**THE CONTRIBUTION OF MEDIA IN THE PROMOTION OF FREEDOM OF EXPRESSIONIN UGANDA:**

**A CASE OF KAMPALA CENTRAL DIVISION**

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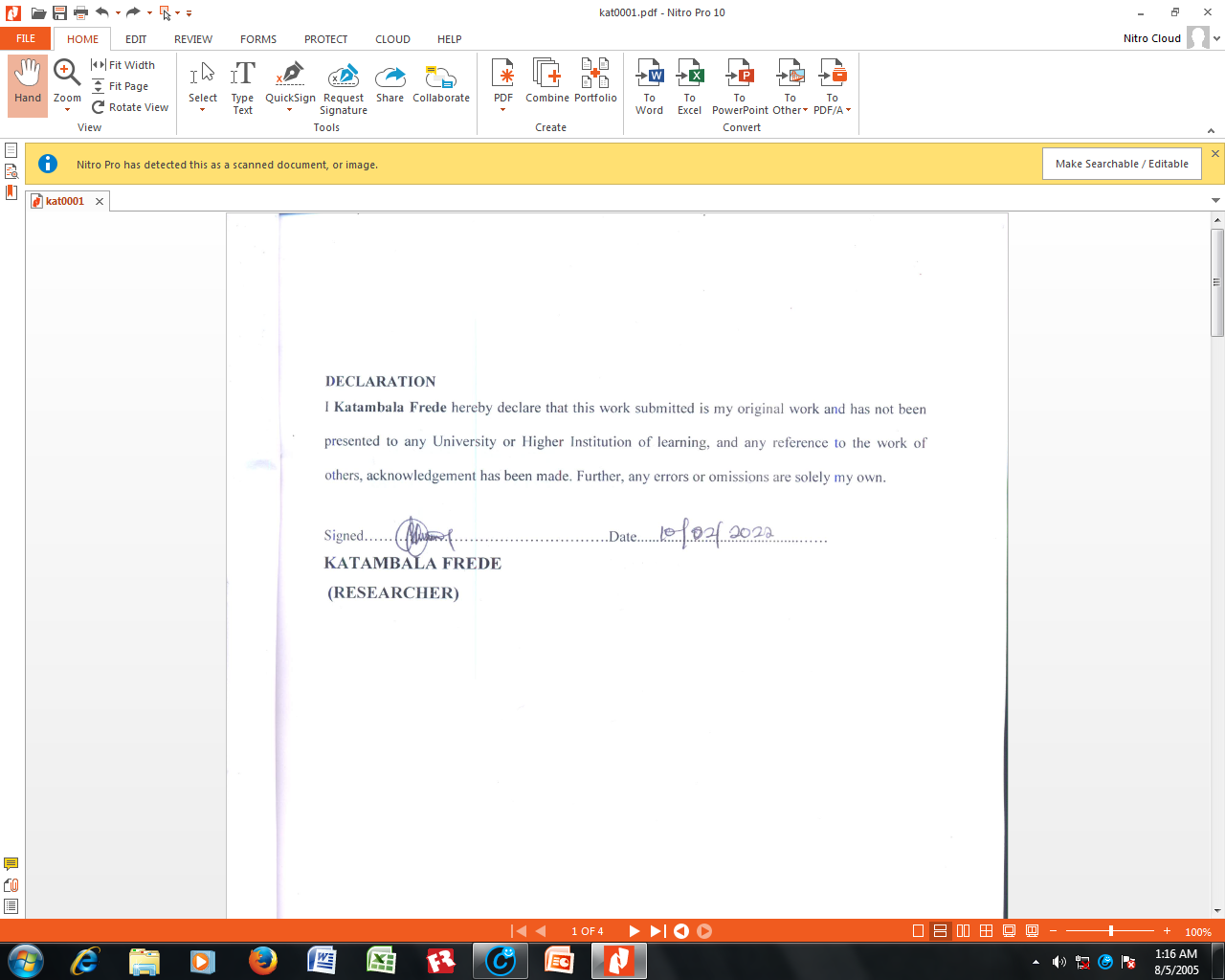
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**JANUARY, 2022**

# DECLARATION

I **Katambala Frede**hereby declare that this work submitted is my original work and has not been presented to any University or Higher Institution of learning, and any reference to the work of others, acknowledgement has been made. Further, any errors or omissions are solely my own.



**KATAMBALA FREDE**

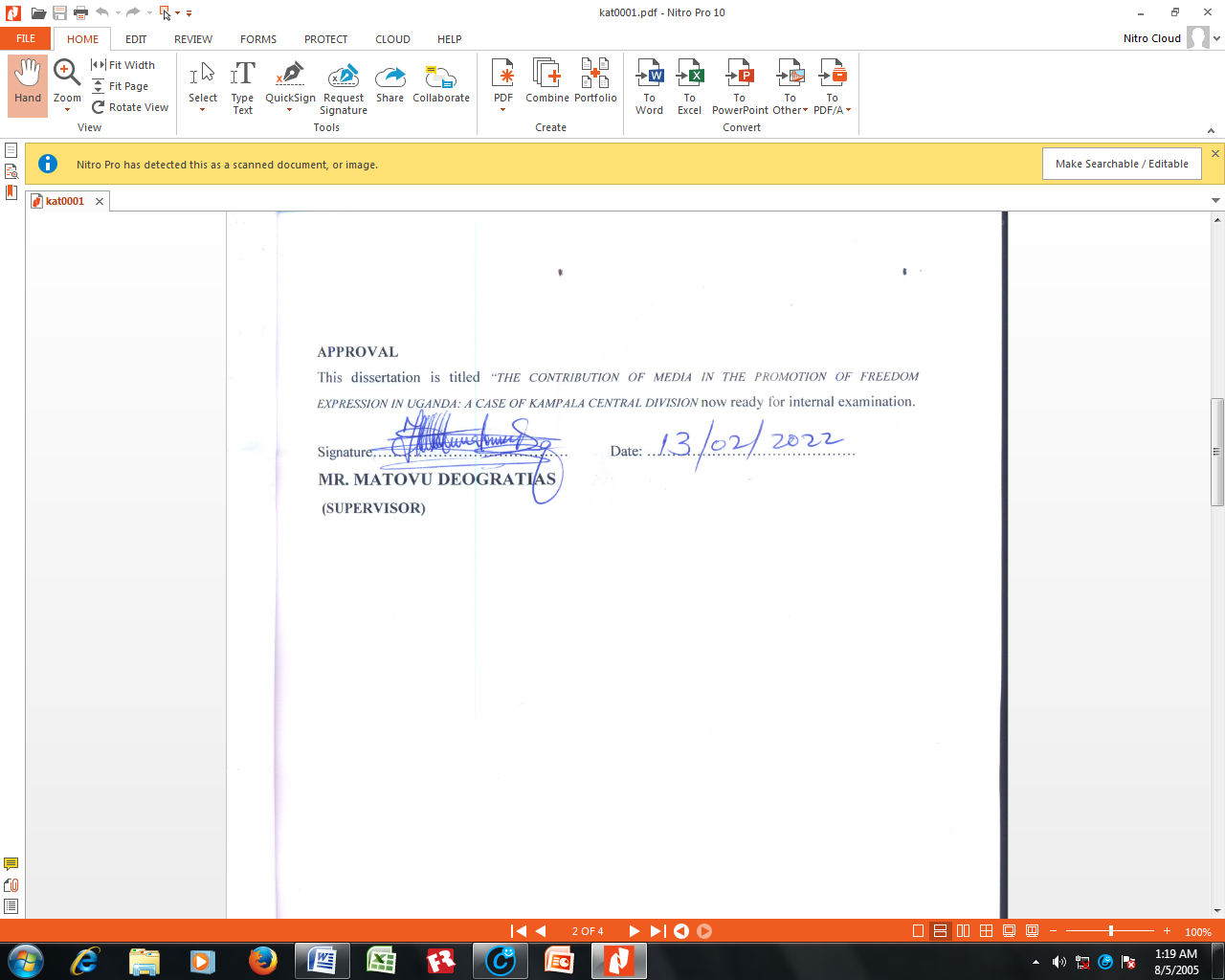
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# APPROVAL

This dissertation is titled *“THE CONTRIBUTION OF MEDIA IN THE PROMOTION OF FREEDOM EXPRESSIONIN UGANDA:A CASE OF KAMPALA CENTRAL DIVISION* now ready for internal examination.



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# DEDICATION

I dedicate dissertation to my beloved parents Mr. and Mrs. Lule Julius who cherished education and made me able to reach this far.

My dear wife, children and family who have never left my side and are very special, I also dedicate this dissertation to my many friends especially Katamba Joseph and Joseph M. Brown who have supported me throughout the process.

# 

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# Table of contents

[DECLARATION ii](#_Toc91162986)

[APPROVAL iii](#_Toc91162987)

[DEDICATION iv](#_Toc91162988)

[ACKNOWLEDGEMENT v](#_Toc91162989)

[TABLE OF CONTENTS vi](#_Toc91162990)

[LIST OF TABLES xii](#_Toc91162991)

[LIST OF FIGURE viiii](#_Toc91162992)

[CHAPTER ONE 1](#_Toc91162994)

[GENERAL INTRODUCTION 1](#_Toc91162995)

[1.0 Introduction 1](#_Toc91162996)

[1.1 Background to the study 1](#_Toc91162998)

[1.1.1 Historical perspective 1](#_Toc91163000)

[1.1.2 Theoretical perspective 5](#_Toc91163002)

[1.1.3 Conceptual perspective 5](#_Toc91163003)

[1.1.4 Contextual perspective 7](#_Toc91163011)

[1.2 Problem Statement 10](#_Toc91163023)

[1.3 Purpose of the Study 11](#_Toc91163024)

[1.4 Objectives of the study 11](#_Toc91163025)

[1.5 Research Questions 11](#_Toc91163026)

[1.6 Scope of the study 12](#_Toc91163027)

[1.6.1 Geographical scope 12](#_Toc91163028)

[1.6.2 Content scope 12](#_Toc91163029)

[1.7 Significance of the Study 12](#_Toc91163030)

[1.8 Justification of the Study 13](#_Toc91163031)

[1.9 Arrangement of the study 13](#_Toc91163034)

[CHAPTER TWO 15](#_Toc91163035)

[LITERATURE REVIEW 15](#_Toc91163036)

[2.0 Introduction 15](#_Toc91163037)

[2.1 Literature survey 15](#_Toc91163038)

[2.2 Theoretical framework 17](#_Toc91163042)

[2.2.1 Libertarian Press Theory 17](#_Toc91163044)

[2.2.2 Joel Feinberg's Offense Principle theory 22](#_Toc91163045)

[2.3 Literature review 23](#_Toc91163046)

[2.3. 1 Media and Freedom of expression 23](#_Toc91163047)

[2.3.2 The influence of media on freedom of expression 29](#_Toc91163071)

[2.3.2 The existing strategies for enhancing media to promote freedom of expression 40](#_Toc91163101)

[2.4 Conceptual framework 51](#_Toc91163102)

[CHAPTER THREE 52](#_Toc91163109)

[RESEARCH METHODOLOGY 52](#_Toc91163110)

[3.1 Introduction 52](#_Toc91163111)

[3.2 Research Design 52](#_Toc91163112)

[3.3 Study Population 52](#_Toc91163113)

[3.4 Sample Size 52](#_Toc91163114)

[3.5 Sampling Techniques (Purposive and Simple Random Sampling) 53](#_Toc91163115)

[3.5.1 Simple random sampling 54](#_Toc91163116)

[3.5.2 Purposive sampling 54](#_Toc91163117)

[3.6 Data Collection Methods (Questionnaire Surveys and Interview Methods) 54](#_Toc91163118)

[3.6.2 Interview 55](#_Toc91163119)

[3.6.3 Questionnaire / Survey method 55](#_Toc91163120)

[3.7 Data Collection Tools/Instrument 55](#_Toc91163121)

[3.7.1 Self-administered questionnaire 55](#_Toc91163122)

[3.7.2 Interview guide 56](#_Toc91163123)

[3.8 Data Quality Control 56](#_Toc91163124)

[3.8.1 Reliability 56](#_Toc91163125)

[3.8.2Validity 57](#_Toc91163126)

[3.9 Data Collection procedure 58](#_Toc91163127)

[3.10 Data presentation and analysis 58](#_Toc91163128)

[3.11 Measurement of variables 58](#_Toc91163129)

[3.11.1Likert Scale 58](#_Toc91163130)

[3.12 Ethical Considerations 59](#_Toc91163131)

[CHAPTER FOUR 60](#_Toc91163132)

[PRESENTATION, ANALYSIS, INTERPRETATION AND DISCUSSION OF THE FINDINGS 60](#_Toc91163133)

[4.0 Introduction 60](#_Toc91163134)

[4.1 Response Rate 60](#_Toc91163135)

[4.1 Respondents’ bio-data 60](#_Toc91163136)

[4.2 The nature of freedom of expression in Kampala Central Division 63](#_Toc91163137)

[4.2.1 Free press expression in the news papers 66](#_Toc91163138)

[4.2.2 Limited censorship of press articles by the local government and the central government 66](#_Toc91163139)

[4.2.3 People use the internet platforms to express their political views 67](#_Toc91163140)

[4.2.4 Political debates are held on Television by political activists and politicians 67](#_Toc91163141)

[4.2.5 Political debates are held on Radio (Radio Talk Shows) by political activists and politicians 68](#_Toc91163142)

[4.2.6 Rallies are held by political activists 68](#_Toc91163143)

[4.2.7 There are strikes when there is political disharmony between the government and opposition 69](#_Toc91163144)

[4.2.8 Often demonstrations are held for political disharmony 70](#_Toc91163145)

[4.2.9 Callers-in are allowed during the exchange of political views 70](#_Toc91163146)

[4.2.10 Activists participate in political activities and debates 71](#_Toc91163147)

[4.2.11 Education institutions in the area engage in media and political activities 71](#_Toc91163148)

[4.2.12 Local government leaders engage in politicking 72](#_Toc91163149)

[4.3 The influence of media on promotion of freedom of expression in Kampala Central Division. 72](#_Toc91163150)

[4.3.1 More political participation from among the youths who have found interest in participating in media and politics 77](#_Toc91163151)

[4.3.2 More political participation from among the women who have found interest in participating in freedom of expression campaigns 77](#_Toc91163152)

[4.3.3 More political participation from the general populace who have found interest in participating in freedom of expression campaigns 78](#_Toc91163153)

[4.3.4 Regular elections enable many people to take part in the freedom of expression campaigns of their society 78](#_Toc91163154)

[4.3.5 Many people interested in politics are taking part in freedom of expression campaigns activities in the society 79](#_Toc91163155)

[4.3.6 More freedom of expression campaigns publications for the public to read 79](#_Toc91163156)

[4.3.7 Many political activists are able to express their views locally and internationally 80](#_Toc91163157)

[4.3.8 The state machinations block media from openly organizing their activities which is weakening freedom of expression. 81](#_Toc91163158)

[4.3.9 The state ensures that those in media analysts get limited or no time on air to express their views 81](#_Toc91163159)

[4.3.10 Participation by the civil society organizations in developing and scrutinizing freedom of expression 81](#_Toc91163160)

[4.3.11Various communication platforms have given chance to local people and local leaders to engage in governance decision making 82](#_Toc91163161)

[4.3.12 Leadership of Kampala Capital City Authority and Kampala Central Division engage in media dialogue for effective governance decision making 83](#_Toc91163162)

[4.3.13 Trading organizations engaged in freedom of expression 83](#_Toc91163163)

[4.3.14 well established Local Council systems which depicts the high growth of democratic freedom of expression in the area 84](#_Toc91163164)

[4.4 The existing strategies for enhancing media and freedom of expression in Kampala Central Division 84](#_Toc91163165)

[4.4.1 Enactment and enforcement of international human right instruments to protect and respect fundamental rights of human beings for promotion of freedom of expression 87](#_Toc91163168)

[4.4.2 Promoting access to communication resources is being promoted 88](#_Toc91163169)

[4.4.3 There is intensification of new forms of digital social media for effective development of freedom of expression 89](#_Toc91163170)

[4.4.4 The digital communication channels are more accessible, open, transparent and ultimately democratic 89](#_Toc91163171)

[4.4.5 The print communication channels ensure effective communicating and widespread sharing of ideas in leadership 90](#_Toc91163172)

[4.4.6 Focusing efforts on the social media has reduced the cost of information creation and communication so it can reach all people cheaply 90](#_Toc91163173)

[4.4.7 The state utilizes the media outlets to promote its political programmes among the citizens as service consumers 91](#_Toc91163174)

[4.4.8 The media is used to fight the expression involving hate speeches in order to consolidate democratic values in society 91](#_Toc91163175)

[4.4.9 The media is used to fight political violence in the area 92](#_Toc91163176)

[4.4.10 The media is used to fight local and international terrorism 92](#_Toc91163177)

[4.4.11 Existing freedom of expression systems ensures individuals’ access to communication technologies and media is among the top public policy priorities 92](#_Toc91163178)

[4.4.12 Promotion of the right to freedom of opinion and expression by holding opinions without interference 93](#_Toc91163179)

[CHAPTER FIVE 94](#_Toc91163180)

[SUMMARY, CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS 94](#_Toc91163181)

[5.0 Introduction 94](#_Toc91163182)

[5.1.3 The existing strategies for enhancing media and to promote freedom of expression in Kampala Central Division 97](#_Toc91163183)

[5.1 Summary 98](#_Toc91163184)

[5.1.1 The nature of freedom of expression in Kampala Central Division 98](#_Toc91163185)

[5.1.2 The influence of media in promoting freedom of expression in Kampala Central Division 100](#_Toc91163186)

[5.1.3 The existing strategies for enhancing media to promote freedom of expression in Kampala Central Division. 102](#_Toc91163187)

[5.2 Conclusion of the findings 103](#_Toc91163188)

[5.2.1 The nature of freedom of expression in Kampala Central Division 103](#_Toc91163189)

[5.2.2 The influence of media in promoting freedom of expression in Kampala Central Division 104](#_Toc91163190)

[5.2.3 The existing strategies for enhancing media to promote freedom of expression in Kampala Central Division 105](#_Toc91163191)

[REFERENCES 108](#_Toc91163192)

[APPENDICES 112](#_Toc91163193)

[APPENDIX 1: SURVEY QUESTIONNAIRE 112](#_Toc91163194)

[APPENDIX 2: INTERVIEW GUIDE 118](#_Toc91163195)

[APPENDIX 3: OBSERVATION SCHEDULE 120](#_Toc91163196)

# LIST OF TABLES

[Table 3.1: Sample size and sampling techniques 53](#_Toc51774815)

[Table 4.1: Gender 60](#_Toc51774816)

[Table 4.2: Age Group of the Respondents 61](#_Toc51774817)

[Table 4.3 Level of education level 61](#_Toc51774818)

[Table 4.4: Nature of work one is engaged in 61](#_Toc51774819)

[Table 4.5: Length of time you have known the existence of freedom of expression 62](#_Toc51774820)

[Table 4.6: The ways in which freedom of expression is promoted 62](#_Toc51774821)

[Table 4.7: The forms of media used for freedom of expression in the area 63](#_Toc51774822)

[Table4.8: The nature of freedom of expression in Kampala Central Division (2016-2019) 63](#_Toc51774823)

[Table 4.9: Descriptive Statistics 64](#_Toc51774824)

[Table 4.10: The influence of freedom of expression on democracy in Kampala Central Division (2016-2019) 73](#_Toc51774825)

[Table4.11: Descriptive Statistics on the influence of freedom of expression on democracy in Kampala Central Division (2016-2019) 75](#_Toc51774826)

[Table 4.13: The existing strategies for enhancing freedom of expression in order to boost democracy in Kampala Central Division (2016-2019) 85](#_Toc51774827)

[Table4.14: Descriptive Statistics on the existing strategies for enhancing freedom of expression in order to boost democracy in Kampala Central Division (2016-2019) 86](#_Toc51774828)

# List of figure

[Figure 12.1 Conceptual framework 51](#_Toc51774080)

**ABSTRACT**

# The study was about the contribution of media in the promotion of freedom of expression in Uganda, a case of Kampala Central Division, and was guided by the following objectives; (i) To analyze the nature of freedom of expression in Kampala Central Division, (ii) To establish the influence of media in the promotion of freedom of expression in Kampala Central Division, and (iii) To identify the existing strategies for enhancing media in the promotion of freedom of expression in Kampala Central Division

After giving an elaborate background and literature review, this largely qualitative obtained data from 63 respondents. The study discovered that freedom of expression is accepted though there are some state interference with the flow and dissemination of information. The freedom of expression is seen in use of newspapers, social media, online TVs, online newspapers, and other necessary platforms. There is political participation from all gender groups and all sections of the population at both local and state levels. Various posts for elective politics exist in the Division’s local and parliamentary elections as well as presidential levels, running open campaigns and so on. The study found out that Uganda has ratified several international human rights instrument right from the 1948 Universal Declaration of Human Rights, and has domesticated than as well as making her own laws in respect to promotion of freedom of expression for example Articles 29 of the 1995 Constitution of Uganda stipulates that everyone has the right to freedom of expression. This right shall include freedom to hold opinions and to receive and impart information’s and ideas without interference by public authority and regardless of frontiers. in Uganda power belongs to the people, and the formation and establishment of the Uganda Human Rights Commission under Articles 51, 52 and 53 promotes the observance and enforcement of human rights, chief of which is the freedom of expression. Much as freedom of expression comes to the detriment of the hopes to keep people obliged to its mandate and realize only the fruitfulness of its agenda, the rise of democracy demands that all including opposition and non-state actors are allowed to freely express their views through the available media.

The study recommends that the government should allow non-violent political activism which is not a threat to national security but promotes democratic understanding in the area, both the local and state governments should ensure rightful democratic practices to safeguard their interests and those of the public through transparent, proportional and effective elections and allow for expression of democratic views and set minimum standards for political sanity through promotion of trustable regulations, laws and privacy protections, since when well run, have important consequences for freedom of expression in a democracy .

# CHAPTER ONE

# GENERAL INTRODUCTION

# 1.0 Introduction

# The study was about the contribution of media in the promotion of freedom of expression in Uganda, a case of Kampala Central Division. This chapter contains the background study, problem statement, general objective of the study, research questions, research objectives, significance of the study, hypothesis of the study, scope of the study, definition of operational terms.

# 1.1 Background to the study

# Freedom of expression as a fundamental right is proclaimed inArticle 19 of Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UDHR), whereby it includes freedom to hold opinions without interference and to seek, receive and impart information and ideas through any media regardless of frontiers. This right has been limited by Art.29 of UDHR, although the UDHR does not directly create legal binding obligations on a State as such. However, parts of its provisions including Article 19 constitute general principle of law and widely acquired legal force as a customary law since its adoption in 1948 and it is considered as authoritative guide to human rights by General Assembly and by many jurists as a part of law of United Nation. In a similar way this right has been explained in Article 19 of the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights (ICCPR) which is a legally binding treaty on member states. The ICCPR calls on all state parties to respect and ensure to all individuals within their territories and subject to their jurisdiction the rights in the Covenant as well as to take necessary steps in accordance with their constitutional process to adopt such laws or other measure to give effect the covenant.

# 1.1.1 Historical perspective

Article 19 of 1948 Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UDHR) proclaims the right to freedom of expression as a fundamental right whereby it includes freedom to hold opinions without interference and to seek receive and impart information and ideas through any media regardless of frontiers. This right has been limited by Art.29 of UDHR;although the UDHR does not directly create legal binding obligations on a State as such. However, parts of its provisions including Article 19 constitute general principle of law and widely acquired legal force as a customary law since its adoption in 1948 and it is considered as authoritative guide to human rights by General Assembly and by many jurists as a part of law of United Nation.

According to John Milton, Areopagitica, (1644), Freedom of expression is considered one of the most fundamental of all freedoms. While it is of dubious value to rate one freedom over another, freedom of expression is indubitably one of the basic foundations of democracy a core freedom without which democracy could not exist.

Until the 20th century, formal censorship not freedom of expression was the practice of most governments. Autocrats frequently imprisoned critics, shut down the presses, forced authors into exile, or censored written and artistic works, all with the aim of preventing criticism, limiting debate, and maintaining or expanding their power. Intellectuals, artists, and public citizens tested the limits of accepted speech, often successfully, but many times with severe consequences.

As Freedom House’s Freedom of the Press annual report notes, this standard is practiced in the breach by a growing number of countries in the world today (it lists 130 "partly free" or "not free" countries in its 2016 report, representing 88 percent of the world's population).

Freedom of expression, from the perspective of liberal rights jurisprudence, is said to have developed from the notion of tolerance. According to Groffier, religious persecution and wars became a common feature of life in France and some other Western European states in the 17th century in the name of the Inquisition. The Inquisition was carried out by the Catholic Church against infidels who would not succumb to the catholic faith. The Catholic Church was given similar support in England by Queen Mary Tudor and her successors to clamp down on Infidels. Things began to take a new turn, however, from the time of Cromwell in 1650, probably triggered off by the unlicensed publication of John Milton's Areopagitica in 1644. Milton’s publication is said to have initiated the flourishing of freedom of thought, opinion, press and expression.

There was a subsequent development of an enlightened public opinion which helped to accelerate the level of religious tolerance in England and enabled English writers to write on the subject of tolerance. However, French writers were to wait till 1685 when the Edit of Nantes was revoked. Freedom to express and disseminate one’s opinion is a demand of the European enlightenment on the State which took its root initially in England within the framework of common law precedents.

At the end of the 18th century, freedom of expression of opinion expanded through the first basic rights proclamations. In the context of English legal position, section 12 of the Virginia Bill of Rights, 1776, declared that the freedom of the press is one of the great bulwarks of liberty and can never be restrained by despotic Governments. Contrary to the English tradition of Parliamentary supremacy, the 1stAmendment of the Constitution of United States binds Parliament also. The Congress shall make no law abridging the freedom of speech or of the press. in Article II of the French Declaration of the Rights of Man and of the Citizen, 1789, in the sense of enlightenment, the freedom of opinion was proclaimed as a human right “the unrestrained communication of thoughts or opinions being one of the most precious right of man. Every citizen may speak, write and publish freely, provided he be responsible for the abuse of this liberty, in the cases determined by law.

In the 19thcentury, the German States guaranteed freedom of opinion in their constitutions within the framework of general criminal laws mostly by express prohibition of subjecting the press to censor. The Federal Constitutional Court has held that for a free democratic State the basic right to freedom of expression of opinion is an “essential constituent because only it enables permanent intellectual discussion, i.e. combat of opinions which are its life breath.”

According to Abraham Lincoln, the democracy is Government by the people, for the people and of the people. But there can be no Government by the people if they are ignorant of the issues to be resolved, the arguments for and against different solutions and the facts underlying those arguments. Thus, it is the people who are the sovereign in a democracy.

The United Nations convened a Conference at Geneva in 1948 on the subject matter of Freedom of Information which was attended by 54 countries. It passed a series of resolutions for further consideration by the United Nations which ultimately led the General Assembly of the United Nations to declare Freedom of Information a fundamental human right. The Universal Declaration of Human Rights particularly in its Article 19 states that “everyone has right to freedom of opinion and expression; this right includes freedom to hold opinion without interference and to seek, receive and import information and ideas through media and regardless of frontiers.”12 The plenary words of these proclamations signify both democratic and people oriented right in one hand and also signify the right to information on the other. In 1960, the Economic & Social council of the United Nations adopted a derivative from Article 19 of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights in 1948.

