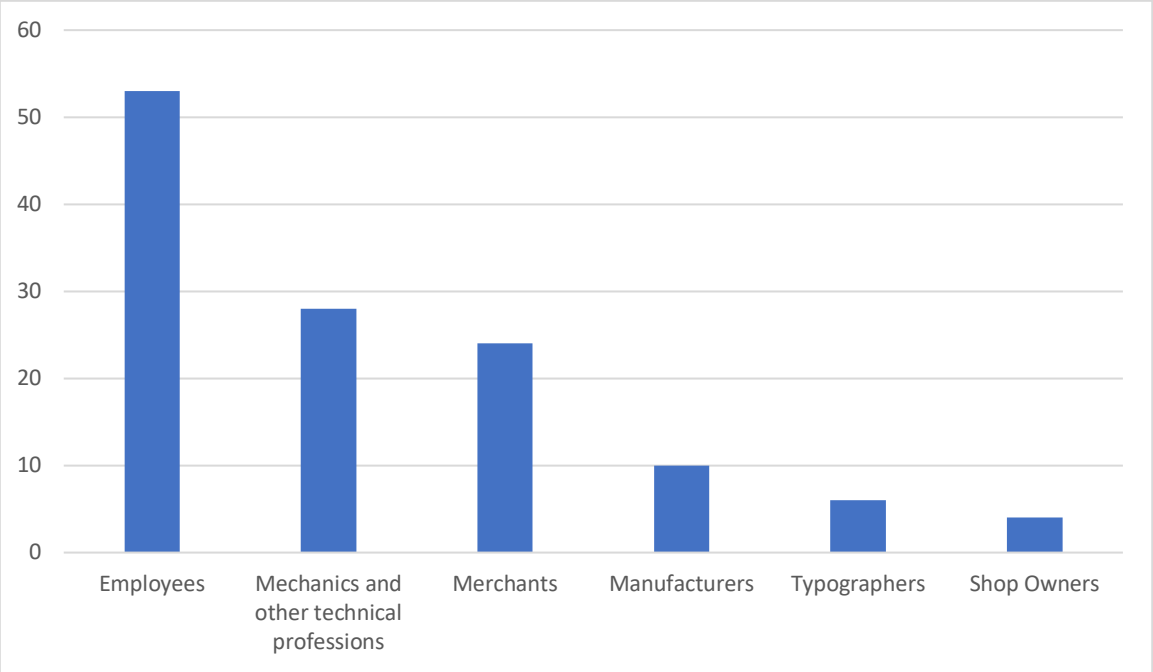
[330] Under the category 'Other' were occupations that did not exceed seven registrations per profession. Among others, these were barbers, hotel owners, painters, bakers, accountants and pharmacists. Ibid.



The *Egyptiots* in Alexandria mostly occupied positions such as white-collar workers, merchants and technical staff in companies, until the late 1960s. These labor activities continued in the 1970s, and similar numbers to the previous years were seen when compared to the student statutes in 1974-1975, as the table indicates:

TABLE 2:3

Egyptiot Professions Based on Fathers' Professions Listed on Students' Cards, 1974-1975



Indeed, throughout the 1960s and 1970s, the category of employees continued to be the most common profession, with 36.3% of gymnasium students indicating it as their fathers' occupation.[331] With regards to the other categories, by the 1970s, 'mechanics and other technical professions'[332] surpassed the number of 'merchants,' which came second in the 1960s.[333] The category of 'mechanics' increased from 11.5% to 19.2%, being the second largest category among Alexandrian *Egyptiots* in the mid-1970s. The increase in the technical professions indicated that the Alexandrian community shifted to a technical orientation, adjusting to the new demands of the labor market, such as that for technical labor. Indeed, several *koinotētas'* members confirmed that moving towards a more technical education

[331] *Katastatiko Aberōpheiou Gymnasiou*, Student's Cards: 1974/1975, Aberōpheio Gymnasium school, Archeio Ellēnikēs *Koinotitas Alexandreias.*
[332] I included electricians, as in 1966-1968, and other technicians, like radio technicians.
[333] The category of 'merchants' was quite stable, covering 16.4% of the total, in both 1966-1968 and 1974-1975 academic years. *Katastatiko Aberōpheiou Gymnasiou*, Student's Cards: 1966/1967 & 1967/1968; 1974/1975, Aberōpheio Gymnasium school, Archeio Ellēnikēs *Koinotitas Alexandreias.* On the other hand, according to the GCCA archive, the category of 'merchants' had a slight decline (17 members in 1960 to 12 members in 1970), indicating once more the discrepancies among sources. Indeed, there were significant drops in some kinds of trading that illustrated the changes in trading products between these two decades. The most noticeable change regarded the trading of cotton, tobacco and colonial products. This change illustrated the economic and political developments Egypt underwent, which consequently impacted those sectors, as discussed earlier. *Taktika Melē tou Ellēnikou Emporikou Epimelētēriou Alexandreias, Chrēsēs 1970, 1-3.* Greek Chamber of Commerce, Alexandria.

better equipped students for the new labor market.[334] In addition, the category of 'industrialists and manufacturers' increased from the mid-1960s to the mid-1970s. From 2.7%, it reached 6.8% of the total professions, illustrating changes in social and economic stratification among the *Egyptiots* in the 1960s and 1970s.[335]

The *Egyptiot* Industrialists and Manufacturers

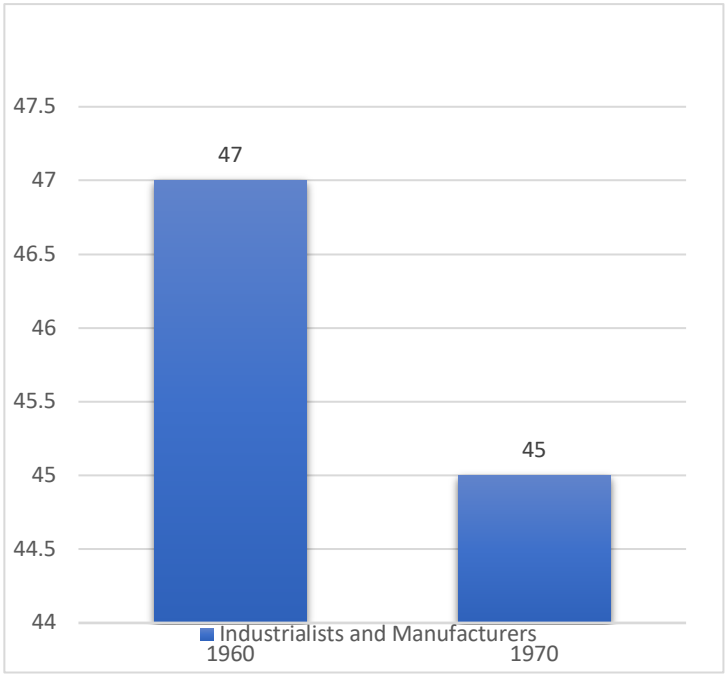
The category of 'industrialists (*biomēchanoi*) and manufacturers (*kataskeuastes*)' was the most popular category in the GCCA, indicating the continuation of businesses in the post-departure period.[336] Indeed, they made up the 32.6% of the total registered businesses by 1970.[337] Within this category, different fields of labor were listed (meaning factories and workshops of different kinds). The most popular were the manufacture of alcoholic beverages (7), chemical products (5), pasta (3), machine shops (3) dairy products (2), carpentry (2), printshops (2), carbonated drinks (2), and cleaning machines (2).[338] The rest of the category covered manufacture of cigarettes, soap and other products. The most popular among these was making alcoholic beverages, a business that *Egyptiots* had been involved in since the previous century. In the chart below I have treated the different types of industries and factories/workshops from the year of 1960 as one category, and I compare it with the general category of 'industrialists and manufacturers' in 1970:

