

Peace Sociolinguistics: A Constructivist Grounded Theory of Pakistani English Newspapers

Shehr Bano Zaidi

Assistant Professor, Department of English, National University of Modern Languages, Islamabad

Abstract

This paper is a qualitative sociolinguistic study that theorizes the place of English as an official/second language in Pakistan. The data are taken from six Pakistani English newspapers covering the Pak-EU discourse from 2002 to 2018. This investigation uses constructivist grounded theory methodology (an off-shoot of grounded theory methodology) to generate a theory that sheds light on the peace potential of English language as used in the selected data. It is subsumed under the parameters of peace sociolinguistics, a relatively new field within the broader discipline of sociolinguistics. Peace sociolinguistics acknowledges all languages to be carriers of human values and capable of bringing different peoples together. In the classic style of grounded theory methodology, primacy is given to language and codes are developed in order to show how English language is used to portray a common reality between two world entities, Pakistan and the EU. This sociolinguistic constructivist grounded theory study is underpinned by social constructionism which takes the view that language does not just describe the world but actively constructs it, having real consequences. The socially constructed reality presented here is shared and contextual and takes the form of a rigorous theory called "a theory of peace sociolinguistics of the EU-Pak discourse in selected Pakistani English newspapers." This theoretical rendering demonstrates the viability of English to be used for peaceful purposes while challenging the current dual status of English as a colonial legacy and a necessary agent of globalization.

Keywords: *peace sociolinguistics, constructivist grounded theory, English in Pakistan, EU-Pak discourse*

Background and Rationale of the Study

Given its colonial past and current globalization requirements, the place of English in Pakistan has a somewhat ambivalent status. The 'love-hate' relationship that exists between Pakistanis and the English language may not be visible to a foreigner sitting thousands of miles away, but it is a reality that is faced by millions of Pakistanis on a daily basis. The status of English in Pakistan cannot be easily defined. The constitution of Pakistan (National Language, 1973, p.149) instructs the government of Pakistan to replace the English language with the Urdu language for 'official and other purposes.' This was instructed in 1973 and the government of Pakistan was given fifteen years to implement the decision. A recent Supreme Court judgment (Constitution Petition no.56 of 2003, 2015) points to the same. The government, however, needs still more time to implement the decision.

The National Education Policy (2017, p. 143) gives an equal status to both English and Urdu when it specifies that either language can be used for the medium of instruction. The educational institutions where children of middle and upper classes are taught use English as the medium of instruction, whereas the government-run schools use the Urdu language. However, English is a compulsory subject in all schools. Education at the higher level is imparted in English. Armed forces, judiciary, media outlets, and civilian government--- all conduct most of the written work in English. There are sixty-nine (69) English publications published in Pakistan on a daily/ fortnightly/ monthly basis: thirty-eight (38) daily, twenty-three (23) monthly, two (2) fortnightly and five (5) weekly (Member Publications/ Language-wise/ English, 2018). According to a recent study (Islam, 2018), the youth of Pakistan, while they see the utility of learning and using English, are also aware of its colonial baggage. They are impressed by the ideals of native English-speaking countries but they are not ready to adopt those cultural values in their lives entirety.

Many discussions on the place and value of English language ignore the fact that there are at least two generations of educated urban Pakistanis who might be more comfortable with English language and literature than any other "Pakistani" language or literature. These Pakistanis, reared on English language and literature, are caught between considering English as the language of invaders, global communication, or just a language they happen to know and are reasonably good at. Against the backdrop as described here, there is a need for fresh theorizing of the situation. It must also be pointed out that there has never been an explicit theory enunciated to conceptualize the place and role of English language in Pakistan. The following paragraphs give a review of the past studies contextualizing the need for theorizing.

Ace Pakistani scholar Tariq Rahman (1990/2014) discusses the legitimacy and acceptability of the linguistic features of Pakistani English's (PE), but he does not mention the acceptability or otherwise of English language for Pakistanis. He starts with the assumption that English on the Pakistani linguistic landscape is *fait accompli*. In this particular study, he views the variety closest to the standard English as the most prestigious. This in turn attributes an implicit hegemonic status to the standard English or the ex-colonizer's variety. The sympathy for the English language has not been fostered. Rahman (1990/2014) does not take into account the linguistic enmity that exists. In his other studies (2002, 2010), Rahman concurs with Rasool & Mansoor (2007) that the primary reason for learning English is to get better employment. The implication is that the better a Pakistani is in English; the greater employment opportunities s/he has. Since the elite, by virtue of their being better schooled, are generally more fluent in the language, they dominate the employment scene. This does not place English language in a favorable place on the linguistic and social horizons of Pakistan.

