

ELKARA KHANA

History of sex working in Modern Egypt
Between legalization and criminalization

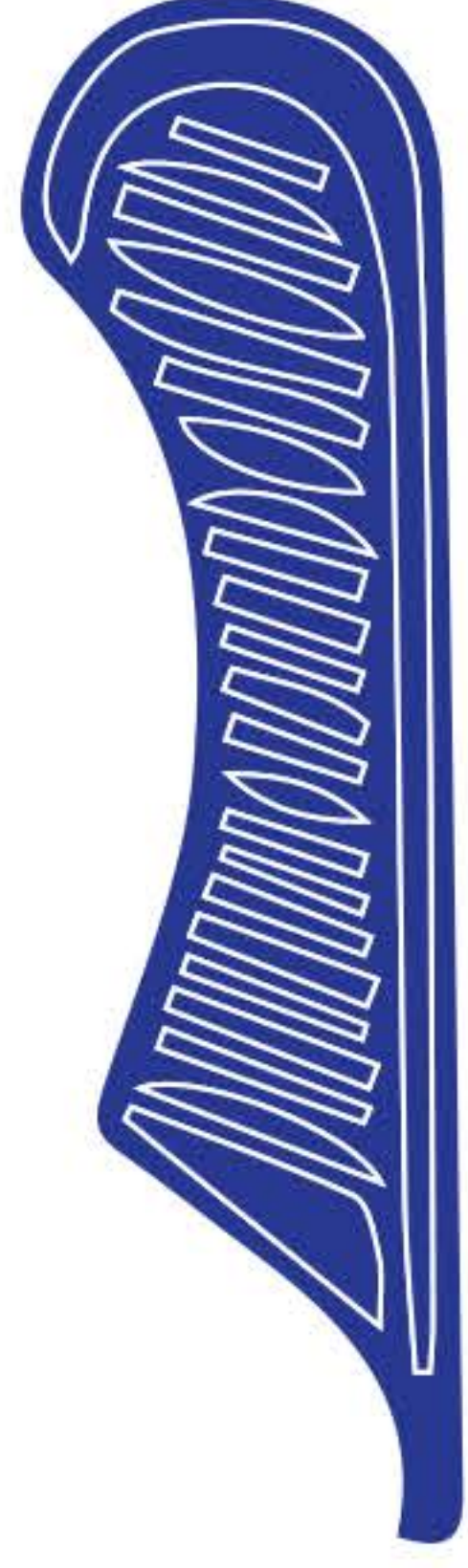


القاهرة ٥٢

للأبحاث القانونية

CAIRO 52

LEGAL RESEARCH INSTITUTE



القاهرة ٥٢

للأبحاث القانونية

CAIRO 52

LEGAL RESEARCH INSTITUTE

Toward a society, aware of its fundamental and bodily rights.

Founded 2020

Cairo, Egypt

Written and Edited by

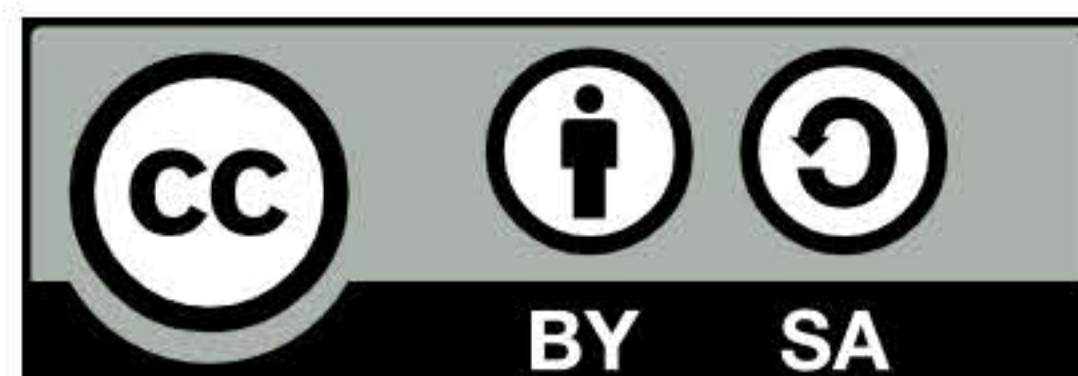
Nora Noralla

www.cairo52.com

info@cairo52.com

All rights reserved Cairo 52 Legal Research Institute

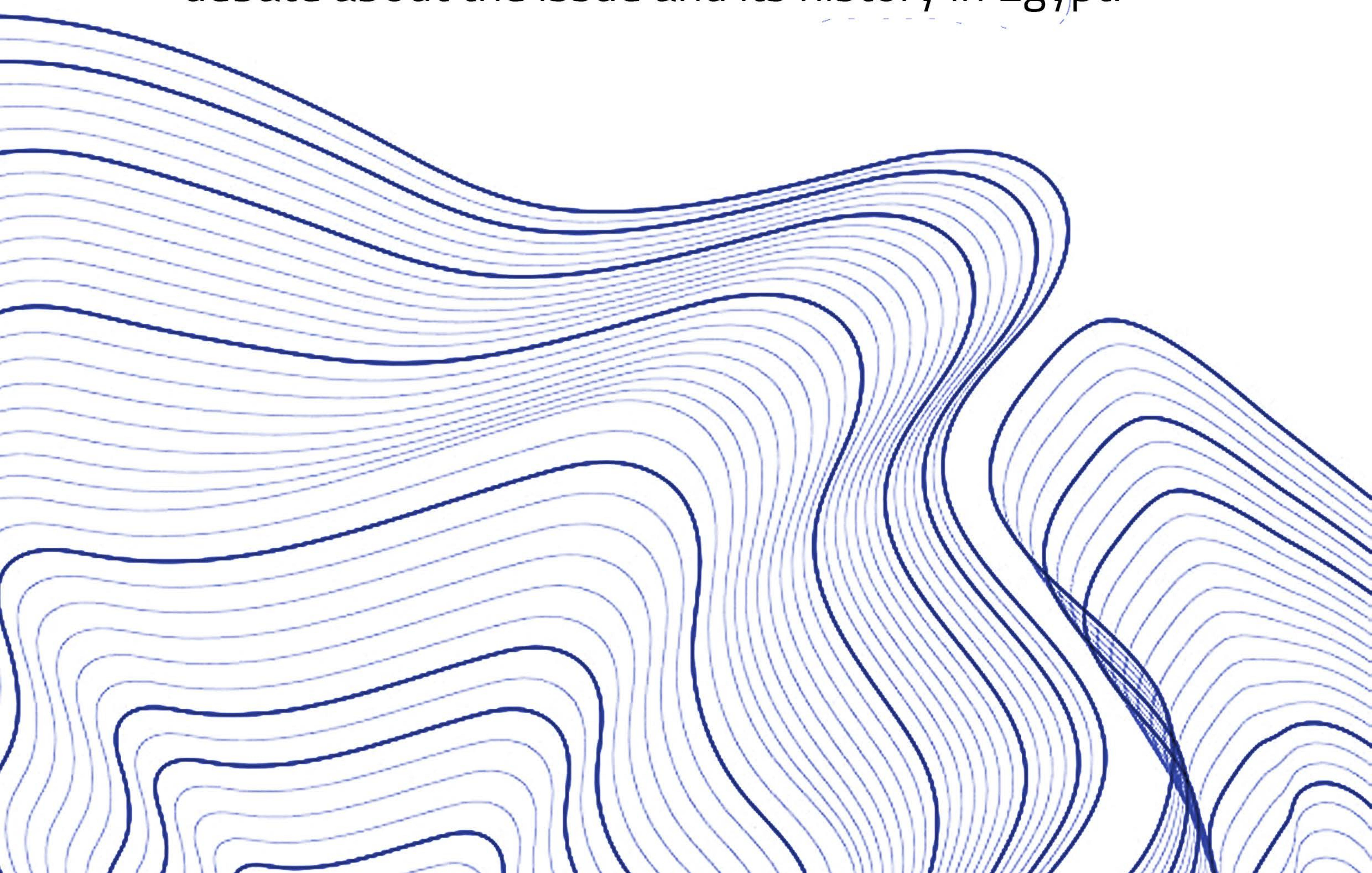
Attribution-ShareAlike 4.0 International (CC BY-SA 4.0)





