

Centring Sex Workers'
Rights in Gender Equality:
Lessons from the Beijing+30
Review and CSW69



Introduction

Policy frameworks for gender equality, such as the Beijing Declaration and Platform for Action (BDPfA), aim to uphold the rights of diverse women and address barriers to health, social justice, economic development, and political participation. However, sex workers remain overwhelmingly excluded from the development and implementation of these gender equality roadmaps. Despite years of alliance-building, many actors in the women's movement continue to show hostility towards sex workers and exclude them from feminist spaces. As a result, gender equality policies and recommendations often undermine sex workers' rights, particularly when rooted in criminalising, moralistic approaches that treat sex work as inherently harmful and exploitative.

The BDPfA, adopted at the 4th World Conference on Women in 1995 by 189 United Nations (UN) Member States, marked a significant turning point for gender equality efforts. Since its adoption, the Commission on the Status of Women (CSW) – a UN body established by the United Nations Economic and Social Council (ECOSOC) – has been tasked with monitoring and reviewing progress on its implementation. Every year, CSW meets at the United Nations in New York, bringing together Member States, civil society organisations, and UN entities to assess progress and gaps in gender equality.

As the majority of sex workers are women and people with diverse, marginalised identities, their inclusion in the design, implementation, and review of gender equality frameworks, such as the BDPfA, is essential. This requires recognising sex workers' rights as integral to gender equality, and including sex workers in discussions on gender-responsive policies.

This paper examines sex workers' participation in the 30th anniversary review of the BDPfA, which culminated in the 69th session of CSW (CSW69). It

outlines how sex workers have been largely excluded from the BDPfA's implementation and review processes, and identifies key areas of concern within the BDPfA that are relevant to sex workers' rights and wellbeing. Lastly, the paper offers strategies to advocate for greater inclusion in gender equality discussions and provides recommendations for ensuring meaningful participation moving forward.

Background - Sex Work and Gender Equality

Structural barriers to sex workers' rights – including stigma, discrimination, and criminalisation – are deeply gendered. Historically, policies and discourses around sex work have been used to control women's sexuality, autonomy, and movement. These systems of control disproportionately target cisgender women sex workers, however male, trans, and gender diverse sex workers – who are often invisibilised or pathologised – are also affected. Sex workers' divergence from gender and sexual norms, including patriarchal expectations of masculinity, compounds their marginalisation, increasing exposure to violence and human rights abuses, while limiting access to services and redress mechanisms. ²

Persistent stigma and discrimination, criminalising laws, and punitive policies continue to undermine sex workers' fundamental rights and exacerbate vulnerability. Legal frameworks that criminalise any aspect of sex work – including the Nordic Model or "End Demand" Model, which criminalises sex workers' clients – do not promote gender equality. Instead, they reinforce patriarchal oppression by further marginalising people who are already discriminated against due to gender, sexuality, class, and other intersecting factors. Since sex workers are disproportionately impacted by these systems, their rights must be central to feminist and gender equality movements.³

¹ NSWP, 2019, "Policy Brief: The Impact of Anti-trafficking Legislation and Initiatives on Sex Workers."

² NSWP, 2018, "Briefing Paper: The Homophobia and Transphobia Experienced by LGBT Sex Workers."

³ NSWP, 2017, "Policy Brief: Sex Work and Gender Equality."



Although sex work and gender equality are inherently connected, sex workers are seldom mentioned in international human rights frameworks. The Committee on the Elimination of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW Committee) defines gender equality as *de jure* (in law) and *de facto* (in practice) equality in the enjoyment of human rights and fundamental freedoms. ⁴ To achieve this, States must ensure that all laws, policies, and practices promote equal opportunity, access, and benefit for all.

The BDPfA reaffirms and builds upon the CEDAW framework, outlining twelve critical areas of concern and strategic objectives for eliminating barriers to gender equality. To fulfil the commitments set out by both CEDAW and the BDPfA, sex workers' rights must be recognised as part of the gender equality agenda.

The BDPfA and its Relevance for Sex Workers' Rights

Although sex work is not explicitly mentioned in the BDPfA, it remains highly relevant to sex workers' rights. In particular, the BDPfA outlines three areas of concern that are directly applicable to sex workers: women and health, violence against women, and women and the economy. The following sections will focus on these areas,

highlighting gaps and opportunities for advancing sex workers' rights.

