

FREEDOM OF SPEECH AND PEACE PROMOTION
IN SELECTED MEDIA ORGANIZATIONS
HARGEISA SOMALI LAND

A Thesis

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Master of Arts in Human Rights and Development

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DECLARATION A

"This thesis proposal is my original work and has not been presented for a Master Degree or any other academic award in any University or Institution of Learning".

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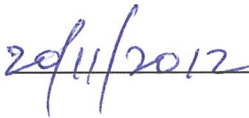
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"We confirm that the work reported in this thesis was carried out by the candidate under our supervision".

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DEDICATION

I dedicate this book to my beloved mom, Dad, brothers, who have all worked tirelessly in this academic achievement and to my dear sister Fatuma Dubed. Who have helped me through academic struggle morally and financially.

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ABSTRACT

The study is based on investigating the relationship between freedom of speech and peace promotion among news paper in Hargeisa Somaliland. The study significantly sought to determine the demographic profile of the employees, determine the extent to which the level freedom of speech among selected media organization specially Jamhuriya, and hatuf, to determine the level of peace promotion that can be obtained through media organization specially Jamhuriya and Hatuf and lastly to establish whether there is a significant relationship between the level of freedom of speech and peace promotion. Data was collected from a cross section of 119 respondents from the two media organizations. The data was analyzed by use of descriptive research design. The study found that that the level of freedom of speech was at high (mean=2.70) and this is due to the fact that most categories were rated high. It also found out that the level of freedom of speech was at high (mean=2.70) and this is due to the fact that most categories were rated high. The research recommended that there is need for freedom of speech in the nation especially in Somalia in order to have smooth peaceful promotions in the country. The government of Somaliland should come up with proper policies and guideline to the media houses that should give then confidence to air out and publish the thoughts of the people and the media about the peace building process in the nation. Since freedom of speech is so valuable in the peace of promotion it should be publically announced to the nation and give the people their freedom to speak about the violence and the wars that are taking place in the Somaliland.

CHAPTER ONE

THE PROBLEM AND ITS SCOPE

Background of the study

In the early 5th up to 6th century BC, the freedom of speech become sensitive issues that most of the country in this world talks about, Freedom of speech and expression has a long history that predates modern international human rights instruments. It is thought that ancient Athens' democratic ideology of free speech may have emerged at that time. Two of the most cherished values of the Roman Republic were freedom of religion and freedom of speech. In Islamic ethics, freedom of speech was first declared in the Rashidun period by the caliph Omar in the 7th century AD. In the Abbasid Caliphate period, freedom of speech was also declared by al-Hashimi (a cousin of Caliph al-Ma'mun) in a letter to one of the religious opponents he was attempting to convert through reason.

The right to freedom of expression is recognized as a human right under Article 19 of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and recognized in international human rights law in the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights. Article 19 of the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights states that everyone shall have the right to hold opinions without interference" and "everyone shall have the right to freedom of expression; this right shall include freedom to seek, receive and impart information and ideas of all kinds, regardless of frontiers,

either orally, in writing or in print, in the form of art, or through any other media of his choice. Article 19 goes on to say that the exercise of these rights carries special duties and responsibilities and may "therefore be subject to certain restrictions" when necessary or respect of the rights or reputation of others" or the protection of national security or of public order (order public), or of public health or morals".

Freedom of speech is the political right to communicate one's ideas via speech. The term freedom of expression is sometimes used synonymously, but includes any act of seeking, receiving and imparting information or ideas, regardless of the medium used. In practice, the right to freedom of speech is not absolute in any country and the right is commonly subject to limitations, as with libel, slander, obscenity and incitement to commit a crime.

Media organizations are confronted with a number of political and 'technical' problems. Nyamnjoh (2005) emphasizes that lack of technology, know-how, and professionalism as well as exposure to persisting autocratic and neo-patrimonial regimes and (civil) war negatively influences the work of the media in Africa. Like oral and written sources in general, radio, newspapers, Internet homepages, and TV are frequently involved in justifying war, mobilizing supporters, re-establishing honor, undermining the morale of the enemy, and so on, as recent studies of historical and contemporary cases from the Horn of Africa show (Barnes and Carmichael 2006; Barnes 2006; Reid 2006). The particular circumstances of some African media yield very disparate results. In parts of Somalia and Sierra Leone, for example, where regime change has escalated into civil war, journalists face repression to the point of being detained and killed on the orders of political or military leaders (BBC 2003;

Gordon 2004). At the same time, under circumstances of civil war and statelessness, specific forms of 'guerrilla journalism' (Gordon 2004: 188) can develop that have the potential to build social trust and lead to (democratic) reforms (ibid.: 188-191).

When the independent Republic of Somaliland was declared in May 1991, the capital city Hargeisa as well as large parts of the country lay in ruins. The rebuilding of the basic infrastructure and the stabilization of the internal political structure of Somaliland were complicated by internal conflicts and a lack of external support (Gilkes 1993; Cabdiraxmaan 2005: 59-61 ;). The first newspapers were established in Hargeysa as early as 1991 in the context of violence and political chaos. They consisted of a few dozen hand-printed leaflets with names such as *Ileys* (Light), *Codka Hargeysa* (The Voice of Hargeysa), *Xorriyo* (Independence/ Freedom), and *Jamhuuriya* (Republican). But freedom of expression was again threatened. Abdullahi Omar, one of the founders of *Codka Hargeysa*, described the problems journalists faced in the times of 'anarchy': 'During those times, the militias would kidnap journalists that produced articles or cartoons that were against the government' (A Taste of Africa 2004).

Over the years, the technology for producing newspapers in Somaliland improved. In 1993 the first printing press was set up in Hargeysa, and two years later the National Printing Press (NPP) was established in the city (Boobe 2005: 155). In 2004 three such presses existed in the capital of Somaliland, of which one was state and two were privately owned. Parallel to these developments, the number of printed copies grew from a few dozen in 1991 to one to two thousand per journal per day 13 years later. In 2004 the three major daily newspapers produced in Somaliland were *Maandeeq*, *Jam-huuriya*, and *Haatuf*. All of

them had a weekly issue in English (Maandeeq/The Horn Tribune, Jamhuuriya/The Republican, and Haatuf/Somaliland Times).

Maandeeq was produced under the auspices of the Ministry for Information and National Guidance of Somaliland. The other two journals were privately owned and were considered to be independent from the government (Hassan 2005; Boobe 2005: 168).

The new government of the Republic of Somaliland, under the leadership of President Ahmed Mohamed Mohamoud 'Silanyo', is firmly committed to the promotion of peace and security with, and amongst, our neighbors in the region. Over almost twenty years, we have worked hard to establish a durable peace within Somaliland, learning from mistakes and building on achievements. The new government will not tolerate any group or individuals that aim to harm our peace and that of our neighbors.

In creating a political space in which it is possible for the people of Somaliland to express their views and debate the course of the country, we will be able to avoid the establishment of viable militant groups in Somaliland. Regrettably, however, we have seen their ability to undertake actions in Somaliland in the past, as they did elsewhere. But the new government will spare no time in preventing those who support such actions from gaining any permanent foothold in Somaliland. Having labored so hard to consolidate our own peace, we retain a strong commitment to the promotion of regional security. As we seek to build on our stability, we wish to continue to deepen our relationships with all of our neighbors and with international partners. We look forward to

continued expansion of opportunities to work together in all arenas, including those most directly related to regional security.

Problem of the statement

The problem of this study based on peace promotion, peace is an important factor in life and has been facing many obstacles in the world. On the other hand the peace has faced many problems in the country, the most obvious indicator of the problems is that the battle wars between the clans has increased in nowadays and also that most leaders in our country behave as dictatorship as the websites of our country expose.

However if the problems has not tackled or solved it can cause a lot of dangerous issues including the destruction of whole of the country and even the region, so that the people or community will not be survived in relation to that problem. The most possible causes of this problem are including lack of freedom of speech, the market and poor technology and many other causes.