From the team

This paper aims to shed some spotlights on an issue, that is considered a taboo inside the Egyptian Society, which is sex working. The paper focuses in particular on the legislative path that the Egyptian lawmaker decided to take addressing this issue and how that reflected on other aspects of Sexual and Bodily freedom in Egypt. The aim of this paper is to present the different laws that addressed the issue and sex working in a simple and accessible way to everyone in the Egyptian society and to start a serious debate about the issue and its history in Egypt.



Summary

This Paper is focusing on the historical legal stages of sex working in modern Egypt, which started with the rule of Muhammad Ali Pasha (17 May 1805 – 2 March 1848). The paper tries to shed light on the different legal practices and the evolution of the concept of sex working under the law and how it was used as a loophole to later de-facto criminalize homosexuality and other factions of the LGBTQ+ community. The paper can be summarized on the following timeline

Muhammad Ali Pasha reign; he outlawed sex working and public dancing for women in Cairo, which led to the flourishing of the sex working industry in Upper Egypt and the emergence of dancing men in the place of women in Cairo

For the first time a law is passed to regulate the sex working industry with the establishment of the Bureau of Inspection for female sex workers and its law, which was issued for the first time

A new law introduced that provided full legalization of the industry; The Brothels law of 1905

1834

1848

1885

1896

1905

1932

Abbas I of Egypt; he reintroduced legal sex working, which led to the creation of a flourished industry in Cairo

A new regulation comes in place with the law regarding organizing licensed brothels

A committee is formed by orders of the prime minister's office to examine the issue of legalized sex working

A new articles are introduced in the Egyptian penal code to protect sex workers from being used by men and women

1937

1942

The Military governor orders the closure of all brothels in the country, except for those who operates in the capital cities of each Governorate

The Military Governor issue order No. (79) to order the closure of all legal brothels in the country

1949

1951

The age of legalized sex working in Egypt comes to an end, with the issue of the law No. 68/1951

Egypt joins the Convention for the Suppression of the Traffic in Persons and of the Exploitation of the Prostitution of Others under the presidential order No. 844

1959

1961

Egypt passed a new law to combat prostitution, after joining the aforementioned convention; law No 10/1961

The Egyptian Court of Cassation introduces new legal principles and definition of sex working and drops the financial compensation in the crimes of debauchery and prostitution and stipulates regularity and non-discrimination in the 70s

70's

90's

The Egyptian Supreme constitutional court receives two appeals to review the constitutionality of the law and rejects both appeals and rules in favor of the constitutionality of the law in the 90s

The Moral panic of the early 2000s and the queen boat incident

2000

2011

After the 25th of January revolution

2017

New law proposals to amend or replace the pervious combating prostitution law 10/1961, after the rainbow flag incident

2019

The last attempt to introduce a new to criminalize sex working, homosexuality, and any form of "indecent" sexual behavior

Each period is reflecting the Egyptian lawmaker ideology dealing with this issue, the Egyptian lawmaker is considered to be a mirror to the greater Egyptian society of the time and the paper based its methodology on a wide collection of legal resources, testimonies of people who are identifying as sex workers and deep analyzing of number of Court of Cassation verdicts regarding sex working

*Tap on the date if you want ot read more about that period

Introduction

Sex working is one of the oldest professions that humans took and it had its fair share of troubles over the years, the paper will provide a summarized historical legal study to the road that the Egyptian lawmakers took to address sex working in Modern Egypt, beginning with the reign of Muhammad Ali Pasha (17 May 1805 – 2 March 1848) to current times. The legal trip for sex working in Egypt is complex, as it went from legalized to illegalized, to examine this the paper will summarize all the laws, bylaws and regulations that were used by Egyptian lawmakers to address the issue of sex working and also how it impacted the de-facto criminalization of homosexuality, as Egyptian lawmakers took unusual road to criminalize homosexuality, unlike other countries in the region where homosexuality is clearly criminalized.

To understand how Egyptian officials made this trip and how they connected homosexuality with sex working we need to understand the legal intersectionality between the two under Egyptian law, also it is important to note that in the age of legalized sex working in Egypt, the only sex workers mentioned in the law were female ones and not male ones, as they were excluded from the law then.

Important Legal Terminology:

Inside the various number of Egyptian laws, there's number of definitions, that at first glimpse may seem identical but for each has its own meaning and use; words like debauchery, prostitution, adultery and immorality all were used one way or another to criminalize activities that are related to sex working:

Obscenity (Al-Fahsha): Every act that the person commits to satisfy his own sexual needs or other person sexual needs, whether this act is normal or abnormal to human nature. ^[1]

Debauch (El-Fasq): The Court of Court of Cassation has defined debauch from the article No (270) of the cancelled penal code of 1937, as every act committed by a man or a woman that considered to be immoral and this definition accommodates all sexual acts and is not limited to sexual pleasure. It may also include corrupting morals, such as a father sending his daughter to a nightclub to dance in. ^[2]

Prostitution (El-Bagha/ El-Dahra): Every act of fornication that is committed by a man or a woman to please the sexual desires of others and it is named debauchery if a man commits it and prostitution if a woman commits it ^[3]

The committee consisting of the legislative and social affairs committees in the Egyptian Parliament entrusted with writing Law No. 68/1951 insisted on using the words prostitution and debauchery to distinguish between acts of indecency committed by men and acts of indecency committed by women, as the judicial custom at that time was the use of The word "prostitution" to define female prostitution only. ^[4]

cohabitational partnerships (El-Mokhanda): A relationship between two persons based on passion or interest for a specific period of time and it is considered to be legal under the law, as the Egyptian lawmaker did not address this kind of relationships ^[5]

Legalized Sex Working (Modern Egypt from Muhammad Ali to the British Mandate)

The Egyptian lawmaker did not feel the need to introduce any laws that punish sex working until the year 1949, before that Egyptian lawmakers viewed sex working as a “victimless crime” even if it was considered immoral or against the traditions, it was not really the job the law to control people’s private life and how they choose to live it, after all if the crime does not has a victim then it shouldn’t be punished.

Muhammad Ali Pasha (17 May 1805 – 2 March 1848): Muhammad Ali came to power and found a judicial system that does not criminalize sex working and he decided to leave it as it is, as sex working was a good source of taxes for the state, but in the year 1843 he decided to criminalize sex working and issue a decree to ban public dancing and sex working for women and to punish them with 50 lashes for the first offenders and with one year jail time for the repeated offenders, the law then worked to push sex workers and dancers outside the capital to Upper Egypt in cities like Qena and Luxor.