Health

The BDPfA affirms women's right to make autonomous and informed decisions about their sexuality and sexual and reproductive health (SRH), free from coercion, discrimination, and violence. This right applies to all women, including sex workers and those living with HIV. Sex work – regardless of its legal status – should never justify unequal treatment or denial of healthcare.

For many sex workers, however, access to comprehensive, rights-based SRH services remains limited. Findings from NSWP research have shown that only 39% of participating sex workers had access to SRH services through national health insurance schemes. For those who had access, services were described as incomplete and discriminatory. For the services were described as incomplete and discriminatory.

The BDPfA also calls on States to "review and amend laws and combat practices... that may contribute to women's susceptibility to HIV infection and other sexually transmitted diseases." Sex workers continue to face heightened risks of HIV and STIs due to a variety of factors, including unsafe working conditions, barriers to consistent condom use, and structural factors, such as criminalisation. In spite of significant evidence linking criminalisation to poorer health outcomes, the majority of BDPfA signatories have yet to

⁴ CEDAW, 2004, "General recommendation No. 25, on article 4, paragraph 1, of the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women, on temporary special measures," para. 4.

⁵ United Nations, 1995, "Beijing Declaration and Platform for Action: 4th World Conference on Women, Beijing, China, 4 - 15 September 1995."

⁶ United Nations, 1995, "Beijing Declaration and Platform for Action: 4th World Conference on Women, Beijing, China, 4 - 15 September 1995," para. 96.

⁷ NSWP, 2018, "Briefing Paper: Sex Workers' Access to Comprehensive Sexual and Reproductive Health Services."

⁸ NSWP, 2024, "Global Findings on Sex Workers' Access to Social Protection and Sexual and Reproductive Health and Rights."

⁹ United Nations, 1995, "Beijing Declaration and Platform for Action: 4th World Conference on Women, Beijing, China, 4 - 15 September 1995," para. 108b.

¹⁰ World Health Organisation, 2022, "Consolidated guidelines on HIV, viral hepatitis and STI prevention, diagnosis, treatment and care for key populations."

¹¹ Lucy Platt et al., "Associations between sex work laws and sex workers' health: A systematic review and meta-analysis of quantitative and qualitative studies," PLOS Medicine (2018): 1-54.



remove laws criminalising sex workers or adopt policies that promote their rights.

To promote access to healthcare, the BDPfA further recommends that States "design and implement, in cooperation with women and community-based organisations, gender-sensitive health programmes." ¹² The sex workers' rights movement has long advocated for the meaningful involvement of sex workers in shaping laws, policies, and practices that affect their lives, including in healthcare. This includes active engagement at all stages: from planning and design, to implementation and monitoring and evaluation. ¹³

The BDPfA contains clear commitments, from ensuring equitable SRH access, to removing harmful laws and cooperating with community-led organisations. These commitments cannot be fulfilled without the inclusion of sex workers. Worldwide, sex worker-led healthcare programmes are advancing access to SRHR care and working to improve public health systems. However, States must go further to engage sex workers in SRH policy design, and more broadly, in working towards the decriminalisation of sex work as a step to promote equal access to healthcare.

Economy and Social Protection

The BDPfA recognises poverty and economic insecurity as key barriers to gender equality. It calls on states to "create and ensure access to social protection systems, taking into account the specific needs of all women living in poverty" and ensure that "new, flexible and emerging forms of work are adequately covered by social protection." ¹⁴

Sex workers are rarely treated as workers. Instead, they are typically framed as 'victims' of trafficking and exploitation, whilst being denied fundamental labour rights and protections that would protect them from precarity and labour exploitation. Like all workers, sex workers are entitled to labour rights and social protection under international and regional human rights instruments. However, sex workers remain overwhelmingly excluded from social protection benefits, including sick leave, unemployment benefits, parental leave, pension, employment-based health insurance, or compensation in the event of a work-related injury. They also lack access to other fundamental labour rights, including fair wages and safe working conditions. 15

The BDPfA identifies women's economic independence as a key component to achieving gender equality and eradicating the burden of poverty. It calls for enabling access to resources, technology, and training as part of sustainable economic development. ¹⁶ However, without recognising sex work as work, sex workers face persistent barriers to economic security and independence. They remain excluded from supports which could mitigate poverty – such as basic financial services, housing, property ownership, and skill-building opportunities to diversify income sources. ¹⁷

In the face of these barriers, sex worker-led organisations have developed their own economic empowerment initiatives, providing access to banking services, community social protection funds, business training, financial literacy

¹² United Nations, 1995, "Beijing Declaration and Platform for Action: 4th World Conference on Women, Beijing, China, 4 - 15 September 1995," para. 106c.

