

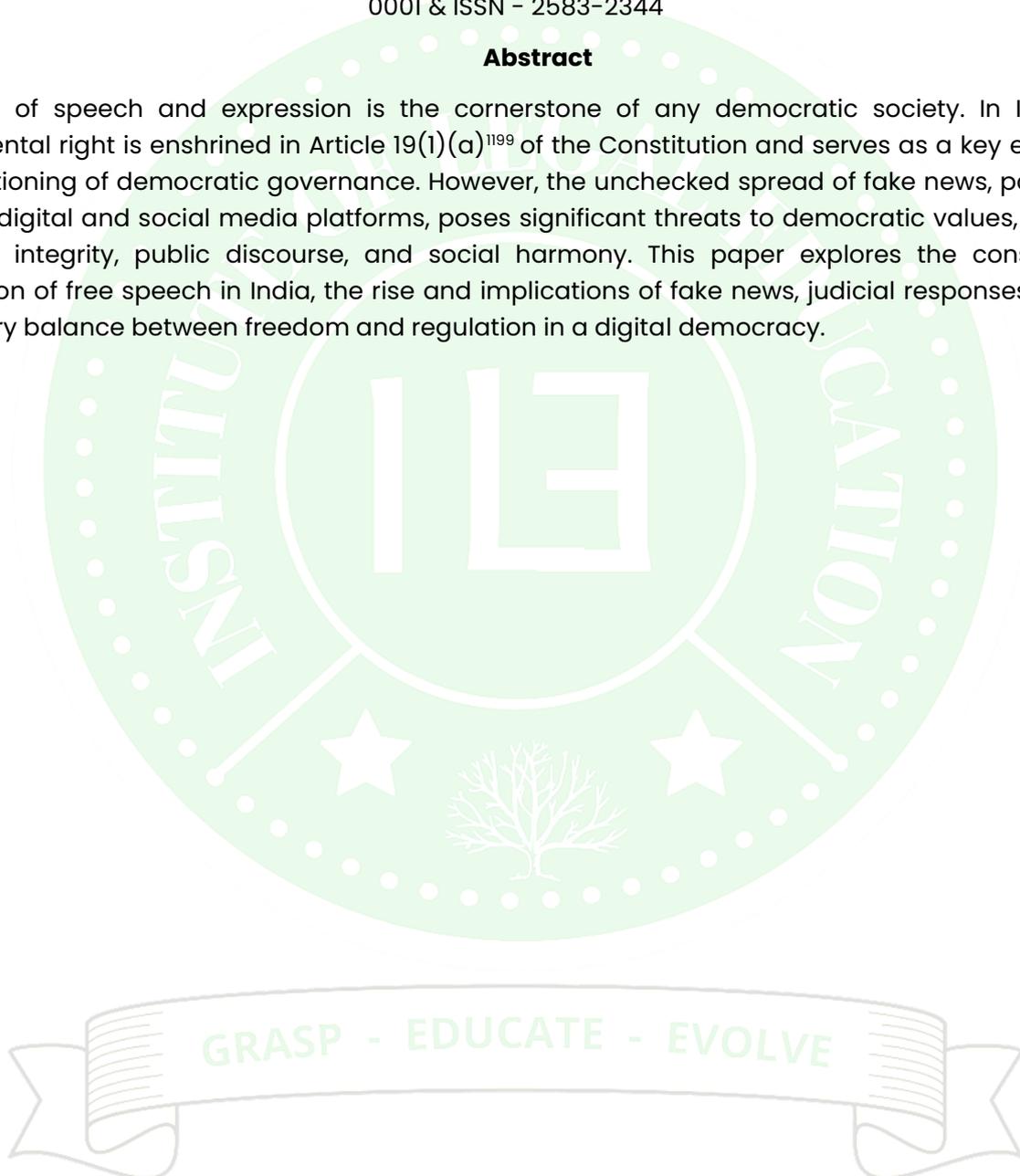
FREEDOM OF SPEECH AND THE IMPACT OF FAKE NEWS ON DEMOCRATIC PROCESS IN INDIA

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BEST CITATION – VISHAL KUMAR, FREEDOM OF SPEECH AND THE IMPACT OF FAKE NEWS ON DEMOCRATIC PROCESS IN INDIA, *INDIAN JOURNAL OF LEGAL REVIEW (IJLR)*, 5 (6) OF 2025, PG. 807-814, APIS – 3920 – 0001 & ISSN – 2583-2344

Abstract

Freedom of speech and expression is the cornerstone of any democratic society. In India, this fundamental right is enshrined in Article 19(1)(a)¹¹⁹⁹ of the Constitution and serves as a key element in the functioning of democratic governance. However, the unchecked spread of fake news, particularly through digital and social media platforms, poses significant threats to democratic values, including electoral integrity, public discourse, and social harmony. This paper explores the constitutional foundation of free speech in India, the rise and implications of fake news, judicial responses, and the necessary balance between freedom and regulation in a digital democracy.



