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POLITICAL AGENDA AND SETTING IN CAMPAIGN ADVERTISEMENTS OF DIAMER BHASHA_AND MEHMAND DAM FUND: A CRITICAL DISCOURSE ANALYSIS

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Abstract:

Pakistan faces a growing water crisis due to population growth and climate change, despite its advanced irrigation system. The Diamer Bhasha and Mohmand Dams have been proposed to address this issue, aiming to secure water resources for agricultural, industrial, and domestic needs. Both rural and urban areas, including Gilgit-Baltistan and Sindh, are significantly impacted by water scarcity.

The Diamer Bhasha and Mohmand Dam Fund Campaign was launched in July 2018 by Chief Justice Saqib Nisar to mobilize resources and awareness. Initially proposed in 2006 under Pervez Musharraf, the project has faced delays due to high costs, preparatory requirements, and geopolitical tensions. India's objection to World Bank funding, citing the dams' proximity to disputed Kashmir, has further complicated progress, making the project a recurring political promise.

This paper uses Fairclough's Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) framework and semiotics to examine the campaign advertisements. It explores the interplay between fundraising efforts and implicit political agendas, analyzing how nationalistic rhetoric and urgency are employed to secure public support. Drawing on Hyland's discourse theory, the study reveals hidden dimensions within these campaigns, contextualizing them as both developmental initiatives and political tools aimed at shaping public perception.

Key words: Climate Change, Critical Discourse Analysis, Political Agenda, Public Perception, Semiotics **Introduction:**

Pakistan like many other countries of the world has also gradually started facing the issue of diminishing or in threat water resources. Although it is a known fact that Pakistan is basically an agricultural country with one of the best irrigation systems in the world. However, increasing population and changing climatic conditions made it a matter of concern that there should be one more dam for providing and storing water. It is also a noticeable fact that not only many rural areas of Pakistan face water insufficiency for drinking and other purposes, rather now big cities with huge population and industries are also facing the dilemma of water scarcity.

The Diamer Bhasha and Mehmand Dam Fund Campaign Ads was launched in July 2018 after the announcement of water scarcity by Chief Justic Supreme Court, Mr.Saqib Nisar. Soon after that various campaign ads were launched one after the other, which gained wide popularity very quickly after the political change of scenario in Pakistan. It is ongoing struggle for resolving water shortage in Gilgit Baltistan and Sindh's rural areas particularly and all over Pakistan generally. It was initiated by the previous armed forces Prime Minister Pervaiz Musharraf in his regime back in 2006. Since then, it has been passed on to the next governments due to the huge amount of funds and preparatory work needed to be done for it. One of the major issues was India's interference when Pakistan asked World Bank for supporting the dam in terms of monetary aid. India objected on it by saying that it is being made on an area which is close to disputed territory of Kashmir and therefore World Bank should stop its construction. This led to a dispute between the two already neighboring countries and World Bank stopped the already agreed fund for it by saying that if India has no objection, then this fund will be released. This was the time when Pakistani political leaders also started taking notice of this as a serious issue and it became a part of promises to construct this dam for every

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government. The magnanimity of the funds needed, the residential and archeologically important areas, and Silk Road which will come under water were other major issues in the delay of this dam's making.

This paper is an effort to do Critical Discourse analysis of the campaign advertisements of Diamer Bhasha & Mehmand Dam Fund with Fairclough's framework of CDA including semiotics as well (Fairclough &Wodak, 2005). It is also an effort to study the hidden aspects (Hyland, 2005 as cited by Ensslin, 2011) of these official campaign ads and see if there is an underlying political agenda and setting which is being propagated in these ads along with raising fund for the dam.

Literature Review:

Fairclough (1989 as cited by Abdelaal & Sase, 2014) defines CDA as a kind of social practice where power and ideology influence and interact with one another. Dijk (1995 as cited by Abdelaal & Sase, 2014) also defines critical discourse analysis as a type of analytical discourse research that discusses social power abuse, dominance and inequality, and how they are reproduced, enacted and resisted. In today's world advertisements are a medium which can be associated with power. This power is then exercised by the resource of media. Khan et al., (2017) viewed ideological deconstruction in print media discourse and concluded capitalist hegemony. Ramzan and Khan (2019) analyzed the stereotyped ideology of Nawabs and concluded they are exercising power through a hidden agenda. Ramzan et al., (2020) comparatively discussed the news headlines agenda in print media discourse and found out the ideological underpinnings. Ramzan, et al., (2020) studied print media statements for ideological purposes and found veiled ideologies Advertising in the modern era is made through various platforms like TV, internet, radio, newspapers where the substance of the topic is as such which can motivate and persuade the intended or targeted audience towards a specific point of view. The purpose is to shape an opinion which can drive the consumer on the way chosen by the media in the way it likes it to be, let it be false, lie, fearful, counsel (Cook, 1992 as cited by Abdelaal & Sase, 2014).