¹³ WHO, UNFPA, UNAIDS, NSWP, The World Bank, UNDP, 2013, "<u>Implementing comprehensive HIV/STI programmes with sex workers: practical approaches from collaborative interventions.</u>"

¹⁴ United Nations, 1995, "Beijing Declaration and Platform for Action: 4th World Conference on Women, Beijing, China, 4 - 15 September 1995," para. 74b.

¹⁵ NSWP, 2022, "The Smart Sex Worker's Guide to Social Protection."

¹⁶ United Nations, 1995, "Beijing Declaration and Platform for Action: 4th World Conference on Women, Beijing, China, 4 - 15 September 1995," paras. 26 & 162.

¹⁷ NSWP, 2020, "Briefing Paper: Economic Empowerment for Sex Workers."



workshops, and more. ¹⁸ These community-led efforts not only increase sex workers' economic independence, but help reduce vulnerability to poverty, particularly for those in rural areas or who are otherwise excluded from mainstream employment.

While the BDPfA addresses women's participation in the informal economy, it stops short of explicitly recognising sex work as a form of labour. To fulfil their commitments under the BDPfA, States must recognise sex work as work and extend full social protection benefits to all workers in both the formal and informal sectors. Without national strategies that include sex workers, the BDPfA's vision of economic equality and independence for all women cannot be achieved.

Violence

Violence against women is a key concern of the BDPfA, with several recommendations directly impacting sex workers – particularly in the context of anti-trafficking. Strategic Objective D3 urges States to "eliminate trafficking in women and assist victims of violence due to prostitution and trafficking" by addressing root causes and punishing perpetrators.¹⁹

While the BDPfA does not conflate trafficking with sex work, its broad framing and lack of explicit distinction between sex work and "forced prostitution" or trafficking have left room for harmful interpretations. As a result, Objective D3 may be invoked by anti-sex work actors to promote "End Demand" legislation criminalising sex worker's clients and third parties under the guise of combating trafficking and promoting gender equality. These policies, however, have been shown

in practice to increase violence, stigma, and surveillance against sex workers – exacerbating inequalities, while failing to reduce trafficking.²⁰

Recent years have seen a rise in "End Demand" legislation 21 and growing support for this model amongst certain feminist groups. However, it is important to emphasise that such approaches are not promoted by the BDPfA, and should not be viewed as aligned with its goals while reviewing its implementation. States must take a more nuanced and evidence-based approach to addressing violence against women – which includes sex workers – by acknowledging structural factors that engender vulnerability. Conflations of sex work, trafficking, and exploitation make it more difficult to address these issues as separate phenomena.

Sex worker-led organisations are ideally placed to advise on the design, implementation, and reform of anti-trafficking and anti-violence measures, to ensure that they address exploitation while upholding fundamental rights. Nonetheless, sex workers continue to be largely excluded from these discussions.

The BDPfA also recognises that women may experience violence perpetrated by people in positions of authority, and recommends human rights training for law enforcement and other officials. ²² This is particularly urgent in the context of sex work, where police abuse is widespread and exacerbated by criminalisation. Sex workers around the world have reported systematic physical, sexual, and emotional violence and abuse from law enforcement, as well as arbitrary arrest, extortion and coercion. ²³

Sex worker-led organisations are best placed to implement these trainings, as successful examples

¹⁸ Nadine Gloss, et al. "<u>Visibilizing the economic oppression of sex workers and the imperative of donor support</u>" International Journal of Law, Crime and Justice 81 (2025): 1-10.

¹⁹ United Nations, 1995, "Beijing Declaration and Platform for Action: 4th World Conference on Women, Beijing, China, 4 - 15 September 1995," para. 130b.

²⁰ NSWP, 2017, "Smart Sex Workers' Guide: Challenging the introduction of the Nordic Model."