However, this law failed to achieve what it Muhammed Ali wanted, in the end sex workers took refuge in other cities away from Cairo and the eyes of the law in Upper Egypt or stayed in Cairo and went underground with their activities. This law also paved the way to the apperence of male dancers, those men would dress, look, and act like women and entertain customers with their dancing. Those men were two groups “Khawal” was kept for men who are in native to Egypt while “Jenky” was the word used for foreigners. ^[6]

Abbas I of Egypt (1848 – 1854): He revoked the decrees punishing sex working and public dancing in Egypt and reintroduced the tax collection system of this industry and allowed sex workers to return once again to the capital from Upper Egypt.

Egyptian rulers kept the legalized sex working, as a main source of tax revenue to the state, but didn’t really introduce any laws to regulate it until the year 1885, in which the Bureau of Inspection for female sex workers was establishment and a law was introduced to regulate the professional life of sex workers in Egypt; the law stated that all female sex workers shall register in the police station and they will receive a routine medical checkup and they will be required to carry a license to prove that they are free of any STDs. The law divided women into two categories the first “El-Hayaqa” which is a woman over fifty who operates as the pimp and she was exempt from taking the medical check up and the second was “El-Maqtora” and that was the female sex worker. ^[7]

After that in 1896 the state issued a new law regarding organizing licensed brothel, this law acted as a guideline for everyone who wanted to open and operate a licensed brothel. Under this law anyone who wants to open a brothel had to do this in specific locations in the city approved by the state and they had to file an official applications to the officials to open it, the law also required all brothels to go under routine checkups by the law officers. As for the pre-existing brothels the owners were given a 30 days window to register their brothels with the officials. ^[8]

This Law marked a new attempt by the state to further marginalize the sex workers community, as the state worked to isolate them in specific districts within the cities to protect “moral people” from their influence, and this attempt wasn’t the first in its nature as the Land Procedures and Jurisdictions Law of 1880 stated in its article (8):

“It is forbidden for women prostitutes to live among the moral free houses, as well as taking the identity of a moral woman and the judicial officers have the right to check and maintain the order of free houses and arrest any prostitute that shall break the law”

However, 1905 came with a new legislative framework, as the ultimate legal text on State-regulated sex work, disciplined the activities of licensed sex workers who were resident in brothels and its first article came as the following:

“any place where two or more women are living permanently or assembling temporarily for the purpose of prostitution, even if living in separate rooms, shall be considered a brothel”

To make it more accurate the explanatory paper that was attached to the law defined “Brothels” as all public places known to the public or officials, as places where commercial sex work is taking place, and defined “secret brothels” as the places where commercial sex working is taking place in hiding e.g. hotels where people can meet for these activities.

The law also organized the places where brothels can operate and open as stated in article two:

“brothels could be opened only in reserved areas of the city specified by the city governor. There could be no more than one door opening onto the street and the brothel was to be completely detached from other buildings, shops, or public places”

Article six of the law, also required the owners to apply for a special "Onrik number 131", which is a license to operate and open brothels.

The law also regulated the lives of sex workers and stated that legal age to work is 18 and that every female sex worker must acquire "Ornik Number 11" (A work permission) in the article number 14:

"Every prostitute that is working inside a brothel, must obtain a photo-ID from the police and this ID must be renewed annually"

Articles 15 and 18 from the law required all female sex workers inside the brothels to receive a weekly medical checkup, as stated in the article 15:

"every prostitute working inside a brothel, must receive a weekly medical checkup" [9]

In addition to this a detailed list of all workers in the brothels and its owners was given to the police that included waiters and servants.

Despite this legalization, if you closely read all the articles of the time and the legal writing regarding the issue, you will notice how the Egyptian lawmaker felt about sex working and how this legalization just reflected this, as the Egyptian lawmaker decided to just isolate the entire industry and push sex workers away from the districts of the "moral people" to protect the moral society from their "evil" and even though these articles existed, some judges like (Mohamed Abdo) acquitted a female sex worker who was arrested for missing its required medical checkup and stated in his rationale for the judgment that sex working goes against all religions and as such for him these laws are against religions. [10]

Even though, the law did not mention male sex workers and choose to ignore their existence, history didn't and the writings from the era even if rare it do exist regarding male sex workers, in addition to the male dancers from Muhammed Ali Pasha, there was a vibrant community of male sex workers in places in Cairo like "Louve Coffee shop" in "Wagah El-Berka St" in Azbakya district and Attaba Sq and these men were known to have a feminine attitude and looks not very fitting the gender normative narrative of the era and socially they were accepted in the areas they operated and legally the police didn't have any right to arrest nor harass them. [11]

The path towards the criminalization of sex working in Egypt (After the British Mandate until the 40s)

The British Mandate in Egypt ended in 1922 and with it a new wave of moral voices were risen about some aspect, that they viewed as moral corruption elements were brought upon the Egyptian society by the British; the biggest aspect of those was the legalized sex working industry. The Muslim Brotherhood was established in 1928 and with it came a competition to the government, and each camp used protecting morality as their guns and sex working as their aim. As the Muslim brotherhood became more vocal about the sex work industry and attacked the corrupt government that lets "prostitutes" walking in public streets spreading their corrupt moral message. ^[12] this put the government in a dilemma and needed to act fast to maintain their image in front of the public and as such a new committee was by order of the Council of Ministers to examine the issue of "legalized organized prostitution" in 1932, and the committee concluded the need to abolish "legalized prostitution", and the Cabinet approved that decision in 1935 and in 1937 the new penal code was approved, which stipulated Articles indicating the state's direction towards abolishing "legalized prostitution" and combating immorality in public streets:

"Article (269): whoever is found on a public road or a traveled and frequented place inciting the passers with signals or words to commit adultery shall be punished with detention for a period not exceeding one month. if the felon recurs to committing this crime within one year from the date the court ruling is passed against him in the first crime, the penalty shall become detention for a period not exceeding six months and a fine not exceeding fifty pounds. a ruling of indictment shall necessitate placing the convict on police parole for a period equal to that of the penalty"

"Article 270: whoever is committing the act of morally corrupting youth who are under the age of twenty-one and incite debauchery and debauch among them shall be detained"

"Article 271: if the incite of debauchery and debauch happened upon youth who are mentioned in section two of article 267 the felon shall be jailed for a period of three to seven years"

"Article 272: whoever uses a prostitute to live off her and takes her money earned from prostituting will be detained"

"Article 278: whoever commits in public a scandalous act against pudency shall be punished with detention for a period not exceeding one year or a fine not exceeding three hundred pounds."

Soon after the panel code in 1937, the military governor gave his order in 1942 to close all brothels in the country and exempted those who operate in the capital cities of the governates and in 1943 a new order was issued to give the right to the mayors, city councils and governors to close brothels as they see fit and finally in 1949 came military order No (79) to close all brothels in Egypt.

