



NALSA
(Protection and Enforcement
of Tribal Rights)
Scheme, 2015





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BACKGROUND

Although the Census of India 2011 enumerates the total population of Scheduled Tribes at 10,42,81,034 persons, constituting 8.6 per cent of the population of the country, the tribal communities in India are enormously diverse and heterogeneous. There are wide ranging diversities among them in respect of languages spoken, size of population and mode of livelihood. As per the Census of India 2011, the number of individual groups notified as Scheduled Tribes is 705.

The North Eastern States are not a homogeneous block, because of the diversities amongst themselves. There are about 220 ethnic groups with equal number of languages and dialects. These groups can be broadly categorised into three main groups of Tibeto-Burman, Mon-Khmer and Indo-European.

Certain tribes have been characterised as Particularly Vulnerable Tribal Groups (PVTGs) (earlier known as Primitive Tribal Groups) on the basis of their greater 'vulnerability' even among the tribal groups. PVTGs, currently include 75 tribal groups, who have been identified as such on the basis of the following criteria: 1) forest-dependent livelihoods, 2) pre-agricultural level of existence, 3) stagnant or declining population, 4) low literacy rates and 5) a subsistence-based economy. As per the 2001 census, these 75 PVTGs had a total population of 27,68,322. The majority of the PVTG population lives in the seven States of Maharashtra, Madhya Pradesh, Chhattisgarh, Jharkhand,

Odisha, Andhra Pradesh and Tamil Nadu. The PVTGs among the tribes need special attention due to their vulnerability.

Up till independence the tribal population lived in comparative isolation from the national scene and lived almost a self-sufficient life in the remote and rugged forested tracts. The interactions of the colonial administrative machinery with the tribes in India were largely of authoritarian and exploitative nature. They were largely interested to let them remain isolated and had no intention to integrate them with mainstream of national life.

After independence, the India Constitution adopted many provisions to provide tribal people with special status and Parliament through various protective legislations made conscious efforts to safeguard their interest. Planning Commission of India through its development initiative adopted Tribal Sub Plan (TSP) approach and under Panchayati Raj Institutions the Provisions of the Panchayats (Extension to Scheduled Areas) Act 1996 (PESA) was legislated.

Despite all these efforts made to improve the socio-economic conditions of tribes it is still a fact that the life situations of Scheduled Tribes (STs) have improved only marginally. The Human Development Index (HDI) of the STs is much lower than the rest of the population. The gap in the literacy rate is high. There are more ST families below the poverty line than those from other communities. Their percentage in government jobs is not in proportion to their population despite the provision of reservation. Their condition, thus, is far worse than that of the rest of the population and they have not been able to reach the envisaged level of development, where they could benefit from the opportunities offered by a fast expanding economy.

It was in this background that the NALSA felt the need to draw up a Scheme for the Tribal People. To facilitate this, a Committee was constituted to study the issue and come up with suggestions.

The Committee submitted a comprehensive report to the Hon'ble Executive Chairman, NALSA on 9.8.2015 on the occasion of World Tribal Day. The present Scheme is based on the Report of the Committee.

The Scheme may be called the "NALSA (Protection and Enforcement of Tribal Rights) Scheme, 2015".

OBJECTIVES

The Scheme is aimed at ensuring access to justice to the Tribal People in India. The access to justice would be facilitated in all its connotations, i.e. access to rights, benefits, legal aid, other legal services, etc., so that the assurance of the Constitution of justice social, economic and political, is meaningfully experienced by the tribal population in the country.

Several legal rights are guaranteed to the tribal people under:

- The Scheduled Tribes and other Traditional Forest Dwellers (Recognition of Forest Rights) Act, 2006 – (FRA)
- The Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes (Prevention of Atrocities) Act, 1989,
- The Right of children to Free and Compulsory Education Act, 2009,
- The Right to Fair Compensation and Transparency in Land Acquisition, Rehabilitation and Resettlement Act, 2013,
- Panchayats (Extension to Scheduled Areas) Act 1996 – (PESA) and
- Fifth and Sixth Schedule of the Constitution of India.

These provisions are not implemented stringently, leading to violation of their legal rights. Such violations are one of the prime reasons for the marginalization of the tribal people.

This scheme is intended that these legal rights are not violated.

