

CHAPTER

5

FINDINGS

**CONCLUSION
AND**

SUGGESTIONS

FINDINGS, CONCLUSION AND SUGGESTIONS

5.1 Findings

The study is based on human rights coverage on newspapers published from Imphal, Manipur. The state of Manipur is in conflict since the beginning of insurgency movement. For years, the state and non-state actors are in tug of war. Common people, thus, in turn faced hurdles in their livelihood. Various civil society organisations, non-governmental organisations, experts voiced their concerns over human rights violations in the state. In the study, it is found that the coverage of human rights in newspapers published in the state is indispensable and inevitable due to conflict situation. The result of the study is assessed from the analysis drawn from primary and secondary data- library research, content analysis of newspapers and interview of editors and journalists. For data analysis, the data collected were tabulated and analysed manually to find out relationships between variables and calculate percentage analysis (Murthy, 2005).

The research study of human rights coverage on newspapers is based on qualitative and quantitative analysis. Interviews of editors and journalists with the help of open-ended questions and closed-ended responses questions are analysed. The results are expressed in the qualitative and quantitative analysis. Some of the key issues that are found are the following:

- Human rights, human rights violations and abuses; protections of human rights include women's rights, child rights, tribal rights, right to life, fundamental rights and so on and so forth.
- Human rights violations in relation to violence against women and children including rape, gang rape, attempt to rape and murder, molestation and murder.

- Armed Forces Special Powers Act (AFSPA) in relation to fake encounter, extra judicial executions/ killings and its relation to gross human rights violation in the state.

The study of newspapers content based on human rights news items, features, editorials, images and letter to editors for twelve months (between November 2012 and October 2013) can be assessed under the eight parameters such as frequency of terms, area and space of the story, treatment of the story, balance of the story, sources of news information, authentication of sources and attributions. Many unfortunate incidents of rape, molestation, and attempt to rape took its toll and there were increasing cases on violence against women and children. Follow up stories on Delhi gang rape cases filled most pages round the entire month. The Delhi gang rape incident that made uprising of the whole nation occupied most space in the incidence of violence against women in both categories of hard news and soft news. Many articles on the unfortunate incident have been published. The Chandel molestation incident, Napet Palli case, U-morok hawker gang rape case in Manipur, the Supreme court hearing on fake encounter killings, International Human Rights Day, International Women's Day, United Nations Day, child trafficking, Right to Education are covered from human rights perspectives. This further suggests the deliberate attention on the importance of human rights in the state.

The statistical analysis using ANOVA shows that there is no statistically significant difference between the four newspapers. The means that the coverage of human rights is evenly distributed among the four local dailies. The results of the research work can be summarized with the help of objectives of the research. Firstly, the results of the study and scrutiny of the role of media in promotion of human rights in Manipur is found to be constructive. The role of media in promotion and protection of human rights is the central idea of the study. It is found that the coverage of human rights in newspapers published from Imphal have given much attention to the promotion and protection of human rights. The cases of violence against women and children in the state cannot be ignored further as it is increasing

day by day. The categories are divided on the main human rights issues given in the United Nations Human Rights Charter, which are indispensable and interdependent. Some of the key issues which have occupied most of the space in newspapers are human rights including human rights violations and human rights abuses leading concerns of human rights protection in the state reflected through various workshops, awareness campaign, rallies, academic conferences and articles written by concern citizens and experts.

The study of four newspapers in terms of frequency of terms reveals the role of the media, particularly newspapers and press in general. The analyses of the frequency of terms based on human rights in all the four newspapers suggest that newspapers played a pivotal role in promotion of human rights in the state.

The terms used in newspapers are recorded and arranged according to categories- positive, negative and neutral terms. *The Sangai Express* is found to have the highest number of terms based on human rights with 245 different themes, followed by *Imphal Free Press*, *Poknapham* and *Naharolgi Thoudang* with 200, 162 and 157 respectively. A total of 764 terms on human rights are found in the four newspapers. In *The Sangai Express*, it is found that 28 positive terms, 45 negative terms on human rights and 99 neutral terms and other human rights terms related to advocacy, institutions and United Nations on human rights were published during the period of study. *Imphal Free Press* has 15 positive terms human rights. *Poknapham* is found to have 18 positive terms and 9 positive terms on human rights in *Naharolgi Thoudang*.

