

ABSTRACT

A picture paints hundreds of words but a photographic image tells of a reality that is said to be truthful and intriguing. Analysis of promotional and political campaign materials such as brochures and electoral programs has always focused on its target audience. This type of analysis gauges the audience responses to a new campaign material. Analysis on the content of political campaign materials has somehow been lacking and almost always focused on the available textual materials. This thesis, however, departs from the normal norms of looking at textual materials and instead focuses on the photographic images that appear in most political campaign materials, especially electoral programs. This study seeks to understand the system of visual language that is inherent in electoral programs. It intends to investigate how visual elements have an impact in the degree of adopting a good strategic campaign. By conducting social semiotic analysis, visual elements will help to read the ideologies and the latent messages of the images. To achieve this goal, a research approach of “visual grammar” adopted by Kress and Van Leeuwen (2006) will be used to examine fifteen images extracted from the electoral program of Justice and Development Party (PJD) that was published by Al-Misbah: A comprehensive weekly newspaper, during the campaign for the elections of November 2011. This thesis will first review the grounding theories of semiotics in the political context on which the approach is based. It then uses the approach to perform an analysis of the Textual, Interpersonal and Ideational design’s functions. Results of this research show that PJD uses carefully images in their election campaign to transmit power and ideology.

Keywords: visual semiotics, social semiotics, Kress and Van Leeuwen, electoral program, language, PJD.

Résumé

Une image peint une centaine de mots, mais une image photographique révèle une réalité dite vérité et fascinante. L'analyse du matériel de campagne promotionnelle politique, à savoir les brochures et les programmes électoraux, s'est toujours concentrée sur son public cible. Ce type d'analyse mesure les réponses du public à un nouveau matériel de campagne. L'analyse du contenu du matériel de campagne politique a fait défaut et a presque toujours été axée sur le matériel textuel disponible. Cependant, cette thèse s'écarte des normes habituelles de consultation des textes, mais se concentre plutôt sur les images photographiques apparaissant dans la plupart des matériels de campagne politique, en particulier les programmes électoraux. Cette étude cherche à comprendre le système de langage visuel inhérent aux programmes électoraux. Il se propose d'étudier l'impact des éléments visuels sur le degré d'adoption d'une bonne campagne stratégique. En effectuant une analyse sémiotique sociale, les éléments visuels aideront à lire les idéologies et les messages latents des images. Pour atteindre cet objectif, une approche de recherche de «grammaire visuelle» adoptée par Kress et Van Leeuwen (2006) sera utilisée pour examiner quinze images extraites du programme électoral du Parti politique de la justice et du développement (PJD) publié lors de la campagne pour les élections du 25 novembre 2011 par Al-Misbah: Un hebdomadaire complet. Cette thèse passera d'abord en revue des théories de base de la sémiotique dans le contexte politique sur lequel repose l'approche. Il utilise ensuite l'approche pour analyser les fonctions de la conception textuelle, interpersonnelle et conceptuelle. Les résultats de cette recherche montrent que le PJD utilise soigneusement des images lors de sa campagne électorale pour en déduire son pouvoir ainsi que son idéologie.

Mots-clés: sémiotique visuelle, sémiotique sociale, Kress et Van Leeuwen, programme électoral, langage, PJD.