Sweden became the first country in the world to enact a provision for access to official information for the citizens. The Rome Convention for the Protection of Human Rights and Fundamental Freedoms, 1950,and came into force on 3rd September, 1953; and particularly Article 10, which spells the freedom of expression states that (i) everyone has the right to freedom of expression. This right shall include freedom to hold opinions and to receive and impart information’s and ideas without interference by public authority and regardless of frontiers.

This Article shall not prevent states from requiring the licensing of broadcasting, television or cinema enterprises, and (ii) the exercise of these freedoms since it carries with its duties and responsibilities may be subject to such formalities, conditions, restrictions or penalties as are prescribed by law and are necessary in a democratic society, in the interest of national security, territorial integrity or public safety, for the prevention of disorder or crime, for the protection of health or morals, for the protection of the reputation or right of others, for preventing the disclosure of information received in confidence, or for maintaining the authority and impartiality of judiciary.

# According to Patrick Henry 1799, freedom of expression is regarded as the first condition of liberty. It occupies a preferred and important position in the hierarchy of the liberty, it is truly said about the freedom of speech that it is the mother of all other liberties. In modern time it is widely accepted that the right to freedom of speech is the essence of free society and it must be safeguarded at all time. The first principle of a free society is an untrammeled flow of words in an open forum. Liberty to express opinions and ideas without hindrance and especially without fear of punishment plays significant role in the development of that particular society and ultimately for that state.It is one of the most important fundamental liberties guaranteed against state suppression or regulation. The rights conferred under Article 19 of the Constitution are the rights of free man. These are natural law or common law rights and not created by a statute. As such every citizen is entitled to exercise such rights provided conditions to be imposed whenever so required by the State.

Scanlon (1979), however, revises his autonomy argument in his later work and thereby gives room for a limitation on freedom of expression in some respects. He also posits different categories of expression which affects participant, audience and bystander interests. Barendt seems tosum up this latter work of Scanlon thus: In a more recent article, he (Scanlon) has doubted whether the audience's interest in having a good environment for the formation of its attitudes really justifies the broad autonomous principle. Some restrictions on free speech, for example, on saturation advertising by a candidate for office, could be justified in order to foster a climate for rational thought by the public.

# 1.1.2 Theoretical perspective

This study was guided by the theory of Scanlon 1979 who has contributed to the freedom of expression debate. He refers to his theory as the Millian Principle which is premised on the autonomy principle: that autonomy involves the freedom to analyze arguments in order to determine what cause of action to take. Scanlon's original idea was that government needs not impose any restriction on speech simply on the assumption that speech leads to the formation of harmful beliefs or trigger harmful acts as a result of these beliefs. This leads to the formulation of the MillianPrinciple: There are certain harms which, although they would not occur for certain acts of expression, nonetheless cannot be taken as part of a justification for legal restrictions on these acts. These harms are: (a) harms to certain individuals which consist in their coming to have false beliefs as a result of those acts of expression, (b) harmful consequences of acts performed as a result of those acts of expression, where the connection between the acts of expression and the subsequent harmful acts consists merely in the fact that the act of expression led the agents to believe (or increased their tendency to believe) these acts to be worth performing.

# 1.1.3 Conceptual perspective

# Freedom of expression includes the freedom to hold, share and explore opinions and ideas. This includes the right for individuals to express their views through public protest and demonstration, and so this right is closely related to the right to peaceful assembly. Freedom of expression offers protection for types of discourse, including political and religious, as well as enabling cultural and artistic expression. Freedom of expression is fundamental for the enjoyment of other rights such as the right to vote (United Nations, 2006). Furthermore, freedom of association is crucial to the functioning of a democracy and is related to freedom of peaceful assembly. It protects the right to form and be part of democratic institutions such as political parties, trade unions, NGOs, religious organizations and other associations.

# Freedom of peaceful assembly, freedom of expression and freedom of association are the foundations of a democratic, tolerant and pluralist society in which individuals and groups with different backgrounds and beliefs can interact peacefully with one another (UN General Assembly, 2016). As such, they enable the enjoyment of other fundamental rights, including the right to freedom of religion or belief. They can help give voice to minority opinions and support the voices of marginalised or underrepresented groups to be heard.

# The exercise of freedom of expression guaranteed by Article 10 of the European Convention on Human Rights, and beyond the specific notions and tools of the legal tradition in member States, one of the key issues is to define how the system of the Convention can best defeat these challenges, which are increased due to the ever accelerating progress of technology.

# Democracies understand that one of their prime functions is to protect such basic human rights as freedom of speech and religion; the right to equal protection under law; and the opportunity to organize and participate fully in the political, economic, and cultural life of society.Democracies conduct regular free and fair elections open to citizens of voting age. Citizens in a democracy have not only rights, but also the responsibility to participate in the political system that, in turn, protects their rights and freedoms (David F. J., 2004). Democratic societies are committed to the values of tolerance, cooperation, and compromise. In the words of Mahatma Gandhi, Intolerance is itself a form of violence and an obstacle to the growth of a true democratic spirit.

# Freedom of opinion and expression are fundamental rights that contain both a personal and a social dimension. They are considered “indispensable conditions for the full development of the person, essential for any society and a foundation stone for every free and democratic society (UN Human Rights Committee, 2011). All forms of communication are protected, including political discourse, commentary on one’s own and on public affairs, canvassing, discussion of human rights, journalism, cultural and artistic expression, teaching and religious discourse (UN Human Rights Committee, 2011). Under the ICCPR, freedom of expression includes the freedom to seek, receive and impart information and ideas of all kinds, regardless of frontiers, either orally, in writing or in print, in the form of art, or through any other media of a person’s choice (United Nations, 1966, Article 19(2)). This protects expression in all forms, including spoken, written and sign language, and non-verbal expressions through artworks (UN Human Rights Committee, 2011).

# Freedom of peaceful assembly, freedom of expression and freedom of association are fundamental rights that form the foundations of democratic societies. They are at the heart of an active and free civil society and they allow citizens to engage in issues that affect them (Triggs, G., 2011). Freedom of peaceful assembly enables individuals to express themselves as part of a collective, including by engaging in public marches, protests, pickets and demonstrations. Assemblies can be platforms to advocate for change and for people to raise awareness about the issues that matter to them, whether it relates to human rights or otherwise. Assemblies often also have symbolic importance, such as in commemorating particular events or marking significant anniversaries.

# According to Roth (2004), states have an obligation to ensure that the right to freedom of assembly is protected, including when those who assemble protest against public policies and challenge the State. The State cannot interfere with the right to peaceful assembly simply because it disagrees with the protesters’ views, and must ensure that the right is enjoyed equally by all groups, without discrimination on any ground. Effective protection of the right to freedom of peaceful assembly strengthens democracies. It helps foster a culture of open democracy, enables non-violent participation in public affairs, and invigorates discussions on important issues. Public assemblies also help to promote good governance by providing opportunities for the public to hold to account people and organizations with power, including corporate entities, public bodies and government officials.

# 1.1.4 Contextual perspective

# Howie (2017) noted that since its inclusion in Article 19 of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, the right to freedom of opinion and expression has been protected in all of the relevant international human rights treaties. In international law, freedom to express opinions and ideas is considered essential at both an individual level, insofar as it contributes to the full development of a person, and being a foundation stone of democratic society. Free speech is a necessary precondition to the enjoyment of other rights, such as the right to vote, free assembly and freedom of association, and is essential to ensure press freedom. However, there is a clear and worrying global trend, including in western democracies, of governments limiting vibrant discussion and debate within civil society and among civil society, political leaders and government. Two examples illustrate this trend. Furthermore, anti-protest laws in Australia and the United States threaten the ability of people to stand together and express views on issues they care deeply about, and also from the metadata retention laws jeopardize press freedom by undermining the confidentiality of journalists’ sources and dissuading people from speaking freely on matters of public importance.

# Uganda has been able to pass the major laws that ensure protection of human rights and ratified eight of the nine international conventions/ treaties. Particularly the 1995 Constitution of the Republic of Uganda is the supreme law and provides a Bill of rights under chapter 4. The constitution created the Uganda Human Rights Commission (UHRC), as the national human rights institution charged with the promotion and protection of human rights. In addition to the promotion and advisory mandate, the UHRC has quasi-judicial powers to investigate and judiciously rule on human rights violations. The biggest challenge facing the Commission, however, is the failure by the State to adequately fund the commission and implement orders and awards of the court.

# That notwithstanding, the few achievements are faced with erosion as the state holds onto a grip of the legislature passing draconian laws that affect or threaten the basic human rights like the Public Order Management Act, The NGO Act, The Press and Journalist Act and the, The Reg. Interception of communications Act, The Computer Misuse Act, The Anti Terrorism Act, the Police Act (which of late has been the tool being used by the police to prohibit freedom of assembly) and a host of others including disrespect to judicial decisions and continued harassment and intimidation of journalists.

# Uganda has over the years moved from a period of instabilities to a relatively peaceful era being experienced today. The human rights situation on the other hand can be described as comprising of ‘the good; the bad; and the ugly’. Whereas the early years of the NRM regime saw a progressive improvement in the human rights situation with the promulgation of the 1995 Constitution of the Republic of Uganda, recent developments witnessed in 2011 in particular leave a lot to be desired. The post election period has ushered into the country a feeling of uncertainty characterized by increased infringement and violation of human rights through draconian laws that have greatly curtailed the enjoyment of human rights and the work/space for the human rights defenders/ journalists getting to an ever shrinking and sinking edge. The Uganda Constitution guarantees freedom of expression which shall include freedom of the media. However in the first half of this year 2012, trends show that the threats to these fundamental freedoms are glaring as journalists continue to be harassed and attacked by the very people who are supposed to protect them (Bernard Tabaire, 2007).

# Under Uganda’s previous dictatorships following independence, and particularly during the murderous rule of Idi Amin, there was little respect for human rights or freedom of expression, either in law or practice. After Yoweri Museveni seized power in 1986, his government eased repression, adopted a constitution protecting some human rights, and allowed independent media to develop to an unusual degree for a non-democratic regime. But Museveni’s increasingly authoritarian rule has put additional restrictions and constant pressure on the media, as well as on opposition political groups, independent groups, and alternative social movements (Peterson, 2006).

# As Uganda plans for general elections in 2011, freedom of expression across the country was in significant jeopardy. On a superficial level, Ugandan media seem to enjoy considerable latitude, especially those based in Kampala, which regularly carry a range of opinions, including occasional criticism of government policies (BBC News (2013). In reality, however, as Human Rights Watch had found, genuinely free and independent journalism was under threat, particularly outside the capital. The government was deploying a wide range of tactics to stifle critical reporting, from occasional physical violence to threats, harassment, bureaucratic interference, and criminal charges. Increasing use of these tactics during the political unrest in September 2009, and in the run-up to the February 2011 vote, threatened to fatally undermine media freedoms necessary for a free and fair election.

# However this has changed over time the recent concluded elections of 2021 saw extreme abuse of them media, many reporters were seen being brutalized by the armed forces in the disguise of implementing the Covid 19 regulations, this is total abuse of human rights and thus undermines the media in promoting freedom of expression.

# Uganda has notionally had open multiparty politics since 2005, after 19 years of de facto one-party rule under the National Resistance Movement (NRM), led by President Yoweri Museveni who took power in 1986. Political parties now actively vie for public support, hold rallies, and promote candidates for public office. But this process of opening up political space has been extremely uneven in practice and has resulted in increasingly arbitrary state attacks on the media but also opposition parties not being allowed to assemble as the ruling party faces more and more public and open criticism (Freedom of the Press, 2014). Since the previous political campaigns in 2005, at least 40 criminal charges have been levied against journalists and talk show panelists.

# The government-sanctioned media clampdown during and after the September riots and the criminal charges levied against numerous print journalists appear to have led local government officials and NRM party operatives to believe they should take similar action. Human Rights Watch (2010),research found that journalists based in rural districts are increasingly subjected to intimidation, threats, charges, and, to a lesser extent, physical attacks while trying to report on local political matters.

# Ugandan government authorities use these laws not to safeguard national security, but rather to stifle speech. For example, a reporter in Gulu district was charged with criminal libel for writing an article on public allegations of corruption by a deputy resident district commissioner, despite the fact that the reporter sought comment from the commissioner himself and then quoted him in the article. Another journalist was charged with sedition for commenting on radio that President Museveni had a “poor quality upbringing.”

# It’s against this background therefore that the research intends to assess the contribution of media in the promotion of freedom of expression in Uganda, focusing on Kampala central division,

# 1.2 Problem Statement

Freedom of expression isthe fundamental right that is recognized under the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UDHR), the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights (ICCPR), the African Charter on Human and Peoples’ Rights (ACHPR) andat the national level, the freedom expression is guaranteed under the Constitution of the Republic of Uganda 1995. The freedom of expression has three fundamental aspects the right to seek, receive and impart information regardless of frontiers. The right is exercised through free speech, press freedom and access to information.

According to Human Rights Network for Journalists report July 2012 despite the provisions, the country is experiencing a contradiction in the policy with a number of other policies limiting freedom of expression, a case in point are directives from UCCOn 30 April 2019, issuing worrisome directives to seven radio stations and six television stations ordering management of the media houses to immediately suspend Producers, Heads of News, and Heads of Programmes, pending investigations of alleged “repeated breach of the minimum broadcasting standards. (31st April Daily monitor).

Although the Uganda Communications Act of 2013 empowers the UCC to regulate broadcast media, over the years, the concern is that it has become a controller rather than a regulator, more specifically towards broadcasters perceived to be airing opposition views. Directives to broadcast media to suspend programmes or staff negates the international principle of editorial independence which stipulates that programming decisions are made by broadcasters on the basis of professional criteria and the public’s right to know.

Despite of the above background, the role of media in promoting freedom of expression in Uganda continues to shrink as government through its agencies resort to illegitimate restrictions on critical voices on a number of governance issues. In particular, individual journalists face arbitrary arrest, intimidation, threats and politically-motivated criminal charges for expressing views deemed by public authorities to be too critical or divergent.

It’s against such a background that the study seeks to assessthe contribution of media in the promotion of freedom of expression Uganda focusing on Kampala central division.

# 1.3 Purpose of theStudy

The purpose of the study was to assess the contribution of media in the promotion of freedom of expression in Uganda, focusing on Kampala Central Division.

# 1.4 Objectives of thestudy

The specific objectives of the study were:

1. To analyze the nature of freedom of expression in Kampala Central Division
2. To ascertain the influence of media on promotion of freedom of expression in Kampala Central Division
3. To examine the media existing strategies for enhancing freedom of expression in Kampala Central Division

# 1.5 Research Questions

The study was guided by the following questions:

1. What is the nature of freedom of expression in Kampala Central Division
2. What is the influence of media on promotion of freedom of expression in Kampala Central Division
3. What are the media existing strategies for enhancing freedom of expression in Kampala Central Division

# 1.6 Scope of the study

It consists of the geographical scope, content scope and time scope

# 1.6.1 Geographical scope

The study was limited to Kampala central division in Kampala City. The area is one of the most upscale business and residential neighborhoods in the city. The division also incorporates low income neighborhoods including Kamwookya, Kisenyi and Kampala's Industrial Area.

# 1.6.2 Content scope

The study wasabout the assessment of the contribution of media in the promotion of expression in Uganda, focusing on Kampala Central Division. The study collected data on the nature of freedom of expression, the influence of media on promotion of freedom of expression, and the media existing strategies for enhancing freedom of expression in Kampala Central Division (2016-2019)

**1.6.3 Time scope**

The study covered a straddled period of 4 years from 2016 to 2019, and was carried out for a period of seven months from February 2021 to September 2021 which period which was sufficient enough to assess the contribution of media in prompting freedom of expression in Kampala Central Division.

# 1.7 Significance of the Study

The study will be of great significance to a number of stakeholders such as policy makers, literature and researchers in the following ways;

1. **Policy makers:** The study will enlighten the policy makers, local leaders and the local people of the gaps existing on the contribution of the media on promotion of freedom of expression on. These findings will help in drafting appropriate policies and the council will be in position to initiate programs that will empower citizens and make them aware about the effects of freedom of expression.
2. **Literature:** The findings will ensure availability of a reliable source of literature from which other researchers can draw reference work.
3. **Researchers:** When the study is accomplished, it will enable other researchers to obtain a reliable source of information as reference during their own research sessions.
4. **Kampala Central division:** The people of Kampala central will have information about freedom of expression and the role of media in promoting the same.

# 1.8 Justification of the Study

# The fact that thestandard has been well enunciated by the highest court of the land in Ugandan the Supreme Court, arguing that, the yardstick is that the limitation must be acceptable and demonstrably justifiable in a free and democratic society. The limitation on the enjoyment of a protected right in defense of public interest is in turn limited to the measure of that yardstick. In other words, such limitation, however otherwise rationalized, is not valid unless its restriction on a protected right is acceptable and demonstrably justifiable in a free and democratic society. Various international human rights bodies and courts around the world have also noted that protection of freedom of expression must include pluralism, tolerance and broadmindedness from public officials regarding open criticism.

# The limitation on the right has often been enforced in relation to speeches and expressions made against public officials and the government. In Uganda, cases of restraint and prosecution have always stemmed from expressions made in conflict with the government or the presidency. This in a way is mostly triggered by the failure to separate institutions and systems from personalities holding various offices. There is always attachment of the person to the office. The African Commission has stated that, “It should be assumed that criticism of the government does not constitute an attack on the personal reputation of the head of state. People who assume highly visible public roles must necessarily face a higher degree of criticism than private citizens; otherwise public debate may be stifled all together. It’s against such a background that the research intends to assess theassessment the contribution of media in the promotion of expression in Uganda, focusing on Kampala Central Division

# 1.9 Arrangement of the study

The study was organized in five chapters followed by references and appendices.

Chapter one comprises of a background of the study, statement of the problem, purpose of the study, study objectives, research questions, scope of the study, significances of the study and justification of the study.

Chapter two gives a detailed study literature theoretical literature, literature review and conceptual framework.

Chapter three provide methodology that was used in the study. It describes the overall research design, study population, sample size, sampling methods, data collection methods and tools, data analysis, data presentation, ethical considerations.

Chapter four provides data presentation, analysis and discussion of the findings, and,

Chapter five covers the summary, conclusions, recommendations and areas for further study.

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# CHAPTER TWO

# LITERATURE REVIEW

# 2.0 Introduction

This chapter presents the review of literature related to contribution of media in the promotion of freedom of expression. The review is in accordance with the literature survey, theoretical review, literature review and conceptual framework. The research gaps identified have been closed.

# 2.1 Literature survey

An earlier study by Mubangizi (2005) on the Protection of Human Rights in Uganda: Public Awareness and Perceptions had revealed thatinUganda there is a high level of public awareness of the Constitution and the human rights it contains. This perhaps explains why many respondents thought the Government could and should have done more to make the whole population aware of the human rights in the Constitution, despite the fact that the level of human rights public awareness is already quite high. Secondly, the survey shows that human rights violations take place more in rural areas than in urban areas. The study results show that although the government is the main culprit of human rights violations, the main causes of such violations are social and economic inequalities and the lack of access to basic social services. In the specific context of civil and political rights it is clear that certain important rights, such as the right to equality and freedom of expression, are not well protected. When in July 2005 Ugandans voted in a national referendum to approve a multi-party system, then in August 2005, Parliament voted to change the constitution to lift presidential term limits. The elimination of term limits cleared the way for Museveni to run again in 2006 despite significant controversy and mounting allegations of human rights abuses. There are several other challenges, some of which have been highlighted in this study. Any attempts to address these challenges must take advantage of the opportunities offered by the constitutional framework. Tampering with this framework as the present government is doing only serves the selfish political interests of a few and can only be a recipe for disaster. Ugandans do not need that.

# Tabaire et al., (2017) in their study on Uganda’s compliance with its legal obligations with regard to freedom of speech and expression: Challenges and prospects noted that courts of Law in Uganda play a major role in the enforcement and interpretation of both the domestic and international legal instruments that relate to the freedom of speech and expression in Uganda. Courts have been blamed for failure to enforce outcomes without political interference especially in cases that involve the political opponents. In my assessment, this was shown as the biggest challenge the courts of law are facing in Uganda. It is sad to note that this occurrence has generated mistrust of the public towards the role of courts and police. Hence, there is need for total independence of courts in Uganda if the right to free speech and expression is to achieve its goal in a supposedly democratic country like Uganda. Uganda has engaged with international bodies entrusted with the international enforcement of human rights as the Human Rights Committee and the Human Rights Council.

# Tabaire et al., (2017) further noted that also importantly, Uganda has its Constitution which it follows, as its the supreme law of the land. While Ugandan domestic courts that have been put in place to interpret the law, the question is whether these courts do conform to the international legal standards in regards to human rights. According to Santiago (2000), in his findings a respondent stated that actually courts work, but the problem is political interference in some cases where the government has interest. The famous case was when the main opposition leader of Forum for Democratic Change Dr. KiizaBesigye had been once arrested on accusations of rape but this case fortunately, was thrown out as not being credible by the Supreme Court. In addition, it is alleged that social media like facebook, twitter and whatsapp were temporarily interfered with during voting. Such acts do not show fairness. They only support the view that free speech and expression is suffocated towards and during presidential election periods. This makes it difficult for the right to free speech and expression to grow. This implies that Uganda’s elections have adverse effects mainly negative towards promotion of free speech and expression in the democratic dispensation in Uganda.

# Santiago et al., (2000) noted that the fundamental importance of freedom of expression and freedom of information as human rights has repeatedly been stressed by international bodies and courts, including the following statements by the UN General Assembly. Freedom of expression is a cornerstone upon which the very existence of a democratic society rests. It is indispensable for the formation of public opinion. Perhaps the most important value of freedom of expression is in underpinning democracy and public participation in decision-making. Without free access to information and ideas, and the right to express one’s own views freely, citizens cannot even vote properly, let alone take part in ongoing public decision-making that affects their lives. Freedom of expression is a right that belongs to everyone. At the same time, the key role of the mass media in providing information to the public and in acting as watchdog of government has been widely recognized.The importance of a free flow of information and ideas to democracy and to respect for all human rights has led to the creation of the special mechanisms to promote freedom of expression and media freedom.

# 2.2 Theoretical framework

# The following theories propounded buttressed the theoretical framework for the study: Libertarian Press Theory and Joel Feinberg's Offense Principle theory.

# 2.2.1 Libertarian Press Theory

This study was premised on the tenets of Libertarian Press Theory. This press theory emerged in Europe in the 17th century, in opposition to the Authoritarian Press Theory. This was the period when Monarchs ruled most of Europe (Samba, 2008), with series of anti-press laws that were aimed at restricting freedom of expression. Proponents of the theory such as John Milton, JohnStuart Mill and John Locke advocate for “a free market place of ideas” where both good and bad ideas will float freely, with the conviction that good ideas will naturally “sell” and be preferred by the masses at the expense of the bad ones (McQuail, 2005, Nwabueze, 2014, Bitner, 1989 and Sambe, 2008). As a result, any limitation to freedom of expression (formal or informal) violates the tenets of this press theory. The theory is a normative theory; hence, it serves to explain the workings of the media within the operational environment.

Though a relatively old press theory, libertarianism is not fully attained in most of the post independence African democracies. This is not far-fetched from reality that, series of military dictatorships thrived in most of the post-independence African States, where authoritarian principles were held with high esteem in a bid to muzzle the press, and by extension, the civil society so as to have a firm grip on power. Libertarianism was, therefore, an unaffordable luxury.

John Stuart Mill read Tocqueville’s Democracy closely, and in On Liberty (1859), characterized the emerging democratic society that Tocqueville dissected as a threat not only to free expression but also to liberty. Tocqueville lamented individualism, a neologism Tocqueville did much to popularize and so did Mill. Yet like Tocqueville, Mill venerated individuality, which Mill associated with eccentricity and even genius, and which he believed could be honed through the unceasing, vigorous, and open-ended exploration of one’s most cherished beliefs. The goal of such an exploration was the fullest possible development of the individual.

Such liberty should exist with every subject matter so that we have absolute freedom of opinion and sentiment on all subjects, practical or speculative, scientific, moral or theological (1978). Mill claims that the fullest liberty of expression is required to push our arguments to their logical limits, rather than the limits of social embarrassment. Such liberty of expression is necessary, he suggests, for the dignity of persons. If liberty of expression is stifled, the price paid is a sort of intellectual pacification that sacrifices the entire moral courage of the human mind (1978).Mill also suggests that we need some rules of conduct to regulate the actions of members of a political community. The limitation he places on free expression is one very simple principle, now usually referred to as the harm principle, which states that the only purpose for which power can be rightfully exercised over any member of a civilized community, against his will, is to prevent harm to others. There is a great deal of debate about what Mill had in mind when he referred to harm; for the purposes of this essay he will be taken to mean that an action has to directly and in the first instance invade the rights of a person (Mill himself uses the term rights, despite basing the arguments in the book on the principle of utility). The limits on free speech will be very narrow because it is difficult to support the claim that most speech causes harm to the rights of others. This is the position staked out by Mill in the first two chapters of On Liberty and it is a good starting point for a discussion of free speech because it is hard to imagine a more liberal position. Liberals are usually willing to contemplate limiting speech once it can be demonstrated that it does invade the rights of others.

Free expression for Mill could help individuals refine their ideas, yet it was no panacea. There was simply no guarantee that, even in the long term, progressive ideas would triumph over reactionary institutions which, for Mill, included the Catholic Church. For this reason, it would be a mistake to recruit Mill as a proponent for what today's free expression absolutists call the marketplace of ideas. The ‘dictum that truth always triumphs over persecution,’ Mill noted, was one of those ‘pleasant falsehoods’ that had been so often repeated that it became a commonplace, even though it was demonstrably false. ‘It is,’ Mill elaborated, a piece of idle sentimentality that truth, merely as truth, has any inherent power denied to error, of prevailing against the dungeon and the stake. Men are not more zealous for truth than they often are for error, and a sufficient application of legal or even of social penalties will generally succeed in stopping the propagation of either.

Mill’s hostility to the supposed benefits of the marketplace of ideas is of a piece with his oft-expressed hatred for custom, convention, and tradition. Mill despised public opinion, deplored much of what passed in his day for public discussion, and found little to applaud in journalism or public education. Each worked to hasten the ‘general similarity among mankind’ and weaken the ‘social support for nonconformity’ and, indeed, for any ‘substantive power’ that might challenge the ‘ascendency of numbers by taking under its protection opinions and tendencies’ that might be ‘at variance with those of the public. The ‘only unfailing and permanent source of improvement’ Mill elaborated, was liberty, a ‘progressive principle’ diametrically opposed to the ‘sway of Custom’a reactionary impulse that had reduced many countries, including China, to a stationary state that had been crippled for centuries by an educational and political system that discouraged independent thinking.