²¹ Ina Vanwesenbeeck, "Sex Work Criminalization Is Barking Up the Wrong Tree," Archives of Sexual Behavior 46.6(2017): 1631-1640.

²² United Nations, 1995, "Beijing Declaration and Platform for Action : 4th World Conference on Women, Beijing, China, 4 - 15 September 1995," para. 121.

²³ NSWP, 2020, "Briefing Paper: Sex Workers' Lack of Access to Justice."



of police sensitisation programmes in South Africa have shown. ²⁴ States must provide more support and funding for sex worker-led police sensitisation trainings to ensure that sex workers are not left behind in efforts to mitigate violence perpetrated by authority figures.

BDPfA Review Process

In 2025, UN Women led the 30-year review of the BDPfA, including regional consultations and national reviews. States submitted reports reflecting on their progress and obstacles towards achieving the BDPfA objectives, and were encouraged to collaborate with civil society stakeholders in their preparation. From October-December 2024, regional and sub-regional meetings were held, preceded by civil society forums. The forums aimed to gather diverse communities' input regarding the implementation of the BDPfA, set collective advocacy positions, and push for political outcome statements and ministerial declarations from Member States. However, sex worker representation in this process was extremely limited.

Across multiple regions, sex workers reported that they were not invited, or were excluded from the review process due to accessibility issues. NSWP regional networks in Asia-Pacific and the Caribbean reported that they were not aware of any sex workers from their regions participating. In Central and Eastern Europe and Central Asia, sex workers were mentioned in the national reviews for Armenia, Kazakhstan and Kyrgyzstan – mainly in the context of HIV or punitive measures – although no sex workers were known to contribute. Even in Africa and Latin America, where sex workers did participate in this process, the language used in the review often erased sex workers' issues or lumped them into broader discussions on gender-based violence and economic empowerment, without addressing the structural barriers faced.

The lack of meaningful inclusion of sex workers in the BDPfA review process reflects a broader failure to amplify sex workers' voices in gender equality frameworks and policymaking. As a result of this exclusion, NSWP members confirmed that key structural barriers to gender equality, such as stigma and discrimination, are often ignored in States' implementation of the BDPfA.

Sex Workers at CSW69: Challenges and Opportunities

Challenges at CSW69

Sex workers have participated in the Commission on the Status of Women (CSW) for years. The first NSWP delegation attended the 63rd session in 2019, where they faced strong opposition from fundamental feminists and abolitionist groups. ²⁵ Despite this, CSW continues to offer valuable opportunities for sex workers to strengthen connections in the women's movement and engage with UN agencies and Member States.

Securing space for sex workers at CSW remains resource-intensive. In 2025, after months of preparation and visa support, NSWP brought a delegation of eleven sex workers to New York for CSW69. The visa process remains a major barrier to equitable participation in such forums – particularly for sex workers from the Global South. One Kenyan delegate was unable to attend after her visa application was denied, while others from Asia-Pacific, and those with refugee status in Europe, faced similar challenges.

Overcoming logistical barriers is just the first step to securing inclusion. While sex workers were active across numerous parallel events hosted by NGO CSW – the civil society forum that runs alongside the official CSW programme – their presence was largely absent from formal CSW discussions

²⁴ Women's Legal Centre, 2014, "<u>Police Sensitisation Training Manual: A Guide for South African Police Service (SAPS) Officers to the Rights of Sex Workers and the LGBTI Community."</u>

²⁵ NSWP, 2019, "NSWP at CSW63."



reviewing the BDPfA. In spite of significant efforts, very few sex worker rights perspectives made it into official spaces at CSW where Member States held discussions. The structure of CSW itself reinforces this exclusion by distinctly separating civil society from Member State activities, with minimal opportunities for spontaneous or meaningful engagement.

Although NGOs could apply for speaking slots during General Discussions or Interactive Dialogues, these were brief (1-2 minutes), with little opportunity for real dialogue or negotiation. Consequently, as in previous years, sex workers' input remained largely confined to parallel event spaces.

The NSWP delegation also faced active hostility whilst attending an official side event co-hosted by France, Mexico, Sweden, and Canada, in partnership with the French NGO Osez le féminisme. The session focused on countering sexual and gender-based violence in online spaces, with a panel composed entirely of government and UN officials speaking about working conditions in online sex work, without any input from sex workers. Each state representative presented policies targeting the porn industry under the guise of violence prevention, making sweeping generalisations and denying the agency of porn industry workers.

