



# THE PARALLELISM OF ENGLISH AND URDU PRESS IN PAKISTAN: CHALLENGES AND OUTCOMES

Dr. Firasat Jabeen
Assistant Professor
Department of Mass Communication,
Forman Christian College (A Chartered University)
Lahore - Pakistan
firasatjabeen@fccollege.edu.pk

Dr. Saleem Abbas
Associate Professor
Department of Mass Communication,
Forman Christian College (A Chartered University)
Lahore - Pakistan
saleemabbas@fccollege.edu.pk

Dr. Syed M. Saqib Saleem
Assistant Professor
Department of Mass Communication,
Forman Christian College (A Chartered University)
Lahore - Pakistan
syedsaqib@fccollege.edu.pk

### **Abstract**

This paper examines Urdu and English press in Pakistan to identify the differences between the two. Linguistically, both Urdu and English mass media function as the leading media of Pakistan; however, the differences of news and views in presentation, style, and focus refer to an information chasm that we call 'information segregation.' In our study, that spans over the period of one-year, i.e., January 1, 2023, to December 31, 2023, we essentially engage in a critical discourse analysis of front-page news stories and op-ed articles (mostly editorials) of four national broadsheet newspapers, especially for two important incidents in 2023, i.e., (i) the May 9 riots, and (ii) the Jaranwala incident. Our analysis demonstrates that there is a difference of focus and presentation style especially in issues related to disputing the status quo and having a bold/critical stance on religiously controversial and sensitive issues such as blasphemy law. In this difference, English media appears to have an audacious approach as compared to Urdu media. With Walter Lipmann, we argue that news and views in media are subject to journalistic and editorial choices. Although studying the reasons of these choices is beyond the scope of this study, we contend that a linguistically different



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mass media in Pakistan creates (and perpetuates) different worldview for its audience, which is unaligned with inclusive and egalitarian norms of a democratic society.

**Keywords:** Urdu-English juxtaposition, media foci, multilingualism in Pakistan, media linguistic differences

## Introduction

This paper essentially examines the information segregation in Pakistan for people who belong to linguistically different groups. We shall explain multilingualism and information segregation in a moment. Nowadays mass media, especially after the advent of social media, is one of the main sources of information. But how that information creates or perpetuates the already existing chasms, this study explores this phenomenon. There is no doubt that Pakistani media has been vibrant and progressing well since 2003; however, how successful, or effective media has been in bringing harmony, balance, and positivity, this is a question that always remains at the heart of the debate for the analysis of media functioning. In this context, we engage in an analysis that examines the functioning of Pakistani media along linguistic lines. Although Pakistani media landscape is multilingual—with Urdu being on the leading position—our analysis essentially draws a comparison between Urdu and English media.

As alluded earlier, this study examines Pakistani media practices in different linguistic contexts. It is important to mention the multilingual cultural landscape of Pakistan before we delve into the discussion of multilingual mass media. Urdu, being Pakistan's national language, is the country's lingua franca. According to a latest report by the *The World Factbook*, Punjabi (38.8%) dominates Pakistan's language landscape with Pashto (18.2%) taking the second lead, and then followed by Sindhi (14.6%) (The World Factbook, 2024). In this context, however, only two languages dominate Pakistan's media sphere, i.e., Urdu and English. Rahman (2002) has argued that Urdu is widely spoken in Pakistan as it is the language of inter-provincial communication, entertainment, and more importantly, the language of mass media. This means that print media (newspapers and periodicals), radio, and television transmissions are available mostly in the Urdu language (4557). In this context, although Pakistani media primarily demonstrate multilingualism to cater to the needs of a multilingual, multiethnic, and multicultural audience, the two languages that dominate the field of news are Urdu and English. According to a report cited in "Mapping Digital Media: Pakistan" Yusuf (2013) has mentioned that 80 percent of print media in the country operates in the Urdu language. Although Yusuf has presented the statistics from 2011, it is relatable today as well. The majority print media in Pakistan is published in Urdu, followed by the English print media, which—albeit distant in terms of size (only 8 percent of print media in Pakistan is in English)—is second in place. Now this situation leads to another intriguing question: if the two leading—in terms of language—news media have a great difference in terms of size, circulation, and dissemination, one can assume that given the size of Urdu media, it is more influential and impactful in setting the direction (or mobilizing people) on issues of national and international importance. This assertion is mostly true. While Urdu media is significant for mass mobilization,



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English media has greater impact on community that belongs to the country's power corridors. However, because of the differences that our study will explicate, Urdu media fail to perform the role of mass mobilization or challenging the status quo.