Europe had been saved from such a baleful fate not by any single individual, group, nation, or religious confession, but, instead, by its ‘remarkable diversity of character and culture,’ or, in a word, by its plurality: ‘Europe is, in my judgment, wholly indebted to this plurality of paths for its progressive and many-sided development. Yet should public opinion prevail, progress would cease: ‘If resistance waits till life is reduced nearly to one uniform type, all deviations from that type will come to be considered impious, immoral, even monstrous and contrary to nature. Mankind speedily becomes unable to conceive diversity, when they have been for some time unaccustomed to see it.

Mill’s assessment would be selectively appropriated in the post-First World War United States by a group of talented jurists that included Oliver Wendell Holmes and Louis Brandeis. These jurists shared Mill’s misgivings about the epistemic value of the marketplace of ideas, a phrase that would not become widely used in the United States until after the Second World War and that would not become ubiquitous until it would come to be appropriated by the digital media techno-utopians of our own age. Holmes and Brandeis admired Mill’s critique of lazy thinking, which had been spurred, in part, by their revulsion at the propaganda campaigns the Great Powers (including the United States) had launched during the First World War, a revulsion that informed the civil libertarian defense of free expression that emerged at almost precisely the same time, and that has been an influential strain of first amendment jurisprudence in the United States ever since. The civil libertarian defense of free expression rests on a somewhat different foundation from the utilitarian rationale for free expression that Mill defended in On Liberty. For American civil libertarians, free expression is a negative norm that can check state-sponsored tyranny. Free expression for Mill, in contrast, as it would be for the authors of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights of 1948, is a positive norm that can hasten the emergence of the good society

Guinn (2003) writes that within the United States, free speech is perhaps the preeminent right among all of the rights included in the Bill of Rights. In many cases it may take precedence over other important constitutional or legal rights, including the constitutional right of copyright (Art. I9),the legal protection of personal reputation, or efforts to control publicity as a means of assuring a fair trial under the sixth Amendment. Free speech has also, at times, preempted other constitutional rights, including a tendency of the courts to protect free exercise of religion claims grounded in expressive conduct under the rubric of free speech as opposed to free exercise.

The term free speech is, however, a popular misnomer for a concept more properly identified under the heading of freedom of expression. Guinn (2003) further noted that free expression, in turn, represents an extremely complex, multidimensional construct whose popular acceptance, under the label of free speech, masks a significant level of controversy and conceptual confusion. With the exception of those few commentators and advocates who, like, hold an absolutist view of free expression (i.e. that the constitution’s prohibition on laws limiting free speech means that no legal restrictions can be imposed), the difficulty within the legal concept of freedom of expression resides in determining how to draw the line between protected and non-protected expression. In determining how to protect expression, the state will have to consider the nature and function of expression in relation to the values held by that society. That is to say, determining what types of expression should be protected depends not only upon the purpose for protecting free expression in a liberal democracy (i.e. why), it also depends upon a proper understanding of the nature of free expression (i.e. what it is and how it functions). These constructs are so interrelated that one could start with any of the three (i.e. why, what or how). Here, we will begin by considering what constitutes expression and how it functions.

In deciding what types of expression should be protected (i.e. free), the first question is what do we mean by free expression? This determination involves both describing what is expression and how it functions in a liberal democracy. That is to say, the nature and function of expression will determine what type of expression should be protected for example, if the function of free expression is to educate, then those forms of expression that do not fulfill that function specifically (i.e. education for a specific purpose) or generally (i.e. provide a general quality) may not deserve protection. One way to define expression is describe the elements or characteristics of expressive behavior (i.e. what it is). These include: communication, information, and influence or persuasion, communication, expression, according to its simplest understanding, involves communication from one person to at least one other person. Thus, two elements of expression may invoke protective rights: the right to express and the right to hear that expression. The two may or may not be equally protectable or even mutually protected in the same event.

The object of communication is to provide information or receive information. The most obvious form of communication is speech, the expression of ideas through words, whether written or oral. However, ideas can also be expressed in non-verbal forms: symbols, visual expressions, music, and expressive acts, though the substantive content of those ideas will be very different. Thus, the state’s definition of the types of ideas protectable may define the types of expression protectable.

Expression involves persuasion or influence, an effort to change the reality or position of the receiver of the expression. The most obvious example of persuasion is a rational argument which attempts to convince the hearer of the merits of the speaker’s position (or person.) However, other forms of expression such as storytelling, ritual practice, or artistic practice may also be persuasive through the invocation of emotion rather than reason. For example, even at its most abstract, a great work of visual art is said to change the way a viewer sees the world. The second way of understanding the nature of expression is to consider how it functions in the social setting. The possibilities may be divided into two broad categories: individual focused and social.

Expression may constitute an essential function of self identity: the ability to express oneself as a means of constructing the self. We may be thought of as helping to create our sense of self, self identity and/or self worth through our capacity to create works of art or express our opinions in public. Efforts to restrict self expression are, therefore, potentially damaging to the individual. Similarly, the individual interest may be in the right to be exposed to the expression of others. One develops a sense of the self out of one’s engagement with the ideas of others. One’s sense of self and self identity may also emerge out of the freedom to hear and to pick and choose among the widest possible number of viewpoints. Finally, free expression in terms of the self may simply represent a fundamental liberty interest of the individual as against the state, where the state simply has no authority or right to intrude upon the individual’s expressive interests.

The second possible function of expression is that it advances or supports some important social activity or function of the communities’ polity. The simplest function for free expression may be that it facilitates communal living by imposing the least upon the inherent liberty of the individual, what may be referred to as the libertarian function. Second, freedom of expression supports the existence of the public square, that forum in which governmental policies and activities are discussed and debated with the goal of influencing one’s fellow citizens and/or the government. Clearly, the public square cannot function without the participation of the citizens. Removing restrictions or impediments to expression encourages the widest possible participation in the public square and the greatest potential diversity of expressions. Related to this is the most popular and famous formulation of the purpose of free expression, that it creates a free marketplace for ideas. As discussed by John Stuart Mills and by Justice Holmes in Abrams v. United States (1919), this marketplace for ideas helps to promote knowledge and truth by subjecting all ideas to the challenges of public examination and debate.

# 2.2.2 Joel Feinberg's Offense Principle theory

One of the most impressive arguments for this position comes from Joel Feinberg who suggests that the harm principle cannot shoulder all of the work necessary for a principle of free speech. In some instances, Feinberg suggests, we also need an offense principle that can guide public censure. The basic idea is that the harm principle sets the bar too high and that we can legitimately prohibit some forms of expression because they are very offensive. Offending is less serious than harming so any penalties imposed should not be severe. As Feinberg notes, this has not always been the case and he cites a number of instances in the U.S. where penalties for “offensive” acts like sodomy and consensual incest have ranged from twenty years imprisonment to the death penalty. Feinberg's principle reads as follows: “it is always a good reason in support of a proposed criminal prohibition that it would probably be an effective way of preventing serious offense to persons other than the actor, and that it is probably a necessary means to that end. The principle asserts, in effect, that the prevention of offensive conduct is properly the state's business” (1985, 1).

Such a principle is hard to apply because many people take offense as the result of an overly sensitive disposition, or worse, because of bigotry and unjustified prejudice. A further difficulty is that some people can be deeply offended by statements that others find mildly amusing. The furore over the Danish cartoons brings this starkly to the fore. Despite the difficulty of applying a standard of this kind, something like the offense principle operates widely in liberal democracies where citizens are penalized for a variety of activities, including speech, that would escape prosecution under the harm principle. Wandering around the local shopping mall naked, or engaging in sexual acts in public places are two obvious examples. Given the specific nature of this essay, I will not delve into the issue of offensive behavior in all its manifestations, and I will limit the discussion to offensive forms of speech. Feinberg suggests that many factors need to be taken into account when deciding whether speech can be limited by the offense principle. These include the extent, duration and social value of the speech, the ease with which it can be avoided, the motives of the speaker, the number of people offended the intensity of the offense, and the general interest of the community.

# 2.3 Literature review

Literature review is a comprehensive summary of previous research related to the current topic and its subthemes. The literature review surveys scholarly articles, books, and other sources relevant to a particular area of research. The current literature review contains review based on the subthemes derived from the study objectives;

# 2.3. 1 Media and Freedom of expression

# Freedom of information and expression are rights that are more often than not, spoken in the same breath. In fact the United Nations Universal Declaration of Human Rights (1947), under Article 19 contains the most widely accepted formulation of the right of free expression, which makes a natural interwoven link to freedom of information. “Everyone shall have the right to freedom of expression; this right shall include freedom to seek, receive and impart information and ideas of all kinds, regardless of frontiers, either orally, in writing or in print, in the form of art or through any other media of his choice (Buble, M., 2006).

# Therefore whenever matters of freedom of expression are affected, matters of freedom of information are usually not spared. The wording in Article 19 defines the right to freedom of expression and information not as a private right but as a public right. This right is also under Article 19 similarly guaranteed in the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights (ICCPR) and three regional human rights treaties, specifically at Article 13 of the American Convention on Human Rights, at Article 10 of the European Convention on Human Rights (ECHR) and at Article 9 of the African Charter on Human and Peoples’ Rights (ACHPR).

# According to Richie et al (2007) to comprehensively understand the right to information and expression, one has to see the rationale of these rights. Human rights exist because they tear into the very fiber of mankind. The Preamble to the Universal Declaration sets human rights in the context of ‘the inherent dignity’ as well as ‘the equal and inalienable rights of all members of the human family’. This concept of the human dignity applying equally to all is thus intended to pervade the whole of the Universal Declaration.

# Visser& Ronan (1996)stated that the freedom of expression is a pivotal component of our individual development as human beings and to improve democracies. In the Declaration of Principles on Freedom of Expression in Africa adopted in 2002, the African Commission on Human and Peoples Rights similarly stressed “the key role of the media and other means of communication in ensuring full respect for freedom of expression, in promoting the free flow of information and ideas, in assisting people to make informed decisions and in facilitating and strengthening democracy”.

# However it would be presumptuous to assume that these rights are absolute. In many instances they are limited. The European Convention on Human Rights, Article 10 limits freedom of expression and information to extent that; these freedoms, since it carries with it duties and responsibilities, may be subject to such formalities, conditions, restrictions or penalties as are prescribed by law and are necessary in a democratic society, in the interests of national security, territorial integrity or public safety, for the prevention of disorder or crime, for the protection of health or morals, for the protection of the reputation or rights of others, for preventing the disclosure of information received in confidence, or for maintaining the authority and impartiality of the judiciary (Gary Marks, 2001).

# The identification and definition of limitations to freedom of expression is, as implied above, a dangerous business. Done rashly it threatens to undermine the whole structure. Yet it is a fundamental principle expressed in Article 29 of the Universal Declaration that such limitations do exist. They are expressed in terms of ‘duties to the community’ and their scope is constrained in general terms by considerations that include respect for the rights of others.In the exercise of his rights and freedoms, everyone shall be subject only to such limitations as are determined by law solely for the purpose of securing due recognition for the rights and freedoms of others and of meeting the just requirements of morality, public order and the general welfare of a democratic society.

# Key statements on freedom of expression, such as Article 10 of the European Convention on Human Rights, identify limitations and thus effectively compromise the principle. This is unlikely to be sufficient to satisfy both parties in disputes over the more difficult aspects of any given right or group of rights, as the French Charlie Hebdo cartoons affair amply illustrates. Ambiguity of law has always amplified disputes. A clear conscience definition of freedom of expression separate from freedom of information is obviously required.

# It is clearly not the recognition of limitations that is the main issue, but the precise application of limitations. The problem is that whilst anyone can form a personal view of where the limitations lie in a given clash of laws or rights, it is the courts of law that should be the forum in which a decision is made. Thus, the treaties place the responsibility in the hands of the legislators and the use of the principles of law and rights lies on the judiciary.

# Hansen(2010), additionally stated that tolerance in society should be encouraged. Tolerance is necessary to avoid conflict; respects the value of autonomy; encourages diversity, which helps us discover better ways to live and leads to social progress. Just because you can does not mean you should. Freedom of expression has been a pressing issue in Africa. The African Court for Human and People Rights has established freedom of expression as a key freedom required for sustaining a democracy. The Court has in the recent KonteVsBurkina Faso matter highlighted how denied freedom of expression in Africa leads towards impunity and bad governance. However with every right comes responsibility and therein is the need for a limitation on the right to freedom of expression so as to prevent the destructive and regressive effect it could have.

# Individuals in different nations all play a role to facilitate public access to information. This includes the products of the human imagination. A cartoon is thus just as much a concern of any individual and they have the right to access that information. Even where it is the source of passionate dispute, as was the case with the Charlie Hebdo cartoons; public and private authorities still have a basic professional duty to ensure that legally published material is available to those who might wish to consult it. Granted; we may need to define clear limitations and strike a balance without abandoning the principle of free access to information (HansenMogens, 2010).

# Without free speech, the enjoyment of other rights is not possible. For example, freedom of speech, along with freedom of assembly and association, are necessary for the effective exercise of the right to vote (UN Human Rights Committee, 1996). The right to vote is compromised in a society that does not have a free exchange of ideas and information on public and political matters between citizens, candidates and elected representatives (UN Human Rights Committee, 2011, para. 20). However, free speech is not an absolute right and can be limited where it is necessary and done in a proportionate manner. Under the ICCPR, freedom of expression can only be restricted by law and where necessary to respect of the rights or reputations of others; or for the protection of national security or of public order, or of public health or morals (United Nations, 1966, Article 19(3).

# By reason of those parameters, defamation and hate speech laws can be justifiable as protecting the reputation and rights of others, so long as they are not overbroad. However laws, for example, that restrict door-to-door canvassing in an election or activities such as blocking access to media sources are likely to violate the freedom (UN Human Rights Committee, 2011). Finally, freedom of expression plays an important role upholding other human rights. Transparency and accountability for human rights abuses are enhanced by freedom of expression, making it an essential precondition to ensuring the proper protection of rights (UN Human Rights Committee, 2011).

# Regarding free speech in western democracies, the defense of freedom of expression and other democratic rights is strongly associated with western democracies, as a legacy of the Cold War era. Whereas the Soviet Bloc largely promoted treaties that protected economic and social rights (such as rights to housing, education and health), the West prioritised civil and political rights (such as free speech, freedom of assembly and rights to participate in public life) (Office of the High Commissioner for Human Rights, 2008, p. 9; Roth, 2004). However, freedom of expression is currently under assault across the world.

# In October 2016, the UN expert on freedom of expression reported that individuals seeking to exercise their right to expression face all kinds of government-imposed limitations that are not legal, necessary or proportionate (UN General Assembly, 2016) noting that the “targets of restrictions include journalists and bloggers, critics of government, dissenters from conventional life, provocateurs and minorities of all sorts” (UN General Assembly, 2016). Recent laws and policies show that western democracies are not immune from this trend, with governments increasingly willing to limit the freedom of civil society to participate in public debate and discussion. Two examples illustrate this trend: the rise of anti-protest laws and the government surveillance of citizens’ telecommunications metadata.

# Protests engage both freedom of expression and assembly. In the context of protests, people will express themselves verbally, as well as through non-verbal expression, such as raising banners or placards (UN Human Rights Committee, 1994). In 2017 in the United States, in response to large-scale protests arising out of emerging peoples’ movements such as Black Lives Matter and the opposition to the Dakota Access Pipeline, at least 20 states proposed new laws to limit peoples’ ability to protest (American Civil Liberties Union, 2017). The laws proposed to limit protest rights in a range of ways, including by prohibiting the wearing of masks or hoods in public (State of Washington, 2017a); establishing mandatory penalty enhancements for obstructing commercial vehicles or interfering with pipelines or oil-related facilities (State of Washington, 2017); criminalising protest on private land (North Dakota, 2017); and, the most extreme, providing immunity for drivers who accidentally run over protesters who are obstructing a highway (Florida, 2017; North Carolina, 2017; Texas, 2017; Tennessee, 2017).

# As at June 2017, ant protest bills remain pending in seven states, were passed in five states and 12 states failed to pass any of the ant protest laws introduced (American Civil Liberties Union, 2017). These laws are being proposed in a country whose Supreme Court has held that both the rights to freedom of speech and assembly encompass the right to peaceful social protest, which in turn is critical to the preservation of “freedoms treasured in a democratic society” (US Supreme Court, 1965). Two UN experts made a joint statement of concern in relation to the proposed anti-protest laws, stating that:

# The bills, if enacted into law, would severely infringe upon the exercise of the rights to freedom of expression and freedom of peaceful assembly in ways that are incompatible with US obligations under international human rights law and with First Amendment protections. The trend also threatens to jeopardize one of the United States’ constitutional pillars: free speech. (Office of the High Commissioner for Human Rights, 2017)

# In Australia, state-based anti-protest laws are criminalising peaceful protest. In the state of Tasmania, for example, a 2014 anti-protest law effectively criminalises peaceful protest on public land, even for a short time. The laws criminalise all protest activity, peaceful or otherwise, that occurs on or near certain business premises and which “prevents, hinders or obstructs” access to business premises (Tasmania, 2014, section 6). This law applies to both public and private property and carries with it substantial penalties of up to $10,000 and four years’ imprisonment (Tasmania, 2014). Three UN experts on freedom of opinion and expression called the laws “disproportionate and unnecessary” (Office of the High Commissioner for Human Rights, 2014). In October 2017, Tasmania’s law was struck down by Australia’s highest court for violation of the implied freedom of political communication in Australia’s constitution (High Court of Australia, 2017).

# Another alarming trend in western democracies is metadata retention laws that jeopardise free speech and press freedom, and which could dissuade people from sharing information on matters of public interest. Freedom of expression requires a free, uncensored and unhindered press in which the media can comment on public issues without censorship or restraint and can inform public opinion (UN Human Rights Committee, 2011). A fundamental tenet of journalism is the ability to access information and in doing so, to keep sources safe and confidential. Yet governments in western democracies are jeopardizing the confidentiality of journalists’ sources through increased surveillance of peoples’ telecommunications metadata. Metadata is not the content of communications, but the details around it, the time and place you made a phone call, the length of the call, the recipient, or the web browser you visited and for how long. Metadata can reveal an enormous amount about a person’s habits, private life and social life. The European Court of Justice said:

# Information taken as a whole is liable to allow very precise conclusions to be drawn concerning the private lives of the persons whose data has been retained, such as everyday habits, permanent or temporary places of residence, daily or other movements, the activities carried out, the social relationships of those persons and the social environments frequented by them. In particular, that data provides the means…of establishing a profile of the individuals concerned, information that is no less sensitive, having regard to the right to privacy, than the actual content ofcommunications(European Court of Justice, 2016).

# Unsurprisingly, schemes that require the mass collection and retention of metadata and allow authorities access without appropriate safeguards have been declared by courts in Europe to be invalid due to the severe impact on the right to privacy (European Court of Justice, 2016; German Federal Constitutional Court, 2010).However, there is also an impact on freedom of expression in circumstances where metadata retention laws are actively used to pursue journalists’ sources, thereby undermining press freedom. This is because by looking at a journalist’s phone or email metadata; authorities can quickly see who has been in contact with them, revealing the identity of sources and whistle blowers. In Australia, although there are some protections in place for accessing the metadata of journalists that require law enforcement agencies to obtain a special warrant, in at least one case the Australian Federal Police have admitted to unlawfully accessing a journalist’s metadata without the relevant warrant (Colvin, 2017; Knaus, 2017). Further, government reporting shows that authorities were granted warrants to access two journalists’ data on at least 33 other occasions (Australian Attorney-General’s Department, 2017).

# The fact that the data is retained without the subscriber or registered user being informed is likely to cause the persons concerned to feel that their private lives are the subject of constant surveillance… The impact of this scheme could have an effect on the use of means of electronic communication and, consequently, on the exercise by the users of their freedom of expression (European Court of Justice, 2016). The extensive, intrusive nature of data collection regimes, in combination with a lack of transparency over which bodies are able to access it and for what purposes, risks discouraging the legitimate exercise of freedom of expression.

# Freedom of expression is a fundamental human right that must be upheld in democratic societies. Yet there is a worrying global trend of governments unjustifiably limiting freedom of speech, targeting journalists, protesters and other persons considered to be dissenting from government views. Even in western democracies, laws are curtailing protest activities and threatening press freedom and free speech through mandatory metadata retention schemes. It is imperative that civil societies across the globe are vigilant in defending freedom of expression. This is necessary for the enhancement of people’s lives and the creation and maintenance of strong, health democratic societies.

# 2.3.2 The influence of media on freedom of expression

Although the media could be seen to be entitled to the right to freedom of expression, in reality, this right is not totally free. Becker and Vlad (2009) have noted some factors which pose as threats to press freedom including censorship and political instability. In the case of censorship by government, authoritarian regimes characteristically tighten their control in monitoring media contents. Contents which question their policies are often removed. Media outfits may either be owned or subsidized by the government whereby the government reads or views the contents before they are published. In some cases, they are involved in the appointment of the editorial board of media organizations. For instance, in China, the communist party owns the media which serve as its „mouthpiece‟. Only positive stories are free to be published (Hong, 2008). As a result of the tight control of the media, some journalists lost their jobs (Branigan, 2011). In self-censorship, media outfits on their own decide to publish or broadcast their news stories depending on how the contents might impact on their survival as organizations.

Political instabilityand economic consideration can limit the exercise of press freedom. The concentration of media into groups as a result of the influence of oligarchs whose economic and political interests displace those of the public and the society at large also impinges on press freedom.

The application of the legal system can deter the media from exercising their freedom fearlessly. Unlawful practices meant to be uncovered through investigative journalism could be hindered by privacy laws; however, these should not be used to displace important developments which are beneficial to the public interest (Human Rights Education, no date). It is still problematic to determine what the public interest is, or to determine exactly what the public wants. Laws on libel and defamation which have legal consequences may also discourage them from doing so.

Any constraint on press freedom is a constraint on human rights, except in cases where such freedom might violate human rights. According to Cohen-Almagor, „the values of not harming others and respecting others should play a prominent part in the consideration of journalists‟ (2001: xvii). This could be achieved by the media if due consideration is given to media ethics.

Ethics deals with the act of differentiating between right and wrong. The qualification of an act as ethical is dependent on the criteria or framework on which it is justified or what values are considered important (Waisbord, 2001), and the media, in their nature „are moral agents that can potentially behave ethically or unethically‟ (Oosthuizen, 2002). It then becomes imperative that they give attention to their method of information gathering and dissemination to avoid unintentional violation of human rights.

Waisbord (2001) argues that information garnered through dubious means such as „deception, false identities‟, and other unethical methods are counterproductive to public trust15 in the media. Corrupt practices such as bribery are also unethical journalistic values. These unethical practices are capable of discrediting information on human rights stories, or violations reported by the media. It is important to note that some of the worst forms of human rights violations are uncovered when investigative journalists work under false or hidden identities because such violations would almost be impossible to uncover should journalists reveal their real identities. For example, in the case of the BBC Panorama investigative report on child slave labor in Ghana and Ivory Coast, the investigative reporter was able to uncover what happens in the cocoa plantations by posing as a cocoa trader. Therefore, the question of false identities might not be automatically said to undermine public trust in the media.

# Thus, recognizing individuals’ freedom of expression is an indispensible instrument to ensure transparency and accountability of governments through effective public participation, which could in turn be taken as a foundation for popular legitimacy of a particular regime. Though international human right instruments as well as democratic constitutions of individual states propound for the wider institutionalization of freedom of expression, they do not disregard legitimate limits to this universal value. The right to freedom of expression may be limited for the respect of the rights or reputations of others; for the protection of national security or of public order, or of public health or morals (ICCPR, 1966).

Repucci (2019) opine that the fundamental right to seek and disseminate information through an independent press is under attack, and part of the assault has come from an unexpected source. Elected leaders in many democracies, who should be press freedom’s staunchest defenders, have made explicit attempts to silence critical media voices and strengthen outlets that serve up favorable coverage. The trend is linked to a global decline in democracy itself: The erosion of press freedom is both a symptom of and a contributor to the breakdown of other democratic institutions and principles, a fact that makes it especially alarming.

According to Freedom House’s Freedom in the World data (2019), media freedom has been deteriorating around the world over the past decade, with new forms of repression taking hold in open societies and authoritarian states alike. The trend is most acute in Europe, previously a bastion of well-established freedoms, and in Eurasia and the Middle East, where many of the world’s worst dictatorships are concentrated. If democratic powers cease to support media independence at home and impose no consequences for its restriction abroad, the free press corps could be in danger of virtual extinction.Experience has shown, however, that press freedom can rebound from even lengthy stints of repression when given the opportunity. The basic desire for democratic liberties, including access to honest and fact-based journalism, can never be extinguished, and it is never too late to renew the demand that these rights be granted in full.

# Besides, under the First Amendment of the American constitution, an individual’s speech may be restricted if; it is intended to incite or produce lawless action, it is likely to incite such action, and such action is likely to occur imminently (United States Department of State, 2013).

# Accordingly, the Freedom of the Press Act and the Fundamental Law on Freedom of Expression contain exceptions to this right regarding the following three cases: it is not permitted to communicate or publish information if the person providing the information thereby commits certain serious crimes against national security, it is not permitted to intentionally provide an official document that is secret for publication; it is not permitted to intentionally breach duties of confidentiality (Public Access to Information and Secrecy Act,2009).

# According to the current federal constitution of Ethiopia, legal limitations to freedom of expression can be laid down in order to protect the well-being of the youth, and the honor and reputation of individuals. Besides, any propaganda for war as well as the public expression of opinion intended to injure human dignity shall be prohibited by law (FDRE Constitution, 1995). Thus, the above jurisprudential and constitutional rationales as well as international human right instrument have validated the argument that individual freedom of expression is fundamental human right to be respected, however with some legitimate limits for some utilitarian policy justifications and better protection of this human entitlement. Taking those justifiable limits to individuals’ freedom of expression even in countries with constitutional democracies, therefore the next legitimate question would be who should be entitled to choose the content and source of information in such democracies. In principle, in a democratic European system, freedom of expression cannot usually be limited taking the content of expression since such a content based limitation may usually be feared to promote strict security and content based discrimination (Kermit, 2005).

# Accordingly, in a democratic discourse, it is up to the individual rather than the state as the ultimate source of information and the one who is entitled to choose the content of information. However, it has become a clear and present danger that the contemporary mainstream media establishment of the west (printed, electronic and digital media) which has been dominated and sponsored by private companies has been hijacking individual freedom of information through agenda setting and gate keeping strategies. It is plainly clear that individuals’ freedom of expression and free flow of idea or information among the public could be realistic when there are diverse media of communication. In other words, it is a white fact that full enjoyment of individuals’ freedom of information and their right to communicate is contingent upon information availability and diversity. And, it is the inherent nature of a particular media (printed, electronic and digital) that it embodies the sender of the information, the message or the information and the receivers of that particular information. In this relationship, the senders of information are usually media companies owned by individuals or share holders who are involved in profit making activities and it may be public media run by governments where as the receivers are the individual public.

# Alston describes the expression process as political and asserts that the political process can never be democratic without the openness to hearing everything and allowing differing views to be expressed. The accommodation of different views is socially acceptable and creates stability in a society. Different and even unpopular views enhance critical thinking, which is a prerequisite for a democratic society. The public school, as the education mentor for learners in a democracy, becomes a forum where children are guided to adulthood and to fulfil their place in a democratic society. Prinslo and Albertyn and Davies aver that the Bill of Rights and its implication ought to guide both legislation and the application thereof in a democracy. Section 7(1) of the Constitution provides the Bill of Rights as a cornerstone of democracy in South Africa. It enshrines the rights of all people in South Africa and affirms the democratic values of human dignity, equality and freedom.