مقتضب

إن الصورة وحدها كافية بأن تعبر عن مئات الكلمات، ولكن الصورة الفوتوغرافية تحكي عن حقيقة صادقة ورائعة، فانه لظالمات تم تحليل وسائل الحملة الترويجية والسياسية، مثل الكتيبات والبرامج الانتخابية، بالتركيز على الجمهور المستهدف. يقيس هذا النوع من التحاليل استجابات الجمهور لوسائل الحملة الجديدة. فقد كان التحليل على محتوى وسائل الحملة السياسية غير موجود إلى حد ما وكان دائماً يركز على العناصر النصية المتاحة. ومع ذلك، فإن هذا البحث ينطلق من المعايير الطبيعية للنظر في العناصر النصية، كما يركز على الصورة الفوتوغرافية التي تظهر في معظم وسائل الحملات السياسية، وخاصة البرامج الانتخابية. تسعى هذه الدراسة إذاً إلى فهم نظام اللغة المرئية المتأصل في البرامج الانتخابية. بالإضافة إلى ذلك، يسعى هذا البحث إلى معرفة كيفية تأثير العناصر المرئية في اعتماد حملة انتخابية جيدة من خلال إجراء تحليل سيميوطيقي اجتماعي و ستساعد العناصر المرئية في قراءة الإيديولوجيات والرسائل الكامنة للصورة. ومن أجل تحقيق هذا الهدف، سيتم استخدام المنهج البحثي "القواعد البصرية" الذي اعتمده كريس وفان ليوفان (2006) لفحص 15 صورة تابعة للبرنامج الانتخابي لحزب العدالة والتنمية (PJD) الذي نشرته المصباح، جريدة أسبوعية شاملة، خلال الحملة الانتخابية لاقتراع 25 نونبر 2011. سوف تستعرض هذه الأطروحة أهم النظريات في العلم السيميوطيقي أولاً وسيتم ربطها بالسياق السياسي و لهذا الغرض، سيتم اعتماد منهج كريس وفان ليوفان في تحليل وظائف التصميم النصية والشخصية والإبداعية. تظهر نتائج هذا البحث أن حزب العدالة والتنمية يستعمل وينتقي الصور بعناية فائقة في حملته الانتخابية لفرض سلطته السياسية وتميرير إيديولوجياته.

الكلمات الدلالية: البصرية، السيميوطيقية المرئية، السيميوطيقية الاجتماعية، كريس وفان ليوفان، البرنامج الانتخابي، حزب العدالة والتنمية.

DEDICATION

I dedicate this work to my parents, my wife, my brothers and my beloved sister
Who will forever remain in my memory.

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

MP	Mouvement Populaire
PAM	Parti Authentécité et Modernité
PI	Parti Istiqlal
PJD	Party of Justice and Development
PPS	Parti du Progrès et du Socialisme
PSU	Parti Socialiste Unifié
PT	Parti Travailleste
RNI	Rassemblement National des Indépendants
SFL	Systematic functional linguistics
UC	Union Constitutionnelle
USFP	Union Socialiste des Forces Populaires

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Chapter One

General Introduction

Introduction

Photographic images have their own system of language that allows people to socially construct its meaning. Photographic images like their counterpart the paintings, paint hundreds of words in the minds of its readers. Although both conjure up different words in the readers' mind but photographic images have a distinct advantage over paintings. Photographic images are said to convey reality that is truthful.

Due to its expressive powers, photographs are used widely and pervasively by the various mass media whether printed, digital or electronic. It is purposely used to convey messages just like verbal or written language is used to articulate ideas or thoughts. These messages in photographic images that are published by the mass media generate meanings through a system that is similar to language (Maliki & Samani, 2010).

To comprehend these meanings, readers of photographs used in the different mass media have to learn to decode the encoded meanings that are embedded in them. In other words, readers are called to engage in its socially construction knowledge of (some aspects of) reality. Kress and Van Leeuwen (2001, p. 4) said:

By 'socially constructed' we mean that they have been developed in specific social contexts, and in ways which are appropriate to the interests of social actors in these contexts, whether they are very broad contexts or not, explicitly institutionalised contexts or not and so.

Knowledge on processing of messages embedded in photographic images are never formalised like the learning of verbal or written languages. Educating the masses on the embedded meanings in all types of visual images is done informally. Moriarty (1996) argued that reality-grounded perceptual processes used in understanding these media are largely untutored and mastered through experience rather than education. In other words, this self-taught system of knowledge is discovered upon perception.