Notable studies (Razi, 2014; Uzair, Mahmood & Raja, 2012) done on the issues related to English in Pakistan start with the assumption that it has been accepted in Pakistan while glossing over the ambivalence as shown in the

research by Rahman (1990/ 2014, 2002, 2010), Rasool & Mansoor (2007) and Islam (2018). They (Razi, 2014; Uzair, Mahmood & Raja, 2012) opine on how English language is used in Pakistan while neglecting people's (hostile or ambivalent) attitude towards it. Rahman (1990/ 2014, 2002 & 2010) and Rasool and Mansoor (2007) touch upon the aspect of attitude towards English but do not provide an alternate framework in which to view it. A comparatively recent study, by Islam (2018), on English as a symbolic capital, claims that "a form of continuing colonization of minds" (p.51) is still present and this is ambivalently coupled with "an apparent rejection of the colonial legacy of English" (p.51). Like others before him, he does not go beyond pointing out the ambivalence. The current study aims to fill in this gap by presenting an alternative framework to understand the situation.

Two research questions guide this study. As this is a grounded theory study aimed at generating a theoretical explanation (a detailed rationale for the methodology is given in the next section), the research questions are broad that allow for a variety of perspectives to emerge. There are no pre-conceived categories that are imposed on data because "Research questions for grounded theory studies are meant to be broad and open-ended versus hypothesis driven" (Green, Creswell, Shope & Clark, 2007, p. 477). Therefore, research questions that control and guide the study are as follow:

1. How is English language used to construct the EU-Pakistan relationship as given in the Pakistani English newspapers?
2. What kind of theory generation is likely to explain the status of English in Pakistan?

Constructive Grounded Theory as a Method of Inquiry

This section argues for adopting the constructivist grounded theory (ConsGT) as advocated by Kathy Charmaz (2006, p. 179). It is underpinned by social constructionism that also informs most of the current qualitative sociolinguistics (Irwin, 2011, p. 100). Irwin calls this branch of sociolinguistics as social constructionist sociolinguistics (p.111). The essential feature of this relativist approach is that it seeks to understand how meaning is constructed through the use of language in socially placed contexts. An explanation in terminology regarding Charmaz's ConsGT (2006) is in order here. Charmaz's approach is called both 'constructivist' GT and 'constructionist' GT. Charmaz (2008) in her article "Constructionism and the Grounded Theory Method" makes clear that she uses the term 'constructivist' only to signal its dichotomous relation to objectivist grounded theory (the Glaserian approach that leans towards positivism). However, both 'constructionist' grounded theory and 'constructivist' grounded theory refer to the same, i.e., the Charmizian grounded theory. The current study uses the term 'constructivist' GT to signal the same difference and also because this has been the preferred style of Charmaz 2008 onwards. More is likely to come on this further down the section.

Constructivist Grounded Theory (ConsGT) is propounded by Kathy Charmaz (2006). Srikant Sarangi (2017) calls grounded theory as a form of discourse analysis but one which ends on theoretical rendering of the phenomenon under consideration. Constructive grounded theory (ConsGT) is derived from grounded theory methodology (GTM) which is also known as classic grounded theory (CGT) as originally enunciated by Barney Glaser and Anselm Strauss (1967). The duo did not bind the method to any specific discipline; they rather intended it to be used in a research situation where theorizing was the objective. They advocated discovering theories for understanding the society afresh instead of relying on extant theories that have a "dubious fit and working capacity" (1967, p. 4). The theory generated is substantive rather than formal. Glaser and Strauss (1967), while explaining the difference between the two, point out that "substantive theory is grounded in research on one particular substantive area and it might be taken to apply only to that specific area" (p.79). A formal theory is more general and is based on various substantive theories. Charmaz (2006) suggests that substantive theories are generalizable in only certain contexts. She further writes that a number of substantive (contextual) theories can be used as testable hypotheses to generate a formal theory. It would be instructive to clarify here that only those substantive theories can be grouped together which have been generated in similar contexts.