However all of those orders and decrees did not punish the sex workers themselves, as it is noticeable that it was mostly targeting towards the brothels and people who use sex workers to make money off their hard work, as the military order No (79) did not outlaw or ban prostitution itself, but just ordered the closure of the brothels, this intention become more clear when we review the Court of Cassation rulings of the time:

“ The intention of the lawmaker when he passed article 272 of the panel code regarding indecent assault and the corruption of morality was to protect female prostitutes, even if they were adult from those who force them to work in prostitution and pretend to provide them with protection. Those who use prostitutes to fully or partially make a living are considered to be danger to the livelihood of those women and shall be punished by law” Cassation appeal No 62/ year 10 judicial. ”

“The legal text in article 272 of the panel code does not punish anyone other than those who uses female prostitutes by pretending to provide protection to them and out of this pretending they make a living fully or partially out of the prostitutes’ money. Receiving money from a prostitute as a wage for other services provided other than protection is not a crime, hence the punishment of this article is not applicable, as the defender received the money as a wage to prepare the house for the prostitutes to welcome her their customers in” Cassation appeal No 1817 / year 10 Judicial. ”

“Whereas, the law stipulated in Article 1 of Military Order No. 76, whose effect was still in force by the Law No. 50 of 1950, that “in the application of this order a home for prostitutes shall be considered as every place that is used or managed for prostitution, even if its use is restricted to one prostitute.” Then it was stipulated in Article five that: “Every woman who is sick with a contagious venereal disease and is caught in a house of prostitutes against the provisions of this order, shall be punished ..” which means that the crime of running a house for prostitutes is one of the customary crimes that can only be proven when it happens, and the verdict is based on what is evident from his reading and he does not evoke this pillar of that crime which the appellants were condemned for, then he shall be short of the statement, and he must deny it. Whereas, when the above, the appeal must be accepted and the judgment revoked, without the need to search for the remaining aspects of the appeal” Cassation appeal No 1875 / year 20 judicial.”

Law No 68/1951 on Combating Prostitution in Egypt:

The Year 1951 marked the year that an official law was passed to criminalize all forms of sex working in Egypt as stipulated in its article 9:

“Whoever habitually engages in debauchery or prostitution, shall be punished with a minimum of three months detention and fine of at least twenty-five EGP and maximum three hindered EGP or one of those punishments”

This law came with a new shift in the legislative mindset of the Egyptian lawmakers, as they moved to “legally” protect what they viewed as moral then and moved away from the “victimless crimes” concept and started to criminalize sex working, gambling, public drinking and limited alcoholic drinking to specific places.

This law was the first-time lawmakers mentioned “Male Prostitution” in any legal texts, as we mentioned the word “Debauchery” was specifically added to criminalize “Male Prostitution” and not limit the legal texts to only “Female Prostitution”, it is interesting that apart from article 9, all other articles of the law focused primarily on those who benefit from using sex workers and not sex workers themselves, as in the mind of those patriarchal lawmakers sex workers were just victims of the thugs who pushes them into selling their bodies and as such they just target the users more, as the root of the problem and those articles focused on (Inciting – Seducing – Helping – Using – Promoting – Owning a place or operating one for prostitution – using male or female sex workers). The opinion of the Egyptian lawmakers was just a reflection of the global opinion dealing with the issue of sex working of linking it to human trafficking and outlawing it and focusing more on the users than the sex workers themselves.

This law replaced panel code articles 270, 271 and 272 and also the Military order No (79) and became the sole legal text that will be used in the matter of sex working in the courts, as reflected on [the Court of Cassation rulings from this period:](#)

“Law No 68/1951 will be enforced on all cases that came before its date and has not received a final ruling yet. Arresting the accused in a brothel is not enough to punish her, even if she confessed that she regularly visits the brothel, as the law require the element of habituality for the crime of debauchery or prostituting, as such the application of the law in this case was faulty, as the appeal court failed to prove the element of habituality in the case and the confession of the accused of visiting the brothel is not enough to prove that element” Cassation Appeal No 410 / Year 21 Judicial.’

“Article eight of law No 68/195 has defined a brothel, as a house where the act of debauchery of prostitution takes place, even if only by one person, as such the accused was arrested in her house committing adultery with a person who is foreign of her and she was the only woman in the house and the court did not provide any other evidence that she was operating a brothel and the court does not feel that there’s enough evidences to complete the elements of the crime of operating brothels” Cassation Appeal No 1234 / Year 22 Judicial.’

“If a woman who is a tailor in profession, is also using her house to meet other women and men to commit adultery in it and receives financial compensation in return, then the house is considered to be a brothel by law. Cassation Appeal No 1997/ Year 25 Judicial.”

It is unknown if this law was used to target homosexual men or not (as it happens in modern times), due to the lack of historical resources on that matter. The law was passed to focus on the ending of legalized sex working and focused on the sex working industry that was registered with the state under the previous laws, and since this registration was limited to only female sex workers and not male ones it is hard to know exactly the number of male sex workers or where they operated, but since the lawmakers decided to add the word “debauchery” to identify male sex workers, then it is possible that this phenomenon was not foreign of the Egyptian society at the day.

In the end the focus of the Police Officers at the time was on “the traditional form of sex working” e.g. women offering a man and not a man offering another man.

Law No. 10/1961, on the Combating of Prostitution:

In 1959 Egypt (The United Arab Republic then) joined the Convention for the Suppression of the Traffic in Persons and of the Exploitation of the Prostitution of Others and for that the government started working on issuing a new law to meet the new requirements of that convention and in 1961 a final bill was passed, making it the law Nr. 10/1961 on the Combating of Prostitution. This law is still in effect to this day in both of Syria and Egypt.

Even though an explanatory note was attached to the law, some of its articles were vague and did not have a clear definition of its crimes, especially when it comes to committing the acts of “Debauchery” and “Prostitution”, as it was not clear if a financial compensation is an element of a crime or not and for “Debauchery” it was not clear if the lawmakers means both sides of a homosexual sexual relation or just the bottom side, all of this vagueness paved the way for the Court of Cassation to start setting a number of important legal principles and definition for the articles of this law.

Court of Cassation and the Law No 10/1961 in the 70s:

Everyone working in the legal system in Egypt uses the Court of Cassation as their main source of legal principles and legal interpretation of the different laws, whether you are with the defense or the prosecutor, your arguments will always mention appeals from the Court of Cassation.

As such the Court of Cassation was tasked with the role of giving a clear and known interpretation of the different articles that came in the Law No 10/1961, especially the articles that criminalize “Prostitution” and “Debauchery”. The paper will examine two case studies of the appeals that were presented to the Court of Cassation in the 70s, where the court gave a clear definition of what they felt the law meant by “Prostitution” and “Debauchery”:

Appeal No 683 / Year 45 Judicial at 12th of May 1975:

The Case

The public prosecutor office charged the accused of committing habitual debauchery, as he was arrested having sex with another man and he was the bottom in this sexual relationship in El-Fayom district. The public prosecutor office charged him with the violation of articles No 1, 5, 6 and 10 of the law No 10/1961. The first-degree court of El-Fayom found the accused guilty and sentenced him to six months jail and 25 EGP fine, the accused decided to appeal and as such the case appeared in front of the appeal court in El-Fayom, which ruled to uphold the first degree sentence, however the public prosecutor office did not find the final sentence to their liking and appealed to the court of cassation.

Court of Cassation Verdict

The public prosecutor office is concerned with implementation of the law in the case, as the court of appeals upheld the first degree sentence of punishing the accused for committing habitual debauchery and as such the court of appeal was mistaken in its implementation of the law, as the facts of the case from the investigation report or of the witness statement states that the accused was committing debauchery for his own pleasure and was not receiving any financial compensation in return and as such the elements of the crime he was convicted with do not exist.

