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ABOUT US

WHITE BLACK LEGAL is an open access, peer-reviewed and refereed journal provided dedicated to express views on topical legal issues, thereby generating a cross current of ideas on emerging matters. This platform shall also ignite the initiative and desire of young law students to contribute in the field of law. The erudite response of legal luminaries shall be solicited to enable readers to explore challenges that lie before law makers, lawyers and the society at large, in the event of the ever changing social, economic and technological scenario.

With this thought, we hereby present to you

“THE INTERSECTION OF PRIVACY AND FREE SPEECH: ANALYSING CONSTITUTIONAL PROTECTIONS AND LEGAL CONFLICTS IN DEMOCRATIC SOCIETIES”

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS



• AIR	All India Report
• ANC	Antenatal Care
• ASHA	Accredited Social Health Activist
• ASHAs	Accredited Social Health Activists
• CAC	Comprehensive Abortion Care
• Cr.P.C.	Code of Criminal procedure
• DPSP	Directive Principle of State Policy
• ECP	Emergency Contraceptive Pill
• FDA	Food and Drug Administration
• FGM	Female Genital Mutilation
• FIR	First Information Report
• FPA	Family Planning Association
• HC	High Court
• HIV	Human Immunodeficiency Virus
• HRT	Hormone Replacement Therapy
• Ibid	Ibidam, in the Same Place of Work
• IPC	Indian Penal Code
• IUD	Intrauterine Device

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2. *Agarwal Engineering Co. v. Technoimpex Hungarian Machine Industries, Foreign Trade Co* (1977) 4 SCC 367.
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ABSTRACT

The right to privacy is a cornerstone of protecting people's independence, dignity, and personal space and should be protected on the same level as other human rights. It protects against unauthorised access, monitoring, and disclosure of sensitive data. This abstract delves deeply into the philosophical underpinnings, historical evolution, current issues, and preventative actions that make up the right to privacy.

The idea of privacy originates from the acceptance of individual liberty and the conviction that everyone has a private sphere of life that should be protected against intrusion. Self-determination, the privacy of one's thoughts and communications, the privacy of one's body, and the right to secrecy are all aspects of the right to privacy. Its importance is recognised worldwide, and it is inscribed in a wide variety of national constitutions and international human rights documents.

The concept of privacy has changed over time as a result of developments in society, technology, and law. The emergence of digital technologies, however, has presented previously unseen obstacles to personal privacy. Recent advances in computing power have made possible the archiving and analysis of massive quantities of personally identifiable information. As a result, people are worried about being constantly monitored, having their personal information stolen, having their identities stolen, and having their privacy generally eroded.

The complex balancing act between personal privacy and national security in today's society, the effect of social media and online platforms on the security of personal information and the spread of biometric surveillance technology are just a few current privacy-related concerns. Discussions about the need for strong

legal frameworks, efficient enforcement mechanisms, and greater individual control over personal data have been sparked by these problems.

The right to privacy requires a comprehensive approach that incorporates legal, technological, and social safeguards. There have been a number of legislative efforts, such as the General Data Protection Regulation (GDPR) in the European Union, that seek to give people more say over their personal data and hold businesses accountable for how they treat it. Protections against unauthorised access to private data are available thanks to developments in technology like encryption and privacy-enhancing software. Furthermore, it is crucial to promote responsible data practises through increasing knowledge of privacy rights and cultivating a privacy-conscious culture.

The right to privacy is an essential component of human worth and independence, as it shields people from invasions of their privacy and helps them maintain a sense of control over their own lives. Constant vigilance is required to strike the correct balance between privacy and competing interests in the face of the difficulties brought by the digital era. To ensure privacy rights are respected and safeguarded in today's rapidly changing technological and social environment, it is essential that strong legal frameworks be put in place, together with the creation of privacy-enhancing technologies and continuous public conversation. Protecting people's right to privacy is essential for a number of reasons, including people's own happiness and the survival of democratic principles and a fair social order.

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

1.1 Background of the Study

Privacy and freedom of speech are two of the most essential pillars of any democratic society. Both freedoms are fundamental to the autonomy and dignity of the individual, not only the right to express thoughts and opinions, but the right to prevent outside interference in the personal lives of individuals. Nonetheless, the often-contradicting nature between the two rights continues to lead to myriad legal and ethical challenges, especially in the 21st century when technology and fact-based stories are disseminated into the mainstream almost at the click of a button, and where the practices of the state and corporate world track movements and behaviours of individuals with increasing accuracy and speed.

Freedom of speech underpins participatory governance in liberal democracies. It allows citizens to challenge governments and fight for societal ideals, thus playing a substantive role in establishing public opinion. Simultaneously, the right to privacy grants individuals the agency to control their information, relationships, choices, and identity. Political ideologies, judicial interpretation, cultural values, and societal expectations in various democratic jurisdictions have greatly influenced the evolution of these rights¹.

The Indian Constitution recognises these rights, like many modern constitutions—Article 19(1)(a) guarantees the right to freedom of speech and expression and Article 21, on being interpreted expansively by the Supreme Court, guarantees the right to life and personal liberty, and so, the right to privacy. Such an interpretation was clearly elaborated in the landmark judgment delivered in the nine-judge bench of Justice K.S. Puttaswamy v. Union of India (2017) holding privacy as a right implicitly protected under the Constitution. But neither of these rights is absolute. They are — with certain reasonable limitations — and that often leads to debates that can be contentious when they overlap or rub against each other.

¹ Warren, Samuel D., and Louis D. Brandeis, “The Right to Privacy,” Harvard Law Review 4, no. 5 (1890): 193–220.

One of the most extreme examples of such a tension arises when the media explores the limits of free speech by intruding into an individual's privacy. For example, investigative journalism might reveal matters of public interest — but in so doing violates the private sphere of individuals, thus raising ethical questions concerning the limits of press freedom. Social media has done likewise, making each individual a possible content creator, synonymising self-expression with breaching the privacy of others.

The state surveillance, in turn, justified by national security or public interest, constitutes grave threats to individual privacy. The use of surveillance technologies like facial recognition, biometric tracking, and mass data collection programs create a chilling effect on free expression when citizens fear that their communications and behaviors are being monitored. These evolutions go against the classical perception of both rights and are a challenge to re-define their limits in our digital world.

Many democratic jurisdictions, however, have taken different approaches to balancing privacy and free speech. Free speech is heavily protected under the First Amendment in the United States, even at the expense of someone's right to privacy. European systems of law, in contrast, mainly via the ECHR and the case law of the ECtHR, aim to achieve a proportionality between these two rights. Those concerns about speech have not tempered Europe's aggressive approach to any threat to privacy, as exemplified by the General Data Protection Regulation (GDPR)².

This dissertation seeks to investigate these intersections, examining how constitutions and courts in democratic societies manage a precarious balance between these values. It also examines the impact of emerging technologies and speaks to the responsibilities of private platforms as well as the judiciary's emerging role in resolving tensions between the two rights.” In so doing, the study aims to offer insights into how democratic societies can balance freedom of expression with individual privacy in ways that potentially facilitate rather than inhibit their democratic character.

In today's interconnected electronic world, the distinction between the private and the public is blurring at an accelerating rate. People now spend much of their lives online — on social media, messaging apps and through digital transactions — increasing their exposure to the

² · Justice K.S. Puttaswamy (Retd.) v. Union of India, (2017) 10 SCC 1.

heightened risks of privacy violations. At the same time, these same platforms have also allowed people to express themselves more freely than they ever could before. This duality poses a distinctive legal and constitutional dilemma: How can a society uphold the right to freedom of expression while guaranteeing the right to privacy?

One of the main tensions is the idea that free speech comes at the cost of personal privacy. The freedom to express thought is a bedrock of democracy, but its misapplication can result in defamation, cybersquatting, data breaches and reputational harm. Often, the public's right to know clashes with someone's right to be left alone. Nowhere is this more evident than in journalism, where interest crosses paths with "public interest" — sometimes to its own detriments. Courts and lawmakers worldwide grapple with where to draw this line, seeking to balance the need for transparency and accountability with human dignity and autonomy.

This relationship has become more complicated following the proliferation of digital technologies. Social media facilitates the virality of the information, but not necessarily the accuracy of it, the consent behind it or the possibility that it could do harm. With billions of people connected through social media, a single tweet, video or post can go viral in minutes, thousands gripped by the same story, its digital tracers permanent. Such developments pose important legal and ethical challenges to whether private life can withstand unlimited expression. Governments, regulators and tech companies are now under pressure to develop policies that respect both rights (and those of third parties) while tackling new forms of digital risk³.

Democratic constitutions around the world have long grappled with this dilemma in different ways. The law in the United States protects free speech to a greater degree than most countries and often gives preference to free speech even when it would infringe upon personal privacy. The former contrast with European democracies this side of the Channel, with their obligations under the European Convention on Human Rights to try to strike a proportional balance between the two rights. One landmark example of this is the European Union's General Data Protection Regulation (GDPR), which sees protecting the individual's rights and personal privacy as paramount — even if that means some restrictions in terms of how information can or cannot be shared, published, etc⁴.

³ John Stuart Mill, *On Liberty* (London: Parker and Son, 1859).

⁴ General Data Protection Regulation (GDPR), Regulation (EU) 2016/679.

India, likewise, has come a long way in its views on privacy and speech. The Puttaswamy judgment of 2017 which recognised the right to privacy in the Constitution was a turning point in Indian jurisprudence. However, the relationship between Article 19(1)(a) and Article 21 continues to produce litigation. Indian courts are being called on more and more frequently to referee conflicts between the media's right to report and an individual's right to protect their private life. These are particularly acute in cases where a celebrity, public figure, or victim of a sensitive crime may be involved, and the leaking of identifying details can prove harmful.

Outside of how the state and the media operate, increasing scrutiny is being aimed at how private companies manage their customers' information. Tech behemoths such as Google, Facebook and Amazon hold a wealth of user data, most of it harvested without informed consent and deployed for the purposes of targeting advertising, surveillance or political maneuvering. Whistleblower exposés, in addition to data breaches, have demonstrated just how easily these rights can be abused. This has served to broaden the scope of debate around privacy versus speech beyond a constitutional question and into the realm of corporate ethics and global governance, not least due to the fact that these are non-state actors.

Additionally, the emergence of artificial intelligence and algorithmic decision-making creates additional facets of this struggle. Deepfake technologies, facial recognition software and predictive analytics can all be used to infringe on privacy or silence dissenting voices. However, as these tools proliferate, conventional legal regimes may find it difficult to keep pace. We urgently need to be grounded in adaptive, rights-based regulation — innovation should not undermine human dignity or democratic freedoms. This collision of privacy and speech is no longer a matter only of courts and constitutions — it's embedded in the digital infrastructure of daily life.

1.2 Objectives of the Research

This research's overarching aim is to analyze the complex interplay between privacy and freedom of speech in democratic societies from a constitutional perspective, with the specific intent to discern how these diverging interests are aligned within constitutional frameworks. The current study aims to explore the conceptualization basis of both rights, the history of their

development in democratic legal systems, and how their intersection generates legal, ethical, and practical epistemic conflicts⁵.

The judicial interpretation of privacy and speech rights, particularly in cases where one right seems to violate the other, is a central aspect of this dissertation. Its objectives include analyzing the rationale utilized by the courts in these historic rulings, the principles of proportion or necessity invoked, as well as the impact of these decisions in the context of personal liberty, state responsibility, and democratic governance, overall.

A comparative analysis of various democratic jurisdictions (India, USA, UK, etc. in the EU) is one of the key focus of the study. The study seeks to learn from 'best practice internationally to see how different legal systems approach the challenge posed by the overlap (and tension) between these rights, and to highlight areas which raise questions of possible legal reform or judicial innovation'.

The research will also examine how non-state actors, most notably the media and digital platforms, contribute toward shaping the privacy-speech terrain. The study will examine how the activities of journalists, social media influencers, and technology firms can simultaneously promote expression and threaten privacy, resulting in challenges that law systems, created to address only state behavior, now confront⁶.

Moreover, the dissertation aims to assess the effects of technological development — for example, artificial intelligence, surveillance instruments, and data-centric platforms — on the enforcement and safeguarding of privacy and speech rights. It will examine how innovation has changed the historic balance between these rights — often outpacing legal protections and raising novel regulatory challenges.

One of the key goals of this research is to provide sound recommendations for how these rights can be reconciled while ensuring the fundamental tenets of democracy remain intact. To this end, the study will offer legal, institutional and policy-oriented recommendations that can help prevent and mitigate conflicts and open up space for flourishing us versus them thinking between privacy and free speech in our offline and digital lives.

⁵ Lawrence Lessig, *Code and Other Laws of Cyberspace* (Basic Books, 1999).

⁶ Frederick Schauer, *Free Speech: A Philosophical Enquiry* (Cambridge University Press, 1982).



Ultimately, this dissertation aims to unlock new avenues of scholarship and influence over the interplay of constitutional law, human rights, and the digital realm. Through a hybridization of theory and case law, the research will work to synthesize the worlds of abstract legal principles and the daily life of people negotiating a more and more sophisticated information society.

1.3 Research Questions

In dealing with the intersection of the right to privacy and the right to freedom of speech, this dissertation attempts to interact with a set of disciplined and critical research questions. The questions are here to help you keep an eye on the inquiry, but they should also shape your analysis — and ensure you are thinking constitutionally, legally and socially about the topic⁷.

1. How are privacy and freedom of speech rights conceptualized and defined in democratic constitutional orders?

In this question, we want to investigate the philosophical and jurisprudential basis of both rights. It will analyze their historical evolution, their statuses in constitutional texts, and the basic values they embody in the political communities of democracy.

2. What are your three most salient private and public legal and IRL justice interventions where issues of personal privacy and free speech conflict?

This kind of question concerns the pragmatic overlap and sometimes frictions between the two rights, as in media's reporting, online defamation, whistleblowing, and public interest journalism. It also encompasses the rise of social media, surveillance and data sharing that have redefined the boundaries between the private and public spheres.

3. How have constitutional courts interpreted and balanced these rights in case of their conflict?

This pivotal question will examine landmark judicial moves from India and other democracies. It will discuss how courts use doctrines like the principle of proportionality, the

⁷ Gautam Bhatia, *Offend, Shock, or Disturb: Free Speech under the Indian Constitution* (Oxford University Press, 2015).

test of reasonableness, and the balancing of interests to handle conflicts between privacy and speech.

4. How is the balancing of these rights done by different democratic jurisdictions — India vs USA vs UK vs European Union?

This question will identify trends, differences and best practices in navigating this multifaceted intersection by comparing constitutional and legal approaches in a number of democracies. It also seeks to show whether some jurisdictions prefer one right over the other — and why.

5. What is the role of the private actors (like media actors or the digital platforms) in shaping the privacy–freedom of expression relationship?

This query will address the ways in which non-state actors are influencing the legal and ethical interaction of the two rights. It will explore the obligations of tech companies, content moderators and journalists as they navigate this space.

6. How adequate are existing legal frameworks for addressing emerging challenges related to privacy and speech in the digital age?