The current study is aided in the linguistic analysis by emic (Pakistan's point of view) and etic (EU's point of view) perspectives adapted from Kenneth Pike (1967). They refer to differences and similarities between the insider and outsider's views in a qualitative study (Pike, 1967). For the purpose of this study, these two terms refer to Pakistan and the EU's points of view respectively. In situations where two distinct voices are involved in constructing a social reality, the emic-etic binary helps tease out differences and similarities.

A theoretical perspective of peace sociolinguistics (Patricia Friedrich, 2007, 2009) is employed as a sensitizing concept (2006, pp.16-17). Charmaz (2006) advocates the use of sensitizing concepts for an initial foray into the research site. In her seminal book, Charmaz (2006), borrowing the term from Blumer (1954), writes, "These concepts give you initial ideas to pursue and sensitize you to ask particular kinds of questions about your topic" (p.16). Charmaz makes it clear that only those concepts that gain an empirical grounding by earning their way into the analysis are retained in the final theoretical rendering, and the rest are discarded. For the sake of brevity, this research project only mentions the concept of peace sociolinguistics and not others which were not as useful and could not be theoretically or empirically justified.

Peace sociolinguistics, an offshoot of peace linguistics (David Crystal, 1999), is a term coined by Patricia Friedrich (Friedrich, 2007). In Friedrich's words:

peace sociolinguistics is a discipline engaged in investigating the place of peace through language in society, with the main charge of looking

into peace (within and among languages), violence, education, activism, and the socio-political impact of language use on comprehensive peace and vice versa. (2009, p. 75)

Peace sociolinguistics advocates using languages to achieve peace. It debunks the concept of dominant and dominated languages and instead treats all languages and their speakers at par with each other. Language and peace are studied in one frame in fields where reality is constructed through words as propounded by social constructionists (Andrew, 2012). Academics and theorists pursuing peace linguistics, or its sub-discipline peace sociolinguistics, acknowledge the importance of all languages as carriers of humanity and which need to be used, preserved and appreciated.

The decision to choose peace sociolinguistics as a sensitizing concept, resides in my "background assumptions and disciplinary perspectives" (Charmaz, 2006, p.16) which attune me to look for certain perspectives and interpretations while ruling out others. There are two major reasons behind it. I belong to the Pakistani generation that knows English more than any other Pakistani language by virtue of getting education in an English medium institution run by a Christian missionary. I am also a teacher of English and am often called upon to explain and defend its position in Pakistan. These factors have sensitized me to make peace sociolinguistics my main research concern.

It is important to point out that data are gathered from Pakistani English newspapers over a period of sixteen years, 2002- 2018. This foregrounds the assumption that the peace potential of English has been present for a long time but it was not theorized. Sociolinguistics considers newspaper language as constituting social reality. Martin Conboy (2010) is right to call for a "productive dialogue" (p. 2) between sociolinguistics and journalism studies as it results in understanding the role of language in a human society.

This section concludes by drawing a link between social constructionism, sociolinguistics and ConsGT. Social constructionism is an epistemological stance which stresses that social realities are constructed rather than discovered or received. Charmaz (2006) advocates the same in her ConsGT when she moves to draw her approach away from the classic grounded theory method (Glaser and Barney, 1967) that seeks to discover reality as present out there. For a social constructionist, "the world is not simply something that is found out there, but is what we make of it through language"(Andrew, 2012, p. 27). This is what links sociolinguistics to social constructionism. Sociolinguistics studies the relationship between language and society as constructed by language in a social context. Language cannot be abstracted from the society in which it is used. Andrew goes on to claim that "language is the key to shaping and creating our social world rather a means to merely describing phenomenon...."(p. 28). Simply put, we know the world through language. Languages construct the society and the opposite is also true. ConsGT is directed by interpretive theorizing which in turn is based

on social constructionist principles of reality being constituted socially. This is in line with the assumptions of this research that advocates the language-driven-and- constructed social world. "Constructivist grounded theorists assume that both data and analyses are social constructions" (Charmaz, 2006, p. 131). The notion of language as a palpable entity constructs reality in this study.