The terms PLVs, Legal Services Clinics, Front Office , Panel Lawyers and Retainer Lawyers will mean the same as defined under the National Legal Services Authority (Free and Competent Legal Services) Regulations, 2010 and National Legal Services Authority (Legal Services Clinics) Regulations, 2011 and the NALSA Scheme for Para Legal Volunteers (Revised) and Module for the Orientation – Induction – Refresher Courses for PLV Training.

Part I : An overview of the issues of Tribal people

A. Vulnerability Issues

1. The lack of literacy amongst the tribal people is a crucial issue. As a consequence, the tribes remain unaware of their fundamental, legal and statutory rights. They also lack knowledge about the welfare schemes run by the government for their well-being, thereby resulting in lack of participation from their side.
2. Non implementation of the schemes introduced by the government to resolve the problems is another major concern. However, non-implementation of programmes for tribal welfare is also due to lack of skilled work force in the tribal areas.
3. Numerous armed conflicts affect large parts of tribal areas in contemporary India spanning the central region to the North East, leading to severe problems in accessing legal and administrative mechanisms and in the implementation of beneficial schemes.

4. In the recent years the state police and the paramilitary forces have been accused of grave human rights violations in the tribal areas including of alleged fake encounters and rape.
5. A number of tribal people are put in jails allegedly as Maoists. There have been cases of people staying in Jail for days, without their name in the charge-sheet. Bails are not granted as cases are serious such as waging war against India, sedition and so on.
6. The unfamiliar judicial processes make the tribal people dread the court, even if they are the ones who are suffering from lawlessness. They feel that the laws like Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes (Prevention of Atrocities) Act, 1989 do not exist for the protection of tribal people.
7. Migrating tribes face difficulties in accessing the welfare schemes run by the government. Some are totally devoid of any access.
8. There are preconceived notions or assumptions regarding the 'primitivism' and 'backwardness' of the PVTGs. It is essential for government bodies to shed assumptions of tribal backwardness and savagery and devaluation of the culture and traditions of these communities.
9. Many PVTGs and Scheduled Tribes (STs) are forest dwellers and depend heavily on land and forest resources for their subsistence. Over time, their habitat has been declared as Reserved Forest, Protected Forest, leaving them vulnerable to displacement and eviction without compensation.
10. All tribes in the list of PVTGs have not been granted ST status, thereby increasing the vulnerability of these tribes, who lack the protections and rights offered by the Fifth Schedule and the Provisions of Panchayat (Extension to Scheduled Areas) Act, 1996.

11. For PVTGs, the implementation of FRA has been poorest since their habitat rights are not clearly defined or understood by the Forest Department. No disaggregated information and data at the national level on status of the implementation of the provision for rights of PVTGs particularly of habitat rights under the FRA are available.
12. The North Eastern States share a large area of international boundary with the neighbouring countries of Bhutan, China, Myanmar and Bangladesh which makes it a very fertile ground for cross border terrorism, drug smuggling, arms smuggling, infiltration, etc.
13. Another issue which is of serious concern is human trafficking. Tribal people from central India and Assam appear particularly prone to trafficking.
14. Another issue is that till recently there has been no division of executive and judiciary. The institutions set up under the Sixth Schedule apply customary laws which have their own issues as they are not codified.
15. Due to insurgency and law and order problems in the North East, there is absence of faith in the system. There has been a tendency of the public to take law into their hands, in what amounts to “mob justice” by dismantling/destroying houses of the suspected/accused persons and ostracising the family which leads to serious social problems. Even doctors and hospitals have not been spared for their alleged negligence in treatment of patients.
16. In the remote areas and villages, large numbers of tribal people still believe in “Witch hunting”.

17. Tribal people are not treated with dignity and so feel alienated. For instance, the Jarawas tribes in Andaman Islands are treated like animals by the tourists. They are teased and tormented as if they are monkeys/animals and fun derived from their angry responses. Similar experiences were earlier common in Bastar where cultural mores were never understood.