When a representative from the French sex worker-led organisation STRASS attempted to share his perspective at the end of the session, he was interrupted by a panel member and his microphone was muted. Other NSWP delegates who raised their hands to speak were also refused. The silencing of sex workers at CSW underscores a broader pattern of marginalisation and exclusion, in which sex workers' voices continue to be sidelined from gender equality discussions which impact their lives.

Sex Worker-Inclusive Events

Within the NGO CSW space, NSWP co-hosted a parallel event with Amnesty International and International Women's Rights Action Watch Asia-Pacific (IWRAW) titled, "Including Sex Workers in Policy Frameworks for Gender Equality." Four delegates spoke about the harms of excluding sex workers from gender equality policies in their national contexts, as well as the benefits of

meaningful inclusion. In addition, delegation members were invited to speak at other parallel sessions organised by allies and donors, demonstrating how sex worker-inclusive feminism can create spaces for sex workers to share their perspectives on gender equality.

At one such event, "Global Voices for Abortion Access," hosted by the Global Fund for Women, NSWP Global Coordinator Jules Kim spoke on the intersection of sex workers' rights and sexual and reproductive health and rights (SRHR). NSWP research has shown that when governments partner with local sex worker-led organisations, access to SRHR increases, and sex workers are more willing to regularly seek services. The panel also underscored the importance of intersectional, cross-movement organising, highlighting the positive correlation in some countries between support for abortion decriminalisation and openness to decriminalising sex work.

Including Sex Workers in Gender Equality Frameworks: Lessons from CSW69 and Beyond

True progress towards gender equality, gender justice, and the fulfilment of women's rights must be inclusive of women in all their diversity, including sex workers. This begins with listening to sex workers when they talk about their lived experiences and needs, rather than making assumptions or denying their agency.

Sex workers have long called for the removal of criminalising laws that undermine their safety, health, and autonomy. Increasingly, women's rights advocates are recognising how the criminalisation of sex work also undermines gender equality. To truly reach and benefit all women, gender equality measures must go hand-in-hand with the decriminalisation of sex work and the adoption of rights-affirming policies supporting sex workers.

Sex work-inclusive feminism offers a framework for meaningfully including sex workers in gender equality discussions, and, critically, in the actions that follow. Sex work-inclusive feminists recognise



sex work as work and centre the voices of sex workers themselves. This requires an intersectional approach, acknowledging how multiple forms of oppression – whether based on gender, sexual orientation, race, migrant status, HIV status, drug use, or occupation – intersect to shape women's lives. ²⁶ A sex work-inclusive feminist framework also recognises the need for labour rights over carceral responses. It rejects punitive approaches that oppress sex workers, their clients, and third parties, and instead supports empowerment by advocating for sex workers' autonomy, agency, and equity.

Strategies for Inclusion

At CSW69, sex workers and allies identified strategies for strengthening allyship and inclusion within feminist multilateral spaces. Global forums like CSW are often perceived as being exclusive and difficult for activists to access, especially for those from marginalised communities. These barriers are compounded by the broader rise of anti-rights and anti-bodily autonomy sentiments, which shaped the tone of CSW69.

In this context, strengthening active solidarity emerged as a key priority. This means that allies must endorse sex workers' rights publicly and consistently - not just when it is politically convenient. One example of active solidarity is ensuring that sex worker participation in UN convenings becomes a regular occurrence. In June 2024, the first global delegation of sex workers attended the 56th session of the Human Rights Council (HRC56) to speak out against the harmful report on "Prostitution and violence against women and girls,"27 published by the Special Rapporteur on Violence Against Women. Since then, NSWP has facilitated sex worker delegations to attend HRC57 and HRC59, supported by the Sexual Rights Initiative (SRI) and other feminist allies. Supporting sex worker engagement in high-level spaces can include providing technical support, facilitating connections, arranging speaking-slots, and offering capacitybuilding to formulate advocacy messages and navigate high-level political spaces.

Allies also play a crucial role in ensuring that sex workers are represented in consultations and decision-making processes. This must be done through active and informed collaboration. Sex worker-led organisations should receive clear and timely information about what participation entails, and their priorities must shape agendas from the beginning. Allies can further support intersectional approaches by collaborating with sex workers to centre their advocacy priorities within broader gender equality agendas – whether related to antitrafficking discourses, labour rights, or SRHR.