The First-degree court sentenced the accused for committing habitual debauchery, as per the police investigation report the police received a tip that the accused commits debauchery in his house for financial compensation and as such the police issued a search warrant and when they executed this warrant, they found the accused committing debauchery with another man (the accused being the bottom and the other man being the top) and by questioning the witness (the top), he confirmed that he used to have sex with the accused more than once for pleasure and there's no financial agreement between the two. The Court of Cassation believes that strong evidences were provided by the police and the witness to convict the accused for committing habitual debauchery, as article 9 of law No 10/1961 on combating prostitution punished "Whoever habitually engages in debauchery or prostitution." The lawmaker meant by this article that the elements of the crime are full when the person commits it habitually and without differentiating of his sexual partners. The element of financial compensation was never a requirement for the crime of debauchery or prostitution to take place, even if it does exist it can only be used to support the element of committing debauchery or prostitution indifferently with multiple partners and since the first-degree court sentence was based on these evidences, we found the ruling to be correct, as all the elements of the crime do exist in this case and to say that the implementation of the law was not correct because the crime require a financial compensation to be a crime is faulty and as such the court refuses this appeal.

Appeal No 977/ Year 47 judicial at 29th of January 1978

The Case

The public prosecutor office charged the accused of providing a house to others to aid them committing adultery in return for financial compensation and requested him to be punished with article 9 of the law No 10/1961. The misdemeanor first degree court fined the accused with 50 EGP and 3 months jail. The accused later appealed to Alexandria Elementary Court and the court upheld the sentence from the misdemeanor court. The accused did not agree with the sentencing and decided to appeal to the Court of Cassation

Court of Cassation Verdict

The accused is concerned with the implementation of the law in his convention, as he was accused with renting his house to prostitutes. He sees the implementation of the law here is wrong as the incident he was convicted for -even if true- is not criminalized because he did not know that he was renting the house for prostitutes as it shows in the rental agreement, he also says that the habituality element of the crime of prostitution does not exist, as he said in his defense that one of the ladies arrested is a friend of the tenant and the other lady is her colleague and not two prostitutes. Even though the strong defense arguments, the court does not feel that this defense is enough for an appeal in the Court of Cassation, as the first degree sentence stating in its reasonings for the convention that; The vice police's officer knew from his secretive investigations, that the accused rents out houses for others to practice prostitution. The Police officer received a search warrant from the public prosecutor office and moved to the house owned by the accuse to search and there they found inside for Libyan men and the second accused hiding under the bed in the bedroom wearing a transparent lingerie and next to her was her underwear, as for the third accused she was found wearing a man's clothes on the street after she jumped from the flat, once the flat raided the house. The police questioned the men and women they found in the flat and the men confessed that they did rent the flat from the accused to practice adultery in with prostitutes and that the accused knew about that and two of the men confessed that they did commit adultery with the two women arrested in the flat after paying them. The convention was based on strong evidences came from the tenants confessions that the day before the arrest the accused saw some women leaving the house they are renting and did not object to it and that he also committed adultery in the same house six months before the arrest, as for the women arrested they confessed that they did practice prostitution in the house regularly. the convention showed that the accused did know about the activities taking place in his house, as this was proven through the confessions of the men and women arrested in the house, as he did not object to it and requested a very high rental fee for the house. The first section of article 9 of law No 10/1961 stats that "Whoever lets or offers in whatever fashion a residence or place run for the purpose of debauchery or prostitution, or for the purpose of housing one or more persons, if they are to his knowledge practicing debauchery or prostitution shall be punished with minimum 3 months and maximum three years of jail time

or a fine of minimum ٢٠ EGP and maximum ٣٠٠ EGP or one of those punishments” this section is clear that it is criminalizing two incidents; first renting or offering a house or a place to be operated as place for debauchery or prostitution and knowing about it and in this case the element of “knowledge” of the activities taken place in the place is core for the crime to happen, the second incident is renting a house or accommodation for a person knowing that the person is renting the place to commit adultery in and in this case the element of “habituality” in the crimes of debauchery or prostitution is not required, as was explained by the committee consisting of the legislative and social affairs committees in the Egyptian Parliament entrusted with writing Law No. ١٩٠١/٧٨ (the law that was later replaced with law No ١٩٧١/١٠). The definition of “Debauchery” and “Prostitution” in the law is to commit adultery with people indifferently, if a woman commits it its prostitution and if a man commits its debauchery and as such the legal text is implacable whether adultery is committed by a man or a woman in the house, as long as the owner renting it and knowing about the activities taking place in the house and the law does not require the element of habituality in the crimes taking place inside the house to convict the owner of Article ٩ Section A. The court does not share the same concerns as the accused in regards of the legal application of the law and view that the first two courts (misdemeanor and appeal courts) did give a convention based on strong evidences that were provided, as the elements of the crime the accused committed are in accordance to the legal texts and as such the court rejects his appeal.

Reflection on the verdicts

One of the most important legal principles that were laid down by the Court of Cassation during this period was the dropping of the financial compensation element as a condition for the crimes of "Debauchery" and "Prostitution" to take place, the definition in the law for those crimes became "committing adultery with people indifferently, if a woman commits it its prostitution and if a man commits its debauchery" and then the court put two core elements for those crimes to take place which are; habituality and indifferently. This definition and the law No/1961 in general reflects the patriarchy of Egyptian lawmaker, as in the cases of "Prostitution" only the sex worker is punished, while the man has immunity from being punished and considered to be a witness on the crime committed by the sex worker and under the law men can't being prosecuted for having sex with a sex worker but can be punished by other articles as we mentioned before e.g. renting or aiding. From this legal patriarchal view of the crime of prostitution only the sex worker is punished and not the buyer and in the beginning the authorities implemented the same principle in cases of "Debauchery" for male sex workers too, as the Court of Cassation explains that the crimes happens from the person who offers to others and not the other way around and it was customary when two men are arrested, only the bottom would be prosecuted and the top will be ignored and it is not clear when did the judicial authorities decide to change that and also prosecute the top side in the relation as well I the cases of "Debauchery" but most likely it was sometime In the 90s or late 80s. The Court of Cassation stood by male buys when the first-degrees courts would convict them, as also a responsible part in the crime. For example, Court of Cassation appeal No 99/ Judicial year 58 in 21st of April 1988, Court of Cassation appeal No 2434/ Judicial year 58 in 8th of June 1988, Court of Cassation appeal No 49867/ Judicial year 59 in 14th of November 1996 and Court of Cassation appeal No 8838/ Judicial year 60 in 13th of October 1997.

Even though the Court of Cassation removed the financial compensation element of both crimes of "Debauchery" and "Prostitution" we find that the implementation became very different, as the judicial authorities hardly removes this element from the cases of "Prostitution" and still view it as a de-facto condition of the crime and this new definition was used later to target one group in practical of men which is homosexual men, in the upcoming years with the removal of the financial compensation as a core element of the crime it became easier to target any person who commits sexual relations indifferently with people. The two verdicts examined here are just two examples of many verdicts issued by the Court of Cassation in regards of the definition of the two crimes and in every time the Court of Cassation insisted of giving the same definition over and over again, while protection the male buys in the crimes of "Prostitution" stating that it's beyond the scope of criminalization mentioned in law No 10/1961. In the same time the definition of "Debauchery" for the authorities developed for them from only male sex workers to de-facto criminalizing of any two men engaged in sexual relations and the punishment went from only punishing the bottom side to both sides and as such the crimes of "Debauchery" and "Prostitution" started to be separated in some of the legal producers surrounding them.