TABLE 2:4

[334] I explore this in chapter five when discussing education in Alexandria.
[335] *Katastatiko Aberōpheiou Gymnasiou*, Student's Cards: 1966/1967 & 1967/1968; 1974/1975, Aberōpheio Gymnasium school, Archeio Ellēnikēs *Koinotitas Alexandreias.* In the 1950s, the category of 'manufacturers' and 'land owners' did not exceed 6.6% of the total professions. Dalachanis, *Akyvernētē Paroikia,* 128-129.
[336] *Taktika Melē tou Ellēnikou Emporikou Epimelētēriou Alexandreias, Chrēsēs 1970, 1-3.* Greek Chamber of Commerce, Alexandria.
[337] Ibid.
[338] Categories such as printing stores and machinery or machine shops were found both as separate categories and under the category of 'Manufacturers.' I assume they were listed as separate categories due to their difference in size, although the size of these categories was not stated in the list. Ibid.

Egyptiot Industrialists and Manufacturers in 1960 and 1970

The number of the factories and industries existing in 1960 was estimated at 47, which only dropped to 45 in 1970.[339] As the table illustrated, the numbers in this category did not decrease considerably, an element that was also shown on the students' documents (1974/1975) from the Averofeio school.[340] This is confirmed by Najat Abdulhaq's work, in which she revealed that the participation of Egyptian Greeks and Jews in establishing new



companies and industries did not in fact decrease significantly after the end of the Capitulations, something that indicates their adjustment to the economic changes after the 1940s and 1950s,[341] as is evident in the coming decades, as the findings above demonstrate.

The limitations on non-nationals in the job market did not substantially affect the 45 industries and manufacturing businesses found in 1970. These businesses either did not exceed 5 employees, and thus were exempted from the new decree, or they were bigger in

[339] *Taktika Melē tou Ellēnikou Emporikou Epimelētēriou Alexandreias, Chrēsēs 1970, 1-3.* Greek Chamber of Commerce, Alexandria.
[340] *Katastatiko Aberōpheiou Gymnasiou*, Students' Cards: 1974/1975, Aberōpheio Gymnasium school, Archeio Ellēnikēs *Koinotitas Alexandreias.*
[341] Abdulhaq, *Jewish and Greek Communities,* 159-160.

size and included Egyptian partners and/or nationals in their labor force. Information concerning the size of those businesses was not provided in the documents of the GCCA; I speculate though that these businesses did not embody enough large capital to be nationalized by the Egyptian government. Consequently, smaller, or medium scale businesses that were not nationalized continued to operate.

In addition, as I discussed in the previous chapter, some oral accounts claimed that even though Abdel Nasser could nationalize some companies, as their scale was large, he did not.[342] Some *Egyptiot* industries produced a specific material, which required very specialized personnel. If these industries were confiscated and their personnel replaced by Egyptian workers with no prior experience in the field, this automatically put the industry (and product) at risk. These were primarily craft industries, such as lithography, textiles and tanneries.

State Policies and the Increasing Number of the *Egyptiots'* Businesses

The Egyptian government's economic interventions did not happen simultaneously. The first years of the Free Officers' period in power, from 1952 to 1957, were characterized by facilitating private investment. For example, Law No. 430/1953 showed how the Free Officers favored private enterprise.[343] While the 1956 Suez Canal War and the nationalizations that followed demarcated a period of government interventions, the private sector still performed most of the country's economic activity.[344] In 1957, the Egyptian state began its first five-year

[342] Najat Abdulhaq points this out as well, when she referred in her work to the case of the vineyards owned by Nestor Gianaklis, and later by his successor, Nicolas Pierrakos. Even though the company was one of the largest foreign companies in Egypt, it was not affected by the nationalizations in 1960-1961, and it was only confiscated in 1968. Abdulhaq sugests that this could be due to the company's unique project, and the good relations Pierrakos had with the Free Officers. Ibid., 186.

[343] Law No. 430/1953 exempted for seven years from profit tax all new companies, and for five years existing companies. Khalid Ikram, *The Political Economy of Reforms in Egypt: Issues and Policymaking since 1952*, (Cairo: AUC, 2018), 163.

[344] Ibid., 165-167. These interventions intensified after 1961, with more restrictions to be imposed on the private sector.

industrial plan with the main focus on state enterprise. From that year onwards, Abdel Nasser emphasized state enterprise, and entire 'strategic' sectors, such as chemicals, metals, and minerals, were reserved exclusively for the state.[345]

According to Adam Hanieh, Abdel Nasser's struggle against feudalism and imperialism was limited to elite institutions, and did not target elites themselves, who went on to become what he termed the "state-supported bourgeoisie."[346] This is similar to Kitroeff's "domestic bourgeoisie,"[347], who consisted of entrepreneurs and focused mainly on the industrial sector. This grew in number during the interwar period, and as shown in table 2:4, thrived until the 1970s. Thus, some of the businesses that continued to operate became an important component of Abdel Nasser's new capitalist classes, with some *Egyptiots* being part of this "state-supported bourgeoisie." A steadily growing number of entrepreneurs also appears among the labor practices of *Egyptiots* in Cairo. This illustrated certain similarities of labor and class between these two cities and indicated that the number of businesses in the late 1970s increased, despite the community's shrinkage in absolute numbers due to emigration.

Conversations I had with Spyros and his son, Paris, members of the *Egyptiot* community in Alexandria, indicated aspects of the economic and social mobility that some *Egyptiots* experienced in the 1960s and 1970s.[348] Spyros was born in 1921 in Alexandria. His father was a trader of groceries and had an office for this. Spyros continued his father's business and decided to set up a water glass (sodium silicate) and silicone factory in 1952, which was the first of its kind. He commented:

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[345] In 1961 Nasser instituted another series of nationalization laws aimed at large-scale industry, banking, and foreign trade. Melani Cammett, Ishac Diwan, Alan Richards and John Waterbury, *A Political Economy of the Middle East,* (Boulder: Westview Press, 2015), 242.
[346] Adam Hanieh, *The Lineages of Revolt: Issues of Contemporary Capitalism in the Middle East*, (Chicago: Haymarket Books, 2013), 25-26.
[347] Kitroeff, *Greeks in Egypt,* 28.
[348] Interview with Spyros and Paris, January 2016, Alexandria, Egypt. This interview was first cited in a previous work, see: Mylona, "Presence without a Narrative," 183-184.

> Back then, Nasser was building the Aswan Dam. The material we were producing was used in the construction business for hardening soil. The Soviets, who were helping Nasser to build the Dam, needed this material, so they asked me to provide them with it.

During Nasser's presidency, one could not import a finished product from outside the country, but only the raw materials for industries.[349] The fact that Spyros had Egyptian citizenship enabled him to start a factory during the Abdel Nasser period.[350] The factory was in its start-up phase when the Nationalization Laws came into effect and was not nationalized due to its relatively small size. Spyros' son, Paris, who currently owns the factory, stated:

> In my opinion, besides the fact that the factory was small, Gamal Abdel Nasser did not nationalize us because he needed what we were producing. The factory was unique. The first factories that started to compete with us were founded after the 1980s with the *inf*i*tāh*. So, until that moment, we were the only ones in the market.