The advertisements can be in various forms such as text, audio, video, photography and graphic designs. These days advertising is also transmitted via mediums like YouTube, e-newspapers, e-magazines, game shows on TV and Radio, different websites, billboards, posters, etc. In short, the media has the power these days to display an advertisement to a large audience via various channels and mediums. This technical aspect of variety in presenting information has also made the media a very powerful domain in controlling people's minds in how things are shown and what media resources want them to mean. This aspect is dangerous in the sense that it can be utilized for both positive and negative propagation of ideas in the minds of people in very subtle ways.

The reason further for not being able to pinpoint these hidden messages is that the advertisements are portrayed with multiple techniques i.e. combining pictures, sounds, messages that it all becomes so much to figure out the actual hidden message. Moreover, the messages conveyed are multilayered so they can baffle simple audiences as to what the actual hidden motives are. One of the most important features of today's multilayered advertisements is Semiotics which can play a very crucial role in forming the target audience's desired opinion (Setyani, 2018).Ramzan, et al., (2023) studied the psychological discursiveness in language use and concluded hidden agenda is way to be polite (Ramzan & Kahn, 2024). There is a positive us and negative them ideology (Nawaz, et al.,2021) and ideology works also in advertisement (Nawaz, et al.,2022). Another important aspect of these advertisements is inculcating different values, norms and beliefs in people by presenting some "idols". The advertisements are also a source of generating revenue for companies by attracting a large audience (Sinclair 1987). They are also a source of uniting manifold facets of society and culture related to people or things or power structures or simply communication and agreement towards shared knowledge of all these facets (Jhally, 1987 as cited by Abdelaal & Sase, 2014).

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Advertisements also have the power to portray gender in the manner it likes i.e. women being portrayed as a symbol of beauty and attraction for numerous products or services. They are even found in advertisements which are only meant for men. The looks are the most important thing for the females depicted via many advertisements (Pamela and Nicholas, 2013 as cited by Abdelaal & Sase, 2014). Pictures used in advertisements serve the purpose of semiotic effect without which advertisements are not considered complete and fully effective (Najafian and Dabaghi, 1991 as cited by Abdelaal & Sase, 2014).

An important aspect of selecting advertisements for CDA has posed a problem of being biased as in some analysis only two or one advertisements are analyzed. However, this problem can be solved if the analyst keeps these concerns in mind and gives a "transparent", "truthful" analysis and provide "sufficient details" of what was selected as data, why it was selected, how it was selected and what it portrays in a systematic way which is usually a weakness pointed in CDA by many theorists. This can help in showing how media can produce power structures and stereotypes through language products or services (Sriwimon & Zilli, 2017).

Advertisers can also use technical language to the attention of the viewers from concerned fields. They also take words or references from other discourses to make the advertisement more appealing. Using any scientific vocabulary and making advertisements intertextual can itself be a powerful tool for convincing people to a viewpoint. Moreover, using positive self images can also help in drawing audience towards a product or service (Kaur & Yunus 2013).

Research questions:

- 1- Do official campaign advertisements of Diamer Bhasha and Mehmand Dam Fund have a political agenda?
- 2- Do official campaign advertisements of Diamer Bhasha and Mehmand Dam Fund have a political setting?

Methodology:

This study was based on a qualitative design. Two advertisements for Diamer Bhasha and Mehmand Dam Fund Campaign were selected based on the difference in their content. However, both have the same apparent motive, i.e. to raise funds for the said dam. Fairclough's framework, the CDA framework was used including semiotic analysis as well as they were video advertisements run on TV and collected from YouTube.

CDA and Discussion:

Save water make Dam's Dam Fund Advertisement-1

Time duration: 1 minute 18 seconds

Time period of 1st launch: September 2018

Semiotics:

The ad starts with a desert area scene in animation where a Giraffe finds a modern style metallic water bottle and tries to explore it with tongue but is interrupted by a trunk which approaches it too and slowly drags it to its side. The Giraffe first sees it innocently and then the next moment realizing it is gone, snatches it back and holding it in its teeth, stands tall with its neck full up so the trunk of the Elephant cannot reach it. However, with a moment pause the trunk hits the bottle from below and the bottle goes up in the air. Seeing this, the Giraffe catches up to the trunk with its teeth as the bottle starts falling downwards. The animal sounds of the Elephant and Giraffe are heard clearly as fighting to catch the bottle both follow with their



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trunk and neck respectively towards catching the bottle before it reaches the ground. The Giraffe catches it

first in its teeth as soon as the bottle falls on the ground.