¹¹⁹⁹ Freedom of speech and expression

• Introduction

The freedom of speech and expression is a fundamental right guaranteed under Article 19(1)(a) of the Constitution of India. It plays a crucial role in ensuring a healthy democratic process by allowing citizens to freely express their views, opinions, and criticisms.

However, the rise of fake news poses a serious challenge to this freedom and to the integrity of democracy in India. Below is an overview of the constitutional provision and its interaction with the problem of fake news¹²⁰⁰: The right to freedom of speech and expression forms the bedrock of participatory democracy. In India, it enables citizens to express dissent, share ideas, criticise the government, and seek accountability. However, the misuse of this right—particularly through the proliferation of fake news—has led to increased misinformation, social unrest, and manipulation of public opinion, thus endangering the democratic process. This paper investigates the intersection of freedom of speech and the menace of fake news within India's democratic framework.

• Relevant articles of constitution

The freedom of speech and expression is a fundamental right guaranteed under Article 19(1)(a) of the Constitution of India¹²⁰¹. It plays a crucial role in ensuring a healthy democratic process by allowing citizens to freely express their views, opinions, and criticisms.

However, the rise of fake news poses a serious challenge to this freedom and to the integrity of democracy in India. Below is an overview of the constitutional provision and its interaction with the problem of fake news:

Article 19(1)(a): Freedom of Speech and Expression

“All citizens shall have the right to freedom of speech and expression.”¹²⁰²

This right includes:

- Freedom of the press

- Right to information
- Right to express one's views through any medium (oral, written, electronic, etc.)

However, this right is not absolute.

Article 19(2): Reasonable Restrictions

The State¹²⁰³ can impose reasonable restrictions on the freedom of speech and expression in the interests of:

1. Sovereignty and integrity of India
2. Security of the State
3. Friendly relations with foreign States
4. Public order
5. Decency or morality
6. Contempt of court
7. Defamation
8. Incitement to an offense

Fake news¹²⁰⁴ often falls within the purview of these restrictions, especially under:

- 1) Public order
- 2) Incitement to an offense
- 3) Defamation
- 4) Security of the State

• Fake news as a threat in democracy

In a democracy, the freedom of speech and expression forms the cornerstone of an informed citizenry and participatory governance. However, this very freedom, when manipulated or misused, can become a double-edged sword, especially in the form of fake news. In the Indian context, the rapid proliferation of fake news has emerged as a grave threat to democratic processes, institutions, and public trust. With the advent of digital media and social networking platforms, the dissemination of information has become decentralised and instant, blurring the lines between fact and fiction. This evolution,

¹²⁰⁰ Romesh Thapar v. state of madras (1950)

¹²⁰¹ Constitution of India, Article 19(1)(a) and Article (19)(2)

¹²⁰² Context of article 19(1)(a)

¹²⁰³ State in the line is the union

¹²⁰⁴ Gupta A. (2019) “fake news and elections: a case study of India “ journal of democracy 30(2) , 45-60

although empowering in many respects, has also created fertile ground for the spread of misinformation, disinformation, and propaganda—often under the guise of exercising the right to free speech.