Therefore this study has examined the extent of freedom of speech in the peace promotion among news paper in Hargeisa Somaliland.

Purpose of the study

The purpose of this study is to check the relationship between freedom of speech and peace promotion in selecting newspapers in Hargeisa Somaliland, to validate existing information about freedom of speech and peace promotion based on the theory to which this study is based and also To test the hypothesis of no significant relationship between freedom of speech and peace promotion

Objectives of study

General:

To correlate the freedom of speech and peace promotion in selected news papers in Hargeisa, Somaliland.

Specific objectives

1. To determine the demographic characteristic of the respondents
2. To determine the level freedom of speech among selected media organization specially Jamhuriya, and hatuf.
3. To determine the level of peace promotion that can be obtained through media organization specially Jamhuriya and Hatuf
4. To establish whether there is a significant relationship between the level of freedom of speech and peace promotion

Research questions

This study sought to answer the following research questions:

1. What are Demographic characteristics of respondent as to:
 - Gender?
 - Age?
 - Educational background?
 - Work Experience?

2. What is the level of freedom of speech among the selected media organizations specially Jamhuriya, and hatuf?
3. What is the level of peace promotion that can be obtained through media organizations specially Jamhuriya and Hatuf in Hargeisa Somaliland?
4. Is there a significance relationship between the extent of the freedom of speech and the level of peace promotion among the selected media organizations In Hargeisa Somaliland?

Null Hypothesis

1. There is no significant relationship between the extent of the level of freedom of speech and peace promotion among the selected media organizations.

Scope of the study

Geographical scope

This study will be conducted in Hargeisa district, the capital city of Somaliland, which is the most populated city of the whole country, because all newspapers centers are there. The research looked at the Jamhuuruya Haatuf/Somaliland the particular. In directions Somaliland locate in the horn of Africa. It shares borders with Somalia in the East, Ethiopia in the south, and Djibouti in the west and Gulf of Aden in the north.

Time scope The time scope of the study will be conducted the time from April, 2012 to December 2012, and finally the results will be presented to college of higher degrees and research.

Theoretical scope

This theory was based on the theory of (the harm principle and free speech) John Stuart (1978)

Content of scope

This study is concerned with freedom of speech and peace promotion of elected newspapers in Hargiesa district, Somaliland. Its aim is to know about the relationship between the two variables under the study.

Significant of the study

The information acquired from this research has considerable significant to different bodies and institutions.

To target newspapers; the target news papers shall use the information of this study to know their status of freedom of speech and clarify their rights practice and enjoy freedom of speech, as well as, their influence to peace promotion if they do not practice this right responsibly.

Scholars; the study findings are helpful to those under taking human rights or law as their course; it shall act as a source of

information (secondary data) in their attempt to undertake research in the same topic.

Policy makers; in attempt to making human right policy guidelines, it shall help policy makers to effectively develop a strategies to deal with freedom of speech and policies that would not only be consistent but flexible.

To Researcher; The Study will be important because it will contribute to the researcher's fulfillment of requirements for the award of Masters Degree in human right and development

Operational definition of key terms

Freedom of speech: Freedom of speech is the political right to communicate one's ideas via speech. The term freedom of expression is sometimes used synonymously, but includes any act of seeking, receiving and imparting information or ideas, regardless of the medium used

Peace: freedom from disquieting or oppressive thoughts or emotions

Jamhuuriya: privately owned newspaper

Hatuf: privately owned news paper

CHAPTER TWO

LITERATURE REVIEW

Concepts, Opinions, Ideas from Authors/ Experts

The topic of free speech is one of the most contentious issues in liberal societies. If the liberty to express oneself is not highly valued, as has often been the case, there is no problem: freedom of expression is simply curtailed in favor of other values. Free speech becomes a volatile issue when it is highly valued because only then do the limitations placed upon it become controversial. The first thing to note in any sensible discussion of freedom of speech is that it will have to be limited. Every society places some limits on the exercise of speech because speech always takes place within a context of competing values.

In this sense, Stanley Fish is correct when he says that there is no such thing as free speech. Free speech is simply a useful term to focus our attention on a particular form of human interaction and the phrase is not meant to suggest that speech should never be interfered with. As Fish puts it, "free speech in short, is not an independent value but a political prize" (1994,102). No society has yet existed where speech has not been limited to some extent. As John Stuart Mill argued in *On Liberty*, a struggle always takes place between the competing demands of liberty and authority, and we cannot have the latter without the former:

All that makes existence valuable to anyone depends on the enforcement of restraints upon the actions of other people. Some rules of conduct,

therefore, must be imposed—by law in the first place, and by opinion on many things which are not fit subjects for the operation of law. (1978, 5) the task, therefore, is not to argue for an unlimited domain of free speech; such a concept cannot be defended. Instead, we need to decide how much value we place on speech in relation to the value we place on other important ideals: “speech, in short, is never a value in and of itself but is always produced within the precincts of some assumed conception of the good” (Fish, 1994, 104). In this essay, we will examine some conceptions of the good that are deemed to be acceptable limitations on speech. We will start with the harm principle and then move on to other more encompassing arguments for limiting speech.

Before we do this, however, the reader might wish to disagree with the above claims and warn of the dangers of the “slippery slope.” Those who support the slippery slope argument warn that the consequence of limiting speech is the inevitable slide into censorship and tyranny. Such arguments assume that we can be on or off the slope. In fact, no such choice exists: we are necessarily on the slope whether we like it or not, and the task is always to decide how far up or down we choose to go, not whether we should step off the slope altogether. It is worth noting that the slippery slope argument can be used to make the opposite point; one could argue with equal force that we should never allow any removal of government intervention because once we do we are on the slippery slope to anarchy, the state of nature, and a life that Hobbes described in *Leviathan* as “solitary, poore, nasty, brutish, and short” (1968, 186).

Another thing to note before we engage with the harm principle is that we are in fact free to speak as we like. Hence, freedom of speech differs from some other forms of freedom of action. If the government wants to

prevent citizens engaging in certain actions, riding motor bikes for example, it can limit their freedom to do so by making sure that such vehicles are no longer available. For example, current bikes could be destroyed and a ban can be placed on future imports. Freedom of speech is a different case. A government cannot make it impossible to say certain things. The only thing it can do is punish people after they have said, written or published their thoughts. This means that we are free to speak or write in a way that we are not free to ride outlawed motorbikes. This is an important point; if we insist that legal prohibitions remove freedom then we have to hold the incoherent position that a person was unfree at the very moment she performed an action. The government would have to remove our vocal chords for us to be unfree in the same way as the motorcyclist is unfree.

A more persuasive analysis of freedom of speech suggests that the threat of a sanction makes it more difficult and potentially more costly to exercise our freedom. Such sanctions take two major forms. The first, and most serious, is legal punishment by the state, which usually consists of a financial penalty, but can stretch occasionally to imprisonment. The second threat of sanction comes from social disapprobation. People will often refrain from making public statements because they fear the ridicule and moral outrage of others. For example, one could expect a fair amount of these things if one made racist comments during a public lecture at a university. Usually it is the first type of sanction that catches our attention but, as we will see, John Stuart Mill provides a strong warning about the chilling effect of the latter form of social control.

We seem to have reached a paradoxical position. I started by claiming that there can be no such thing as a pure form of free speech: now I

seem to be arguing that we are, in fact, free to say anything we like. The paradox is resolved by thinking of free speech in the following terms. I am, indeed, free to say what I like, but the state and other individuals can sometimes make that freedom more or less costly to exercise. This leads to the conclusion that we can attempt to regulate speech, but we cannot prevent it if a person is undeterred by the threat of sanction. The issue, therefore, boils down to assessing how cumbersome we wish to make it for people to say certain things. The best way to resolve the problem is to ignore the question of whether or not it is legitimate to attach penalties to some forms of speech. I have already suggested that all societies do (correctly) place some limits on free speech. If the reader doubts this, it might be worth reconsidering what life would be like with no prohibitions on libelous statements, child pornography, advertising content, and releasing state secrets. The list could go on. The real problem we face is deciding where to place the limits, and the next sections of the essay look at some possible solutions to this puzzle.

