



# DANCE OF DEMOCRACY

Election of the National Network of Sex Workers [NNSW]

# Dance of Democracy

Annual General Body Meeting  
and  
National Conference  
2019



National Network of Sex Workers

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Sangli, Maharashtra



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April 30- May 1, 2019 Sangli

It was the annual general body meeting of the National Network of Sex Workers. And a path breaking elections that was a milestone in its journey that began in 1998. For a decision that had been in the making over the past few years was finally brought to fruition during these few days.

That of actualising a decision made to register a network of sex workers in India through a rigorous and meticulous process of discussing and passing the By Laws and electing a Board of members who would be the first legal signatories on the registration document.

It was a milestone also because the election to the Board itself would be through an open election and not as on previous occasions through nomination when each collective sent its representative to the board.

This report seeks to capture some of these processes and path defining moments of the electoral process such that it serves as an inspiration for how a marginalised and deeply stigmatised community can take mainstream processes and adapt them to their realities instead of the other way around.

THE AGENDA WAS  
TRANSLATED INTO ALL SEVEN  
LANGUAGES BY THE  
PARTICIPANTS. IT HAD A  
GRAND COLORFUL LOOK THAT  
MADE THE MEETING SPACE  
LOOK BEAUTIFUL

*Vijaylakshmi, Andhra Pradesh*

*The spirit of democracy was in the air...the signs were there everywhere!*

The cacophony of different tongues flowing together in harmony. The intent common – to communicate with each other.

Well planned efforts made to reach out to the members in all states at diverse levels from documents circulated earlier in multiple languages to the seamless translations during the sessions.

The programme schedule written out in multiple languages in multiple colours and publicly displayed on the walls.

Animated discussions on diverse issues that were serious and thoughtful yet spontaneous and emotional. Every contentious issue in the proposed by laws discussed extensively, a basic consensus achieved and only then put to vote and then finally passed.

An almost anarchic chaos leading to consensus through an almost authoritarian discipline!

Moments of individual anger and disappointment carefully absorbed into a larger narrative of a network/organisation being crafted around a strong sense of responsibility and ownership.

# I. Flashback: Milestones on the Journey to Registration

The National Network of Sex Workers (NNSW) since 1998 has functioned as an informal network of sex worker-led organisations and allies committed to promoting the rights of Sex Workers in India.

Comprising of 12 CBOs/ State Networks/ State Federations/ Collectives and 8 NGOs across seven states with a total strength of 50,000 members, it is the only national network that brings together female, transgender and male sex workers with NGOs and sex work(er) rights activists.

The formation of NNSW can be traced back to the first national sex workers' conference was organized in November 1997 in Kolkata. Sex workers' groups from Kerala, Andhra Pradesh, Karnataka, Maharashtra and West Bengal came together and while for the first time while discussing openly issues of sex

and sexuality resolved to work together jointly for rights of persons in sex work.

NNSW was then launched with its founder-members Uttara Karnataka Mahila Okkuta (UKMO), Veshya Anayay Mukti Parishad (VAMP), Me and My World (MMW), Vadamar Federation, Saheli Sangh and Karnataka Sex Workers' Union (KSWU).



Over the years NNSW at different has contributed to the capacity building of its members giving them self-esteem, self-worth and the dignity that society does not accord them as also the confidence to articulate their own realities and fight for their rights.



These has been done with well-structured training programmes with new members to enable them to understand the world of law and rights including women and human rights with the focus on decriminalization of sex work.

Since 2015 discussions and debates were initiated to consider the proposal made by some to register the network and give it structural legitimacy.

Since by doing so it would give greater voice and visibility to its core demand that the state recognises sex work as decent work and create the conditions within which those who choose to earn and live by providing sexual services can do so without fear, abuse, stigma and discrimination.

However, some voiced the concern that registration could not happen unless the need and implications were as discussed threadbare by the sex worker communities who are part of NNSW since otherwise it would become an enforced process of belonging.



This process started taking more concrete shape between December 2018 and March 2019 over three successive board meetings held in Kozhikode, Bangalore, Madurai.

The discussions at these meetings revolved around:

- Consensus building around the need to register NNSW
- Deciding on the structure of the Board and who could stand for elections
- Discussing the terms of membership and who should have voting rights
- Debating on how to ensure inclusivity and representation
- Thinking through the role of supporters

The decision to pull a highly diverse informal network of women, men and transgenders in sex work into a formal process of networking seemed to have been a daunting task given especially the fact that the individual members have been functioning as part of CBO's, NGO's and sex workers collectives each with their own priorities, perspectives and organisational structures.

This would imply a definitive shift in power equations, with the supporting organisations transferring leadership to a self organised and self driven autonomous organisation of sex workers in a responsible manner such that they could then be enabled to decide their own organisational destiny.

This complex process was made easier by ensuring the active participation of both the sex worker organisations and supporters right from inception through several rounds of debates and discussions before coming to this decision of registering the network.



**Sangli December 13-14, 2018**

Some of the basic issues that arose in this meeting included:

- a. Assessing if there was enough documentation built up over the past five years that would ensure statutory compliance
- b. Since participation by proxy had become the norm in Board meetings, could it be ensured that board members participate as individuals and not as organisational representatives.
- c. Could and should it be ensured that those who are formally registered as the members of the Board continue to fulfil their responsibilities after fresh elections are held. Would there be a difference in the Board members who are the original signatories at the time of registration and those who would



be freshly elected in subsequent AGBMs.

d. Issues of discipline and ethical functioning vis a vis regular participation in meetings and maintaining of proper accounts etc.

e. Issues of proportional and state representation.

Members went back to their collectives to have internal discussions about the registration and come to the next board meeting with the names of their representatives to the NNSW board on their letter head. It was made clear that the supporting NGOs would have no role in taking these decisions.