This exercise will assess the effectiveness and constraints of the present laws and regulations to adapt to technological advances like artificial intelligence, deepfakes, digital surveillance, and data monetization.

7. What executive legislation and policy changes can prevent the closer balance of privacy rights and freedom of speech?

Finally, this question is forward-looking, aiming to offer constructive, actionable suggestions grounded in the research. It lays out the kind of flexible, rights-responsive, and technology- adaptive institutions and laws which such emergent practices need.

1.4 Hypothesis

The evolving conflict between the right to privacy and the right to free speech in democratic societies is a structural and dynamic challenge intensified by digital technologies, where traditional legal doctrines and regulatory frameworks are increasingly inadequate to resolve

emerging tensions, necessitating a context-sensitive, rights-based approach grounded in democratic values and human dignity.

1.5 Scope and Limitations

The ambit of the study is theoretical and practical—it constitutes a doctrinal study of constitutional provisions, seminal judicial pronouncements, legal commentaries, and international human rights instruments. The dissertation will also explore real-world cases where these rights clash, among other things in the fields of digital expression, media reporting, surveillance, and data protection, above and beyond a conceptual framework⁸.

Geographic scope: Selected democratic jurisdictions of India, USA, UK and countries of European Union will be a comparative analysis. Such jurisdictions were selected for their deep constitutional traditions, engaged judiciaries, and substantial case law on core issues of privacy and speech. India is the primary focus given its evolving jurisprudence on privacy post-Puttaswamy as well as its formidable democratic architecture that guarantees both rights. The specific focus on other jurisdictions allows the research to provide comparative insights, which can inform alternative models of rights balancing and contribute to a theoretical framework of analysis.

The research does not extend beyond the constitutional and legal struggle between privacy and speech. It does not address every area of privacy law, including in regard to property, nor does it include all types of speech, including commercial advertising or obscene speech, unless relevant to the core debate. Focuses on tensions that play out within public discourse, media, digital spaces, and state surveillance which intersects with themes such as data protection, algorithmic governance and online harassment as they relate, mediate or disrupt the balance between these rights.

Methodologically, the research is essentially doctrinal and analytical. It draws on a review of case law, statutes, constitutional texts, legal theories, scholarly commentaries and international conventions. This is not an empirical study; hence, we do not conduct any field surveys, interviews, or statistical modeling. How qualitative content—judicial reasoning and legal narratives, for instance—will be critically evaluated and used to come to meaningful

⁸ Madhavi Divan, *Facets of Media Law*, 2nd ed. (Eastern Book Company, 2013).

conclusion will be addressed. Without empirical data, it may be difficult to quantify public attitudes or measure harm in the moment, where privacy and speech are often at odds.

The study also recognizes some temporal and measurable limitations. Because technology and digital space change rapidly, the legal developments mentioned in this research might be out of date or even changed by new laws or court rulings. · Jury rights are specific to the facts of the cases that are being discussed, and thus there may be differences between multiple jurisdictions; political and cultural context may change the interpretation or application of these rights as well. Given that you are reading this research at least a few weeks from the current month year; all care has been taken to ensure that the findings are up to date and jurisdictionally relevant, all findings should be read in light of the time period and legal environment in which they exist⁹.

1.6 Research Methodology

The research uses a doctrinal legal method, meaning it sufficiently engages with existing laws and legal sources including constitutions, statutes, judgments, and scholarly and international legal instruments. The doctrinal method in itself allows us to interpret and evaluate the understanding of the rights to privacy and freedom of speech within constitutional democracies, and the balance between the two when needed. Through examining of both primary and secondary legal sources, the research will gain a contextual understanding of the nature, scope and limitations of these two constitutional rights.

The qualitative nature of this study means it will not draw upon any quantitative or empirical data collection. The theory and legal reasoning will provide the basis for examining how courts interpret privacy vs. speech conflicts. By analysing landmark judgments across democratic jurisdictions like India, the United States, United Kingdom and the European Union, the study attempts to understand the rights balancing technique adopted by the Courts, use of legal tests (like the doctrine of proportionality) and the implications of such decision-making for constitutional governance and fundamental rights more generally.

This methodology is built on a comparative legal approach. It will examine how the challenge of balancing privacy against freedom of expression has been approached in different

⁹ Ujwal Kumar Singh, *Human Rights and Peace: Ideas, Laws, Institutions and Movements* (SAGE Publications, 2009).

jurisdictions, especially in light of technological and digital advances. This comparative framework will assist in identifying trends, divergences, and best practices across systems of law. It will also show how the prioritization or reconciliation of these rights depends on political, cultural and historical factors. Study the legal theory as well and infer possible practical implications for reforms in the Indian legal landscape.

Additionally, the study will draw on interdisciplinary perspectives to expand on the analysis. Grounded in constitutional law and human rights discourse, research will be informed by fields as media studies, technology law, digital ethics, political theory, etc. Topics like algorithmic bias and data surveillance and platform accountability will also be treated according to legal structures, opening up the discourse beyond simply legalistic interpretations. This particular multi-dimensional approach enables us to appreciate the nuances behind the real-world effects of our speech-privacy conflicts.

The sources will include primary sources including constitutional texts, statutory enactments, and reported decisions from both domestic and international legal databases. In addition to primary sources, secondary sources consist of peer-reviewed journals, legal commentaries, subject expert books, policy paper, and credible, legitimate online publication. Reports from schools of thought such as the Law Commission of India, the European Court of Human Rights, the Supreme Courts of several countries and data protection authorities will also be added to provide institutional perspectives and context. All citations will be made to conform to a legal citation format provided by the university.

1.7 Review of Literature

There is a significant amount of literature in the academic world regarding rights to privacy and freedom of speech, individually and to each other. But the crossroad between the two rights — especially in democracies and digitally growing countries — has only been subjected to sharper academic focus relatively recently. The literature indicates an increasing awareness that these two rights, fundamental to liberal democracies, often cause friction when exercised in spatially overlapping arenas. Here, we provide an overview of the dominant academic debates, judicial analyses, and theoretical contributions, which lay the groundwork for the current research.

The early liberal theorists like John Stuart Mill, in his foundational text *On Liberty* (1859), highlighted the imperative of free expression to the pursuit of truth and, thus, of social progress. Mill's ideas remain relevant for contemporary legal systems that prioritize freedom of speech as a means for achieving democratic accountability and participation. But Mill failed to consider the competing value of privacy, one that had yet to be conceptually enshrined, both legally and socially, as a right. The evolution of privacy as a legal principle began particularly with Samuel D. Warren and Louis D. Brandeis' article "The Right to Privacy" (1890), in which they argued for the individual's "right to be let alone" in response to the intrusiveness of the media. This case established the foundations for modern privacy jurisprudence, especially in common law jurisdictions¹⁰.

Within the Indian context, we are fortunate to have had the likes of Justice A.P. Shah and Justice B.N. Srikrishna help shape the discourse on privacy. These works, along with that of the Puttaswamy Committee Report, advocate for privacy to be recognized as an inalienable right in the Information age.

Conversely, the literature on free speech — the First Amendment to the United States Constitution — tends to value articulation above all else, a mentality extending to the ubirir memè ring. Scholars, namely Frederick Schauer, Nadine Strossen, and Cass Sunstein, have examined the ways in which the First Amendment protects not only speech that is popular or polite, but also offensive, incendiary and politically radical speech. But those robust protections also raise issues of personal dignity, defamation and misinformation in the current digital era. A trained list of individuals and entities likely to be speaking on the general shape of cyber civil rights and accountability, based on Citron's online activism against generalizable breaches of woman's rights online, most recently the practice of online harassment, there really isn't a whole lot of room left for unregulated speech on digital platforms when faced with targeted attacks that devastate individual privacy at best, if not all of the rights attached to it, and at worst, creates a real and physical harms or even danger to one's well being, disproportionately so for women and other marginalized groups.

Another stream of literature centers on technology and digital platforms play along the privacy-speech axis. The commercial grab for personal data — which privacy scholars such as

¹⁰ Samuel D. Warren and Louis D. Brandeis, "The Right to Privacy," *Harvard Law Review* 4, no. 5 (1890): 193–220.

Shoshana Zuboff, in her book *The Age of Surveillance Capitalism*, detail — endangers both privacy and the conditions of meaningful democratic dialogue. At the same time, Julie Cohen argues we need to reconceive of privacy in networked environments like the web, where what mediates communication in the first place — algorithms, platform design, data flows — parametrize the conditions of self-expression, and hence of surveillance, in foundational ways. These are welcome works, as they underscore the urgent demand for legal systems to adapt to digital realities — not only with the regulation of state actors, but also the regulation of private intermediaries, like Google, Meta and X (formerly Twitter).

Other Indian legal scholars like Madhavi Divan, Gautam Bhatia and Ujwal Kumar Singh have examined the oscillation of the Indian judiciary between protecting freedom of speech and constricting it in the name of public order, morality or national security. Gautam Bhatia particularly has investigated the doctrinal contradictions within Indian free speech law and argued for a rights-oriented approach incorporating proportionality and necessity. These ideas are especially relevant when considering how the courts balance speech rights against competing claims of privacy or state interest¹¹.

The literature offers evidence of an emergent and lively field. There is widespread agreement about the importance of both privacy and speech, but how best to reconcile the two is contested. The proposed framework would address a gap in current scholarship by providing key insights into the socio-legal context where these rights are exercised, by delivering a comprehensive, interdisciplinary, and comparative approach to understand this context. By providing a systematic analysis of constitutional safeguards, judicial response, and novel legal confrontations at the intersection of privacy and free speech in democratic societies, this dissertation seeks to help fill that void.

1.8 Significance of the Study

The broader social and legal context for this research is the current time when the need for privacy is in collision with freedom of speech, a collision that continues to gain momentum at speed due to the exponential proliferation of digital technology, the social media, and the surveillance system. As democracies adapt to globalization and technological disruption, courts, lawmakers, and civil society are struggling to strike the proper equilibrium between

¹¹ Axel Springer AG v. Germany, App. No. 39954/08, ECtHR (2012).



these two fundamental rights. This study provides a timely and much-needed analysis of how constitutional democracies, and especially India, might balance these rights without sacrificing the one or the other.

Observational studies do not exist in the field of constitutional protections and legal fights, hence the significance of this study. Though a number of academic texts take up privacy and the subject of speech, none addresses their interaction comprehensively and comparatively. Engaging with the legal doctrines, case law, and policy frameworks that determine the delicate equilibrium of these rights adds significant value to the study and understanding of constitutionalism, human rights, and the rule of law. It aims to provide jurists, lawmakers and legal scholars with the tools to understand and solve complicated disputes that arise when privacy and speech rights conflict¹².

The study also has international and cross-jurisdictional relevance. The comparative insights drawn from looking at systems in the United States, United Kingdom and the European Union can help inform efforts at legal reforms and judicial innovation, not just in India but other developing democracies as well. Peace may be rooted in national political systems, but the impact of the borderless nature of digital communication, online expression and "due process" requires a wider frame. This exercise can demonstrate best practices in other jurisdictions and their appropriateness in the Indian legal and cultural context¹³.

Finally, the importance of this study also relies in its forward-looking and solution-oriented approach. Instead of merely describing the dilemma between privacy and speech, it puts forward a way to balance the two through constitutional principles of proportionality, regulatory intervention, and institutional accountability. The findings of this research dynamics are intended not only to play a role in the theoretical design of academic thought, but also in the practical systems of law and policy reforms. In so doing, the study aims to add to the construction of a more just, inclusive, rights-respecting digital democracy.

1.9 Chapter Scheme

This dissertation is divided into six large chapters, each of which deals with a different aspect of the interaction between the right to privacy and the right to freedom of expression. Apart

¹² Cass Sunstein, "The Future of Free Speech," *Columbia Law Review* 87 (1987): 593–612.

¹³ Report of the Justice B.N. Srikrishna Committee on Data Protection Framework, Government of India (2018).

from chapter-wise alignment having designed in a way to sequentially advance from basic concepts to applied analytical and conclusion & scope for improvement, This provides the comfort of sounding organized in the treatment of the research topic along with providing good depth and clarity.

Chapter 1: Introduction - In the first chapter I set the ground for the dissertation. It sets the stage by introducing its topic, outlining relevant backstory, discussing what the research aims to do, presenting the key questions, and setting forth the hypotheses and the method used. Additionally, it outlines the importance of the research, examines the literature that exists on the subject, delineates the objectives and limits of this study, and provides an outline of the entire chapter.

Chapter 2: Conceptual Framework of Privacy and Free Speech - It examines the historical development, philosophical rationales, and legal definitions of privacy and freedom of speech. The chapter elaborates on the jurisprudence debates relating to the two rights and how they live with, complement, or conflict with, one another under a democratic schema.

Chapter 3: Constitutional Protections in Democratic Societies - It presents the legal framework and institutional mechanisms within constitutional democracies that safeguard human rights. It makes a comparative study of corresponding provisions and judicial interpretations in India, the USA, the UK and the European Union. The special emphasis is related to how constitutional courts have sought to balance these rights when they conflict.

Chapter 4: Legal Conflicts and Emerging Challenges - It discusses real-life friction between privacy and freedom of speech. It covers important subjects, including media reporting, online defamation, public interest journalism, surveillance, social media, and artificial intelligence. The chapter also critically examines the response of existing legal mechanisms to these challenges, and where the gaps remain.

Chapter 5: Case Studies and Jurisprudential Developments - It provides an in-depth analysis of the selected case laws from India as well as from various International jurisdictions which have contributed the legal discourse over this conflict between two rights. The chapter discusses some of the important judicial reasoning, doctrinal changes, and evolving principles at play in how courts position privacy against free expression in complex contexts.

Chapter 6: Findings, Suggestions, and Conclusion - It presents the results of the research and makes practical recommendations for balancing privacy and freedom of speech. It stresses the importance of context-sensitive jurisprudence, legislative clarity, and responsible platform governance. The dissertation finishes with a summary of the main contributions and some perspectives on research and policy reform.



CHAPTER 2

CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK OF PRIVACY AND FREE SPEECH

2.1 Meaning and Scope of Privacy

Privacy is universally accepted, but it is a relatively new conception that took ages to evolve, is contextual in nature, and is complex and multidimensional in character. Privacy is the right of a person to access their own physical space, information, and decisions. It rights not only the right to be left alone, but also the right to choose without undue interference from the state, society, or private agents. Privacy encompasses everything from personal autonomy, bodily integrity, and family life to digital privacy, informational control, and freedom of thought¹⁴.

Historically, privacy has been understood in physical or spatial terms tied to the inviolability of one's dwelling, correspondence or body. But in the modern world, especially with the rise of digital technologies, privacy has assumed new forms. Informational privacy, about the collection, used and dissemination of personal data, has emerged as a key concern. Indeed, the development of big data analytics, environment tracking, algorithm profiling, facial recognition, and surveillance systems creates a wider definition of personal space and autonomy in a world increasingly mediated by digital technology.

Legal discourse has tended to characterize privacy as both a negative right an individual's immunity from interference and a positive right a positive requirement on the state to make efforts to preserve individual dignity. It is not simply a private consideration but, instead, a public good that is fundamental to human dignity, democratic participation, and individual freedom. Thus, privacy is connected to many other rights, such as free speech, equality, and liberty, and as such, protecting privacy is a precondition for protecting other rights, making it a prerequisite of a human rights framework.