Theoretical perspectives

The Harm Principle and Free Speech

Given that Mill presented one of the first, and still perhaps the most famous liberal defense of free speech, I will focus on his claims in this essay and use them as a springboard for a more general discussion of free expression.

If the arguments of the present chapter are of any validity, there ought to exist the fullest liberty of professing and discussing, as a matter of ethical

conviction, any doctrine, however immoral it may be considered. (John Stuart Mill's Harm Principle 1978, 15)

This is a very strong defense of free speech; Mill tells us that *any* doctrine should be allowed the light of day no matter how immoral it may seem to everyone else. And Mill does mean everyone:

If all mankind minus one were of one opinion, and only one person were of the contrary opinion, mankind would be no more justified in silencing that one person than he, if he had the power, would be justified in silencing mankind. (1978, 16)

Such liberty should exist with every subject matter so that we have "absolute freedom of opinion and sentiment on all subjects, practical or speculative, scientific, moral or theological (1978, 11). Mill claims that the fullest liberty of expression is required to push our arguments to their logical limits, rather than the limits of social embarrassment. Such liberty of expression is necessary, he suggests, for the dignity of persons.

This is as strong an argument for freedom of speech as we are likely to find. But as I already noted above, Mill also suggests that we need some rules of conduct to regulate the actions of members of a political community. The limitation he places on free expression is "one very simple principle," now usually referred to as the Harm Principle, which states that the only purpose for which power can be rightfully exercised over any member of a civilized community, against his will, is to prevent harm to others. (1978, 9).

There is a great deal of debate about what Mill had in mind when he referred to harm; for the purposes of this essay he will be taken to mean

that an action has to directly and in the first instance invade the rights of a person (Mill himself uses the term rights, despite basing the arguments in the book on the principle of utility). The limits on free speech will be very narrow because it is difficult to support the claim that most speech causes harm to the rights of others. This is the position staked out by Mill in the first two chapters of *On Liberty* and it is a good starting point for a discussion of free speech because it is hard to imagine a more liberal position. Liberals find it very difficult to defend free speech once it can be demonstrated that its practice does actually invade the rights of others.

If we accept the argument based on the harm principle we need to ask "what types of speech, if any, cause harm?" Once we can answer this question, we have found the appropriate limits to free expression. The example Mill uses is in reference to corn dealers; he suggests that it is acceptable to claim that corn dealers starve the poor if such a view is expressed through the medium of the printed page. It is not acceptable to express the same view to an angry mob, ready to explode, that has gathered outside the house of the corn dealer. The difference between the two is that the latter is an expression "such as to constitute...a positive instigation to some mischievous act," (1978, 53), namely, to place the rights, and possibly the life, of the corn dealer in danger. As Daniel Jacobson (2000) notes, it is important to remember that Mill will not sanction limits to free speech simply because someone is harmed by the statements of others. For example, the corn dealer may suffer severe financial hardship if he is accused of starving the poor. Mill distinguishes between legitimate and illegitimate harm, and it is only when speech causes a direct and clear violation of rights that it can be limited. The fact that Mill does not count accusations of starving the poor as causing

legitimate harm to the rights of corn dealers suggests he wished to apply the harm principle sparingly. Other examples where the harm principle may apply include libel laws, blackmail, advertising blatant untruths about commercial products, advertising dangerous products to children (e.g. cigarettes), and securing truth in contracts. In most of these cases, it is possible to make an argument that harm has been committed and that rights have been violated.

Democracy and Free Speech

Very few liberals take the Millian view that only speech causing direct harm should be prohibited; most support some form of the offense principle. Some are willing to extend the realm of state interference further and argue that hate speech should be banned even if it does not cause harm or unavoidable offense. The reason it should be banned is that it is inconsistent with the underlying values of liberal democracy to brand some citizens as inferior to others on the grounds of race or sexual orientation.

The same applies to pornography; it should be prevented because it is incompatible with democratic citizenship to portray women as sexual objects, who are often violently mistreated. Rae Langton, for example, starts from the liberal premise of equal concern and respect and concludes that it is justifiable to remove certain speech protections for pornographers. She avoids basing her argument on harm: "If, for example, there were conclusive evidence linking pornography to violence, one could simply justify a prohibitive strategy on the basis of the harm principle. However, the prohibitive arguments advanced in this article do

not require empirical premises as strong as this...they rely instead on the notion of equality”.

Working within the framework of arguments supplied by Ronald Dworkin, who is opposed to prohibitive measures, she tries to demonstrate that egalitarian liberals such as Dworkin, should, in fact, support the prohibition of pornography. She suggests that we have “reason to be concerned about pornography, not because it is morally suspect, but because we care about equality and the rights of women”. This is an approach also taken by Catherine McKinnon. She distinguishes, much like Feinberg, between pornography and erotica. Erotica might be explicit and create sexual arousal, neither of which is grounds for complaint.

Pornography would not come under attack if it did the same thing as erotica; the complaint is that it portrays women in a manner that undermines their equal status as citizens: “We define pornography as the graphic sexually explicit subordination of women through pictures or words that also includes women dehumanized as sexual objects, things, or commodities; enjoying pain or humiliation or rape; being tied up, cut up, mutilated, bruised, or physically hurt; in postures of sexual submission or servility or display; reduced to body parts, penetrated by objects or animals, or presented in scenarios of degradation, injury, torture; shown as filthy or inferior; bleeding, bruised or hurt in a context which makes these conditions sexual” .

Langton agrees and concludes that “women as a group have rights against the consumers of pornography, and thereby have rights that are trumps against the policy of permitting pornography...the permissive policy is in conflict with the principle of equal concern and respect, and

that women accordingly have rights against it". Because she is not basing her argument on the harm principle, she does not have to show that women are harmed by pornography. For the argument to be persuasive, however, one has to accept that permitting pornography does mean that women are not treated with equal concern and respect.

Democratic Citizenship and Hate Speech

To argue the case above, one has to dilute one's support for freedom of expression in favor of other principles, such as equal respect for all citizens. This is a sensible approach according to Stanley Fish. He suggests that the task we face is not to arrive at hard and fast principles that govern all speech. Instead, we have to find a workable compromise that gives due weight to a variety of values. Supporters of this view will tend to remind us that when we are discussing free speech, we are not dealing with speech in isolation; what we are doing is comparing free speech with some other good. For instance, we have to decide whether it is better to place a higher value on speech than on the value of privacy, security, equality, or the prevention of harm.

I suggested early in this essay that to begin from a principle of unregulated speech is to start from a place that itself needs to be vigorously defended rather than simply assumed. Stanley Fish is of a similar temperament and suggests that we need to find a balance in which "we must consider in every case what is at stake and what are the risks and gains of alternative courses of action". Is speech promoting or undermining our basic values? "If you don't ask this question, or some version of it, but just say that speech is speech and that's it, you are mystifying—presenting as an arbitrary and untheorized fiat—a policy that

will seem whimsical or worse to those whose interests it harms or dismisses" (1994).

In other words, there have to be reasons behind the argument to allow speech; we cannot simply say that the First Amendment says it is so, therefore it must be so. The task is not to come up with a principle that always favors expression, but rather, to decide what is good speech and what is bad speech. A good policy "will not assume that the only relevant sphere of action is the head and larynx of the individual speaker" (Fish, 1994). Is it more in keeping with the values of a democratic society, in which every person is deemed equal, to allow or prohibit speech that singles out specific individuals and groups as less than equal? The answer, according to Fish, cannot be settled by simply appealing to a pre-ordained ideal of absolute free speech, because this is a principle that is itself in need of defense. Fish's answer is that, "it depends. I am not saying that First Amendment principles are inherently bad (they are inherently nothing), only that they are not always the appropriate reference point for situations involving the production of speech" (1994). But, all things considered, "I am persuaded that at the present moment, right now, the risk of not attending to hate speech is greater than the risk that by regulating it we will deprive ourselves of valuable voices and insights or slide down the slippery slope towards tyranny. This is a judgment for which I can offer reasons but no guarantees" (1994).