## January 24, 2019, Bangalore

At the board meeting of NNSW held on 24<sup>th</sup> January, 2019, the discussions were taken further. The members unanimously resolved to:

- Register NNSW in Bangalore
- Have the minimum legal requirement of 7 members in the registered board
- Authorize the Secretariat to appoint lawyer to undertake registration
- Authorize supporter Aarthi Pai to prepare a first draft of the MOU of NNSW

The present Board Members were entrusted with the task of initiating consultations with their State level groups/ collective board/ network board members/ federation board etc. on 5 primary issues revolving around



membership to the board, voting rights and deciding on the membership criteria:

1. Should there be a two -step board membership or just one board of seven members. i.e have one smaller statutory board for the purposes of registration and an executive board that would be larger and more inclusive and representative of the membership.
2. What should be the criteria for membership into the registered board and the executive body. As for instance it was suggested that the Registered Board could comprise of older members since they would find it easier to deal with laws and their

compliances. In the Executive Body a combination of old and new members could be ensured so that new members would also learn and grow

3. Should there be open elections for the Board or every collective/network nominate one member to the Board as before. The latter process had been adopted till now in order to prevent fights, conflicts and a spirit of competitiveness coming in at a time when the network was in its infancy and just being built.
4. Define who a voting member should be. This was important given the disparate composition of NNSW



members – i.e. some are small collectives, some large, some members are federations or networks and some are Unions. So, a member vote could comprise any of the following:

- 1 Vote per district represented.
- 1 Vote per collective (whether they be direct members of the network or the constituent members of the network).
- Proportional representation according to the number of members – for example 1 vote per 500 members.
- Collective will have one vote and the network will also have one vote.

- Only the collective will have a vote for the purpose of the election and not the network or federation
- Any other option they would like to suggest.

5. Bring to the next meeting the numbers of members in their individual collective even if it was part of a network of federation.

This would help the Board to decide whether membership and number of members of the collective needed to be kept as a criterion when deciding votes in the upcoming election.

For instance, would groups or networks with a larger membership base get a proportionately larger casting vote as



compared to smaller groups? Or would all the members have only 1 vote?



## March 26-27, 2019, Madurai

In Madurai, with more considered inputs from the member organisations that were brought into the Board meeting, greater clarity and consensus emerged on the issues raised in the earlier meeting.

1. The roles and responsibilities of the office bearers i.e. President, Vice President, Secretary, Joint Secretary and Treasurer

Number of board members: 11 members with four reserved positions for 1 TG sex worker, 1 male sex worker, 1 PLHIV sex worker and 1 new sex worker member.

3. Who can vote: Through vote it was decided that federations and networks will have 01 vote and collectives of sex workers will have 01 vote and further time was given for them to get back.

4. Who can stand for elections:

These discussions fed into the drafting of the by laws by Aarthi Pai which were then translated into Malayalam, Telegu, Kannada and Marathi and circulated once again to all the states where it was discussed in detail using multiple modes of communications and meetings – both virtual and real.

<b>Karnataka</b>	Seven organisations and 21 women came together. There was a meeting on May 28 in Gokak. Discussions were held with community members through whatsapp and conference calls.
<b>Kerala</b>	31 members from eight organisations were present at the discussions on the by laws.
<b>Tamil Nadu</b>	22 members from six organisations sat and discussed the by laws in person.
<b>AP/Telangana</b>	23 members in the two states and from eight districts discussed through whatsapp the ideology, bylaws, process, office bearers etc. The bylaws were also discussed by the CBO board members on April 22 when the meaning of Quorum was also debated.
<b>Jharkhand</b>	On April 5, 19 members sat and discussed the bylaws
<b>Nagpur</b>	29 people discussed the bylaws and the roles of office bearers.
<b>Pune</b>	Conducted 10 meetings in two months. 300 women attended. Discussions were easier to organise here since these are large brothel -based areas.
<b>Jalgaon</b>	110 and 238 members met and discussed the by laws in two sessions.
<b>Sangli, Satara, Karad</b>	Muskaan and VAMP sat every week on Mondays and discussed by laws where 25 people regularly met. Every Wednesday the staff have had discussions that are then taken into the communities. 600 members of Muskaan and 2000 members of VAMP participated.

- i. All members who are sex worker led collectives or federations or networks are eligible to stand for elections to the Governing Body.
- ii. Only one member per collective or federation or network will be permitted to stand in the election.
- iii. Member organisations who have completed more than three years can stand for elections from the open seats and reserved seats for TG, Male, PLHIV.
- iv. Members who have completed 1 to 3 years may stand for elections from the New Member seat.
- v. Members contesting for elections should not have a criminal record.



5. Period for which board will serve: Three years

6. Role of NGO members on board: There would be two non voting members who are there only to provide technical support.

## II. Final Touches to the Dream

All these discussions then came together at the AGB meeting in Sangli where final decisions were taken vis a vis finding a name and finalising some remaining contentious issues in the proposed by laws.

### a. What's in a Name: Reaching for the stars or a rainbow??

Given that the term “National” can not be used under the law for a private organisation an alternative word for the alphabet N which was already in NNSW was asked to be proposed and the multiple suggestions that came in the earlier meeting in Madurai included:

*Nari, Nawa, Niharan, Navya, New, Nandhi, Namma, Natural, Nestham, Nirala, Noble, Nidesh, Nirbandh, Nakshatra, Nirangal, Noor, Neev, Naughty, Natrangi, Navrang.*

It was left to be seen which name would strike the majority chord!

These were put to vote in Sangli and Nakshatra (42) won by a narrow margin to Navrang (35) followed by Natural (11) What was interesting was that almost all the Southern states particularly Karnataka/ AP and Telengana and Kerala voted for the former while the Hindi speaking ones went for Navrang!