For the second time, the Elephant tries to stop the Giraffe from taking the bottle. The Elephant entwines its trunk around the neck of the Giraffe, and both fight and struggle again to catch the bottle. The bottle once again is tossed in the air due to the fight and ready to fall again on the land. Now both Giraffe and Elephant stand tall one with its trunk fully extended and other with its neck ready to swoop again at the falling bottle towards ground. As compared to the first scene of the fight in close view, this scene is shown from a distance to show the full length of one's trunk and other's neck. As they swoop to catch the bottle, they tie one knot of their extended body parts i.e. trunk and neck but it does not stop them. Both animals still try swiftly to reach the bottle first and as they are shown approaching towards the ground a whole bunch of knots like a maze is shown which they have made as both are going down towards ground by dodging each other and trying to reach the bottle somehow.

Finally, as they are about to reach the ground, the Giraffe first realizes and cries with pain realizing the pain the knots have created and its limitation that it cannot reach the bottle on the ground so does the trunk has to stop. Both are now shown from a distance how badly a multilayered knot they have made of their neck and trunk and now stand motionless and locked. The Elephant's head above and the Giraffe's head down towards ground still trying to reach the ground and crying.



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As the animals are shown entangled, on the screen appears a message "Soon everybody will be fighting for water" and the adventurous drum beat of competition is now changed into a sad symphony and that scene is paused in a dark light.



The next scene appears with a worn-out, old-style tap, going dry and from it one drop after another is dripping. On the screen, also appears a message "Pakistan will go dry by 2025" with the sad symphony being played at the background.



The next message over the same scene appears "Pay attention to the water issue". The next message after a second or so appears "Safe water...Safe future".



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The last scene appears with message titled as "DAM FUND" with details below telling IBAN number, account number, and account title says Supreme Court of Pakistan. The last line says State Bank of Pakistan and the sad symphony is still played on.

DAM FUND Account Title: Supreme Court Of Pakistan Account # 03-593-299999-001-4 IBAN: PK06SBP0035932999990014 STATE BANK OF PAKISTAN

Critical Discourse Analysis of Ad 1:

The animated short video followed by a dry yet dripping old tap and three messages in total before the final slide of technical information is the very first video which appeared on television for raising dam fund without mentioning the name of Diamer Bhasha and Mohmand fund dam. The animated video as the general audience will look at it for the first time is amusing and one wants to see who won at the end in the fight among the Giraffe and Elephant over catching water bottle. The setting is in a dry area which looks like a jungle dried or a desert where animals are shown to be thirsty and fighting over water bottle starts.

The interesting fact first is that animals don't drink water from tightly capped bottles like this. This can also mean that they are so thirsty and there's so much water scarcity that they must think about something they usually don't approach i.e. a water bottle, symbolically a dam. Coming back to the animated fight of Giraffe and Elephant, even if they find such a bottle, it seems quite unbelievable if they will be able to open it with their teeth and claws, especially animals like Giraffe and Elephant. This is an interesting fact which motivates the audience to see this video just like any other cartoon or animated stuff they see on the TV channels. Moreover, as no special stuff/campaign logo appears during the whole of the video where the fight between the two animals is going on is shown, which makes the two of them and their fight even more interesting for the viewer. The sad ending that no one gets that bottle, and emerging subtitle that "soon everybody will be fighting over water" with a sad symphony introduced as background music after the exciting drumbeats makes the viewer suddenly realize that this is a serious purpose advertisement. The next scene of old dried yet dripping tap with four subtitles appearing one after the other

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"Pakistan will dry out by 2025" makes the viewer realize that it is about water shortage in Pakistan. The next subtitle "pay attention to water issue" and "save water, save future" make it fully clear that this is an advertisement about water shortage. The last slide with bold letters saying, "dam fund" and then details make it sound more official; specially when the names of supreme court and state bank of Pakistan are mentioned. These two names seem to come out for a purpose on the screen not known to the audience before. Moreover, they are quite valid in the sense that it sounds official.