B. Land Related Problems

1. Forest and hills are the main source of tribal identity. It is in this context that the devastation of lives of tribal people caused by loss of access to forest and involuntary displacement from their land has to be understood. Dispossession takes place both directly by depriving tribal communities of their land, habitat, livelihood, political system, culture, values and identity and indirectly through denials of benefits of development and of their rights.
2. Under the Resettlement and Rehabilitation (R&R) programme, land is not replaced and there is meagre reconstitution of livelihoods. Almost all the R&R colonies lack proper public health facilities, protected drinking water, marketing, schools and transportation.
3. Dependence on forests for food in the form of shifting cultivation, fruits and flowers, small game, tubers for medicines, fodder, material for house building, raw material for traditional art and crafts income by selling firewood, leaf-plates, fruits etc. is substantial. This loss, due to displacement is not compensated and also affects food security.
4. A major portion of land falls under forest areas. Most of the tribal people of the interior areas are staying on forest lands without having any right, title, interest on those lands and there are no such legal provisions for those homeless tribal people for

protection and enforcement of their rights under “The Scheduled Tribes and other Traditional Forest Dwellers (Recognition of Forest Rights) Act, 2006”.

5. Another major problem with tribal people is a result of development projects viz. construction of dams, Forest sanctuaries, mining operations, etc. These developments lead to an influx of non-tribal people, seeking employment in these areas forcing the tribal people to migrate. Hence, the tribal people have not been able to reap the benefits of development projects.
6. Growing indebtedness contributes as one of the most important reasons for and alienation and displacement of tribal people. Tribal indebtedness (they are often tricked into accepting loans with exorbitant interests) often leads to situations of bonded labour.
7. Further, there have been violations of PESA which endow Gram Sabha “the power to prevent land alienation of land in the Scheduled Areas and to take appropriate action to restore any unlawful alienated land of a Scheduled Tribe.” In case of acquisition of forest lands, it is mandatory to consult with Gram Sabha of the affected area and obtain their free consent. However, often Gram Sabhas are neither sent notices for consultation, nor are their consent signatures taken.
8. The compensation given to the tribal people under The Right to Fair Compensation and Transparency in Land Acquisition, Rehabilitation and Resettlement Act, 2013 is meagre and the living conditions that are provided on resettlement are very poor.
9. Another problem with tribal people is that instead of individual rights in the land, they believe in community rights and thus written proof of ownership are mostly not available in cases of

litigation relating to land. The claims of tribal people in this respect are mostly based on oral evidences with consequential difficulties in establishing individual rights.

C. **Legal Issues**

The legal issues faced by the tribal people are as follows:

1. The recognition of rights of tribal people before their displacement from Protected Areas (PAs) is not being completed. Tribal people are evicted before verification and settlement of claims under the FRA. This has caused a decline in the economic status, as well as erosion in their customary forest practices.
2. Incorrect assumption by the Forest departments with regard to the FRA has led to violation of their legal rights. For instance, at some of the Forest Departments, it was believed, contrary to the provisions of section 4 (2) of the FRA that rights under FRA could not be claimed in Protected Areas (PAs) and that FRA is not applicable in Tiger Reserves.
3. Some problems that arise for tribal communities in claiming habitat rights include:
 - * lack of clarity over definition and interpretation of what is entailed in habitat rights;
 - * multiple interpretations of habitat, especially if the user rights of other, non- PVTG groups sharing the same territory are involved;
 - * if the traditional habitat boundaries of PVTGs overlap with wildlife habitats; and
 - * a lack of awareness among such communities about the terms in which to articulate such claims.

4. There has been little perceptible effort to create awareness among women regarding the process of claim making, verification and the rules relating to it provided under the FRA.
5. Claims filed by tribal people under the FRA are being rejected without assigning reasons, or based on wrong interpretation of the Other Traditional Forest Dwellers (OTFD) definition and the 'dependence' clause, or simply for lack of evidence or 'absence of GPS survey' (a lacuna which only requires the claim to be referred back to the lower-level body), or because the land is wrongly considered as 'not forest land', or because only forest offence receipts are considered as adequate evidence.
6. The rejections are not being communicated to the claimants, and their right to appeal is not being explained to them nor its exercise facilitated. There is a need for awareness amongst tribal people, so that they can protect their legal rights against such practices.
7. Section 3 (1) (m) of the FRA, regarding the rights of persons illegally displaced or evicted by development projects without proper compensation, has not been implemented at all.
8. Lack of effective consultations with Gram Sabha and recognition of their rights of ownership in farm produce.