If the choice was between stars and aspiration and colours and diversity...the women spoke and stars it was! And so, through a majority vote in the official name of the network was accepted as **NAKSHATRA NETWORK OF SEX WORKERS.**

### b. The Bylaws: Drawing from Experience

The bylaws reflecting the history of working for the past many years have been built on lessons learnt from mistakes made in the past. The legal challenges also therefore are unique to the processes of a disparate sex worker community trying to organise itself around basic issues of rights and justice.

The discussions in the different states fed into further discussion in Sangli where in the process of passing the draft by laws by the general body, contentious issues were once again discussed, put to vote and accepted by consensus.



Some of these issues included:

## i. Membership

During the extensive discussions some of the critical questions on which much discussions were held included:

- ↳ *“Who is a child of sex worker and why should they be members”*
- ↳ *“Is there a criterion of who is a collective?”*
- ↳ *99% of those who are coming are participating because of their CBO’s. Some CBO’s resigned and then wanted to come back. If a CBO closes down what happens to the participating members?*



VAMP and MUSKAAN stated that even children of sex work should also be given membership – this was stated by the early leaders of VAMP in the earliest discussions around NNSW. Kamlabai, Shabana and Durga felt that children are the biggest strength of sex worker collectives and should be included.

Aarthi Pai, SANGRAM

- ↳ *If CBO’s dont pay membership for two meeting or can’t attend because of lack of money what happens then?*

Not all questions were satisfactorily answered but there was consensus reached

“A very practical point is that if we do not collect membership fees how can we hold the AGM meetings given that members from 8 states have to meet? But is it feasible for all CBO’s to pay Rs. 2000??”

Excerpts from conversation in Andhra Pradesh/ Telengana members

leading to passing final resolutions on the issue of membership.

All finally accepted that collectives of children of sex workers can be primary members. Apart from them and sex workers it was decided that all others are secondary members including individuals and supporting organisations. Only networks that give membership to organisations who support sex workers can be members.

## ii. Membership fees

After an extensive discussion on membership fees on whether it should be Rs 2000 as proposed by members from Karnataka and Kerala; Rs 3000 as proposed by the Maharashtra groups; Rs 1200 as proposed by Jharkhand and Nagpur; or Rs 1000 as proposed by Telangana and AP the matter was put to vote. The majority i.e. 47 went with Rs. 2000.

### iii. Elections of Governing Body: Reservations, Skills and Efficiency

Extensive discussions were held on reservations for specific category like male and TG sex workers and the new sex worker member organisation. Primarily there was a consensus that these posts should only be reserved for those who are open about their status.

There was also a lot of discussion on non - functionality and inefficiency initiated by Tamil Nadu who proposed that any member of the governing body who is non functional should be removed.

### iv. Voting Process

- a. **Advance nominations or direct voting:** There were three processes proposed. One was to directly go in for voting during elections. Or the second of sending in nominations a one month earlier and then carry out voting during the AGM. Another option was



## A Conversation on Efficiency

**Aarthi:** What is “inefficiency” and who defines the criteria for performance or non performance?

**Nisha:** We are sex workers who don’t have sufficient skills. How can we decide or define who is inefficient?

**Meena:** Why do you presume that sex workers don’t have skill? This is a dangerous argument. This is how you let non sex workers like Meena Seshu take over.

**Aarthi:** Let us remember the early years of NNSW. Before 2017 it was the non community members who were deciding agendas and running meetings. Yes, there were some individuals who were not “functioning”.

But post 2017 we began to have better functional members. We should put into place processes where we make people work and not throw them out. Please remember and discuss your own history of making people work without rejecting them.

to send voting papers in sealed envelopes to General Body. The second one proposed by Karnataka was accepted by the majority.

- b. **Proxy voting through Collectives or individual vote:** Given that proxy voting has been the norm, in the context of formalising the registration of the board and the need for continuity of members it was decided that proxy voting would not be allowed. When a member gets elected in the Annual General Body meeting to be on the Board, her primary identity will be that of the Board. The CBO cannot remove that individual for 3 years. An undertaking should be taken from the NGO to ensure that the individual continues as a Board member for three years.



WHOEVER IS NOMINATED OR ELECTED TO THE BOARD SHOULD BE ALLOWED TO STAY FOR 3 YEARS. YOU NEED THAT MUCH TIME TO LEARN WHAT NEEDS TO BE DONE IN THAT POSITION.

LALITHA, JHARKHAND

VOTING BY POST IS A DISGRACE, WE MUST INSIST ON PHYSICAL PRESENCE.

ANNAMANI, GUNTUR



THERE SHOULD BE CONTINUITY IN PLANNING FROM YEAR TO YEAR AND FROM ONE BOARD TO THE OTHER

DEVI, ANDHRA PRADESH

# III. The Election Process

The Election process too was meticulously planned and executed with Aarthi Pai as the Election officer and Rajesh Srinivasan and Tejesvi Sevekari as the assistant officers.



## Day One:

### a. Finalising list of eligible voters

After the exhaustive discussion on the by laws, at the end of the day Aarthi goes through the entire list of members of NNSW which constitutes 60 CBOs. Each CBO had one vote. The list is verified with all present. Of the total, 37 CBO's are present and 3 are kept in abeyance. All would vote for the posts of President/Vice President/ General Secretary/ Jt. Secretary and Treasurer and then it would be opened up for



membership of the Board.

### b. Nominations

Excitement mounts! Each one is asked to file their nomination for specific positions including the reserved category. Rules agreed upon in Madurai are reiterated including the different categories. Each one who filed a nomination also had to file an affidavit. Rajesh Srinivasan reads out and explains both the nomination form and the affidavit.

Each individual had the right to file their nomination for specific executive posts and/or Board after consultation with their CBO/Collective. Time is given till late evening for the nominations to come in such that they could be scrutinised and accepted, provided they met the required criteria, over the next couple of days before the actual elections were held.

Tamil Nadu comes with their nomination's half an hour late. It is accepted after they give an undertaking apologising for the delay.