The question here arises that who are two animals? The history of Diamer Bhasha and Mohamand Dam makes us realize that the Giraffe is symbolized as the Pakistani and Elephant as Indian. Moreover, why are these two animals why not a monkey and a donkey? The reason for that again is obvious on historical grounds; the Giraffe, a spotty animal, represents the Army government when these two dams were first announced to be made due to water shortage in those areas. The spots on Giraffe in such environment remind us of army uniform with spotty patterns on it for camouflage on various locations.

The metal capped modern water flask is the idea of constructing a dam and the Elephant is representing the Indian nation in terms of religion and in terms of power their government. Just like the Giraffe found the bottle first, Pakistani government got the idea first which was obstructed by Indian government and the matter was then taken to UN. The fight between them also symbolizes the fight between the two governments over the making of the dam in which the UN had to intervene, and the idea was delayed due to many difficulties. The final solution was to make the dam in such a way that it will cross over certain residential areas and famous Silk Road i.e. Shahrah-e-Resham. It will also cost a very high price and cover the mountains having remains of various ancient civilizations in the form of art which are of international interest for archeologists. That was the point where India and Pakistan's fight stopped somehow and worry for funds started. The entwining neck of one animal and the trunk of the other also weave an intricate pattern which can be indicating towards silk road and problems still faced to make such a dam in which a large area of silk road may come under dam water and to solve it another road covering from top of some nearby mountain will have to be constructed. However, as the issue remains unsolved due to needed funds of millions of rupees that's why both are shown panting and helpless at the end and have not been able to reach the water bottle i.e. dam making. Although, Giraffe's face towards bottle on ground even in the conflict shows it's nearer to the target.

Moreover, the matter not only travelled in UN, rather from one Pakistani government to another over a span of more than 10 years. It came to the point where it was mentioned by the Supreme Court of Pakistan for fund raising. It was the first ad asking for the public to consider funds for a dam, so the public will count it a serious issue. The last slide mentioning the government details of giving funds to dam with the inscription at the end Supreme Court of Pakistanis surprising as such ads do not come up usually with any law institution's name for fund collection. Moreover, this inscription added Prime minister of Pakistan and Supreme Court of Pakistan in the next all advertisements coming after this initial advertisement showing a personal interest of the Prime minister in the matter. As it is a known fact that Imran Khan is already a famous personality for welfare fund raising like he did for Shaukat Khanum Cancer Hospital; the political agenda is attached with social cause making it a hit and gain more attention and popularity for the fund raising.

Hum Ye Dam Banaengy | Na-mumkin Ko Mumkin Karengy —Advertisement-2

Time duration of ad: 1 minute 9 seconds Time period of 1st launch: October 2018

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Semiotics:

The advertisement starts with pigeons flying up in the open sky in broad daylight or sunlight with the flag of Pakistan in the background symbolizing peace(pigeons),sky(freedom and progress) flag(patriotism) and sunlight(hope) with logos of Samaa Tv on right hand corner and "a public service message" by the supreme court of Pakistan and the prime minister of Pakistan Diamer Bhasha &Mohmand dams fund on the left hand corner which then stays there for the whole duration of the advertisement.



The second scene shows Pakistani flag in the centre of a city set up showing modern residential areas. This scene is changes quickly by presenting people clad in Sindhi, Balochi, Pathan, Punjabi and Azad Kashmir different regional dresses with Minaar-e-Pakistan in the background in daylight.

The third scene shows the snow-covered mountains of K-2 with clouds and open daylight sky. The scene quickly switches to a sunflower field again in daylight time.

The next scene is of open cultivated crop green fields and trees in plateau as farther behind can be seen some traces of up and down going fields. It also extends into a open daylight beach scene crowded with people which most probably is Karachi beach with a nearby residential area visible.

The next scene shows the Pakistan flag again in the background but this time it is a digital zoomed image not a real flag with digital images of Faisal Mosque, Mazar-e-Qaid, Zayarat Qaid's home and Khyber gate.

The next scene shows a dam site and construction from a view with residential areas around. This scene quickly switches to a closer view showing water flow and under construction dam with towering mountains around. The scene quickly switches to another construction site with busy workers in an open sky area.

The next scene shows busy workers in a big inner area under construction with materials spread around and heavy machinery visible.

The next scene takes us again into an open vast scene showing under construction dam site in the valley of mountains with some residential areas also visible close by the brink of river.

The next scene brings us back to an inner area under construction which looks like a a very huge hall with busy workers and stored material in surroundings.