D. Other legal issues

1. Criminal charges are filed, maliciously, against the tribal people, and in some cases non-tribal people, who protest against the acquisition of land and thereby against the establishment of developmental projects. It has been found that between 2005 and 2012, over 95 percent of the cases were found to be baseless and ended in acquittal.

2. Discrimination, violence and police brutality is experienced at regular intervals by the people belonging to the De-Notified Tribes because of the Habitual Offenders Act, 2000.
3. In Andaman and Nicobar, the 'Jarawa' tribe face incidents of sexual exploitation. Also, the people of the tribe were asked to give their blood samples for DNA testing without their informed consent.
4. A study for the Planning Commission revealed that 43.6 percent of the rehabilitated bonded labourers belong to Scheduled Tribes. This suggests that many tribal families are trapped in bondage. The main reason for bondage that is cited is indebtedness and food.

E. Issues related to education

The scenario of education in India regarding the tribal people has improved, but there are some problems which still persist. The issues relating to education are as follows:

1. There are a large number of schools which do not have minimum facilities.
2. Even where there is reasonable infrastructure and student enrolment, regular school attendance is a problem in the tribal areas, due to distances and poverty.
3. Teacher absenteeism is high.
4. There is poor level of student learning and high drop-out rate at class X. A possible explanation for this is the failure of tribal students to cope up.

5. There is a marked gender gap. There is a need for greater gender focus and social mobilization to encourage education of girls.
6. Once the tribal students manage to take admission, they are humiliated in various ways that they are demoralized. This leads to a high school drop out rate. Derogatory names being given to tribal students from the North East are well-known.
7. There are residential schools for tribal girls which are often in the news for corruption, bad maintenance of facilities and sexual exploitation of resident girls.
8. As nomadic tribes are always on the move, their children miss out on education provided by the government for free.
9. Most of the tribal communities in India have their own mother tongue. But in most of the States, official/regional languages are used for classroom teaching and these are not understood by the tribal children particularly at primary level of schooling.
10. There is a need of familiarity for teachers teaching tribal children with tribal culture and language so that learning is hassle-free. For instance, most of the district officials, being from outside do not understand the languages of the people like Gondi and Halbi. Even the teachers in schools do not understand these languages.
11. Tribal children are not at ease in structured class rooms due to their affinity to nature causing them to lose interest in formal education as is presently provided.
12. The main reason of illiteracy amongst tribal people is low involvement of parents and community in education of tribal children and inadequate quality schools in Tribal areas. The Tribal Community is mostly unaware about the benefits of education.

F. Health issues

The tribal population face several health issues:

1. The national health model is primarily designed for the non-tribal areas. It does not take into account the different belief system, different disease burden and health care needs as well as the difficulties in delivering health care in a geographically scattered, culturally different population surrounded by forests and other natural forces.
2. There is a lack of health care human resource that is willing, trained and equipped to work in tribal areas. Though buildings are built and health care institutions created in the form of health sub-centres, PHCs and CHCs, they often remain dysfunctional. This is further compounded by inadequate monitoring, poor quality of reporting, and accountability.
3. Factors such as unfriendly behaviour of the staff, language barrier, large distances, poor transport, low literacy and low health care seeking, lead to lower utilization of the existing health care institutions in tribal areas.
4. The absence of participation of ST people or their representatives in shaping policies, making plans or implementing services in the health sector often ends up targeting wrong priorities.
5. The tribal population is seriously affected by high consumption of alcohol and smoking, often resulting in addiction. Immediate and serious corrective policy measures to curb the same are necessary.
6. Child marriage among the different tribal communities is still prevalent as illiterate tribal people follow their old customs without understanding the laws of the land which results in poor health.

7. Tribal people seek treatment modes based upon their customary beliefs without resorting to any modern medicines even when they contract modern day illnesses leading to high mortality even in curable situations.
8. The Jarawas remain vulnerable to outside diseases to which they have little or no immunity. When the tourists enter their areas, they contract new diseases because of them. Their women and girls are also being sexually abused which result in many diseases for which the tribal people have no cure.
9. The immunisation programme of the governments has not reached the tribal areas.
10. Tribal populations are highly malnourished. PVTGs inhabit areas that are inaccessible by road, and therefore they cannot travel easily to Anganwadi centres, where food is prepared. Moreover, their hamlets are considered too small to open an Anganwadi centre. The result is that their children do not get the nourishment provided under the government schemes.
11. Rules have been framed to prohibit the killing of forest animals without giving an alternative to tribal people who traditionally hunt them for food, leading to loss of nutrient food to these communities.
12. The tribal areas face acute water problems including water pollution and tribal health suffers as a consequence.
13. A very pernicious effect of violence and killing, is the rise in mental disorder cases.
14. In areas of high literacy, as in the North East, lack of employment amongst skilled youth has resulted in mental depression and high suicidal tendencies.