### c. Day Two and Three: Campaigning

Since the focus was on the knowledge building and skill building sessions over the next two days, this time was also given for those who submitted their nominations to conduct their campaign by talking to different groups and seeking their vote. One could see a flurry of activity when different candidates started casually going around the different tables introducing themselves and

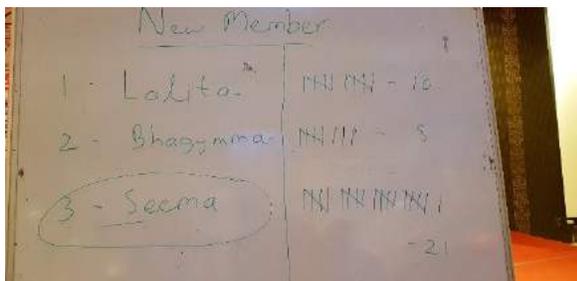
seeking support for their candidature. The most popular occasion for the campaigning it appears was the gender bender party held on the evening of the second day when each one was asked to participate wearing clothes and make up that indicated the gender they were not!!



#### d. Day Four

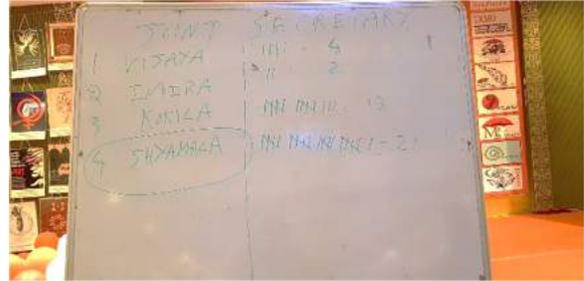
#### Finalising nominations

Before the elections are held on the afternoon of the final day, the list of final candidates are announced with those not qualifying for various reasons being forced to withdraw from the electoral race. There are some heart burning moments when this is not appreciated by those having to withdraw their candidature. But these protests are responded to through an open discussion in which it is clarified that this is not a competition to judge abilities but to create an opportunity for all to take and fulfil their responsibilities according to some agreed upon norms.



#### Public announcement of each post and elections

Elections are then carried out for each executive position one after the other with the finalised candidates then making their final public pitch. This process goes smoothly with the votes for each position being counted publicly and the winning candidate announced.



The first proud batch of legal office bearers who took charge after this carefully planned and executed process that lasted months were:

	Position	Elected Candidate	State	Reserved candidate
1.	President	Kiran Deshmukh	Maharashtra	PLHIV (open)
2.	Vice President	Nisha Gullur	Karnataka	TG - SW (reserved)
3.	General Secretary	P. Devi	Andhra Pradesh	
4.	Treasurer	Sudhir Patil	Maharashtra	Male - SW (reserved)
5.	Joint Secretary	Shyamala John	Kerala	
6.	Member	Seema Sharma	Maharashtra	New member
7.	Member	Kokila	Tamil Nadu	
8.	Member	Lalitha Kumari	Jharkhand	
9.	Member	Lalitha Satheesan	Kerala	
10.	Member	Reena Khan	Maharashtra	
11.	Member	Lakshmi	Karnataka	

## IV. Plotting Transformation: Voices of Coordinators and Board Members

A turning point in the growth of NNSW came with the setting up of the Secretariat in Delhi in 2017. As shared by many of the sex workers who have been coordinators of this Secretariat at different points of time, having an office in Delhi for the last two years has greatly helped to increase the visibility of NNSW.

Making the coordinatorship into a rotating responsibility lasting for a period of six months has not only shown the strength of numbers but also the diversity of states and their membership. The presence of NNSW in the capital city has sent many positive signals

### The Final Word

*“We all have signed bye laws and have been running a CBO for several years, but we really liked the consultative democratic process and the voting by simple majority and will be implementing this is our CBO too.”*

Sheba Krishna, Andhra Pradesh

about NNSW to the government and also mobilised more support from civil society. NNSW for instance was able to gather much solidarity from groups supporting sex worker rights across India for their campaign against the anti-trafficking Bill 2018.

The focussed networking, advocacy and campaigns initiated by NNSW has not only increased the support base of the network but has also drawn other organisations to seek their inputs for the CEDAW report or other discussions and documents.

Highlights of this journey were shared by some of the earlier coordinators whose experiences plotted this interesting phase in the growth of the network. Excerpts are shared below.

#### a. Kiran Deshmukh

**Kiran Deshmukh was the first coordinator who went and stayed in Delhi after the launch of the NNSW Secretariat in New Delhi on the final day of “Rubaru” an inter movement dialogue with sex workers in October 2017.**

*Rubaru was a great interaction with different movements – women’s movement, LGBTQI, lawyers, media etc. It truly was a cross movement dialogue that taught all of us so much about the issues around us and how different movements are responding to them.*

*Anjali Gopalan from NAZ really helped us by giving space and standing so firmly behind us. Prashant Bhonsale helped set up a house where we lived. Different people and organisations invited us for meetings. Even where we were not called, we pushed ourselves in and spoke! For instance, YP Foundation invited us to their office and asked us to sit there for a week and even took us to all the meetings they went to including to the Mazdoor Unions. We went and told them that we are also workers which they were not willing to accept. We also did police training with Naz Foundation.*



*We achieved success in some areas and totally failed in others. For instance we were not able to get any other sex worker organisations to join. Some promised to join and did not while others asked us how much money we would give them.*

*My job was to introduce myself to other organisation and other organisations to us. I think I did that and returned when my term of 6 months ended!*

#### **b. Ayesha Rai**

*I was in Delhi as the national coordinator from September 2018- April 2019 and it was a great experience. I learnt so much on how to open up spaces to visibilise the issue of sex*