With language as the fundamental and pervasive mode of human communication, we are apt to think that only language allows one to think. Thus it is accepted as the norm to assume that words construct our perception and understanding of reality since language is the primary mode of communication among humankind. With language, humankind is able to pass along the acquired cultural knowledge to the next generation. This was the underlying assumption in publication of books. Publications of books and other printed materials have taken place or made possible because humankind has found the means to encode knowledge via the alphabet.

But the question that stirs our attention is whether our perception and understanding of reality are necessary word based. Such thinking led to the development of separate theory for languages (linguistics), another to speak about art (art history), yet another to speak about photograph (photographic literacy) and so on, each with its own methods, its own assumption, its own technical vocabulary, its own strengths and its own blind spots.

This study takes the view that it is possible to make sense of visual elements because they have their own structured language (Graddol, 1994; Moriarty, 1994; Turner, 1994), and audience are able to perceive its meanings. In this study, it is aimed to find out the way the image elements work together to produce meaning. To achieve this goal, I used social semiotics, which is a branch of the field of semiotics, as my research method. By conducting visual social semiotic analysis, Kress and van Leeuwen proved an extremely useful tool for analyzing the manner in which elements of the images from PJD electoral program work together to produce meaning and how to transmit power and ideologies.

There is a need for this study because it provides a detailed analysis about PJD visual images in the electoral program and it explores the idea that political parties use different political campaign strategies to make impact on the voters' decision. There are a very limited number of semiotics studies about PJD or any other Moroccan electoral program images in

the existent literature; therefore, this study can be an exemplary work for researchers interested in electoral programs of political parties like PJD. In addition, learning more about how PJD adopts visual techniques during the election campaign allows researchers to determine how political communication is done to target a specific audience in a specific context.

To summarize, this study explores the following research questions: 1) to what extent visual elements have an impact in the degree of adopting a good strategic campaign by the party of development and justice (PJD)? 2) Are visual elements a medium through which political parties transmit their power and ideologies?

I.1. Statement of the problem

According to the Gestalt, “the whole is more than the sum of its parts”. If we accept the mantra of the German school, we are doomed to accept that the aesthetic construction contains a grammar of its own, some basic elements that in their conjunction form a whole with its own entity, but dissolvable and flexible. In the linguistic meaning of the term grammar we find the terms, norms and rules to build a language efficiently. In the visual this meaning is enriched since the visual language is polyhedral and not only is due to the oral or written communication; for that reason the visual grammar has a more complex meaning.

It should be noted that the term process is the key. Unlike other communication systems, visual communication implies a process of perception that plays a fundamental role in effective communication. The way in which we face, perceive and process an aesthetic construction is the very basis of visual language, hence the importance of those mental processes that underlie the visual system and that are composed in its DNA of this visual grammar.

Man has always had the need for proportion and harmony, not only to contemplate it as mere spectators but also the need to understand it, to discover the norms that compose this harmonic beauty. The first Greek philosophers already debated harmonic forms and proportions and deified the abstract objects that today are the basis of the “objectual” conception of visual grammar: the line, the point, the surface, the dimension. But perhaps the most intentional approach to the study of visual grammar as a discipline with its own entity did not take place until the early years of the twentieth century within the school of Bahuaus: Vasily Kandisky and Laszlo Moholy understood the need for the creation of a grammar of their own. Specifically, Kandinsky stated that “like the words of language, the plastic elements must be recognized and defined. And as in grammar, the laws of construction must be established. In painting, the composition treatise responds to grammar” (cited in Al Rodríguez, n.d).

During the 20th century, visual grammar has been the subject of intense study. Susan Sontag defined this modern society as “a society lacking in morals that brutalizes sensitivity and dulls the ability of the majority of people to do good, but that puts within reach of a minority the consumption of an astonishing range of intellectual and aesthetic pleasures” (cited in Al Rodríguez, n.d). This is why authors such as Rudolf Arnheim, Fabris Germani, Justo Villafañe, Gyorgy Kepes, Herbert Read and many others have devoted themselves to the study of this grammar underlying all aesthetic construction and its implication in the development of the visual society.