In *Imphal Free Press*, it is found that 39 negative terms based on human rights are found in news stories and articles. In *Poknapham*, it is found that 20 neutral terms based on human rights are used in news stories and articles. There are 16 negative terms based on human rights used in news stories and articles in *Naharolgi Thoudang*.

In *The Sangai Express*, 99 key terms having neutral connotations are found. In *Imphal Free Press*, there are 98 neutral terms found in news stories and

articles. In *Poknapham*, there are 82 neutral terms based on human rights. In *Naharolgi Thoudang*, there are 73 neutral terms based on human rights.

Advocacy terms based on human rights are also taken in to account. It is found that *The Sangai Express* has obtained the maximum use of advocacy terms (30 terms), followed by *Imphal Free Press* (22 terms), *Naharolgi Thoudang* (17 terms) and *Poknapham* (11 terms).

The mentioned of 21 institutions and organisations both governmental and private institutions are found in *Naharolgi Thoudang* (21 times mentioning of the human rights institutions), 20 terms mentioned of institutions in *Poknapham*, *The Sangai Express* (13 terms mentioned of various human rights institutions) and *Imphal Free Press* with mentioned of 13 terms based on human rights institutions and organisations.

The United Nations related terms are also taken as a crucial part of the study as it attempts to highlight the role of United Nations in human rights issues. The maximum number of United Nations related terms are found in *The Sangai Express* with 30 terms, followed by *Naharolgi Thoudang* (21 terms), *Imphal Free Press* (16) and *Poknapham* (11 terms).

The frequency of terms on the above mentioned various human rights related themes are counted and frequencies are analysed. The maximum frequency of terms is found in *The Sangai Express* with 1044 terms, followed by *Poknapham* with 922 terms, *Naharolgi Thoudang* with 905 and least occurrence of terms are obtained from *Imphal Free Press* with 716 terms. The data collection of the four dailies showed a total of 3587 frequencies of terms on human rights.

Newspapers published in Manipur take human rights issue seriously. Media gives much attention to the coverage of human rights related issues. It is evident from the coverage of news articles, features, editorials and letter to editors. A total of 122 features articles published in total of the four newspapers during the period of study. The highest presentation of articles is found in *The Sangai Express* with up to 64 articles, which is 52 per cent,

followed by *Imphal Free Press* with 24 articles, *Poknapham* with 18 articles and the least representation of articles is found in *Naharolgi Thoudang* with 16 articles i.e., 13 per cent. *Imphal Free Press* published a maximum of 18 editorials based on human rights and among the feature articles highlighted the causes of human rights violations and measures to protect and promote human rights. *Naharolgi Thoudang* published 16 editorials; *The Sangai Express* published 8 editorials and *Poknapham* with 6 editorials. A total of 48 editorials were published between November 2012 and October 2013 in all the four newspapers. Letter to Editor in all the four newspapers is found in miniscule number. *Poknapham* has the highest number of letter to editor based on human rights among the newspapers. This implies that readers of *Poknapham*, the most circulated Manipuri dailies took part in sharing thoughts and opinions on issues relating to human rights as compared with the remaining three newspapers. The letter to editor is considered to be an important part of the newspaper and provided a space for readers to express their concern over published articles or issues.

The second objective of the research study is to examine the presentation of news on human rights issues, the study shows that there are a number of instances where the violence against women and children and Armed Forces Special Powers Act are related to human rights issues. News, editorials, feature articles and letter to editors on these issues are presented from the human rights angle. The placement of the news is considered as a crucial element in the presentation of news. The comparative analysis of the frequency of news on human rights placed on front page and inside pages, which includes state and regional pages, national pages and international pages among the four newspapers are done extensively. A total of 1238 news was published within the study period. The highest number of news recorded in *Poknapham* is up to 364 news i.e., 39 per cent, followed by *Naharolgi Thoudang* recorded with about 331 news i.e., 27 per cent, *The Sangai Express* is found to have around 318 news items based on human rights i.e., 26 per cent and the lowest number of news is found in *Imphal Free Press* with 225 news i.e., 18 per cent. This means that newspapers paid ample amount of interest in

highlighting news if it has human rights perspectives. It is found that *Naharolgi Thoudang* has 136 News; the highest number of news on front page as compared to other newspapers and it published 23 lead stories, the highest number of lead stories among the four newspapers. However it is second highest in terms of news placed on inside pages with 195 news reports. *Imphal Free Press* is found to have the minimum number of news placed both at the front and inside pages with 85 news including 11 lead stories in front and 140 news inside respectively. *The Sangai Express* stood second in placement of human rights news on front page with 129 news, which includes 19 lead stories and it published 189 news placed on the inside pages.