*work and sex workers, improve my skills and learn to work with other organisations. We did a wide range of things. We took the initiative to contribute to the CEDAW report for which we collected information on health, education and shelter homes and sex workers; participated in a review of the SDG goals saying that we would also like to see our work in the framework of “decent work”; participated in the One Billion Rising to raise our voices on violence against women; participated in the MeToo movement where we also spoke of sexual harassment in our work places like the brothels. We also told NACO that your research on sex workers should infact include sex workers themselves! We participated in different forums and also got positive responses from feminists.*

*Initially I faced a lot of challenges. For example during the March 8 programme a lot of women resisted having us as part of it - not even taking our name. Hopefully it will be better next year. Unfortunately, sex workers are visible only as HIV/AIDS prevention carriers. But that they have their own rights was a revelation for them. We participated in a lot of college meetings. When I went for a PLD meeting I got very negative questions which were personal in nature. Like will you bring your own child into sex work. All this was very challenging for me.*

*When I first went to Delhi I did not even realise that it was such a large movement. It gave me the opportunity to express myself as*

*a sex worker. It was only later that I realised that I was talking not only as Ayesha but representing the entire community.*

*I expect the new NNSW Board to take forward the good work started by Nisha – to increase the visibility of the sex worker community and make visible our concerns and expectations from other movements.*

*The biggest challenge for us is to get acceptance for sex work as work which will enable women to come forward and work with more safety and security.*

*I personally came in as a victim of a raid in Miraj and have been abused a lot but have learnt tremendously from all that experience. To work in an office as a sex worker and sit at a table as an equal has really challenged and changed me, Now others should have this experience.*



### **c. Arti Zodpe**

*I am from Parbhani in Maharashtra from Mahila Jagruti Seva Sangh where I am the general secretary.*

*I have learnt so much from the experiences of the earlier two coordinators, Kiran and*

*Ayesha. They introduced me to many organisations who knew about us.*



*Taking part in the Reconference in Nepal was another learning experience where we came to understand each other's work from different parts of the world. Apart from this we participated in the Farmer's Morcha and the Queer rally in Ambedkar University where we were able to put forward our perspectives and principles. We were part of the protests against the Anti Trafficking Bill 2018 and were able to come together across the country on this. We were also part of the planning for the March for Change protest against the current government. A lot of researchers got in touch with us and we learnt how to come on to facebook and twitter. We got a lot of media visibility. I personally faced a lot of challenges including the limitations of not knowing the language and aware that our taking up this responsibility in a rotational manner for six months at a time is an experiment. My confidence levels are now increasing since I am getting a lot of appreciation that I am self taught and have done excellent work!*

## V. Post Script

What could be observed from the all the presentations made by the sex workers who have taken different kinds of responsibilities within NNSW, either as Coordinators or Office bearers or Board members is the tremendous amount of confidence and clarity with which each one spoke; both of their personal growth as also their vision and concern for their collective growth as an organisation that could make a critical contribution to realising substantial rights and dignity for their entire community.

As the curtain came down on the festival and celebration at the end of the fourth day it was clear that Democracy had spoken. And heard loud and clear- taking the sex workers movement many steps forward in their struggle, along with their allies, to rid their life and profession of the stigma and discrimination that has silenced their voices. And hopefully enabling them to becoming more effective in holding the state responsible for creating more dignified conditions within which they could live, work and redefine their destinies. On their own terms. In their own ways.



## ANNEXURE 01: LIST OF VOTING MEMBERS

1. Adarsha Mahila Mandali, Suryapet, Telegana
2. Arshabharath Suraksha Project, Idukki
3. Beladingalu Mahila Okkuta, Raichur, Karnataka
4. Belaku Mahila Sangha, Dharwad, Karnataka
5. Deepam Pengal AIDS Thaduppu Sangam, Thiruvanamalai, Tamil Nadu
6. Jwala Shakti Samuh (JSS), Jharkhand
7. Swadhar Sangh , Amalner, Maharashtra
8. Kanmani Pengal Padhukaapu Mattrum AIDS Thaduppu Sangam, Kanyakumari, Tamil Nadu
9. Krishna Vennila Mahila Society, Krishna, Andhra Pradesh
10. Lakshmi Bhanusri Service& Development Society, Appanveedu, West Godavari, Andhra Pradesh
11. Mahila Jagrut Sevabhavi Sanstha, Parbhani, Maharashtra
12. Malargal Pengal AIDS Thaduppu Mattrum Magalir Munnetra Sangam, Thirunelveli, Tamil Nadu
13. Mitra, Sangli, Maharashtra
14. Muskan, Sangli, Maharashtra
15. Mutthupidari Pengal Padhukaapu Mattrum AIDS Thaduppu Sangam, Madurai, Tamil Nadu
16. Periyakulam AIDS Thaduppu Mattrum Magalir Munnetra Sangam, Theni, Tamil Nadu
17. Prema Sangama Mahila Mandali, Chittoor, Andhra Pradesh
18. Prerna Samajik Sanstha, Vaijapur, Maharashtra
19. Punarjani, Pathanamthitta, Kerala
20. Rakshne Jilla Mahila Okkuta, Gadag, Karnataka
21. Sadhaney Mahila Sangh, Bangalore ,Karnataka
22. Saheli Sangh, Pune, Maharashtra
23. Sangamira Suraksha Project, Thrissur, Kerala
24. Shakthi CBO, Gokak, Karnataka
25. Siri Mahila Sadhikarika Welfare Society, Kothapet, Guntur
26. Sneha Mahila Sangh, Koppala, Karnataka
27. Snehita, Kottayam, Kerala
28. Soukya Belaku Samudaya Seva Samsthe, Bellary, Karnataka
29. Soukya Samudaya Samsthe, Chitradurga, Karnataka
30. Suryagandhi AIDS Thaduppu Maatrum Magalir Munnetra Sangam, Madurai, Tamil Nadu
31. Swagathi Sneha Sangham, Vijaynagaram, Andhra Pradesh
32. Swaruma Suraksha Project, Ernakulam, Kerala
33. The God Theresa Mahila Mandali, Khammam, Telengana
34. Vanita Mytri Public Welfare Society, Karimnagar, Telengana
35. Veshya Anyay Mukti Parishad (VAMP), Sangli, Maharashtra
36. Ganika Mahila Shakti Sanghatan
37. Karnataka Sex Workers Union (KSWU), Karnataka
38. Sondam ,Ernakulam ,Kerala
39. Sindhur , Ananthapur, Andhra Pradesh
40. Kiranam Mahila Samkhya Sangam, Vijaynagarm, Andhra Pradesh