For designers and photographers, undoubtedly one of the most interesting readings for the visuals of grammar dissection, and which could be recommended to any designer and photographer to refresh those terms and relationships that we sometimes take for granted, is the work of Kress and Van Leeuwan “Visual grammar” who proved a useful descriptive tool for analyzing the manner in which elements of images work together to

produce meaning. In it the author proposes through a mixture of treatise and visual dictionary the basic elements that compose a visual grammar like the abstract objects (point, line, dimensions,...), the concrete objects (frame, gaze, size, color,...), and what is found most interesting when it comes to understanding the construction of this visual grammar is knowing the processes and relationships with which these structures interact, such as attraction, view, position, etc. Without a doubt, this research represents a necessary approach for handling visual language from a technical and formal point of view.

We need to handle this language because this formal syntax is what efficiently communicates us with our client through our aesthetic work. It is, in fact, the basis of the construction of our relationship. There is a concern to understand a communication that is possibly one of the characteristics of today's society and we must respond to this need. Just as oral or written language is a communicational resource that we have naturally and has undergone an evolution from its original form, the same evolution must undergo the entire process of construction of visual objects and for this the knowledge of this syntax, this visual grammar is paramount and necessary.

In today's society, each and every one of the actors that make it up are voracious consumers of visual messages. That is why we, as creators of these messages, have the responsibility of knowing and applying the basic elements of visual language in order to establish an authentic, critical, efficient and productive dialogue with our consumers. As we have seen, any language is in constant movement and our syntax must also be in constant movement, adapting and growing according to the needs of that consuming mass eager for new visual stimuli.

I.2. Rationale of the study

It should come as no surprise and as far as am concerned that I have done a large number of research reading on the net and through searching in libraries, and I found that

there no study has been conducted on the visual social semiotic analysis of the electoral program of Justice and Development Party (PJD) during the election campaign of November 2011. Researchers and various scholars (Amghar 2007; Arieff 2012; Jandari 2012) have attempted to approach the behaviors and practices of Moroccan politics from a political science perspective. From a thorough descriptive analysis of political images, visual design grammar has come as a tool to investigate how such practices, events and visual texts arise out of and are ideologically shaped by relations of power and struggles over power; and to explore how the opacity of these relationships between images and society is itself a factor securing power and hegemony. In the light of this, the present study seeks out to encourage and pave the ground for researchers of visual analysis to deal with political images delivered by the PJD or other political parties. It will also help readers understand the visual strategies that Moroccan political parties use to transmit their ideologies.

I.3. Purpose of the study

Visual communication is the way of communicating through a visual aid and it refers to the presentation of information through visible mediums like images or text. The images or text used in visual communication helps in entertaining, enlightening, persuading, and informing the audience. Almost every business today uses visual techniques to present their information as it helps it to be understood and accepted by all kinds of audiences very easily.

It is worth noting that visual communication is the art of passing information to people by the use of gestures, images, signs, posters and short films advertisement among others. Visual communication is the most effective way of passing information because the human mind processes things in images. The majority of people respond quickly to visual images instead of texts. Any business needs to understand the cognitive functions to maintain customers. Any form of advertisement should use images and graphics because it will have a great impact on expected customers.

The use of visual communication is massively growing among business. Many marketing strategies use images, popular GIFs, graphics, animations, and signs among others to pass information. Visual communication has more impact in passing information to people because it saves time, clear and simple, helps in achieving consistency, gives better retention of information and it is popular (Brown, 2017).

In the Moroccan context, visual communication plays an important role for political parties to create meaning and transmit their ideologies. Thus, the purpose of this research is to investigate whether the system of visual language that is being used in PJD electoral program allows people to engage on its constructed meanings.

1.4. Research questions and Hypotheses

1. Are visual elements a medium through which the PJD transmits its dominance and ideologies?
2. To what extent visual elements have an impact in the degree of adopting a good strategic campaign by the PJD?

Based on research questions above, the following hypotheses can be formulated:

1. Visual elements are a medium through which political parties transmit dominance and ideology.
2. PJD gained trust and support from the audience due to the captivating printed media.