Another Manipuri newspaper *Poknapham* is found to have placed 124 human rights related news on front page including 13 lead stories and it is filled with a total of 240 news on human rights on the inside pages. The two Manipur newspapers- *Poknapham* and *Thoudang* have wide coverage of news in comparing with English newspapers- *Sangai Express* and *Imphal Free Press*. 29 per cent placement of news on front page in *Naharolgi Thoudang* and 31 per cent news placement on the inside pages in *Poknapham* are more than the two English dailies, where *Sangai Express* has obtained 27 per cent (front page) and 25 per cent (inside page) and *Imphal Free Press* represents 18 per cent for both front page and inside pages. However, when analysis of frequency of terms of human rights mentioned in the four newspapers is done, it is found that *The Sangai Express* has the maximum number of human rights terms with 243 terms, followed by *Imphal Free Press* (187 terms), *Poknapham* (162 terms) and *Naharolgi Thoudang* (152 terms). The mentioned of the term human rights is higher in both the English newspapers.

The majority of most dailies and all weeklies are local in nature and concentrate on local and regional news and serve readers in limited geographical areas (Hough, 1998).

The news presentation is examined under the eight parameters. They are frequency of terms; Area/Space of the story; treatment of the story; balance of

story; placement of the stories; sources of information, authentication of the sources and attributions.

Frequency of terms

The frequency of terms are recorded and studied. It is found that in all the selected newspapers, a total of 764 terms having positive connotations, negative connotations, neutral meaning, advocacy, names of institutions/organisations and terms, which are related to United Nations. *The Sangai Express* is found to have the largest number of themes based on human rights with 245 themes in which the frequencies are further recorded and analysed, followed by *Imphal Free Press*, *Poknapham* and *Naharolgi Thoudang* with 200, 162 and 157 respectively and studied their occurrences to come up with a percentage analysis so as to understand the human rights coverage. In *The Sangai Express*, the frequency of terms ‘human rights’, ‘human rights protection’ and ‘human rights violations’ were 246, 35 and 114 respectively. In *Imphal Free Press*, the frequency of terms ‘human rights’, ‘human rights protection’ and ‘human rights violations’ were 57, 21 and 111 respectively. In *Poknapham*, the frequency of terms ‘human rights’, ‘human rights protection’ and ‘human rights violations’ were 96, 24 and 97 respectively. In *Naharolgi Thoudang*, the frequency of terms ‘human rights’, ‘human rights protection’ and ‘human rights violations’ were 118, 22 and 117 respectively.

Area/space of the story

The total area of the human rights stories is calculated for all the selected dailies. The printed area and space provided for human rights stories varies from one newspaper to another. The area of news stories, features, editorials and letter to editors are taken in to account to analyse the total area coverage for human rights stories. *Imphal Free Press* has the maximum area coverage with 37%, followed by *The Sangai Express* with 24% and *Poknapham* and *Naharolgi Thoudang* with 20% and 19% respectively.

The total area provided for images are also taken in to account. The total area of images obtained from all the four selected newspapers is 10494.69 cm². The maximum coverage area of images is *Poknapham* 3865.03 cm², followed by *Naharolgi Thoudang* (2783.78 cm²), *The Sangai Express* (2308.8 cm²) and *Imphal Free Press* (1537.08 cm²). The percentage analyses of each newspaper are Sangai Express with 18%, *Imphal Free Press* 16%, *Poknapham* with 37% and *Naharolgi Thoudang* with 29% of images.

Treatment of the story

Privacy is personal rights of individuals, who are not public figures, sometimes lose right to privacy, when the newspaper intrudes on their privacy, publishes private information about a person or put a person in false light (Hough, 1998). The ethical standards come in to question while publication of news. A journalistic code of ethics refers to a set of principles of professional conduct that are adopted and controlled by journalists themselves for collection and publication of news. Some of the frequently found journalistic codes are truthfulness of information, clarity of information, standards of gathering and presenting information, defense of the public's rights responsibilities in forming public opinion respecting the integrity of the sources. Ethical code of conduct also stress on the duty for journalist to promote human rights, democracy, peace and social progress (McQuail, 2010).