The next scene shows a serene riverside at sunset time with barely visible buildings on the brink. The scene quickly switches to a scene of a constructed river bridge which seems double tracked with one road for heavy vehicles and one metallic upper bridge for some other technical purpose. The scene quickly changes to a

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bright daylight view of the same bridge or another similar dual-purpose bridge with a road and upper section metallic extended frame structure. This scene extends into another view of powerful water current that of a river with view of a bridge from some distance. This is followed by another open daylight image of a huge bridge on a river.

The next scene is of a river with a small turbine with a gush of water near the opening passage.

The next scene shows a vast view of a river brink with water current seen flowing in vast area with green fields in the central brink and lots of greenery. The residential areas can be seen also on the far-off brink.

The next scene again shows a river or a large canal with a concrete bridge on it in open daylight.

The next scene switches from scenery and river images to a park in which a child is running with a happy smiling face on a paved path with flower beds on both sides, in the centre of the park.



The next scene takes us to an evening background with a person filling water for himself or family and cattle from a traditional well where pail is used to pull up water from the deep dug well. The scene quickly switches to a small plant being watered which is just emerging from the soil.

The next scene shows a group of village children together smiling and waving right hand up. The scene quickly changes to some village children drinking water happily from a mashkiza(animal hide skin water bag)poured out in their hands by the person carrying mashkiza in a very traditional style.

The village scene continues further by depicting further by showing young females carrying matkay (traditional clay water pots) over their heads wearing traditional full arms white bangles and colorful folk dresses along with children in a desert like area seemingly going for filling water or coming back after filling water from a nearby well or river as traditional in desert areas of Pakistan.



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The scene continues to show glimpse of a female pulling out water from a steep pond with the help of traditional leather container. The scene then moves to a male villager of the same sandy area shown coming with a donkey meant for riding (in such areas as harness is on) and he himself is carrying a clay water pot also.

The next scene shows a male villager drinking water with bare hands directly from a muddy small pond or lake on one side and cattle are drinking water from the same pond a bit far from him from the other side.



The next scene shows school age urban area girls making posters displaying Pakistani flag and spelling out Pakistan and then displaying it in a park setting.

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The next scene shows a village child drinking clean tap water in a glass from a water filter plant.

The next scene shows a person probably father of little desert area village children making them drink water from a metal vessel by pouring it in their hands.

The next scene shows a large under construction metal structure which then swiftly moves to a vastly spreadout river scene with a huge concrete bridge constructed over it for transportation and boats seen below near river brink in a daylight set up. The scene quickly changes to a rural area hospital or dispensary where females are sitting in their regional dresses with faces covered with dupattas(veils), wearing traditional full arm bangles, carrying a medicine bottle in hand sitting on the floor, waiting for someone or something while in front is a woman shown carrying a sleeping sick child in her lap.

The next scene shows a close view of young village children with one up front giving an uncertain inquiring expression on his face. It is followed by similar images of poor rural area young girls wearing regional dresses with a question mark in their eyes.

The next scene brings us back to a helicopter view of Minaar-e-Pakistan and surrounding historical buildings in open daylight in Lahore.

The next scene brings us back to open daylight helicopter view of Mizaar-e-Quaid in Karachi.

The next scene shows us helicopter view of Khyber Pass gate with full security in tribal areas of Pakistan.

The next scene is a helicopter view of Faisal Mosque in Islamabad showing hills behind and residential areas spread in front.

The next scene shows a close view of Quaid-e-Azam's residency in Ziarat, Balochistan.

The next scene depicts a large city, with skyscrapers and bridges, probably some area of Karachi.

The next scene gives a helicopter view of Bahaudin Zakriya Shrine in Multan.

The next scene shows a large canal probably in some area of Punjab.

The next scene shows watered fields for rice being ploughed by farmers. The scene quickly changes to a vast river or sea brink with close by residential area like a city.

The next scene takes us back to schoolgirls wearing green and white clothes holding Pakistani flag smiling and running in a children park.

The next scene shows us again a helicopter view of a dam site under construction in the valley of huge mountains.



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The next scene shows us a constructed working dam with powerful water flow, most probably Terbela dam first from a distance then close view from above.



The next scene shows us people entering Allied bank with a poster displaying Supreme Court of Pakistan Diamer Bhasha and Mohmand funds can be submitted here in Urdu language. The continuing scene shows the inside of the bank with people in lines. It is further extended by a close-up scene of people both male and female paying on the counter.

The next scene shows the Supreme Court focused from a distance and then shown close view and focusing on the Tarazo (scale, symbol of justice) outside Supreme Court.



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The next scene takes us back to the riverbank showing a vast area with a modern concrete bridge over it. The next scene shows a large group of public sectors schoolgirls in blue and white typical uniform raising slogans and then running, smiling, and waving Pakistani flag.