**ANNEXURE 02: NAMES OF MEMBERS WHO ATTENDED THE AGM**

S no.	Name	CBO and State Name
1	Lakshmi R	UKMO, Karnataka
2	Banu Begum	UKMO, Karnataka
3	Manjula	UKMO, Karnataka
4	Padamma	UKMO, Karnataka
5	Lalitha	Shakthi, Karnataka
6	Bhagyamma	SSS, Karnataka
7	Husen Be	Belaku, Karnataka
8	Lalitha	Shakthi, Karnataka
9	Halamma	SSS, Karnataka
10	Muktha	UKMO, Karnataka
11	Shashikala	Sadhaney, Karnataka
12	Chandrashri	Sadhaney, Karnataka
13	Negina	KSWU, Karnataka
14	Parimala	KSWU, Karnataka
15	Rajesh Srinivas	Sangama, Karnataka
16	Eswar Aruru	Sangama, Karnataka
17	Lakshmi K	UKMO, Karnataka
18	Shankaramma	UKMO, Karnataka
19	Majula	KSWU, Karnataka

<b>20</b>	Nisha Gulur	KSWU, Karnataka
<b>21</b>	Vijayalakshmi	WMPWS, AP/Telangana
<b>22</b>	Shayamala	WMPWS, AP/Telangana
<b>23</b>	Sydamma	Adarsha Mahila Mandali, AP/Telangana
<b>24</b>	Jyothi	Adarsha Mahila Mandali, AP/Telangana
<b>25</b>	Narasamma	God Theresa, AP/Telangana
<b>26</b>	Karrija Rani	God Theresa, AP/Telangana
<b>27</b>	Chandrakumari	Sirimahila Sadhikare Welfare Society, AP/Telangana
<b>28</b>	Mariyamma	Sirimahila Sadhikare Welfare Society, AP/Telangana
<b>29</b>	Devi	LBSS, AP/Telangana
<b>30</b>	Mahadevi	LBSS, AP/Telangana
<b>31</b>	Vijaya	Prema Sangam, AP/Telangana
<b>32</b>	Pushpa	Sindhura Organization, AP/Telangana
<b>33</b>	Shiba Rajeshwari	Sindhura Organization, AP/Telangana
<b>34</b>	Nagamani	Kiran Mahila Samyak Sangam, AP/Telangana
<b>35</b>	Vijayalaxmi	Kiran Mahila Samyak Sangam, AP/Telangana
<b>36</b>	Meera Raghavendra	WINS, AP/Telangana
<b>37</b>	Rachana Mudra	WINS, AP
<b>38</b>	Lalita Kumari	JSS, Jharkhand
<b>39</b>	Sashi Lakra	JSS, Jharkhand
<b>40</b>	Rajneesh	KNSW Supporter- Kerala

<b>41</b>	Omana	KNSW, Kerala
<b>42</b>	Lekha	KNSW, Kerala
<b>43</b>	Ambika	KNSW, Kerala
<b>44</b>	Pushpa	KNSW, Kerala
<b>45</b>	Rukkiya	KNSW, Kerala
<b>46</b>	Shayamala	KNSW, Kerala
<b>47</b>	Vijayamma	KNSW, Kerala
<b>48</b>	Sarada Stanely	KNSW, Kerala
<b>49</b>	Mary Baby	KNSW, Kerala
<b>50</b>	Lalitha	KNSW, Kerala
<b>51</b>	Jayanthi	KNSW, Kerala
<b>52</b>	Indhra	Vadamalar, Tamil Nadu
<b>53</b>	Ponesam	Vadamalar, Tamil Nadu
<b>54</b>	Santhi	Vadamalar, Tamil Nadu
<b>55</b>	Filomina	Vadamalar, Tamil Nadu
<b>56</b>	Muthuselvi	Vadamalar, Tamil Nadu
<b>57</b>	Vijaya	Vadamalar, Tamil Nadu
<b>58</b>	Priya	Vadamalar, Tamil Nadu
<b>59</b>	Pushpavalli	Vadamalar, Tamil Nadu
<b>60</b>	Anandakumar	SIAAP, Tamil Nadu
<b>61</b>	Gokila	Vadamalar, Tamil Nadu

<b>62</b>	Vijayalakshmi	Vadamalar, Tamil Nadu
<b>63</b>	Sakilabanu	Vadamalar, Tamil Nadu
<b>64</b>	Kaleeswari	Vadamalar, Tamil Nadu
<b>65</b>	Vijaya	Vadamalar, Tamil Nadu
<b>66</b>	Vijayalakshmi	Vadamalar, Tamil Nadu
<b>67</b>	Tejaswi Sevekari	Saheli Sangh, Pune
<b>68</b>	Akshata Rankhambe	Muskan, Sangli
<b>69</b>	Ayesha Rai	VAMP, Sangli
<b>70</b>	Kiran Deshmukh	VAMP, Sangli
<b>71</b>	Sangita Manoji	VAMP, Sangli
<b>72</b>	Sudhir Patil	Muskan, Sangli
<b>73</b>	Rao Saheb More	Muskan, Sangli
<b>74</b>	Prashant Bhosale	SANGRAM, Sangli
<b>75</b>	Maya Gaurav	VAMP, Sangli
<b>76</b>	Minakshi Kamble	VAMP, Sangli
<b>77</b>	Renuka Kale	VAMP, Sangli
<b>78</b>	Sharada Kamble	VAMP, Sangli
<b>79</b>	Jayashree Koli	VAMP, Sangli
<b>80</b>	Renuka Kamble	VAMP, Sangli
<b>81</b>	Biru Makhane	VAMP, Sangli
<b>82</b>	Nilavva Sidhreddy	VAMP, Sangli