# Wielemans(2016) points out that education attempts to solve problems in society. There is a movement back to a holistic approach where the school, instead of being a mere institution of learning, takes the shape of an educational society. Similarly, the DoE set out the purpose of a General Education and Training Certificate (GETC) as equipping "learners with knowledge, skills and values that will enable meaningful participation in society. Such participation is feasible only if one has developed the skill of critical thinking or reflection.

# Wielemans(2016) refers to this participation in the freedom of expression process as the instrumental task of the school. This implies that the school aims to guide learners to their fullest potential in order to enhance the optimal functioning of society. For this to occur, the right to freedom of expression should be respected. He contends that since the contemporary school tends to be the only entity in modern society that still has the role of disciplining; it functions as a public forum where the youth (learners) are challenged to agree or disagree. The school increasingly becomes a social forum for learners in which to interact with one another and to share experiences. When they do so they simultaneously shape their own lives as individuals and strive toward a democratic society.

# Although Gordon (1997) concurs that the epistemic function of (public) education is to enable learners to acquire the skills necessary to become knowledgeable and productive participants in a democratic society, he also contends that it is the duty of government to provide education so as to furnish citizens with the requisite facts relevant to political decision making and to train them to draw conclusions from those facts. The epistemic function of education is to develop self-controlled citizens who can participate actively in a common system of discourse. Gordon concludes that citizens who have developed to their fullest capacities and fulfilled their own interests are less likely to call for political change, will be economically productive and will maintain a higher standard of living. Hence the government's economic interest in education.

# South African court cases that dealt with freedom of expression in the school or in an educational context (Antonie, Pillay, Hamata, Ngubo and Le Roux, 2005) can be categorised into two factual variants, namely instances where the expressions have not been harmful, and instances where the expressions have been harmful. If the exercise of freedom of expression neither harms nor interrupts school discipline, it should be respected. Conversely, schools may limit the right to freedom of expression if the expression has infringed a person's right to dignity or has caused harm to others or the school.

# The right to freedom of expression, viewed as a pillar of democracy, is clearly addressed in Article 19 of the ICCPR of 1976, which has been ratified by South Africa. Freedom of expression, opinion and information is also protected in Article 19 of the UDHR of 1948, which is a clear indication that freedom of expression is viewed internationally as a fundamental right and a prerequisite in any democracy. The intention of the UDHR, which has also been ratified by South Africa, is to ensure that all human beings "shall enjoy freedom of speech and belief and freedom from fear" as common people of the world and that their human rights should be protected by the rule of law (Scoccia, D., 1996). With this preamble, the nations of the world agree that the right to freedom of speech is the core of a democracy and individual freedom.

# Given that media and freedom of expression is regarded as a prerequisite to and one of the core rights in a democracy, this right is treated as if it were a constitutionally protected freedom even in countries without a constitutionally entrenched Bill of Rights. Beatty concurs and describes freedom of expression as the value that underpins liberal-democratic government. For example, Clayton and Tomlinson as well as Turk and Joinet indicate that freedom of expression was regarded as a "core right" even before the advent of the Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms in 1982, currently Part 1 of the Constitution of Canada.However, a democratic society is continuously in the process of change, will have restrictions on rights and freedoms, and its procedures will frequently be questioned. This is ensured by the right to freedom of expression, which is therefore viewed as a prerequisite to democracy. Consequently, democracy can be viewed as a "tragic" political system. As Castoriadis(2001) states that democracy is "the only regime that openly faces the possibilities of its self-destruction by taking up the challenges of offering its enemies the means of contesting it". Similarly, Wood(1962) argues that freedom of expression is regarded as an essential pillar of a free and democratic society.

# In line with this, Shyllon(1998) argues that the free exercise of this right is important in highlighting poor service delivery and exposing corruption, maladministration and the mismanagement of public funds. Although freedom of expression is regarded as a core human right in a democratic society, even this right can be limited.

# The right to freedom of expression, assembly and association are well established under the International Bill of Rights and the Constitution of the Republic of Uganda, 1995. At the international laws, the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UDHR) and the International Covenant onCivil and Political Rights (ICCPR) establishthe threefundamental freedoms. At the regional level, the Banjul Charter further recognizes the freedoms at the continental level. At the national level, the Constitution of Uganda guarantees the freedoms under Article 29 (a) (d) and (e). To ensure respect of the freedoms for all, including HRDs,the values of equality and non-discrimination are firmly founded as a unifying theme.

# In exercise of their functions and service to society, HRDs exercise these fundamental freedoms to be able to defend human rights, seek justice for victims and survivors, or lobby for progressive changes in policies, practices, and laws (Weinrib, L., 2016). The freedoms are the oxygen of the defenders work. For example, many HRDs across the country work together under civil society organisations in exercise of their association rights to champion a specific mission that advances human rights. In the implementation of their activities, they exercise the right to hold opinions without interference and freedom of expression to seek, receive and impart information and ideas to achieve the desired objectives. When a peaceful protest becomes a necessary advocacy tool, HRDs should be free to come together to petition and demand for respect of rights, justice, or any other just cause.

# In Uganda, tolerance of criticism and protection of free speech in Uganda fluctuates based on political factors. Campaign and election seasons are particularly tense, when violations of freedom of expression tend to escalate. Uganda is currently gearing up to hold presidential and parliamentary elections in February 2011, only the second multiparty election in Uganda’s history. In 2005, a popular referendum instituted multiparty democracy, at the same time as the ruling party pushed through an amendment to the constitution to lift the two-term limit on the tenure of the presidency. President Museveni was re-elected in the first multiparty elections in 2006. He has now been in office for 24 years.

# In the period since the establishment of multiparty rule, the government has used legal and extrajudicial means to repress the media (Colvin, M., 2017). Given the relatively strong stance of the courts, criminal charges, though often leveled against journalists, are not the strongest means at the government’s disposal. As documented below, in the numerous instances where government threats and intimidation are leveled extra judicially, through anonymous phone calls, casual or confidential meetings, or by the arbitrary edicts of regulatory bodies with broad ill-defined powers and no due process guarantees, the court’s protections are of little comfort to members of the media. The effect of such threats is particularly dramatic in rural areas outside the capital, where the resident district commissioners’ power is largely unchecked, and such threats seriously inhibit free expression. Given this context, the outbreak of political violence in September 2009 gave rise to an even more intense wave of repression against the media, as the government strove to keep control of the information environment.

# In some of the most influential democracies in the world, large segments of the population are no longer receiving unbiased news and information. This is not because journalists are being thrown in jail, as might occur in authoritarian settings (Garton Ash, T., 2016). Instead, the media have fallen prey to more nuanced efforts to throttle their independence. Common methods include government-backed ownership changes, regulatory and financial pressure, and public denunciations of honest journalists. Governments have also offered proactive support to friendly outlets through measures such as lucrative state contracts, favorable regulatory decisions, and preferential access to state information. The goal is to make the press serve those in power rather than the public.The problem has arisen in tandem with right-wing populism, which has undermined basic freedoms in many democratic countries. Populist leaders present themselves as the defenders of an aggrieved majority against liberal elites and ethnic minorities whose loyalties they question, and argue that the interests of the nation as they define it should override democratic principles like press freedom, transparency, and open debate.

# Among Free countries in Freedom House’s Freedom in the World Report (2019), 19 percent (16 countries) have endured a reduction in their press freedom scores over the past five years. This is consistent with a key finding of Freedom in the World, that democracies in general are undergoing a decline in political rights and civil liberties. It has become painfully apparent that a free press can never be taken for granted, even when democratic rule has been in place for decades. Viktor Orbán’s government in Hungary and AleksandarVučić’s administration in Serbia have had great success in snuffing out critical journalism, blazing a trail for populist forces elsewhere. Both leaders have consolidated media ownership in the hands of their cronies, ensuring that the outlets with the widest reach support the government and smear its perceived opponents. In Hungary, where the process has advanced much further, nearly 80 percent of the media are owned by government allies.

# Cultivation of pro-government media is spreading to neighboring states. The leader of the far-right Freedom Party of Austria, until recently part of that country’s ruling coalition, was caught on video attempting to collude with Russians to purchase the largest national newspaper and infuse its coverage with partisan bias (Cohen-Almagor, R., 2006). Score declines linked to economic manipulation of media including cases in which the government directs advertising to friendly outlets or encourages business allies to buy those that are critical were more common across Europe over the past five years than in other parts of the world. Such tactics of influence and interference are a relatively recent phenomenon on the continent, which has generally displayed strong support for press freedom since the fall of the Berlin Wall 30 years ago.

# In Israel, one of the few democracies in the Middle East, Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu has repeatedly excoriated investigative reporters and now faces corruption charges for allegedly offering regulatory favors to two major media firms in exchange for positive coverage (Byrd, C., 2006). Although Netanyahu has resisted efforts to formally indict and try him on these charges, the evidence suggests that the prime minister was willing to sacrifice press freedom in order to maintain political power. Many voters apparently accepted this tradeoff in the April 2019 elections, putting Netanyahu’s party and its allies in a position to form a new ruling coalition.

# India, the world’s most populous democracy, is also sending signals that holding the government accountable is not part of the press’s responsibility. The ruling BharatiyaJanata Party has supported campaigns to discourage speech that is “antinational,” and government-aligned thugs have raided critical journalists’ homes and offices. The media have become widely flattering of Prime Minister NarendraModi, who won reelection last month, amid allegations that the government issues directives on how the press should cover his activities and intimidates journalists who push back. The government has also been selective in the allocation of television licenses, effectively excluding unfriendly outlets from the airwaves (Recussi, S., 2017).

# In perhaps the most concerning development of recent years, press freedom has come under unusual pressure in the United States, the world’s leading democratic power. Although key news organizations remain strong and continue to produce vigorous reporting on those in office, President Donald Trump’s continual vilification of the press has seriously exacerbated an ongoing erosion of public confidence in the mainstream media. Among other steps, the president has repeatedly threatened to strengthen libel laws, revoke the licenses of certain broadcasters, and damage media owners’ other business interests (Vaidhyanathan, S., 2018). The US constitution provides robust protections against such actions, but President Trump’s public stance on press freedom has had a tangible impact on the global landscape. Journalists around the world now have less reason to believe that Washington will come to their aid if their basic rights are violated.

# The breakdown of global press freedom is closely related to the broader decline of democracy that Freedom House has tracked for the past 13 years. Taylor (2014) opine that although the press is not always the first institution to be attacked when a country’s leadership takes an antidemocratic turn, repression of free media is a strong indication that other political rights and civil liberties are in danger. Assaults on media independence are frequently associated with power grabs by new or incumbent leaders, or with entrenched regimes’ attempts to crush perceived threats to their control.

# Over the past five years, countries that were already designated as Not Free in Freedom House’s Freedom in the World report were also those most likely to suffer a decline in their press freedom scores, with 28 percent of Not Free countries experiencing such a drop (Sachs, J. A., 2018). Partly Free countries were almost equally likely to experience a gain as a decline in press freedom, reflecting the volatility of these middle performers and the complex forces influencing their trajectory. The worsening records of Not Free states, combined with the negative trend among free countries, have driven the overall decline in global press freedom.

# According to Pozen (2018), while populist leaders in democracies seek to secure and build on their gains by taming the press, established autocratic governments continue to tighten the screws on dissenting voices, as any breach in their media dominance threatens to expose official wrongdoing or debunk official narratives. In Russia in 2018, authorities moved to block the popular messaging application Telegram after the company refused to hand over its encryption keys to security officials. The government in Cameroon shut down internet service in the restive Anglophone region for most of last year, a heavy-handed reaction to protests and a nascent insurgency stemming from long-standing discrimination against the large Anglophone minority. In Myanmar, two Reuters journalists were sentenced to seven years in prison after a flawed trial in which the court ignored plain evidence that they had been entrapped to halt their investigation of military atrocities against the Rohingya minority; although they were recently pardoned, they were not exonerated.

# Peters (2019) opine that the downgrades in various countries can be attributed to a range of legal, political, and economic factors, but some stand out as more concerning and pervasive. Violence and harassment aimed at particular journalists and media outlets have played some role in 63 percent of the countries with a press freedom score reduction over the past five years. The 2018 murder of Jamal Khashoggi was the most infamous recent case, but it was hardly unique. Journalists in El Salvador received death threats in 2015 after they uncovered stories of police abuse and extrajudicial killings. A Malian journalist who was outspoken about rampant political corruption was shot in the chest in 2017. Also that year, a Tanzanian journalist investigating the murders of local officials disappeared, and his fate remains a mystery.

# Trends in press freedom differ by region. Since 2014, there has been no net change in the average press freedom score for the Americas or Asia-Pacific, and sub-Saharan Africa has seen a slight increase of 3 percent. But the average scores in the two least free regions of the world, Eurasia and the Middle East and North Africa (MENA), declined by 9 percent and 11 percent, respectively, while press freedom in Europe where four out of every five countries are Free dropped by 8 percent (Parkinson, R. G., 2016).

# In Eurasia and MENA, the media in the past year have faced an intensification of traditional challenges. Examples include new legislative restrictions in Belarus, further arrests and convictions in Lebanon, and heightened insecurity and fatalities in war-torn Yemen. These developments illustrate the ways in which already difficult environments can grow steadily worse in the absence of meaningful international support for media independence and other fundamental rights. Even in the regions where average scores were more stable, press freedom has come under threat in individual countries (Whittington, K. E., 2018). A new privacy law in Nepal restricts collection of the personal information of any individual, including public officials, exploiting legitimate concerns about privacy to suppress media scrutiny of political leaders’ conflicts of interest or corruption. In Pakistan, security agents have allegedly warned journalists against coverage of taboo subjects, such as abuses by the military, or given reporters instructions on how to cover specific political issues. The regime in China has worked to close off the last remaining avenues for accessing uncensored information by increasing pressure on private technology companies to police the content on their platforms more assiduously.

# 2.3.2 The existing strategies for enhancing media to promote freedom of expression

As an opportunity, the growing influence of democratic values in the domestic as well as international politics has been making significant progress in the enactment and enforcement of international human right instruments to protect and respect fundamental rights of human beings among which freedom of expression is one of them. Accordingly, as a contemporary public policy issue, efforts to achieve a global codification of freedom of expression can be traced to the United Nations 1948 Universal Declaration of Human Rights which has been followed by the realization of the International Convention for Civil and Political Rights in 1966.

Besides, the United Nations Education Science Culture Organization (UNESCO) Resolution (1983) asserted that protection and exercise of fundamental human rights is contingent upon access to communication resources. To this effect, the Tash Resolution in1992, and the Katmandu Declaration in 2003 have been formulated by this organization (UNSCO,2003).

Therefore, such international efforts could be taken as existential opportunities propounding the idea that individuals’ right to communication is a fundamental human right to be adopted by domestic constitutions of individual states. Besides such international human right policy frame works could be taken as collective international responses largely to oppressive political regimes suppressing the natural entitlement of individuals to know, communicate, and understand each other, freedom of express ion. Besides, the intensification of new forms of digital social media during the first decade of the twenty-first century has eased the ways in which many people communicate and share information. And this implies that such digital technologies and social media are making the domestic as well as international political practices relatively more accessible, open, transparent and ultimately democratic. Thus, mobile technologies and social media have offered for people the following existing opportunities: communicating and widespread sharing of ideas among themselves from any part of the world, changing the traditional ‘top-down’ dissemination of information by the mainstream media corporations, and reducing the cost of information creation and communication to make it much more accessible to poorer people (Unwin,2013).

However, as a growing contemporary challenge, there has been an increasing tendency for the internet to be controlled and monopolized by a small number of companies, governments and individuals, which may counter to the aspirations of those seeking more democratic processes. In other words, governments and large private corporations may exploit social media and the internet as a means of surveillance and maintaining ever abuse of human rights.

Technologies have most frequently been shaped and used by those who are in power by imposing their social, economic, political and ideological orientations to maintain their positions (ibid). Thus, the above communication devices and technologies which have initially been considered as growing opportunities to better effect individuals’ freedom of expression could however be turned as challenges to this human right value as they could be served as instruments to sustain and strengthen the economic, political and socio-cultural ideologies of those who own such technologies.

Additional contemporary threat is that governments and global corporations have very often been able to use these technologies to gain considerable additional knowledge about, and power over, citizens and consumers. Some government and global corporations such as Google, yahoo and face book now have vastly more information about individuals than was ever before, and many people are concerned about its implications, particularly with respect to individual right to personal privacy of individuals (ibid). Besides, it is also important to note that information communication technologies may actually be used to counter democratic culture. In other words, individuals or groups may employ such technologies; to express hate speeches, to promote violence and terror, and to communicate information contrary to public interest, international peace and security.

In this regard, the growing threat posed by terrorist groups against the international community has been aggravated by the exploitation of those social media by such groups. More importantly, enactment of the right to communicate has been suppressed in democracies as a consequence of gate keeping and agenda setting processes controlled by political, social, and economic elites (Mills,1956).

The ownership classes that, in many cases control media directly through ownership or as members of boards of directors. Here, the cumulative effect of such arrangement in the mainstream news media is homogenization of content, justifying the status quo, and marginalizing minorities, curtailing expression of dissident viewpoints, naturalizing a distorted reality, and restricting dialectical possibilities available for public discourse. Though, in democratic political systems, ensuring individuals’ access to communication technologies and media is among the top public policy priorities, information deprivation attributed to contentment homogenization and agenda setting activities by those elites who are in the economic and political power structures have been therefore becoming clear and present dangers to this universal human right establishment.

The Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UDHR), proclaimed by the United Nations General Assembly in 1948 in the wake of the holocaust, expressed a commitment by the world to promote and observe a full suite of fundamental human rights. Article 19 of the UDHR protected freedom of opinion and expression in the following terms (United Nations, [1948](https://www.tandfonline.com/doi/full/10.1080/17549507.2018.1392612)).

Everyone has the right to freedom of opinion and expression; this right includes freedom to hold opinions without interference and to seek, receive and impart information and ideas through any media and regardless of frontiers.

Seventy years later, the rights contained within the UDHR, including freedom of opinion and expression, are firmly protected in international treaties, regional human rights instruments and newly established domestic human rights laws (e.g. Canada, [1982](https://www.tandfonline.com/doi/full/10.1080/17549507.2018.1392612); Council of Europe, [1953](https://www.tandfonline.com/doi/full/10.1080/17549507.2018.1392612); Organization of African Unity, [1981](https://www.tandfonline.com/doi/full/10.1080/17549507.2018.1392612); Republic of South Africa, [1996](https://www.tandfonline.com/doi/full/10.1080/17549507.2018.1392612)).

An overwhelming majority of countries have ratified the International Convention on the Elimination of all forms of Racial Discrimination (ICERD, United Nations, [1965](https://www.tandfonline.com/doi/full/10.1080/17549507.2018.1392612)), the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights (ICCPR, United Nations, [1966](https://www.tandfonline.com/doi/full/10.1080/17549507.2018.1392612)), the Convention on the Rights of the Child (CRC, United Nations, [1989](https://www.tandfonline.com/doi/full/10.1080/17549507.2018.1392612)), and the Convention on the Rights of Persons with Disabilities (CRPD, United Nations, [2006](https://www.tandfonline.com/doi/full/10.1080/17549507.2018.1392612)), each of which protects freedom of opinion and expression. 178 of 197 countries have ratified the ICERD; 169 of 197 countries have ratified the ICCPR; 196 of 197 countries have ratified the CRC; and 174 out of 197 countries have ratified the CRPD (Office of the High Commissioner for Human Rights, [2017a](https://www.tandfonline.com/doi/full/10.1080/17549507.2018.1392612)). Through ratification, the countries become party to those treaties and voluntarily agree to be bound in international law to uphold the human rights contained therein. By virtue of the overwhelming rate of treaty ratification and its inclusion in the UDHR, freedom of speech is now considered to be a norm of customary international law (Triggs, [2011](https://www.tandfonline.com/doi/full/10.1080/17549507.2018.1392612)).

Sylvain (2018) opine that the picture of global press freedom is not entirely bleak. The most encouraging examples of democratic progress over the past two years Ethiopia, Malaysia, Armenia, Ecuador, and The Gambia have nearly all featured parallel gains in their media environments. Among these five countries, only Armenia failed to register an improvement in its press freedom score in the same year as its initial political opening in Freedom in the World. This correlation underscores once again the close relationship between media freedom and political change: Just as antidemocratic power grabs often involve attacks on independent media, a reformist leadership is defined in part by its willingness to accept criticism from a free press. And just as restrictions on media freedom frequently precede the erosion of other rights, the removal of such restrictions facilitates and catalyzes further democratic advancements.

The improvements in these countries also point to the resilience of independent journalism, even after years of repression. In Malaysia and Ecuador, the lifting of political pressure on the media allowed independent outlets to rebound from censorship and previously pro-government outlets to produce less obsequious coverage. In Ethiopia, outlets that had been operating from abroad were able to return to the country (Ash, T. G., 2016). In The Gambia, persecuted journalists returned from exile, and more locals have decided to enter the profession.

Blasi (2011) opine that media freedom can recover much more quickly after a period of authoritarian governance than some other elements of democracy, such as the rule of law. But it is also subject to rapid reversals. The Arab Spring provides a cautionary tale. Soon after the 2011 uprisings, Tunisia, Egypt, and Libya all recorded improvements in press freedom in Freedom in the World. All have since faced setbacks. Like democracy itself, press freedom is not an end state that remains secure once it is achieved, it must be nurtured and defended against the forces that oppose it. While the threats to global media freedom are real and concerning in their own right, their impact on the state of democracy is what makes them truly dangerous.

A free and independent media sector that can keep the population informed and hold leaders to account is as crucial for a strong and sustainable democracy as free and fair elections. Without it, citizens cannot make informed decisions about how they are ruled, and abuse of power, which is all but inevitable in any society, cannot be exposed and corrected. Freeberg (2019) noted that journalists played a key role in the April 2019 ouster of authoritarian president AbdelazizBouteflika in Algeria, not only by reporting on antigovernment protests but also by staging their own demonstrations when major news outlets failed to give due attention to the popular movement. However, the frequent arrests of critical journalists that took place under Bouteflika have continued since his resignation, an indication that the unfolding leadership transition may be less revolutionary than many have hoped.

Before Sudanese president Omar al-Bashir was removed from office, also in April, the population was accustomed to domestic news outlets that failed to provide unbiased and substantive information. Citizen journalists and exile-based outlets filled the gap, disseminating news and images largely via the internet (Foer, F., 2021). As frustration with al-Bashir’s misrule grew throughout the winter and he perceived the extent of the threat to his power, his regime cracked down, arresting journalists who covered mass protests and revoking the credentials of some foreign reporters. As in Algeria, journalists staged their own protests. Military commanders attempted to placate the public after al-Bashir’s arrest, announcing the end of media censorship and tacitly acknowledging that a perception of increased press freedom would help consolidate their control. But journalists are skeptical of such declarations by the junta, and they have joined other protesters in pressing for a transfer of power to civilian leaders who can oversee a genuine democratic opening.

In Venezuela, media repression has increased since the opposition-controlled National Assembly designated Juan Guaidó as acting president in January. Combined with repeated electricity blackouts, this pressure from the authoritarian regime of NicolásMaduro has severely hampered efforts by media outlets in the country to inform the public about political events and the ongoing humanitarian crisis (George, R. P., and C. West. 2018). But a handful of resilient journalists have continued to disseminate news through social media, the internet, and international partners. One reporting group has developed technology to record video with low bandwidth on mobile devices and then automatically delete it after transfer to a secure server, reducing the risk of reprisals against journalists who are detained and searched. Journalists’ ability to document opposition activities as well as the brutality of the regime response has helped to galvanize international support for the democracy movement.

George and West (2018), states that in order to address the information gap on the ground in Venezuela, some media outlets have also forged direct relationships with subsets of the population. Journalists enter communities that have had limited access to objective news under Maduro and report on local stories. This fosters public trust and makes residents more receptive to other impartial news. Despite these valiant efforts, however, the production of reliable, objective news that is accessible to Venezuelans remains a daunting challenge.

Armenia has made far more progress in its democratic transition in the past year, with protests leading to fresh elections and a new, reformist government. As in Sudan, most television channels initially avoided covering the mass demonstrations. But a small contingent of independent outlets, including Civilnet and Azatutyun, was able to provide steady in-depth reporting, including live streams and skillful use of social media (George and West, 2018). The information flow helped the popular movement to gain momentum, increasing pressure on establishment forces and legitimizing the rising new leadership. These outlets also helped stem disinformation spread by the former regime.

There is an obvious tension between journalists who are attempting to perform their proper democratic function and antidemocratic regimes that are determined to retain power. The innovative and courageous work of independent reporters offers hope that even in the most desperate circumstances, those who are committed to distributing information in the public interest can find a way. But these journalists alone cannot address the needs of billions of people who still have access to little more than their government’s narrative and must rely on their own instincts and observations to assess the claims of corrupt and abusive leaders.

Ensure that their actions do not excuse or inspire violations of press freedom. Democratic nations have a particularly important role to play in maintaining media freedom. Words matter, and when US officials verbally attack the press or fail to swiftly and vigorously condemn acts of repression such as Khashoggi’s murder, it sends a signal to undemocratic leaders around the world that assaults on the press and crimes against journalists are permissible. Take strong and immediate action against any violations of media freedom globally through press statements, phone calls, meetings, letters, and the imposition of targeted sanctions on perpetrators. This includes speaking out against violence against journalists and authorities’ failure to identify and prosecute attackers, restrictions on media access, blocking of websites, and censorship on particular topics.

Stand up publicly for the value of a free press, and support civic education that will inform the next generation. West (2018) states that press freedom is one of the most fundamental pillars of American democracy, and constitutional protections in the United States are stronger than in any other country in the world. Citizens could easily forget this amid media mudslinging and incendiary commentary. Political leaders and teachers should reiterate the extent to which we all benefit from professional journalists who hold those in power to account. Ensure that foreign policy and assistance prioritizes support for democratic principles, including media freedom, as the foundation of national security and economic prosperity.

The goal of foreign assistance is to bring recipient countries to the point that they no longer need it. In that sense, it is shortsighted for donor governments to invest funding overseas without shoring up press freedom. National security and economic prosperity are strongest in nations where democratic rights are protected, and a free press is a key watchdog of democracy. Foreign aid specifically focused on bolstering independent media by providing technical training and emergency assistance is especially needed given the threats journalists currently face. Countries that have experienced recent expansions in press freedom, such as Angola, Ethiopia, Malaysia, and Ecuador, are particularly vulnerable to backsliding and require special focus.

Cook (2018) states that support social media as an alternative outlet for free expression in repressive environments. Innovative alternatives to state-controlled media regularly spring up on social media, including recently in Venezuela, Armenia, and Sudan. Related technology can be used to circumvent censorship and keep reporters anonymous where needed. Donor agencies should provide funding for technology that increases journalistic freedom.