15. Health issues arising out of drug use such as HIV AIDS and mental disorder is high in the North Eastern states located in close proximity to the “Golden Triangle”. Drugs such as Ketamine, pseudoephedrine, etc. are being smuggled into these regions with catastrophic effect on the families of drug users.

H. Livelihood

1. Due to absence of modern day skills and education, tribal people mainly depend on their traditional skills for livelihood, which is not profitable.
2. Although very few are landless, the land that tribal people possess is not very productive.
3. Due to language and cultural barriers, they lack modern skills of agriculture and agriculture based activities.
4. Further as a result of their living in difficult terrain and their aloofness from others they are not able to get adequate prices of their produce and products.
5. Inadequate transportation and communication facilities in their areas compounded by their reluctance in using such means also lead to failure to obtain good prices for their produce.
6. Adherence to traditional practices such as jhum cultivation for livelihood is an important reason that they live below poverty line.
7. When land is taken away from them for development work or they alienate their land, or they are denied access to forests for collecting forest produce, tribal people are left with no means of survival and are reduced to impoverishment and starvation.

Part II :Role of Legal Services Authorities

As is evident from the issues listed above, the State Legal Service Authorities have an important role to play in assisting tribal people in access to justice. The State Legal Services Authorities (SLSAs) will have to bridge the divide between the tribal communities and the Government and Judiciary. The SLSAs will have to ensure that Rule of law prevails. Restoring faith in the legal system, efficacy of rule of law is of prime importance amongst the tribal people. The SLSAs should explore activities in these areas.

The SLSAs should take the following initiatives:

A. Litigation related

1. They should constitute an exclusive panel of lawyers drawn from the tribal communities who should be paid good fees.
2. The Tribal people should be given suitable legal aid in litigation and in appropriate cases, senior lawyers should be engaged on their behalf even if on payment of special fee, so that the rights and interests of tribal people are protected.
3. The Judiciary operates in Hindi and English, leaving poor tribal people at the mercy of lawyers and judges from outside their community. They are the ones who need access to justice and should be supported by SLSAs.
4. Panel lawyers must sincerely represent the tribal people in the courts, explaining to them the process and the law so that distrust of the system is eliminated and there would be greater understanding of the processes of the court.

5. Panel lawyers must assist the tribal people in clarifying areas of confusion or overlapping of jurisdiction of the normal courts and the traditional village authority courts at the village level and help people in the smooth functioning of the justice system.
6. Panel lawyers must visit jails and set up legal services clinics in jails to tackle long term imprisonment without bail and also follow up cases where there are no charges made out so that there is early release from prison.
7. Panel lawyers should, with the help of para legal volunteers, facilitate the tribal people for getting compensation of their acquired land and assist them for rehabilitation.
8. The issues, requirements and legal needs as well as availability of educational and medical facilities in tribal areas must be identified with the assistance of PLVs and action for judicial redressal initiated in appropriate cases.
9. The full time Secretaries/judicial officers should interact with the persons of such area in order to identify their problems and needs and in order to assure them that they will be given suitable assistance and services for their genuine legal and other requirements and rights.
10. Where any tribal person is facing prosecution in a court of law, he should be identified and given proper legal aid and assistance by legal services authority from the inception of the proceedings against him, that is from the time of his interrogation.
11. The SLSAs must open legal services clinics wherever feasible to be visited by tribal lawyers.

12. The SLSAs must make use of the Multi Utility Vehicles to reach out to sparsely populated tribal areas not only for spreading awareness but also to extend prompt legal assistance to the tribal people who may have criminal, civil , revenue or forest rights issues.
13. The SLSAs must co-ordinate with government departments such as the forest department to settle habitat claims and compensation claims through the mobile lok adalats.
14. Legal assistance must be promptly given to the tribal people to approach the High Court under its writ jurisdiction both for civil as well as criminal matters. The High Court Legal Services Committees must empanel committed lawyers who are tribal people themselves or have a good understanding of tribal issues and are able to personally communicate with tribal people.
15. Social Justice Litigation with the approval of Hon'ble Executive Chairman, SLSA may be initiated whenever required.