Data Selection

Six Pakistani English newspapers are selected on the basis of their circulation rate. They are *Dawn*, *The News International*, *The Express Tribune*, *The Post*, *Daily Times* and *The Nation*. As pointed out earlier, the time period covered is from 2002 to 2018. These English newspapers cover all topics from national to international. The six Pakistani English newspapers selected for this study have devoted a substantial amount of space to Pakistan's relation with the European Union (Rasool & Mansoor, 2007, p.221). The point of interest for this scholarly endeavor is to study the use of English in Pakistan within the context of the Pak-EU relationship. The point of view of both the EU officials and the Pakistani government is given in English as reported in the English newspapers. These newspapers are read by the EU officials stationed in Pakistan and, many times, the same officials provide their reports to these newspapers.

Data Collection and Analysis

The argument for this paper is developed after adapting the procedure given by Charmaz (2006) for ConsGT. The method is based on the logic of constant comparison, code is compared to code, category to category, concept to concept, and data to data. This cycle of comparison goes on till a theoretical rendering of the research problem emerges.

Initial coding is the first step that is followed by focused coding moving onto delineating categories for the final journey towards theory formulation. Coding is the first step that helps the researcher "to grapple" with what data mean (Charmaz, 2006, p.46). The initial coding is helped by a word cloud developed with the help of Atlas ti 8, and is presented here to give an overall picture of the words used and their relative frequency. Gallois, Weatherhall and Giles (2016) suggest that word clouds "facilitate the analysis of language and talk" (2016, p. 108) contributing to the analysis of qualitative data. The total number of words is around 426987. As it is expected, after "Pakistan" (6000), "European [Union]"(3000) and "said"(2800), it is the word "trade" that is most frequently used (1800). Business relations have always played an important role in international relations between countries since the pre-colonial days. Ideologies are driven to some extent by business interests. There are other issues also that are added to the list, but it is generally trade

sides. For example, the EU side says, "The economic development of a country like Pakistan is essential for global stability and the prevention of terrorism" (Islam, 2005, p.1). This is exactly what a Pakistani would say in his country's defense. A year later, the Europeans "lauded Pakistan's efforts ... (in) its front-line role in the anti-terror campaign" ("EU lauds Pakistan's anti-terror role", 2006, p. 1). There is a visible understanding for Pakistan's economic problems: 'Several EU states are anxious to underline that they understand Pakistan's economic predicament and want to do their best to help the country step up its exports'(Islam, 2010, p. 8).

The third code is "building consensus on democracy," as mentioned above. From 2002 to 2008, Pakistan was ruled by General Musharraf, a military strongman. There was a democratic dispensation but one that may not have met the standards of the western practices. Despite this, Pakistan presents its version of the Western concept of "democracy" in the language of the West, that is, English. The Pakistan side asserts that "democracy was well on its way" ("Pak-EU close cooperation must continue," October 22, 2003, p.1.). The Pakistani foreign minister thanks EU for "supporting democracy" (Baabar, April 23, 2004, p.7). The Pakistani point of view is further presented in the following words of the Pakistani Prime Minister: "We have to react and adjust to local needs and local traditions and local values," ("PM warns India against armsrace," 2005, January, 1, p. 7). The EU stance on democracy is divided and appears to be somewhat confused. This division and confusion are in fact symbolic of the times as Pakistan was not as democratic as the EU may have liked, yet they did not want to censure it too harshly and this is where the two sides came close. Pakistan is able to convince the EU about its political compulsions resulting from terrorism. It is this shared reality that turns views of both the sides into one discourse. In just one newspaper article ("EU resolution questions October polls", November 23, 2002, p. 8), we get three different opinions on October 10 elections. There are some states that "severely criticized the legitimacy" of the elections whereas others describe the electoral exercise as "a step on the road to a progressive transition towards true democracy in Pakistan". The Pakistan side expresses its displeasure over the "biased and unbalanced" resolution. The desire for a continuing trade relation with Pakistan while exhorting it to follow democratic norms is further given in the following quotations taken from another article: the EU side reminds Pakistan that if "general elections are not held in a fair and transparent manner, the country stands a chance of impairing its relations with the EU." A little down the same article, EU team "expressed satisfaction over Pakistan's trade relations with the EU" ("Unfair elections to harm ties: EU" (2006, p. 1). It is clear that trade and anti- terrorism stance are the binding factors between Pakistan and the EU. This is tempered by the EU insistence on full democracy in Pakistan. Pakistan gets time to work on its democratic reforms whereas the EU is happy that Pakistan is taking it seriously.