The possibilities the state offered to industries that were very much needed in Egypt were highlighted by Paris' account. The authorities seemed willing to be flexible, when it was in their interest, despite the fact they were so determined to keep their policies intact. Hence, some owners of these industries could use this opportunity to keep their business open, and also retain the personnel who were working for them. As I analyzed in the previous chapter, the experiences of *Egyptiot* business owners were neither unified nor determined always by the economic policies of that time. They depended, among other things, on the connections some of them had with the Egyptian authorities and the interest of the Egyptian government

[349] Cammett, Diwan, Richards and Waterbury, *A Political Economy*, 240. This is similar to Stefanos' case on dairy products mentioned in the previous chapter, whereby the import of products was not allowed. However, as he had Egyptian citizenship, he could operate his factory making dairy products, as Paris and Spyros did with the water glass and silicone factory.
[350] Spyros had obtained Egyptian citizenship prior to 1952, when the procedure was easier. Interview with Spyros and Paris, January 2016, Alexandria, Egypt.

in employing flexibility when needed, something that highlights the multiple facets of *Egyptiots'* social and economic engagement with the Egyptian post-colonial state.

The state-led economy of Egypt in the 1960s was strongly characterized by self-sufficiency in goods for the state and the army. The participation and, thus, mobility in the Egyptian market of Spyros' and Paris' case outlined above complied with the decisions and decrees of the Egyptian state at the time, since it became part of a strategic sector—that of chemicals and metals that served the army and the state. The water glass and silicone they produced coincided with the building of the Aswan Dam and Abdel Nasser's desire to increase hydropower generation and supply the agricultural sector with irrigation. Another element of mobility in his case was the change of labor Spyros and his family experienced in the mid-1950s. From trading groceries and being involved in merchant duties, Spyros moved and evolved into another sector, that of manufacturing. Spyros' experience thus illustrated both the changes in labor activities the Egyptian labor market went through, and the mobility experienced by some of the *Egyptiots.*

As this section has demonstrated, *Egyptiots'* labor practices followed the socioeconomic and political changes that took place in Egypt from the interwar period until the 1970s. Alexandria, as an important city in the Eastern Mediterranean, had a strong merchant presence, with the sectors of cotton and cigarette-manufacturing dominant industries in the export-oriented economy of Egypt. *Egyptiots* had a leading role in those industries and they became part of the global capitalist economy Egypt developed. The decline of these two sectors, among others, followed Egypt's economic developments in the 1920s and impacted the *Egyptiots*, especially the capitalist classes who were in control, and the merchants and the middlemen involved. This decline continued until the 1970s, eliminating completely the cotton and tobacco traders from the lists of occupations. However, the merchants as a category of labor continued to exist in other sectors.

The grocery stores followed a similar decline, but not to the same degree. Even though the grocery business had a strong presence until the interwar period, this declined in numbers, although more in Alexandria than in Cairo. Nevertheless, some categories of labor continued to be active and even to flourish in the 1960s and the 1970s. For example, the category of employees continued to form percentagewise the largest part of the Alexandrian community. Indeed, the majority of *Egyptiots* belonged to the lower and middle classes, as they occupied positions such as white-collar workers, merchants and technical staff. In addition, the category of industrialists and manufacturers was not substantially affected by nationalizations in the early 1960s. The continuation and establishment of these companies did not stop in the post-departure period, either because they did not exceed 5 employees, or because they partnered with an Egyptian national. Moreover, Spyros' and Paris' experiences confirm that some Alexandrian *Egyptiots* not only experienced aspects of economic and social mobility, but that they also became an important part of Abdel Nasser's new capitalist classes. The Egyptian government was not always rigid in applying its economic measures to businesses. When interests coincided, it employed flexibility. This impacted some *Egyptiots'* experiences with the Egyptian state and characterized their economic activities in the post-1962 period.

2.2 *Egyptiots'* Economic Activities in Cairo

An overview of the *Egyptiot* Presence in Cairo

Until the 1950s, Cairo's economic life was characterized by colonial commerce, consisted of inaccessible and luxury goods. Many urban spaces were reserved for wealthier

segments of society, from which ordinary Egyptians were excluded.[351] A rupture in the city's political and economic life occurred in January 1952, when the 'Cairo fire,' also known as 'Black Friday,' burnt much of the city's *afrangy*[352] commerce. The Cairo fire was one of those events that ended colonial commerce by refashioning the accessibility Egyptians had to products. The *Egyptiot* community of Cairo, like other inhabitants of the city, engaged with these economic and political changes. *Egyptiots*, either as shopkeepers or employees (and customers), were very much involved in Cairo's commercial life. Specifically, their businesses as documented in the Greek Chamber of Commerce Cairo (GCCC) archive extended over a long period in the Egyptian economy.[353] For example, the first five registrations in the GCCC were recorded in the late 19th century, and by 1977, these registrations reached a total of 165 businesses.[354]

The *Egyptiot* businesses changed over time, following the country's economic developments and the demands of the labor market. For example, between the 1930s and 1940s, *Egyptiots'* activities showed quite some diversity. In these two decades, *Egyptiots* established or registered businesses like casinos, bakeries, different kinds of factories, trading companies and import/export businesses of general goods, or other goods like food and

[351] According to Nancy Reynolds, the accessibility Egyptians had to certain products (both locally produced and imported) characterized their consumption identities and the new political and social relations they formed in the early 1960s. Nancy Reynolds, *A City Consumed: Urban Commerce, the Cairo Fire, and the Politics of Decolonization in Egypt,* (Stanford, California: Stanford University Press, 2012), 181; 222.
[352] *Afrangy* was a term that characterized a Westerner or anyone whose life and practices linked to the West. Opposite to this term was the *ibn al-balad*; a term that characterized the more 'authentic' Egyptian life and identity.
[353] Most businesses were established or first registered in the GCCC between the 1940s and 1960s (see Appendix 4), and most of them had as a final registration the years of 1964 and 1965. Their activities seemed to have been lasted for at least 20 to 25 years It is important to note that no registration beyond a certain year did not necessarily indicate the closure of a business. For example, in one of the GCCC registrations, I found the company of one of my interviewees, whose dairy business is still active, even though his last registration in the GCCC appeared in 1966. Hence, this highlights that one should not treat the last registration year as an end point. *Deltia Eggrafēs Ellēnikou Emporikou Epimelētēriou Kairou, 1962-1978, (Registration Forms),* Greek Chamber of Commerce, Cairo.
[354] As shown in Appendix 4, the first business was established in 1882. The other four opened a few years later (1898 two of them, 1900 and 1905). For all of them the last registration in the GCCC was between 1964 and 1965, with no other information given afterwards. *Deltia Eggrafēs Ellēnikou Emporikou Epimelētēriou Kairou, 1962-1978, (Registration Forms),* Greek Chamber of Commerce, Cairo.

drinks, and printing shops.[355] A limited number of cotton traders appeared in these years, but these decreased in the 1950s and 1960s, highlighting the decline of the cotton industry and other traditional industries, as discussed in the previous section.