Hence, the boundaries of free speech cannot be set in stone by philosophical principles. It is the world of politics that decides what we can and cannot say, guided but not hidebound by the world of abstract philosophy. Fish suggests that free speech is about political victories and defeats. The very guidelines for marking off protected from unprotected

speech are the result of this battle rather than truths in their own right: "No such thing as free (no ideologically constrained) speech; no such thing as a public forum purged of ideological pressures of exclusion" (Fish, 1994). Speech always takes place in an environment of convictions, assumptions, and perceptions i.e., within the confines of a structured world. The thing to do, according to Fish, is get out there and argues for one's position.

We should ask three questions according to Fish: "given that it is speech, what does it do, do we want it to be done, and is more to be gained or lost by moving to curtail it?" (1994). He suggests that the answers we arrive at will vary according to the context. Free speech will be more limited in the military, where the underlying value is hierarchy and authority, than it will be at a university where one of the main values is the expression of ideas. Even on campus, there will be different levels of appropriate speech. Spouting off at the fountain in the center of campus should be less regulated than what a professor can say during a lecture. It might well be acceptable for me to spend an hour of my time explaining to passers-by why Manchester United is such a great football team but it would be completely inappropriate (and open to censure) to do the same thing when I am supposed to be giving a lecture on Thomas Hobbes.

A campus is not simply a "free speech forum but a workplace where people have contractual obligations, assigned duties, pedagogical and administrative responsibilities" (1994). Almost all places in which we interact are governed by underlying values and hence speech will have to fit in with these principles: regulation of free speech is a defining feature of everyday life" (Fish, 1994). Thinking of speech in this way removes a lot of the mystique. Whether we should ban hate speech is just another

problem along the lines of whether we should allow university professors to talk about football in lectures.

Paternalistic Justification for Limiting Speech

Although Stanley Fish takes some of the mystique away from the value of speech, he still thinks of limitations largely in terms of other regarding consequences. There are arguments, however, that suggest speech can be limited to prevent harm being done to the speaker. The argument here is that the agent might not have a full grasp of the consequences of the action involved (whether it is speech or some other form of behavior) and hence can be prevented from engaging in the act. Arguments used in the Skokie case would fit into this category. Most liberals are wary of such arguments because we are now entering the realm of paternalistic intervention where it is assumed that the state knows better than the individual what is in his or her best interests.

Mill, for example, is an opponent of paternalism generally, but he does believe there are certain instances when intervention is warranted. He suggests that if a public official is certain that a bridge will collapse, he can prevent a person crossing. If, however, there is only a danger that it will collapse the person can be warned but not coerced. The decision here seems to depend on the likelihood of personal injury; the more certain injury becomes, the more legitimate the intervention. Prohibiting freedom of speech on these grounds is very questionable in all but extreme cases (it was not persuasive in the Skokie case) because it is very rare that speech would produce such a clear danger to the individual.

Hence we have exhausted the options that are open to the liberal regarding limitations on free speech and one cannot be classed as a liberal if one is willing to stray further into the arena of state intervention than already discussed. Liberals tend to be united in opposing paternalistic and moralistic justifications for limiting free expression. They have a strong presumption in favor of individual liberty because, it is argued, this is the only way that the autonomy of the individual can be respected. To prohibit speech for reasons other than those already mentioned means that one has to argue that it is permissible to limit speech because of its unsavory content, or as Feinberg puts it, one has to be willing to say that

It can be morally legitimate for the state, by means of the criminal law, to prohibit certain types of action that cause neither harm nor offense to any one, on the grounds that such actions constitute or cause evils of other kinds.

Acts can be "evil" if they are dangerous to a traditional way of life, because they are immoral, or because they hinder the perfectibility of the human race. Many arguments against pornography take the form that such material is wrong because of the moral harm it does to the consumer. Liberals oppose such views because they are not overly interested in trying to mold the moral character of citizens.

Theoretical study

The other response to the harm principle is that it does not reach far enough. One of the most impressive arguments for this position comes from Joel Feinberg, who suggests that the harm principle cannot shoulder all of the work necessary for a principle of free speech. In some instances,

Feinberg suggests, we also need an *offense principle* that can act as a guide to public censure. The basic idea is that the harm principle sets the bar too high and that we can legitimately prohibit some forms of expression because they are very offensive. Offending someone is less serious than harming someone, so the penalties imposed should be less severe than those for causing harm.

Related studies

We began this examination of free speech with the harm principle; let us end with it and assess whether it helps us determine the proper limits of free expression. The principle suggests that we need to distinguish between legal sanction and social disapprobation as means of limiting speech. As already noted, the latter does not ban speech but it makes it more uncomfortable to utter unpopular statements. J.S. Mill does not seem to support the imposition of legal penalties unless they are sanctioned by the harm principle. As one would expect, Mill also seems to be worried by the use of social pressure as a means of limiting speech. On Liberty is an incredible assault on social censorship, expressed through the tyranny of the majority, because it produces stunted, pinched, hidebound and withered individuals: "everyone lives as under the eye of a hostile and dreaded censorship does not occur to them to have any inclination except what is customary" He continues:

the general tendency of things throughout the world is to render mediocrity the ascendant power among mankind...at present individuals are lost in the crowd...the only power deserving the name is that of masses does seem, however, that when the opinions of masses of merely average men are everywhere become or becoming the dominant power,

the counterpoise and corrective to that tendency would be the more and more pronounced individuality of those who stand on the higher eminences of thought.

With these comments, and many of a similar ilk, Mill demonstrates his distaste of the apathetic, fickle, tedious, frightened and dangerous majority.

It is quite a surprise, therefore, to find that he also seems to embrace a fairly encompassing offense principle when the sanction does involve social disapprobation:

Again, there are many acts which, being directly injurious only to the agents themselves, ought not to be legally interdicted, but which, if done publicly, are a violation of good manners and, coming thus within the category of offenses against others, may rightly be prohibited.

Similarly, he states that "The liberty of the individual must be thus far limited; he must not make himself a nuisance" (1978, 53). In the latter parts of *On Liberty* Mill also suggests that distasteful persons can be held in contempt, that we can avoid such persons (as long as we do not parade it), that we can warn others against the persons, and that we can persuade, cajole and remonstrate with those we deem offensive. These actions are legitimate as the free expression of those who happen to be offended as long as they are done as a spontaneous response to the person's faults and not as a form of punishment.

But those who exhibit cruelty, malice, envy, insincerity, resentment and crass egoism are open to the greater sanction of disapprobation as a form of punishment, because these faults are wicked and are other-regarding.

It may be true that these faults have an impact on others, but it is difficult to see how acting according to malice, envy or resentment *necessarily* violates the rights of others. The only way that Mill can make such claims is by expanding his argument to include an offense principle and hence give up on the harm principle as the only legitimate grounds for interference with behavior. Overall, Mill's arguments about ostracism and disapprobation seem to provide little protection for the individual who may have spoken in a non-harmful manner but who has nevertheless offended the sensibilities of the masses.

Hence we see that one of the great defenders of the harm principle seems to shy away from it at certain crucial points and it is unlikely that a defense of free speech can rest on the principle alone. It does, however, remain an elementary part of the liberal defense of individual freedom.

Liberals tend to defend freedom generally, and free speech in particular, for a variety of reasons beyond the harm principle; speech fosters authenticity, genius, creativity, individuality and human flourishing. Mill tells us specifically that if we ban speech the silenced opinion may be true, or contain a portion of the truth, and that unchallenged opinions become mere prejudices and dead dogmas that are inherited rather than adopted.

These are empirical claims that require evidence. Is it likely that we enhance the cause of truth by allowing hate speech or violent and degrading forms of pornography? It is worth pondering the relationship between speech and truth. If we had a graph where one axis was truth and the other was free speech, would we get one extra unit of truth for every extra unit of free speech? How can such a thing even be measured? It is certainly questionable whether arguments degenerate into prejudice

if they are not constantly challenged. Devil's advocates are often tedious rather than useful interlocutors. None of this is meant to suggest that free speech is not vitally important; this is, in fact, precisely the reason we need to find good arguments in its favor. But sometimes supporters of free speech, like its detractors, have a tendency to make assertions without providing compelling evidence to back them up.