The public media are an important part of this narrative building. State-owned or state-controlled news agencies dwarf their private competitors in both Serbia and Hungary. Serbia’s Tanjug news agency was formally closed as part of a privatization drive, yet it continues to operate through support from public coffers (Sarah Cook, 2018). The market domination of Hungary’s state newswire, MTI, is guaranteed through its subsidized low price, and while public broadcasters in Serbia and Hungary have always been supportive of governments in power, the tone and nature of that support has dramatically shifted in recent years. Whereas previously they were more or less professional outlets with a slight bias, now they are government mouthpieces.

In Hungary, the government and progovernment media have turned into a major source of parallel reality narratives. In early 2018, the progovernment daily Magyar Idők claimed that 2,000 “mercenaries” were working for Soros in Hungary; the number which appeared to originate with a malicious sting operation conducted by a shadowy group and aimed at discrediting Soros-affiliated NGOs was later repeated by Orbán himself, Soros has featured in numerous other false news items, including a headline the government-friendly TV2 ran in 2017 that read, Soros would have killed his own mother (Pozen, D. 2021).

Pozen (2018) highlights that moreover, employees of the public broadcaster have admitted to receiving instructions from the prime minister’s offices on how to cover sensitive issues, such as migration. In 2019, a leaked video recording showed a reporter from the state broadcaster instructing a progovernment expert on what to say. Besides identifying the “enemy” through issue framing and agenda setting, the illiberal toolbox also contains elements of positive narrative building. Serbia’s President Vučić is indefatigable when it comes to talking to friendly media. Ahead of the 2018 local elections, reporting on the president, the SNS, and the government received four times more airtime than did the remaining 23 electoral lists combined.

Positive examples already suggest that a change has started on the demand side, as more people are willing to pay for news that they find valuable, as well as on the supply side, with journalists launching innovative models that concentrate on quality news analysis. Democratic governments are also catching up and have moved into the debate though sometimes somewhat awkwardly proposing regulatory involvement to tackle thorny issues around fake news and disinformation. Citizens and lawmakers are protesting media abuses, particularly those by public broadcasters. In Serbia, protesters in March 2019 stormed the headquarters of the public broadcaster RTS after it failed to report on earlier protests and denied airtime to opposition leaders. In Hungary, opposition lawmakers in December 2018 occupied the headquarters of the state broadcaster, with the support of demonstrators outside.

Democratic countries must work to build a media environment that prioritizes independent and accurate reporting and guarantees access to quality information for all segments of the population. This will not only prevent illiberal co-optation, but will also shore up institutions and strengthen and support democracy at home.More traditional media players in democracies have engaged in their own experiments along these lines. Public broadcasters from France, Germany, the United Kingdom, and the United States teamed up to develop a Turkish-language news channel that will air exclusively on YouTube. The stated goal of the channel, +90, is to “provide independent and accurate information that promotes free speech and a multitude of perspectives on current affairs (George and West, 2018). Since it is based overseas, Turkish authorities upset over its coverage would need to convince the Silicon Valley based hosting company to censor a US government funded news service.

But international social media platforms are not exactly immune from government pressure. In Vietnam, a one-party state where the authorities maintain a tight grip on information flows, a network of democratic activists based inside and outside the country run a Facebook page that provides an independent take on the repressive regime to some 1.3 million followers. While Facebook executive Sheryl Sandberg (2019) mentioned in congressional testimony that the company refrains from establishing a physical presence in repressive countries in order avoid complying with political censorship, the platform did remove at least seven stories from the activist group in question, ViệtTân, in early May, citing “local legal restrictions.” The posts covered the health condition of Vietnam’s president at a time when the authorities had issued a strict media blackout on the subject. Reuters “broke” a story on the president’s illness over 10 days after ViệtTân had initially covered it.

Activists in autocratic countries are concerned that companies like Facebook could move toward complying more consistently with government orders for financial or legal reasons. Vietnam recently passed a cyber security law, closely modeled on China’s, that requires companies to store data about Vietnamese users on servers located within the country (Nguyen, 2018). If major international platforms were to obey, the private communications of local users would be within the reach of Vietnamese security agencies, who consider nonviolent political activism to be a threat to national security. Already, ViệtTân has been branded a terrorist organization for its insistence on peaceful democratic reform away from one-party rule.

Instead, governments should find other ways to improve companies’ performance. Policymakers could establish independent multi-stakeholder bodies to evaluate companies’ content moderation practices for transparency, proportionality, and the effectiveness of appeal processes (Knaus, C., 2017). Such bodies can also set minimum standards for the detection and elimination of coordinated inauthentic activity, such as paid trolls and both accounts, as well as guidelines for political advertising during election campaigns. In addition, public officials should regulate other aspects of the sector through the lens of antitrust laws and privacy protections, since they have important consequences for freedom of expression in a democracy. The overarching goal of such regulation should be to protect and augment the constructive role that online communication platforms can play in all societies.

Social media are a crucial part of the modern media ecosystem. They dramatically expand access to information and freedom of expression, and in repressive and troubled countries they remain a lifeline to journalists, activists, and ordinary citizens attempting to exercise their democratic rights. Rather than surrendering these services to the malevolent forces that have exploited their weaknesses, democracies must fight back in a way that is consistent with their own long-standing values.

David Boonin (2011) is not convinced that there is a need for special hate speech legislation. He claims that hate speech does not fit within the regular categories of speech that can be prohibited. Even if he can be persuaded that it does fit, he still thinks special hate speech laws are not required because existing legislation will capture the offending speech. I will examine one example he uses to make his point. Boonin argues that threatening speech already sits within the category of speech that is rightfully prohibited. He suggests, however, that hate speech does not fall within this category because a significant amount of hate speech is not directly threatening. A group of black men, for example, will not be threatened by a racially abusive elderly white woman. He argues that this example, and others like it, show why a blanket ban on all hate speech on the grounds that it is threatening cannot be justified. Nor is it likely, he suggests, that racist attacks by frail old ladies will contribute to an atmosphere of danger. This argument might be less persuasive. Mill’s use of the corn dealer example demonstrates how the use of language can incite violence regardless of who is speaking. But Mill’s example also shows that a blanket ban would still be unwarranted because it allows incendiary statements to be made about corn dealers under controlled conditions.

# 2.4 Conceptual framework

Figure 12.1 Conceptual framework

# Independent Variable Dependant Variable

**Freedom of expression**

* The kind of freedom of expression
* Legislative and Regulatory Framework
* Independence
* Security and Transparency.

# 

**Contribution of Media**

* Media HR campaigns
* Airtime allocation
* Community outreaches
* Advocacy
* Radio and TV talk shows

# 

# 

# Intervening variables

# 

* Domestic values
* Awareness and knowledge levels
* Attitudes and perspectives
* Civil responsibility

***Source: Developed by the researcher from the literature review, 2021***

The conceptual framework above shows the significant relation between the independent, dependant and intervening variables, in this case the independent variable the contribution of media is represented by Media Human Rights campaigns, airtime allocation , community outreaches, advocacy and radio and TV talk shows while the dependant variable Freedom of expression is represented by indictors of the kind of freedom of expression, Legislative and Regulatory Framework, Independence and Security and Transparency. On the same note, the moderating variables include Domestic values, Awareness and knowledge levels, Attitudes and perspectives and civil responsibility

# CHAPTER THREE

# RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

# 3.1 Introduction

This chapter describes the methodology that was used to carry out the study it thus sets out the study area, research methodology that was used to meet the objectives of the study and highlights the research design adopted. It further highlights sampling techniques that were used, target population of the study, sample size selected and materials for data collection. Finally the chapter discusses the various tools that were used to analyze the collected data.

# 3.2 Research Design

According to Kombo and Tromp (2006), a research design is the glue that holds all the elements in a research project together. The descriptive design based on exploratory design used because it put into consideration constraints of cost, it was created quickly, administered easily and it was used to collect information on a wide range of issues that include personal facts, attitudes, past behaviors and opinions. In this research, the population was large and could bemanaged easily, but with the use of samples taken the researcher was able to obtain accurate and ample information.

The research was carried out through a quantitative and survey research designs. According to Oso and Onen (2009), a quantitative and survey are used where populations are investigated by selecting a sample to analyze and discover occurrences at certain point in time. A survey provided numeric description of events of some part of the population and explains the events as they were and how they ought to be, whereas the cross-sectional design helped to obtain data from a given section of the respondents at certain time in the research process.

# 3.3 Study Population

McMillan & Schumacher (2001) state that the population refers to the group of individuals that had one or more characteristics in common that were of interest to the researcher, therefore the population of study comprised of the Media fraternity, Human right civil society staff and Political leaders. In Kampala Central Division. During the 2014, the national census, put Kampala Central population, was put at 1,680,800 people.

# 3.4 Sample Size

This sample size for this study was selected using a number of sampling methods, namely; probability and non-probability in which then the researcher was able to use the purposive and random sampling techniques. The sample size for the current study was selected based on the formulae set by Yamane (1973). Yamane sample calculation is a way to determine the sample size for a study. It was the most ideal method to use when the only thing one knew about the underlying population was sampling from its size. The Yamane sample size states that:

*n Y*=*N*

1+*Ne*2

Where *nY*is the Yamane sample size, *N* is your underlying population size and *e* is determined from the confidence you are seeking from your study. That is, if you want to be 95% sure about the results of your study then *e*=0.05.

N= the study population which is 102

e= the level of significant co-efficient which is 0.052

n= N

1+ N (0.05)2

n= 102

1+ 102 (0.05)2

n= 102

1+0.3

**n=78**

Table 13.1:Sample size and sampling techniques

|  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- |
| **Category of respondent** | **Target Population** | **Sample size** | **Sampling Technique** |
| Media Fraternity | 30 | 28 | Purposive |
| Human right civil activists | 48 | 35 | Random |
| Political leaders | 24 | 15 | Purposive |
| **Total** | **102** | **78** |  |

# 3.5 Sampling Techniques (Purposive and Simple Random Sampling)

According to Kothari (2011), there were two sampling methods which were used in this study, namely probability (representative) sampling and non-probability (non-representative) sampling.

With probability sampling, the researcher determined the chance or probability of an element being included in the sample. This method gave each and every member of the population an equal chance of being selected for the sample. Examples of probability sampling included simple random sampling, stratified sampling and cluster sampling from which the researcher selected the suitable sampling techniques for this study.

With non-probability sampling, the researcher determined only those elements he deems important for the study to be included in the sample. This method gave the researcher the mandate to select out only those members that were important for consideration in the sample. Examples of non-probability sampling included purposive sampling and multi-stage sampling and others from which the researcher selected the suitable sampling techniques for this study.

The researcher used the following sampling technique that is to say simple random and purposive sampling;

# 3.5.1 Simple random sampling

Simple random sampling was used to select respondents for data collection who were at the same level in the organization/ embassy or association. According to Amin (2005) a simple random sampling is a sample obtained from the population in such a way that samples of the same size had equal chances of being selected. A simple random sampling technique was used to select respondents by choosing at random from among the staff.

# 3.5.2 Purposive sampling

The researcher applied personal judgment about which respondents to choose, and pick only those who best met the purpose of the study. In this study, purposive sampling was used because it was judgmental, allowing the researcher to handpick leadership groups or individuals according to their relevance to the issue at hand (Aina and Ajifuruke, 2002). The use of purposive sampling aimed at getting as more relevant and valuable information for the research as possible from among the respondents in top management like the Local Government leaders.

# 3.6 Data Collection Methods (Questionnaire Surveys and Interview Methods)

According to Mugenda and Mugenda (2003) the study applied the following data collection methods. Two types of tools were used for data collection and these include; self-administered questionnaires and interview guides.

# 

# 3.6.2 Interview

Another method that was used by the researcher is interview, therefore the interview method involving face-to face interview which has a distinguished advantage of enabling the researcher to establish rapport with potential participants and therefore gain their cooperation. Due to the situation in the country the researcher engaged himself in online interviews using phone interview and to some available respondents, the research followed the established Ministry of Health Covid 19 guidelines.Mugenda and Mugenda (2003)

# 

# 3.6.3 Questionnaire / Survey method

According to Mugenda and Mugenda (2003), survey is a data gathering method that is utilized to collect, analyze and interpret the views of a group of people from a target population. The survey methodology was guided by principles of statistics from the moment of creating a sample, or a group of people to represent a population, up to the time of the survey results' analysis and interpretation. The following steps were included in the process of conducting a survey, as well as several questions to ask one's self during each step, that is clarifying the purpose, formulating survey goals, verifying the resources, choosing a survey method, performing the sampling, writing the questionnaire, pilot testing and revising or changing the questionnaire, administering the questionnaire, processing and storing data, analyzing and interpreting the survey results, making a conclusion and reporting the survey results.

# 3.7 Data Collection Tools/Instrument

According to Kavulia (2007), this provided firsthand information from the people concerned. A number of tools were used for data collection and these include self-administered questionnaire and interview guide.

# 3.7.1 Self-administered questionnaire

The researcher used the questionnaire technique or tool for collecting data that was constructed with open ended and close ended questions. The researcher opted to use the questionnaires because they were used to collect large amounts of information from a large number of people in a short period of time, and it is a relatively cost effective, quick and easily quantifiable by the researcher to analyze the data and to compare the findings for clarity. This was adopted from Kavulia (2007), methodology approach.

# 3.7.2 Interview guide

The researcher set questions to guide the oral/mouth to mouth interactions between the researcher and the respondents. The data collected by this method was more correct compared to the other methods that were used for data collection. The interview method was good to use since the researcher went to the field himself and asked the respondents for more information that was necessary for the research thus yielding more information from the field compared to other methods.

# 3.8 Data Quality Control

The following criteria were applied to this qualitative and quantitative study in order to make the research credible that is reliability and validity. Respondents’ checking was undertaken to give credibility to the analysis. It was up to the reader to determine whether the text had sufficient credibility to qualify as a quality piece of research.

# 3.8.1 Reliability

Saunders et al. (2007) defines reliability as the characteristics of measurement concerning precision, accuracy and consistency. For the data to be reliable, it should yield the same results if the data is repeated for a number of times. Usually reliability is ensured through minimizing errors in the research tools. The researcher ensured reliability through a test- retest-strategy of the questionnaire and interview guide. This involved piloting about 07 questionnaires with the supervisor and two other lecturers as well as two students at post graduate levels outside the population of study. The questionnaires were re-piloted and then compared with items in the one pilot study. Only those items which met the standards as agreed by the supervisor or correlation coefficient of greater or equal to 0.7 included were included in the questionnaire and interview guide because a value of at least 0.7 is acceptable for research.

Data was collected by the researcher thereby avoiding the potential of bias. Transcriptions were checked against verbatim notes. The internal consistency of data coding and analysis was enhanced as the researcher himself did all the coding and analysis.

# 3.8.2Validity

According to Babbie, (2010), reliability refers to the extent to which the same answers can be obtained using the same instruments more than one time. In simple terms, if your research is associated with high levels of reliability, then other researchers need to be able to generate the same results, using the same research methods under similar conditions. It was noted that reliability problems cropped up in many forms. Reliability is a concern every time a single observer is the source of data, because we had no certain guard against the impact of that observer’s subjectivity. According to Wilson (2010) reliability issues are most of the time closely associated with subjectivity and once a researcher adopted a subjective approach towards the study, then the level of reliability of the work was going to be compromised.

Validity of research was explained as an extent at which requirements of scientific research method had been followed during the process of generating research findings. Oliver (2010) considers validity to be a compulsory requirement for all types of studies. There are different forms of research validity and main ones are specified by Cohen et al (2007) as content validity, criterion-related validity, construct validity, internal validity, external validity, concurrent validity and face validity.

Measures to ensure validity of a research include, but not limited to the following points:

1. Appropriate time scale for the study has to be selected;
2. Appropriate methodology has to be chosen, taking into account the characteristics of the study;
3. The most suitable sample method for the study has to be selected;
4. The respondents must not be pressured in any ways to select specific choices among the answer sets.

It was important to understand that although threats to research reliability and validity could never be totally eliminated, however researchers needed to strive to minimize this threat as much as possible. To enhance confidence in the findings data was collected using self-administered questionnaires and key informant interviews which was a way of methodological triangulation.

# 3.9 Data Collection procedure

According to Connaway&Powell (2010), in order to shift the power of the researcher/participant relationship to the study participants, the research was undertaken in environments that were selected by and comfortable for study respondents. Key informants were interviewed at their convenience. In this way the interviewee-guided interview and the researcher was able to direct, select and structures the story. Data editing coding the data and cleaning was done after data had been collected to ensure that all mistakes made by respondents were cleared and then data was entered into the computer for analysis and summarizing the data.

# 3.10 Data presentation and analysis

Raw data can be obtained was collected, coded, grouped and presented in tables and graphs. The researcher was prompted to use this method because it analyzed data to draw thorough conclusions. Partington (2003) states that there is little standardization with no absolute conclusion where a specific type of qualitative data relates to a specific type of analysis, Neuman (2011) further opines that no single qualitative data analysis approach is widely accepted, while Schurink et al., (2011) posit that there are always variations in the number and description of steps for the same process of data analysis by different authors. From the preceding views, it was thus inferred that each qualitative data analysis to some extent was a uniquely designed event. With the preceding in mind, the qualitative data analysis of this research (responses from the semi-structured interviews) were done according to a qualitative content analysis process that integrates Creswell’s (2013) analytic spiral with the process as described by Marshall and Rossman (1999).

# 3.11 Measurement of variables

The two variables were measured using an instrument, device, or computer. The scale of the variable measured; drastically affect the type of analytical techniques that were used on the data, and what conclusions could be drawn from the data. The scales were measured using, nominal, ordinal, interval, and ratio. The least amount of information wascontained in nominal scale data, while the most amount of information wasobtainedfrom ratio scale data.

# 3.11.1Likert Scale

The current study used the Likert scale where the respondents indicated the degree of agreement and disagreement with a variety of statements about some attitude, object, person, or event. The scale used contained 3 (three) Likert points that is Agree, Not Certain and disagree. These scales were summed across statements to get the attitude score.

# 3.12 Ethical Considerations

The researcher introduced himself to the authorities and respondents with an authority letter from the university and when permitted by the corresponding authorities, it enabled him to create rapport with the respondents.

The researcher assured the respondents that he is seeking data from them for research purposes alone and the data was used for academic purposes alone. In this ways the researcher did not demand for their identity, and assured them of how the information they gave was not to be used for any other purposes other than research.

The researcher informed the respondents the purpose of the study, why and how they were selected. The researcher went ahead to seek for informed consent of each respondent both orally and in writing.

The researcher told the respondents of the long-term and short-term benefits of the study. And in case a respondent refuses to participate in the study, their opinion was respected.

The researcher tried as much as possible to minimize embarrassing questions especially during interview. In order to obtain the best results, the researcher tried as much as possible to avoid perceptual biases during questionnaire administration and interviews.

The above ethical considerations were vital in ensuring that respondents did not withhold desired information and ensure that the data collected reflected a true and fair image of the views of the study respondents.

# CHAPTER FOUR

# PRESENTATION, ANALYSIS, INTERPRETATION AND DISCUSSION OF THE FINDINGS

# 4.0 Introduction

The chapter comprises and focuses on the presentation, analysis; interpretation of findings on the roles of the media in the promotion of freedom of expression in Uganda focusing on Kampala Central Division. The study focused on the respondents’ bio-data, the nature of freedom of expression in Kampala Central Division, the influence of freedom of expression on democracy in Kampala Central Division and the existing strategies for enhancing freedom of expression in order to boost democracy in Kampala Central Division

# 4.1 Response Rate

From the study findings, of the 78 respondents planned for the study, a number of 63 availed data for the study accounting for 80.8% of the 100%. Of these, 24 (19.4%) were those which answered questionnaires, 39 (13.4%) were interviewed directly face-to-face, and also provided data through direct mobile phone calls, and others through the social media. The findings, however, were reliable for this study.

# 4.1 Respondents’ bio-data

In this study, the respondents’ bio-data including gender, age groups, marital status, highest level of education attained and others, and the results obtained are given below;

Table 24.1: Gender

|  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- |
| **Response** | **Frequency** | **Percentage** |
| Male | 47 | 74.6 |
| Female | 16 | 25.4 |
| **Total** | **63** | **100.0** |

***Source: Field Data, 2021***

Regarding the responses on the gender composition, 47 (74.6%) of the respondents were males and 16 (25.4%) were females. The facts is that the researcher focused on the area of study where he found out that most of the respondents such as the Media Fraternity, Human right civil society staff and Political leaders. The data obtained from both male and female respondents was crucial in supporting the study to derive vital deductions about the findings.

Table 34.2: Age Group of the Respondents

|  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- |
| **Response** | **Frequency** | **Percentage** |
| 20 – 29 years | 12 | 19.0 |
| 30 – 39 years | 27 | 42.9 |
| 40 – 49 years | 20 | 31.7 |
| 50 years + | 04 | 6.3 |
| **Total** | **63** | **100.0** |

***Source: Field Data, 2021***

In focusing on the age of respondents, findings in table 4.2 above found out that 12 (19.0%) of the respondents were aged 20 to 29 years, 27 (42.9%) were aged 30 to 39 years, 20 (31.7%) were aged 40 to 49 years and 04 (6.3%) were aged 50 years and above. Majority of the respondents were aged between 20 and 49 years, but responses from all the respondents were crucial for this study.

Table 44.3 Level of education level

|  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- |
| **Response** | **Frequency** | **Percentage** |
| Below Certificate level | 03 | 4.8 |
| Certificate | 12 | 19.0 |
| Diploma | 10 | 15.9 |
| Graduate /Post graduates | 38 | 60.3 |
| **Total** | **63** | **100.0** |

***Source: Field Data, 2021***

Findings in regard to the level of education attained by the respondents, 03 (4.8%) had attained only below certificate level, 12 (19.0%) had certificate level, 10 (15.9%) had diploma education and 38 (60.3%) had graduate and post graduate education, that is Bachelor’s degree, Master’s degree and others. Most respondents possessed graduate education hence well-educated.

Table 54.4: Nature of work one is engaged in

|  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- |
| **Response** | **Frequency** | **Percentage** |
| Journalism/Associations | 24 | 38.1 |
| Educationist | 11 | 17.4 |
| Human rights activities | 21 | 33.3 |
| Others (community members) | 07 | 11.1 |
| **Total** | **63** | **100.0** |

***Source: Field Data, 2021***

The current study on the nature of work one is engaged in revealed that 24 (38.1%) of the respondents were in journalism reporting about the various political and non-political ideals, 11 (17.4%) were educationists such as lecturers, political advocates and elites; 21 (33.3%) agreed that they were Human rights activities like those in Civil Society organizations, 07 (11.1%) showed that they were others. All the respondents availed data for the study.

Table 64.5: Length of time you have known the existence of freedom of expression

|  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- |
| **Response** | **Frequency** | **Percentage** |
| 1-4 years | 18 | 28.6 |
| 5-9 years | 23 | 36.5 |
| 10-14 years | 12 | 19.0 |
| 15 years and above | 10 | 15.9 |
| **Total** | **63** | **100.0** |

***Source: Field Data, 2021***

The study findings on the length of time you have known the existence of freedom of expression revealed that 18 (28.6%) of the respondents agreed that they had spent 1-4 years, 23 (36.5%) had spent 5-9 years, 12 (19.0%) had spent 10-14 years, and 10 (15.9%) had spent 15 years and above. Despite all the varying knowledge on the existence of freedom of expression, all the respondents availed data for this study.

Table 74.6: The ways in which freedom of expression is promoted

|  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- |
| **Response** | **Frequency** | **Percentage** |
| Through the print media | 15 | 23.8 |
| Through the digital media | 28 | 44.4 |
| Lobbying and advocacy campaigns | 11 | 17.5 |
| Through rallying the public to respond to certain programmes of government | 09 | 14.3 |
| **Total** | **63** | **100.0** |

***Source: Field Data, 2021***

The study findings on the ways in which freedom of expression is promoted revealed that 15 (23.8%) of the respondents agreed that political, social and economic sensitive and public messages are driven through the print media, 28 (44.4%) stated that it is through the digital media, 11 (17.5%) agreed that it is through lobbying and advocacy campaigns and 09 (14.3%) agreed that it is through rallying the public to respond to certain programmes of government. Through all the channels known by the respondents, it is an indication that all respondents availed data which was useful to this study.

Table 84.7: The forms of media used for freedom of expression in the area

|  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- |
| **Response** | **Frequency** | **Percentage** |
| Printed materials | 18 | 28.6 |
| Social media | 23 | 36.5 |
| Mouth/Oral method | 22 | 34.9 |
| **Total** | **63** | **100.0** |

***Source: Field Data, 2021***

The findings of the study on the forms of media used for freedom of expression in the area revealed that 18 (28.6%) of the respondents agreed that there is use of printed materials such as the News papers like The Daily Monitor, Magazines such as the Independent, Tabloids like Red Pepper, whereas 23 (36.5%) agreed that there is use of the social media platforms like facebook, linkeldn, twitter, messenger and so on as well as 22 (34.9%) being in agreement that there is use of Mouth-to-mouth or Oral method. The respondents had thorough knowledge about these methods which guided a lot of the data they provided d for this study.