The industrial and manufacturing sectors increased in the 1940s and 1950s, illustrating the growing number of *Egyptiot* entrepreneurs in industry. Specifically, manufacture of furniture, chocolate, cars and smelting furnaces appeared in these years. Similar to Alexandria, some of these factories and businesses continued to operate in the 1960s and the 1970s, as they were not of a large enough scale to suffer the consequences of nationalization and, in some cases, flourished during Abdel Nasser's period. Nevertheless, this category of labor was not the largest among *Egyptiots* in Cairo.[356]

The rest of the businesses in the 1940s and 1950s included grocery shops, liquor stores and stores for dairy products. Also, more businesses such as hotels, construction machinery and machine shops appeared in these decades, as in the case of Alexandria, examined in the previous section. In the 1950s and 1960s, one can observe more small-scale import trade rather than the large-scale agricultural trade of the previous decades. Grocery stores and car mechanics or machine shops continued to be present, and in addition, some printshops and clothes retailers appeared.[357]

New patterns of consumption emerged in the mid-1970s due to the *infitāh* policies introduced by Anwar Sadat, the re-emergence of local capitalist entrepreneurs, and the remittances of those Egyptian workers who migrated to work in the Gulf, a phenomenon that

[355] All the aforementioned businesses had as a last registration the year 1964 or 1965, only the casino was registered until 1971, and the bakery until 1973. *Deltia Eggrafēs Ellēnikou Emporikou Epimelētēriou Kairou, 1962-1978, (Registration Forms),* Greek Chamber of Commerce, Cairo.
[356] According to the Ampeteios' alumni registrations in the years 1962-1979, only 7.1% of the alumni members appeared to own factories, and most of them were older in age, born between 1910 and 1920. *Aitēseis apofoitōn Ampeteiou Scholēs*, 1961/1963 & 1963/1979, no. 3901-4000; 4001-4103. Alumni students' registrations, Ampeteios Gymnasium School, Cairo.
[357] When it comes to the year of these businesses' registration, almost one third of them (2.,8%), meaning 46 out of 165 businesses, were during the period 1964-1965. Out of 165, 64 businesses had indicated both the year of establishment or the first registration and the last registration year. The number decreased between 1965-1966 with 15 businesses registered, two of them outside Cairo, one in Asyut and one in Aswan. Ibid.

had become steadily more important with the rise of the Gulf oil economies from the second half of the 20th century.[358] In addition, certain patterns of consumption were inscribed in the city's economic life through workers who returned from there.[359]

Following these developments, *Egyptiots'* social and economic mobility expanded due to Sadat's new economic policies in the 1970s, and a growing number of entrepreneurs appeared.[360] The *infitāh* policies stimulated investment in the private sector and attracted foreign investment. Therefore, the number of businesses in the late 1970s increased, with seven new businesses documented at the GCCC in 1977-1978.[361] Moreover, *Egyptiots* started to be increasingly involved in the tourism sector in the late 1960s. The popularity of the tourism business corresponded to the growth of tourism in Egypt in general; specifically in the mid-1970s with the economic opening towards Western markets.[362]

Egyptiots in Cairo's Commercial Life: Shopkeepers

Egyptiots were heavily invested in the commercial life of Cairo, having an active role as owners or employees of stores in the downtown commercial district or in other areas like Bulaq, Shubra and Ezbekia, among others. According to the GCCC, *Egyptiot* shop owners had an active presence in the Egyptian economy until the late 1970s.[363] Indeed, they constituted the largest category among the GCCC's registered occupations, the opposite of

[358] Mainly but not exclusively, informal housing made its appearance in the 1970s and 1980s due to remittances from the Gulf, which bypassed official banking systems. Julia Elyachar, "Mappings of Power: The State, NGOs, and International Organizations in the Informal Economy of Cairo," *Comparative Studies in Society and History*, 45/3 (2003), 571-605, 577.
[359] Julia Elyachar, "The political economy of movement and gesture in Cairo," *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute (N.S.),* 17 (2011), 82-99, 94.
[360] Ten new businesses were registered between 1960 and 1977, which was definitely less than the 20 businesses established in 1940-1950, the 19 of 1950-1960, or to the 16 businesses of 1930-1940. Nonetheless, the number was still considerable, and larger compared to the previous decades' number prior to the 1930s. The number of businesses registered between 1966 and 1976 remained steady, with 5 to 7 new businesses being founded approximately annually. In 1976 and 1977 no new business had been registered. *Deltia Eggrafēs Ellēnikou Emporikou Epimelētēriou Kairou, 1962-1978, (Registration Forms),* Greek Chamber of Commerce, Cairo.
[361] Ibid.
[362] As Khalid Ikram has shown in his work, among the government's priorities in the 1970s were tourism earnings, worker's remittances, oil exports, foreign aid and Suez Canal dues. Ikram, *Political Economy of Reforms,* 13.
[363] *Deltia Eggrafēs Ellēnikou Emporikou Epimelitēriou Cairou, 1962-1978, (Registration Forms),* Greek Chamber of Commerce, Cairo.

the findings in Alexandria analyzed earlier. Trading companies and import/export businesses[364] came second in the labor market, with industries and factories following, as the table below shows:

TABLE 2:5

Registration in the GCCC, 1962-1978[365]

Kind of Occupation	Number
Stores	83
Trading agencies/Import-Export	39
Industries/Factories	25
Companies/Other agencies	18
Importers (only)	8
Exporters (only)	1
Total number	**174**

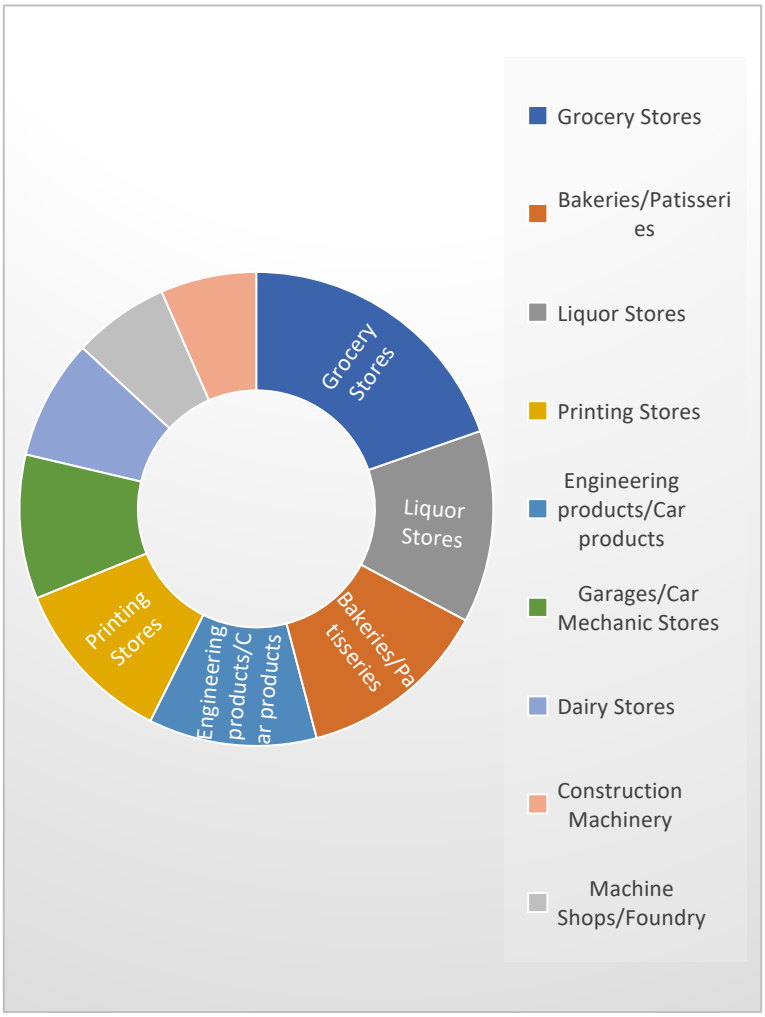
As the graph below indicates, grocery shops formed the majority among all stores owned by *Egyptiots*, covering 19.7% of the total. Other stores, such as bakeries and patisseries, liquor and printshops followed their popularity, making up all together about 46% of the total number, meaning almost half of the businesses in this category:

TABLE 2:6

[364] The trading companies and import and export businesses primarily dealt with general goods, food and drinks. Ibid.