CHAPTER THREE

METHODOLOGY

Research Design

This study employed the descriptive survey design specifically the descriptive comparative and descriptive correlation strategies. Descriptive studies are non-experimental researches that describe the characteristics of a particular individual, or of a group. It deals with the relationship between variables, testing of hypothesis and development of generalizations and use of theories that have universal validity. It also involves events that have already taken place and may be related to present conditions (Kothari, 2004). Further, descriptive surveys are used to discover causal relationships (descriptive correlation), differences (descriptive comparative), to provide precise quantitative description and to observe behavior (Greece and Greece, 1973).

Research Population

The target population included Jamhuriya organizations in Somaliland and haatuf organization

Sample Size

In view of the nature of the target population where the employees are so many, a sample was taken from each targeted area. The researcher selected target population reaching 170 members.

The Solven's formula used to determine the minimum sample size.

$$n = \frac{N}{1+N \alpha^2}$$

$$n = \frac{170}{1+(170 \times 0.05^2)}$$

$$n = \frac{170}{1+(170 \times 0.0025)}$$

$$n = \frac{170}{1.425}$$

$$\begin{aligned} n &= 119.298 \\ &= 119 \end{aligned}$$

Table 1**Respondents of the Study**

Publishing companies	Target population	Sample size
Managers	20	14
Editors	50	35
Reporters	80	56
Employees	20	14
Total	170	119

Sampling Procedures

Purposive sampling was utilized to select the respondents based on the following criteria's:

- The employees with professional experience ranging from one year and above.
- Basing on gender, male or female in the selected institutions.

From the list of qualified respondents chosen based on the inclusion criteria, the systematic random sampling was used to finally select the respondents with consideration to the computed minimum sample size.

Research Instruments

The research tools that were utilized in this study include the following: 1) *face sheet* to gather data on the respondents' demographic characteristics; gender, age, qualifications, marital status, employment for the purpose of the study 2) researcher devised questionnaires to determine the level of Freedom of speech and peace was used. The scoring system of this instrument is as follows: Strongly agree (4) agree (3) disagree (2) strongly disagree (1).

Validity and Reliability of the Instruments

Validity and reliability of the research instruments concerns the extent to which the research instrument yields the same results. The construct and criterion validity of the accounting information system and decision making questionnaire will be empirically proved by experts which means it is standardized. Content validity index (CVI) ensured by subjecting the researcher devised questionnaires on AIS and decision making to judgment by the content experts.

Reliability of the respondent's through the instruments of the questionnaire will be established. The reliability of the research instruments concerned with the degree to which the research instrument gave the same result. The reliability will be used test and pretest approach in the determination of accuracy of the research devised instruments. In this test-retest technique, the questionnaires will be self administered throughout the research to ensure that respondents fill the same questionnaire and the instrument provides the required information.

Data Gathering Procedures

Before the administration of the questionnaires

1. An introduction letter was obtained from the School of Post Graduate Studies and Research for the researcher to solicit approval to conduct the study from respective organizations.
2. When approved, the researcher secured a list of the qualified respondents from the human resource and select through systematic random sampling from this list to arrive at the minimum sample size.
3. The respondents were explained about the study and will be requested to sign the Informed Consent Form (Appendix 3).
4. Reproduce more than enough questionnaires for distribution.
5. Select research assistants who would assist in the data collection; brief and orient them in order to be consistent in administering the questionnaires.

During the administration of the questionnaires

1. The respondents were requested to answer completely and not to leave any part of the questionnaires unanswered.
2. The researcher and assistants emphasized retrieval of the questionnaires within five days from the date of distribution.
3. On retrieval, all returned questionnaires were checked if all are answered.

After the administration of the questionnaires

The data gathered were collated, encoded into the computer and statistically treated using the Statistical Package for Social Sciences (SPSS).

Data Analysis

The frequency and percentage distribution was used to determine the demographic characteristics of the respondents.

The mean and standard deviations was applied for the levels of Freedom of speech and peace. An item analysis illustrated the strengths and weaknesses based on the indicators in terms of mean and rank. From these strengths and weaknesses, the recommendations were derived.

The following mean range was used to arrive at the mean of the individual indicators and interpretation:

A. For the level of Freedom of speech

Mean Range	Interpretation	Response Mode
3.26-4.00	Very good	strongly agree
2.51-3.25	Good	Agree
1.76-2.50	Fair	Disagree
1.00-1.75	Poor	strongly disagree

B. For the level of peace promotion

Mean Range	Interpretation	Response Mode
3.26-4.00	Very good	strongly agree
2.51-3.25	Good	Agree
1.76-2.50	Fair	Disagree
1.00-1.75	Poor	strongly disagree

The analysis of Variance (ANOVA) was utilized to test the difference between means for hypothesis one (Ho #1) at 0.05 level of significance.

A multiple correlation coefficient to test the hypothesis on correlation (Ho #2) at 0.05 level of significance using a t-test was employed. The regression analysis R^2 (coefficient of determination) was computed to determine the influence of the independent variables on the dependent variable.

Ethical Considerations

To ensure confidentiality of the information provided by the respondents and to ascertain the practice of ethics in this study, the following activities was implemented by the researcher:

1. The respondents and institutions was coded instead of reflecting the names.
2. Solicit permission through a written request to the concerned officials of the organization included in the study.
3. Request the respondents to sign in the Informed Consent Form (Appendix 3)
4. Acknowledge the authors quoted in this study and the author of the standardized instrument through citations and referencing.
5. Present the findings in a generalized manner.

Limitations of the Study

In view of the following threats to validity, the researcher claimed an allowable 5% margin of error at 0.05 level of significance. Measures are also indicated in order to minimize if not to eradicate the threats to the validity of the findings of this study.

1. **Extraneous variables** which was beyond the researcher's control such as respondents' honesty, personal biases and uncontrolled setting of the study.
2. **Instrumentation:** The research instruments on resource availability and utilization are not standardized. Therefore a

validity and reliability test was done to produce a credible measurement of the research variables.

3. **Testing:** The use of research assistants can bring about inconsistency in the administration of the questionnaires in terms of time of administration, understanding of the items in the questionnaires and explanations given to the respondents. To minimize this threat, the research assistants was oriented and briefed on the procedures to be done in data collection.
4. **Attrition/Mortality:** Not all questionnaires maybe returned neither completely answered nor even retrieved back due to circumstances on the part of the respondents such as travels, sickness, hospitalization and refusal/withdrawal to participate. In anticipation to this, the researcher dreserve more respondents by exceeding the minimum sample size. The respondents were reminded not to leave any item in the questionnaires unanswered and was closely followed up as to the date of retrieval.

CHAPTER FOUR

PRESENTATION, ANALYSIS AND INTERPRETATION OF DATA

INTRODUCTION

This chapter presents the presentation of data, analysis, and interpretation. The data analysis and interpretation was based on the research questions as well as research objectives, the presentation is divided into two parts. The first part presents the respondents profile or demographic information, while the second part deals with presentation, interpretation, and analysis of the research questions and objectives.

Demographic information of the respondents

This part presents the background information of the respondents who participated in the study. The purpose this background information was to find out the characteristics of the respondents and show the distribution of the population in the study.

In addition to that, the first objective of this study was to determine the profile of respondents as to Age, Gender, qualification and experience to examine what category the majority of the respondents are fit in. Data on this objective was analyzed under the question "what is the profile of the respondents as to Age, Gender, and Educational level?"