Cultural and legal systems differ, too, in what they consider the domain of privacy. In liberal democracies, privacy is linked with autonomy and self-realization, while in other traditions, it can be based on family or community ties. The United States, for example, has built its privacy jurisprudence on substantive due process and "penumbras" of guarantees embedded in the

¹⁴ Samuel D. Warren & Louis D. Brandeis, "The Right to Privacy", 4 Harv. L. Rev. 193 (1890).

constitution, while European legal systems tend to approach privacy based on dignity and proportionality, particularly under agreements such as the European Convention on Human Rights and the General Data Protection Regulation, or G.D.P.R.

In India, the watershed came with the recognition of privacy as a fundamental right in Justice K.S. Puttaswamy v. Union of India. Article 21 of the Constitution ensures the right to privacy is protected against infringement by state and non-state actors. The Court developed a tiered framework of privacy, which encompasses bodily integrity, informational self-determination, and decisional autonomy, bringing Indian constitutional jurisprudence in harmony with international human rights norms.

Finally, contemporary understandings of privacy are collective, not just individual — the right of marginalized communities to resist stereotyping, profiling or surveillance, for example. The implications of privacy in caste, religion, gender and sexual orientation are well acknowledged in academic discussions on data protection, especially in the context of Aadhaar, digital ID systems and data localisation policies. collecting data to out him, revealing privacy as socio-political, not just legal or technological¹⁵.

-It is therefore important to learn the meaning and scope of privacy, to understand that it is dynamic, multidimensional, grounded on human dignity and democratic politics. For as we develop new technologies and the state is able to monitor and regulate more and more aspects of our lives, our need more urgently than ever for a strong conceptual and legal understanding of what privacy means. In a world in which this is the case, privacy is not a luxury, or a privilege—it is a pillar of liberty and a necessity for the meaningful practice of citizenship in the 21st century.

The changing nature of privacy — fueled by the digital world — is arguably the defining feature of the most contemporary legal and ethical discussions. In a past era, routinely violating privacy required physical trespass or overt surveillance; now, privacy violations are often at least more invisible to the target, via metadata collection, GPS data, biometric databases, behavioral profiling and more. This gradual degradation of privacy has sparked fears among academics and activists who say that individuals are becoming utterly transparent while powerful both governments and corporations function in a state of opacity. In digital

¹⁵ Anita L. Allen, *Uneasy Access: Privacy for Women in a Free Society* (Rowman & Littlefield,

1988).



environments, where everything is about the asymmetry of information and power, scholars argue, we've entered a “crisis of privacy”: The agency of a person to meaningfully consent or resist is deeply compromised.

Responses to the proliferation of privacy threats have varied in ambition, and effectiveness. In some jurisdictions, some more comprehensive data protection laws have been enacted — such as the European Union’s GDPR — while in others, piecemeal statutes or judicial interpretation rely on piecemeal statutes or judicial interpretation. Due to the lack of a comprehensive privacy law in various countries, including India until very recently, protections and enforcement have been inconsistent. Furthermore, conventional legal categories — tort law or contract law, for example — inevitably fall short in tackling complex issues like algorithmic discrimination, surveillance capitalism or digital identity theft. Consequently, the imperative of reconceiving privacy not merely as an individual interest, but rather as a collective and structural matter has been increasingly articulated in modern legal discourse.

Privacy is also intimately linked with autonomy, which is central to democratic citizenship. Free to think, speak, associate and act without undue interference or surveillance, individuals are more likely to participate meaningfully in public life. Privacy thus creates a “private sphere” that fosters identity formation, intimate relationships and moral development. This perspective holds true particularly in feminist and intersectional legal theory, where civil aspects of privacy are not solely conceptualized as barriers against state intervention but also as defenses against social norms, surveillance, and coercive power structures that perpetuate inequality. The right to reproductive autonomy, sexual orientation, and gender identity are all fundamentally rooted in the broader constitutional promise of privacy and dignity.

On the other hand, we should understand privacy is not an unconditional right, either. It has to be balanced against competing interests, including national security, public health, transparency and press freedom. Courts have consistently held that privacy must yield in the face of a compelling state interest as long as the measures do not violate laws, are proportionate and necessary. But the fuzzy, sometimes elastic nature of terms like “public interest” or “national security” has created apprehension that waxes and wanes about overreach and arbitrary encroachment. The trick here, then, is to find a careful middle ground—where the legitimate goals of the state do not translate into excessive harm to individual liberties.

Finally, we need to phrase the future of privacy as embedding it into the design of such legal, technological, and institutional systems. The principle of “privacy by design,” for example, argues for integrating privacy protections directly into the technologies and platforms we use, rather than growing halls of mirrors as we distance ourselves after the fact. Likewise, democratic institutions need to be updated to counter novel threats, particularly the ones from artificial intelligence, deepfakes and biometric surveillance. Legal education, public awareness and digital literacy will be equally important in reinforcing privacy as a cultural and constitutional value. In short, privacy needs protecting in courtrooms and in code, policy and consciousness too¹⁶.

2.2 Concept of Free Speech

Freedom of speech and expression is universally acknowledged to be a hallmark of democratic governance and human dignity. It empowers people to express themselves, engage in public debate, and keep leaders accountable. Free speech is a foundational liberty, which other rights — like political participation, freedom of the press and academic inquiry — straightforwardly flow from. It is a measure of civil liberty, but also a prerequisite for the existence of the vibrant, pluralistic public sphere.

First, philosophically, the rationale for free speech comes from several traditions. One of the earliest and most influential is by John Stuart Mill, who argued that the suppression of opinion — however unpopular — eliminates whatever chance there is of reaching the truth. Mill argues that exposure to error and exposure to truth are necessary steps for innovation, for raising awareness, and for achieving greater societal benefits. In contemporary liberal theory, others, including Ronald Dworkin and Frederick Schauer, have emphasized the importance of free speech in securing democracy, promoting tolerance, and shaping public opinion. These views converge on the coupling of freedom of expression with structural necessity of democratic legitimacy¹⁷.

Smart solutions of free speech today have to keep in mind the changing nature of communication technologies. And as the internet and social media have democratized access to platforms for expression, they have also generated problems such as hate speech, disinformation, bullying and other coordinated online campaigns that can weaponize speech.

¹⁶ *Justice K.S. Puttaswamy (Retd.) v. Union of India*, (2017) 10 SCC 1.

¹⁷ John Stuart Mill, *On Liberty* (London: John W. Parker & Son, 1859).

These events have sparked renewed discussions over the boundaries and responsibilities of speech, especially when communication results in real-world harm, incites violence, or threatens social cohesion. This is the decreasingly subtle ledger that the legal systems are left trying to draw — historic speech versus harmful expression, with no clear markers.

This case sets an example for how to approach platform regulation and content moderation in a way that preserves free speech on the internet. Tech firms such as Meta (the parent company of Facebook), X (formerly known as Twitter) and YouTube are key arbiters of which content gets amplified, limited or deleted. While not shackled by constitutional obligations, these private entities have grown to become influential arbiters of the public square. This lack of transparency and consistency regarding their moderation policies has resulted in accusations of bias, censorship, and arbitrary takedowns of content. Of course, that unregulated digital speech can also lead to severe harms — privacy violations, calls to violence and public opinion manipulation.

On a deeper level, freedom of speech is intimately linked to identity, dignity and participation. And for marginalized communities, access to platforms of speech facilitates the assertion of cultural identity, articulating grievance, and resistance to dominant narrative. For journalists, whistleblowers and academics, it ensures the free flow of crucial information that allows institutions to be held to account. But when speech is weaponized to harass, defame or dehumanize others — particularly women or religious and sexual minorities — it can become an instrument of exclusion. So the law has to continually struggle with the dual nature of speech that makes it both liberatory and potentially repressive.

The issue for constitutional democracy in the modern age is that we must maintain freedom of speech, in its broadest definition, while also being aware that speech has a social context and is never entirely free of consequence. The right needs to be strong enough to allow dissent and critique and even satire, but it also needs to be tempered where it infringes on the rights of others or threatens the public peace. Jurisprudence in this area must thus be dynamic and evolving, reflecting the fact that a speech, its audience, and its impact never stands still in our digital era. As this dissertation describes, one of the most sensitive and contested borders in this balancing act is located where freedom of expression meets privacy rights¹⁸.

¹⁸ *Romesh Thappar v. State of Madras*, AIR 1950 SC 124.



Speech is free not just as a legal right, but as a moral and cultural good that embodies the willingness of a society to hear different ideas, even unpopular or offensive ones, and engage in civil discussion and debate. Freedom of expression is a cornerstone of pluralistic, multi-religious societies like India as it goes a long way in promoting mutual understanding in a diverse society. Free expression, whether through literature, film, political protest or satire, enables people to question social hierarchies, challenge orthodoxies and work for reform. At the same time, such speech may also provoke opposition or cause discomfort, prompting critical questions regarding how legal systems should navigate offensive, unpopular, or dissenting voices.

Speech volume and velocity has fundamentally changed in the digital age. Content is ubiquitous and instantaneous, if not necessarily accountable. A single meme, video clip or post can prompt mass reactions, sway elections or wreck reputations. Consequently, scholars have begun to argue that the conventional legal structures regulating speech will not succeed in a world of decentralized, algorithmically produced expression. The principles of intermediary liability, platform neutrality and content moderation to better reflect the realities of speech in digital ecosystems, in which harm can be amplified by design and not necessarily by intent¹⁹.

Another aspect under threat is the so-called chilling effect—an environment in which anyone fears they might be monitored, face legal consequences or have social repercussions for expressing themselves. This is especially worrying within contexts where sedition, criminal defamation, or national security laws are vaguely worded or overbroad. In those types of environments, even legal speech can be repressed, stifling democratic engagement. Intimidation prevents journalists, activists, students and academics from expressing criticism. So protecting free speech also means protecting speakers from retaliation, both by the state and by powerful private actors.

Moreover, the idea of free speech needs to contend with the changes in the nature of truth and information in the digital age. The evolution of deepfakes, bots, misinformation campaigns and echo chambers has blurred the line between legitimate speech and manipulative output. Although constitutional protections cover opinions that are offensive or controversial, they were never intended to protect willfully false or misleading information intended to mislead the public or promote hatred. That poses challenging legal and ethical questions: How can

¹⁹ *State of Madras v. V.G. Row*, AIR 1952 SC 196.



democracies restrict false speech without undermining free expression? And who gets to decide what is true and what is not?

And finally, there are growing calls to be more rights-based when regulating speech in comparison to a morality-based or national security-led approach. This involves seeing freedom of speech not just as an instrument of political expression, but also as a right to be weighed against other fundamental rights like dignity, equality and non-discrimination. Hate speech laws, for example, are intended to protect vulnerable groups and should not be used to suppress dissent. Likewise, any restraints on digital speech must nevertheless be transparent, proportionate and subject to judicial review. This helps maintain liberty of speech without losing a focus on inclusivity, creating a more informative and just democratic system²⁰.

2.3 Interrelationship between Privacy and Free Speech

One of these includes the relationship between privacy and freedom of speech, which can be one of mutual reinforcement for both concepts as well as one that is full of inherent friction. At bottom, both rights exist to empower individuals in a democratic society. Privacy allows a person to formulate thoughts, beliefs and opinions free from the fear of scrutiny by society, and free speech gives them the opportunity to express those thoughts publicly and engage with the larger discourse. In that sense, privacy serves as a prerequisite for meaningful speech; if you do not have a safe space to explore controversial intellectual positions, you might be reluctant to fully articulate your thoughts. So privacy and speech are not always at odds; on the contrary, they're often deeply intertwined and mutually reinforcing²¹.

But the intersection of these rights can and does create more complicated constitutional and legal problems — especially when the exercise of one right encroaches on the realm of another. To illustrate: When journalists publish information on public figures' exposure of personal lives, there is a fine line—when does legitimate public interest end and the right to privacy start? Likewise, the right to criticize, satirize or parody can sometimes conflict with another person's right to his or her reputation or personal dignity. These situations require a delicate balancing act—one that courts should conduct on a case-by-case basis, according to doctrines like necessity, proportionality, and infringement of speech.

²⁰ *K.A. Abbas v. Union of India*, (1970) 2 SCC 780.

²¹ Universal Declaration of Human Rights, art. 12, art. 19 (1948).

These tensions have been exacerbated in the digital age. News sites and social media platforms have left any semblance of editorial oversight and fact-checking up to users, who are able to publish content instantly. While broadening the spectrum of speech, this has also worsened incursions into privacy — doxing, revenge porn, deepfake videos and viral hoaxes. These kinds of expression, although technologically enable, can inflict irreparable damage to a person's private life. In these circumstances, this notion that “sunlight is the best disinfectant” no longer always holds; blanket transparency may instead amount to an invasion of privacy rather than a benefit to the public interest. As a result, scholars and courts are rethinking the bounds of expression in a hyperconnected society.

In India, the Supreme Court has sought to mediate this tension in a number of cases. The right to publish an autobiography against the wishes of a public servant was protected under Article 19(1)(a), the Court held in *Rajagopal v. State of Tamil Nadu* (1994), but also recognized the right of even public officials to a private life. In a similar vein, in the *Puttaswamy* judgment, the Court observed that privacy and speech must be calibrated in a way that protects individual dignity, while also respecting democratic discussion. But it also recognized that no right is absolute and that both privacy and speech might have to be curtailed when they produce disproportionate injury or contradict constitutional objectives.

A comparative constitutional analysis would show that jurisdictions vary in the priority given to these rights. In the United States, free speech as protected under the First Amendment is frequently prioritized even to the detriment of individual privacy.

In the end, the interaction of privacy and free speech is simply the larger struggle of individual independence and social openness. It is necessary to protect both, preserving the space in which individuals can think, love, associate and choose privately, while ensuring a strong public sphere, in which ideas can circulate free from the pressures of fear and censorship. The question is how to build a legal structure that neither stifles dissent in the name of privacy nor permits privacy to be trampled in the name of the public interest. This balance is hard but necessary, particularly at a moment when technologies, political agendas and corporate interests constantly blur the lines of both rights²².

The interaction is also a significant one when it comes to issues of consent and agency around information about oneself. Realistically, our data falls hostage to the internet once we upload

²² International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights, arts. 17 & 19.

or share our data — a common trait of this digital-generation. This creates a scenario where even accurate speech — including the revelation of someone’s medical profile, sexual identity or financial status — can be lawfully protected but ethically dubious. The damage done by such disclosures can be permanent and irreversible, especially when propagated by search engines and social media algorithms. Such disclosures are now the subject of court scrutiny not only for their legality but also for their necessity and proportionate impact in a privacy-aware world.

A dispute in media and journalism serves as another locus of this struggle. The press is a critical institution in any democracy, and investigative journalism is often in the public interest. But this function needs to be weighed against the privacy rights of individuals — particularly in cases involving victims of crime, minors or the falsely accused. While public figures can be said to endure some greater measure of scrutiny than most, they enjoy privacy protections of their own. The trick for legal systems is dividing public interest from public curiosity. Sensationalism, paparazzi culture and “trial by media” all impinge on an individual’s right to a private and dignified life without any legitimate democratic purpose being served.