A comparison between the emic and etic points of view shows the potential of English to be used for peace purposes as it has the ability to express

a shared reality. The inference above is further cemented with a list of words selected randomly showing a similarity between the emic and the etic perspectives.

Words Representing the Emic

Words Representing the Etic

Pakistan's point of view

EU point of view

Enhance	positive
improve	favorably
forge	support
help	revitalize
boost	constructive
expand	appreciated
concession	friends and partners
optimistic	support
progressing	Pakistani akin to voice of reason
positive outcome	satisfaction
profound gratitude	strong and prosperous
revive	Pakistan
strengthen	
win-win situation	
appreciation	
bolstering	
support	
excellent	
fruitful	
closer	

It is clear that this is a contextual use of words in the Pak-EU relations; the communicative value is dependent on the context. Both sides, in spite of their differences, use words that point to a sense of well-being and closeness. There are differences and lapses in expectations, but both sides want to move forward together. For this purpose, they use language in such a way that conveys the difference and yet ends on a positive note. The notion of social constructionism as language creating social reality is evident in the way the words depend on the context for their meaning and usage. In some other circumstances, an international body (the EU) may not have to use such encouraging language but, in this case, they want to show that they understand. Pakistan, on the other hand, wants to tell its international

partners that it values their input, help and words of advice. Both sides, Pakistan and the EU, are careful to use words that convey a mutual desire to move forward together. The EU seems to understand the limitations Pakistan faces yet gently prods it on. Pakistanis appear to be buoyed up by the way the EU couches its conditions as they know that they are appreciated also. This is clearly a situation that is beneficial to both.

Focused Coding

The second stage of the coding process involves choosing focused codes out of the initial codes. A constant process of comparing properties of initial codes with each other in the first stage yields focused codes. Charmaz (2006) reminds her readers that "Focused coding requires significant and/ or frequent earlier codes to sift through large amounts of data" (p.57). The "significant" and "frequent" focused codes are: (2a) Pakistani English newspapers reacting to President's views on democracy and (2b) the clash of civilizations.

Although the first focused code (2a) is built with an emic angle, it is important to keep in mind that it is not a concept unique to Pakistan. It is a concept that is not only derived from the West but, as the initial code shows, the West has been encouraging, prodding, even remonstrating Pakistan when it comes to democracy. It would not be wrong to say that the tirade started when President Musharraf, on a visit to Europe, called the West's attitude to democracy as "obsessive."

The English newspapers in Pakistan reacted in unison to Musharraf's claim that the West was "obsessive" about democracy ("Musharraf assures EU of free polls", 2008, p.6). This was also the time when he had just shed his uniform and was a civilian president. The emic stance is interesting here. An editorial in *Dawn* condemns that the comment on democracy was "belittling." The editorial argues: "...as globalization continues and universal norms take precedence over those that are culture-specific, it is apparent that more than economic standing, it is democratic values that endow a nation with respect" ("Belittling democracy", 2008, January 23, p.7). Reference to the importance of conforming to universal values strengthens the case of English in Pakistan as it is a global language and, if used carefully, it can effectively carry Pakistan's stance on international platforms.

Interestingly *Dawn*, after a period of 3 years, has this to offer: "Political parties in Pakistan fight for democracy on the national arena but are dominated by feudal(ism)" (Islam, 2010, June 12, p.8). Another three years later, *Dawn* writes again: "Pakistan's foreign partners also have a role to play in making sure that election promises are kept and peoples' aspirations are not once again jettisoned" (Islam, 2013, May 18, p. 7). It is evident that the EU and other foreign powers are invoked to stabilize democracy in Pakistan despite the Prime Minister's claim that Pakistan had successfully transformed into a "vibrant democracy" (Baabar, 2010, March 25, p. 6). *The Post*, linking democracy with trade, writes: "The EU being the largest trading partner can influence Pakistan more than most other countries" (Bhatti, A. M. 2010, June 4, p.7). Five years later, a minister reassures the EU about "the consolidation

of democracy" (Muhammad, 2015, November 6, p. 1). It was not until January, 2008, that a passionate rejoinder- discourse was made to the 'obsession' comment. There are two angles to it. The first being that the President was no longer in uniform and the other being that West's democratic ideals had reached Pakistan with full force and were ready to take off.