B. Para legal volunteers (PLVs)

1. Each District Legal Services Authority, with the help of statistical and other Government department should identify the areas of the districts where there are tribal population and reach out to them through the Para Legal Volunteers.
2. In order to gain trust of the tribal communities, to know the problems of each such community and also to communicate with them effectively during awareness programmes it is necessary that para legal volunteers must be selected from amongst such tribal people. The SLSAs should prepare exclusive panel of para legal volunteers (PLVs) from these communities under the direct mentorship and control of the Full Time Secretary of DLSAs.

3. Such PLVs should be properly trained in respect of their roles to reach out proactively to the tribal people and to become the 'go to person' for the tribal community he/she is assigned to serve.
4. The SLSAs through the PLVs should help the illiterate tribal people requiring legal assistance in filling up forms and filing applications for getting benefits of various schemes made by Government to do so for their getting such benefits.
5. Legal Services Authority could play a vital role in providing medical help with assistance of Para Legal Volunteers from amongst the tribal community. The needy persons may be identified with the help of Para Legal Volunteers and with assistance of the local Legal Services Authority, such tribal people may be facilitated in getting suitable medical assistance and medicines as well as benefits of medical schemes.
6. The PLVs must be the voice of the tribal people to communicate to the concerned authorities when there are issues relating the schools, absence of teachers, and harassment of tribal children etc as listed in Part 1 of this scheme.
7. The PLVs may be useful in the matters of human trafficking for identifying the victims of trafficking and taking suitable action for obtaining victim compensation and accessing various rehabilitation schemes.
8. The PLVs must assist the trafficked children when they are rescued and produced before the Child Welfare Committees (CWCs). They should help the CWCs in tracking out the families of the victims.
9. The PLVs must hand hold the victims when they have to testify in the Court.

10. The PLVs must be the bridge between the tribal people and the panel lawyers and must assist both the tribal person as well as the lawyer so that the case of the tribal is effectively understood and heard by the court.
11. The PLVs must also be the connect between the government departments and the tribal people to ensure that the food and rations meant for the tribal people reach them even when they live in remote and sparsely populated areas in the State.
12. Documentary proof of land is mostly not available with tribal people. The tribal people may, in such cases, need legal assistance for getting proper compensation and rehabilitation. PLVs should help the tribal people to collect all documents and other evidence so that displaced tribal people may be rehabilitated properly.
13. The PLVs must visit jails and interact with inmates to find out about their cases and report to the Full Time Secretary of the DLSA about them so that immediate follow up can be taken for their release on bail or expeditious hearing of their cases.

C. Awareness

1. Legal Awareness in Tribal area should be different than the ordinary mode of awareness programmes. Audio Visual Mode will be more useful in this respect. Awareness may be through organising cultural programmes such as dances, dramas etc. in which the involvement of tribal people must be ensured. Folk Songs and dances of such tribal people may be utilised for effectively conveying messages to them. The awareness programme in tribal area must be carefully carried out by persons having full knowledge of their problem and solutions.

2. There is requirement for spreading legal awareness amongst tribal people about forest laws and consequences of infringing the provisions of law.
3. The SLSAs should organise intensive legal awareness programme in tribal areas enlightening the Tribal community about the benefits of education, their rights and entitlements under various government schemes and benefits of modern technology which may be helpful in improving their occupational works.
4. The Tribal Community may be informed that education to their children may secure their future because such children may get jobs in public or private sector where reservation policy is applicable.
5. School legal literacy clubs should be started in tribal dominated areas to reach out to tribal children to encourage them to stay in school, while at the same time sensitising other students and teachers of the special needs of tribal children.
6. The SLSAs with the assistance of Govt. agencies and NGOs may organise training programmes by audio visual mode and also by showing them practical demonstrations of modern technology for gainful agricultural work.
7. Medical awareness programmes may be organised in tribal areas to teach them the benefits of safe drinking water, nutrition and care of pregnant women as well as immunisation programme with NGOs working in the field.
8. The SLSAs should take other initiatives like establishing a community radio in the villages to bridge linguistic divide.