1.5. Significance of the study

Electoral programs are important campaign tools. Textual and photographic images printed on the electoral programs are chosen carefully to convey a certain idea in the minds of its targeted audience. Proper planning and coordination are necessary to achieve the desired effects and everybody who is involved in the development of an electoral program will have to

be well verse on its exact objectives. To understand whether a published electoral program has been packaged accordingly, a visual semiotic reading of photographic images in the electoral program of Justice and Development Party (PJD), published by Al-Misbah: A comprehensive electronic newspaper during the campaign for the elections of November 2011 will be analyzed. In conducting this type of descriptive analysis, we are reminded by Kress and Van Leeuwen (1996) that as researchers, we are ourselves participating in the reshaping of the semiotic landscapes. Also this study aims to encourage and pave the ground for researchers of visual cultures to deal with the analysis of the electoral programs from a political perspective.

1.6. Outline of the Thesis

In order to achieve its aim, this research is organized according to the following structure. An introductory chapter, called General Introduction which comprises the research's problem, purpose, rationale, purpose, research questions and hypothesis, and significant of the study. The second chapter presents the literature review which discusses many theoretical and empirical works pertaining to political communication in the Moroccan context. It also summarizes the most prominent contributions of scholars in the field of semiotics. In addition to that, this chapter describes the Visual Design Grammar theory used by Kress and Leeuwen through which this research is approached. Chapter three describes the methodology of research and presents the data collected to answer the research questions, and analyzes and discusses the research data.

Finally, the conclusion provides summary of the results along with some recommendations and implications of the research.

Chapter Two

Review of the Literature

2.1. Political Communication

It should be noted that conducting a visual social semiotic analysis requires defining the context in which such analysis will be performed. In this sense, it is important to comprehend the concept of political communication and understand how it works, in order to analyze the visual images of political campaigns in Morocco and examine the way in which it influences the public.

It should be made clear that any work about political communication should begin by acknowledging that the term has proved to be notoriously difficult to define with any precision, simply because both components of the phrase are themselves open to a variety of definitions, more or less broad.

According to the Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences, political communication is a process where the information is conveyed across politicians, the news media and the publics; the messages are transmitted from the governing institutions towards citizens, among politicians, and from public opinion towards authorities, in a hierarchical manner (2001). Denton and Woodward (1990) provide one definition of political communication as:

‘pure discussion about the allocation of public resources (revenues), official authority (who is given the power to make legal, legislative and executive decision), and official sanctions (what the state rewards or punishes)’ (p.14).

According to Denton and Woodward (1998), political communication is then a process that focuses on the political message and how it influences public sphere, not regarding the source of the message, but its content. Thus, first of all it simply follows the basic rules of the communications, where a sender transmits a message to the receiver with probable noise and expected feedback after the message is decoded. Some also argue that political communication is highly connected with the propaganda, due to its strategic approach to the persuasion (Swanson and Nimno, 1990).

It is important to state that in this study, the main focus is on visualization and its relationship with political communication and how they affect the public. In this vein, McNair (2003) believes that political communication does not solely depend on the verbal and written attributes on of the political figure (or party); visualization plays a significant role in this process. Consequently, the image created and utilized throughout the whole political career carries great responsibilities for the definitive outcome.

It should be also noted that political communication could be applied on the national as well as on the supranational level. In this context, experts in political communication develop an original conception to establish, which is defined as strategic political (Torture, 2013).