If it is old or irrelevant. Critics contend this might result in censorship, revisionism even; supporters argue it gives control (rather than internet mob rule) back to individuals while shielding them from collateral damage from everything remaining visible, forever. The Indian legal system is also now exploring this idea, but has not yet developed it fully, and there is no clear supporting statute yet. Balancing this right with the public right to know will take nuanced, principle-influenced legal evolution in the months and years to come²³.

This Middle Ground may be further explored through an academic lens, through a philosophical debate about the ways that context determines when speech and/or privacy violations are permissible. What is acceptable criticism in a political context, for instance, may become intrusive privacy violation in a personal one. A jurisprudential understanding — informed by theories such as Joel Feinberg’s “offense principle” and Robert Post’s notion of “privacy as a form of dignity” — further suggests that speech and privacy cannot be viewed in a vacuum. These theories emphasize that the legal value of each right is typically contingent on context, intent, and consequence, as opposed to some categorical or abstract hierarchy.

Lastly, tech design and platform code have become crucial to how these rights collide and coexist. Social media platforms and digital news outlets have the ability to shape what you

²³ *Handyside v. United Kingdom*, (1976) ECHR 5.

see, share or silence. Their algorithms decide how viral speech is, and thus how much it will invade the person's privacy. This lack of transparency in these processes calls into question whether speech is really "free" when mediated by private parties and whether privacy can be secured without regulation of these digital gatekeepers. Therefore, a truly robust legal response to the tension between privacy and speech cannot be limited to individual rights, but must encompass the systemic structures that facilitate or inhibit these freedoms²⁴.

2.4 Philosophical Underpinnings

Both of these rights are rooted philosophically in the broader concepts of autonomy of the individual, liberty, and human dignity. Philosophers of different hues have argued that a just society must safeguard the moral agency of individuals — the capacity to make private choices and act on one's beliefs without fear or coercion. These rights have different functions, but they all work towards the same end: giving individuals the ability to live freely, form opinions, develop identity and participate meaningfully in democratic life. From this perspective, privacy is a prerequisite to self-exploration and internal growth, whereas speech facilitates external engagement and societal change.

Especially relevant to the normative value of both rights is Immanuel Kant's moral philosophy. To Kant, humans are ends in themselves, beings of inherent worth and doted rational autonomy. Any legal or social arrangement that reduces individuals to mere instruments of others—through surveillance, coercion or forced disclosure—flouts the ideal of dignity.” In this framework, privacy isn't just about secrecy, it's about moral independence. Similarly, speech is not merely a device of communication, but is indicative of the subject's rational intent. A Kantian reading of constitutional rights would thus favor vigorous protections for both privacy and expression, unless they cause harm to others or degrade another's dignity.

Another key philosophical perspective comes from the libertarian tradition, represented by the likes of John Locke and Robert Nozick. In this tradition, the state can be a potential threat to individual freedom and must therefore be constrained by legal rights. Free speech is praised as a bulwark against authoritarianism, privacy as a realm into which neither state nor society should intrude. Critics insist, though, that extreme libertarianism overlooks structural inequalities — how, for example, unlimited speech might drown out marginalized voices, or

²⁴ *Von Hannover v. Germany*, (2004) ECHR 294.



how unlimited data collection by private corporations can vaporize meaningful privacy. This has prompted calls for a more just and balanced approach to both rights.

Rights must be understood in the social context, and so another tradition — communitarianism — runs somewhat in parallel (and often in contrast) to the rights-based one. Philosophers such as Charles Taylor and Michael Sandel, for example, say that freedom is always embedded in cultural values, shared norms, and social obligations. From this perspective, speech that undermines a collective harmony or strikes at widely held social norms may be sanctioned. Just as privacy isn't simply about individual control; it's also shared expectations of dignity, respect and trust. Communitarian paradigms underscore the sociable aspect of both the rights, paving ways for a more contextual and culture consign legal framework.

Feminist and critical legal theories have also offered important insights into how to think differently about privacy and speech. Feminist legal scholars also have challenged the traditional public/private divide that has rendered issues like domestic violence, reproductive autonomy and sexual harassment beyond the purview of the law. They contend that privacy can be a protective measure — or a grounds for oppression — and only if whom this privacy applies to. For example, privacy can protect a woman from state surveillance, but it can also facilitate patriarchal violence within the home. In the same way, freedom of speech has been deemed a tool for the privileged to erase others while inflicting harm through misogynist or casteist speech. Such critiques demand a substantive, equity-oriented approach to both rights, grounded in power relations, lived experience, and intersectionality.

Thus, not only are privacy and freedom of speech legal rights, these diverse strands of our philosophical traditions also signal ethical imperatives, deeply woven into our understanding of what it means to be human. They are vital for fostering autonomy and accountability and for democratic citizenship — but they also have the potential to cause harm when wielded with insensitivity to others. The challenge at the philosophical level is to defend the moral worth of each right without allowing it to become a means of exclusion, oppression, or inequality, whether on the basis of material considerations or cultural-specific ones. In the following sections of the dissertation, focusing on comparative constitutional and legal analysis, these philosophical reflections will provide a grounding for assessing how courts and legal systems to strike a balance between these competing but unique fundamental freedoms.

Another important philosophical basis for free speech is the risk that came to be known as the “marketplace of ideas” theory, which is most commonly identified with Justice Oliver Wendell

Holmes Jr. This view holds that only when all ideas, even those that may be unpopular or offensive, can compete freely in the public sphere does the truth emerge. The assumption is that avowedly rational people will gradually turn away from falsehoods and toward the truth, if we're only given enough liberty to debate. But this model has been challenged in the digital age, in which engagement often trumps accuracy, and falsehoods can spread faster than the facts. Such criticisms raise questions about whether regulation is necessary to achieve the goal of a free marketplace characterized by fairness, inclusiveness, and accountability²⁵.

The “right to be let alone,” as coined by Warren and Brandeis, brought privacy into the realm of a civilizational value — standing against the loss of individual peace and dignity in an increasingly media- and society-captured world. This early formulation of privacy was defensive — to protect individuals from sensationalist journalism and social overreach. But over time privacy was reshaped into a forward-thinking and empowering right, essential not just for solitude but for the shaping of your personality, beliefs and relationships. Philosophers including Judith Jarvis Thomson have argued that privacy is not a single right but rather a cluster of related interests, which is why it is context-dependent and involves complicated trade-offs.

This has led postmodern and post-structuralist theories, and particularly those stemming from work by Michel Foucault, to reshuffle our understandings of both privacy and speech as they exist in contemporary society. Foucault’s idea of “panopticism” cautions that contemporary humans face invisible but more widespread forms of surveillance and normalization. The very concept of privacy becomes illusory in this frame, as subjectivities are internalized, and individuals internalize surveillance and discipline by the state, corporations, or society. Likewise, speech is no longer considered purely emancipatory but also a vehicle of power that can enforce norms, exclude dissent, and reproduce hierarchies. These insights are critical to understanding the limitations of traditional liberal theories to addressing the challenges of the twenty-first century²⁶.

Silence and speech are not new phenomena that originated with the advent of censoring in India or elsewhere; neither are they new concepts in Indian philosophical thought from which such censoring draws substance. Ancient texts and tradition have long highlighted the sacredness of personal space (*griha*) and the significance of silence (*mauna*) and the energy of speaking

²⁵ *Puttaswamy*, supra note 3, at para 168–182.

²⁶ *Anuradha Bhasin v. Union of India*, (2020) 3 SCC 637.

(satya-vachana) truth. Thinkers such as Swami Vivekananda and Rabindranath Tagore have argued for the moral use of freedom and the inner cultivation of the self. Such traditions not only consider speech a right, but also see it as a moral duty informed by principles of self-discipline, respect and truth. These ideas have started to make their way into Indian judicial reasoning, particularly in cases concerning the abuse of speech and culturally grounded notions of privacy.

In the end, privacy and speech have philosophical underpinnings that show these are living rights — molded by cultural norms, historical experiences and changing technologies. These are not static categories but dynamic values, which express a society's moral and political commitments. But however privacy and speech are interpreted, whether guiding individual or group behavior via liberalism, feminism, communitarianism, or critical theory, both require a balancing of individual freedom and collective responsibility. Knowing their philosophical basis gives us the strength to fight for these rights, both in courts and legislatures, and to think about them in public discourse and everyday life²⁷.



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²⁷ *Navtej Singh Johar v. Union of India*, (2018) 10 SCC 1.



CHAPTER 3

CONSTITUTIONAL PROTECTIONS IN DEMOCRATIC SOCIETIES

3.1 Freedom of Speech and Expression in Constitutional Democracies

The concept of freedom of speech and expression is widely considered to be a foundation of democratic governance and personal freedom. It is an indispensable tool for public dialogue, political participation, social change, and accountability. Without the right to speak, write, publish, protest or dissent, the democratic process is hollow and its institutions risk drifting into authoritarianism. And so freedom of expression is not just a civil right but the precondition for the exercise of all other freedoms, including the right to vote, to associate, and to live with dignity. This right is distillable from constitutional texts in different constitutional democracies, whether by textual prescription in foundational legal texts or by judicial construction and historical practice²⁸.

By comparison, the U.S. Constitution provides a more categorical protection to speech in the First Amendment, which states that "Congress shall make no law abridging the freedom of speech, or of the press." The U.S. Supreme Court has repeatedly reaffirmed this protection, even in controversial contexts, like hate speech, flag burning and offensive political commentary. That landmark 1969 decision, *Brandenburg v. Ohio*, established the "imminent lawless action" standard, which permits states to restrict speech only if it is intended and likely to produce immediate violence. But it is also drawn upon as an example because of its failure to appropriately redress social harms resulting from certain expressions, especially in the digital age, in which misinformation, harassment, and polarization abound.

In the UK, the right to freedom of expression is enshrined in the Human Rights Act 1998, which gives effect to the ECHR in domestic law. British courts have followed a more or less similar balancing exercise, especially in relation to defamation, national security and media regulation cases. For example, the House of Lords pioneered the "Reynolds Defence" in *Reynolds v. Times Newspapers Ltd*, shielding responsible journalism against defamatory allegations as long as it serves a public purpose. Such rulings evince both a commitment to press freedom

²⁸ Gautam Bhatia, *The Transformative Constitution: A Radical Biography in Nine Acts* (HarperCollins, 2019).



and an understanding that one cannot exercise speech in ways that unfairly damage reputations or mislead the public.

In other modern democracies, however, the law governing free speech now needs to adapt to new means of communication, so that it continues to provide appropriate protection across digital media, social networks and online platforms. But the expansion of these technologies has raised novel legal questions, especially around regulating hate speech and fake news, and algorithmic boosts to such potentially harmful content. In an era of the internet, social media, and other kinds of technology, however, the misuse of speech can be destructive and even deadly by leading to physical violence, injustice, and reputational harm in the real world. As a result, courts and legislatures increasingly find themselves working to strike a balance between protecting the roots of free speech while also exploring mechanisms to restrict its use as a weapon, particularly in digital venues where the simplistic public/private distinction often malfunctions²⁹.

One pervading theme in constitutional democracies is the evolution of free speech jurisprudence in reaction to changes in society. The history of free speech protections is that they were written at a time when censorship, colonialism, or authoritarian rule were prevalent. Societies, however, became increasingly pluralistic and sophisticated, allowing the right to express destabilize not simply the political sphere, but came to include artistic expression, academic freedom, satire, and symbolic action such as protests or silence. Judiciaries throughout numerous nations have reacted with a broadening of constitutional protection to various types of speech, in recognition of the view that speech does not only refer to political speech and in fact that non-verbal and creative types of communication are also integral to democratic conversation. Such a progression highlights the evolutionary character of speech rights, which must adjust in light of fresh contexts and different forms of expression.

This is especially significant in democratic societies where the press helps maintain the right to free speech. As the “watchdog” of democracy, the press has been entrusted with informing the public, exposing abuses of power and providing for public debate. In India, the press is not specifically included in Article 19(1)(a), but the courts have read the same into the scope of freedom of expression. In *Bennett Coleman & Co. v. Union of India*, the apex court observed that “freedom of the press” is a component of Article 19(1)(a), and therefore, “government control over newsprint passes the stage of regulation and becomes an infringement of the right”.

²⁹ *Bennett Coleman & Co. v. Union of India*, (1973) 2 SCC 788.

And in the U.S. and the U.K., it hasn't been different: Courts have aggressively defended press independence, though acknowledged that irresponsible or malicious journalism can warrant legal consequences. As a result, press freedom versus privacy or reputation is frequently a testing ground for balancing competing constitutional values.

In these contemporary democracies lies an emerging concern; the governance of speech on digital platforms, especially when accounting for misinformation, hate speech, and cyber abuse. The internet has democratized the tools of communication, but it has also obscured the line between public and private speech, as well as between domestic and cross-border communication. The responses run the gamut between jurisdictions. India keeps hitting repeat on the legislative toolbox of regulating digital speech — the Information Technology Act and subsequent amendments — with well-documented failures of vague and overbroad provisions. On the other side, the European Union has taken a more structured regulatory approach, with one example being the Digital Services Act, which seeks transparency, accountability, and content moderation on online platforms. These initiatives underscore the delicate balance between freedom of expression and the responsibility of digital platforms.

A further dimension of free speech that courts have increasingly been called upon to address is its intersection with equality and non-discrimination. Some forms of expression — hate speech against religious minorities, against women, against LGBTQ+ individuals, against marginalized castes — bolster social hierarchies and undermine substantive equality. Constitutional democracies must then choose whether such speech merits protection or suppression. In the Indian context, while there are laws on hate speech — under the Indian Penal Code, for example — (Sections 153A and 295A) their implementation has been inconsistent and often selectively applied. This has led legal scholars to demand a principled and consistent framework that distinguishes between offensive speech and incitement to hate, while recognizing that in the name of absolute liberty, the dignity of vulnerable groups must not be sacrificed³⁰.

Third, courts across the globe have increasingly turned to the doctrine of proportionality to adjudicate tensions between freedom of speech and other rights. The principle, prevalent in European and Indian constitutional law, is that any limitation on a fundamental right must (a) be based on a legitimate aim, (b) be suitable to achieve that aim, and (c) impair the right no more than necessary to achieve the aim. In downplaying the primacy of freedom of speech, the

³⁰ *Shreya Singhal v. Union of India*, (2015) 5 SCC 1.

Supreme Court of India in *Modern Dental College v. State of Madhya Pradesh* (2016) adopted a (sliding) scale test, in which it affirmed the principle that constitutional rights are not absolute but must be balanced against competing societal interests. In particular, I turn to the application of proportionality, which, I argue, ensures that speech is not subject to arbitrary only to also protect other vital interests, including national security, public order, or the rights of others. This way, proportionality gives a structured and transparent tool for balancing liberty against responsibility.