The scene continues with schoolgirl in white and green holding Pakistani flag and smiling. The scene continues with a group of young boys and girls wearing colorful clothes, holding Pakistani flag, laughing and running.

The next scene shows a large of youth wearing urban clothes, regional clothes and moving together in one direction with Pakistani flag in the background sky as a digital image.

The next scene shows a small family husband, wife and little child in centre all wearing green clothes, smiling and making victory sign. The child is wearing Kashmiri cap also.

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The next scene also continues with portraying a family, a father and school age girls wearing green clothes and some little children standing in front all making victory signs and their faces are also painted with green color probably flag picture. They are shown on a festive day like Independence Day in a park or public place setting with many groups of people in the background as well.

The scene again moves back to urban schoolgirls holding poster displaying Pakistan written in green color and themselves also wearing green in a children park setting.

The scene is followed by a rural area little schoolgirl with school bag on her shoulders, in blue uniform smiling and making victory sign.



The advertisement ends at the scene of dry cracked land in digital effects as a background showing image of a mobile screen close-up in light blue color displaying in Urdu to type DAM and send it to 8000 for 10 rupees donation. It also displays a blue colored digital poster saying "yeh sadqa e jaria hai" it is alms forever. Just below is a helpline number again in blue color which can be universally accessed. Beneath it is digital poster in blue color again displaying details of account name made for fund collection by Supreme Court and prime minister of Pakistan.

The total time of advertisement is one minute, and nine seconds and it is a blend of various clips of other ads with a title song hum yeh dam banaein ge-na mumkin ko mumkin karein gey.

Critical Discourse Analysis of Ad 2:

The campaign advertisement starts with pigeons flying in the air and Pakistani flag in the background introducing Pakistan as a free and peaceful nation where bright daylight is depicting a positive future. The logos of Samaa Tv and public service message by Supreme court and Prime minister of Pakistan are shown on left and right side respectively throughout the advertisement making it pronounced as an official/government advertisement. This makes it an ad to be paid attention not only by specific audience rather makes it clear it's an ad for the whole nation, all genders, all ages, all people. It is supported by several sceneries from various landscapes of Pakistan and people in different regional dresses showing at large the country's beautiful landscapes and diversity in cultures is illustrated through these people. In the background of these people, important monuments and buildings are shown like Minaar-e-Pakistan, Mazar-e-Quaid, Faisal Mosque, Khyber Pass gate, Ziarat Residency of Quaid-e-Azam adding to the importance of each province and region.

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After the initial music with trumpet sound and images of landscapes, people and monuments etc. the song of the campaign starts "Ham yeh dam banaein ge—ham yeh dam bana lein ge" meaning that "we will construct this dam—we can construct this dam " the song verses are a bit tricky as first one shows an intention or plan to do and the later half one means that it can be made although the actual tense for can in Urdu is "Saktay hain" but it is changed in such a way that it is induced like an invisible suggestion or more like an assurance that it will be made by us. The tone of the singer, however, is such that it is a burden that they will carry no matter others could not or did not carry it. This is a reminder of the historical facts behind the Diamer Bhasha and Mohmand Dam. The assuring second half statement shows the political agenda of the present government that it will do what the previous governments have been failing in doing for more than 10 years time. The dam started with Pervaiz Musharraf's reign which was then furthered by Yousaf Raza Gillani in (PPP) Pakistan People Party's reign and then Nawaz Sharif reign. The style of the song is also a good reminder of various enthusiastic songs played by (PTI)Pakistan Tehreek-e-Insaaf's election campaign. Just like those songs making promises and claiming intentions to build a better Pakistan in one way or the other this song gives a hopeful message, but the claims are more like an assurance/intention than an imperative which means the present government will do what others have been failing in doing.

The beautiful rich landscapes support the phrase that the nation needs dams but has full capacity to make them contradicting the whatsoever excuses or claims for delay in making the said dam. The involvement of the whole nation in one project is again to politically involve and include in the dam making as a national project instead of a government project. Again, it shows a very clear familiarity of the reason of political popularity of the present Prime Minister Imran Khan and indicates his previous achievements in fund raising for social causes/projects in which he was successful in getting acclaimed on both national and international levels e.g. Shaukat Khanam Cancer Hospital. The campaign ad's promotional song thus, from the very beginning sets up an environment of raising fund for a social cause not a government project and requiring political support or rather building up good rapport with supporters of other parties and supporters of PTI.