In Pakistan, English media—albeit small in size and circulation—is more influential among the country's political, social, and economic elites. Yusuf and Schoemaker (2013) have argued that although the circulation of print media is declining, overall, the English media remains influential among the country's "political, military and business elite" (p. 14). Thus, it is the impact of English media that draws our attention to this matter. The parallelism that we develop and analyze here is both contrasting and reveals inequalities that are prevalent and are buttressed by the existing status quo. In this situation, one can ask that if media's role/performance is not egalitarian and same for all masses, how can we expect mass media to play the role of gearing up people for public debate and uplifting the tastes of masses. To explore this area further, we essentially engage in two research questions:

RQ 1: Is there any difference between the foci, style, and angle of Urdu and English media (mainly press) in Pakistan?

RQ 2: In case of a noticeable difference, what are the areas/topics where we can find stark contrast/differences?

It is important to explain what we mean by 'information segregation,' a concept to which we alluded earlier. By information segregation, we want to determine that the access to news and information is same across the spectrum of masses—regardless of their ethnicity, linguistic background, caste, and creed. To be specific, we only focus on language as a segregating factor. By segregation, we mean 'the atmosphere of separation' whereby masses do not have access to the same kind of information and debates that people with power and privileges can enjoy. As in Pakistan, the acquisition of English only comes with wealth and power (Rahman, 2002, p. 293), and English media is largely consumed by the ruling elite (International Media Support, 2009, p. 14), one can observe a circle of separation, and thus, segregation wherein we see mass media as a perpetuator of status quo, not as a change agent that one would ideally assume.

To study our research questions, we employ a qualitative methodological approach of critical discourse analysis (CDA). As our analysis mainly pertains to the study of language and syntax, the use of CDA is apt to determine the differences of Urdu and English media. Moreover, this approach helps us identify the areas/topics of differences as highlighted in the research questions. To further situate our findings in a theoretical paradigm, we employ Walter Lipmann's theoretical underpinnings to comprehend media's supposedly ideal role in a democratic society, and existential role in a given society like Pakistan. Using this theoretical lens help us identify what are the situational circumstances in terms of linguistic divide in Pakistan, and how this divide can impinge upon a constructive role of media in a society.

Before we engage in a critical discourse analysis of Pakistani media narratives, it is important to consider some situational factors in terms of Pakistani media linguistic practices. As mentioned earlier, more than 80% of publications in Pakistan are in Urdu; this is followed by English (second in place) that has 8% of publications (Yusuf, 2013, p. 19); publications in other languages include Punjabi, Sindhi, Pushto, and Brahvi (Yusuf, 2013, p. 22). There is little usage



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of the English language in the electronic (TV and Radio) media of Pakistan. According to a personal interview of authors with a journalist, the only Pakistani TV channel that broadcast its transmission completely in English is the *PTV World*—which is a state-owned English transmission TV channel. Since *PTV* (Pakistan Television) is a government-owned organization, it has the impression of being the mouth organ of the Pakistani government. This means that the broadcast content of *PTV* is planned and orchestrated at the behest of the state. Since social media present a whole new array of analysis and is currently beyond the scope and objective of this paper, our analysis, for this study, is confined to print media. i.e., newspaper contents.

We must mention that our analysis here entails both news stories and the selection of oped articles; however, as editorials are the subjective pieces that reflect a publication's stance, the emphasis of our analysis mostly entails editorials. Also, as the second research question is related to identifying areas/topics of difference, the choice of op-ed articles, thus, is crucial here. In our research, we particularly focus on two events: (i) The May 9 riots, and (ii) the Jaranwala incident. We'll explain more about these events in a moment. What follows here is a review of literature on the comparison of Urdu and English press in Pakistan.

### **Literature Review**

There were many different ways in which the English language affected Pakistani society, and each one had a profound effect. Even after 76 years of independence, speaking English is still highly valued as a sign of social status and professional competence. Its hegemony in industry, government, and education has solidified its reputation as a language that promotes advancement and achievement.

Nevertheless, in conjunction with the widespread acceptance of English, a distinct variant of the language has surfaced in Pakistan, showcasing the region's exceptional cultural and linguistic subtleties. Pakistani English, characterized by its fusion of British and native elements, stands as evidence of the language's dynamic essence and its capacity to conform to various environments.