Strategic political communication is about organizations' purposeful management of information and communication to reach political objectives it has set out for itself. This holds true for political parties and campaigns as well as for interest groups, governments or other organizations that are either inherently political or have political agendas. It also holds true within as well as beyond election campaigns. Different organizations want to achieve certain goals, and they use information and communication strategically to reach these goals (Manheim 2011; Strömbäck and Kioussis 2011). In the context of strategic political communication, the strategic goals of political parties and campaigns are thus crucial. Although it is often assumed that the primary goal of political parties and campaigns is "to maximize political support" (Downs 1957, p.11), in most cases, parties have numerous goals, and the primary strategic goal may vary across parties. According to Strøm (1990), three different kinds of parties can be identified based on their primary goals: vote-seeking, office-seeking and policy-seeking parties. The distinguishing feature of vote-seeking parties is that they seek to maximize their share of votes. Office-seeking parties, in contrast, "seek to maximize, not their votes, but their control over political office", while the primary goal of policy-seeking parties is to maximize influence over public policy (p.567). Based on this

distinction, vote-seeking parties can be assumed to place greater priority on election campaign communication than office- and, in particular, policy-seeking parties, as their fortunes are more directly linked to election campaigning.

Political parties and campaigns have a number of publics or stakeholders with whom they need to communicate (Sjoblom 1968a, 1968b; compare Hughes and Dann 2009; Lilleker 2005; Sellers 2010; Stromback 2010). On the parliamentary arena, the key stakeholders include members of the own parliamentary group as well as members of parliament from other parties. On the internal arena, the key stakeholders include elected representatives for the party, elected representatives within the party, in-house staff, hired consultants, activists and members. On the media arena, the key stakeholders include journalists, editors and owners, that is, all who might have an influence over the visibility of the party. On the electoral arena, the key stakeholders include voters at large and different target groups within the electorate.

Therefore, political communication and political public relations in election campaigns include several different streams of communication with different stakeholders located within different arenas, and for each group of stakeholders, the campaign management team may have different strategic purposes. Depending on the purpose of communicating with each group of stakeholders and the available communication alternatives, the most appropriate channel and mode of communication has to be selected (Stromback and Kioussis 2011).

Another important aspect of election campaign communication is related to the tension between long-term strategy and planning on the one hand, and the short-term impact of real-world events, the activities of other parties, and of the media's coverage. No matter how strategically political parties plan their campaign activities and communication, during the course of a campaign a number of unanticipated events will occur. Sometimes such events will open up new opportunities - sometimes they will pose threats. In either case, the short-

term impact of unanticipated events will always create stress and pose a challenge to the strategic planning done beforehand, although successful campaign strategies should include contingency plans and be flexible. Nevertheless, the implication is that election campaign communication often might be less “strategic” than it appears.

Although strategic political communication in election campaigns is a broader phenomenon than political parties or campaigns using information and communication strategically to mobilize and persuade different voter groups, and political parties are complex organizations with multiple arenas and strategic goals, most research assumes that parties want to maximize their vote share and focus on the related themes of how political parties and campaigns communicate with voters, and how they organize and run their election campaigns.

The development of the political communication hinges on the chain of the events that eventually formed the modern political process. The historical aspect highly influenced the perspective in which the political arena is seen currently; within the historical outlook, such factors as media, technology, and culture influence the path in which political communication is led. This field is considered to be relatively young, as it was acknowledged in the 1970's; however, this area of study was practiced far earlier than 40 years ago. It is worth mentioning that the pioneers of the political communication studies considered to be “four great men”: Harold Laswell, who examined political propaganda in his research, Handley Cantril & Gordon Allport with early studies of persuasion and public opinion theorist, Walter Lippmann. Each was highly influenced by social psychology, which signifies the prioritized role of this field in the political communication domain. Designated as a sub-division of the political science, political communication gradually commenced from the comprehension of interest groups in the political environment; Bentley argued that politics is an interaction between interest groups. Lastly, political communication was highly influenced by the media studies; this field is a keystone in measuring the effect of political success (Ryfe, 2001).

It should come as no surprise that technology shifted the political communication model from the national to global level. It widens the public in terms of the accessibility and impact on the masses as well as encourages faster processes within the governmental organizations. It is also argued, that due to technological advances in the current era, political communication becomes more globalized and there are no longer borders concerning the information flow. The significance of the technological development in the communication field has been recognized by Dalrymple and Scheufele (2007), who presented the statistical differentiation between users of traditional and online media in regards to political knowledge. The results showed the statistically significant difference between these two groups of users, in favor of online media users (Miller and McKerrow, 2010).