It is also an inadvertently somehow good political agenda to show the adversaries or other political parties in the government that the present government of PTI is doing something in their own style and way which they have not been able to achieve. Moreover, taking the whole nation in confidence and bringing in knowledge the information which was of great importance but somehow neglected by the previous governments. The need for dam for a nation with low water reservoirs can also be compared to the political notion of empty or in danger national finances which have been left in that pathetic state by the previous governments as mentioned by the present government after uptake of their government.

The initially shown beautiful landscapes and diverse cultures is matching these first two phrases announcing both the intention to construct the dam and the hidden suggestion that it will be constructed by us as we can do it are supporting the earlier presented nation scenes.

As soon as the song starts the previously introduced rich nation as per its landscapes and culture changes to showing various constructed and under construction dams, bridges and water plants. The song furthers these scenes with verses "sookhay daryaon main pani ki rawani chahiye" i.e. "dried rivers need flow of water" where first river scenes with low water flow or almost drying water reservoirs are shown then quickly comparison of normal river or small dams showing collection of river water or large canals is represented. The water plant images then change to images of watering small plant, small child laughing and running/playing in park matching the phrase "ek hansti muskarati zindigani chahiye" i.e. "a laughing smiling or happy life or children are needed.

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This is followed by village children waving and smiling and drinking water in adverse conditions of a rural area, followed by men and women in pursuit of water carrying their traditional mud vessels for filling water, and drinking water along with animals, from unhygienic muddy water reservoirs of underdeveloped rural areas. These swiftly moving images are supported by the phrase "saaf paani zindagi hai" i.e. "clean water is life" which further says "zinda rehnay ke liye" i.e. "to be alive" and corresponding images are at that time are exactly focusing on the difficulties which poor people of rural areas are facing in getting water not clean but just for to be alive only. The details shown of muddy water being drunk by both animals and locals alike shows the extreme conditions of their living making it obvious for those getting clean water that some are not even getting that and must get water from far off areas on foot which does not have the actual romanticism of culture or traditions shown by colorful images in dramas or movies.

These representations are quickly followed by images of young girls in an urban set up and looking like belonging to well settled families provided with good education, good healthy living standard when the phrase "nasal-e nau ko" i.e. "the new generation or youth needs" is played to validate that they are the new generation being talked about who portray an affluent living style in an urban area and good education opportunities as they are engaged in patriotic, creative and thoughtful activities of presenting their country's name through their education i.e. they are making colorful posters on independence day and themselves clad in green and white. The remaining half of the phrase "saaf aur shifaaf paani chahiye" i.e. "clean and pure water is needed" is followed with immediate change in image of a rural area poor child drinking water from a public water filtration plant. It shows that the rich are not in immediate need of this dam and are already contributing to the country's welfare, rather it is the poor or the struggling who need clean and pure drinking water. It is confirmed by flowing images right after it of children drinking water from their father's metallic vessel as he pours them in their hands but still not sufficient for them somehow so again the images of water resources and dam are shown to make it understood that the dam needs to be built for the poor by the rich and capable.

The next phrase "mil jul kar ham na mumkin ko, mumkin kar ke chorain ge" i.e. "together we will face the impossible and we will make it possible". The first half of the phrase i.e. "together we will face the impossible" is followed after a flow of images showing firstly the poor rural area children both girls and boys with a question mark on their faces depicting poverty, and poor & sick child in mother's lap. The second half of the phrase i.e. "we will make it possible" comes after showing the poor rural area children followed by images of various monuments of the country like Minaar-e-Pakistan in Lahore, Mizaar-e-Quaid in Karachi, Khyber Pass gate in Tribal area, Faisal mosque in Islamabad, Ziarat Quaid's residency in Balochistan, Karachi city, Shrine of Baha-ud-din Zakriya in Multan, and finally to canal and rice field areas is showing that it is possible because Pakistan has all these historical and religious memories which show a rich background and effort as a nation before Pakistan was made and after its inception. It creates a positive spirit which is more focused on a nation's present wealth and resources and not on what government can invest. Again, as apparently it seems like a song with inspiring images reminds of campaign songs of PTI's election campaign which inadvertently puts them in the same personal favor light. This becomes more obvious with tagging of logo with Supreme Court and Prime Minister of Pakistan with this ad throughout. People should listen to the campaign and donate as it is said by the Prime Minister who has full support of the highest law institution. It not only supports the cause for raising funds for dams but rather sets up the audience to be a national hero asking them for a favor on a personal note and trying to convince them for a good cause. Of course, the positive vibes given to the audience are a good source of creating political acceptability and leadership as well. Coming back to the song, with repetition of the phrase "we will make it possible" the

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scenario changes again showing the urban area young girls wearing green and white colored clothes with happy faces, holding up flags and running in an enthusiastic manner. It shows that they are the real supporters of this movement i.e. the bright youth or it is pointed towards them that they will be the ones to hold the future in their hands, so trust is generated via showing their positive images.