3.2 Comparative Constitutional Analysis (India, USA, UK, EU)

Constitutional democracies around the globe are well aware that the protection of both privacy and free speech is of paramount importance. But the relative weight given to these rights and the balancing mechanisms differ markedly from country to country based on each country's legal history, cultural values and institutional setting. A comparative constitutional analysis offers vital insights into the mutual implications of privacy and free speech, the tensions between privacy and free speech, and their accommodation through judicial interpretation and legislative design. This part highlights the different constitutional philosophies or doctrinal categories adopted for the treatment of these rights in different legal systems by considering the approaches of India, the United States, the United Kingdom and the European Union.

All liberal democracies view privacy and free speech as guaranteed by their constitution, and while this was only implicitly recognized in India, these rights were ultimately recognized within the framework of the constitution. Article 19(1)(a) protects the right to freedom of speech and expression, subject to the “reasonable restrictions” stipulated in Article 19(2). From the landmark *Puttaswamy* judgment (2017) upward, it was interpreted widely to protect life and personal liberty under article 21, synonymous now with the right to privacy. Indian judiciary has applied the concept of proportionality to decide between conflicting rights and interest. Instead of a model that assigns differential, hierarchical value to privacy and free speech — and based on that hierarchy, resolves conflicts as a matter of course in favor of the right to speak — the Indian model is based on balancing rights against one another, where the judiciary empirically finds itself adjudicating rights-conflicts through an structured, deliberative analysis rather than a rigid application of a preference or hierarchy of rights³¹.

³¹ *R. Rajagopal v. State of Tamil Nadu*, (1994) 6 SCC 632.



The United States, by contrast, is more speech-favoring than the courts in Europe, rooted in a strong libertarian tradition. The First Amendment to the United States Constitution provides near-absolute protections for freedom of discussion and of the press, making it hard for the government to impose content regulation and making such regulation subject to strict scrutiny. U.S. courts have traditionally favored speech over privacy, particularly in contexts involving public figures, criticism of government and other matters of public concern. Although it's not explicitly referred to in the U.S. Constitution, privacy has been implicitly constructed through a lot of the amendments — the Fourth and Fourteenth amendments especially — to protect people's individual autonomy in matters around reproductive rights and searching in homes. But American privacy law is fractured and sectoral, largely built on statutory protections and meager judicial interpretation, especially in the face of powerful First Amendment rights.

The U.K. occupies a middle ground, based on its assimilation of European human rights norms through the U.K. Human Rights Act 1998. Both Article 8 (the right to privacy) and Article 10 (the right to freedom of expression) of the European Convention on Human Rights (the ECHR) are enforceable in UK courts. British judges generally carry out a case-by-case balancing exercise, assessing the public's interest in free speech against an individual's right to privacy. The creation and development of the tort of misuse of private information in cases like *Campbell v MGN Ltd* marks the UK's greater willingness to acknowledge that privacy harms exist, harms inflicted by private actors such as the press. This model holds that both rights are fundamental but allows judicial discretion to evaluate proportionality and necessity in given contexts³².

The European Union and its court and notification mechanisms such as the Court of Justice of the European Union (CJEU) and the General Data Protection Regulation (GDPR) provide one of the most highly developed legal systems for protecting privacy, and in particular informational privacy. Whereas the EU is inclined toward a more privacy-advanced position when it comes to concerns about misuse of personal data by private or platform actors, freedom of expression is directly protected under Article 11 of the Charter of Fundamental Rights of the European Union. The “right to be forgotten” expressed in *Google Spain v. AEPD* reflects a perception in the EU that personal dignity and control of one's own information can, in appropriate cases, surpass the public's right to know. But this approach also has its critics, who

³² *K.S. Puttaswamy v. Union of India*, (2017) 10 SCC 1.



argue that it risks chilling free speech and running afoul of transparency norms, especially in journalistic or academic contexts.

In short, though privacy and free speech are each recognized as valuable by all four jurisdictions, constitutional culture influences their approach to protecting and balancing rights. Contrasting with this, India and the UK have the balancing framework, where courts consider the rights and situation in balance, context, and proportionality. The United States has a speech-dominance model, which provides stronger protections for expression, even at the cost of privacy. The European Union, by contrast, adopts a dignity- and privacy-centered model, particularly with respect to the digital space. Each offers important lessons: the U.S. demonstrates the power of an unfettered marketplace of ideas; the EU shows the importance of data autonomy; and the U.K. and India illustrate the need for structured balancing, so that neither right is sacrificed on the altar of the other.

Another significant feature of comparative approaches to constitutionalism, circularly but not quite, is horizontal application of fundamental rights — that is, whether privacy and free speech are enforceable against not only the state but private actors as well. The General Data Protection Regulation (GDPR) is one of the most significant regulations in the European Union, which directly impacts private companies and platforms — in particular, how they collect, process and store personal data. This is a wider European understanding of constitutional rights such as privacy: they should have vertical and horizontal effects. By contrast, the United States has historically confined the reach of constitutional rights to state action. While some privacy protections exist in certain areas, such as under various statutes, including the Health Insurance Portability and Accountability Act (HIPAA) or the Children's Online Privacy Protection Act (COPPA), there is no comprehensive federal data protection regime that is sectors Italian. As a result, people in the U.S. are often relegated to the devices of contracts or tort law as a remedy for privacy violations by private companies, thus leaving them with a patchwork quilt of often insufficient legal protection.

In India, the question of horizontal applicability is still under evolution. It recognized the fact that privacy could be violated not only by state but by non-state actors as well and underlined the necessity of having a data protection legislation. This has resulted in a huge gap in the legal framework, with only the Personal Data Protection Bill introduced in Parliament in December 2021, which still remains pending enactment. Courts have in fact been increasingly willing to apply constitutional principles in private disputes, particularly when violations implicate power

asymmetries — between corporations and individuals, for example. This trend indicates that Indian constitutionalism is advancing toward a more expansive understanding of fundamental rights, that is attuned to contemporary societal realities — particularly those in the digital age characterized by giant tech platforms commanding great control over private data and public conversation³³.

Legal remedies for violations of privacy and speech rights also vary quite a lot across jurisdictions. In the UK and EU, individuals may seek injunctive relief, damages, or enforce their data rights through courts or data protection authorities pursuant to regulations such as the GDPR. Such remedies are usually availed promptly and are enforced by regulatory bodies having the authority of binding force. In contrast, legal redress in India and the U.S. tends to be litigation-heavy and often slow, pricey or inaccessible for regular people. Multiple rail services in northern Indian states were also halted or disrupted, and many flights were canceled. Strengthening institutional mechanisms — independent data protection authorities, ombudspersons or specialized tribunals — may be a path toward better protection and more immediate resolution of rights-based conflicts.

So, cultural and societal attitudes toward speech and privacy also affect how these rights are implemented or interpreted. In India, speech is governed by not just law, but also social sensitivities around religion, caste and nationalism. The courts have then had to tread a fine line between protecting dissent and triggering communal disharmony. In the United Kingdom, for example, its longstanding traditions of public decency and libel law mean that the press is to an extent beholden to a legal and ethical environment that does not exist elsewhere. On the continent, where dignity is recognized as a constitutional value, this suggests a more privacy-protective orientation, one that preserves rights of expression as against acts that are believed to encroach upon the dignity of others, even if that means limiting controversial or offensive expression. These differences illustrate that constitutional law does not exist in a vacuum; it reflects and responds to the moral and political culture in which each society is embedded.

Lastly, a very important comparative perspective captured is on the evolving role of technology and how the various legal systems have managed to adapt to it. The four jurisdictions are all struggling with the challenges brought on by artificial intelligence, surveillance capitalism, biometric data, and algorithmic content moderation. Where there are fundamental rights, there are limits on unfettered technological progress, and this context has

³³ *Shreya Singhal v. Union of India*, (2015) 5 SCC 1.

led to the emergence of legal innovation of a certain robustness, like that embodied in the AI Act. Free speech-related legal protections in the U.S. significantly limit how much, and how strongly, platforms can regulate themselves, leading to increasing public calls for accountability. Although India is technologically very ambitious, its laws on digital rights are still in the making. Comparative constitutional law shows that no one model has all the answers, but that the models, taken together, can provide strategies for strengthening constitutional rights in an era when citizens and businesses are increasingly at the mercy of new technologies³⁴.

3.3 Role of Judiciary in Balancing the Two Rights

Interpreting, enforcing, reconciling, the right to privacy, the right to freedom of speech — the judiciary is the front and centre in this, in its primary role. And though they are both constitutionally protected in many democratic societies, they often clash — especially in cases involving media coverage, digital leaks, surveillance, and hate speech. It is in these battlegrounds that courts step in as constitutional mediators, taking care that the protection of one right is not gained at such disproportionate cost to the other. This balancing role is not just technical — it is a profoundly normative exercise that illuminates a court's vision of democracy, dignity and the public interest.

The Indian judiciary has demonstrated a progressive approach of balancing privacy and free speech with application of proportionality principle. A landmark example is the Puttaswamy judgment (2017), where the Supreme Court laid down a three-pronged test — legality, necessity and proportionality — on any infringement of the right to privacy. This framework has since framed judicial review in many of the digital age's most high-profile disputes over data protection, digital surveillance and media freedom. Importantly, the Indian courts have noted as well that there is no right which is absolute, and that the context and purpose of the expression, or the privacy right being claimed, has to be assessed. In *R. Rajagopal v. State of Tamil Nadu*, for instance, the Court drew a refined distinction between matters which are in the public interest and intrusions into private life that are unauthorized, thereby upholding the proper role of the press while defending individual dignity³⁵.

The American judiciary, in stark contrast, has a long history of providing exceptional protection to speech — even when that speech may conflict with privacy interests. The U.S. Supreme Court's ruling in *New York Times v. Sullivan* (1964) set the “actual malice” standard for

³⁴ *Axel Springer AG v. Germany*, (2012) ECHR 227.

³⁵ *PUCL v. Union of India*, (1997) 1 SCC 301.

defamation against public figures and thus opened up considerable space for critical reporting and vigorous debate. In *Snyder v. Phelps* (2011), for example, the Court affirmed the right to offensive protest speech at a military funeral, and did so on the basis of First Amendment protections. Though U.S. courts have established privacy rights in areas such as reproductive autonomy and home surveillance, they are loath to limit speech, especially on matters of public concern. Doing so serves expressive liberty, at least sometimes at the price of reputational or emotional harm, and the judiciary thus functions as a guardian of the same.

In the context of Europe, especially under the jurisdiction of the European Court of Human Rights (ECtHR) the judiciary has developed a structured balancing test to weigh privacy and speech under Articles 8 and 10 of the European Convention on Human Rights. Considerations include the subject matter of the publication, the nature of the information, the conduct of the person concerned and the contribution to the public debate. A key feature of this approach can be found in the case of *Axel Springer AG v. Germany*, in which the Court balanced the media's right to inform with a celebrity's right to privacy. European judicial philosophy is rooted in dignity and democratic necessity, leading to context-sensitive, deferential rulings on both press freedom and personal rights.

Thus one sees that in the United Kingdom, the common law has drifted towards protecting privacy, particularly in a constitutionless state. One important difference in the United Kingdom, where British courts have historically been more protective of reputation and decorum, is the emergence of the tort of misuse of private information, which has evolved in response to changing social norms and circumstances, as illustrated by *Campbell v. MGN Ltd.*, as well as to new contextual challenges, like those embodied in *PJS v. News Group Newspapers Ltd.* In contrast, here judges are becoming more ready to accept that privacy invasions by the media or individuals had to satisfy a public interest test and be proportionate. In this way, British courts act as the arbiters of journalistic ethics, ensuring that the right to inform does not turn into the right to humiliate or exploit³⁶.

More than simply deciding individual disputes, the judiciary's role across jurisdictions includes creating the normative frame in which these rights can function. Their interpretations give rise to doctrines, create standards for legislative compliance, and even shape public discourse. This role is particularly important in a digital age, where privacy and speech are increasingly filtered through technology companies, algorithms, and flows of cross-border

³⁶ *Sahara India Real Estate Corp. Ltd. v. SEBI*, (2012) 10 SCC 603.

data. Courts are now grappling with some new questions: Should search engines be considered publishers? Does a ban from platforms count as censorship? Does AI-generated content violate privacy? The judiciary needs to calibrate these tools and reason according to the novel but fundamental challenges while also remaining true to those constitutional ideals it seeks to preserve.

The judiciary is also being called on to regulate speech on digital platforms, in a legal landscape where these platforms have become the common venue for personal expression and for violations of personal privacy. Courts in many democracies are now wrestling with questions like: Is online trolling protected speech? How does a court assess viral content that disseminates personal or defamatory information? The *Shreya Singhal v. Union of India* (2015) case in India was a watershed event that invalidated Section 66A of the Information Technology Act for having vague and overbroad limits on online speech. The Court recognized the transformative capacity of the internet, while reiterating that any such restriction must be narrowly tailored. This underscores how the judiciary needs to constantly reassess constitutional rights to account for technological disruption and the digitization of discourse.

The chilling effect doctrine has also been an important factor for courts in balancing privacy and free speech. When people become afraid of legal retaliation or reputational damage for their opinions—especially on issues of public concern—we move toward self-censorship, and a weakened democracy. In the United States, courts have invoked this concern to protect controversial or offensive speech even when doing so might cause discomfort or intrude on specific aspects of personal space. In India, the courts, too, in *Anuradha Bhasin v. Union of India* (2020), acknowledged that indefinite access to the internet can chill newsgathering and public debate. These cases highlight the judiciary's role in ensuring that legal protections do not inhibit legitimate speech or silence dissenting voices.

Meanwhile, judiciaries in countries across the globe are beginning to recognize the transformative harm that unregulated speech can do to the individual's privacy and dignity. The enormity and permanence of online content make even a single post accusing someone of defamation or a single video uploaded without their approval a permanent scar on a person's life, career and mental health. Courts are thus coming to accept injunctions, content takedowns, and delinking orders as legitimate tools for privacy protection, particularly in revenge pornography, doxing, or cyber defamation cases. Such interventions, however, must be

carefully calibrated not to reach too far and end up as unintended censorship, and once again requires balancing two rights of equal importance.

Another area of judicial balancing that is important relates to interim relief as well as prior restraint especially in relation to media publications. Courts are generally reluctant to issue pre-publication injunctions, out of concern for press freedom, but they have also recognized that such orders may be warranted in rare cases involving privacy violations or national security. The Supreme Court of India, for example, articulated the role of postponement orders in *Sahara India Real Estate Corp. v. SEBI* (2012) and established guidelines to balance fair trial rights and curb the media from going too far. It is a sign of a growing judicial awareness that live media coverage — and live media coverage in particular, in high-profile criminal matters — can impinge both on personal privacy and on the administration of justice³⁷.

Finally, resorting to judicial institutions for interpretative and procedural innovation so that this conflict between speech and privacy can be better balanced. Courts now are called upon not only to decide but to shape regulatory frameworks, to supervise the enforcement of data protection laws, and to interact with new global standards. In the information age, judicial training, technological literacy, and institutional independence is key to ensuring fair and forward-looking decisions. As the digital age increasingly blurs the lines of traditional legal domains, the ability of the judiciary to serve as a principled and pragmatic arbiter will be how successfully democracies navigate the need to protect the right to speak and the need to be left alone.