Table 2

Objective One: Determining the demographic characteristics of the respondents

N=119

Gender	Frequency	Percentage (%)
Male	79	66.4
Female	40	33.6
Total	119	100.0
Age		
(20 - 39)	92	77.3
(40 - 59)	26	21.8
(60 and above)	1	.8
Total	119	100.0
Qualification		
Certificate	4	3.4
Diploma	8	6.7
Degree	42	35.3
Master	65	54.6
Total	119	100.0
Experience		
Less than one	24	20.2
1 - 2 years	40	33.6
3 - 4 years	34	28.6
5 - 6 years	9	7.6
7 years and above	12	10.1
Total	119	100.0

Source: primary data

From the table 2, indicates that different categories were involved in the study. 66.4% of the respondents were male, while 33.6% were female. So, it shows that most of respondents were male than female. Also from table 2, the majority of the respondents were between the ages of 20-39 years. This means that majority of the respondent were young which constitute 77.3%, while those within the age limit of 40-59 years constitute 21.8%, while the remaining 0.8% falls within the age of 60 and above. The table 2 above, implies that the majority of the respondent are masters holders with 54.6% followed by degree holders with the 35.3% those with diploma constitutes 6.7% while certificate holders constitute the remaining 3.4%. Most of the respondents as the result indicate have 1-2 years working experience because they constitute up 33.6% then followed by those with 3-4 years working experience accounting 28.6% those within less than a year working experience constitute 20.2% respondents with 7 years and above constitute 10-11 while the remaining 7.6% were those with 5-6 years working experience.

The level of freedom of speech

The second objective of this study was set to determine the level of freedom of speech among selected media organization specially Jamhuriya, and hatuf for which the researcher intended to find out how satisfactorily freedom of speech and the degree at which they stand when compared to peace promotion.

In this study, level of freedom of speech was measured using 10 qualitative questions in which respondents were required to indicate the

extent to which they agree or disagree with each statement by indicating the number that best describe their perceptions. All the ten items on freedom of speech were likert scaled using four points ranging between 1= Strongly Disagree, 2= Disagree, 3= Agree and 4= Strongly Agree. Their responses were analyzed and described using Means as summarized in table 3 below.

Table 3

The level of freedom of speech

Indicator	Mean	Interpretation	Rank
The reporters have freedom to inform the people the current status of cases	3.13	Very High	1
The news papers are free to talk about affiliation of past and present participation in political	3.00	Very High	2
The news papers are free to political orientation of the medium	2.87	High	3
The news papers are free to talk about Information on other specific activities relating to the alleged violation.	2.85	High	4
The reporter can talk about the adoption of new laws that have a positive impact on the realization of the rights to freedom of opinion	2.81	High	5
The news papers have freedom to publish texts or drafts of laws of very much interesting in receiving information	2.76	High	6
The news papers are free for encouragement or tolerance of activities on non-State actors, whether groups or individuals	2.73	High	7

The reporters are free to welcome any additional comments or background notes that are considered relevant to the case or incident	2.71	High	8
The reporters have freedom to take opinion and expression on order to seek, receive and impact of information from the government	2.64	High	9
News papers are free to talk about the incident involves arrest of an individual or individuals, the identity of the authority involved, the legal statute invoked	1.50	Very Low	10
Mean Index	2.70	high	

Source: primary data

The means in table 3, indicates that the freedom of speech used among selected media organization especially Jamhuriya, and hatuf were rated at different levels. It can be concluded that freedom of speech is so influential among selected media organization specially Jamhuriya, and hatuf. Items which were highly rated among others included the fact that The reporters have freedom to take opinion and expression in order to seek, receive and impact of information from the government mean (3.13), The reporters are free to welcome any additional comments or background notes that are considered relevant to the case or incident mean (3.00) which were represented by strongly Agree and the items which were rated as high included; The news papers are free for encouragement or tolerance of activities on non-State actors, whether groups or individuals (mean = 2.64), The news papers have freedom to publish texts or drafts of laws of very much interesting in receiving information (mean = 2.71), The reporter can talk about the adoption of new laws that have a positive impact on the realization of the rights to

freedom of opinion (Mean = 2.73), The news papers are free to talk about Information on other specific activities relating to the alleged violation (mean = 2.76), The news papers are free to political orientation of the medium (mean = 2.81), The news papers are free to talk about affiliation of past and present participation in political (mean = 2.85) and The reporters have freedom to inform the people the current status of cases (mean = 2.87) However the study rated one item very low and this was News papers are free to talk about the incident involves arrest of an individual or individuals, the identity of the authority involved, the legal statute invoked (mean =1.50)

To get a final picture on the level of Freedom of Speech, the researcher computed an overall average mean for all the categories in Table 3, which came out to be (mean = 2.70), which confirms that the level of freedom of speech is moderate among selected media organization specially Jamhuriya, and hatuf.

The level of level of peace promotion among selected media organization specially Jamhuriya, and hatuf.

The third objective was to determine the level of peace promotion among selected media organization specially Jamhuriya, and hatuf. All the aspects of peace promotion among selected media organization specially Jamhuriya, and hatuf were measured using 10 qualitative questions in which respondents were requested to indicate the extent to which they agree or disagree with the statement by writing the number that best describes their perception. Each of the items on the questionnaires was rated with the aid of four response mode subjects ranging between one to four; where 1= strongly Disagree, 2= Disagree, 3= Agree, 4= Strongly

Agree. The responses were described using means as summarized in table 4.

Table 4
Objective Three: The level of peace promotion

Indicator	Mean	Interpretation	Rank
Writing a contribution or advices to government can promote the peace	3.90	High	1
Freedom of speech can protect the rights of individual(s) to promote peaceful assembly of the society	2.98	High	2
To seek, receive and respond to information from government, nongovernmental organizations can promote the peace	2.92	High	3
When the newspapers publish texts or drafts of laws can promote the peace because people they can understand the laws	2.86	High	4
When the reporters inform the people the current status of cases and thus very much welcome updates of previously reported cases and information can promote the peace	2.85	High	5
The freedom reports to government frame work, including seeking view of states can promote peace because it makes easier to understand the people	2.84	High	6
Taking opinion in order to seek and impact	2.71	High	7

information from the government can promote the peace			
To report on violations, wherever they may occur, of the rights of freedom they promote a peace	2.41	Low	8
news paper's encouragements or tolerance of activities of form non-State actors, whether groups or individuals can promote the peace	2.40	Low	9
The news paper's publishes about information on other specific activities relating to the alleged violation can promote the peace	1.41	Very Low	10
Average mean	2.73	High	

Source: primary data

The results in table 4 revealed that the of level of peace promotion among selected media organization specially Jamhuriya, and hatuf on average, most of them were rated high and these were Writing a contribution or advices in which government can promote the peace (mean =3.90), Freedom of speech can protect the rights of individual(s) to promote peaceful assembly of the society (mean = 2.98), To seek, receive and respond to information from government, nongovernmental organizations can promote the peace (mean = 2.92), When the newspapers publish texts or drafts of laws can promote the peace because people they can understand the laws (means = 2.86), When the reporters inform the people the current status of cases and thus very much welcome updates of previously reported cases and information can promote the peace (mean = 2.85), The freedom reports to government frame work, including seeking view of states can promote peace because it makes easier to understand the people (mean = 2.84) and Taking opinion in order to seek

and impact information from the government can promote the peace (mean = 2.71). All these were equivalent to strongly agree on the rating scale used.

On the other hand however, the findings revealed four areas which led to low levels of peace promotion which were as follows, To report on violations, wherever they may occur, of the rights of freedom they promote a peace (mean = 2.41) and news paper's encouragements or tolerance of activities of form non-State actors, whether groups or individuals can promote the peace (mean = 2.40) which are all equivalent to disagree on the response mode. Lastly issues the news paper's publishes about information on other specific activities relating to the alleged violation can promote the peace (very low) at (mean= 1.41) which is equivalent to strongly disagree on the response mode.

To get a final picture on the level of peace promotion, the researcher computed an overall Grand average mean for all aspects in Table 4, which came out to be (mean = 2.73), which confirms that the level of peace promotion among selected media organization specially Jamhuriya, and Hatuf stands at moderate level.