Fake news in India manifests itself in several ways, including manipulated images, distorted headlines, fabricated statistics, and completely invented stories. These pieces of misinformation are often laced with communal, political, or sensationalist undertones and are strategically spread to influence public opinion. During elections, fake news becomes particularly pernicious, as political actors and vested interests employ it to discredit opponents, polarise voters, and fabricate achievements or failures. In such instances, misinformation not only misleads voters but also distorts the very mechanism of informed electoral¹²⁰⁵ choice, thereby undermining the sanctity of the democratic process. Delhi riots have also caused a loss of life.¹²⁰⁶

• Literature view

However, contemporary scholars have increasingly noted the paradoxical challenge posed by fake news to this cherished freedom. The rise of digital media has transformed the landscape of public discourse. Authors such as Pratik Sinha and Rasmus Kleis Nielsen have argued that while the internet and social media democratise information dissemination, they also allow for the rapid spread of misinformation and disinformation. Studies conducted by organisations like the Reuters Institute and the BBC World Service¹²⁰⁷ highlight that India is particularly vulnerable to the fake news phenomenon due to its massive and diverse population, the linguistic multiplicity, and the high penetration of mobile internet. Scholars like Joyojeet Pal and Apar Gupta have analysed how fake news in India often intersects with political agendas, especially during election periods, thereby distorting

public opinion and undermining the democratic process.

Academic literature also addresses the institutional and legal responses to the menace of fake news. Critics argue that while regulatory frameworks are essential to curb misinformation, they must be carefully balanced to avoid infringing upon free speech rights. Scholars have pointed out the ambiguity in laws like Section 66A of the Information Technology Act (struck down in *Shreya Singhal v. Union of India*) and the recent amendments in the IT Rules 2021¹²⁰⁸. These legal instruments have been scrutinised by legal experts such as Gautam Bhatia and Arghya Sengupta for their potential to be misused and for chilling legitimate speech under the guise of regulation. The tension between safeguarding speech and preventing harm is a recurring theme in recent literature, with scholars emphasizing the need for a nuanced and rights-based approach.

• Methodology

Qualitative Research Approach

This paper employs a **qualitative research approach**, which is well-suited for exploring complex social phenomena like the impact of fake news on democratic processes. Qualitative research focuses on understanding the "why" and "how" of human behaviour, making it ideal for analyzing the motivations behind the spread of fake news and its societal consequences.¹²⁰⁹ Unlike quantitative methods, which rely on numerical data, qualitative research uses non-numerical data such as case studies, interviews, and document analysis to draw insights.¹²¹⁰

Case Study Analysis

The study focuses on three key case studies that highlight the impact of fake news in India:

1. 2019 General Elections:

- The 2019 General Elections were marked by the widespread

¹²⁰⁵ Fake news and elections- a case study of India

¹²⁰⁶ Watts up fuelled fake news before the violence

¹²⁰⁷ BBC news (2020) "Delhi riots"

¹²⁰⁸ Under information technology act

¹²⁰⁹ Creswell, J. W. (2014). *Research Design: Qualitative, Quantitative, and Mixed Methods Approaches*. Sage Publications.

¹²¹⁰ Bryman, A. (2012). *Social Research Methods*. Oxford University Press.

dissemination of fake news on social media platforms like WhatsApp and Facebook. Misinformation about political candidates, parties, and policies influenced voter behaviour and created a polarised electorate.¹²¹¹

- This case study examines how fake news was used as a tool for political manipulation and its implications for electoral integrity.

2. Delhi Riots of 2020:

- The Delhi riots were fueled by misinformation and inflammatory messages circulated on WhatsApp. Fake news about religious groups exacerbated communal tensions, leading to violence and loss of life.¹²¹²
- This case study explores the role of fake news in inciting violence and undermining social cohesion.

3. COVID-19 Pandemic:

- The COVID-19 pandemic saw an unprecedented spread of fake news, from false cures to conspiracy theories about the virus's origin. This misinformation undermined public health efforts and led to vaccine hesitancy.¹²¹³
- This case study analyses the impact of fake news on public health and the challenges of combating misinformation during a crisis.

Review of Legal and Policy Frameworks

The paper also reviews India's legal and policy frameworks for regulating fake news, including:

• Information Technology Act, 2000:

- The IT Act provides the legal basis for regulating online content, including provisions for blocking websites and punishing those who spread false information.¹²¹⁴

• IT Rules, 2021:

- The IT Rules, 2021, introduced stricter regulations for social media platforms, requiring them to remove unlawful content and appoint grievance officers.¹²¹⁵
- This review evaluates the effectiveness of these frameworks in addressing fake news while balancing free speech.