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³⁷ *Kaushal Kishor v. State of Uttar Pradesh*, (2023) 4 SCC 1



CHAPTER 4

LEGAL CONFLICTS AND EMERGING CHALLENGES

4.1 Media Freedom vs. Individual Privacy

In the Democracies, an increasingly complex battle rages between media freedom and individual privacy. Although the media is critical in maintaining transparency, accountability, and public discourse, sometimes the excessive reach can violate the personal lives of people and their dignity. In democratic legal systems, media freedom and privacy are both regarded as essential rights, but the two frequently come into conflict in cases involving sensationalist journalism, investigative journalism, and reporting about public figures and other prominent people. The solution is to protect the press but do so in a way that allows it to act freely and without fear, whilst not violating the personal autonomy and dignity of those it covers.

The lines have become blurred "between public interest and private intrusion with the advent of 24x7 news and digital journalism. In their quest for breaking news and higher ratings, media outlets can publish or broadcast details of an individual's life that have scant relevance, if any, to the most pressing questions at hand. Coverage of criminal investigations, celebrity lives or personal tragedies frequently crosses ethical lines, becoming a vivid flesh-and-blood spectacle of grief or scandal. Such practices can be deadly threats to the right to privacy and can inflict permanent damage to a person's reputation, well-being and mental health, and Standing in Society³⁸.

Legal systems in democracies have responded in various ways to this tension. In India, the courts have sought to delineate the bounds of media freedom through case law. The Supreme Court held in *R. Rajagopal v. State of Tamil Nadu* (1994) that a citizen could not be denied the right to protect the privacy of his life by an unauthorized publication of a biography or personal information without consent as it was an affront to the right to privacy. But the Court also pointed out that Fact or information that may be obtained through public records, or information that relates to the performance of public duties will not be so privileged. This is an attempt to strike a balance — journalism can reveal wrongdoing or corruption, but cannot trespass on private life without a compelling public interest reason.

³⁸ *R. Rajagopal v. State of Tamil Nadu*, (1994) 6 SCC 632.



Since October 2023, there has been a movement in the United Kingdom to create the tort of misuse of private information, enabling individuals to sue for being unjustifiably exposed to the media. What it did do, especially in cases such as *Campbell v. MGN Ltd.*, was establish that even public figures had a degree of privacy relating to sensitive matters in their lives, such as health or personal relationships. In the U.K., courts apply a proportionality test, weighing the individual's reasonable expectation of privacy with the press' right to publish in the public interest. The latter approach stresses that all things that pique public interest are not matters of public concern, and points out that the ethical duties of the press cannot be divorced from legal constraints on the press.

In the digital space, this dilemma intensifies as the networks come to the forefront with their quick and uncontrolled flow of online news portals, social media influencers, and citizen journalists. Material online can stay there forever, irrespective of its correctness or relevance. In many cases, if a story is corrected or taken down, the digital footprint of that first appearance makes corrections moot and causes continuing harm. This begs hard questions for courts and policymakers: Is there such a thing as a "right to be forgotten"? How, then, is consent meaningfully institutionalized in public reporting? And how responsible should media owners be for user-generated or algorithmically surfaced content?

Additionally, in very sensitive cases—which include, but are not limited to, sexual assault survivors, children or persons who are mental health patients—disclosure of personal information without consent can amount to re-traumatization and secondary victimization. Although there is statutory protection under Section 228A of the IPC for sexual assault victims under Indian law, it is often not followed across regional media and online platforms. Courts have stressed the need for anonymization and sensitivity in reporting on such matters, but violations are rampant. To ensure that freedom of the media does not subvert the constitutional right to dignity and privacy, there is growing need for a common and enforceable code of media ethics, with oversight by the judiciary³⁹.

It gets even trickier with media coverage of people accused of, but not yet convicted of, crimes. Media trials tend to take precedence over the actual judicial process in numerous instances, resulting in public shaming, reputational damage, and permanent social injury. The presumption of innocence an inviolable feature of criminal jurisprudence can be undermined by the press through speculative reporting or sensational headlines. Indian courts, including in

³⁹ *Anuradha Bhasin v. Union of India*, (2020) 3 SCC 637.

cases such as *Sahara India v. SEBI*, have recognised that prejudicial reporting poses a threat, and have endorsed postponement orders as a means of preventing them from interfering with administration of justice. These judicial interventions indicate that the privacy of not just the parties involved, but judicial proceedings must also be protected.

In addition, the increasing power of trial by media has raised questions about insufficient regulation. Press councils and media watchdogs exist, but their powers are mostly advisory and unenforceable. In India, for instance, there are the Press Council of India, which can issue guidelines and censure errant publications, but cannot impose binding penalties. Consequently, self-regulation does not prevent privacy violations, especially those to the most vulnerable in society. Legal and academic circles are increasingly recognizing the need to establish a statutory mechanism for the accountability of a media system, along with a rights-based legal framework to ensure sustainable development. Such a mechanism would have to strike a balance — protecting journalistic freedoms while still holding media outlets responsible for unethical or harmful content⁴⁰.

The rise and expansion of clickbait journalism, wherein stories and headlines are written with the intention of generating clicks instead of honestly delivering honest or significant content, has only made the situation with privacy violations worse. In this model, celebrities and public officials especially are regularly targeted by exaggerated, misleading or speculative stories. These memos frequently feature intrusive photographs, leaked private emails or audio-visual material, all broadcast without permission. Courts have fought to respond effectively in such cases, given the speed and scale at which digital content spreads. That is definitely a worrying phenomenon—especially about the future of journalism, as media houses race for eyeballs online, raise ethical questions and we need to bring in stiff legislation against profit-motivated breach of privacy. By: Maria Kiritsis.

International human rights law jurisprudence is helpful too in this regard. The European Court of Human Rights, notably through decisions like *Peck v. the United Kingdom* and *Von Hannover v. Germany*, has stressed the need for media responsibility and consideration for individual rights. The rulings bolster the principle that even public figures can have a legitimate expectation of privacy in certain contexts, and that press freedom does not provide open-ended license to invade people's personal lives. Courts have reiterated that public interest must be substantive and real, and not simply a mask for sensationalism. Such principles are

⁴⁰ Press Council of India, *Norms of Journalistic Conduct* (2022 Edition).

playing an ever-more prominent role for Indian jurisprudence, whereby courts are starting to incorporate proportionality-based reasoning and comparative eigenvalues to solve conflicts between privacy and the media.

Finally, the burden of protecting privacy, in an era of media proliferation, should not be placed squarely on the shoulders of the judiciary. It is the media houses, journalists, editors and news consumers that play an important role to enforce ethical coverage. Together, internal editorial codes, journalist training in rights-sensitive reporting, and audience awareness regarding digital ethics can help move towards a more sustainable media ecosystem. Their failing, however, cannot go unchallenged, and when self-regulation in the exercise of a constitutional freedom begins to eat away at the constitutional promise of privacy, it is only the judiciary which should step in and do what cannot be done if left to the individuals exercising the constitutional freedom. So the role the court plays is not only one of legal adjudication — it also must establish normative standards that define the trajectory of media and its relation to democratic rights⁴¹.”

4.2 Social Media, Public Discourse, and Digital Harassment

The creation of social media functionality has shifted the landscape of citizen discourse, making it easier than ever to share, advocate for, or debate democratic engagement. Facebook, X (formerly Twitter), YouTube, Instagram and the similar networks have democratized speech, shattering the formerly high walls that limited mass speech to a privileged few. But it has come at a great price. The very platforms that open up new avenues for connection and expression also enable privacy violations, digital harassment and targeted abuse, as their openness and speed allows for rapid sharing of information, including personal information. These phenomena create urgent challenges for legal systems to delimit a right to free expression with the right to protect people from harm within online spaces⁴².

And a particularly alarming development is the increase of online harassment and cyberbullying of women, LGBTQ+ people, religious minorities, journalists and activists. Online abuse often includes doxing (the sharing of other people’s private details, such as their addresses and phone numbers), image-based sexual abuse, threats of violence and hate speech. The real-world ramifications of such harassment are not trivial — and they inevitably bleed

⁴¹ *Campbell v. MGN Ltd.*, [2004] UKHL 22.

⁴² Equality Labs, *Social Media Hate in India* Report (2019).



into the world outside their feeds, resulting in fear, trauma, social withdrawal or even self-harm. In such contexts, the right to privacy is not just about personal secrecy; it's about safety, autonomy and the right to inhabit online life without fear of abuse. Courts and regulators must therefore approach digital harassment as a constitutional problem, and not simply an issue for law enforcement.

From the perspective of constitutional law, speech is not entitled to blanket protection from punishment for harm it causes by silencing those who need to be heard or by violating the dignity of others. Free speech is vital to democracy, but it does not include hate, intimidation or calls to violence. A court in India and others elsewhere have begun making this distinction. In *Shreya Singhal v. Union of India*, the Indian Supreme Court invalidated Section 66A of the IT Act for vagueness, but recognized that even speech that can be restricted is subject to scrutiny, such as incitement to violence and defamation, both of which remain valid restrictions under Article 19(2). In a similar vein, in *Kaushal Kishor v. State of Uttar Pradesh* (2023), the Supreme Court reiterated that the right to freedom of speech is not absolute, and does not extend to statements that impinge upon the fundamental rights of others (such as the right to dignity and privacy).

A different dimension of the issue is that of platforms themselves. Tech companies wield tremendous power to determine what speech is provided, whose speech gets amplified, and whether and how user data is monetized or shared. Their content moderation policies, algorithmic filters and enforcement decisions are often opaque and inconsistently enforced. Furthermore, platforms provide little or no effective redress to victims of abuse. These companies profess to promote free speech, but their economic models are motivated more by engagement and profit than by public good or constitutional principles. That leads to important legal and policy questions: How much should platforms be responsible? Should they be controlled like public utilities or private publishers? And how should courts police constitutional norms in privately owned digital spaces?

Social media has also escalated the phenomenon of "cancel culture", whereby people can find their reputations destroyed, social interactions excluded, or jobs lost due to statements made months or years prior, or views held, that are interpreted as unacceptable —often without the benefit of due process or contextual understanding. Some view this as collective accountability and others see it as a new type of mob censorship that stifles honest expression. In this context, the judiciary plays an essential role in balancing the line between criticism and vilification,

activism and abuse. The law must adapt to ensure that there are reasonable safeguards from private big tech oligarchs that do more harm than good while simultaneously keeping social media a place of protest, satire, creativity, and resistance⁴³.

One of the more insidious and damage-inducing effects of unrestrained online abuse is the chilling effect it has on marginalized voices. Those afflicted by this scourge of digital harassment often retreat from public spaces, censor themselves or essentially withdraw from important debates entirely. Mueller, thanks to Donald Trump — attacks on democracy left, right and center — is a reminder that, as in all democracies that do not insulate a few ideas from the marketplace of debate, the very erosion of participation runs counter to the sound of democracy, one where diverse voices that can ensure society is truly thriving are heard. Such exclusion is particularly vulnerable for women, Dalits, Adivasis, religious minorities, queer individuals, and those who belong to the worst of both worlds. Trolling coordinated by organized groups, hate campaigns, and digital violence often systematically violate their right of freedom of expression and their right to be heard in public spaces. Courts have re-pasted this lens onto online storytelling and must now view abuse not just as a personal tragedy but a threat to pluralism and equality, to be met with a rights-based institutional response.

In India, the legal framework for dealing with abuse on the internet is still fragmented and underdeveloped. Although various provisions under the Indian Penal Code — such as Sections 354D (stalking), 499 (defamation), and 507 (criminal intimidation) — and the Information Technology Act, such as Section 66E (violation of privacy) are applicable, they are not equipped to deal with the scale and speed of violations online. FIRs may often be difficult to file, many abusers are anonymous, and getting timely justice is often hard. Nor as law enforcement agencies also aren't usually trained in dealing with cybercrimes in sensitive and constitutional ways. This legal void denotes that there is a pressing need to establish legislations over digital rights containing data protection and preventing online abuses, rooted in human rights jurisprudence.

On an international scale, a few jurisdictions have enacted progressive legislation to combat digital harassment in a way that respects rights. Closer to home, the Online Safety Bill in the United Kingdom attempts to hold platforms more accountable for user safety, particularly for children and vulnerable groups. The bill requires platforms to exercise “duty of care” in

⁴³ Internet Freedom Foundation, “Online Harassment and Indian Women”, Report (2021).

preventing harm, while allowing for lawful freedom of expression. The German Network Enforcement Act (NetzDG) requires social media platforms to delete obvious illegal content within 24 hours or risk facing penalties. Though such laws also raise fears of over-censorship, they are serious efforts to safeguard users' rights in digital spaces, and courts are reviewing their constitutionality and proportionality.

Proposals to counteronline abuse — apart from legal reform — have emerged in the form of digital literacy and platform transparency. Just as platforms must be transparent about how their algorithms are functioning, including how content is ranked or flagged, it is also crucial to inform users about their rights and responsibilities in online environments and what remedies exist for wrongful takedowns or abuse. Courts can help this shift by interpreting constitutional rights to create positive obligations on the part of the state, and on the part of private actors, to preserve digital autonomy and dignity. For instance, the Indian judiciary may impose time-bound takedown frameworks, charters of user rights or introduce systems of ombudsman for grievance redressal—imparting constitutional values in the digital economy⁴⁴.

Last, those who are already structurally have less power also have less retribution on digital harassment, perpetuating existing systems of exclusion. Any legal or judicial response, therefore, would have to be intersectional—it would have to take into account how caste, gender, class, religion and sexuality interact in the online space. Data protection is therefore not merely about hiding away my data, but creating the conditions for free, safe and equal participation in digital life, and hence privacy is also a matter for the state. 1. The role of the judiciary is not simply to punish the perpetrators but to establish legal standards that affirm dignity, security and inclusion not only of a few but for all users of the digital public sphere. This is vital to maintaining both constitutional values and the transformative potential of the internet.

4.3 Algorithmic Bias, AI, and Platform Accountability

With the increasing use of artificial intelligence (AI) and algorithmic decision-making, new sets of challenges bearing an impact on both privacy and freedom of speech have been introduced. Platforms do—and, increasingly, search engines and content moderation systems—use automated processes to decide what content users get to see, what gets boosted

⁴⁴ Usha Ramanathan, “Privacy and Surveillance in the Digital Era”, *Economic & Political Weekly*, Vol. 50, No. 22 (2015).

or down-ranked, and whose voices are amplified or silenced. These algorithms tend to be opaque, proprietary and unregulated, yet they have great influence over the course of public discourse. The increasing recognition that algorithms and their outputs can be biased, discriminatory or privacy-invasive has led to much soul-searching about accountability, transparency and rights-based regulation.

One of the key worries is algorithmic bias, in which AI systems unintentionally reflect or accentuate existing social inequalities. For instance, facial recognition systems have been demonstrated to display racial and gender bias and often misidentify members of minority communities. In a similar manner, content moderation algorithms are likely to identify or suppress posts from marginalized groups in an imbalanced manner, treating activism as hate speech or dissent as incitement. These results are not just technical bugs; they are violations of constitutional rights, including the right to free expression and right to equal treatment. When private platforms are behaving like quasi-public spaces, their decisions directed by AI must adhere to constitutional values as if they were formal state actors.