Supreme Constitutional Court and Law No 10/1961 in the 90s:

The Supreme Constitutional Court was established by "Sadat" and its building was inaugurated by "Mubarak." The Supreme Constitutional Court, based in Cairo, is a judicial body independent from the legislative and executive authorities in Egypt, and is specialized in several matters, most notably monitoring the compliance of laws with the articles of the constitution, as it was established in accordance with Law No. 48 of 1979, Issued by former President Mohamed Anwar Sadat, and cases are referred to the court, if it appears to a court or body with jurisdiction during consideration of the unconstitutionality of a text in a law or regulation required to settle the dispute, the case is suspended and the papers are referred without fees to the Supreme Constitutional Court to decide on The issue: The defense can argue that one of the punitive articles used against its client is unconstitutional, provided that the defense Argument is serious.

The Law No 10/1961 was reviewed twice by the Supreme Constitutional Court and both times were in 1992; Appeal No 13/ Year 11 Constitutional Judicial in 18th of April 1992 and Appeal No. 89/ 12 Constitutional Judicial in 16th of May 1992 you can review the two appeals (only available in Arabic) from here.

The court's first ruling on the law was only limited to look into the "procedural defects" with the legislative process of issuing the law, most notable of those defects that was examined by the court was the fact that this law was passed directly by the president due to the lack of the legislative body responsible for issuing laws then. The court replied to this argument stating that in state of necessity (the absence of the legislative body) the executive body (represented in the President) obtains the right to issue laws, the state of necessity as mentioned by the court was that; Egypt have joined the Convention for the Suppression of the Traffic in Persons and of the Exploitation of the Prostitution of Others and even though Egypt itself met its obligation under this Convention as it already had the law No 68/1951 to criminalize all of prostitution and operating brothels but Egypt was part of the Arab United Republic formed of Syrian and Egypt in 1958 and in Syrian Prostitution and other activities related to the industry was still legalized, as such Egypt issued law No 10/1961 to unify laws in the United Arab Republic and to criminalize the issue in Syria as well to meet its international obligation under the Convention and as such the state of necessity we have here is the basis to transfer legislative powers into the executive branch (The President). The Court rejected this appeal and ruled that it is "Procedurally Constitutional"

After only one month from the aforementioned appeal, the Constitutional Court reviewed another appeal on the Law 10/1961 on the 16th of May, but this time the Court needed to examine if the law is Constitutional or not, as it is goes against the Islamic Sharia principles, which according to the Constitution are the main legislative source in the Country. The Court also rejected this appeal stating that the Law No 10/1961 is Constitutional

By rejecting both appeals the Constitutional Court de-facto gave a Constitutional Certificate to this law, that is fully correct and does not go against any Constitutional legal texts or principles.

In our opinion, this "Constitutional Certificate" is incomplete, as when the Court examined and reviewed the Constitutionality of Law No. 10/1961 it confined itself into looking only at the argu-

arguments raised by the defense of the two appellants, which means that the Court only discussed / or responded in its judgments on the defenses arguments raised before it, and it did not discuss the extent of the constitutionality of this law in a manner that includes the extent to which it contradicts the rest of the provisions and principles of the constitution. In the second appeal the court purified the Law from violating the principles of Islamic Sharia, as if the court did not see or discuss during its search for reasons on its two judgments the extent of contradiction with other constitutional principles, which in itself - from our opinion - calls into question the legitimacy of adhering to the authority of these constitutional court judgments which are supposed to be the source that other state authorities (legislative / executive / judicial) rely on to make decisions.

There's no doubt that this Law came to criminalize "Prostitution" and "Debauchery" and all activities that are related to it and to punish those activities with punishments that will take one's freedom, but the law failed to provide any definitions to the terminology used in it e.g. "Prostitution" and "Debauchery", definitions need to be clear to the normal person so he/she can clarify what is criminalized and what is allowed under the law. This doesn't only go for those crimes, as every crime under the law should have clear definitions and clear elements and it is not enough to mention the name of the crime but it must be clear not only to legal experts but to all citizens what does the lawmaker means by this crime.

It goes beyond saying that it is unconstitutional to the lawmaker to leave these definitions to be determined later after the issuance of the law to other parties e.g. explanatory notes, parliament discussions or even juridical sources.

Beginning of the 2000s:

With the beginning of the 2000s came new changes within the Egyptian society, most notable of those is the beginning of the internet era in Egypt (At least within the upper class and upper middle class), that lead to a shift in the sex working industry into the digital spear and with that shift the police started to be creative with their entrapments methods of sex workers. This creativity lead to the introduction of a new forms of informants that will only work on the digital spaces where sex workers are active and gay men, gay men in particular were targeted heavily on those digital spaces, as in the early 2000s a new wave of queer communities started to appear using the internet as a backbone for their communities, those new waves imposed a threat to vice police mentality that are based on patriarchal ideals, that rejects any forms of sexual or gender expression that does not fit the narrow normative social standards of how people should be.

The judicial and executive branch relied heavily on "the debauchery's definition" that was produced by the Court of Cassation in the 70s to justify arresting homosexual men without actually committing a crime, as they linked any "homosexual" indicators to "debauchery" and as such "homosexuality" is used as an evidence to what is actually criminalized in the law which is "debauchery".

One of the most notorious cases regarding sexual freedoms in Egypt was “the Queen Boat” case. The case begins on Friday, 11th of May 2001, when the vice police raided a popular night-club located on a boat called “Nariman Boat” or “Queen Boat” and arrested around 36 men from there, that number was later raised to (52) men in the case, as the police also arrested number of men from the streets relying on tips they received from informants. Newspapers in this period reported on the incident, as if it was a huge victory for the state fighting immorality in the society, as the Police introduced an illusion of “a homosexuality cult” to the society and accused this “cult” of working to destroy the core morality of the Egyptian society and accused the men who were arrested of belonging to this “cult”. The newspapers started a widespread defamation campaigns against the men arrested and published all their personal information.

The case was refereed not to a regular prosecutor but to the National Security Prosecution office, where they would be investigated and held without bail and in late June the prosecution office decided to refer the men to the Forensic Medicine Authority to conduct anal examination on them, the “medical reports” stated that 16 men of them did “bottom” before. The prosecutor charged all men with “habitual” debauchery according to article 9(C) of the law No 10/1961. The trial took place in a tense atmosphere, and tight security was imposed around the court, and during the trial, the defendants began to wear face masks they made from the white prison clothes, to hide their face from the lenses of the press and the media. On November 14, the court sentenced 23 of them to prison terms of up to 5 years, but former President Hosni Mubarak canceled the sentences at the time, and referred them to an ordinary misdemeanor court, which reduced these sentences.

The interesting thing is that the absence of words such as “homosexuality” or “sodomy” provided the perfect “loophole” and “excuse” for the state’s representatives to publicly and internationally defend themselves from targeting gay men, as the law clearly does not criminalize it, but as we mentioned before the Egyptian authorities linked the homosexuality in men with sex working and “debauchery” to justify arresting homosexual men.