It can be seen that the Pakistani English newspapers spoke to not only its rulers, but also to the foreign powers who, in their opinion, were supporting President Musharraf's notion of limited democracy. We clearly see the role of language in constituting reality. Writing in a global language has the added advantage of being heard the world over instantly. The alternative situation would be to write in Urdu and let the West translate it. To say that it would be difficult to reach a wider audience would be an understatement and we know that meaning is lost in translation. The language does not fail the writers writing in the Pakistani English newspapers.

The second focused code is the clash of civilizations (2b) and a reference to Samuel Huntington's thesis (Huntington, 1996). I would like to explore this proposition further and see what English language can do to bridge it. There are two assumptions here. The first one is that language carries culture, and English being not only a global language but an ex-colonizer's language too, has a unique status. We as Pakistanis are comfortable in using this language. Though, the majority of us use it for strictly official purposes, there can be a possibility that we come around to actually embracing it and benefiting from it if a consensus develops that English is not an enemy or an ex-colonizer's language anymore. Both Pakistanis and the Europeans have, during the course of their engagement, sought to dispel that there is any clash between them on this issue. The emic and etic perspectives clearly converge here.

The term "clash of civilization" has been used four times during the entire period. The first time is in 2004 when *Dawn* writes: "[T]he EU must avoid a 'clash of civilizations' with a key Islamic nation which was playing a positive role in encouraging cooperation and dialogue with the West" (Islam, 2004, April 2, p. 6). This was in context of a trade pact opposed by some and supported by others in the EU bloc. The second time it was uttered by EU foreign policy chief, Javier Solana, condemning the Danish cartoons. He emphatically put his idea across that there was no clash of civilizations and that he did not believe in the "so-called" clash theory ("Musharraf to stay: Solana", 2008, April 24, p.1). In 2015, it was heard in Pakistan-Europe Friendship Association by a Pakistani ex-diplomat, Akram Zaki who calls the very idea as "dangerous" and rejects it outrightly. He demands a "dialogue and cooperation between civilizations." Zaki, in his address, acknowledges the contribution made by "every culture and civilization towards the evolution of common human heritage." The following words by Zaki make a case for universality of values in most modern nation states in a language that is flexible enough to debunk the idea of clash of civilizations: "We all oppose terrorism in all its forms and manifestations, we all respect democracy, good

governance, rule of law, human rights and social justice” (Zaafir, 2015, March 26, p.1).

In another newspaper article, there is a mention of the clash but, the writer holds that “[t]here is not a war with the West but a war within Islam”(Burki, 2017, p.8). This is an interesting perspective. I would like to mention what the late Premier of Pakistan, Benazir Bhutto, said in a lecture at the Indiana University (USA). She warned that “fanatics [were] trying to ignite [a] clash of civilizations”(Bhutto, 2004, p.1).

As it transpires, there are many opinions regarding the concept of the clash of civilization, from taking it seriously to dismissing it to perceiving it a clash within the Islamic world. It would be instructive to review the language used in the emic and etic usages. Solana dismisses it by summarily calling it “so-called.” The two Pakistanis (Bhutto and Zaki), however, choose rather strong words to convey their view. Bhutto believes that there is a serious threat and the words she uses build a picture that is hard to ignore. Zaki, being a diplomat, neither confirms nor rejects the presence of the inter-civilization clash, but calls the idea ‘dangerous’ and goes on to say how imperative it is to develop a meaningful inter-civilization dialogue.