Particularly on the privacy front, the use of predictive analytics and behavioral profiling by platforms and governments is concerning. Algorithms are often trained on huge datasets of information — everything from browsing behavior to location data to information about social networks — to make automated decisions about things like content curation, ad targeting or even law enforcement risk assessments. These practices commonly take place without users being able to provide real consent or be aware of how their data are used, which then goes against the principle of informational self-determination. Judicial systems in democratic jurisdictions are now being asked to judge either automated surveillance or automated decision-making against the constitutional standards in law, necessity and proportionality, especially where the affected rights are those of liberty, privacy or even access to welfare benefits.

The opacity of algorithmic governance adds another layer to the problem. Users are seldom enlightened about how content ranking, shadow banning, or automated takedowns happen — let alone offered effective means of challenging unfair or mistaken decisions. In the guise of free speech, this opacity gives platforms a free pass to hide content without responsibility, frequently missing the objective of “community rules.” Legal scholars have said that puts this work in a “black box” environment, where private entities serve as de facto censors, stifling democratic dialogue without public oversight. Therefore, ensuring transparency,

explainability and appeal mechanisms is crucial to align digital governance with the principles of constitution.

Judiciaries and regulators around the world are starting to react. The European Union's proposed AI Act would classify AI systems by risk and create tougher requirements for high-risk applications like biometric surveillance and predictive policing. Indeed, it reinforces human oversight and fundamental rights impact assessments to AI activities that imply the integration of constitutional laws into moves for regulating artificial intelligence, allowing for transparency and accountability. In a similar vein, India's judiciary has expressed ever-increasing alarm over the deployment of A.I. in government decision-making without public consultation or legal safeguards. While India does not yet have a specialized AI law, the Supreme Court's already expansive interpretation of Article 21 sets a foundation where AI-induced damage to privacy, dignity and speech may come under judicial scrutiny.

This favors so-called echo chambers and filter bubbles where algorithms limit the content users see, subtly shaping their political or social beliefs without them even knowing it. Such phenomenon relates not just to the right to be informed — which is a core aspect to freedom of speech — also relates to the process of democratic participation and public reasoning. Intellectual isolation and radicalization can occur when algorithms use user data to customize (and, in many cases, buttress) people's beliefs, thereby stifling dissenting views or inconvenient facts. Courts and scholars are beginning to take a close look at whether such manipulation of digital environments could constitute a violation of informational autonomy — and therefore, trigger constitutional scrutiny.

Additionally, it can also be in giving rise to automated moderation (a type of moderation in which human participation in the content moderation pipeline is practically non-existent) which, although it can be useful to fight harmful content at scale, has led to excessive censorship of content. Most algorithms do not have the contextual understanding necessary to distinguish between satire, political critique, and truly harmful speech. Consequently, posts containing minority views, feminist discourse or socio-political dissent are flagged or taken down at disproportionately high rates, especially in the Global South. Thus illustrating potential cultural bias in what is learned from AI training datasets, and the importance of better representing human diversity in algorithmic design. Absent judicial or legislative intervention, such patterns of moderation could result in the systematic silencing of vulnerable communities, in a manner that contravenes both the right to free expression and the right to equal treatment.

A separate problem involves the legal status of algorithms and AI as decision-making agents. When an individual is harmed by the decisions of an algorithm — through denial of service, through data breaches, through wrongful censorship — she often struggles to identify the party at fault. Is it the platform? The developer? The state that employed the system? Now accountability is so diffuse that the laws are inadequate to tackle it. AI's effect on fundamental rights warrants a constitutional approach so that wherever AI has an impact, we see clear responsibility, legal remedies, and procedural fairness. These include the right to explanation, the right to contest automated decisions, and the right to compensation when harm has been caused through negligent or discriminatory algorithmic processing⁴⁵.

Substantive interest in algorithmic accountability and platform responsibility can hardly be divorced from the judiciary, even if these are private actors. By developing doctrines like the public function test or the horizontal application of fundamental rights, courts can reach the private platforms which constitute the modern digital public square and ensure that they stay within the bounds of the constitution. In India, we don't yet have a set of articulated constitutional duties for platforms like X (formerly Twitter) or Facebook, but the increasing reliance on those platforms for political, social, and journalistic expression makes it essential for judicial doctrines to develop. Otherwise, fundamental rights may prove hollow in digital spaces controlled by opaque and unaccountable people.

To conclude, algorithmic governance must be grounded in constitutional ethics and democratic values in the way it manages society, and not merely driven by technological efficiency. There is increasing global traction around the idea that AI should be fair, accountable, transparent and non-discriminatory — principles that are sometimes packaged under the acronym FATEN (Fairness, Accountability, Transparency, Ethics and Non-discrimination). This requires courts, legislatures, and civil society to work together to ensure that these values move from aspiration to enforceable through law. Through algorithmic audits, independent regulatory commissions or rights-based digital charters, the legal system must catch up to algorithms and artificial intelligence's extraordinary power. Only so can we safeguard both privacy and speech in the algorithmically shaped environments of the 21st century.

⁴⁵ Ministry of Electronics and IT, India, *Cyber Crime Portal & Reporting Guidelines*, 2023.



4.4 Summary of Legal Tensions and Emerging Global Principles

The battle between privacy and freedom of speech is no longer an abstract debate, it's a real-life tension that plays out across media, courts, online platforms and public policy debates every day. As this chapter has shown, the emergence of new technologies, surveillance regimes and digital communication channels has further complicated the tension between these two fundamental rights. It can be seen, for example, in the aggressive tactics of contemporary journalism, the increased levels of state surveillance under the pretext of national security, the rapid growth of digital harassment, and the opaque operation of algorithms and artificial intelligence, all of which in their own way show how legal norms are being challenged and often outstripped by the pace of societal change⁴⁶.

A consistent thread throughout all of the sections is the need for legal responses that are contextual and proportionate. Both privacy and speech are central to democratic life, but neither is absolute. Courts worldwide are increasingly acknowledging that the challenge is not one of privileging one right over another but of engaging in a reasoned, transparent, and evidence-based balancing exercise. This necessitates unambiguous legislative frameworks, enhanced institutional oversight, and judicial doctrines that are flexible and yet rooted in constitutional values of dignity, autonomy, and political participation.

Another important knowledge is the creation of new legal actors and environments especially social media platforms, AI systems and cross-border data flows which test legal categories. The privatization of the digital public space has rendered constitutional protections difficult to apply, especially when speech is regulated, not by law, but by corporate policies. And with private platforms involved in surveillance and content moderation, the horizontal application of rights has become a pressing question, prompting courts and lawmakers, too, to reconsider who can be held accountable and for what standard. The realization that platforms have become gatekeepers of expression and privacy is starting to reshape the landscape of regulation and jurisprudence around the world.

A series of principle emerging across jurisdictions provides a common global typology for reconciling these rights as the modern world moves forward. These principles include legality, necessity, and proportionality — requiring any infringement of speech or privacy to be legally

⁴⁶ Shoshana Zuboff, *The Age of Surveillance Capitalism* (PublicAffairs, 2019).



justified, pursue an appropriate aim, and incur the least harm possible. Concepts such as informational self-determination, data maximization, algorithmic fairness, and right to explanation are further gaining currency, particularly in Europe, and now increasingly in Indian jurisprudence. All these changing standards are a response to a collective effort to constitutionalize the digital world and maintain fundamental rights inviolable in an algorithm-enhanced environment.

In the end, the path to resolving conflicts between privacy and speech must be a pluralistic, living, and inclusive vision of the law—one rooted in the technological limitations of the present but firmly grounded in constitutional values. The judiciary, legislature, civil society and global institutions must work together to create a digital ecosystem in which rights add to one another rather than cancel each other out. The right to privacy must enable people to speak freely without concern for surveillance or harassment; just as the right to speech should permit the articulation of identity and dissent without unmerited intrusion. This is the real constitutional challenge of our time — and how it resolves will determine the health and integrity of democracies in the digital century⁴⁷.

And we were so missing in wisdom. Responsively, we have to weigh between privacy and free speech, this has made a room for us. Conventional laws were never intended to deal with the complexities of algorithmic filtering, real-time data harvesting or platform-driven speech suppression. Consequently, people are often over-protected or under-protected in cyberspaces. That is why we need a forward-looking, technology-sensitive jurisprudence in response to this mismatch between technological reality and legal safeguards. Our legislatures should work with the judiciary to ensure that the laws created are flexible, while bringing together fundamental rights, so that we aren't sacrificing liberty or dignity on the altar of swift innovation.

One of the most controversial legal challenges is the vagueness of “public interest,” a catch-all used to justify invasions of privacy, intrusions by the press or state surveillance. However, the notion of public interest is both subjective and contextually dependent. Judiciaries should not focus on nebulous assertions, but instead mandate clear, demonstrable, and proportionate basis for violating an individual's privacy. However, the abuse of privacy as an excuse for lack of accountability should also be scrutinized, as it is often powerful individuals or institutions

⁴⁷ Jack Balkin, “Free Speech in the Algorithmic Society”, 51 *U.C. Davis L. Rev.* 1149 (2018).

engaging in this behavior. This tension shows that neither privacy nor speech should be treated in silos—they both need to be assessed in relation to each other, and with sensitivity to both power dynamics and democratic necessity.

Another new global principle is the need for participatory regulation. Any legal framework that addresses privacy and speech must include not just technical experts and state actors, but civil society, marginalized communities, journalists, and ordinary users (including those who may have never spoken before they logged on). These stakeholders contribute crucial perspectives to ensure that laws are fair, accessible and grounded in context. This matters particularly in nations such as India, where caste, gender, language and digital literacy affect how rights are exercised and understood. Making laws without public involvement reinforces structural inequalities and fails to generate rules that protect individual citizens or discourage predatory institutions⁴⁸.

Drawing on these advances, the international legal community is starting to recognize that global cooperation and harmonization are essential for realizing our digital rights. Data does not observe national frontiers, nor do the harms inflicted by breaches of privacy, or violations of speech, online. These frameworks also imply the development of international ones such as the GDPR in the European Union, the OECD Privacy Guidelines, and UN human rights resolutions regarding digital freedom. Despite the persistence of sovereignty, countries need to have transnational conversations to agree on respecting core principles — such as user consent, data minimization and algorithmic transparency — on a global scale. In a rapidly digitizing world, courts may increasingly turn to comparative jurisprudence to fill domestic gaps and preserve coherence.

Ultimately, one lesson of this chapter is that tensions between privacy and speech are not zero-sum; they are a dynamic balancing act that must shift in accordance with evolving social values and technological change. Privacy enables free speech by creating space for safe dissent, and free speech fuels privacy by shining light on abuses and facilitating accountability. Legal systems need to acknowledge and support this mutual reinforcement, rather than treating the two rights as necessarily in conflict. What we need now is a deliberative jurisprudence—nuanced, inclusive, and tech-literate— that balances individuality with communal sensibility,

⁴⁸ R. D. Pathak, “Regulating AI: Indian Challenges and Global Trends”, *NLSIR* (2022).

protecting the territory of personal autonomy without compromising the collective ground of democratic discourse⁴⁹.



⁴⁹ Digital India Foundation, *Platform Governance and Algorithmic Accountability* (Policy Paper, 2021).



CHAPTER 5

CASE STUDIES AND JURISPRUDENTIAL DEVELOPMENTS

5.1 Key Indian Cases Involving Privacy and Free Speech

The Indian judiciary has universally contributed to the evolution of constitutional notions of privacy and free speech. Though both rights are enshrined as fundamental, their implementation in concrete clashes has required a degree of judicial creativity and doctrinal juggling. In the last few decades, the Supreme Court and different High Courts have grappled with cases where these rights came into conflict — especially in terms of media reporting, personal autonomy, digital platforms and state surveillance. These judgments give crucial insight into how Indian constitutionalism is going about balancing liberty and dignity with transparency and accountability in a pluralistic society⁵⁰.

Among the earliest and most cited cases in this regard is *R. Rajagopal v. State of Tamil Nadu* (1994), popularly termed as the “Auto Shankar” case. The Supreme Court discussed important facets of the right to privacy in this judgment, especially as it pertains to media freedom. A magazine that sought to publish the autobiography of a death-row prisoner without his blessing — and the state objected to it being published. The Court also established that everyone, even convicts, have a right to privacy over parts of their life that are not already within the public domain. But it also ruled the right to privacy does not apply when the publication is about public officials and their public duties. The case thus established a public-private dichotomy and helped lay the groundwork for how courts would address future conflicts of this nature.

Another landmark case is *PUCL v. Union of India*, (1997), where the legality of telephone tapping was examined by the Supreme Court. The right to privacy, as such, is a facet of the right to life and personal liberty, guaranteed by Article 21, the Court asserted. It ruled that, under Section 5(2) of the Indian Telegraph Act, 1885, surveillance powers must be exercised “very cautiously” and that it is time to lay down “the procedure” to ensure that the powers are not misused. The ruling called for review committees to oversee such surveillance orders. While it was not directly a free-speech case, this case demonstrated how invasive state

⁵⁰ Chinmayi Arun, “Privacy, Data Protection and Surveillance in India”, in *Cambridge Handbook of Surveillance Law* (2017).

surveillance creates a chilling effect on the exercise of speech and association, especially as pertains to journalists and activists.

Indian privacy jurisprudence had its watershed moment with the Justice K.S. Puttaswamy (Retd.) v. India (2017) case, which was a landmark ruling by a nine-judge bench that unanimously recognized the right to privacy as a fundamental right under Article 21. The Court held that privacy encompasses bodily integrity, informational privacy, and decisional autonomy and is indispensable for fully realizing other rights like dignity, equality, and speech. Crucially, the judgement laid down the caveat that privacy is not an absolute right and must be harmonised with competing rights and interest through a three-part test: legality, necessity and proportionality. The Court's reasoning provides a framework for subsequent cases about tensions between data privacy, surveillance, and free expression, particularly in a digital context.

It also heralded in *Shreya Singhal v. Union of India* (2015), where the Supreme Court knocked down Section 66A of the Information Technology Act for vagueness and overbreadth leading to unconstitutional restrictions on free speech. Although the case was primarily related to freedom of expression, it had the effect of highlighting the dangers of state overreach under the guise of regulating digital communication, which in many instances included private discussions, satirical humor or dissenting opinions. The ruling protected speech on digital platforms while reinforcing the need for clear legal standards when looking after speech meets privacy. It noted that the vague laws prevent the right to free speech but at the same time create a dark atmosphere for a surveillance state, prima facie infringing the right to privacy⁵¹.

A landmark case is *Navtej Singh Johar v. Union of India* (2018) which decriminalized consensual homosexual relationships by reading down Section 377 of the Indian Penal Code by the Supreme Court. The Court acknowledged that privacy and freedom of expression are core aspects of the identity and dignity of LGBTQ+ people. It found that privacy encompasses the right to intimacy, and that freedom of expression includes the right to speak publicly about one's sexual orientation and identity without fear. This decision is a landmark in intersectional rights jurisprudence, showing how privacy and free expression can reinforce each other rather than be at loggerheads.