2.1.1. Public Relations

The significance of communication in simplifying relationships among people working together and among organizations and their audience has been recognized by many communication researchers (Abugre 2012; McNair 2003; Swanson and Nimmo 1990; Grunig 1979). Communication helps to explain reasons, methods and ideas of corporate administrators and political leaders to their audiences. The recognition of this significance has arisen from the understanding that political leaders and administrators can best influence their audiences through effective messaging and communication to accomplish their objectives. While this political notion is positive in highlighting political communication and public relations of political leaders and their political parties, it appears Moroccan politicians would want to take advantage of all resources to persuade the electorates using all means of communication.

According to Gruning (1992), 'public relations' is an organized process of communication used as a response to or in the expectation of threats to organizational survival

and growth within a political setting. It is the relationship between an organization and its key audience. Thus, public relations and political communication both serve as tools which political organizations or parties employ to facilitate their political activities and interest. For instance, in the field of communication, the theoretical development of political participation is centred on the influential role of informational media use and interpersonal discussion about politics (Gil de Zuniga 2002). Correspondingly, political scientist and psychologists have argued that emotions play a fundamental role in reasoning of voters, and have the likelihood of improving rationality and also of undermining it (Kinder 1994; Marcus 2000). Therefore, political communication and public relations have become the core concepts of political knowledge in which the public is fed with political messages mostly through the media. In this same vein and in our Moroccan context, political parties and organizations are increasingly using the printed and electronic media in various ways to project and enhance their strategies and political objectives. For this reason and in order to gain political power and transmit ideologies, political parties in Morocco also appear to engage in very emotional campaigns which are often translated in a positive communication rather than negatively using Political communication and public relations to market their political messages.

Obviously, the success of any modern political community today depends on what the citizens and political party members wish to hear, share with political leaders and political organizations through communications. Accordingly, communication has become a skill that enables organizations and their publics to share knowledge with each other and coordinate their tasks, by building and maintaining a viable relationship with the community (Abugre 2012). This has resulted in the news media generally taking center stage in both popular and political explanations of public engagement as well as public disengagement. In fact, the media and press coverage influence the public on matters of political attitudes and behaviors through political communication and public relations. Political communication and public

relations are dimensions of communication that enable political organizations and their publics to share information and receive knowledge. Thus, McNair (2003) assert that political communication is the channel that should provide important and enlightening information to citizens on the nature of political processes. Similarly, Esser and D'Angelo (2006) are of the view that politicians should choose the path of constitutionally desirable principles and practices of communication and campaigning in present day democratic environment.

To summarize, political communication and public relations are both channel styles in communication, and have become an intrinsic part of the political campaigns and political coverage of governance and policy-making (Esser and Spanier 2005). They have also become important media instruments of politics, emphasising the strategic nature of politics and communication by highlighting the role of persuasion in political discourse.

2.1.2. Political campaigns:

According to Norris (2000) political parties nowadays are in a situation of permanent campaigning. That is, as the media are becoming more fragmented and competitive and voters increasingly are becoming less tied to one particular party with increased number of party switchers as a consequence, parties have become more professional. On the one hand, the parties have become professional by introducing a systematic use of political opinion polls and focus groups in their planning of the political message and its wrapping. On the other hand parties have become professional by employing an increased number of professionals (e.g. pollster, spin-doctors and campaigners) in order to manage the media and strategic focus of the political message to maximize the number of votes.

It is notably that political leaders seeking office make promises. This is presumably done in the belief that such promises will alter voters' beliefs about the policies the politician will implement if elected and about the capabilities of the politician. The flip side of the coin is

that these promises may later come back to haunt an office holder seeking reelection, so candidates must temper their promises in anticipation of future elections.