Because of the complex social and economic forces that influence it, English is not widely acquired in Pakistan. The standard of one's English education and ability to speak the language effectively can have a significant impact on one's possibilities for social progress in a class-divided society. Proficiency in English reinforces its relationship with privilege by providing access to prestigious institutions, lucrative occupations, and global opportunities for individuals who are lucky enough to hold such positions.

Conversely, people who are part of underprivileged communities who do not have access to high-quality education might find it difficult to become fluent in English, which would further perpetuate cycles of socioeconomic inequality. Furthermore, regional languages may be further marginalized by the widespread domination of English in particular fields, which poses challenges to the preservation of linguistic diversity and cultural legacy.

English serves as a multipurpose symbol of authority, privilege, and individualism in this complex linguistic environment, serving purposes beyond simple communication (Khalique, 2007).

It is evident from a comparison of hard news reporting in Urdu and English that both languages uphold a high standard of journalism. There is a commitment to ethical journalism,



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complete coverage, and accuracy in both languages. However, there are differences, particularly in reporting in Urdu, where subtle religious influences are threaded into the news articles.

Urdu journalism often incorporates elements of faith and spirituality into its reportage, reflecting the many cultural and religious backgrounds of its audience. These combinations of religious overtones can take many different forms, from language choice to the way certain events are portrayed within a religious context. These nuanced details give depth to the news conversation, but they also run the risk of introducing bias or subjective interpretations shaped by religious beliefs.

Notwithstanding these variances, the core tenets of journalism, such as impartiality, equity, and equilibrium, are crucial in English and Urdu journalism. Reporters in both spheres aim to furnish viewers with precise, prompt, and pertinent details, albeit from diverse linguistic and cultural perspectives. In the end, even though Urdu journalism may contain unique religious connotations, its standard and trustworthiness in presenting factual news content are on par with its English equivalent (Shah, 2010).

According to some, there exists a distinct separation between Urdu and English media. The Urdu media, specifically newspapers, are extensively consumed by the general public, predominantly in rural regions. On the other hand, the English media caters to urban areas and the elite, exhibiting a more progressive and proficient approach in contrast to the Urdu media. (Yusuf et al., 2013).

The media, particularly the press, plays a crucial role in spreading news about different local, national, and international events (Nani, 2003). It has been suggested that the media has the power to manipulate and commercialize information (Richardson, 2007).

Additionally, the mass media plays a crucial role in influencing public opinion, being recognized as the most influential force within a society (Islam et.al, 2015, Carvehlo, 2008, & Van Dijk, 1999).

Also, It has emerged as a rapidly expanding sector with the ability to transform the negative into positive and vice versa. It serves as a key instrument in initiating societal, financial, and governmental changes (Chadwick, 2017 and Nani, 2003).

When it comes to language, it serves as the core medium of communication in any given context, enabling the portrayal and depiction of events. Its role extends beyond a simple mechanism for interpreting reality; it acts as a powerful instrument in shaping and constructing our perception of reality (Taiwoo, 2007).

Hence, linguists examine the language employed by the news media in order to uncover the correlation between a news article and its surrounding circumstances. In general, the purpose of newspaper language is to both inform and engage readers, although it differs from the language used in business or academia (Timuçin, 2010). Furthermore, the language utilized in newspapers can vary not only between different newspapers but also within different news stories.

English takes precedence over Urdu in the power structure of Pakistan's present socioeconomic landscape. The English-speaking individuals, including the military, civil bureaucracy, judiciary, certain media outlets, and the industrialist class, wield an unequal share of the nation's wealth and resources (Shoeb, 2008).



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Urdu and English hold significant sway in Pakistan, despite their non-indigenous origins. The historical and political context has bestowed upon these languages an authority that surpasses the linguistic landscape of the nation.

The impact of Urduization persists in the present day, and it has had a significant influence on the media landscape. The media serves as a reflection of the ideological divisions between English and Urdu speakers: English newspapers tend to lean towards the left and hold liberal viewpoints, whereas Urdu newspapers lean towards the right and adopt conservative stances. Furthermore, government policies targeting these two language-based newspapers further exacerbate the disparities between them.