Relationship between the level of freedom of speech and peace promotion

The fourth objective in this study was to establish whether there is a significant relationship between the level of freedom of speech and peace promotion among selected media organization specially Jamhuriya, and hatuf On this, the researcher stated a null hypothesis that there is no

significant relationship between freedom of speech and peace promotion among selected media organization specially Jamhuriya, and hatuf.

To achieve this last objective and to test this null hypothesis, the researcher correlated the means for freedom of speech and peace promotion using the Pearson's Linear Correlation Coefficient, as indicated in table 5

Correlations

Freedom of speech (IV) and Peace promotion (DV)

		IV	DV
IV	Pearson Correlation	1	.390
	Sig. (2-tailed)		.000
	N	119	119
DV	Pearson Correlation	.390	1
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.000	
	N	119	119

Table 5 Correlation between IV and DV

In table 5, the Pearson Correlation at 0.390 appears weak and positive and Sig. (2-tailed) at 0.000 does not exceeds the level of significance at $P < 0.05$. Thus the researcher can reject H_0 (there is no relationship between freedom of speech and peace promotion). It is evidence that there is some degree of relationship between freedom of speech and

peace promotion in selected media organizations specially Jamhuriya and Hatuf newspapers.

To get the final picture on how freedom of speech affects peace promotion, aspects of peace promotion index were regressed against freedom of speech, results of which are indicated in table 6 bellow; and the remaining aspects were not significant however the overall general picture showed a positive and significant effect.

Linear regression analysis between freedom of speech and peace promotion

Variable Regressed	R	R Square	Adjusted R Square
1. Freedom of Speech 2. Peace Promotion	.390	.152	.145

Table 6 Linear regression analysis between the two variables

The absolute value of the correlation coefficient between freedom of speech and peace promotion is 0.390. That is the value labeled R in the table 5. The actual correlation coefficient between the two variables is 0.4. The R Square is a measure of the proportion of the variability in freedom of speech that is accounted for by variability in peace promotion. Thus 85.5% of the variation is not accounted for by variation in peace promotion. The researcher has some evidence that freedom of speech has an effect on peace promotion in selected media organizations especially Jamhuriya and Hatuf newspapers.

CHAPTER FIVE

FINDINGS, CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

INTRODUCTION

This chapter presents the summary, conclusions and recommendations arising from the study along the study objectives

Summary of Findings

Demographic characteristics of the respondents

This study intended to assess the effect of freedom of speech and peace promotion among selected media organization specially Jamhuriya, and hatuf and it was guided by four specific objectives namely: (i) to determine the demographic profile of the respondents in terms of gender, age, marital status, educational level, kind of employment and working experience in the organization; (ii) to determine the level of freedom of speech among selected media organization specially Jamhuriya, and hatuf; (iii) to determine the level of peace building among selected media organization specially Jamhuriya, and hatuf (iv) to establish whether there is a significant relationship between freedom of speech and peace building among selected media organization specially Jamhuriya, and hatuf.

Data analysis that was done using SPSS's descriptive statistics it was found out that 66.4% of the respondents were male, while 33.6% were female. So, it is obvious that most of respondents are male. Also the majority of the respondents are between the ages of 20-39 years. This means that majority of the respondent were young the young class constitute 77.3% while those within the age limit 40-59 years constitute of 21.8% while the remaining 0.8% falls within the age of 60 and above.

The majority of the respondent are masters holders with 54.6% followed by degree holders with the 35.3% those with diploma constitutes 6.7% while certificate holders constitute the remaining 3.4%. Most of the respondents have 1-2 years working experience because they constitute up 33.6% then followed by those with 3-4 years working experience accounting 28.6% those within less than a year working experience constitute 20.2% respondents with 7 years and above constitute 10-11 while the remaining 7.6% were those with 5-6 years working experience.

The level of freedom of speech

Basing on the level of freedom of speech used among selected media organization specially Jamhuriya, and hatuf the level of Freedom of Speech, when the researcher computed an overall average mean for all the categories in Table 3, which came out to be (mean = 2.70), which confirms that the level of freedom of speech is moderate among selected media organization specially Jamhuriya, and hatuf.

The level of peace promotion

The of level of peace promotion among selected media organization specially Jamhuriya, and hatuf on average, most of them were rated high and these were Writing a contribution or advices to government in which it can promote the peace (mean =3.90), Freedom of speech can protect the rights of individual(s) to promote peaceful assembly of the society (mean = 2.98), To seek, receive and respond to information from government, nongovernmental organizations can promote the peace

(mean = 2.92), When the newspapers publish texts or drafts of laws can promote the peace because people they can understand the laws (means = 2.86), When the reporters inform the people the current status of cases and thus very much welcome updates of previously reported cases and information can promote the peace (mean = 2.85), The freedom reports to government frame work, including seeking view of states can promote peace because it makes easier to understand the people (mean = 2.84) and Taking opinion in order to seek and impact information from the government can promote the peace (mean = 2.71). All these were equivalent to strongly agree on the rating scale used. however, the findings revealed four areas which led to low levels of peace promotion which were as follows, To report on violations, wherever they may occur, of the rights of freedom they promote a peace (mean = 2.41) and news paper's encouragements or tolerance of activities of form non-State actors, whether groups or individuals can promote the peace (mean = 2.40) which are all equivalent to disagree on the response mode. Lastly issues the news paper's publishes about information on other specific activities relating to the alleged violation can promote the peace (very low) at (mean= 1.41) which is equivalent to strongly disagree on the response mode. The level of peace promotion, the researcher computed an overall Grand average mean for all aspects which came out to be (mean = 2.73), which confirms that the level of peace promotion among selected media organization especially Jamhuriya, and hatuf stands at moderate level.

The relationship between freedom of speech and peace promotion among selected media organization specially Jamhuriya, and hatuf

According to the Pearson Correlation at 0.390 appears weak and positive and Sig. (2-tailed) at 0.000 does not exceeds the level of significance at $P < 0.05$. Thus the researcher can reject H_0 (there is no relationship between freedom of speech and peace promotion). It is evidence that there is some degree of relationship between freedom of speech and peace promotion in selected media organizations specially Jamhuriya and Hatuf newspapers.

The actual correlation coefficient between the two variables is 0.4. The R Square is a measure of the proportion of the variability in freedom of speech that is accounted for by variability in peace promotion. Thus 85.5% of the variation is not accounted for by variation in peace promotion. The researcher has some evidence that freedom of speech has an effect on peace promotion in selected media organizations especially Jamhuriya and Hatuf newspapers.

Conclusions

In this section, the researcher gives conclusion to the study findings in relation to the study objectives and the tested null hypothesis.

Respondents' profile

The first study objective was set to determine the demographic profile of the respondents in terms of gender, age, marital status, highest

level of education, kind of employment, and working experience and it was found out that majority were male (66.4%), in the age brackets of 20 – 39 years, married and Masters degree holders (54.6%). Most of the respondents have 1-2 years working experience because they constitute up 33.6%

The level of Freedom of speech among selected media organization specially Jamhuriya, and hatuf

The second objective was set to determine the level of Freedom of speech among selected media organization especially Jamhuriya, and hatuf and it was found out that the level of freedom of speech was at high (mean=2.70) and this is due to the fact that most categories were rated high.

The level of peace promotion among selected media organization specially Jamhuriya, and hatuf

The third objective of the study was to determine an average mean for all aspects which came out to be (mean = 2.73), c.

The relationship between freedom of speech and peace promotion

The fourth objective was set to establish whether there is a significant relationship between freedom of speech and peace promotion, according to the Pearson Correlation at 0.390 appears weak and positive and Sig. (2-tailed) at 0.000 does not exceeds the level of significance at $P < 0.05$. Thus the researcher can reject H_0 (there is no relationship

between freedom of speech and peace promotion). It is evidence that there is some degree of relationship between freedom of speech and peace promotion in selected media organizations specially Jamhuriya and Hatuf newspapers.