<b>83</b>	Sujata Jadhav	VAMP, Sangli
<b>84</b>	Umesh Rawal	Muskan, Sangli
<b>85</b>	Riyaz Maner	Muskan, Sangli
<b>86</b>	Ravi Jadhav	Muskan, Sangli
<b>87</b>	Yuvraj Avalkar	Muskan, Sangli
<b>88</b>	Arti Zodpe	MJSS, Parbhani
<b>89</b>	Renuka Zodpe	MJSS, Parbhani
<b>90</b>	Reena Khan	Adhar Sanstha, Amalner
<b>91</b>	Hunfa	Adhar Sanstha, Amalner
<b>92</b>	Mahadevi Madar	Saheli Sangh, Pune
<b>93</b>	Vanitha Mane	Saheli Sangj, Pune
<b>94</b>	Hemlata Lohave	Ganika Sangathan, Nagpur
<b>95</b>	Seema Sharma	Ganika Sangathan, Nagpur
<b>96</b>	Shantilal Kale	SANGRAM, Sangli
<b>97</b>	Meena Seshu	SANGRAM, Sangli
<b>98</b>	Aarthi Pai	SANGRAM, Sangli
<b>99</b>	Alpha Toppo	SANGRAM, Sangli
<b>100</b>	Aiman Khan	SANGRAM, Sangli
<b>101</b>	Shashikant Mane	SANGRAM, Sangli

## ANNEXURE 02: ACTIVITY UPDATE FROM OUTGOING BOARD

### BOARD WRAP UP OF ACTIVITIES AND FINANCES

The outgoing board made presentations of the last two years of its work. The two National Coordinators from Delhi; Arti and Ayeesha also made presentations. The presentations are attached to this document:

#### **a. Nisha made a presentation of the overall work done by NNSW:**

- 10 NNSW Board meetings have happened between March 2017 and March 2019. Through these 10 board meetings, the board's growth can be evidently seen. The board now prepares its own agenda. The board understands and analyzes state level problems. The board has also been able to conduct a press conference in Chennai and has had a meeting with University of Tirupati. The board is slowly becoming confident in terms of budget, finance report and other logistical help.
- The network has expanded in the last two years to 08 states (Kerala, Andhra Pradesh, Telangana, Tamil Nadu, Karnataka, Maharashtra, Gujarat and Jharkhand). There are 74 members in the network- 61 primary members and 13 secondary members. We have been able to understand issues that have emerged in different regions. Our secondary members have been able to provide technical support.
- In April 2017, a gender and sexuality training was conducted by Anjali Gopalan in Sangli, Maharashtra. As second line leaders, it was necessary for us to understand issues around sex, sexuality and gender in depth. We also took this learning to our local communities in each state.
- In October 2017, NNSW conducted an inter movement dialogue called Rubaru in Delhi. We spoke about our issues with other groups who work on a range of issues. There were LGBTQIA groups, women's groups, labour rights groups, lawyers etc. We also engaged with government officials and representatives from UNAIDS, WDC etc. This is when we also inaugurated NNSW Delhi office.

- NNSW worked at several levels to stop the Trafficking Bill. We conducted state consultations, national consultation, and protests at national and state level. We also met MPs to raise our voice against the bill. We held press conferences and did signature campaigns. Through this bill, it was clear to us what the government thinks of sex workers. We discussed the bill thoroughly with community members and also became more conscious of keeping all our documents safe and also came up with ways to prevent young girls from entering sex work.
- Through talking about Kopisha's story, we understood what exploitation is and what is trafficking and the difference between the two. We, as a network, are against trafficking even if it exists in sex work. Choice and will has to be given importance. The solution for everything cannot be just in the hands of law, state, or police- we also need to take action.
- We have gone through an intensive training on CEDAW and the processes which are related to the same. As community members, we learnt how to collect case studies for CEDAW and how to prioritize confidentiality. In the 2014 CEDAW process, we weren't given much space, but this time we are being asked to give reports and speak about our issues. We made several submissions on topics like health, violence and education and we will be submitting an independent report too.
- The network came together to help sex workers in Kerala during the Kerala flood. We collected money for relief across the states we work in, and because of this we have also been able to attain the trust of sex workers in Kerala, and now they have slowly begun to associate themselves with NNSW.
- We participated in protests and gatherings like Kisan March and Chalo Nagpur. Through Kisan March, we were able to build solidarities with farmers, and build an alliance to collectively raise our voices against injustice. In the case of Chalo Nagpur, we were invited to join the movement but when we collected and contributed money through VAMP, a few groups turned against us and there was a lot of controversy regarding the same. However, we stood by our stand that sex work is work, and towards the end, we were able to build alliance even with a few dalit groups.

- We also held consultations at state and national level on the Transgender Bill. We opposed it and got the network together to raise a collective voice against the bill.
- We carried out a prolonged process for the CCM elections. We did several consultations at the state level and the communities understood the entire structure and importance of CCM. Nisha, NNSW President was elected as a CCM member. Around 200 CBOs gave support in writing to Nisha. Through this, we also learned how to conduct consultations.
- The secretariat was changed during this period from Saheli Sangh, Pune to Karnataka Sex Workers Union and UKMO in November 2018.
- We also participated in South Asia Women’s fund donor dialogue.
- We also held a meeting in Kathmandu, Nepal regarding South Asia Sex Workers Alliance.