Analysis of Social Media Content Moderation Policies

The study examines the content moderation policies of major social media platforms, including:

• Facebook:

- Facebook has faced criticism for its role in spreading fake news, particularly during elections. The platform has implemented fact-checking programs and AI tools to detect misinformation.¹²¹⁶

• Twitter:

- Twitter has introduced labels and warnings for misleading content, but its policies have been inconsistent, especially in the Indian context.¹²¹⁷

¹²¹¹ Gupta, A. (2019). "Fake News and Elections: A Case Study of India." *Journal of Democracy*, 30(2), 45-60.

¹²¹² BBC News (2020). "Delhi Riots: How WhatsApp Fuelled Fake News Before the Violence."

¹²¹³ World Health Organization (WHO) (2020). "Managing the COVID-19 Infodemic: Promoting Healthy Behaviours and Mitigating Harm from Misinformation."

¹²¹⁴ Information Technology Act, 2000. Government of India.

¹²¹⁵ IT Rules, 2021. Ministry of Electronics and Information Technology, Government of India.

¹²¹⁶ Facebook Newsroom (2021). "How Facebook is Tackling Misinformation."

¹²¹⁷ Twitter Transparency Report (2021). "Content Moderation in India."

• **WhatsApp:**

- WhatsApp has limited the forwarding of messages and partnered with fact-checking organisations to curb the spread of fake news.¹²¹⁸
- This analysis assesses the strengths and limitations of these policies in addressing misinformation.

Data Collection and Analysis

The data for this study is collected from:

- **Primary Sources:** Government reports, legal documents, and social media platform policies.
- **Secondary Sources:** Academic articles, news reports, and case studies.
- The data is analysed thematically to find patterns and draw conclusions about the impact of fake news on democratic processes in India.

6. Analysis and Discussion

6.1 Impact on Elections

The **2019 General Elections** in India were a watershed moment in the use of social media for political campaigning. However, they were also marred by the widespread dissemination of fake news. Political parties and their supporters used platforms like WhatsApp, Facebook, and Twitter to spread false information about opponents, often with the intent of influencing voter behaviour. For example, fake news about the abolition of reservations for marginalised communities led to widespread panic among voters, particularly in states like Uttar Pradesh and Bihar.¹²¹⁹ This misinformation was designed to create fear and sway voters in favor of certain political parties.

¹²¹⁸ WhatsApp Blog (2020). "Limiting Message Forwarding to Combat Misinformation."

¹²¹⁹ The Hindu (2019). "Fake News on Reservation Policy Creates Panic Ahead of Elections."

The impact of fake news on elections is not limited to India. Comparative studies from the United States and Brazil show similar patterns, where fake news has been used to manipulate voter behaviour and undermine the integrity of democratic processes.¹²²⁰ However, in India, the scale and reach of fake news are amplified by the country's vast population and high social media penetration.

6.2 Communal Violence and Social Unrest

Fake news has also been linked to communal violence and social unrest in India. A prominent example is the Delhi riots of 2020, where misinformation and inflammatory messages circulated on WhatsApp exacerbated tensions between religious communities. False claims about attacks on temples and mosques fueled anger and led to violent clashes, resulting in the loss of lives and property.

The role of social media in spreading hate speech and inciting violence has been well-documented. Platforms like WhatsApp, with their end-to-end encryption, make it difficult to trace the origin of such messages, allowing fake news to spread unchecked.¹²²¹ This has raised questions about the responsibility of social media companies in preventing the misuse of their platforms for spreading hate and misinformation.

6.3 COVID-19 Misinformation

The COVID-19 pandemic highlighted the dangers of fake news in a public health crisis. Misinformation about the virus, its origins, and potential cures spread rapidly on social media, causing confusion and panic. For instance, false claims about drinking cow urine or consuming garlic as a cure for COVID-19 gained traction, leading to dangerous health practices.¹²²²

One of the most damaging effects of COVID-19 misinformation was vaccine hesitancy. False

¹²²⁰ Allcott, H., & Gentzkow, M. (2017). "Social Media and Fake News in the 2016 Election." *Journal of Economic Perspectives*, 31(2), 211-236.

¹²²¹ WhatsApp Blog (2020). "Limiting Message Forwarding to Combat Misinformation."

¹²²² World Health Organization (WHO). (2020). "Managing the COVID-19 Infodemic: Promoting Healthy Behaviours and Mitigating Harm from Misinformation."

claims about the safety and efficacy of vaccines, such as the Pfizer and AstraZeneca vaccines, led to widespread reluctance to get vaccinated. This undermined public health efforts and prolonged the pandemic, demonstrating how fake news can have real-world consequences.