At the same time the Court of Cassation made homosexual relations de-facto criminalized when they removed the financial compensation element and made the elements of habituality and indifferent as the core elements for the crime of “debauchery” which means that any homosexual man who have sex with more than one partner would make him liable for “debauchery” and even when the state was defending itself from targeting homosexual men in 2001, cases reports had a lot of indicators that says otherwise [e.g. Cassation Appeal No 21122/ Judicial Year 62 on the 17th of November 20010](#)

The Case

The Public Prosecutor’s office charged the accused with practicing habitual debauchery with men in return of financial compensation and requested him to be punished with articles 9(c) and 15 of the law No 10/1961. The first-degree misdemeanor court sentenced the accused to one-year jail time, the accused appealed the sentence and the appeal court sentenced him to 6 months jail time. The accused did not find this sentence to his liking and failed a cassation appeal.

Court of Cassation Verdict

The first-degree sentence found its reasoning for the sentence in the facts of the case as it came in the investigation report; "We (the police) have received a tip stating that one of the homosexual men is frequently standing in front of a hotel in 26th of July St. to hunt men who want to have homosexual sexual relations with him. The investigations has backed the tip we received, as we moved to the location mentioned and we found the accused walking in a feminine way and whispering to a guy and when he tried to runaway we stopped him and questioned him, then he confessed that he has been committing debauchery for one year and half and did it for about ten times in the last twenty days and that he doesn't receive any financial compensation in return. He confessed also in the public prosecutor's investigation report that; he does commit debauchery with other men indifferently and that he learnt how to do this from one guy he met in front of "the American's Coffee shop" for one year and half now and that he has sex with other men for his personal pleasure, as such the first degree court saw it was fit to punish him after feeling comfortable about the confessions he gave in the investigations report" The law did not specify a way for the court to identify the facts of the crimes and the court is free to understand the elements of the crimes and its facts as it see fit and when it feel comfortable about the facts the court received it shall has the right to sentence the accused as it sees fit. The law also did not specify a way to prove the element of "habituality" in the crime of "Debauchery" and the court justified its sentencing in a way that proves that the accused did commit the crime of "Debauchery" in all of its element

Confession is one of the key ways in criminal matters to prove a crime did acquire and the court is free in its judgment to review the confession and judge whether it is true or not. In this case the Court found the confession to be true and valid to build its sentencing on, as the accused did confess in the public prosecutor's report that he did confess to committing "debauchery" with men. The accused is claiming that the confession was not true nor valid because the confession was forcibly taken by the arresting officer, however there's no indicators other than the accused's claim that the arresting officer forced him to confess to anything, as such and given the evidences that the arresting police officer collected that allowed him to do the arrest without an arrest warrant, we find that the producers of the arrest were legal. Since the court built its sentencing on the confessions and other evidences provided to it and the court is free to understand the facts of the case in the light of evidences provided to it we find that the court sentencing was legal and correct and as such we reject the appeal

The "Queen Boat" incident just increased the moral panic mode that the Egyptian society was already going through in the 90s, that mood started with the return of Egyptians working in the Arab Gulf, this return brough the conservative ideology of the Arab Gulf with it and this conservative ideology came into a direct conflict with the liberals who were flourishing during the end of the Sadat's era that opened the society more to western cultures, but in the end the state interfered on the side of the conservatives and implemented the notion of the "religious state" in the society and the state presented itself as the first protector of the Egyptian family traditions and values and started to marginalize and prosecute the other more liberal groups that do not fit with the conservative ideals of the society e.g. homosexuals, sex-workers and western metal music lovers

After the 25th of January revolution

The 25th of January revolution marked a sign of hope for many of the marginalized and prosecuted groups in the Egyptian society but for sexual and gender minorities, as well as sex workers the issues remained the same or even get worse, as the debate on the identity of the Egyptian state got more intense between the conservative Islamists and secular liberals, this debate reached its breaking point with the deposition of the Egyptian President then Muhammed Morsi, depositing an Islamism President sparked the old conflict between the Muslim Brotherhood and the State over the morality of the Egyptian society, in this conflict the state was armed with its vice police, that once again took the rule of the protector of the Egyptian values and morality to prove to the public that the deposition of an Islamism President does not mean that the state will forget about its moral obligation and turns secular, this lead to an increase in the State's prosecution and targeting of sexual and gender minorities and sex workers.

"For the first time in Egypt..... Gay Marriages and dance shows under Sisi"

This title, which came in a media outlet that belongs to the Muslim brotherhood, reflects the moral conflicts that was happening between the State and the Muslim Brotherhood, in this conflict one group was targeted as the main source of propaganda by both sides which is "homosexuals", this title was reporting on an incident happened in 2014, where a group of young men made a gay wedding video that was later leaked and they were all arrested because of that video in the case known as "Gay Marriage in Egypt".

This case was followed with another famous case "Bab El-Bahr Case", a very controversial case, as the main evidence that the police relied on, was the statement of a Tv Show hostess "Mona El-Araqi", where provided the police with a tip that there's public sauna place in Ramsis that is also "a gay gathering spot" the vice police built its entire case on this information alone and arrested 26 men from the sauna place and allowed "Mona El-Araqi" to film and air the arrest and this case was very weak and has no basis that all 26 men were acquitted from the first-degree misdemeanor court.

The State's attitude towards sex working cases didn't differ much from how they deal with homosexual cases, a quick google search will show you the amount of information on these cases that the State export to the media outlets, especially during the times of political or economic unrest to distract the public from the bigger issues in the state, in these cases the State's representative always wear the outfit of the morality defender and the protector of the Egyptian people. In 2015 the Vice Police reports reflected the State's attitude towards sex workers, as they recorded 2034 vice cases and 30 thousand individuals being registered in their database for sex working.

Mashrou' Leila and New Law Proposals

In Sept 2017 the Egyptian State and Society woke up to a new challenge that they didn't think of, a group of youth raised a rainbow flag as a sign of resilience and their identity and their rejection of the laws that fight their existence in a rock concert for a Lebanese band called "Mashrou' Leila". The biggest shock for the Egyptian Society then was the lack of any clear legal articles that can punish those who dared to raise a rainbow flag, the public and media anger put the government under pressure to react and to defend the image that it has been building very carefully as the defender of the Egyptian morality.

The panicked Egyptian state started to go through the legal books to find every legal text they can mobilize to punish the rainbow flag youth, and the public prosecutor then "Nabil Ahmed Sadaq" decided to commission the State Security prosecution, to investigate the incident, even though the State Security prosecution is an exceptional prosecution body established to only investigate the most dangerous crimes against the Egyptian State.

Soon after several MPs introduced new laws proposals to either replace the Law No 10/1961 all together or to modify some of its article, the MPs stated that the law is outdated and that there "new moral challenges" that require the law to be upgraded, the most notable of those proposals came by the MP "Ryad Abd EL-Satar Hassan" who proposed a new law that would criminalize homosexuality itself and differentiate between it and "Debauchery" that existed in Law No 10/1961, for "Ryad" homosexuality was defined as the following:

"Homosexuals in the law means every sexual relation that occur between two persons of the same sex (Two males or more) or (Two females or more)"

The second article of this law proposal included the punishment for the aforementioned article:


"Every two persons or more, whether they are male or female, that commit homosexual sexual relations among them or between them in any place public or private, will face punishment of at minimum one year and maximum three years and for repeated offenders the punishment would be five years"

"Mahmoud Farid Khamis" is another MP that proposed to only modify the Law 10/1961 and not to introduce a new law and this proposal included heavier jail sentencing for offenders and introduced new definitions to include the homosexual relations between men and women, "Shadia Thabt" another MP introduced a new law proposal that stated:

“this step aims to introduce a new legislative framework to combat immoral parties that promotes debauch and debauchery and endanger our youth morality and introduce new ideals to them that can harm our national security”

“Shadia Thabt” proposal focused on redefining sex working, unlike other proposals that aimed to introduce clear articles and clear legal language to criminalize homosexuality, this proposal used the same old legal terminology from the law No 10/1961.