When news based on human rights violations, it is placed on front page as lead stories and placing above or next to the lead story, placing at the bottom of the newspapers with much attention is being drawn to the readers with special characters such as usage of graphics, photographs, images, putting sidebars and kickers, highlighting news with colour fonts, big bold fonts, sometimes italics kickers and usage of blue and red lines.

The study of images in the human rights stories are mostly front profile and closed-up shot of political leaders speaking at public forum, file pictures of Irom Sharmila Chanu and picture of her court appearances, the picture of Supreme Court. The size of pictures are cropped and adjusted to fit the space provided for images. Sometimes we find multiple images placed in the news to show the different facets of the incident. For instance, curfew and agitation

related photographs. The protest/rally related photographs are given with protesters holding placards.

Balance

The data shows that overall all the newspapers are equally distributed in the coverage of human rights news as lead stories. It also signifies that increase in number of news, there is also increase in the number of lead stories. It is found that in an average, the two selected Manipuri dailies - *Poknapham* and *Naharolgi Thoudang* carried more news on human rights issues than the English dailies- *The Sangai Express* and *Imphal Free Press*. This shows that the two selected Manipuri dailies are more focus on local hard and soft news as compared to the two selected English dailies. Local news is prioritized in Manipuri newspapers than the national news and international news. It comprises only 32% when combined the total number of national news and international news found in the two Manipuri dailies. The balance of news presentation by the reporters and editors of the press follows the policies and norms of the newspapers organisation. From the interview scheduled it is found that political, individual and other pressure groups do not affect the policies of newspapers organization, despite diktats from armed groups for publication of their press handouts. In interview scheduled conducted with the editors and journalist, it is discovered that 79% of the editors and journalists are of the opinion that there has been no case of influence of proprietor or owner in the presentation of news. About 7% responses from the respondents were negative. 14% says it depends on the type of news. This means that there is some degree of influence, which has not explained by the editors and journalists. However, few of the media persons are of the view that it depends on the type of news, where the vested interest of the owner or proprietor can be reflected in its news and news-based programmes. Balanced in stories based on human rights are evident from stories of violence against women where news is taken from all sides and in unbiased manner.

Placement of the story

The most interesting and significant stories are placed on front page. Newspapers store front page for what editors consider the most significant stories of the day, which includes local stories, news of state, national and international events (Hough 1998). *Naharolgi Thoudang* has the highest representation of front-page news with 29%, followed by *Sangai Express* with 27%, *Poknapham* with 26% and lowest with *Imphal Free Press* with 18%. *Poknapham* has the maximum number of news placed on the inside with 31%, followed by *Naharolgi Thoudang* with 26%, *The Sangai Express* with 25% and minimum news is found in *Imphal Free Press* with 18%. This means that the two selected Manipuri newspapers are having higher presentation of local based news on human rights. However, the national news are lower in both the Manipuri newspapers and higher in English newspapers.

Sources of information

Poknapham has the maximum number of news sources with 375 sources available in the news stories, followed by *Sangai Express* with 223 sources and *Imphal Free Press* with 216 sources, with least news sources is available in *Naharolgi Thoudang* with 210 sources. The English newspapers are having excess to wide range of news agencies, whereas it is apparent, from the data that the Manipuri newspapers have least presentation of news sources from national and international agencies.

Attributions

Advocacy, pressure groups, political leaders, government officials, others included social scientists, students, protesters, which do not fit any of the categories and having less representation, lawyers and violent non-state actors are the seven most frequently used sources for attributions. The attributions from the advocacy, pressure groups, political leaders, government officials, and lawyers are the five most frequently used sources of attributions. The highest number of news is found in *Poknapham* with 364 news and also found 418 attributions, which the largest number of attributions. *Naharolgi*