6.4 Balancing Free Speech and Regulation

The Indian government has attempted to regulate fake news through laws like the Information Technology Act, 2000, and the IT Rules, 2021. The IT Act provides provisions for blocking websites and punishing those who spread false information, while the IT Rules require social media platforms to remove unlawful content and appoint grievance officers. However, these measures have been criticized for being overly broad and potentially stifling free speech. For example, the IT Rules have been accused of giving the government excessive control over online content, raising concerns about censorship.

Social media platforms have also faced criticism for their inconsistent content moderation policies. While platforms like Facebook and Twitter have introduced fact-checking programs and AI tools to detect misinformation, their efforts have been uneven, particularly in non-English languages. This has allowed fake news to thrive in regional languages, further complicating the challenge of regulation.

The tension between protecting free speech and curbing fake news is a global issue. Countries like the United States and Germany have adopted different approaches, from self-regulation by tech companies to strict government oversight.¹²²³ India's experience highlights the need for a balanced approach that safeguards free expression while addressing the harms of misinformation.

7. Findings

1. Fake News Undermines Democratic Processes

The research reveals that fake news significantly undermines democratic processes by influencing voter behaviour and spreading fear. During the 2019 General Elections, fake news about political candidates and policies manipulated public opinion, leading to a polarised electorate. For example, false claims about the abolition of reservations for marginalised communities created panic among voters, influencing their decisions at the polls.¹²²⁴

Moreover, fake news erodes public trust in democratic institutions such as the Electoral Commission, the judiciary, and the media. When citizens are exposed to a constant stream of misinformation, they become skeptical of official information, weakening the foundation of democracy.¹²²⁵ This phenomenon is not unique to India; similar patterns have been observed in other democracies, such as the United States and Brazil, where fake news has been used to manipulate elections and sow discord.

2. Social Media Platforms: Enablers and Regulators

Social media platforms play a dual role in the context of fake news. On one hand, they act as enablers of misinformation by providing a fertile ground for the rapid spread of fake news. Platforms like WhatsApp, Facebook, and Twitter allow false information to reach millions of users within minutes, often without adequate checks. The algorithmic design of these platforms, which prioritises sensational and emotionally charged content, further exacerbates the problem.

On the other hand, social media platforms also act as regulators of misinformation. Companies like Facebook and Twitter have introduced

¹²²³ European Commission (2020). "Tackling Online Disinformation: A European Approach."

¹²²⁴ Gupta, A. (2019). "Fake News and Elections: A Case Study of India." *Journal of Democracy*, 30(2), 45-60.

¹²²⁵ Bhat, D. (2020). *Social Media and Democracy in India*. Oxford University Press.

measures such as fact-checking programs, AI tools, and content moderation policies to detect and remove fake news. However, these efforts have been inconsistent, particularly in non-English languages and regional contexts, allowing fake news to thrive in certain demographics.¹²²⁶

3. Legal Frameworks in India: Reactive Rather Than Proactive

The study finds that India's legal frameworks for addressing fake news are reactive rather than proactive. Laws like the Information Technology Act, 2000, and the IT Rules, 2021, are often implemented in response to specific incidents, such as the Delhi riots or the COVID-19 infodemic, rather than as part of a comprehensive strategy to combat misinformation.

For example, the IT Rules, 2021, require social media platforms to remove unlawful content and appoint grievance officers. However, these rules have been criticized for being overly broad and giving the government excessive control over online content, raising concerns about censorship and the stifling of free speech. Additionally, the enforcement of these laws is often inconsistent, with limited accountability for those who spread fake news.¹²²⁷

Conclusion

The spread of fake news poses a significant threat to India's democratic processes, as it undermines public trust in institutions, manipulates voter behaviour, and incites social unrest. While freedom of speech is a cornerstone of democracy, unchecked misinformation can have far-reaching consequences, from polarising elections to exacerbating communal violence and public health crises. To address this challenge, a balanced approach is essential, involving collaboration between the government, social media platforms, and civil society. Key recommendations include **improving digital**

literacy to empower citizens to identify and resist fake news, **enhancing transparency in content moderation** to ensure accountability from social media companies, and **developing proactive legal frameworks** that address misinformation without stifling free expression. By fostering a multi-stakeholder response, India can safeguard its democratic values while effectively combating the dangers of fake news.

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