[365] The total number seems slightly higher due to the fact that in some registrations the owners of stores appeared to have a dual occupation, being involved also in trading. For some cases it was only import, for some others import and export, and some of them owned a trading agency, besides being the owners of a store, and selling a particular material. Ibid.

Egyptiots' Stores, 1962-1978



Some districts seem to have been occupied by specific ethnic groups, where concentration of certain industries made an appearance. For example, machine shops arose particularly in the Italian quarter of Cairo, and grocery stores and coffee shops, were primarily run by *Egyptiots* in the Greek zone.[366] Some of the grocery stores found in the archival records were the 'Épicerie Lait Georges,' founded in 1955 by Yogros Petrou Morianidis, the 'New Star' by Konstantinos Mylonas, the 'Épicerie souk el Tawfikieh' by

[366] Janet L. Abu-Lughod, *Cairo: 1001 Years of the City Victorious,* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1971), 161-162.

Panagiotis Papageorgakis, which operated since 1961 and the 'Épicerie el Dokki' owned by Nikolaos Paspalidis.[367]

With regards to patisseries and bakeries, Patisserie Thomas was one of the most well-known *Egyptiot* patisseries, with many *Egyptiots* working there. As has been discussed in the previous chapter, despite the *Egyptiots'* departure, many *Egyptiot* employers continued to hire *Egyptiot* employees in their businesses. Patisserie Thomas did not appear in the GCCC records, but did feature among the Ampeteios alumni registrations, as some of the alumni stated that they were employed there. One of my interviewees, Angela, also mentioned in our conversation that she worked for a number of years at Thomas, before she became the head of the *Egyptiot* home for the elderly in Cairo.[368] Next to Patisserie Thomas, patisseries like the Auberge, owned by Konstantinos Tsiliris, and the 'ALCAZAR'[369] owned by Nikolaos Dagopoulos, were among those still operating in the 1960s and 1970s. Specifically, the 'ALCAZAR' patisserie passed in 1977 to Eva-Maria Dagopoulou, most probably the daughter of Nikolaos, and continued to operate and employ other *Egyptiots*.[370]

Nancy Reynolds' has shown that a large number of sales staff often were related to each other, something that helped them form social bonds in their workplaces.[371] The store employees seemed to have had a very active role in unions since the beginning of the 20th century. They participated in strikes, for example during the revolution of 1919, and in nationalist movements later in the 1940s. Their composition had a multi-ethnic and multi-religious character. The presence of *Egyptiot* employees has been recorded in these unions,

[367] Two of them had as a last registration the year of 1963 and the other two the year of 1969. *Deltia Eggrafēs Ellēnikou Emporikou Epimelitēriou Cairou, 1962-1978, (Registration Forms),* Greek Chamber of Commerce, Cairo.
[368] Interview with the author, January 2016, Cairo, Egypt.
[369] The name of the patisserie was written in capital letters on the alumni's registrations. *Aitiseis apofoiton Ampeteiou Scholis*, 1961/1963 & 1963/1979, no. 3901-4000; 4001-4103. Alumni students' registrations, Ampeteios Gymnasium School, Cairo.
[370] Two alumni members of the Ampeteios school indicated 'ALCAZAR' as their employer. Ibid.
[371] Nancy Reynolds, "Entangled communities: interethnic relationships among urban salesclerks and domestic workers in Egypt, 1927-1961," *European Review of History: Revue europeenne d'histoire,* 19/1 (2012), 113-139, 127.

together with other residents of Egypt, among them Egyptian Armenian and Egyptian Jewish employees, showing how the Cairene urban space and commercial culture facilitated labor and class relations beyond ethnic and religious boundaries.[372] *Egyptiots'* activities in unions, which not only catered to *Egyptiots*, and the fact that their stores were spread across Cairo, without being limited to places heavily inhabited by *Egyptiots*, indicated that they were more integrated into Egyptian society at large.[373] This made shop owners specifically less vulnerable in the labor market and could justify their economic activities post-1962, compared to the declining numbers in Alexandria.

Liquor stores and distilleries were other popular businesses among *Egyptiots,* as noted already in the section on Alexandria. Among others, there were the 'Konstantina Panagou' liquor store, owned by Konstantina Panagou, the 'Depot Olympos' owned by Samios Dimitriou, the 'Samaras & Co.' owned by Konstantinos Samaras and Evangelos Tampouras, and a liquor store owned by Yogros Paschalidis.[374] In contrast to the large-scale distilleries and alcohol businesses that were confiscated by the state in the 1960s, like the Pyramid and the Crown breweries,[375] or in the *Egyptiot* case, the Gianaklis winery/distillery and the Volanakis winery/distillery both operating in Alexandria, small and medium-scale distilleries continued to operate, as shown above.

Tasos, my interviewee from Cairo, born in 1946, had a distillery in Ezbekia, Cairo, under the name 'Distillerie Andre A. Roussos,' which his father, Andreas, had opened in

[372] Reynolds, "Entangled communities," 127-129.
[373] Angelos Dalachanis noted that this was the case prior to the 1960s as well. Cairo based *Egyptiots* seemed better integrated into Egyptian society. Alexandrian *Egyptiots* were more impacted by the departure of foreigners and quit their jobs more easily than Cairo based ones. Dalachanis, *Akyvernētē Paroikia*, 173.
[374] The last registration of the first two liquor stores appeared in 1964. Samaras's and Tampouras's store had as a last registration the year 1975 and Paschalidis's store operated since 1947, and its last registration appeared in 1964. *Deltia Eggrafēs Ellēnikou Emporikou Epimelitēriou Cairou, 1962-1978, (Registration Forms),* Greek Chamber of Commerce, Cairo.
[375] On the Egyptian beer industry and its nationalization by the state, see: Omar D. Foda, "The Pyramid and the Crown: The Egyptian beer industry from 1897 to 1963," *International Journal Middle East Studies*, 46 (2014), 139-158.

1939.[376] When his family saw that nationalizations of private businesses were happening, they became anxious. They thought they would suffer from these measures and thus prepared to migrate to Australia. However, due to its small scale, the distillery was not nationalized and continued to operate.

Distilleries and the alcohol business in general seem to have been a challenging field for the state when it comes to the acquisition of citizenship, even though selling alcohol was allowed in the country. Tasos commented that his involvement in the alcohol business was the reason he was denied Egyptian citizenship.[377] He claimed that the state rejected his applications−and applications of others in the same field−because the distillery he owned was against the Islamic values of the state. Hence, it seemed that not all businesses were perceived in the same way by the state, as some of them had religious implications that the state was invested in.[378] As I analyzed in the previous chapter, even within one branch of business the treatment was not the same by the state. As such, not everyone had had equal opportunities to obtain citizenship.