Recommendations

Gender equality frameworks and policies can only be strengthened by the inclusion of sex workers' rights. When the women's movement includes sex workers, it advances its own goals: defending sexual autonomy, promoting economic empowerment, and upholding women's right to choose their occupation and work in safe and healthy conditions. The recommendations below can be used by allies and policymakers to promote gender equality frameworks and policies that affirm the rights of women, in all their diversity.

Address structural barriers:

- Advocate for the full decriminalisation of sex work – including sex workers, their clients, and third parties. Decriminalisation is the only legal model that enables access to full labour rights, healthcare, and justice, while also reducing vulnerability to violence and exploitation.
- Recognise sex work as work, to help ensure that sex workers have access to social protections and labour rights equal to other workers.

²⁶ NSWP, 2021, "Case Study: Sex Worker-led Organisations' Engagement with the Women's Movement."

²⁷ United Nations Human Rights Council, 2024, "<u>Prostitution and violence against women and girls – Report of the Special Rapporteur on violence against women and girls, its causes and consequences, Reem Alsalem."</u>



3) Clearly distinguish between sex work and trafficking, and meaningfully involve sex worker-led organisations in the design, implementation, and reform of antitrafficking legislation which may affect their communities.

Ensure meaningful participation:

- Involve sex worker-led organisations early during the drafting, development, and design of gender equality policies, and ensure they are given sufficient information and time to participate.
- Invite representatives of sex worker-led organisations to participate in regional and national consultations, as well as multilateral forums. Provide language interpretation and technical support where needed.
- 3) Ensure transparent and realistic timelines for consultations. Communicate deadlines well in advance to allow sex worker-led organisations to consult with their communities and prepare contributions.
- 4) Offer financial and technical support for inperson participation in gender equality forums. This includes visa application support for events in the Global North, to prevent the exclusion of sex workers from the Global South.
- 5) Demonstrate active solidarity in high-level spaces by publicly supporting sex workers' rights in discussions and decision-making processes, and by actively creating spaces for sex workers' voices to be heard.

Support sex worker-led organisations:

- Provide core and flexible funding for sex worker-led organisations to engage in capacity-building, organisational strengthening, advocacy, and to deliver sustainable, community-led programming. This will also support sex workers to increase their involvement in global and regional policy processes.
- 2) **Prioritise and invest in long-term, community-led initiatives** by and for sex workers, rather than short-term, top-down

programming. Sex worker-led efforts in economic empowerment, health, and antiviolence programming are critical to reducing the burdens of gender inequality and promoting empowerment.

Conclusion

As long as sex work remains criminalised, women in all their diversity who engage in sex work will continue to be excluded from progress towards gender equality. Criminalisation denies sex workers access to healthcare, social protection, economic mobility, and justice – undermining their ability to benefit from gender equality measures in these areas. States must commit to the full decriminalisation of sex work and address the stigmatisation and discrimination that sex workers face. Only then can national policies developed in line with the BDPfA be inclusive of all women.

The fight for gender equality must be sex worker-inclusive. This means recognising that women sex workers, including transgender women sex workers, are disproportionately affected by discrimination, gender-based violence, and systemic exclusion from services and justice mechanisms. Real equality cannot be achieved without advancing the rights and needs of those who are most marginalised, and creating spaces for them to lead change.



The Global Network of Sex Work Projects uses a methodology that ensures the voices of sex worker-led organisations are made visible. Case studies examine the strategies, activities and impact at global, regional and national levels of NSWP and regional sex worker-led networks in consultation with NSWP members. Case studies are based on ongoing monitoring, utilising internal reports, and in-depth interviews.

The term 'sex workers' reflects the immense diversity within the sex worker community including but not limited to: female, male and transgender sex workers; lesbian, gay and bi-sexual sex workers; male sex workers who identify as heterosexual; sex workers living with HIV and other diseases; sex workers who use drugs; young adult sex workers (between the ages of 18 and 29 years old); documented and undocumented migrant sex workers, as well as and displaced persons and refugees; sex workers living in both urban and rural areas; disabled sex workers; and sex workers who have been detained or incarcerated.



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