# 4.2 The nature of freedom of expression in Kampala Central Division

The findings of the study on the nature of freedom of expression in Kampala Central Division (2016-2019) are presented in table 4.7;

Table 94.8: The nature of freedom of expression in Kampala Central Division

|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
| **Response statement** | **Distribution of responses** | | | | | |
| **Agree** | | **Not certain** | | **Disagree** | |
| **Freq.** | **Percent** | **Freq.** | **Percent** | **Freq.** | **Percent** |
| There is free press expression in the news papers | 40 | 62.9 | 17 | 27.1 | 06 | 10 |
| There is limited censorship of press articles by the local government and the central government | 20 | 31.4 | 09 | 14.3 | 34 | 54.3 |
| The people use the internet platforms to express their political views | 27 | 42.9 | 26 | 41.4 | 10 | 15.7 |
| The political debates are held on Television by political activists and politicians | 27 | 42.9 | 26 | 41.4 | 10 | 15.7 |
| The political debates are held on Radio (Radio Talk Shows) by political activists and politicians | 61 | 97.2 | 01 | 1.4 | 01 | 1.4 |
| Rallies are held by political activists | 38 | 60 | 24 | 38.6 | 01 | 1.4 |
| There are strikes when there is political disharmony between the government and opposition | 43 | 68.6 | 17 | 27.1 | 03 | 4.3 |
| There are often demonstrations held for political disharmony | 55 | 87.1 | 04 | 5.7 | 04 | 7.1 |
| Callers-in are allowed during the exchange of political views | 39 | 61.4 | 19 | 30 | 05 | 8.6 |
| Activists participate in political activities and debates | 48 | 75.7 | 12 | 20 | 03 | 4.3 |
| Education institutions in the area engage in political activities | 37 | 58.6 | 19 | 30 | 07 | 11.4 |
| The local government leaders engage in politicking | 57 | 90.0 | 03 | 4.3 | 03 | 4.3 |

***Source: Field Data, 2021***

Focusing on the nature of freedom of expression in Kampala Central Division between 2016 and 2019, the findings are captured under the Descriptive Statistics below;

Table 104.9: Descriptive Statistics

|  |  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
| **Descriptive Statistics** | | | | | |
|  | N | Minimum | Maximum | Mean | Std. Deviation |
| There is free press expression in the news papers | 63 | 1 | 2 | 1.16 | .368 |
| There is limited censorship of press articles by the local government and the central government | 63 | 1 | 3 | 1.71 | .941 |
| The people use the internet platforms to express their political views | 63 | 1 | 3 | 1.78 | .924 |
| The political debates are held on Television by political activists and politicians | 63 | 1 | 3 | 1.11 | .444 |
| The political debates are held on Radio (Radio Talk Shows) by political activists and politicians | 63 | 1 | 3 | 1.41 | .638 |
| Rallies are held by political activists | 63 | 1 | 3 | 1.16 | .447 |
| There are strikes when there is political disharmony between the government and opposition | 63 | 1 | 3 | 1.33 | .672 |
| There are often demonstrations held for political disharmony | 63 | 1 | 3 | 1.33 | .672 |
| Callers-in are allowed during the exchange of political views | 63 | 1 | 3 | 1.19 | .535 |
| Activists participate in political activities and debates | 63 | 1 | 3 | 1.67 | .718 |
| Education institutions in the area engage in political activities | 63 | 1 | 3 | 1.38 | .682 |
| The local government leaders engage in politicking | 63 | 1 | 3 | 1.58 | .579 |
| Valid N (listwise) | 63 |  |  |  |  |

***Source: Field Data, 2021***

Thefindings on the nature of freedom of expression in Kampala Central Division between 2016 and 2019 is rolled out thematically below;

# 4.2.1 Free press expression in the news papers

The findings of the study on whether there is free expression in the newspapers revealed that 62.9% of the respondents agreed, 27.1% where not certain and 10% disagreed with 62.9% in agreement, it indicates that the common newspapers such as the New vision, the Daily monitor, the observer, tabloids such as Bukedde, the Red Pepper, Ono Bwino and others which are commonly available in huge circulation carry a lot of stones from the current National Resistance Movement and opposition such as form for Democratic change and others as well as independent columns on politics, economic and social life which are published for the Ugandans to consume or readers, commentators, analysts and customers. Usually the articles reach day’s working hours, and 1.2 million during the off peak hours. Regarding the descriptive Statistics, on whether there is free press expression in the news papers revealed that with 63 respondents, mean at 1.16 and standard deviation at .368 indicates that Uganda’s press is not over censored, therefore those in government and opposition freely express their views on various political, social, and economic matters whether deviant or in line with government interests. Also the information reaches the consumers in time or early enough since the publishing houses are in the immediate reach of the market for the products, for example New Vision or vision Group is in industrial area, Monitor Publications in Namuwongoand others which eases access to the print media for the customers or the publication they furnish with information.

# 4.2.2 Limited censorship of press articles by the local government and the central government

The study findings on whether there is limited censorship of the press articles by the local and central government reveal that 31.4% of the respondents agreed that the central government unlike the local government, puts pressure on the print media and the radios and Television stations not to air critical news which covered jeopardize the security of the nation. For example in 2018, it was almost an abomination to air any news about Bobi Wine while he was in custody under the Uganda Peoples Defense Forces. In addition, 14.3% of the respondents were not certain while 54.3% disagreed which meant that the government at local and central level does not censor the press because the independent News Publishers can write and publish articles without any undue influence from the station. There are many articles in the Daily Monitor, Red Pepper and even the governments’ own New Vision which is meant to publish articles which portray the good image of the state are often critical of the government. The Descriptive statistical findings further revealed that from 63 respondents, mean at 1.71 and standard deviation at .941, it indicates that the government does not over censor the digital and print media as various blogs, social media and other outlets in print publish all materials whether critical of government or not. Thus there is limited censorship of press articles by the local government and the central government.Hence there is no, and if any very limited censorships of the news activities in both point and digital, so the people of the Division are fed on first clan information.

# 4.2.3 People use the internet platforms to express their political views

Internet helps people who cannot afford to buy newspapers which are quite expensive to get news including the breaking news. Thus, the findings of the study on if people use the internet platforms to express their political news recalled that many people in the area have access to smart phones which enable them fast access to internet platforms such as face book, Twitter, Broom play, messenger, WhatsApp and many others which they use to send and receive news on anything that has been published. Findings show that 42.9% of the respondents agreed that it is possible to write and publish articles on the social media platforms, reach a huge audience but cheaply and this model has become very popular in the area, which 41.4% were not certain and 15.7% disagreed because they either lacked access to internet or are not ground of using the social media play forms. Regarding the descriptive statistics on whether the people use the internet platforms to express their political views, it was revealed that from 63 respondents, mean at 1.78 and standard deviation at .924 imply that the social media platforms such as facebook, email, YouTube, opera mini, twitter, imo, whatsApp and many others are sued by individuals to communicate and share news and any other informative and less informative materials to the public and amo9ng the members on the platforms. This leads to rapid spreading of information in the public.Today, the social media has become so popular in the areas a lot of news trending events and so are aired. Thus makes it a potent source of both censored and uncensored news, informative to the people of all walks of life.

# 4.2.4 Political debates are held on Television by political activists and politicians

There are political debates and information programmes aired on different media including Television, Radio and internet each day. On the popular Akaboozi, Radio One, Capital Gang, Sanyu Radio, on NBS, NTV, Bukedde, and Others which are information about manstream government programmes, policies and methodology of doing business yet there are also alternative programmes from those in opposition. The descriptive statistics on whether the political debates are held on Television by political activists and politicians shows that with 63 respondents, and mean at 1.11 and standard deviation at .444, most or the majority of respondents agreed that the various television stations like NBS organize Barometer, Frontline, NTV organizes and host Fourth Estate, BBS (AmaasokuGgwanga) and multitudes of others which highlight the various tipical issues on topical areas for national development.This has inculcated a spirit of civic competence, more information and creating alternative positions to which those responsible for the economic, political and social development in the country. The findings further reveal that 98.0% of the respondents agreed that the radio stations hold talk shows on political topical issues in which the government side and the opposition as well as analysts get the opportunity to express their views to create a palatable ground for political action and 1.4% was not certain indeed.

# 4.2.5 Political debates are held on Radio (Radio Talk Shows) by political activists and politicians

The political debates on radio and Television further help to educate the public about many government and opposition programmers which can be integrated for harmonious development. Thus has further propagated more knowledge and activities to enhance democracy in the area for example participation in civic education, debates in council which are constructive, buying together a diversity of ideas and integration of knowledge for effective national development under an established democratic dispensation which is clearly evolving not only in Kampala Central Division alone, but Uganda at large.Descriptive statistics also with 63 respondents, mean at 1.41 and standard deviation at .638, it implies that the political debates are held on Radio (Radio Talk Shows) by political activists and politicians for example on Akaboozi Ku Bbiri, Radio One, KFM, Ddembe and others which highlight just lie their television counterparts, the various topical issues and their opinions for a better Uganda.

# 4.2.6 Rallies are held by political activists

Rallies are a common political feature in Uganda, and also Kampala Central Division, hence as agreed by 60% of the respondents, usually minim rallies and mega rallies are helped to communicate any message to the people, but as 38.6% disagreed, the state organs like public and the army, and now Local Defence Unit are involved in crushing rallies which basing on the 2013 Public Order Managements Act often are ruled as being unlawful, and when they are for the opposition. Descriptive statistics on the issue of holding rallies by the political activists to communicate to the public, from 63 respondents, mean at 1.16 and standard deviation at .447 implies that the rallies are held but often broken by the security forces because the area hosts the central Business District which the government says should be secured to enable business run free from political activities. This shows that much as democracy is practiced by allowing expression of news operated by Ugandans, the selective application of the law in respect to public’s observance of law and order leaves the democratic credentials of Kampala Central Division and Uganda at large questioned, “Is there respect and adherence to freedom of expression which is one of the pre-requisites for a democratic society and proper governance under the rule of law?” This seems to be heavily doubted by many as the solid practical events have showed. Uganda’s democratic path is still scrappy, slippery and not levelled which is why there are endless fighting and squabbles in the political arena in the area.

# 4.2.7 There are strikes when there is political disharmony between the government and opposition

The Division in the central of calm and volatile political activity, the funding of the study reveal that 68.6% of the respondents agreed, 27.1% were not sure and 43% disagreed with 68.6% in agreement, it means that several political in government and opposition have always sought is catch the attention of the country and the would by staging in incursions in the City centre.Descriptive statistics on the findings of the study further indicated that from 63 respondents and mean at 1.33 and standard deviation at .672, it is truly factual that whenever there is mobilization for strikes and insurrections about political and economic discontent, the local people participate actively, thus sometimes there are strikes when there is political disharmony between the government and opposition. This has involved the police in mining battles with voters and the perpetrators of the actions. The police and other security forces have been known to arrest, Block movements, Confiscate and destroy gadgets for the press like cameras beat up the members of the press, the public even school children and those in houses. This has an indication that freedom of speech is still limited and hence it’s a compromised democratic credential in the area.

# 4.2.8 Often demonstrations are held for political disharmony

On the down end, the study discovered that the division is politically volatile, and as such 87.1% agreed that there also demonstration by political and non-political activities which take place in the area amidst harsh beatings and blockades by the police and other security agencies, and further 5.7% were not certain and 7.1% disagreed. Descriptive statistics regarding whether there are often demonstrations held for political disharmony, from 63 respondents, mean at 1.33 and standard deviation at .672, it means that just ;like strikes, demonstrations are held over discontent and appreciation for certain efforts by political and non-political actors.The people often demonstrate for political reasons, for social reasons and economic issues pertaining which has led the area which is already volatile become more volatile often police security agencies and police are engaged in running battles, but as 7.1% disagreed, it is hard for police to suction a demonstration in thus central Business District, but the aggrieved party often moblise among themselves and force demonstrations to take place. But the fact is that demonstration take place though is often non-sanctioned. This causes reactionary response from the state’s security agencies hence the situations often degenerates into chairs and limit thus on the freedom of assembly to express varying and diverse opinions. This indicates that totalitarian state response kills democracy.

# 4.2.9 Callers-in are allowed during the exchange of political views

The various radio and Television hosts encourage callers to call in when programmes are going on or in progress. This is actually the case with political, social and economic discussions on the various topical issues. Thus, 61.4% of the respondents agreed, 30% were not certain and 8.6% disagreed. Hence with 61.4% of the respondents in agreement, it is known that callers are encouraged to call-in during the program to enable the public contribute to the debate for example during Kyogerekoprogramme on Akaboozi Capital Gang on Capital Fm and others. Callers such as Lubakyooya, Umar E. Bugoloobi and Others Call in to make Contribution which is quite valuable indicator that callers can form the debate and express their opinion to the public. Descriptive statistics on the issue of whether callers-in are allowed during the exchange of political views, with 63 respondents, 1.19 by mean and .535 by standard deviation implies that besides those in the studios, callers are allowed to call in directly and dialogue or contribute to the topics of discussion which further builds the information momentum in the country. This is an indicator of a well developing democracy but normally there instances when security agencies track, arrest and temonise the callers in which exhibits as 8.6% of the respondents indicated an undernourished democracy that the Division and the country are still nursing, but given chance it will develop into an all-inclusive democracy.

# 4.2.10 Activists participate in political activities and debates

The findings of the study on whether the public and various media personalities utilize the social media to communicate openly, the researcher discovered that 75.7% of the respondents agreed, 20% were not certain and 4.3% disagreed. With 75.7% in agreement and 20% being uncertain it is deduced that currently social media platforms such as whatsApp, facebook, Twitter, Imo, Massagers, Sms, phoenix, Linked, Dios, Youtube, emails, opera, Google and all other viable social media sites’s have never before and morethan Radio and Television now used fast to pass on any information to the public for example political events, they are used to send news for online reading, videos of events. Descriptive statistics on whether activists participate in political activities and debates, with 63 respondents, mean at 1.67 and standard deviation at .718 means that the various political activists such as religious leaders, donors and civil society members take part in the political debates and organize events to show case their contributions to political activism for example seminars, symposium and meetings are held to promote political dialogue and national development. And today they are extremely popular with the Youth whos comprise over 73 to 78.3% of the country’s population and over 90% of people in Kampala. Their effective operations in unabled by the free available wifi, and cheap access to data bundles which are facilitated by abundant networks provides like MTN-Uganda, Airtel-Uganda, sense, smart, Lycambile Vodafone, Uganda Telecom and Others. This has enabled the Ubiquitous flow of information to take place hence replenishing the current fragile and developing democracy in the Division and the country as a whole.

# 4.2.11 Education institutions in the area engage in media and political activities

The findings of the study on whether education institutions in the area engage in political activities and democratic governance revealed that 58.6% of the responds agreed, 30% were not certain and 11.4% disagreed, with 58.6% in agreement and 30% not in the know. Descriptive findings on whether education institutions in the area engage in political activities, from 63 respondents, mean at 1.38 and standard deviation at .682 implies that institutions are training grounds for the various youths who take part in political activities.It means that the Universities like SinghManipal, Uganda Technology and Management University (UTAMU), Victoria University, other institutions such as Data Mine; Young Men Christian Association have active agitators in democratic governance. In their vicinities is the gigantic Makerere University Businesses School, Buganda Royal, Muteesa I, Kampala University, Kampala International University and others are deeply engaged in student and local politics which has made the Division and her Kampala subsidiary Boroughs become the centre of political democratic activism. The presence of these institutions has ignited the possibility of nurturing workable democracy from the local levels to national levels. Step by step, the contribution of these institutions is promoting freedom of expressions since centres, hence being hurbs for the slowly creeping enlightened democracy in the area / Uganda / East Africa and Africa at large.

# 4.2.12 Local government leaders engage in politicking

The findings of the study revealed that 90% of the respondents agreed that local leadership right from cells / villages, Wards / Parishes and the Division (equivalent of Sub County) levels, there is politicking involving promotion of one’s political party interest, policy level and contesting for political posts. Descriptive statistics on whether the local government leaders engage in politicking revealed that with 63 respondents, mean at 1.58 and standard deviation at .579 means that most local leaders are involved in politicking, but why the deviation being quite high is because they do not do it so often mostly when it is not during the electioneering process or political activism. The democracy in the area involves active campaigning, seeking mandate of delegates and the population to be elected to political posts; for groups such as traders, businesses, taxi operators, Boda-Boda operators, state and private formal institutions are deeply engages in policy politicking for example easing taxes, rent, licenses and operational standard procedures. This is exhibiting the Division as a politically developing democratic area with admirable growth and development of the freedom of expression. The politicking has helped to have competent leadership from the cell levels to wards, councilors, Division leaders and the technical people which have enabled higher and informed debate on policy and hence democratic development.

# 4.3 The influence of media on promotion of freedom of expression in Kampala Central Division.

The study findings on the influence of freedom of expression on democracy in Kampala Central are presented in table 4.10;

Table 114.10: The influence of media on promotion of freedom of expression in Kampala Central Division

|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
| **Response statement** | **Distribution of responses** | | | | | |
| **Agree** | | **Not certain** | | **Disagree** | |
| **Freq.** | **Percent** | **Freq.** | **Percent** | **Freq.** | **Percent** |
| There is more political participation from among the youths who have found interest in participating in politics | 48 | 78.6% | 10 | 15.7% | 05 | 5.7% |
| There is more political participation from among the women who have found interest in participating in politics | 31 | 48.6% | 18 | 28.6% | 14 | 22.9% |
| There is more political participation from the general populace who have found interest in participating in freedom of expression campaigns | 61 | 97.1% | 01 | 1.4% | 01 | 1.4% |
| The regular elections enable many people to take part in the governance of their society | 61 | 97.1% | 01 | 1.4 | 01 | 1.4 |
| Many people interested in politics are taking part in political party governance activities in the society | 59 | 94.3% | 01 | 1.4 | 03 | 4.3 |
| There are more political publications for the public to read | 37 | 58.6% | 13 | 20.0% | 13 | 21.4% |
| Many political activists are able to express their views locally and internationally | 40 | 64.3% | 11 | 17.1% | 12 | 18.6% |
| The state machinations block opposition politicians from openly organizing their political activities which is weakening political party democracy | 29 | 45.7% | 05 | 8.6% | 29 | 45.7% |
| The state ensures that those in opposition and analysts get limited or no time on air to express their political views | 53 | 84.3% | 09 | 14.3% | 01 | 1.4% |
| There is political participation by the civil society organizations in developing and scrutinizing freedom of expression | 28 | 44.3% | 20 | 31.4% | 15 | 24.3% |
| The various communication platforms have given chance to local people and local leaders to engage in governance decision making | 22 | 35.7% | 22 | 35.7% | 19 | 28.6% |
| The leadership of Kampala Capital City Authority and Kampala Central Division engage in political dialogue for effective governance decision making | 57 | 92.9% | 01 | 1.4% | 05 | 5.7% |
| There are many trading organization engaged in media campaigns | 46 | 72.9% | 01 | 1.4% | 16 | 25.7% |
| There are well established Local Council systems which depicts the high growth of media expression in the area | 19 | 30.0% | 32 | 51.4% |  | 18.6% |

***Source: Field Data, 2021***

Table 124.11: Descriptive Statistics on the influence of

media on freedom of expression in Kampala Central Division

|  |  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
| **Descriptive Statistics** | | | | | |
|  | N | Minimum | Maximum | Mean | Std. Deviation |
| There is more political participation from among the youths who have found interest in participating in politics | 63 | 1 | 3 | 1.08 | .326 |
| There is more political participation from among the women who have found interest in participating in freedom of expression campaigns | 63 | 1 | 3 | 1.49 | .564 |
| There is more political participation from the general populace who have found interest in participating in freedom of expression campaigns | 63 | 1 | 3 | 1.29 | .633 |
| The regular elections enable many people to take part in the governance of their society | 63 | 1 | 3 | 1.98 | .907 |
| Many people interested in politics are taking part in political party governance activities in the society | 63 | 1 | 3 | 1.08 | .326 |
| There are more political publications for the public to read | 63 | 1 | 3 | 1.08 | .326 |
| Many political activists are able to express their views locally and internationally | 63 | 1 | 3 | 1.14 | .435 |
| The state machinations block opposition politicians from openly organizing their political activities which is weakening political party democracy | 63 | 1 | 3 | 2.10 | .712 |
| The state ensures that those in opposition and analysts get limited or no time on air to express their freedom of expression views | 63 | 1 | 3 | 1.33 | .508 |
| There is political participation by the civil society organizations in developing and scrutinizing freedom of expression | 63 | 1 | 3 | 1.68 | .779 |
| The various communication platforms have given chance to local people and local leaders to engage in governance decision making | 63 | 1 | 3 | 1.11 | .757 |
| The leadership of Kampala Capital City Authority and Kampala Central Division engage in political dialogue for effective governance decision making | 63 | 1 | 3 | 1.67 | .697 |
| There are many trading organization engaged in democracy | 63 | 1 | 3 | 1.98 | .611 |
| There are well established Local Council systems which depicts the high growth of freedom of expression in the area | 63 | 1 | 3 | 1.11 | .274 |
| Valid N (listwise) | 63 |  |  |  |  |

***Source: Field Data, 2021***

The findings of the study on the influence of media in promotion of freedom of expression in Kampala Central Division are thematically rolled out below;

# 4.3.1 More political participation from among the youths who have found interest in participating in media and politics

The findings of the study on whether there is more political participation from among the Youths who have found interest in participating in politics revealed that 78.6% agreed, 15.7% were not certain and 5.7% disagreed, with 78.6% in agreement and 15.7% being uncertain, it indicated that many candidates for political office at youth level and other elective posts like councilors, chairpersons and parliament are being eagerly contested for by youths and those who still have youth vigour. Descriptive Statistics on whether there is more political participation from among the youths who have found interest in participating in politics shows that with 63 respondents, mean at 1.08 and standard deviation at .326, it means that many youths have come in to take part in politics as leaders, electorate and planners at various levels under different ideologies. The youths in the area are very active in campaigning and contesting for political office and express their views to win the mandate of the electorate. To date most councilors at both the Division and Kampala Capital City Authority Central authority are dominated by youth and youthful people. Many on locals council committees are also having many youths and youthful persons. This is an exhibition that’s young people are active in the democracy of the area, like they are in the country.

# 4.3.2 More political participation from among the women who have found interest in participating in freedom of expression campaigns

Women have become both useful and part of the decision making mechanism with a clear voice in the administration of their area. Hence from the field, it was revealed that 48.6% of the respondents agreed, 28.6% were not sure and 22.9% disagreed when asked about women being active players in the democratic dispensation if the area. With 48.6% in agreement and 28.6% being uncertain, it implies that women have a 1/3 of all local government seat reserved for them while many have also been able to take in contesting for other posts with great freedom to express themselves during campaigns but 22.9% who disagreed revealed that many women have not been able to test the political arena because of the gender banners such as being almost seen as inferior for certain posts, hence they do not receive the mandate for example the competing political parties and players have not been able to support female candidates for Division chairperson and Lord Mayor. Descriptive Statistics on whether there is more political participation from among the women who have found interest in participating in politics shows that with 63 respondents, mean at 1.49 and standard deviation at .564 implies that even women are very active in the politics of the place directly as electorate and indirectly as peoples representatives. Overall the current freedom of expressions has given women the opportunity to contest and takes ups posts under the obtaining democratic ground despite the fact that it is not easy and leveled but it allows for them effective participation.

# 4.3.3 More political participation from the general populace who have found interest in participating in freedom of expression campaigns

The study discovered that the people in the area are fund of taking part in the politics of social, economic and governance structures in place. Accordingly, 97.1% of the respondents agreed, 1.4% were not certain and 1.4% disagreed when asked on the general populace’s engagement in the politics of the area. With 97.1% of the respondents in agreement, it indicates that most or almost all people are aware of politics of democracy and governance and have personal and public elements through which they express their views for example through the social media platform like whatsApp, facebook, Twitter, Youtube and others, the digital and Print media outlets which are so ubiquitous in the area due to the good network, readership and effective person to-persons communication. Descriptive Statistics regarding whether there is more political participation from the general populace who have found interest in participating in politics revealed that with 63 respondents, mean at 1.29 and standard deviation at .633 indicates that the people are politically active because most of them are involved in day today running of business which are directly affected by the politics at Kampala Capital city Authority centre and the divisions as well as the central government. This makes them to know the various policies and the effects they have on them for example taxation and how they ought to respond in all situations. Therefore this largely conscious society into take note and participate on elective and non-elective politics are so crucial in the growth and development of democracy in Kampala Central Division.

# 4.3.4 Regular elections enable many people to take part in the freedom of expression campaigns of their society

The research study set out to examine if the regular elections enable many people to take part in the governance of society reveal that with 94.3% of the respondents in agreement it indicates that the various posts for elective politics exist in the Division’s local and parliamentary elections where everyone who has the requisite qualifications can participate if circumstances allow, voice their intentions through rallies, radio, Television and word of mouth through campaigns so that they can get the mandate of the electorate to take over governance.Descriptive Statistics on whether the regular elections enable many people to take part in the governance of their society shows that from 63 respondents, mean at 1.98 and standard deviation at .907 mean that Universal Adult Suffrage is guaranteed in the area just like elsewhere in Uganda so that people can choose their local and national leaders and representatives. This happens every after certain period on the calendar year which is five years and when necessary by elections can be helped. All these opportunities are available for the people to participate directly (electing, contesting and taking over office) and indirectly in the governance of thee society. With freedom to voice out one’s campaign agenda and communicate to the electorate, they are making democracy rather nurtured and developed not only in the Division, but also across Uganda.

# 4.3.5 Many people interested in politics are taking part in freedom of expression campaigns activities in the society

Further, the study findings on whether many people interested in politics are taking part in the governance of society reveal that 58.6% of the respondents agreed, 20.0% were not certain and 21.4% disagreed, thus with 58.6% on agreement and 20.0% being uncertain, it clearly shows that for people who have the love and urge to participate in politics at democratic level like elections and choice of leadership at the party level have successfully promoted their party manifests and candidature for example NRM, DP, FDC and others have been able to scoop posts and take part in governance in the interest of the public. Descriptive Statistics on whether many people interested in politics are taking part in political party governance activities in the society reveal that with 63 respondents, mean at 1.08 and standard deviation at .326 means that political parties have found the area of the best recruiting areas for cadres/members who are to advance their urge to capture and retain power.This multiparty dispensation in place is a sign of democratic expressions and development much as the currents Ugandan government wants’ to promote only the NRM ideological interest which often leads to clash of interests and squabbles, though party governance and interests are well promoted in the areas governance in society.

# 4.3.6 More freedom of expression campaigns publications for the public to read

The area is a hub for political literature, hence 64.3% of the respondents agreed, 17.1% were uncertain and 18.6% disagreed. With 64.3% in agreement, it indicates that many political publications like Black Monday, print News, Magazines, Leaflets, Brochures and many other physical publications quickly circulate in Kampala Central Division and the information rapidly spreads to all quarters of society. This has led to democratic development. But 17.1% were not certain if it is so, and 18.6% noted that Kampala Central Division being the hub of business in Uganda and being very active with business and dense population during day and night, naturally will have fast information flow. Descriptive Statistics on whether there are more political publications for the public to read revealed that with 63 respondents, mea at 1.08 and standard deviation at .326, there is ubiquitous volumes of information in news and other published sources for the public to access at all times and cheaply.Though the high population leads to high consumptions of literature by the public hence creating more awareness in this case, hence the huge volume of political literature has a huge readership and market in the area, which in this case has led to easy spreading of political information as agreed by 45.7% of the respondents because the area has immense focus, whereas also 8.6% were uncertain and 45.7% in disagreement reveal that much as it is easy to communicate to the external world, the information rarely is targeted for international use the target audience are residents and business people who operate in the area from within and without. The development of the media naturally delivers the information externally even when it is meant for Ugandans in the area and the country.

# 4.3.7 Many political activists are able to express their views locally and internationally

There have been voices of discontent in the government that Kampala Central Division should be free from political interference smile it’s the heart of Business in Uganda, therefore, 84.3% of the respondents noted that the Ugandan police and security institution deliberately and using the law block opposition politicians from holding rallies demonstration, strikes and any of their political activities in the area using soft to extreme militant means in which even life has often been taken by these agencies in carrying outs enforcing their operations and thus weakening media and freedom of expression.Descriptive Statistics reveal that with 63 respondents, mean at 1.14 and standard deviation at .435, many political activists are able to express their views locally and internationally because the social media and other internet platforms are open to all for use and are used by millions of people across the world while also the print media reaches hundreds of thousands of people each day of the year giving wide clientele and audience in the country. It is almost forbidden for non-NRM to mobilize in Kampala Central Division like it is becoming so in other areas of Uganda through 14.3% were not certain and 1.4% disagreed. The amount of brutal force used by the police to stop any opposition activities shows that the security agencies are partisan and not democratic, which as on the surface and in normal practice democracy exists and gives the public freedom to explain themselves.

# 4.3.8 The state machinations block media from openly organizing their activities which is weakening freedom of expression.