Egyptiots' Experiences of Labor and Citizenship

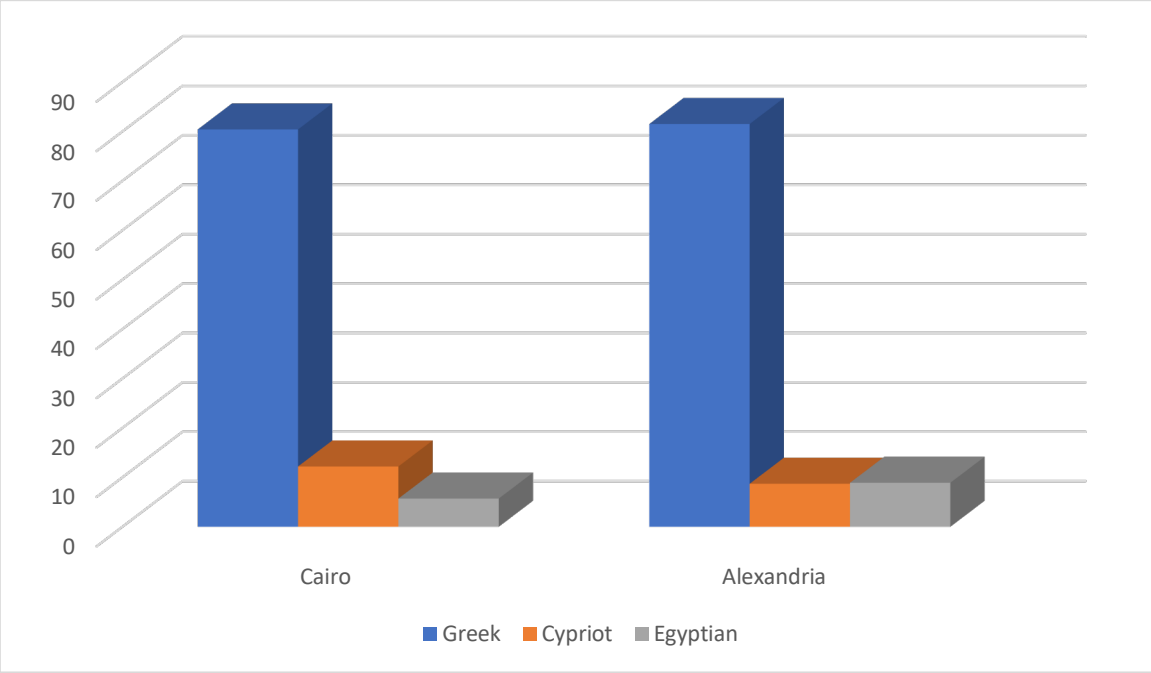
Tasos was one of those who applied for Egyptian citizenship but was not granted it. However, as discussed already in the introduction, Egyptian citizenship was not always a priority among *Egyptiots,* even when it became necessary in the labor market. Indeed, the archival records from the Cairo and Alexandria communities, specifically those coming from

[376] Interview with Tasos Roussos, January 2016, Heliopolis, Cairo.
[377] Tasos mentioned that his wife applied for citizenship and obtained it in 1984, as she was not involved in his business. Ibid.
[378] After the 1973 Arab-Israeli war, aid from Saudi Arabia to Egypt increased on the condition that Islamic law would be applied more strictly in society. Specifically, the consumption of alcoholic beverages was forbidden in public spaces. Nevertheless, production and commerce were still allowed. Karim H. Karim, "The Image of Anwar al-Sādāt as the Pious President (al-Raʾīs al-Muʾmin): A Study of the Political Use of Islam and Its Symbols in Egypt, 1970–1981," (PhD diss. Canada: McGill University, 1985), 89.

the student registrations of the Averofeio school in Alexandria[379] and the registrations of alumni of the Ampeteios school in Cairo, indicate that most *Egyptiots* continued to hold Greek citizenship. The results of both schools were similar, with the majority, over 80% of the total, holding Greek citizenship, and Cypriot and Egyptian citizenships following with small differences in numbers between them, as the chart illustrates:

TABLE 2:7

Egyptiots' Citizenship Status



For the Ampeteios school, out of 245 registrations, 80.4% of *Egyptiots* held Greek citizenship, 12.2% Cypriot and 5.7% Egyptian.[380] Within the small percentage of those holding Egyptian citizenship, about 20% originated from Cyprus, 20% from Asia Minor (mostly Smyrna) and 15% came from the cities of the Canal Zone, specifically from Ismailia

[379] On the students' cards from the Aberōpheio school, citizenship status was not stated until the academic year 1966/1967, when it first appeared, next to the origins, birth year and father's occupation. *Katastatiko Aberōpheiou Gymnasiou*, Student's Cards: 1966/1967 & 1967/1968, Aberōpheio Gymnasium school, Archeio Ellēnikēs Koinotitas Alexandreias.

[380] In addition, 2 out of 245 registered were without a status (*Akathoristoi)* from Cyprus, 1 Italian and 1 Lebanese. *Aitēseis apofoitōn Ampeteiou Scholēs*, 1961/1963 & 1963/1979, no. 3901-4000; 4001-4103. Alumni students' registrations, Ampeteios Gymnasium School, Cairo.

and Kantara. Among those alumni, the majority were graduate students, but there were also employees and accountants.

As for the Averofeio school, citizenship status appeared for first time on the students' registration cards during the academic year 1966/1967, indicating that it was not a priority for the school or for the members of the community.[381] For the academic years 1966/1967 and 1967/1968, out of the 491 students, 81.5% held Greek citizenship, 8.9% Egyptian and 8.7% Cypriot. Most *Egyptiots* with Egyptian citizenship were employees and merchants, with 25% of them originating from Cyprus and another 25% from Alexandria or Egypt in general. The other 50% came from areas like Lemnos, Chios, Volos, and Constantinople or Asia Minor.

The differences in the experiences of citizenship between the communities of Alexandria and Cairo and those in the cities of the Canal Zone were striking, illustrating their diverse nature. Indeed, as I discuss in the next chapter, a much larger number of *Egyptiots* held Egyptian citizenship in the Canal Zone. As some of my interviewees commented, this was not for emotional reasons or willingness to be attached to Egypt, but rather for practical reasons and everyday factors, such employment in certain companies, that made acquiring Egyptian citizenship necessary, offering more possibilities.

Egyptiot Employees

As in Alexandria, the 'employees' category was amongst the largest in Cairo. However, its proportion was not as large as in Alexandria, where it seems that a greater number of *Egyptiots* registered this as their profession. One reason could be that the scale of industrial

[381] The registration cards stated those who held the Greek, the Cypriot or the Egyptian citizenship; the most common citizenships among the *Egyptiot* students. However, in the academic year 1966/67, there was a student who held Italian citizenship, another one who had British and two that held Yugoslavian ID. *Katastatiko Aberōpheiou Gymnasiou*, Student's Cards: 1966/1967 & 1967/1968, Aberōpheio Gymnasium school, Archeio Ellēnikēs Koinotitas Alexandreias.

and commercial plants in Cairo was smaller in comparison to Alexandria.[382] Thus, fewer people were needed in these firms as employees. In alumni registrations from the Ampeteios community school, between 1961 and 1979, 29% of the alumni indicated that they were employees in several *Egyptiot* or other companies.[383] A limited number of archival records from the Spetseropouleio Orphanage indicated a similar trend.[384] Unlike the Averofeio registrations, in which most employees did not indicate their employer, the Ampeteios' records stated where alumni were employed, allowing for a better understanding of *Egyptiot* working environments, labor experiences and networks.