Thoudang has 331 news on human rights, however the number of attributions is 294 and it is less than *The Sangai Express* with 360 attributions in 318 news and even larger than the number of attributions found in *Imphal Free Press* with 309 in 225 news. The frequency of attributions also depends on the number of news collected in a month on each of the newspapers, higher the number of news on human rights, higher the number of attributions. *The Sangai Express* carried 50 human rights news, which is the highest number of news on human rights in the month December as compared with *Imphal Free Press*, *Naharolgi Thoudang* and *Poknapham* with 43, 39 and 31 News respectively. *The Sangai Express* has 37%, followed by 27% in *Imphal Free Press*; *Naharolgi Thoudang* with 19% and the least is *Poknapham* with 17%. However, the usage of quotes is high in *Poknapham* (30%), *The Sangai Express* (26%), *Imphal Free Press* (23%) and *Naharolgi Thoudang* (21%).

The presence of unattributed/background comments in the content appears many times. New reports can carry these quotes but attribution is left cautiously ambiguous to conceal identities. Dominant groups, individuals and institutions have the power and access to the press to organised such briefings and the chance to attempt to influence the news agenda (Keeble, 1994).

Authentication of the sources

The study of the authenticity of news sources played a key role in publication. It is important to study and analyze the news source, whether the story is directly collected reporters or taken from agencies. Local news reports are sometimes given the byline if it is reported by correspondent. Staff reporter's report mostly local news and the term 'staff reporter' is given in the place where by line is written. This means the name of the staff reporters are kept anonymous. It lacks clarity of the news source and lacks transparency whether the staff reporters are reporting the news or it is taken from other sources. In case of national news and international news, the news reports give courtesy to the news source where the news is obtained. For instance, PTI, AP, ANI, NNN, IANS etc. In most of the cases, the word 'Agencies' is given instead of revealing the name of the agency. This is evident in the two selected English

dailies- *The Sangai Express* and *Imphal Free Press*. However, in the study of the two Manipuri dailies- *Poknapham* and *Naharolgi Thoudang*, availability of the courtesy given to the news source is minimal in publication of national and international news. It is noteworthy that maximum of news reports related to Naga issues are taken from Newmai News Network (NNN) and other major national news are taken from PTI.

The Press Council of India (PCI) has provided several guidelines for the publication of press handouts from militants/terrorists. The publication of press handouts is considered as gravest assault in the freedom of Press and is against the journalistic ethics (Press Council of India).

The Sangai Express published the highest number of feature articles with 52%, which means that human rights protectors are English educated and elites of Manipuri society

To analyze the approaches and consequences of media coverage of human right violations

The Manipuri media lacks maturity, ethical education and get carried away by issue. Media has an important role in sensitizing the masses on protection of human rights. Manipuri media focused on issues relating to women, children, fake encounter despite the presence of various other serious rights violations in terms of economic and social rights. Media needs to follow some protocols while gathering and presentation of news to the people. Ethical standards and code of conduct are the guidelines for which the editors and journalists follows in the collection and dissemination of news. The lack of ethical code of conduct often lands media in to trouble. For instances, publication of names and photographs of victims. When newspapers failed to publish the press handouts of militants, the media are being targeted; the editorial space is left blank at times of threats from armed groups, as a form of condemnation.

To evaluate the role of media in educating the people about human rights

The Sangai Express published the highest number of feature articles with 52%, which means the experts and human rights protectors are English educated and elite of Manipuri society. *Poknapham* published the highest number of letter to editor with 60%. This means that readers are concern about human rights situation in the state. Newspapers act as a medium to educate the public about human rights through articles, features and editorials. From the responses of editors and journalists, it can be assessed media educates the public through publication/broadcast articles, features and other media contents and wide coverage on human rights as lead stories and provided editorial space. Media also inform and educate awareness about the rights of people and reinforce the moral sanction. It highlights excess of behaviours of state forces, central, security and exposed human rights violation. The reporting, intervention and sensitization on the human rights issues are some of the measures to make people aware of the human rights issues. It prompts the state authorities to take note of the reports and make them strive for rectification. It is further important to study how the media tackle these issues.

To examine human rights incidents by State and non-state actors.

The press in Manipur is under continuous pressure from many sectors- the insurgents, the government establishment, student's organisations and also from the non-governmental organizations. Freedom of Press has been challenged many a times by different powerful sections of the state. The Press has been condemned for highlighting the opinions of various underground organisations.