As a social constructionist, I see reality constructed by language. I concur with Holmes and Wilson who hold that “[l]anguage constructs social reality”(Holmes & Wilson, 2017, p.467). When Charmaz says that “facts and value” are interlinked, it is manifested in a constructed reality. Bhutto being a woman, a West-educated politician, warns in no uncertain terms how she views the clash. It is ironical that the same fanatics she was trying to warn the world about killed her exactly three years later. Zaki, a diplomat, would never be so direct but, nonetheless, labels the idea as ‘dangerous.’ The article from 2017 is also written by a diplomat and offers a rather “diplomatic” version of the clash. Solana, of course, was trying to be polite and friendly when he used the term “so-called.” There cannot be any other plausible interpretation for him. Language is extremely important here because language is what constructs us; we construct our slice of reality through language.

Raising Focused Codes to Categories

The third stage in constructing a grounded theory is raising focused codes to categories. Charmaz (2006) explicates the role of categories in the following way: “Categories explicate ideas, events, or processes in your data and do so in telling words. A category may subsume common themes and patterns in several codes” (p.91). The two focused codes above, Pakistani English newspapers, reacting to President's views on democracy and the clash of civilizations, are merged as one category keeping in view the commonalities between the two. Pakistani English newspapers look towards the West to convince the Pakistani successive governments for introducing democracy. This democracy, as said above, is a concept imported from the West just like English language. It is easy to plead to the West for democracy in the English language. The second focused code is the clash of civilizations. One of the tools

to ward off this clash/difference is English which is used above as shown in the previous section. This leads to the subsuming of both these codes under one category.

The category labeled as “using the English language to bridge the civilization gap” is selected for theoretical sampling. As mentioned above, peace sociolinguistics is used as a sensitizing concept. It is becoming increasingly clear that the category “using English to bridge the civilization gap” can be explained with reference to tenets of peace sociolinguistics---using language to achieve peace; peace and language are studied in a single frame. However, at this stage, the category is theoretically sparse. The researcher collected more data to theoretically saturate it. Going back to data, there is a reference to EU funding the modernization of the *madrassa* (religious seminaries) system in Pakistan. As early as 2003, Pakistan agrees to introduce English in the *madrassa* educational system (“Pakistan vows to match India over Israeli radar deal”, 2003, p.9). Introducing English in the most conservative sector is an important step forward which aims at minimizing gaps that remain between Pakistanis and the West. English being a global language carries within itself the potential to represent adequately the Pakistani society. It is, however, important to note that introducing English in the *madrassa* education system is not an easy and speedy process. It will take time but it is clearly the need of time. Showing the peace potential and flexibility of English language is one way of convincing the forces related to *madaaris* to accept English. It should, however, be noted that as late as 2016, the EU voices its concern that the progress made is “limited” (“Pakistan reaps more benefits from GSP Plus”, 2016, p.1).

Theory Construction

The substantive theory that I propose for the status of English in Pakistan is called “a theory of peace sociolinguistics of EU-Pak discourse in selected Pakistani English newspapers”. As it has been demonstrated, this is a theory that is based on language data collected mainly from Pakistani English newspapers covering the Pak-EU relationship. Relying on the social constructive role of newspaper language here, it is claimed that language in newspapers, or any other field, is used to convey messages and encode values. Reah notes that “[l]anguage gathers its own emotional and cultural loading. What this loading is will depend on the nature of the culture and subculture in which this language exists” (p.55). English in Pakistan may still be viewed as an outsider’s language, an *etic* language, but the ease in which concepts are described and referred to, belies this. Globalization is at work. One is not advocating the taking over of the Western ideals in totality but a kind of middle ground where all languages, along with English, co-exist peacefully.

I have engaged with peace sociolinguistics, an extant theoretical approach, after developing my codes and categories. Keeping the methodological exigencies in view, concepts relating to peace sociolinguistics have earned their way into the narrative (Charmaz, 2006, p.166). The data revealed that most Pakistani writers did not have difficulty in using the

idiomatic language. It can be claimed that they were at home with English language. This finding reinterprets a Japanese study using English in developing emic and etic perspectives (Sugimoto, 1989). The author of the study claims that an emic perspective cannot be fully elucidated using a foreign language and its concepts, like democracy. In my study, it is shown that when there is as close a relationship as that of Pakistanis and English, it is possible to present a coherent emic point of view for global concepts (at least).