There were 55 registered places of employment, and they included a variety of sectors and institutions; from banks, embassies and airlines to pharmaceutical companies, distilleries, patisseries and tourism and hotel businesses. Beauty salons and coiffures, like the 'Costi and Taki,' and the 'Flam;' the Thomas and ALCAZAR patisseries; chocolate and pasta factories like the 'Gildina' chocolate factory owned by Platon Gazis and the 'Italia' pasta factory by Oikonomou were all *Egyptiot*-owned businesses that employed a large number of *Egyptiots* in the 1960s and the 1970s. Besides working for companies in their own networks, *Egyptiots* also worked for international companies, like ESSO gas stations and the SETA Textiles Co., established in Egypt in 1958.[385]

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[382] According to Janet Abu-Lughod and a survey conducted in 1957, most industrial firms in Cairo characterized as one-and two-persons businesses, employed on average 3.6 workers. Abu-Lughod, *Cairo: 1001 Years,* 162.
[383] The graduate students scored the highest here, with 31.2% of the total. The category of 'employees' came second. *Aitēseis apofoitōn Ampeteiou Scholēs*, 1961/1963 & 1963/1979, no. 3901-4000; 4001-4103. Alumni students' registrations, Ampeteios Gymnasium School, Cairo.
[384] The Spetseropouleio Orphanage not only hosted children who were orphans; on the contrary, these children were the minority (about one fourth, depending on the year). Most children came from separated families or from families who could not provide adequately for their children. Similar numbers appeared here, with employees covering 27% of the total number. Unemployed parents scored high too, with another 27% of the total. The categories of 'tailors' and 'mechanics' followed, with 13.5% and 10.8% respectively. The registered occupation mostly came from the father, but in few cases the mothers of the families were employed too, or they were the only ones working, if the father was not present/alive. The only occupation registered as a mother's occupation was that of 'maid.' *Dynamis Trofimōn Orphanōn Spetseropouleiou Idrymatos eis ta Mathētika Oikotrofeia tēs Ellēnikēs Koinotētos Kairou*, 1967-1968, File: Spetseropouleio Orphanage, 1967 until its resolution, Archeio Ellēnikēs Koinotitas Kairou.
[385] *Aitēseis apofoitōn Ampeteiou Scholēs*, 1961/1963 & 1963/1979, no. 3901-4000; 4001-4103. Alumni students' registrations, Ampeteios Gymnasium School, Cairo.

Distilleries and carbonated drinks were also a popular category, as discussed earlier. Employees who worked in this sector made up 11% of the total. The distilleries of Gianaklis, Samaras, Rousos, the distillery 'Malta' owned by Christos Apostolidis, and the Spathis carbonated drinks plant were among the employers mentioned by the Ampeteios alumni.[386]

Employees registered at the embassies[387] made up 14.5% of the total number. Working for a diplomatic body enabled certain flexibilities, as two of my interviewees commented above.[388] Those *Egyptiots* who worked for a diplomatic body were not required to have a work permit and hence they did not feel the lack of citizenship, as others did in other fields of labor. Following this high-profile category of employees, many *Egyptiots* appeared to work in hotel and tourism business, covering another 14.5% of the total number. The tourism business was in high demand among Egyptians. Its popularity in the country led the *koinotēta* in Cairo to found new schools on this field, and consequently the tourism business became a popular field from the mid-1960s onwards for *Egyptiots* too. Among others, *Egyptiots* worked for the Minerva, Shepheard, Grand, and Nile Hilton hotels; Jolley's travel agency; and the Egyptian General Organization for Tourism and Hotels, which belonged to the Ministry of Tourism (Misr Hotels Co.).

The *Egyptiot* employees in Cairo indicated more often where they worked, compared to Alexandria, where they appeared under the general term 'employee.' Their responsibilities and ranks ranged from low-and middle-skilled to more high-profile positions, showing the diversity in their labor practices. For example, some appeared to be storekeepers and couriers in a company, while others specialized in technical posts, like engineers and electricians, and a few in managerial positions. In addition, most alumni registrations and employees in

[386] *Aitēseis apofoitōn Ampeteiou Scholēs*, 1961/1963 & 1963/1979, no. 3901-4000; 4001-4103. Alumni students' registrations, Ampeteios Gymnasium School, Cairo.
[387] The embassies mentioned were Cyprus, West Germany, the United States. Some employees worked for the Greek consulate in Cairo as well.
[388] I refer here to the interviews cited in the previous chapter.

companies were male, with only 11.6% females. 83% of these women were graduate students and a small portion of them were employed in sales, as accountants, or working as teachers in the community's schools.[389]

The female alumni of the Ampeteios, although limited in number, continued their post-graduate educations in different faculties and universities. For example, some mentioned that they studied at the Polytechnic Institute in Shubra and others at the American University of Cairo (AUC), indicating different interests and economic backgrounds. Another element of these female graduates' registrations was the gendered participation in the labor market. Female graduates in this period had limited options for employment, mostly in sales, such as the female employee who appeared to work as a sales person for Maison Soula, or in education, like those who worked for the community's schools.[390]

The School of Touristic Business and The New Orientation in The Market

An indication of a new direction among *Egyptiots* towards the labor market was the School of Touristic Business (*Scholē Touristikōn Epaggelmatōn*) established in 1966. Several articles were written to announce the school's opening in the community press.[391] The president of the Cairo *koinotēta*, Nikos Pierrakos, wrote to Evangelos Savvopoulos, the Minister of the Presidency of the Greek Government,[392] to announce that its establishment was an attempt to stave off the departure of *Egyptiots* from Egypt.[393] The representatives of the *koinotēta* stressed their attempts to keep the population, especially its youth, in Egypt, and to avoid

[389] The limited female number among the alumni registrations did not reflect the number of female students in the community's schools, as this was high. Perhaps, for them to register as an alumna was not a common practice or necessary to do.
[390] *Aitēseis apofoitōn Ampeteiou Scholēs*, 1961/1963 & 1963/1979, no. 3901-4000; 4001-4103. Alumni students' registrations, Ampeteios Gymnasium School, Cairo.
[391] See for example some articles on the community's newspaper 'Fōs' in October 25, 1968 and April 24, 1969, file: *Efēmerida "Fōs"*, 1968-1984, Archeio Ellēnikēs Koinotētas Kairou.
[392] *Ypourgos tēs Proedrias Kyvernēseōs*.
[393] Nikos Pierrakos to Evangelos Savvopoulos, No. 953/673, July 28, 1966, file: *Ekpaideusē/50*, Archeio Ellēnikēs Koinotitas Kairou.

trigging a refugee crisis in Greece.[394] Furthermore, they indicated their willingness to fully reorganize all the community's technical schools to create new departments,[395] like the School of Touristic Business. The demand for equal recognition of the School of Touristic Business with the one in Rhodes, and the need for help from the Greek government in employing teachers was also stated in this letter.[396] After two years, in 1968, the School of Touristic Business was recognized by Georgios Papadopoulos, the Prime Minister of Greece.[397]

According to tourism school registrations in Cairo, only 12 students registered when it first opened; the number nearly doubled (to 20) the year after, 1967–68. The school advertised itself in the community press, and some of these newspaper articles praised the *koinotēta* for its effort to adjust to the labor market changes.[398]

Yorgos, one of the *Egyptiots* I interviewed in Cairo, studied at the School of Touristic Business and later joined the teaching staff.[399] Born in Cairo in 1950, he held a 10-year residence permit until 1985, when he obtained Egyptian citizenship, similar to other *Egyptiots*