Throughout history, Urdu newspapers have frequently been the target of censorship due to their considerably larger readership. Governments in succession have consistently regarded the Urdu press as either a staunch ally or a formidable adversary, recognizing its ability to either damage or safeguard the state's reputation (Shoeb, 2008).

Despite the divergence between Urdu and English papers on various socio-political matters, there exists a simultaneous convergence between the two language-media when it comes to fundamental concepts like freedom, civil liberties, democracy, and justice.

English newspapers and Urdu newspapers differ in their regional focus. Urdu newspapers tend to be more regionally focused compared to their English counterparts. For instance, Nawa-i-Waqt primarily caters to a Punjabi audience, while Mashriq provides comprehensive coverage of the Khyber-Pakhtunkhwa region. Jang, on the other hand, stands out as an exception with its multiple bureaus in all four provinces. In contrast, English newspapers cover all four provinces equally, dedicating a page to each province in both their print and online versions (Shah, 2010).

Language policies have been utilized as a means of political survival, but instead of fostering unity among the population, the politicization of Urdu and English has led to the emergence of new divisions. Various factors have contributed to Urdu being associated with the religious right-wing, while English has become linked to the westernized elites who lean towards socialism or liberalism (Rahman, 1996). Moreover, the prevailing narrative in Urdu press further widens the ideological gap between the predominantly middle-class Urdu readership and the elite readership of English newspapers. The political discourse in Urdu publications tends to be more provocative compared to the relatively milder content found in English counterparts. It is not uncommon for anti-India and anti-American sentiments to be expressed without restraint and sometimes taken to extremes (Shah, 2010).

Zelizer (2019) argues that the advent of digital technology has resulted in numerous transformations in the field of journalism. These changes encompass various aspects such as the style of reporting, information gathering, sourcing, analysis, distribution, and financing. As a result, new forms of news presentation have emerged, including hooks, gifs, podcasts, virtual and augmented reality, conversational interfaces, data visualization, and full-immersion experiences, among others. In the specific context of Pakistan, media convergence has brought about a revolution in journalistic practices. It has significantly streamlined the labor involved in journalism, making news-making and production simpler and more efficient. In the context of this



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review of the existing literature, our study brings forth an analysis that is current and highlights the importance of this issue in our contemporary context.

# Methodology

As mentioned earlier, our analysis draws on critical discourse analysis (CDA) of news stories published in Urdu and English newspapers. As for the selection of news stories, we follow a purposive sampling method wherein we select only those news stories that correspond to each other in both Urdu and English newspapers. In other words, we have selected only those news stories that were simultaneously published in Urdu and English newspapers. To identify the differences and, more importantly, to determine the degree of difference(s), it is important to have news stories on similar issues in Urdu and English. Moreover, to determine the foci and overall handling of the matter, it is important to add op-ed articles. Although our analysis on op-ed articles is mainly based on editorials, we have incorporated some analysis of news stories as well. Again, this analysis is essential to outline overall differences of linguistically different news coverage.

In employing critical discourse analysis, we have used the model proposed by Fairclough (2013) to study ideology and power. In our study, we deal with ideological entanglements supposedly produced and perpetuated by Urdu media—although the English media also produce it, but with a lesser degree (according to a strong observation). As our study here mainly deals with the power imbalance—where we see information segregation for people belonging to different class and linguistic backgrounds—Fairclough's method offered for the discourse analysis of text, especially entailing the lexical items involved, is a suitable choice here. In the application of Fairclough's model on Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA), Fairclough offers a list of questions that can be used to further explicate features that are part of the research project. For our study, we have found three set of questions that suffice our requirement for the analysis of Urdu and English media.

The set of questions offered by Fairclough examine the three distinct features that a given discourse may have: (i) experiential value, (ii) relational value, and (iii) expressive value (p. 93). All three features suffice our requirement of studying differences between Urdu and English media messages. Specifically, we use these values offered by Fairclough in a way that identifies reader's experiential value—related to experiences of social interaction; relational value—that indicates social relationships existing in a given social order; and expressive value—something related to human subjects and identities. To sum up, by determining experiential, relational, and expressive values of lexical items in Urdu and English news items, we engage in Fairclough's methodological CDA to examine our research questions.