⁵¹ *A.B. v. Bragg Communications Inc.*, 2012 SCC 46 (Supreme Court of Canada).

The Supreme Court had upheld the constitutionality of Section 377 of Indian Penal Code in *Suresh Kumar Koushal v. Naz Foundation* (2013), setting aside claims about privacy and dignity advanced by the LGBTQ+ community. But, as noted above, this decision was subsequently reversed in *Navtej Singh Johar* (2018). The reversal is momentous not only because the judiciary's understanding of privacy — not as seclusion, but self-definition — is evolving, but specifically for historically downtrodden groups. The Court held that privacy allows a person to make relationships, leads life with dignity and express his/her identity without fear. The path from these two cases to the other shows how the developing Indian jurisprudence is moving toward a substantively-based rather than a merely formed understanding of privacy and of speech, and as a result, as between the two cases, toward the precedence of privacy over speech.

In *Puttaswamy (II) v. Union of India* (2019)—now popularly known as the Aadhaar judgment—the Supreme Court re-examined privacy concerns in the context of a large biometric identity (ID) project. While the majority upheld the Aadhaar scheme's constitutionality when used to deliver state welfare, the Court did strike down provisions that allowed private entities to access Aadhaar data on grounds that it was an invasion of citizen's privacy. Held: The judgment reiterated the proportionality doctrine evolved in *Puttaswamy* (2017) as well as the nature of information privacy as indispensable to person liberty. Notably, it expressed concerns about consent, data security and surveillance, reflecting the Court's increasing recognition that technological infrastructure can reshape privacy and limit personal expression.

In *Re: Prajwala Letter* (2018), the Supreme Court had suo motu taken cognizance of a letter tackling the issue of the circulation of sexually abusive videos on social media and pornography websites. The Court issued a number of directions, including the creation of guidelines for content takedown, reporting mechanisms and enhanced cooperation between platforms and law enforcement. While the attention is on child protection and obscene content, the ruling is quite interesting in that it acknowledges the possibilities of unregulated digital stuff can be abused to those extents with its injunction: that it can damage people's dignity and privacy especially when it comes to non consensual stuff. At the same time, the Court was careful not to endorse

widespread censorship, demonstrating the need to create nuanced distinctions between content that inflicts harm and speech that is protected by the Constitution⁵².

In another significant development, in *Faheema Shirin v. State of Kerala* (2019), the Kerala High Court held that the right to access internet is part of the right to education and the right to privacy under Article 21. The case emerged from a situation where a female student was expelled from hostel for accessing educational material on her phone at night. When denying access to the internet—especially for educational purposes—was a violation of informational privacy and freedom of expression, the Court held. The important aspect of this case is that it extends constitutional protections to digital access itself and recognizes that there is no way individuals can exercise meaningful privacy, or be able to speak, in the modern age without connectivity.

The greatest recent attention to the issue of speech of state functionaries in relation to constitutional values has come through the judgment of the Supreme Court of the country in *Kaushal Kishor v. State of Uttar Pradesh* (2023). Although the case did not directly address personal privacy, the Court recognised that public officials should exercise their freedom of speech responsibly ex ante when their speech implicates the fundamental rights of another person, such as their dignity or reputation. The judgment also made clear that courts do have the authority to develop alternative remedies if speech causes a constitutional harm, and that fundamental rights can be enforced even against non-state actors in some situations. This evolution indicates an increasing judicial willingness to acknowledge the horizontal aspect of privacy and speech, especially in an age when harm can be wrought not simply by the state but by private individuals or corporate actors.

5.2 Comparative Doctrinal Trends and Interpretative Tools

Courts worldwide facing the tension between privacy and freedom of speech are developing shared doctrinal trends and interpretative frameworks. While constitutional texts and the cultural contexts have differed somewhat, judiciaries have increasingly converged on certain principles and analytical tools through which they attempt to balance these fundamental rights in a coherent manner that respects rights. Dominance refers to the doctrines most frequently

⁵² Charter of Fundamental Rights of the European Union, arts. 7 & 11.



applied to democratic domains, such as proportionality analysis, the public-private distinction, the reasonableness test, dignity and horizontal application.

The most common doctrinal tool is the concept of proportionality, which started in European jurisprudence and has now been taken up by courts in India, Canada, South Africa and elsewhere. In a proportionality approach, any limitation to a fundamental right must on the one hand (i) pursue a legitimate objective, and (ii) be necessary to achieve that objective, and (iii) be proportionate so that the interests affected are fairly balanced against the objective. This approach gives courts a flexible, yet principled method for adjudicating tensions between privacy and speech. Both the Indian Supreme Court in *Puttaswamy* (2017) and the ECtHR in *Axel Springer v. Germany* depended heavily on proportionality to judge when privacy should give way to the public interest, or the reverse.

and similar considerations come into play in determining what opt-out rights should be afforded in the public-private divide, which courts apply to determine whether an individual's expectation of personal privacy is reasonable in a certain context. Information that relates to public responsibilities or conduct in public places is otherwise afforded lower protection, while information of a personal nature—especially that which deals with health, relationships or sexuality—receives greater judicial deference. Such doctrine played a significant role in judgments rendered by India's *R. Rajagopal v. State of Tamil Nadu*, the UK's *Campbell v. MGN Ltd.*, and the ECtHR's *Von Hannover*. But there are also judicial decisions that recognize that this divide is not always so hard and fast, especially when it comes to the digital age we live in where the public and private space increasingly intersect and overlap⁵³.

Another interpretative anchor especially for jurisdictions such as India and the United States, is what is known as the reasonableness test embedded in common law constitutionalism. Under this test, any legal restrictions on speech or privacy must be reasonable in scope, duration and effect. Indian courts have reiterated that restrictions under Article 19(2) must meet a test of procedural and substantive reasonableness, particularly in *Shreya Singhal v. Union of India*. Reasonableness is a guardrail against overreach, by state or press or private party, ensuring that neither right is improperly curtailed without good reason and due process.

⁵³ Aharon Barak, *Proportionality: Constitutional Rights and Their Limitations* (Cambridge

University Press, 2012).



One of the more distinctive aspects of European and South African jurisprudence is the role of human dignity in balancing privacy and free expression. In these jurisdictions, dignity is not merely a value; it is a constitutional principle that is used to interpret the law and adjudicate rights. For example, the South African Constitutional Court (in *NM v. Smith*) and the German Federal Constitutional Court (in its census and data protection decisions) have held that any invasion of privacy or reputational harm needs to be analyzed through the lens of humanity and human dignity (with the latter term being more synonymous with autonomy). Indian courts have been moving progressively down this path, especially after *Puttaswamy*, in which dignity is seen as the conceptual bridge between liberty, privacy and expression.

Growing recognition of the horizontal application of rights, whereby fundamental rights can be enforced against private actors, is thus an important doctrinal development. Historically, constitutional rights could be enforced only against the state. Yet, amid the privatization of digital public spaces, courts in India, the UK and the EU have begun holding corporations, platforms and even individuals liable for infringing others' rights. This trend is particularly salient, however, in circumstances of online harassment, algorithmic censorship, or data misuse, in which non-state actors have considerable power that penetrates and controls personal communication and digital agency.

A second major doctrinal approach increasingly adopted in comparative jurisprudence is the doctrine of reasonable expectation of privacy. It assesses, in a particular situation, whether a person could reasonably believe that they might expect to be free from the government's intrusive eyes, and whether this expectation is worthy of judicial expectation. The test has its lineage in the U.S. law and informed identifiable contours of the right to privacy, in cases like *Katz v. United States* (1967) further adapted in other jurisdictions, including India and the UK. For the Indian context, the Supreme Court (SC) in *Puttaswamy* underscored that privacy was inherently contextual, i.e. not every private information was equally protected (more like not every private cylinder, kilojoule or MB packet!), and the context, whether setting, actor or sensitivity of data were all relevant factors.

Besides reasonableness and proportionality, many courts now embrace “purpose-based balancing”, which takes into account the intent and social value that underlies a controversial act of expression or disclosure. For this reason, he proposes a distinction between speech that constitutes democratic deliberation — like investigative journalism or whistleblowing — and speech that speaks to safer voyeuristic, defamatory or commercial interests. For example, in

Campbell v. MGN Ltd, the UK House of Lords said that although the media has the right to publish material which informs the public, when publishing material relating to the private life of an individual, it must also show that it has a genuine journalistic purpose in reporting the private matters of an individual. This attaches a value to speech, suggesting that not all speech is equally valuable and that courts must consider qualitative factors, not just formal rights⁵⁴.

Also, the necessity test was further developed by courts as an internal sub-component of proportionality. This test evaluates whether there is a less burdensome way of achieving the same goal without restricting a fundamental right. In the context of surveillance or data retention, for example, the ECtHR has often established that only narrow and targeted data collection that is subject to independent oversight complies with the necessity limb as it amounts to a violation of the necessity limb. This argument underscores minimal impairment, which requires states to pursue the least intrusive means available and private actors to avoid undue interference. Even Indian courts have started to adopt this principle, especially in the field of digital privacy and data protection jurisprudence.

Regressive interdependency of rights has also emerged as an important theme in comparative jurisprudence. The courts have now decided that privacy and speech tend to support rather than oppose one another. For instance, the right to anonymous speech is protected under both privacy and expression. Similarly, the freedom to voice controversial or unpopular opinions relies on the confidence that private information will not be revealed or misappropriated. This perspective has led courts to transcend the binary model of “balancing” and to more of an integrative, rights-reinforcing model that aims to find synergies between coexisting freedoms when possible⁵⁵.

Another useful interpretive lens is contextual constitutionalism, whereby courts take into account the socio-political context in which rights exercises occur. In jurisdictions where press freedom is actively threatened or surveillance is on the rise, courts might take a more protective view of speech or privacy. This is particularly evident in South Africa, where the post-apartheid Constitution itself demands transformative interpretation as a means to resolve the genealogical injustice of history. For instance, in the context of India, the courts have used the language of constitutional morality to protect rights that subvert majoritarianism or state

⁵⁴ Supriya Routh, “Contextual Constitutionalism and Rights Adjudication in the Global South”, *Indian Journal of Constitutional Law*, Vol. 10 (2022).

⁵⁵ *Modern Dental College and Research Centre v. State of Madhya Pradesh*, (2016) 7 SCC 353.

power. Contextualism allows for a more accurate and local account of rights adjudication; in the case of evolving technologies or culturally sensitive issues, a contextual approach enables more careful understanding and consideration of the circumstances in question.



CHAPTER 6

CONCLUSION AND SUGGESTIONS

6.1 Conclusion

The proprietary tension between the right to the privacy and the right to freedom of speech is one of the most complex constitutional conundrums of the 21st century. As this dissertation has shown, though both rights are essential to democratic governance and individual dignity, they frequently conflict in contexts ranging from media freedom to state surveillance, digital harassment, and algorithmic decision-making. The old conflicts have been further exacerbated by the rise of the internet, artificial intelligence, and data capitalism, that require courts, legislatures, and regulatory institutions to construct principled and adaptive frameworks to help navigate this new legal landscape.

One of the key findings of our research is that privacy and free speech are not fundamentally opposed to one another. In many respects, they are rights that are mutually reinforcing. Privacy also provides the safe space that individuals need to develop their opinions, identity and dissent, and free speech allows the open exchange of ideas that is necessary for democracy. But without clear legal standards, ethical journalism, strong data governance and platform accountability, these rights can come into conflict with one another—often against the interests of marginalized voices and democratic participation.

The analysis clearly indicates that judicial balancing (mainly through proportionality, reasonableness, public interest, etc.) is the prevalent method of enhancing the democratic character of societies. Structured tests that take into consideration the context of the speech (or privacy) claim, the purpose of that speech, and the effect of that speech have in fact been welcomed by courts in India, the UK and EU. These frameworks allow for nuanced adjudication rather than binary choices, ensuring that neither right is unduly sacrificed. The U.S.'s more absolutist approach to free speech, despite being based on a long-standing

tradition of civil liberty, may also lead, at times, to insufficient privacy protections, especially in the digital space⁵⁶.

A further important takeaway is that technology has enlarged both the scale and scope of rights violations. The network has brought surveillance, censorship and other forms of harm in new forms — and traditional law is inadequate to meet them. Courts are increasingly called upon to adjudicate issues involving private platforms, cross-border data flows, and AI-powered profiling — and the merging jurisdictions of the public and private sphere. It requires a futurist, constitutional worldview that reshapes our understanding of fundamental rights protections to carry those concepts into digital spheres.

In conclusion, the Indian legal system is at a crossroads. While landmark decisions such as Puttaswamy, Shreya Singhal, and Navtej Johar have greatly expanded the application of privacy and expression, there continues to be a desperate need for comprehensive legislation, institutional reforms, and public awareness. The recognition of rights must be backed by enforcement mechanisms — in terms of data protection authorities, media accountability frameworks, algorithmic audits. And it is only then that constitutional rights can be meaningfully realized in the everyday lives of citizens.

6.2 Suggestions

1. Acknowledgement of Privacy vs. Speech in Digital Spaces

The legal system must expressly recognize the digital dimension of privacy and speech. As such, online platforms should be subject to constitutional scrutiny, as any public forum would. Courts must understand that platforms are no longer neutral conduits of information, but regulators of speech and personal data, and should, therefore, be subject to obligations similar to those of public authorities.

2. Human Rights Impact Assessments for Algorithms and AI Tools

Governments and tech companies should be compelled to conduct fundamental rights impact assessments, as AI increasingly mediates access to information, expression and data profiling. Those should assess whether algorithms used in content moderation, predictive policing or

⁵⁶ Internet Freedom Foundation, “Towards Responsible Tech: A Human Rights Framework”, Policy Report (2022).

targeted advertising respect privacy, dignity and non-discrimination principles. Algorithmic decisions need to be explainable, contestable and transparent.

3. Judicial Training on Digital Rights and Emerging Technologies

Simply put, to adjudicate privacy-speech conflicts effectively in the digital age, the judiciary needs regular training on the new tools of AI, platform moderation, surveillance tech and data ethics. This will allow courts to make more informed, forward-looking, and fact-sensitive decisions that reflect changing realities rather than static legal principles.

4. Setting up Platform Responsibility and Regulatory Norms

Social media platforms and digital service providers should be mandated to adopt clear, rights-based content moderation policies, allow procedural fairness in takedown or suspension decisions, and publish regular transparency reports. Implementing regulatory bodies such as a Social Media Grievance Tribunal or Digital Ombudsman to hear complaints from injured users, which must be remedied in a timely manner.

5. Consensual, Pseudonymized, and Institutionalized Re-Dress

Regulatory frameworks need to enhance user consent mechanisms, giving individuals more say in what personal data is disclosed, and for what purposes it should be utilized. Laws must also acknowledge and protect anonymity in digital participation as well, particularly for whistleblowers, activists, and vulnerable groups. Mechanism of fast-track grievance: mechanism to report any privacy violations or abusive behavior by the companies online.

CHAPTER 7

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