The next verses of the promotional song are "dam banay ga waqt se pehlay" i.e. "dam will be constructed before time" and rest of the phrase "itnay paisay jorein ge" i.e. "we will collect and save so much money". The images shown simultaneously with these phrases are first of a working dam most probably Terbela dam showing what will happen if the dam is constructed so the audience can think of the positive aspect of dam construction and then following it are images of people submitting money in dam fund open at bank. In this case Allied bank is captured, which by its name signifies the meaningfulness of being together i.e. allied.

Towards the end, the main verses are sung again "we will make this dam" and "we can make this dam" with multiple images of youth which were presented earlier in the video of village children, young urban girl wearing green, and additionally group of young girls of rural areas in uniform holding flag shouting or roaring with enthusiasm and running forward. The feeling here being created that these rural schoolgirls will now also take up the flag of Pakistan and come forward for supporting it after dam is made as their future has been secured by the decision of making dam. Additional images also include family images of small urban families posing victory sign and, group of rural schoolgirls and in background a fatherly figure posing victory sign, and a little rural schoolgirl with a bag on shoulders posing victory sign. The victory sign is no doubt shown to the viewers to turn them into supporters of the campaign who are considered to be bound by the positive images and victory sign not only is posed at them but also at all the viewers and at the campaign ad which is a cause of security for all the youth of rural areas mostly with the inspiration of the urban area school girls.

Through the ad, the clear difference between the lifestyle and privileges of both rural and urban area children are shown to make the audience conscious of this fact and identify themselves on one side either of the taker or the giver. It is most probably the chance that urban area audience will identify themselves with the images closer to their own lifestyle or kids. The audience is pulled in a very subtle way to donate must with details given at the end and donation is shown as an easy act by even possible to send an SMS at the given number. The additional tag of "yeh sadqa-e-jaria hai" i.e. "it is alms/charity for Allah's sake". This specific tag is displayed with other tags of helpline and Supreme Court and prime minister. The alms tag is like a final stamp that something must be done by the one watching this ad i.e. donating money.

The ad is constructed in such a way and tagged that it implicitly makes one agree that if anyone donates is accepting and agreeing with the Supreme Court and prime minister and is also religiously doing something good. Moreover, doing all this good because he/she is convinced by the national, social, regional images shown and is convinced that the dam is the number one need for Pakistan now.

Comparison between the two advertisements:

Fairclough's framework, the CDA framework was adopted for analyzing both advertisements.

Similarities between the two advertisements

- 1- Both ads are meant for the same purpose.
- 2- Both ads point out Pakistan having limited water storage for future.
- 3- Both ads mention the Supreme Court as the collector of funds for dams.

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Differences between the two advertisements

rtisement 1	rtisement 2
nimated and only one image is real.	al images only one or two images animated
ext appearing on screen	o text appearing on screen
background music changing from ha	topical song full of enthusiastic music
etitive to sad	
information about only supreme court as a	information about prime minister and supp
tor and initiator	as collector and initiator
ays no logo of public service message	ays public service message logo throughout
ays no human beings in animated or real imag	ays animated images of historical buildings
	tani flag just once
ays only two animals and one tap and a	ays human beings, sceneries, dam, animals
cape	Pakistani flag in real images
ligious content in any form	ious reference given in the last image
duration is 1 minute 18 seconds	duration is 1 minute 9 seconds
of launch September 2018	of launch October 2018

Conclusion:

Based on the semiotics and CDA done of these two ads and the comparison made between the two after the detailed analysis, it can be concluded that the campaign became more successful after the start of the new government. Thus, the second ad displays the element of power and possible political interest of the new government dam fund raising.

These two ads are not the only ads for the said campaign, rather in future ads short one-liner interviews of various important personalities from chief justice to prime minister and fund-raising leaders have also been included.

The first advertisement is more creative and simpler and has more effect of a general fund raising with less political agenda or setting visible or prominent as compared to the second one.

It should also be considered that the ads are not made by the government themselves but made with their permission or consent. However, the makers of ads design the ads according to their understanding of the likes and dislikes of the public and their relationship with the public, and their public image.

Further analysis of other ads can be helpful to understand the meanings of government campaign ads for the same cause.

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