All of these law proposals were introduced as a way to please the public opinion, more than to introduce a new law for real, as all of these legal proposals didn't have much legislative attention to it, but only very heavy media attention, the media outlets that are close to the regime started exporting those proposals for the public as a sign that the regime is the moral defender of the society and to polish its image after the “Rainbow Flag Incident”, those proposals worked in rhythm with the massive arrest campaigns of anyone that impose a moral risk to the State e.g. homosexuals, queers and sex workers during this period to restore the moral image of the state.



One more Try (2019)

A new tragedy hit the Egyptian society "Ramsis Train accident" that caused the loss of 31 citizens, during this period a MP came to his "civic duty" to make a moral fuzz to distract the public attention from the incident and other incidents happening during the time and introduced a new law proposal to combat "Debauch and Debauchery", this proposal made it to the legislative committee of the Parliament after being approved by the speaker of the house "Ali Abdel Aal" on 25th of February 2019, this proposal had clear definition for its crimes under article 2:

"Article two: definitions

Prostitution: Renting, Providing, or practicing sexual services in return of a financial compensation and committing adultery with other indifferently"

Debauch and Debauchery: Committing sexual crimes that are forbidden e.g. sodomy and incest.

Places of Prostitution or Debauchery: every place that is used regularly to commit prostitution or debauchery in it, even if its only operating by one person and every public or private place that has those activities being committed in"

The punishments articles in this proposal came harsher than the ones in Law 10/1961, we find that "number five" is a favorite for MP "Hisham Wali" and he added that number in most of the punishments e.g. article eight of the proposal:

"Everyone who will rent or provide a place (house or other) for debauchery or prostitution activities to take place in it will be punished with a minimum of five years jail time and a fine"

This proposals like other proposals that tried to get rid of the Law 10/1961 didn't go anywhere, as from Sept 2017 until current time no law reached anywhere beyond the legislative committee and this proposal is still in the legislative committee right now without any clear statements on what will happen with it in the future.



Conclusion

Egyptian lawmakers dealt with the issue of sex working, as a trade like every other, a very progressive attitude for its time in the 19th century, but the Egyptian's lawmaker attitude shifted from viewing sex working as a "victimless crime" to viewing it as a "moral risk" to the society, this attitude shift came with a bigger shift in the society with the raise of the Islamic movement. Egyptian lawmakers started to interfere with people's private life when they decided to criminalize victimless crimes in the 50s, the Egyptian state stand on sex working was different from the most progressive countries of the time, as Egypt built its criminalization on international treaties of the time and with the 50s we close the somehow colored vibrate era of sexual liberalities in Egypt.

The legal intersectionality of homosexuality and sex working came to light in Egypt with the law No 10/1961, from our point of view the reason why the Egyptian authorities moved to homosexuality as a "moral issue" is the fact that already established a core effective system to deal with another moral issue which is "sex working", the tools were already there for Egyptian authorities to expand the moral fighting from "sex working" to "homosexuality" without spending much effort, as the Court of Cassation in the 70s opened the door for the authorities to use the same legal tools from the law No. 10/1961 on both "moral issues".

It is worth to mention that unlike other countries in the region, where they received legal articles that criminalize and restrict sexual liberalities from their colonial power, Egypt found a different path to it after being independent both laws in 1951 and 1961 were made by Egyptian lawmakers and passed by Egyptian lawmakers, as such Egyptian raising new "conservative morality" dominated its lawmaking and policies until now.

Resources

- 1- Al-Gar'am Al-Elektornya Ma beyn Al-Sharia w Al-Qanon- Haitham Abdul Rahman Al-Baqli - Dar Al-Manhal - pg.91
- 2- Magmo'a Al-Qaw'ad Al-Qanonya – C.5 – P.432 – Cassation Verdict date: 23rd of December 1940
- 3- Appeal No. 977/47 Judicial Year, January 29, 1978
- 4- Al-Mowagah Al-Tashira'ia w Al-Amenya I Gar'am Al-Bagha- Dr. Ahmad Salah Darwish - Dar Al Nahda Al Arabiya - P.13
- 5- Al-Mowagah Al-Tashira'ia w Al-Amenya I Gar'am Al-Bagha- Dr. Ahmad Salah Darwish - Dar Al Nahda Al Arabiya - P.30
- 6- A Trade Like Any Other - Karin van Nieuwkerk – University of Taxes Press 1995 - P. 31-32
- 7- <https://cairo52.com/ar/1885-2/> , Inspection Regulation for the year 1885
- 8- <https://bit.ly/34Cacaq> , Inspection Regulation for the year 1896
- 9- <https://cairo52.com/ar/1905-2/> prostitutes' homes regulations bylaw for 1905
- 10- Al-Mosoi'a Al-A'lamiya I Al-Enharfat Al-Gensya Part Five and Six - Dr. Muhammad Niazi Hatata - Dar Al-Nahda Al-Arabiya - P.2
- 11- Al-Mosoi'a Al-A'lamiya I Al-Enharfat Al-Gensya Part Five and Six - Dr. Muhammad Niazi Hatata - Dar Al-Nahda Al-Arabiya - P.19
- 12- <https://bit.ly/37RAli9>
- 13- <https://bit.ly/350Yzwa> Egyptian Panel Code for the year 1937
- 14- <https://cairo52.com/court-of-cassation/> - The Egyptian Court of Cassation is the highest court in the Arab Republic of Egypt, and it represents the top of the judicial hierarchy in it, and its mission is to work to unify the application of law in Egyptian courts and clarify the laws and establish the legal principles of each law. It was established in 1932 and is located in the High Court of Justice in Cairo
- 15- <https://bit.ly/31VCuLs> - Law on Combating Prostitution 68/1951
- 16- <https://bit.ly/31SZqeh> - Law on Combating Prostitution 10/1961
- 17- Report in a Time of Torture - Human Rights Watch - Footnotes Part Two, Reference No. (27).

- 18- Court of Cassation ruling in Case No. 8838 of Judicial Year 60, issued on October 13, 1997.
- 19- in The Time of Torture - Human Rights Watch - Chapter Three: Scandal and Shame: The Queen Boat Trials
- 20- <https://rassd.net/110815.htm>
- 21- <https://bit.ly/3kAK3ym>
- 22- <https://bit.ly/31UiDw0>
- 23- Rainbow flag is a symbol of pride for the LGBTQ+ communities (Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, Transgender and Queer)
- 24- <https://bit.ly/34EdEBu>
- 25- [Law proposal on the criminalization of homosexuality](#) – proposed on 25/10/2017
- 26- [Amendment Proposal to Law No.10/1961](#) – Proposed on 12/10/2017
- 27- [Amendment Proposal to Law No.10/1961](#) – Proposed on 14/10/2017
- 28- [Law Proposal on combating debauchery and debauch](#) – proposed on 25/02/2019



اللقاهة ٥٢

للأبـ الشـ القـ ونـ

CAIRO 52

LEGAL RESEARCH INSTITUTE