[394] In the letter, there were implicit references to the refugee crisis and migration waves that took place from Turkey to Greece in the 1920s and 1930s. On this matter, see: Dimitris Kamouzis, "Out of Harm's Way? Structural Violence and the Greek Orthodox Community of Istanbul during World War I", *Journal of the Ottoman and Turkish Studies Association*, 4/1 (2017): 189-211; Emre Erol, *The Ottoman Crisis in Western Anatolia, Turkey's Belle Époque and the Transition to a Modern Nation State,* (London: I.B. Tauris, 2016).
[395] Besides the School of Touristic Business, morning and night schools were established in 1966. These included night schools for architectural design (3 years), the radio and television school (2 years), the department for tailoring women's clothing (2 years), and the department of soldering and oxyacetylene welding (3 months). The morning schools included an engineering school (4 years), a middle technical school for foremen engineers (3 years), and the School for Touristic Business for male and female students (2 years). Nikos Pierrakos to Evangelos Savvopoulos, No. 953/673, 28 July 1966, file: Ekpaideusē/50, Archeio Ellēnikēs Koinotētas Kairou.
[396] The School of Touristic Business in Rhodes was the only recognized school of this field in Greece.
[397] Georgios Papadopoulos, *Apofasēs 'Peri chorēgisēs adeias idryseos kai leitourgias eis Kairon Aigyptou ypo tēs Ellēnikēs Koinotētas Kairou Scholēs Touristikn Epaggelmatōn,'* No. 26163/341, 20 November 1968, file: Ekpaideusē/50, Archeio Ellēnikēs Koinotētas Kairou. On April 21 1967, the Greek military dictatorship was established in Greece, and it lasted until July 23, 1974. Georgios Papadopoulos headed the coup d'état and ruled Greece as a dictator. After a counter-coup in December 13, 1967 by King Constantine II, Papadopoulos replaced Konstantinos Kollias as the Prime Minister of Greece.
[398] See *FŌS*, articles 25 October 1968 and 25 April 1969, file: Efēmerida "FŌS," 1968–1984, Archeio Ellēnikēs Koinotētas Kairou.
[399] Interview with the author, January 2016, Cairo, Egypt.

who obtained it under the bilateral agreement.[400] This meant that for 35 years, he remained in Egypt with only a permit. After studying at the tourism school in Cairo, he worked in the tourism sector until 1975. Afterwards, he changed jobs and became employed in a multinational company. Yorgos commented, 'I was lucky when it came to work; I was secure. If you are satisfied, home is wherever you are. We never discussed leaving in our home'.

The language skills[401] *Egyptiots* possessed were an asset for tourism businesses, and their willingness in this area characterized a new orientation in the labor market. Indeed, until the 1950s, *Egyptiots* had a more 'Grecocentric' classical or commercial education, neglecting technical education and training.[402] As I explore in the fifth chapter, the classical education served the needs and interests of the ruling elites of the *koinotētes,* which were not interested in investing in a technical education. However, the departure of the majority of the *Egyptiots,* and the new social and economic policies of the 1960s, increased the need for 'readjustment' in the labor market, and investment in new fields. Therefore, the tourism business became one of the *koinotētas'* attempts to both respond to the new demands of the labor market and to make *Egyptiots'* presence permanent.

Conclusion

This chapter explored how political, economic, and social developments, such as the economic crisis in 1929 and government measures in the 1930s that favored Egyptians in the labor market, the formation of the Egyptian post-colonial state, Decree 263/1960 and the

[400] As stated by my interviewees, only in the mid-1980s did some *Egyptiots* manage to acquire Egyptian citizenship, due to the bilateral agreement between Egypt and Greece, but still in limited numbers.
[401] Besides the Greek language, Greeks were studying Arabic, French and English at their community schools. *Katastatiko Aberōpheiou Gymnasiou*, Student's Cards: 1966/1967 & 1967/1968, Aberōpheio Gymnasium school, Archeio Ellēnikēs Koinotēta Alexandreias.
[402] Dalachanis, *Greek Exodus*, 134.

1961 Nationalization laws, among others, shaped the economic activities of the Alexandria and Cairo based *Egyptiot* communities. As I demonstrated, the impact of these developments differed between these two communities, and among all *Egyptiots'* occupations, defining the multiple layers of the *Egyptiot* economic and social presence in post-1962 Egypt.

At the beginning of the 20th century, Alexandria had an important place in import and export trading, with very successful cotton and tobacco industries, among others. Due to the economic and political developments mentioned above, these industries declined dramatically, starting from the 1930s. Their decline continued in the following decades, eliminating the presence of *Egyptiot* tobacco and cotton traders in the 1960s and 1970s. Even though the large-scale agricultural trade decreased considerably up to the 1960s, small-scale trade remained present in these two decades, something that was evident in both the Alexandria and Cairo communities. The number of the greengrocers, among the most popular retail activities of the *Egyptiots* in Alexandria, declined after the 1930s as well. The tight control of the market and the increasing presence of Egyptian grocers in that decade, and the departure of foreigners later on in the 1950s and 1960s, had a great impact on their activities, manifesting the closed ethnic network of the Alexandrian community.

On the other hand, *Egyptiots* expanded their activities in the 1960s and 1970s as industrialists and manufacturers, according to the GCCA. This indicated that despite the 1961 Nationalization laws, small industries could survive and even flourish, especially when some special condition existed, such as the production of a specific product, the necessity of this product to the state and the army, and the special connections some *Egyptiots* had with the Egyptian authorities. Indeed, the category of industrialists and manufacturers did best compared to other categories of employment in the GCCA archive, having only a slight decline between the 1960s and 1970s. In addition, mechanics and other technical professions increased in the 1970s, surpassing the number of the merchants, which was larger in the

1960s. This was an indication of how the community tried to respond to the increasing demands for technical labor in these decades.

Cairo was characterized by a vivid commercial life. Between the 1960s and 1970s, the category of shopkeepers was most prominent among the GCCC's registered professions, and green grocers represented the majority in this category. *Egyptiots* were primarily active in the grocery and liquor businesses, in which they employed their compatriots and sustained a dynamic network. Nevertheless, these were not limited to the *Egyptiot* context to the extent that Alexandrian shop owners were. The Cairo-based *Egyptiots* were more involved in multi-ethnic and multi-religious unions and their stores were more spread throughout the city, something that made them more resilient to survive the economic changes compared to their fellows in Alexandria. Entrepreneurship among *Egyptiots* in Cairo was present, but in a smaller scale compared to Alexandria. Cairo had fewer industrial and commercial plants, compared to Alexandria, and consequently needed fewer personnel to work in industries, factories and workshops. The new orientation in the labor market was towards the tourism business, due to the new needs of the labor market, and the *koinotēta's* decision to invest in this sector by founding the School of Touristic Business. Therefore, the increasing number of registrations at the newly founded school in Cairo in the late 1960s reveals *Egyptiots'* willingness to adjust to the new demands of the labor market.

Egyptiots' labor practices had some distinct differences, but also three important commonalities. First, in both communities, *Egyptiots* were mainly employees, even though their number in Cairo was less due to the smaller scale of industrial and commercial plants mentioned above. The category of 'employees' included white collar workers, such as accountants and secretaries, and factory workers, as well as retail personnel and staff in tourism businesses, embassies and the *koinotēta's* institutions. This category was highlighted

in both communities as the largest prior to the 1960s, but it continued to be the largest in the late 1960s and 1970s, defining the lower- and middle-class nature of these communities.

Second, the *infitāh* policies in the 1970s affected the entrepreneurship of both communities positively. Even though the Cairo-based community did not have the growing numbers of industrialists and manufactures the Alexandria one had in the 1960s and 1970s, it still experienced a steadily growing number in entrepreneurship in the late 1970s. Last, an important commonality between the two communities was *Egyptiots*' experiences of citizenship. Most of the community's members in Cairo and Alexandria held Greek citizenship. Even though Egyptian citizenship became necessary in the labor market after the late 1950s, it was not always a priority to obtain it among *Egyptiots* in these two cities, or a requirement in their working environments, as it was in the Suez Canal region communities that I discuss in the following chapter.