Police action against journalists was also evident as the press in Manipur was a part of the freedom movement. Keisam Kunjabihari used his paper as an instrument to fight for rights and he was the first ever journalist in Manipur to have been put behind bars. Journalism became a guiding spirit for early socio-political movement in Manipur (Pandey, 2013).

Manipur witnessed incidents, which alleged involvement of the state actors such as police involved in killings and harassment of civilians and non-state actors in violation of rights of the people of Manipur. Police, the law enforcement agencies are accused of being insensitive and untrained towards human rights. “Attempted rape slur on CRPF personnel” Kicker ‘Lower court issues non-bailable warrant against accused’ as lead story published on May 16 2013 where victim’s name not given, and accused name given. The term ‘alleged’ is prefix to molestation and attempted rape.

The alleged involvement of an armed group in child recruitment of two girls was an example of a non-state actors involved in human rights violation. In the news report, Sobita Mangshatabam said that according to the Convention on the Rights of the child and Resolution 1262 of UN Security Council, non-state actors and guerilla forces are forbidden from recruiting anyone under the age of 18 for any purpose “Demands for safe release of school girls” (*Imphal Free Press*, 5 April 2013). The similar news is also carried on front page of *The Sangai Express* with big bold headline “Missing Case of Alice Kamei, Sanahanbi Devi: Against UN Convention, says United NGOs Mission” and kicker “Bodies want the return of ‘missing girls’. The news carried from the perspectives of child rights, including right to education.

To understand the relationship between media and other stakeholders of democracy on pursuit of human rights

The human rights news is mostly news and views from non-governmental organisations, political leaders, editorials and features. It is evident from the newspapers reports and interview scheduled (editors and journalists) that coordination between media paid attention to the issues and tried to bring the problem in the forefront. The coordination between media and non-government organisations can be found that consultative programmes and discussions in public platform where programmes are organised by NGOs and advocacy of human rights groups. The observance of International Human Rights Day, International Women’s Day, observance of *Nupi Lan*, both by the state and non-state actors including armed groups based in Manipur are

evident. Observance of Minority Rights Day, conducting training programmes at educational institutions such as Manipur University's Centre for Human Rights Education and Duties, media and police workshops are initiatives of government. Conflict reporting workshops were journalists and government agencies gathered to discuss for better and effective reporting, keeping ethical codes in practice while newsgathering and presentation. People approach the human rights NGOs such as Human Rights Law Network, Human Rights Alert, Extra-Judicial Victims' Families Association, Manipur Alliance for Child Rights (MACR), Women Action for Development (WAD) and other government agencies such as Manipur Commission for Women Rights and National Commission for Protection of Child Rights (NCPCR) for any complaints and assistance.

Civil society are more or less independent and voluntary agencies between citizens and state that provide security for the individual and adequate democratic political process, provision for justice and protection of human rights. Media can be considered as one of the most potent institutions of the civil society (McQuail, 2010).

5.2 Conclusion

In a democratic society, press played very crucial role in shaping the society. People depended on the news, views and opinions provided by the newspapers. The media, particularly newspapers performed role of watchdog acts, challenges the government and various forms of hostile systems persist in the society. The study of newspapers coverage on human rights is an important task to understand the role of newspapers in promotion and protection of human rights in Manipur, where the existing conflict failed the people to enjoy their rights. It is critical to highlight the responsibility of press in taking up such issues to the forefront and make the public aware of their rights and to enlighten them to attain their basic rights. The mentioning of human rights terms and their frequencies, news on human rights and presentation of news from the human rights angle are taken as determining factors of the role of newspapers in safeguarding human rights. The positive terms, negative terms, neutral terms and various institutions and organisations pertaining to human rights are considered significant in order to understand the role of media and the stakeholders and human rights situation in the state.