In addition to this, 44.3% of the respondents noted that in further use of its brutal force and influence, the state ensures that the when covering powerful opposition politicians like Bobi Wine do not campaign freely and get little or no time on Television on and Radio in the area to express their political views. This has been ensured by the police and the other security agencies ordering the management not to give / allow airtime to such people on their airwaves. Descriptive Statistics on whether the state machinations block media from openly organizing their activities which is weakening freedom of expression campaigns show that 63 respondents , mean at 2.10 and standard deviation at .712 mean that, in Kampala Central Division, it has become almost illegal for anyone in opposition to organize a political event and do not encounter the wrath of the state security agencies like police, army and paramilitary groups who always declare such events illegal.

# 4.3.9 The state ensures that those in media analysts get limited or no time on air to express their views

Furthermore, Descriptive Statistics on whether the state ensures that those in media analysts get limited or no time on air to express their l views revealed that from 63 respondents, mean at 1.33 and standard deviation at .508deeply implies that indeed, some political players have since 2018 become limited as regards airtime on Radio and Television for example it is becoming impossible for Hon.SsentamuKyagulanyi to appear on air as the state deems it dangerous to tolerate him.This shows political immaturity and slow democratic development when freedom of expression is limited in this case. Much as 31.4% were not certain / sure and 24.3% disagreed indicating that on many political progammes, there are people from opposition who are tolerated and their views allowed on air, but the fact is for those individual, deemed dangerous for the state or feared by the establishment have been stopped from appearing on air many times before and now.

# 4.3.10 Participation by the civil society organizations in developing and scrutinizing freedom of expression

The findings of the study on whether there is political participation by the CSOs in developing and sensitizing on freedom of expression reveal that 35.7% of the respondents agreed, 35.7% were not certain and 28.6% disagreed. For 35.7% who agreed noted that there are organizations, such as, Uganda Journalists association, (UJA),Uganda Media AssociationUMA, others who are involved in civic Education, product critical reports on the freedom of expression in the area, and Uganda at Large. Descriptive Statistics on whether there is political participation by the civil society organizations in developing and scrutinizing freedom of expression revealed that with 63 respondents, mean at 1.68 and standard deviation at .779 shows that the civil society organizations such as Ebert Siftung(Frederick Ebert Foundation under the Germany Embassy), UJA, UMA and many others are active in ensuring the coherent growth of freedom of expression campaigns in the country basing in the division. These organizations have encouraged the people to voice out their media concerns interests and issues which have imported the local people’s understanding of freedom of expression, checking the undemocratic excesses of the state and opposition which has been able to plant to the local and international community the time nature of freedom of expression in Uganda.

# 4.3.11Various communication platforms have given chance to local people and local leaders to engage in governance decision making

The findings of the study on whether the various communication platforms have given chance to local people and leaders to engage in governance decision making reveal that 92.9% of the respondents agreed, 1.4% were not certain and 5.7% disagreed. The fact is that with 92.9% in agreement, it means that the use of the social media platforms such as facebook, Twitter, whatsAppand many others are used to exchange views among the people in business the political leaders and local leaders at their various levels to come up with plans for ensuring security in their areas, for public works and service delivery and so on, with these clear channels of communication in place, it means that the local people and leaders can let the police know and share with them information or news pertaining to the development programmes in place for effective governance. The current crop of leaders and people are utilizing the information age to share with lobust and precision speed matters of society concern which has been embraced as a tool for effective communication to the stakeholders in the area for those who disagreed at 5.7% did not see adequate value of the communication channels, but the fact is they are very vital in ensuring that governance decisions are well made and implanted.

# 4.3.12 Leadership of Kampala Capital City Authority and Kampala Central Division engage in media dialogue for effective governance decision making

The study further set out to examine if the leadership at KCCA and that at lower levels engage in media dialogue for effective governance decision making, and the findings show that 72.9% of the respondents agreed, 1.4% were not sure and 25.7% disagreed. Hence with 72.9% in agreement and 1.4% being uncertain it is deduced that the leadership at KCCA level that is the metropolitan Affairs, The Lord Mayor and the political structures at that level liaise with the Division leadership so that they can campaign on the activity / service plans and their implications. Descriptive Statistical findings on whether the leadership of Kampala Capital City Authority and Kampala Central Division engage in political dialogue for effective governance decision making reveal that with 63 respondents, mean at 1.67 and standard deviation at .697 show that the leadership in the area harmonize their programmes to promote service delivery to the people though usually the political arm of KCCA headed by the Minister for Kampala tend to interfere with central government directives in the management of service delivery in Kampala. Consequently, the two fours of administration leadership agree on the mode of service delivery which they then mandate to the technical people / secretariat to implement. This leads to proper monitoring and evaluation to ensure value for money as well as impact the developments needs of the areas, although 25.7% disagreed stating that the central government though the live minister by-passes the Lord Mayor and divisions to deal directly with the technical people in implementing service programmes which has often led to disharmony between the political and technical wings as well as fueling corruption. But in principle these tiers agree on service delivery plans and programmes.

# 4.3.13 Trading organizations engaged in freedom of expression

Though Kampala Central division is a media volatile, attire and versatile division, the study revealed that there are trading organization such as Kampala City Traders’ Association, who are always involved in Lobbying and advocacy campaigns with the government to enable them get better trade policies, though such organizations are too few. And therefore 30.0% of the respondents agreed, 57.4% were not certain and 18.6% disagreed. But because the area’s business Community is known to be advocates of partisan politics, and therefore with 51.4% being uncertain and 18.6% being in disagreement it all indicates that the City traders have a say in the politics of the area, but they are not a recognized democratic and Civil advocacy grouping.Descriptive Statistics on whether there are many trading organization engaged in freedom expression shows that there are trading organizations involved in democracy though as 63 respondents revealed, with mean at 1.98 and standard deviation at .611, they are not many, but the few have good internal democracy.

# 4.3.14 well established Local Council systems which depicts the high growth of democratic freedom of expression in the area

And from the field of study, the findings show that with 85.7% of the respondents in agreement, it means that the area has an established Local Council system which ensures that the Civic levels of development and debate on the established policies and development plans are known to the people. Furthermore, these local councils are vehicles for promotion of security in their localities. They are therefore the first vehicles for democracy at the local level where the rallies are allowed or at liberty to choose any one they feel they choose for their local governance, and this is the essence of grass root democracy which we so which in the area today and Uganda in particular which unlike 12.9% were uncertain and 1.4% disagreed, has established the two admirable theirs of democracy which include local government and choosing of representatives to the national assembly as well as presidential democracy which are gradually being buttressed in Uganda today. Descriptive Statistics on whether there are well established Local Council systems which depicts the high growth of democratic expression in the area show that from 63 respondents, mean at 1.11 and standard deviation at .274 imply that the local council system right from the cells to authority level guarantees proper political representation, planning and governance in a democratically metamorphosing city. The various communication platforms have given chance to local people and local leaders to engage in governance decision making, the leadership of Kampala Capital City Authority and Kampala Central Division engage in political dialogue for effective governance decision making, there are many trading organization engaged in democracy and there are well established Local Council systems which depicts the high growth of democratic expression in the area.

# 4.4 The existing strategies for enhancing media and freedom of expression in Kampala Central Division

The study findings on the existing strategies for enhancing media and promote freedom of expression in Kampala Central Division are presented in table 4.11;

# Table 134.13: The existing strategies for enhancing media and freedom of expression in Kampala Central Division

|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
| **Response statement** | **Distribution of responses** | | | | | |
| **Agree** | | **Not Certain** | | **Disagree** | |
| **Freq.** | **Percent** | **Freq.** | **Percent** | **Freq.** | **Percent** |
| Enactment and enforcement of international human right instruments to protect and respect fundamental rights of human beings for promotion of freedom of expression |  | 50.0 |  | 14.3 |  | 35.7 |
| Promoting access to communication resources is being promoted |  | 34.3 |  | 18.6 |  | 47.1 |
| There is intensification of new forms of digital social media for effective development of freedom of expression |  | 80.0 |  | 10.0 |  | 10.0 |
| The digital communication channels are more accessible, open, transparent and ultimately democratic |  | 94.3 |  | 4.3 |  | 1.4 |
| The print communication channels ensure effective communicating and widespread sharing of ideas in leadership |  | 55.7 |  | 14.3 |  | 30.0 |
| Focusing efforts on the social media has reduced the cost of information creation and communication so it can reach all people cheaply |  | 27.1 |  | 68.6 |  | 4.3 |
| The state utilizes the media outlets to promote its political programmes among the citizens as service consumers |  | 92.9 |  | 2.9 |  | 4.3 |
| The media is used to fight the expression involving hate speeches in order to consolidate democratic values in society |  | 75.7 |  | 14.3 |  | 10.0 |
| The media is used to fight political violence in the area |  | 31.5 |  | 61.4 |  | 7.1 |
| The media is used to fight local and international terrorism |  | 24.3 |  | 54.3 |  | 21.4 |
| The existing democratic political systems ensures individuals’ access to communication technologies and media is among the top public policy priorities |  | 28.6 |  | 65.7 |  | 5.7 |
| Through promotion of the right to freedom of opinion and expression by holding opinions without interference |  | 90.0 |  | 8.6 |  | 1.4 |
| There is growing interest and urge to promote the rights to freedom of expression of opinion respected |  | 55.7% |  | 32.9% |  | 11.4 |

***Source: Field Data, 2021***

# Table 144.14: Descriptive Statistics on the existing strategies for enhancing media and freedom of expression in Kampala Central Division

|  |  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
| **Descriptive Statistics** | | | | | |
|  | N | Minimum | Maximum | Mean | Std. Deviation |
| Enactment and enforcement of international human right instruments to protect and respect fundamental rights of human beings for promotion of freedom of expression | 63 | 1 | 3 | 1.08 | .326 |
| Promoting access to communication resources is being promoted | 63 | 1 | 3 | 1.49 | .564 |
| There is intensification of new forms of digital social media for effective development of freedom of expression | 63 | 1 | 3 | 1.29 | .633 |
| The digital communication channels are more accessible, open, transparent and ultimately democratic | 63 | 1 | 3 | 1.98 | .907 |
| The print communication channels ensure effective communicating and widespread sharing of ideas in leadership | 63 | 1 | 3 | 1.08 | .326 |
| Focusing efforts on the social media has reduced the cost of information creation and communication so it can reach all people cheaply | 63 | 1 | 3 | 1.08 | .326 |
| The state utilizes the media outlets to promote its political programmes among the citizens as service consumers | 63 | 1 | 3 | 1.14 | .435 |
| The media is used to fight the expression involving hate speeches in order to consolidate democratic values in society | 63 | 1 | 3 | 2.10 | .712 |
| The media is used to fight political violence in the area | 63 | 1 | 3 | 1.33 | .508 |
| The media is used to fight local and international terrorism | 63 | 1 | 3 | 1.68 | .779 |
| The existing democratic political systems ensures individuals’ access to communication technologies and media is among the top public policy priorities | 63 | 1 | 3 | 1.98 | .907 |
| Through promotion of the right to freedom of opinion and expression by holding opinions without interference | 63 | 1 | 3 | 1.49 | .564 |
| Valid N (listwise) | 63 |  |  |  |  |

***Source: Field Data, 2021***

The study findings in tables 4.11 and 4.12 on the existing strategies for enhancing freedom of expression in order to boost democracy in Kampala Central Division (2016-2019) are showed in the various sub-themes below;

# 4.4.1 Enactment and enforcement of international human right instruments to protect and respect fundamental rights of human beings for promotion of freedom of expression

The findings of the study on whether there enactment and enforcement of international human rights instruments to protect and respect fundamental rights of human beings for promotion of freedom of expression reveal that 50.0% of the respondents agreed, 14.3% were not certain and 35.7% did not agree, and with 50.0% in agreement, it indicates that Uganda has ratified several international human rights instrument right to defend freedoms of people including the right to speak. The descriptive Statistics on the enactment and enforcement of international human right instruments to protect and respect fundamental rights of human beings for promotion of freedom of expression reveal that from 63 respondents, mean of 1.08 and standard deviation at .326 imply that the international human right instruments which have been domesticated in Uganda are not respected because they make it discretionary for the government to respect them fully or partially which is why it could be continuing to disrespect them, but having in place potent ones would help in the protection and respect for the fundamental rights of human beings for promotion of freedom of expression in the areas and the country. Right from the 1948 Universal Declaration of Human Rights, and has domesticated than as well as making her own laws in respect to promotion of democracy for example Articles I of the 1995 Constitution of Uganda stipulates that in Uganda power belongs to the people, and the formation and establishment of the Uganda Human Rights Commission under Articles 51, 52 and 53 promotes the observance and enforcement of human rights, chief of which is the freedom of expression. Though 14.3% were not certain and 35.7% were in disagreement because the state agencies like police abuse, these rights through illegal detention and breaking up meetings which is unacceptable in law but they do so forcefully, but at least anyone in opposition and government get the attention of the public while focusing on the National and International human rights instruments.

# 4.4.2 Promoting access to communication resources is being promoted

The findings of the study on whether there is promotion of access to communication resources are being done reveal that 34.3% of the respondents agree, 18.6% were not certain and 47.1% disagreed. Hence with 34.3% in agreement it indicates that the government has licenses several radio and Television stations in the area, also several newspapers like New Vision, Daily Monitor and others exist to furnish the public with informative articles. The descriptive Statistics on promoting access to communication resources is being promoted noted that with 63 respondents, mean at 1.49 and standard deviation at .564 mean that there is need to ensure that communication is thorough and clear to all locally and nationally, on a supplementary level, 18.6% were not certain and 47.1% in disagreement, it indicates that the state of Uganda has become quite autocratic and now wants to focus on censuring these communication resources in favour of the state but currently, apart from some few state opponents being blocked from accessing both private and public outlets, the various players are able to communicate to the public through the various mushrooming alternatives on internet which reach a big audience.

# 4.4.3 There is intensification of new forms of digital social media for effective development of freedom of expression

Further, the study on whether there are intensifications of new forms of digital social media for effective development of freedom of expression reveal that 80.0% of the respondents agreed, 10.0% were not certain and 10.0% disagreed. Hence with 80.0% in agreement, it indicates that currently several online Television stations, Twitter, Facebook, Youtube and other social media platforms have been so crucial in promoting and spreading messages which are political and a political as well. The various online Television station such as Ghetto TV are used to pass on information which can promote democratic governance through disseminating democratic ideals like free and fair elections and other ideals. And as such, 94.3% of the respondents agreed, 4.3% were not certain and 1.4% disagreed, hence with 94.3% in agreement, it means that the aforementioned digital platforms / channels are very accessible as one can access them on their own smart phones, Laptops, personal Computers, which ensure that everyone with such gadgets and data. The descriptive Statistics on whether there is intensification of new forms of digital social media for effective development of freedom of expression, with 63 of respondents, mean at 1.29 and standard deviation at .633, it indicates that the media has now been widened because internet is ubiquitous/common and allows easy flow of information from breaking stories to documentary evidence. Which is why every day and every hour or minute, breaking news are quickly spread. This helps to have democratic events such as campaigns and elections well elicited to the public.

# 4.4.4 The digital communication channels are more accessible, open, transparent and ultimately democratic

In addition to that, findings on whether the print communication channels ensures effective communicating and wide spread showing of ideas in leadership reveals that 55.7% of the respondents agreed, 14.3% were uncertain and 30.0% disagreed. The findings indicating 55.7% in agreement meant that the newspapers, the magazines and other print publication carry stories on public, social and economic issues which consist of researched and personal or group options. The descriptive Statistics on the digital communication channels are more accessible, open, transparent and ultimately democratic reveal that with 63 respondents, mean at 1.98 and standard deviation at .907, it implies that everyone with smart phone, computer and internet friendly gadgets cn post, read and share information uploaded.

# 4.4.5 The print communication channels ensure effective communicating and widespread sharing of ideas in leadership

The research study on the promotion of the dissemination of information by the radio for effective debate on leadership reveal that 27.1% of the respondents agreed, 68.6% were uncertain and 4.3% disagreed. With 68.6% of the respondents being uncertain and 4.3% in disagreement, it indicates that the radio stations have not been the most effective sources of information but as 27.1% agreed, they have a wide listenership and as such as vital tools for the dissemination of democratic principles and information. The descriptive Statistics on whether the print communication channels ensure effective communicating and widespread sharing of ideas in leadership shows that with 63 respondents, mean at 1.08 and standard deviation at .326 imply that it is quite easy to pass on a message with limited interruption form state and non-state actors which makes it easy to reach the people with news and stories.In the current era where the social media has become very used, it means the radios are not ultimate ways to disseminate democratic values.

# 4.4.6 Focusing efforts on the social media has reduced the cost of information creation and communication so it can reach all people cheaply

The findings of the study reveal that 92.9% of the respondents agreed, 2.9% were not certain and 4.3% disagreed. Hence with 92.9% in agreement, it indicates that with the use of social media plat forms such as whatsApp, Facebook, Twitter, and others, which only require the device and data. From the descriptive findings on whether focusing efforts on the social media has reduced the cost of information creation and communication so it can reach all people cheaply reveal that from 63 respondents, mean of 1.08 and standard deviation of .326 imply that the social media is vital in rapid transmission of information and is far less costly with also minimal control by the various state organs. This has enabled the people to access all kind of information regardless of the source creating a situation of know, and in some areas skepticism. The ubiquitous network coverage in the area has made it very easy to share and spread information on various democratic ideals for example the ongoing NRM and NUP Political hysteria is being fed to the public every time any event is captured shared and quickly analysed for public consumption.

# 4.4.7 The state utilizes the media outlets to promote its political programmes among the citizens as service consumers

The state of Uganda assist established state apparatus for example in 2016 it was decided by the Ugandan cabinet led by Yoweri Kaguta Museveni that every radio and Television should dedicate at least one how each day to promote government programmes, hence, 75.7% of the respondents agreed, 14.3% were not certain and 10.0% disagreed. Hence with 75.7% in agreement, it means that the Ugandan Central Government has ensured that the numerous radio stations and Television Station more so UBC; Uganda Broad Casting Cooperation are used for promoting the state programmes. The descriptive Statistics on whether the state utilizes the media outlets to promote its political programmes among the citizens as service consumers shows that from 63 respondents, mean at 1.14and standard deviation at .435 imply that the state utilizes the various blogs, radio and Television to accelerate communication to the public about their programmes, agenda and appeal for the support. But with 14.3% being uncertain and 10.0% disagreement, It means that non-state controlled radio and television station also entertain those in opposition to once the agenda. But the state takes precedence in the utilization of the various media outlets to commutate its many political, social and economic programmes.

# 4.4.8 The media is used to fight the expression involving hate speeches in order to consolidate democratic values in society

In addition to that, the study revealed that with the media is used to fight the expression involving hate speeches in order to consolidate democratic values in society but has not been successful in stopping this as many hate speeches on tribal / ethnic, and political ones continue to simmer throughout the area, while 61.4% were not certain and 7.1% disagreed which indicates that the media has not succeeded in ending hate speeches as “we” versus” “them” continues to be order of the day, hence this strategy has not worked effectively. The descriptive Statistics on whether the media is used to fight the expression involving hate speeches in order to consolidate democratic values in society shows that with 63 respondents, mean at 2.10 and standard deviation at .712, the media has often been used to spread hate speech by both the state and her opponents, and thus has not been very successful in uprooting hate based on tribes, ethnic groups and so on.

# 4.4.9 The media is used to fight political violence in the area

And in further discussion, 24.3% of the respondents agreed that the media is used to fight political violence in the area, while 54.3% were not certain and 21.4% disagreed which shows that the media has not succeeded as a tool to fight and end political violence in the area / in the country because the users in government and opposition use it as a hot bed for political depression.The descriptive Statistics on whether the media is used to fight political violence in the area reveal that from 63 respondents, mean at 1.33 and with standard deviation at .508, it implies that the media is used both to fight and spread violence because abusive, insulting missives, lies, propaganda are all spread on the media for public consumption, so it is used to ensure violence is relented but also to spread disharmony in society.

# 4.4.10 The media is used to fight local and international terrorism

According to the findings of the study discovered that there is a law in Uganda is used in fighting national an d international and as such, 28.6% of the respondents agreed that the 2002 Anti-Terrorism Act of Uganda created agencies under the Joint Anti-Terrorism Team (JATT) to fight local and external terrorists and safeguard Uganda / Kampala central from any disruptions which would destroy the democracy which the country has achieved, while 65.7% were uncertain and 5.7% disagreed. The descriptive Statistics on whether media is used to fight local and international terrorism reveal that from 63 respondents, mean at 1.68 and standard deviation at .779 mean that the media is used to create awareness to the public about the dangers of terrorisms locally and internationally by running news about these heinous acts and let the public know and help in fighting the acts such as arson and so on. Though the Anti-Terrorism Act of 2002 has not been largely successful in eliminating terrorism on Ugandan and regional soil, it has somewhat addressed way to get rid of terrorist and their funders. In the process several of them have been put out of action or are under trial or others are fugitives, but the area is relatively safe.

# 4.4.11 Existing freedom of expression systems ensures individuals’ access to communication technologies and media is among the top public policy priorities

The study revealed that there are established democratic political systems comprising of local council I, II,III, IV and V structures which give a chance to any one with the qualifications to contest and occupy such posts. The existence the structures as agreed by 90.0% of the respondents as enabled them to be centers of interaction on policy and governance matters, whereas 8.6% were not certain and 1.4% disagreed. According to the descriptive Statistics on whether the existing democratic political systems ensures individuals’ access to communication technologies and media is among the top public policy priorities reveal that with 63 respondents, mean at 1.98 and standard deviation at .907, the existing democracy allows for utilization of the channels of commu7nication though these are constrained by state interference who block rallies, stop certain political leaders from accessing the media and also suffocate freedom of speech through imprisonment and fabricating cases.However, the existing democratic structures help to create developmental spiral of policy and legal information flow which contributes to democratic growth and development in the area and Uganda.

# 4.4.12 Promotion of the right to freedom of opinion and expression by holding opinions without interference

Regarding the promotion of the right to freedom of opinion and expression by holding opinions without interference, thestudy revealed that 55.7% of the respondents agreed which shows that there is growing interest and urge to promote the rights to freedom of expression of opinion respected as long as it does not contravene the rule of law in Uganda. But 32.9% were not certain and 11.4$ disagreed. Descriptive Statistics on whether through promotion of the right to freedom of opinion and expression by holding opinions without interference, 63 of the respondents at mean of 1.49and standard deviation of .564 imply that today moderate and radical politicians find a way or channel through which they communicate to the public whether legally or illegally. However, the various players finding it quite possible to expose their opinion though to some, there is state interference and limits on their appearance in the media; though freedom of expression is sometimes adhered to.

# CHAPTER FIVE

# SUMMARY, CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

# 5.0 Introduction

This chapter focuses on the, summary, conclusions and recommendations on the impact of freedom of expression on democratic tendencies in Kampala Central Division, Kampala Capital City Authority, and Uganda.

freedom of expressions has given women the opportunity to contest and takes up posts under the obtaining democratic ground despite the fact that it is not easy and leveled but it allows for them effective participation. The study discovered that the people in the area are fund of taking part in the politics of social, economic and governance structures in place. Thus with 97.1% of the respondents in agreement, it indicates that most or almost all people are aware of politics of democracy and governance and have personal and public elements through which they express their views for example through the social media platform like whatsApp, facebook, Twitter, Youtube and others, the digital and Pruitt media outlets which are so ubiquitous in the area due to the good network, readership and effective person to-persons communication. Therefore this largely conscious society into take note and participate on elective and non-elective politics are so crucial in the growth and development of democracy in Kampala Central Division.

The study discovered that regular elections enable many people to take part in the governance of society as agreed by 94.3% of the respondents. This indicates that the various posts for elective politics exist in the Division’s local and parliamentary elections where everyone who has the requisite qualifications can participate if circumstances allow, voice their intentions through rallies, radio, Television and word of mouth through campaigns so that they can get the mandate of the electorate to take over governance. This happens every after certain period on the calendar year which is five years and when necessary by elections can be helped. All these opportunities are available for the people to participate directly (electing, contesting and taking over office) and indirectly in the governance of thee society. With freedom to voice out one’s campaign agenda and communicate to the electorate, they are making democracy rather nurtured and developed not only in the Division, but also across Uganda. The study discovered that for people who have the love and urge to participate in politics at democratic level like elections and choice of leadership at the party level have successfully promoted their party manifests and candidature for example NRM, DP, FDC and others have been able to scoop posts and take part in governance in the interest of the public. This multiparty dispensation in place is a sign of democratic expressions and development much as the currents Ugandan government wants’ to promote only the NRM ideological interest which often leads to clash of interests and squabbles, though party governance and interests are well promoted in the areas governance in society.

The study discovered that with 64.3% in agreement, it indicates that many political publications like Black Monday, print News, Magazines, Leaflets, Brochures and many other physical publications quickly circulate in Kampala Central Division and the information rapidly spreads to all quarters of society. This has led to democratic development. And there have been several voices of discontent in the government and opposition that Kampala Central Division ought to be open to all political activity as long as it not misused and used to damage the reputation of the country. For 84.3% of the respondents noted that the Ugandan police and security institution deliberately and using the law block opposition politicians from holding rallies demonstration, strikes and any of their political activities in the area using soft to extreme militant means in which even life has often been taken by these agencies in carrying outs enforcing their operations and thus weakening freedom of expression and political party democracy.

It is almost forbidden for non-NRM to mobilize in Kampala Central Division like it is becoming so in other areas of Uganda. Further use of its brutal force and influence, the state ensures that the powerful opposition politicians like Bobi Wine do not campaign freely and get little or no time on Television on and Radio in the area to express their political views. This has been ensured by the police and the other security agencies ordering the management not to give / allow airtime to such people on their airwaves. This shows political immaturity and slow democratic development when freedom of expression is limited in this case.

The study found out that there is political participation by the CSOs in developing and sensitizing democracy noting that there are organizations, such as UJA, UMA and many others, who are involved in civic Education, product critical reports on the electoral system in the area, and Uganda at Large. These organizations have encouraged the people to voice out their political concerns interests and issues which have imported the local people’s understanding of democratic governance, checking the undemocratic excesses of the state and opposition which has been able to plant to the local and international community the time nature of democracy in Uganda. And 92.9% of the respondents agreed that in fact, the use of the social media platforms such as facebook, Twitter, whatsApp and many others are used to exchange views among the people in business the political leaders and local leaders at their various levels to come up with plans for ensuring security in their areas, for public works and service delivery and so on, with these clear channels of communication in place, it means that the local people and leaders can let the police know and share with them information or news pertaining to the development programmes in place for effective governance. The current crop of leaders and people are utilizing the information age to share with lobust and precision speed matters of society concern which has been embraced as a tool for effective communication to the stakeholders in the area.

The study revealed that the leadership at KCCA and that at lower levels engage in political dialogue for effective governance decision making, so with 72.9% of the respondents in agreement, it is deduced that the leadership at KCCA level that is the metropolitan Affairs, The Lord Mayor and the political structures at that level liaise with the Division leadership so that they can campaign on the activity / service plans and their implications. Consequently, the two fours of administration leadership agree on the mode of service delivery which they then mandate to the technical people / secretariat to implement. This leads to proper monitoring and evaluation to ensure value for money as well as impact the developments needs of the areas, hence, the central government though the live minister by-passes the Lord Mayor and divisions to deal directly with the technical people in implementing service programmes which has often led to disharmony between the political and technical wings as well as fueling corruption. But in principle these tiers agree on service delivery plans and programmes.