**b Muktha, treasurer of NNSW made a presentation of the finance report of NNSW:**

<b>NNSW- MAMA CASH - Finance Report</b>	
<b>Period- November 2018 to March 2019</b>	
<b>Grant received</b>	<b>2000066.00</b>
1.Saffing(Salaries)	198280.00
2.Operational(Office Rent, Office Supplies, Audit)	50538.00
3.Activities(Board meetings, travel cost for meetings etc)	284145.00
<b>Grand Total</b>	<b>532963.00</b>
<b>Balance</b>	<b>1467103.00</b>
<b>NNSW- Mama Cash Finance Report</b>	
<b>Period - November 2017 to October 2018</b>	

<b>Grant received</b>	<b>1871751.00</b>
1.Saffing(Salaries)	677072.00
2.Operational(Office Rent, Office Supplies, Audit)	216413.00
3.Activities(Board meetings, travel for meetings etc)	978266.00
<b>Grand Total</b>	<b>1871751.00</b>
<b>Balance</b>	<b>0.00</b>

**c. Ayesha and Arti made a presentation of the work carried out by them in the NNSW Delhi office as the National Coordinators:**

Between September 2018 and April 2019, we have had several opportunities to explore how to expand our work and participate in meetings of different kinds on various issues. We have represented NNSW at rallies, press conferences, events and advocacy events. We have given interviews to media reporters and researchers at the national level. We have also connected with several NGOs/CBOs.

During this period, we have visited several CBOs and NGOs, some of them are:

- Basera Samajik Sansthan, is a collective of 1500 transgender sex workers in Delhi. They work for HIV awareness and they are a part of NNSW now.
- Manch, is a collective of 2500 female sex workers in Rohini, Delhi. They work for HIV awareness, they also have T.I projects. They connected us to DSACS, which gave us further opportunities to build alliances.
- Aarohan, is a collective of 2000 transgender sex workers. They work on HIV awareness, conduct T.I and they are also a part of NNSW now.
- TARSHI works on issues of sexuality and sexual health. It was after connecting with them, that we received information about the planning meeting for 8th March rally.

- CREA works on sexuality, reproductive health, women's rights and they also support AINSW. We got to know that CREA alongwith AINSW is also submitting a report to CEDAW.
- SAMA works for health rights. Through them, we got to know about National Conclave on institutionalizing SDGs organized by UN, Confederation of Indian Industry, Niti Aayog, Bill & Melinda Gates Foundation and National Foundation for India(NFI) on 4-5 February, 2019. They are submitting a report on health to CEDAW in which NNSW's chapter on health is also included.
- Saheli works for women's rights. They support us and give us information regularly about meetings. Through them, we were able to attend a programme on the #metoo movement.
- SPID works for sex workers children at G.B Road, Delhi. They also work for HIV awareness. However, they don't believe that sex work is a work and they think of it as exploitation and trafficking.
- Wada Na Todo Abhiyaan works for SDGs, governance review report, collating people's manifestos etc. We also raised our demands in the people's manifesto.
- Jagori works on women's rights. Through their support, we were invited for National Consultation on Gender Responsive Budgeting (11-12 Feb, 2019). We also attended 'Re-imagine shelter homes' meeting in March 2019. Jagori is preparing a report on VAW and shelter home for CEDAW submission.
- Nazariya works for Queer rights and also works for Human rights of LGBTQ people. We got the opportunity to participate in the AUD Queer Festival through their support.
- YP Foundation works on issues of sexuality, reproductive health for young people. Through them, we were able to attend a meeting on sexual harassment at workplace. We also attended a STRIVE Research Consortium addressing structural drivers of HIV in the context of achieving SDGs.

- Nirantar is a feminist group which works on gender and education. We were asked to submit a chapter for CEDAW on the education of sex workers.

We have also been able to participate in several events and meetings in Delhi. Some of them are:

- Celebrated the abolition of Section 377 with Aarohan NGO
- Attended the World AIDS day programme organized by NACO
- Attended film screenings at Nazariya
- Attended the 8<sup>th</sup> March rally on Women's Day and also spoke on issues of sex workers at the rally.
- Attended One Billion Rising and spoke about NNSW to several people.
- Protest against Anti-Trafficking Bill 2018
- We stood in solidarity with the Farmers March
- Advocacy with Government Officials
- Participated in Women's March against hatred and violence to raise our voice against the present government. We participated and gave interviews on why we want to change the present government.
- Attended the Global Fund Meeting and raised our issues to them and how enforcement of law creates problems for us to receive the HIV Prevention care services and how there is no ART service-to take the medicine for third level we have to visit state level ART centre.
- Participated in 'Gender Budgeting Meeting' where we spoke about the inclusion of sex workers in gender budgeting.
- Attended several round of CCM meeting conducted by UNAIDS.

- Met officials at National AIDs Control Society (NACO) and shared with them about our research and our movement which is centered on our rights. We asked them to include NNSW in any meetings they organize.
- Attended a meeting organized by Partners for Law in Development (PLD) and we represented NNSW and challenged the changes being made in ITPA and section 370 A(IPC) at policy level.
- Met officials at Delhi State AIDs Control Society (DSACS) We shared our research and requested them to include us in their meetings. We also proposed for a joint meeting with the NGOs working on sex workers.
- Attended and participated in a press conference against Shelter homes- Testimonies were shared by sex workers who had stayed in shelter homes and faced discrimination, stigma in shelter homes.
- Gave several interviews to researchers and reporters and raised our concerns with them.
- Participated in press conference against Anti-Trafficking Bill- We spoke about the impact of the bill on our community members, and how the bill is against our right to work.

Participation in these events gave us opportunities to put forward NNSW and our principles of sex workers rights to several civil society members, lawyers, government officials and other stakeholders. We also participated as NNSW in CREA's re-conference 2019 in Kathmandu, Nepal. We set up our stall in the sex work curated space and interacted with sex workers from across the world. This way we were also able to reflect on the discrimination and stigma they face.