The selected newspapers provided ample space on human rights news, features and editorials. *Poknapham* carried the maximum number of news and its sources are taken from staff reporters, meaning local news is very high in the said Manipuri newspapers. In English newspaper, *The Sangai Express* obtained the largest number of frequency of terms on human rights, followed by *Poknapham* (Manipuri) and the two newspapers are the most circulated newspapers of the state. However in terms of space and area, *Imphal Free Press* provides the maximum amount of area based on human rights with 37%. *The Sangai Express* published the highest number of feature articles with 52%, which means the experts and human rights protectors are English educated and elite of Manipuri society. The lowest is found in *Naharolgi Thoudang* with only 13%, *Poknapham*, which is the most circulated Manipur newspaper are just 15%, and *Imphal Free Press* with 20%. *Imphal Free Press* has the maximum of 37% of the editorials, which means that editors are sensitive towards the issue and in Manipur newspapers; *Naharolgi Thoudang* has

published 33% of editorials. *Poknapham* published the highest number of letter to editor with 60%, which indicates that reader's participation and reached out the medium to express their concern over human rights issues prevailing in the state. *Poknapham* published the highest representation of photographs with 37% and *Imphal Free Press* has the lowest representation of photographs with 16%.

The framing of the story is pro-democracy and pro-people focused on positive side of democracy, the Constitution and fundamentals principles of the United Nations and upholding the concept of human rights. The locally framed code of ethics by the All Manipur Working Journalists' Union (AMWJU) and ethical code of conduct provided under the guidelines of Press Council of India (PCI) are adopted in newspapers organisations after the media being questioned for its accountability in news presentation on sensitive issues. The publication and coverage of human rights is published with sensitivity, balanced and responsibility. Disclosing the names of victims and publication of photographs of victims is taken care of while publication of the news. The state's role and violent non-states' role in democracy found to be both negative and positive but they are motivated towards human rights issues. It is found that they formed a major source of news and most attributions are from advocacy, political leaders, government officials, press releases from government, non-governmental organisations and from violent non-state actors. Many journalists' feels that the human rights situation in the state is unfavorable despite decrease in the case of threats from both state and non-state actors. They often encountered problems both from state authorities and armed groups. In this situation, media organisations stand united to face any forms of threats and agitation against any diktats. Thus, it be concluded that newspapers in Manipur are committed towards human rights issues due to conflict situation despite lack of knowledge based on human rights concept. It is important to study and analyse effectiveness of human rights stories carry in newspapers.

5.3 Suggestions

The research study has attempted to analyse the role of newspapers in safeguarding human rights. Some suggestions are made for the following institutions and organisations, which are instruments of human rights for effective formulation and execution of policy and programmes to uphold and guarantee human rights.

5.3.1 Government Institutions

- I. The government of Manipur must revive the State Human Rights Commission, which have been defunct since 9/10/2010 (Business Standard (11 June 2013). Manipur Human Rights Defunct, NHRC urged to recall all cases).
- II. In 2016, the former Chief Minister assurance for the appointment of Manipur Human Rights Commission, but no step has been taken till date (Times of India, 30 March 2016). Despite assurance by CM, Manipur Human Rights Commission yet to be revived)
- III. There is a need for more initiative from the government in terms of training, awareness, research and advocacy on human rights including women's rights, child rights and rights of marginalized sections, right to education, right to food etc.
- IV. Review of Armed Forces Special Powers Act (AFSPA) for fulfillment and to guarantee human rights to the people.
- V. Government must give protection to media persons at the time of covering human rights related news.
- VI. Government must not interfere in the presentation of news based on human rights.
- VII. Government departments pertaining to social welfare of women and children must play a proactive role in safeguarding rights of women and children.

5.3.2 Human Rights Defenders/ Activists

- I. Human Rights activists must also raise their voices against various human rights issues such as right to food, right to health and sanitation, right to excess safe drinking water so on and so forth.
- II. Human rights activists must conduct awareness programmes, training and workshops on regular basis.
- III. Complaint cells must open at their offices 24/7.

5.3.3 Media Organisations

- I. Media organisations must follow set of guidelines for better presentation of human rights issues
- II. Human rights reporting have to be taken care of so as to avoid any violation of rights of the victims of sexual crimes.
- III. Specialized beats should be given to reporters and provide them useful resources to cover human rights news.
- IV.

5.3.4 For Future Studies and Research

- I. There is ample scope and need to conduct extensive research on issues related to human rights.
- II. The study suggests to interested researchers for planning research studies on human rights and weaker sections of society.
- III. The researcher finds scope to carry studies on human rights, policy framing, media activism and human rights, human rights, media and ethnic violence.
- IV. The researcher also suggests to explored rights and development, human rights and ideal democracy, human rights and fundamental rights, human rights and good governance and human rights and empowerment of women, minority and marginalized sections of society.