The period that this study covers is roughly one year. Although we observed the differences for a long time—spanning over several years, the formal process of investigation covers the year of 2023 when we were formally examining the dissimilarities of both press for a government funded research project. Thus, the period of analysis included January 2023 to December 2023. Moreover, the newspapers that we examined include: (i) *Dawn* (a daily national English publication), (ii) *The News* (another daily national Urdu Publication), (iii) *Jang* (a daily national Urdu publication), and (iv) *Express* (another daily national Urdu publication). This means the CDA



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included two English and two Urdu newspapers. The choice of newspapers depended upon the availability of these broadsheet publications.

# **Discussion and Analysis**

Let us now discuss some of the findings that appeared in our CDA. Although Pakistan's political environment always remains charged—fraught with tension and stress—there were two important incidents that received international media's attention, too, and thus, are important to our study: (i) the May 9 riots, and (ii) the Jaranwala incident. The former incident included a series of violent protests by the *Pakistan Tehreek-e-Insaf* (PTI) supporters after the arrest of the party leader in Islamabad on May 9<sup>th</sup>, 2023, which resulted in a massive crackdown by the government; that is why the incident is known as the May 9 riots. The hype that was created in the aftermath of this incident caused a shutdown of business and educational institutions on a large scale. As the May 9 riots gave rise to media censorship and restrictions (including abductions of journalists), this incident has particular importance in our study. Moreover, Pakistani media's response to the May 9 riots entails the challenge to status quo. For this reason, the comparison of this incident in Urdu and English press is important to analyze the audacious approach of both presses.

The May 9 riots appeared as another case in point in the display of power imbalance and curtailed freedom of expression in Pakistan. A day after the incident, Jang—Pakistan's most circulated Urdu newspaper—published an editorial that is worth mentioning here. The editorial is supportive of the Pakistan Armed Forces and appears to present accolade to the institution for its discipline and services towards people. In other words, the presentation of Jang for the May 9 riots appears to be in favor of the Pakistan Army. On the other hand, Pakistan's leading English newspaper, Dawn, presents an analysis that seems impartial and fair. In its editorial titled "بيتان (The Politics of Smearing)" that appeared on May 10, 2023, Jang wrote that it doesn't suit the PTI leader to criticize the Pakistan Army. Mostly the editorial paraphrases the May 9 incident. But at the end of this writing, we see Jang's critical approach towards PTI for being critical to the Pakistani military. Jang's praise to the Pakistan Army reveals the newspaper's favorable inclination towards the Pakistan Army and needs to be quoted here at length. While writing in the support of the Pakistan military, Jang has written that,

(This fact cannot be forgotten that Pakistan Army is highly disciplined, and the people of Pakistan love their army dearly. Any controversy against the officers and employees of Pakistan Army is not acceptable.) (Editorial, *Jang*, 2023).

According to Fairclough's analysis, this description by daily *Jang* has relational value wherein the excessive praise of the armed forces by an Urdu newspaper reveals the creation and circulation of an ideological message for readers. The vocabulary here also has coded meanings



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related to ideological messages where a certain institution is elevated in public perception by saying that "the people of Pakistan love their army dearly." By contrast, *Dawn*, which is Pakistan's most circulated English newspaper, published an analysis that is, unlike *Jang*, critical of both politicians and the armed forces. While *Dawn*'s article censures PTI leader's "street politics," the writing also reprimands the latter's arrest by quoting Badar Alam, former editor of monthly publication *Herald*, who considered Imran Khan's arrest by the National Accountability Bureau (NAB) unconstitutional. Alam also considered the NAB as a military dictator's brainchild that is functional only for a selected corruption (Eleazar, 2023). This analysis explains a stark contrast in the presentation of the same event by the leading Urdu and English newspapers.

Admittedly, Dawn and Jang-albeit top broadsheet newspapers-do not belong to the same organization. One may argue that the difference of presentation may be because of organizational differences. But interestingly, the same difference appears in the presentation of Jang and The News—English counterpart of daily Jang—as well. We have already analyzed the presentation of *Jang*. The News, however, refrained from the excessive praise of the armed forces. Especially the last few sentences of the editorial present an implicit message related to the absence or lack of democratic structure or preferences in Pakistan. In other words, this description alludes to the Pakistan military meddling in political affairs, and thus, a frail political environment is evident. Let us quote a couple of last sentences from the editorial. According to the editorial titled "Imran's Arrest," "Some would say what the PTI does next could well determine Pakistan's politics. But more astute students of history may say that in the real Pakistan, the game may now be out of political hands" (Editorial, The News, 2023, p. 7). Although The News's presentation is not as critical as *Dawn*, it is still not as favorable as it is in the presentation of *Jang*. Here, we see visible a clear difference between an Urdu and an English newspaper from the same organization regarding the same event. This analysis leads to two arguments. First, there is a difference of focus, position, and perspective in the two linguistically different newspapers. Consequently, the English media is more audacious and vocal than Urdu media. Second, according to our CDA-based analysis, the Urdu media is more ideologically burdened (promotes ideological messages) than the English media.