Kampala Central division is a politically volatile, attire and versatile division, the study revealed that there are trading organization such as Kampala City Traders’ Association, who are always involved in Lobbying and advocacy campaigns with the government to enable them get better trade policies.

According to the study, the area has had an established Local Council system for long which ensures that the Civic levels of development and debate on the established policies and development plans are known to the people. Furthermore, these local councils are vehicles for promotion of security in their localities. They are therefore the first vehicles for democracy at the local level where the rallies are allowed or at liberty to choose any one they feel they choose for their local governance, and this is the essence of grass root democracy which we so which in the area today and Uganda. This is admirable democracy which includes local government and choosing of representatives to the national assembly as well as presidential democracy which are gradually being buttressed in Uganda today. The various communication platforms have given chance to local people and local leaders to engage in governance decision making, the leadership of Kampala Capital City Authority and Kampala Central Division engage in political dialogue for effective governance decision making, there are many trading organization engaged in democracy and there are well established Local Council systems which depicts the high growth of democratic expression in the area.

# 5.1.3 The existing strategies for enhancing media and to promote freedom of expression in Kampala Central Division

The study reveals that at the international levels, Uganda has ratified several international human rights instrument right from the 1948 Universal Declaration of Human Rights, and has domesticated than as well as making her own laws in respect to promotion of freedom of expression for example Articles I of the 1995 Constitution of Uganda stipulates that in Uganda power belongs to the people, and the formation and establishment of the Uganda Human Rights Commission under Articles 51, 52 and 53 promotes the observance and enforcement of human rights, chief of which is the freedom of expression. To promote freedom of expression, the Ugandan government has licenses several radio and Television stations in the area, also several newspapers like New Vision, Daily Monitor and others exist to furnish the public with informative articles. The state of Uganda has become quite autocratic and now wants to focus on censuring these communication resources in favour of the state but currently, apart from some few state opponents being blocked from accessing both private and public outlets, the various players are able to communicate to the public through the various mushrooming alternatives on internet which reach a big audience. Further, with 80.0% in agreement, it means that currently several online Television stations, Twitter, Facebook, Youtube and other social media platforms have been so crucial in promoting and spreading messages which are political and a political as well. The various online Television station such as Ghetto TV are used to pass on information which can promote democratic governance through disseminating democratic ideals like free and fair elections and other ideals.

The aforementioned digital platforms / channels are very accessible as one can access them on their own smart phones, Laptops, personal Computers, which ensure that everyone with such gadgets and data. Which is why every day and every hour or minute, breaking news are quickly spread. This helps to have democratic events such as campaigns and elections well elicited to the public. And with 55.7% in agreement meant that the newspapers, the magazines and other print publication carry stories on public, social and economic issues which consist of researched and personal or group options; the radios have a wide listenership and as such as vital tools for the dissemination of democratic principles and information. However, in the current era where the social media has become very used, it means the radios are not ultimate ways to disseminate democratic values.

The study reveal that with 92.9% of the respondents in agreement, the use of social media plat forms such as whatsApp, Facebook, Twitter, and others, which only require the device and data, the ubiquitous network coverage in the area has made it very easy to share and spread information on various democratic ideals for example the ongoing NRM and NUP Political hysteria is being fed to the public every time any event is captured shared and quickly analysed for public consumption.

The state of Uganda assist established state apparatus for example in 2016 it was decided by the Ugandan cabinet led by Yoweri Kaguta Museveni that every radio and Television should dedicate at least one how each day to promote government programmes, so the Ugandan Central Government has ensured that the numerous radio stations and Television Station more so UBC; Uganda Broad Casting Cooperation are used for promoting the state programmes. But the non-state controlled radio and television station entertain those in opposition to once the agenda. But the state takes precedence in the utilization of the various media outlets to commutate its many political, social and economic programmes. In addition to that, the study revealed that with the media is used to fight the expression involving hate speeches in order to consolidate democratic values in society but has not been successful in stopping this as many hate speeches on tribal / ethnic, and political ones continue to simmer throughout the area, and this shows that the media has not succeeded as a tool to fight and end political violence in the area / in the country because the users in government

# 5.1 Summary

# 5.1.1 The nature of freedom of expression in Kampala Central Division

The study revealed that there is some freedom of expression in the newspapers such as the New vision, the Daily monitor, the observer, tabloids such as Bukedde, the Red Pepper, Ono Bwino and others which are commonly available in huge circulation carry a lot of stones from the current National Resistance Movement and opposition such as form for Democratic change and others as well as independent columns on politics, economic and social life which are published for the Ugandans to consume or readers, commentators, analysts and customers. There are many articles in the Daily Monitor, Red Pepper and even the governments’ own New Vision which is meant to publish articles which portray the good image of the state are often critical of the government. Hence there is no, and if any very limited censorships of the news activities in both point and digital, so the people of the Division are fed on first clan information. Internet helps people who cannot afford to buy newspapers which are quite expensive to get news including the breaking news. Thus, the findings of the study on if people use the internet platforms to express their political news recalled that many people in the area have access to smart phones which enable them fast access to internet platforms such as face book, Twitter, Broom play, messenger, WhatsApp and many others which they use to send and receive news on anything that has been published.

There are political debates and information programmes aired on different media including Television, Radio and internet each day. On the popular Akaboozi, Radio One, Capital Gang, Sanyu Radio, on NBS (BAROMETER), NTV (FOURTH ESTATE) Bukedde, and Others which are information about manstream government programmes, policies and methodology of doing business yet there are also alternative programmes from those in opposition. The political debates on radio and Television further help to educate the public about many government and opposition programmers which can be integrated for harmonious development. Thus has further propagated more knowledge and activities to enhance democracy in the area for example participation in civic education, debates in council which are constructive, buying together a diversity of ideas and integration of knowledge for effective national development under an established democratic dispensation which is clearly not only in Kampala Central Division alone, but Uganda at large. Rallies are a common political feature in Uganda, and also Kampala Central Division. Several political in government and opposition have always sought is catch the attention of the country by staging in incursions in the City centre. This has involved the police in mining battles with voters and the perpetrators of the actions. The police and other security forces have been known to arrest, Block movements, Confiscate and destroy gadgets for the press like cameras beat up the members of the press, the public even school children and those in houses. The people often demonstrate for political reasons, for social reasons and economic issues pertaining which has led the area which is already volatile become more volatile often police security agencies and police are engaged in running battles so it is hard for police to suction a demonstration in thus central Business District, but the aggrieved party often moblise among themselves and force demonstrations to take place. Callers are encouraged to call-in during the program to enable the public contribute to the debate for example during Kyogerekoprogramme on Akaboozi Capital Gang on Capital Fm and others. Callers such as Lubakyooya, Umar E. Bugoloobi and Others Call in to make Contribution which is quite valuable indicator that callers can form the debate and express their opinion to the public.

Social media platforms such as whatsApp, facebook, Twitter, Imo, Messagers, Sms, phoenix, Linked, Dios, Youtube, emails, opera, Google and all other viable social media sites’s have never before and morethan Radio and Television now used fast to pass on any information to the public for example political events, they are used to send news for online reading, videos of events. Their effective operations in unabled by the free available wifi, and cheap access to data bundles which are facilitated by abundant networks provides like MTN-Uganda, Airtel-Uganda, sense, smart, Lycambile Vodafone, Uganda Telecom and Others. The politicking has helped to have competent leadership from the cell levels to wards, councilors, Division leaders and the technical people which have enabled higher and informed debate on policy and hence democratic development.

# 5.1.2 The influence of media in promoting freedom of expression in Kampala Central Division

The study found out that many candidates for political office at youth level and other elective posts like councilors, chairpersons and parliament are being eagerly contested for by youths and those who still have youth vigour. The youths in the area are very active in campaigning and contesting for political office and express their views to win the mandate of the electorate. Women have become both useful and part of the decision making mechanism with a clear voice in the administration of their area, and women have a 1/3 of all local government seat reserved for them while many have also been able to take in contesting for other posts with great freedom to express themselves during campaigns, the political arena because of the gender banners such as being almost seen as inferior for certain posts, hence they do not receive the mandate for example the competing political parties and players have not been able to support female candidates for Division chairperson and Lord Mayor.

Most or almost all people are aware of politics of democracy and governance and have personal and public elements through which they express their views for example through the social media platform like whatsApp, facebook, Twitter, Youtube and others, the digital and Pruitt media outlets which are so ubiquitous in the area due to the good network, readership and effective person to-persons communication.

The various posts for elective politics exist in the Division’s local and parliamentary elections where everyone who has the requisite qualifications can participate if circumstances allow, voice their intentions through rallies, radio, Television and word of mouth through campaigns so that they can get the mandate of the electorate to take over governance. This happens every after certain period on the calendar year which is five years and when necessary by elections can be helped. With freedom to voice out one’s campaign agenda and communicate to the electorate, they are making democracy rather nurtured and developed not only in the Division, but also across Uganda. The study discovered that for people who have the love and urge to participate in politics at democratic level like elections and choice of leadership at the party level have successfully promoted their party manifests and candidature for example NRM, DP, FDC and others have been able to scoop posts and take part in governance in the interest of the public.

Many political publications like Black Monday, print News, Magazines, Leaflets, Brochures and many other physical publications quickly circulate in Kampala Central Division and the information rapidly spreads to all quarters of society. This has led to democratic development. The Ugandan police and security institution deliberately and using the law block opposition politicians from holding rallies demonstration, strikes and any of their political activities in the area using soft to extreme militant means in which even life has often been taken by these agencies in carrying outs enforcing their operations and thus weakening freedom of expression and political party democracy. It is almost forbidden for non-NRM to mobilize in Kampala Central Division like it is becoming so in other areas of Uganda.

There is political participation by the CSOs in developing and sensitizing democracy noting that there are organizations, such as UJA,UMA and many others, who are involved in civic Education, product critical reports on the electoral system in the area, and Uganda at Large. The use of the social media platforms such as facebook, Twitter, whatsApp and many others are used to exchange views among the people in business the political leaders and local leaders at their various levels to come up with plans for ensuring security in their areas, for public works and service delivery and so on, with these clear channels of communication in place, it means that the local people and leaders can let the police know and share with them information or news pertaining to the development programmes in place for effective governance. Kampala Central division is a politically volatile, attire and versatile division, the study revealed that there are trading organization such as Kampala City Traders’ Association, who are always involved in Lobbying and advocacy campaigns with the government to enable them get better trade policies.

According to the study, the area has had an established Local Council system for long which ensures that the Civic levels of development and debate on the established policies and development plans are known to the people. The various communication platforms have given chance to local people and local leaders to engage in governance decision making, the leadership of Kampala Capital City Authority and Kampala Central Division engage in political dialogue for effective governance decision making, there are many trading organization engaged in democracy.

# 5.1.3 The existing strategies for enhancing media to promote freedom of expression in Kampala Central Division.

The study discovered that at the international levels, Uganda has ratified several international human rights instrument right from the 1948 Universal Declaration of Human Rights, and has domesticated than as well as making her own laws in respect to promotion of democracy for example Articles I of the 1995 Constitution of Uganda stipulates that in Uganda power belongs to the people, and the formation and establishment of the Uganda Human Rights Commission under Articles 51, 52 and 53 promotes the observance and enforcement of human rights, chief of which is the freedom of expression. The newspapers, the magazines and other print publication carry stories on public, social and economic issues which consist of researched and personal or group options; the radios have a wide listenership and as such as vital tools for the dissemination of democratic principles and information.

The use of social media plat forms such as whatsApp, Facebook, Twitter, and others, which only require the device and data, the ubiquitous network coverage in the area has made it very easy to share and spread information on various democratic ideals for example the ongoing NRM and NUP Political hysteria is being fed to the public every time any event is captured shared and quickly analysed for public consumption. The state of Uganda assist established state apparatus for example in 2016 it was decided by the Ugandan cabinet led by Yoweri Kaguta Museveni that every radio and Television should dedicate at least one how each day to promote government programmes, so the Ugandan Central Government has ensured that the numerous radio stations and Television Station more so UBC; Uganda Broad Casting Cooperation are used for promoting the state programmes. The study revealed that with the media is used to fight the expression involving hate speeches in order to consolidate democratic values in society but has not been successful in stopping this as many hate speeches on tribal / ethnic, and political ones continue to simmer throughout the area, and this shows that the media has not succeeded as a tool to fight and end political violence in the area / in the country because the users in government and opposition use it as a hot bed for political depression.

The study concludes that the 2002 Anti-Terrorism Act of Uganda created agencies under the Joint Anti-Terrorism Team (JATT) to fight local and external terrorists and safeguard Uganda / Kampala central from any disruptions which would destroy the democracy which the country has achieved. The study revealed that there are established democratic political systems comprising of local council I, II,III, IV and V structures which give a chance to any one with the qualifications to contest and occupy such posts. The existing democratic structures help to create developmental spiral of policy and legal information flow which contributes to democratic growth and development. How does this relate to media and freedom of expression

# 5.2 Conclusion of the findings

# 5.2.1 The nature of freedom of expression in Kampala Central Division

The study concludes that there is some freedom of expression in the newspapers, the current National Resistance Movement and opposition such as form for Democratic change and others as well as independent columns on politics, economic and social life which are published for the Ugandans to consume or readers, commentators, analysts and customers. The information reaches the consumers in time or early enough since the publishing houses are in the immediate reach of the market for the products, for example New Vision or vision Group is in industrial area, Monitor Publications in Namuwongo and others which eases access to the print media for the customers or the publication they furnish with information. Internet helps people who cannot afford to buy newspapers which are quite expensive to get news including the breaking news. Thus, the findings of the study on if people use the internet platforms to express their political news recalled that many people in the area have access to smart phones which enable them fast access to internet platforms such as face book, Twitter, Broom play, messenger, WhatsApp and many others which they use to send and receive news on anything that has been published. This is an indicator of a well developing democracy but normally there instances when security agencies track, arrest and terrorize the callers in which exhibits undernourished democracy that the Division and the country are still nursing, but given chance it will develop into an all-inclusive democracy.

Currently social media platforms such as whatsApp, facebook, Twitter, Imo, Messagers, Sms, phoenix, Linked, Dios, Youtube, emails, opera, Google and all other viable social media sites’s have never before and morethan Radio and Television now used fast to pass on any information to the public for example political events, they are used to send news for online reading, videos of events.

The democracy in the area involves active campaigning, seeking mandate of delegates and the population to be elected to political posts; for groups such as traders, businesses, taxi operators, Boda-Boda operators, state and private formal institutions are deeply engages in policy politicking for example easing taxes, rent, licenses and operational standard procedures. This is exhibiting the Division as a politically developing democratic area with admirable growth and development of the freedom of expression.

# 5.2.2 The influence of media in promoting freedom of expression in Kampala Central Division

The study concludes that there is more political participation from among the Youths who have found interest in participating in politics, the Division and Kampala Capital City Authority Central authority are dominated by youth and youthful people. Many on locals council committees are also having many youths and youthful persons. The political arena because of the gender banners such as being almost seen as inferior for certain posts, hence they do not receive the mandate for example the competing political parties and players have not been able to support female candidates for Division chairperson and Lord Mayor. All people are aware of politics of democracy and governance and have personal and public elements through which they express their views for example through the social media platform like whatsApp, facebook, Twitter, Youtube and others, the digital and Pruitt media outlets which are so ubiquitous in the area due to the good network, readership and effective person to-persons communication.

The various posts for elective politics exist in the Division’s local and parliamentary elections where everyone who has the requisite qualifications can participate if circumstances allow, voice their intentions through rallies, radio, Television and word of mouth through campaigns so that they can get the mandate of the electorate to take over governance. This happens every after certain period on the calendar year which is five years and when necessary by elections can be helped. All these opportunities are available for the people to participate directly (electing, contesting and taking over office) and indirectly in the governance of thee society. With freedom to voice out one’s campaign agenda and communicate to the electorate, they are making democracy rather nurtured and developed not only in the Division. The study discovered that for people who have the love and urge to participate in politics at democratic level like elections and choice of leadership at the party level have successfully promoted their party manifests and candidature for example NRM, DP, FDC and others have been able to scoop posts and take part in governance in the interest of the public.

The use of the social media platforms such as facebook, Twitter, whatsApp and many others are used to exchange views among the people in business the political leaders and local leaders at their various levels to come up with plans for ensuring security in their areas, for public works and service delivery and so on, with these clear channels of communication in place, it means that the local people and leaders can let the police know and share with them information or news pertaining to the development programmes in place for effective governance. The various communication platforms have given chance to local people and local leaders to engage in governance decision making, the leadership of Kampala Capital City Authority and Kampala Central Division engage in political dialogue for effective governance decision making, there are many trading organization engaged in democracy and there are well established Local Council systems which depicts the high growth of freedom of expression.

# 5.2.3 The existing strategies for enhancing media to promote freedom of expression in Kampala Central Division

The study concludes that at the international levels, Uganda has ratified several international human rights instrument from the 1948 Universal Declaration of Human Rights, and has domesticated than as well as making her own laws in respect to promotion of democracy for example Articles I of the 1995 Constitution of Uganda stipulates that in Uganda power belongs to the people, and the formation and establishment of the Uganda Human Rights Commission under Articles 51, 52 and 53 promotes the observance and enforcement of human rights, chief of which is the freedom of expression. To promote freedom of expression, the Ugandan government has licenses several radio and Television stations in the area, also several newspapers like New Vision, Daily Monitor and others exist to furnish the public with informative articles. The state of Uganda has become quite autocratic and now wants to focus on censuring these communication resources in favor of the state but currently, apart from some few state opponents being blocked from accessing both private and public outlets, the various players are able to communicate to the public through the various mushrooming alternatives on internet which reach a big audience. Currently several online Television stations, Twitter, Facebook, Youtube and other social media platforms have been so crucial in promoting and spreading messages which are political and a political as well. The various online Television station such as Ghetto TV are used to pass on information which can promote democratic governance through disseminating democratic ideals like free and fair elections and other ideals. The aforementioned digital platforms / channels are very accessible as one can access them on their own smart phones, Laptops, personal Computers, which ensure that everyone with such gadgets and data. Which is why every day and every hour or minute, breaking news are quickly spread. The study discovered that there is a law in Uganda is used in fighting national an d international and as such, 28.6% of the respondents agreed that the 2002 Anti-Terrorism Act of Uganda created agencies under the Joint Anti-Terrorism Team (JATT) to fight local and external terrorists and safeguard Uganda / Kampala central from any disruptions which would destroy the democracy which the country has achieved. The study revealed that there are established democratic political systems comprising of local council I, II,III, IV and V structures which give a chance to any one with the qualifications to contest and occupy such posts.

**5.3 Recommendations**

Having covered the contribution of the media in the promotion of freedom of expression in Kampala Central Division, Uganda, the following are the recommendations to policy makers, democrats, the state and local government;

1. Regarding the nature of freedom of expression in Kampala Central Division, the study recommends that the government should allow non-violent political activism which is not a threat to national security but promotes freedom of expression understanding in the area.
2. On the influence of media in promoting freedom of expression in Kampala Central Division, the study recommends that both the local and state governments should ensure rightful democratic practices to safeguard their interests and those of the public through transparent, proportional and effective elections and allow for expression of democratic views
3. Regarding the existing strategies for enhancing media to promote freedom of expression in Kampala Central Division, it is vital to set minimum standards for political sanity through promotion of trustable regulations, laws and privacy protections, since when well run, have important consequences for freedom of expression.

**5.4 Areas for further study**

The following are the areas for further study;

1. The application of Plato’s ideals on democratic freedom and concept of freedom in Uganda;
2. Multi-level governance and democratic integration in Uganda;
3. The relevancy of human rights to human development and democracy in Uganda

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# APPENDICES

# APPENDIX 1: SURVEY QUESTIONNAIRE

**Dear respondent,**

I am Katambala Frede, a Master’s Degree Student of Nkumba University, currently undertaking a research study on examining the contribution of media in the promotion of freedom of expression in Uganda focusing on Kampala Central Division,which when successfully completed will enable me attain a Degree of Master of International Relations And Diplomacy.

I have presented before you a set of questions in this survey questionnaire to provide the appropriate responses. There is no wrong answer, but kindly provide the response you deem best fits the question/statement in each section.

The information shall be used for only academic purposes, therefore there is no cause for alarm that the information may get into wrong hands like politicians, intelligence or others who could misuse it. I request you to feel confident in this endavour.

Hoping for your positive response,

Yours,

……………………………………..

**Katambala Fred**

**Student**

**Section A: Personal Characteristics of Respondents**

***Put a tick in the space provided next to the probable statement***

1. Age (in years);

i) 18-30 ( ) ii) 31-45 ( ) iii) 46-60 ( ) iv) 61 and above ( )

2. Gender/Sex;

i) Male ( ) ii) Female ( )

3. Nature of work one is engaged in;

i) Journalism ( ) ii) Educationist ( ) iii) Democracy advocate ( )

iv) Others ( )

4. For how long have you known the existence of freedom of expression?

i) 1-4 years ( ) ii) 5-9 years ( ) iii) 10-14 years ( )

iv) 15 years and above ( )

5. In what ways is freedom of expression promoted?

………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………..………………………………………

6. Which form of media is used for freedom of expression in your area?

………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………..………………………………………

***For sections B,C and D, use the scale below to give your response***

***A=Agree (3), NC=Not Certain (2) and D=Disagree (1)***

**Section B: The kind of freedom of expression in Kampala Central Division**

|  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- |
| **Statement** | **Agree** | **Not Certain** | **Disagree** |
| 1. There is free press expression in the news papers |  |  |  |
| 1. There is limited censorship of press articles by the local government and the central government |  |  |  |
| 1. The people use the internet platforms to express their political views |  |  |  |
| 1. The political debates are held on Television by political activists and politicians |  |  |  |
| 1. The political debates are held on Radio (Radio Talk Shows) by political activists and politicians |  |  |  |
| 1. Rallies are held by political activists |  |  |  |
| 1. There are strikes when there is political disharmony between the government and opposition |  |  |  |
| 1. There are often demonstrations held for political disharmony |  |  |  |
| 1. Callers-in are allowed during the exchange of political views |  |  |  |
| 1. Activists participate in political activities and debates |  |  |  |
| 1. Education institutions in the area engage in political activities |  |  |  |
| 12. The local government leaders engage in  politicking |  |  |  |

**Section C: The influence of media in promoting freedom of expressionin Kampala Central Division.**

|  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- |
| **Statement** | **Agree** | **Not Certain** | **Disagree** |
| 1. There is more political participation from among the youths who have found interest in participating in freedom of expression campaigns |  |  |  |
| 1. There is more political participation from among the women who have found interest in participating in freedom of expression campaigns |  |  |  |
| 1. There is more political participation from the general populace who have found interest in participating in freedom of expression campaigns |  |  |  |
| 1. The regular elections enable many people to take part in the governance of their society |  |  |  |
| 1. Many people interested in politics are taking part in political party governance activities in the society |  |  |  |
| 6. There are more political publications for the public to read |  |  |  |
| 7. Many political activists are able to express their views locally and internationally |  |  |  |
| 8. The state machinations block opposition politicians from openly organizing their political activities which is weakening media |  |  |  |
| 9. The state ensures that those in media analysts get limited or no time on air to express their political views |  |  |  |
| 10. There is political participation by the civil society organizations in developing and scrutinizing freedom of expression |  |  |  |
| 11. The various communication platforms have given chance to local people and local leaders to engage in governance decision making |  |  |  |
| 12. The leadership of Kampala Capital City Authority and Kampala Central Division engage in media and freedom of expression dialogue for effective governance decision making |  |  |  |
| 13. There are many trading organization engaged in freedom of expression |  |  |  |
| 14. There are well established Local Council systems which depicts the high growth of freedom of expression in the area |  |  |  |

**Section D: The existing strategies for enhancing media in the promotion of freedom of expression in Kampala Central Division**

|  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- |
| **Statement** | **Agree** | **Not Certain** | **Disagree** |
| 1. Enactment and enforcement of international human right instruments to protect and respect fundamental rights of human beings for promotion of freedom of expression |  |  |  |
| 1. Promoting access to communication resources is being promoted |  |  |  |
| 1. There is intensification of new forms of digital social media for effective development of freedom of expression |  |  |  |
| 1. The digital communication channels are more accessible, open, transparent and ultimately democratic |  |  |  |
| 1. The print communication channels ensure effective communicating and widespread sharing of ideas in leadership |  |  |  |
| 1. There is promotion of the dissemination of information by the radio for effective debate on leadership |  |  |  |
| 1. Focusing efforts on the social media has reduced the cost of information creation and communication so it can reach all people cheaply |  |  |  |
| 1. The state utilizes the media outlets to promote its political programmes among the citizens as service consumers |  |  |  |
| 1. The media is used to fight the expression involving hate speeches in order to consolidate democratic values in society |  |  |  |
| 1. The media is used to fight political violence in the area |  |  |  |
| 1. The media is used to fight local and international terrorism |  |  |  |
| 12. The existing freedom of expression systems ensures individuals’  access to communication technologies and media is among the  top public policy priorities |  |  |  |
| 13. Through promotion of the right to freedom of opinion and  expression by holding opinions without interference |  |  |  |

**THANK YOU**

# APPENDIX 2: INTERVIEW GUIDE

**Dear respondent,**

I am Katambala Frede, a Master’s Degree Student of Nkumba University, currently undertaking a research study on examining the contribution of media on promotion of freedom of expression in Uganda focusing on Kampala Central Division which when successfully completed will enable me attain a Degree of Master of International Relations And Diplomacy.

I have presented before you a set of questions in this interview guide to provide the appropriate responses. There is no wrong answer, but kindly provide the response you deem best fits the question/statement in each section.

The information shall be used for only academic purposes, therefore there is no cause for alarm that the information may get into wrong hands like politicians, intelligence or others who could misuse it. I request you to feel confident in this endavour.

Hoping for your positive response,

Yours,

……………………………………..

**Katambala Frede**

**Student**

1. Have you known the existence of freedom of expression?
2. In what ways is freedom of expression recognized in the area?
3. In what ways is freedom of expression promoted?
4. Which form of media is used for freedom of expression in your area?
5. In what ways if freedom of expression exhibited in digital and print media?
6. In what ways does the state censor news in the area?
7. In what ways are media debates effective in promoting freedom of expression?
8. How do activists’ participation in media activities and debates promote freedom of expression?
   1. In what ways does gender affiliation promote freedom of expression in the area?
9. In what ways do regular elections promote governance in the society?
10. In what ways are party activities ensuring the promotion of proper governance in the society?
11. In what ways does the state promote lack of openness in society?
12. In what ways do the various communication platforms promote governance in decision making?
13. What are the existing strategies for enhancing freedom of expression in the area?
14. What are the other ways in which freedom of expression has been boosted in Kampala Central Division?
15. Any other information

**End**

# 

# APPENDIX 3: OBSERVATION SCHEDULE

1. Newspaper articles on politics and democracy
2. Internet articles on politics and democracy
3. Contents of political programmes
4. Freedom of expression
5. Activism
6. Political activists work
7. Gender bodies
8. Democratic elections
9. Regular elections
10. Governance characteristics
11. Political party activities
12. Communication platforms
13. Any other item

**End**