Furthermore, media is a social practice and newspapers are social processes in need of language. It needs to be kept in mind that these newspapers are read by the powerful segment of Pakistani society, people who are in a position to influence decisions. Instead of assuming that this section has surrendered to the linguistic imperialism of English, I would interpret it as a judicious decision, one which is backed by a realization that we should start teaching English not only from grade 1 in all schools but also introduce English in madaris also. Drawing parallels between Nigeria and Pakistan, Phillipson (2013) says:

The typical dilemma for a former colony such as Nigeria and Pakistan is between on the one hand considering English as a useful bond with the international community and necessary for national unity internally, and on the other recognizing that English is a bridgehead serving western commercial and political interests, and that they are serviced by a complicit local elite. (p. 192)

While it is true that there are similarities between Pakistan and Nigeria in matters of English, it would be misleading to paint their situations with a broad sweep and unqualified approach. Nigeria has around 520 languages and English was chosen over others as the official language for the purpose of unity. In Pakistan, a national language already exists. As for English, it is already the de-facto official language. As I have noted above, the problem lies in deciding whether to accept English as a *fait accompli* or to embrace it. The inclusive approach towards English is shrewd and prudent at the same time. Rather than considering it a burden, English ought to be considered as an asset. My "theory of peace sociolinguistics of EU-Pak discourse in selected Pakistani English newspapers" extends the idea of Bourdieu's "legitimate or official language" (Bourdieu, 1991, p.45) by showing that it can be used to construct a shared reality between points of views as varied as the EU's and Pakistan's. This also supports Patricia Friedrich's (2018) claim that says that it is not just the natives that can negotiate successfully in English but also the others. Patricia Friedrich (2016), while writing about adopting English as a global entity, gives hope to non- native speakers who can express themselves in it and expect to be understood. She writes:

While English has become the primary language of international communication, business and in many respects diplomacy too, and many might believe that this means native speakers have an

advantage, we as users of language of language can gather the tools and the skills to create a different reality. (para.6)

It may be advocated that English should not be viewed as a vehicle to deal with the white man's burden. It is comparatively a new phenomenon to view the ex-colonizer's language as a tool to promote peace instead of feeling deprived and helpless that leads to numerous attempts at its 'appropriation and abrogation' (Ashcroft, Griffiths & Tiffin, 1989). English is one of the most frequently used languages at present and, because of that, it becomes the target of attack and controversy. But if we reason from a peace sociolinguistic perspective, as is shown in this study, English may be used to build a shared reality that can ultimately bridge differences between nations and peoples.

English is a language that may bring prosperity to the society rather than become a source of discord. English has the potential to take Pakistan forward in the comity of nations as is shown by the data analysis; it does not just encode Pakistan's point of view adequately, it is able to project a shared reality between Pakistan and a traditionally powerful entity like the EU. Though English is still attached to the social elite without any meaningful role for the majority, there are voices being heard in Pakistan that want to leave behind Urdu-English debate and embrace English without ambivalence or hostility.

Speaking of equality of languages and debunking the notion of languages as warriors or invaders, a Pakistani diplomat was heard saying at a literature festival that "If you have your feet firmly planted in your soil, then any language can sing the song of the soil"(Raj, 2017). This quotation may easily be decoded with reference to the place of English in Pakistan. Languages cannot displace or dislodge people. Any language can help its speakers find the truth. Raj (2017) further refers to Mushtaq Soofi, a Punjabi poet, who, too, echoes the tenets of peace sociolinguistics when he declares "Language is the best product of mankind. If there is only one standard of being human, it is language. The problem starts when one language is used to repress another" (Raj, 2017). This is similar to what Crystal advocates holds: "Language is an immensely democratizing institution. To have learned a language is immediately to have rights in it. You may add to it, modify it, play with it, create in it, and ignore bits of it, as you will"(Crystal, 2003, p.172). Crystal exhorts us to own second or foreign languages that we learn like our first language. Language dominance is emphatically discouraged. Pakistanis may be non- native speakers of English, but they are taken seriously when they use it and can negotiate, convince and win over the international political and diplomatic players. It may, thus, be concluded that language scholars across the East-West divide subscribe to peace sociolinguistics. This harmony of views needs to be further built in Pakistan's case (especially) and the world over wherever English is used as a second/ third language.

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