As for the second incident, which later came to be known as the Jaranwala incident, our CDA-based analysis again shows contrasting coverage of Urdu and English newspapers. The exact date of this incident was August 16, 2023, when five churches and several houses were ransacked and vandalized in Jaranwala, a city located in the district of Faisalabad. This incident was an act of violence against Christian minorities over alleged blasphemy allegation (Quran desecration). Here, again we see a difference of focus in terms of the selection of editorial topics. On August 17, a day after the incident, *The News* chose this incident for their lead editorial. In the article titled "Descent into Darkness" *The News* openly criticized state policies and used the term 'weaponization of religion' to condemn the incident. The usage of this term—albeit experiential—is metaphorical, and thus, is highly critical of the state on a sensitive issue such as blasphemy. Moreover, *The News* describes the details of the incident as 'terrifying,' which relates to the expressive value highlighted in the text of this editorial. The article, being introspective, castigates the Pakistani nation and has argued that "... we know that we have failed them [minorities] as a



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nation" (Editorial, 2023). This editorial cues bold and vocal approach of an English newspaper (*The News*) that is reflected through their choice of editorial topic. On the other hand, *Jang* newspaper, which is the sister publication of *The News*, preferred not to choose this topic for their editorial writing. The chosen topic instead was "بكران حكومت كا اقتصادى پروگرام" (The Economic Program of the Interim Government)". Given the severity of this incident, *Dawn*, too, chose this topic for its editorial titled "Faisalabad Rampage." The country's leading Urdu newspaper, however, preferred silence for this issue in its editorial. It is important to note that both Urdu newspapers (*Jang* and *Express*) refrained from this topic in their editorials and chose to write about مبنگائی (Price hike).' Even the country's second-most circulated Urdu newspaper, *Nawa-i-Waqat*, also eschewed this topic for its editorial.

For news, the Jaranwala incident was a lead story for all newspapers' front pages except for daily *Express*. Here again, while English newspapers in their headlines describe vandalism of churches and houses, *Jang*, in its headline, mentions that "العند المنت ال

Having an interim government set-up and delayed general elections, the year 2023 was rife with uncertainties and speculations. In this context, while Urdu newspapers kept extolling the 'establishment,' the English newspapers were highly critical of those who call the shots. Not only this, but the English newspaper editorials would also often raise voice (implicitly or explicitly) against forced disappearances, silencing of dissent, and a limited and suppressed freedom of expression. *Dawn*'s editorial on August 31<sup>st</sup> titled "Beyond reason," *The News*'s editorial on October 27 titled "Democracy's Calendar," and *Jang*'s editorial on October 5 titled " عملاری (The Action of State)" are some notable examples here. The content and messages of these editorials help us understand the differences of foci and presentation styles between the journalistic practices that are not only different linguistically but are a different ideologically as well.

## Conclusion

In the comparative study of English and Urdu print media, our research encompassed the period of one year, i.e., 2023. We found out that although both Urdu and English newspapers would cover issues of national and international importance, the areas where we found significant differences included the challenge to status quo—open and bold stance to the dominance of establishment—and discussion on sensitive and controversial religious issues such as blasphemy. In *Public Opinion*, Walter Lipmann (1922) has argued that "the facts are not simple, and not at all obvious, but subject to choice and opinion" (p. 345). Lipmann further argued that a reporter, in his job, is responsible only to his employer. In the context of our discussion, we argue that there are



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differences of foci, choices, and opinions between Urdu and English press in Pakistan. Although the differences are well-explained in this paper, exploring/outlining the reasons are beyond the scope of this paper. Our purpose in this study was to find and locate the differences that are well-established in our findings. Consequently, we argue that Urdu and English media do not create the same worldview for its audience. In other words, the two linguistically different media are ideologically different, too. Thus, mass media play an important role in the perpetuation of existing inequalities. A consideration of this matter is vital to ensure an all-inclusive and democratic society.

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