The actual correlation coefficient between the two variables is 0.4. The R Square is a measure of the proportion of the variability in freedom of speech that is accounted for by variability in peace promotion. Thus 85.5% of the variation is not accounted for by variation in peace promotion. The researcher has some evidence that freedom of speech has an effect on peace promotion in selected media organizations especially Jamhuriya and Hatuf newspapers.

Recommendations

There is need for freedom of speech in the nation especially in Somalia in order to have smooth peaceful promotions in the country. There is also need for the media houses to build confidence of their publications and messages concerning peace promotion in Somalia thus to enable to bring to an end that conflicts and ward that are in the nation.

The government of Somaliland should come up with proper policies and guideline to the media houses that should give them confidence to air out and publish the thoughts of the people and the media about the peace building process in the nation. Since freedom of speech is so valuable in the peace of promotion it should be publically announced to the nation and give the people their freedom to speak about the violence and the wars that are taking place in the Somaliland.

Areas for future Research

The researcher recommends that further research should be made in the following areas;

The influence of peace promotion on the countries stability

The trends of peace promotion to the independence of a country.

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Universal Declaration of Human Rights

Using Courts to Enforce the Free Speech Provisions of the
International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights - Australia
& Oceania - Australia & New Zealand from All Business...

APPENDIX I A
TRANSMITTAL LETTER
OFFICE OF THE DEPUTY VICE CHANCELLOR (DVC)
COLLEGE OF HIGHER DEGREES AND RESEARCH (CDHR)

Dear Sir/Madam,

**RE: INTRODUCTION LETTER FOR ABDIRAHMAN DUBED ELMI
REG NO. MHD / 36289 / 113 / DF TO CONDUCT RESEARCH IN
YOUR INSTITUTION.**

The above mentioned candidate is a bonafide student of Kampala International University pursuing a Master in Human rights and development. He is currently conducting a field research for his dissertation entitled, **FREEDOM OF SPEECH AND PEACE PROMOTION IN SELECTED MEDIA ORGANIZATION HARGEISA SOMALI LAND**

Your institution has been identified as a valuable source of information pertaining to his research project. The purpose of this letter then is to request you to avail him with the pertinent information he may need.

Any data shared with him will be used for academic purposes only and shall be kept with utmost confidentiality.

Any assistance rendered to him will be highly appreciated.

Yours truly,

Novembrieta R. Sumil, Ph.D.

Deputy Vice Chancellor, SPGSR

APPENDIX I B
TRANSMITTAL LETTER FOR THE RESPONDENTS

Dear Sir/ Madam,

Greetings!

I am a Master in human rights and development candidate of Kampala International University. Part of the requirements for the award is a dissertation. My study is entitled **FREEDOM OF SPEECH AND PEACE PROMOTION IN SELECTED MEDIA ORGANISATION IN HARGEISA SOMALI LAND**. Within this context, may I request you to participate in this study by answering the questionnaires.

Kindly do not leave any option unanswered. Any data you will provide shall be for academic purposes only and no information of such kind shall be disclosed to others.

May I retrieve the questionnaire within five days.

Thank you very much in advance.

Yours faithfully,

Mr. ABDIRAHMAN DUBED ELMI

APPENDIX II
CLEARANCE FROM ETHICS COMMITTEE

Date_____

Candidate's Data

Name_____

Reg.# _____

Course _____

Title of Study

Ethical Review Checklist

The study reviewed considered the following:

- ___ Physical Safety of Human Subjects
- ___ Psychological Safety
- ___ Emotional Security
- ___ Privacy
- ___ Written Request for Author of Standardized Instrument
- ___ Coding of Questionnaires/Anonymity/Confidentiality
- ___ Permission to Conduct the Study
- ___ Informed Consent
- ___ Citations/Authors Recognized

Results of Ethical Review

___ Approved

___ Conditional (to provide the Ethics Committee with corrections)

___ Disapproved/ Resubmit Proposal

Ethics Committee (Name and Signature)

Chairperson _____

Members _____

APPENDIX III

INFORMED CONSENT

I am giving my consent to be part of the research study of Mr. abidrahman Dubed, that will focus on Freedom of speech and peace

I shall be assured of privacy, anonymity and confidentiality and that I will be given the option to refuse participation and right to withdraw my participation anytime.

I have been informed that the research is voluntary and that the results will be given to me if I ask for it.

Initials: _____

Date _____

APPENDIX IV
FACE SHEET:
QUESTIONNAIRES TO RESPONDENTS

Gender (Please Tick)

_____ (1) Male _____ (2) Female

Age

_____ (20 - 39) _____ (40 - 59)

_____ (60 and above)

Qualifications Under Education Discipline (Please Specify):

(1) Certificate _____

(2) Diploma _____

(3) Bachelors _____

(4) Masters _____

(5) Ph.D. _____

Number of Years working Experience (Please Tick):

_____ (1) Less than/Below one year

_____ (2) 1- 2yrs

_____ (3) 3-4yrs

_____ (4) 5-6yrs

_____ (5) 7 years and above

APPENDIX V
TO DETERMINE THE LEVEL FREEDOM OF SPEECH
QUESTIONNAIRE

Direction: please tick the column corresponding rating that best describes your response using the guide below

Score	Mode Of Response	Description
Interpretation		
4. Strongly Agree	You Agree With No Doubt	Very Good
3 Agree	You Agree With Some Doubt	Good
2 Disagree	You Disagree With Some Doubt	Fair
1 Strongly Disagree	You Disagree With No Doubt	Poor

____1.The news papers are free to talk about affiliation of past and present participation in political.

____2.The news papers are free to talk about Information on other specific activities relating to the alleged violation.

____3.The news papers are free to political orientation of the medium.

____4. The news papers are free for encouragement or tolerance of activities on non-State actors, whether groups or individuals.

____5.News papers are free to talk about the incident involves arrest of an individual or individuals, the identity of the authority involved (individual and/or ministry and/or department), the legal statute invoked.

____6.The reporters are free to welcome any additional comments or background notes that are considered relevant to the case or incident.

____7.The reporters have freedom to inform the people the current status of cases and thus very much welcome updates of previously reported cases and information. Including the release of persons detained for exercising their rights to freedom of opinion.

____8. The reporter can talk about the adoption of new laws or policies or changes existing ones that have a positive impact on the realization of the rights to freedom of opinion and expression and information.

____9.The news papers have freedom to publish texts or drafts of laws of very much interesting in receiving information.

____10.The reporters have freedom to take opinion and expression on order to seek, receive and impact of information from the government.

____6. When the news papers publish texts or drafts of laws of very much interesting in receiving information can promote the peace because people the can understand the laws.

____7. When the reporters to take opinion and expression on order to seek, receive and impact of information from the government can promote the peace.

____8. When the reporters inform the people the current status of cases and thus very much welcome updates of previously reported cases and information can promote the peace.

____9. news paper's encouragements or tolerance of activities of formnon-State actors, whether groups or individuals an promote the peace.

____10. The news paper's publishes about Information on other specific activities relating to the alleged violation can promote the peace.

PERSONAL PROFILE

PERSONAL DETAILS:

Name: Abdirahman Dubed Elmi
DOB: 21-07-1982
Gender: Male
Marital status: Single
Nationality: Somaliland
Contact number: 0792572844
Email: dubewacays@hotmail.com
Language proficiency: English Somali carabi

OBJECTIVE:

Be a highly qualified computer specialist, having a wide range of computer skills where my skills and abilities shall be utilized in the Information Technology Industry that offers Professional growth while being resourceful, innovative and flexible.

PERSONAL PROFILE:

1. I am a hard working person able to work with little or no supervision and a team player. I also possess good communication, interpersonal and analytical skills.

EDUCATION:

COLLEGE: diploma Somaliland teacher education college 2003-2005

COURSE: monitoring and evaluation

COURSE: project planning and management.

COLLEGE: AFlah

University degree faculty of law and legal clinic 2006-2010

Work experience

Human right activist UNDP case preparation 2010 -2011

Somaliland teacher Education College 2003-2005

HOBBIES and INTERESTS:

- Swimming
- Reading holy Quran
- Reading novels
- Socializing