According to Godson (2013) there are three types of political campaigns that have nearly no chance to achieve victory on Election Day due to their own internal failures. The first is the campaign that does not have a persuasive message to deliver to voters and does not have a clear idea of which voters it wants to persuade. This type of campaign lacks direction from the beginning and the situation will only get worse. The second is the campaign that has a concise, persuasive message with a clear idea of which voters it can persuade but lacks a reasonable plan of what to do between the campaign period and the election day. This type of campaign wastes time, money and people as it wanders aimlessly toward Election Day. It is often distracted by the days' events, by things the opponent's campaign does or by things the press says, spending more time reacting to outside factors than promoting its own agenda. Finally, the third kind of campaign is one that has a clear message, a clear idea of its voters and a plan to get to Election Day but fails to follow through on the plan, not doing the hard work day after day to get elected. This is a lazy campaign that makes excuses as to why it cannot do what it knows must be done and in the end makes excuses as to why it lost.

It should be clearly noted that a winning political campaign is most often the one that takes the time to target voters develops a persuasive message and follows through on a reasonable plan to contact those voters directly.

A political campaign is a communication process that should find the right message, target that message to the right group of voters, and as such repeating that message again and again until it registers in the mind of the voters. Godson (2013) states some step-by-step processes to develop a campaign plan. These steps include:

1. Doing the research necessary to prepare for the campaign.
2. Setting a strategic campaign goal of how many votes are needed to win.

3. Analysing and targeting voters.
4. Developing a campaign message.
5. Developing a voter contact plan.
6. Implementing that plan.

Every campaign is unique. While certain basic principles can be applied to each campaign, it is important to have a complete understanding of the particular situation and the conditions in which the campaign will be waged. At some point in almost every campaign, someone says, “it is different here” or “you’re not taking into account our particular situation.” “Step One: Research” is where one starts and where he/she takes into account the differences and peculiarities of each campaign. It is here that one has the chance to demonstrate just how different the situation really is.

The first step in developing a winning strategy must begin with a realistic assessment of the political landscape in which the politicians will be running. It is true that they can never know everything about their district, their opponents and the voters. However, by using their time wisely and setting clear priorities, they will be able to compile the kind of information they need to develop a good strategy and be prepared for most events in the coming campaign.

Godson (2013, p.19) proposes various factors for consideration while preparing for a campaign plan:

1. What is the type of election and what are the rules?
2. What are the characteristics of the district?
3. What are the characteristics of the voters?
4. What has happened in past elections?
5. What are the main factors affecting this election?
6. What are the strengths and weaknesses of your candidate?

7. What are the strengths and weaknesses of all the viable opponents?

Obviously, the ultimate goal of almost every political campaign is to win election into political office. What is needed to be done here is to determine what must be done to achieve this victory. Too often campaigns forget to calculate how many votes will be needed to guarantee victory and determining where these votes will come from. They then spend their precious resources of time, money and people trying to talk to the whole population instead of the much fewer voters they will actually need to win. Here in doing these they will reduce the number of voters with whom they need to communicate too at a much more manageable size. As part of the research, all campaign plans should determine the total population of the district, the total number of voters, the expected votes cast, the number of votes needed to win and the number of households in which these voters live.

Once a candidate decides how many votes that is needed to win the election and, therefore how many voters that is needed to persuade to support his/her candidacy, then there is need to determine what makes these voters different from other voters who will not support the candidate. Godson (2013) called this process “targeting the voters” or simply “targeting.” The point of targeting is to determine which subsets of the voting population are most likely to be responsive to the candidate and then focusing our campaign efforts on these groups of voters.

Once the target audience has been decided, then we need to decide what would be said to persuade them to vote for the candidate. This would be the campaign message. It tells the voters why the candidate is running for this particular office and why they should choose him/her over the opponents for the same office. For example, let us start off by saying what a message is not. A campaign message is not the candidate’s program of what they will do if elected, it is not a list of the issues the candidate will address, and it is not a simple, catchy

phrase or slogan. All of these things can be part of a campaign message, depending on whether or not they will persuade voters, but they should not be confused with the message, a simple statement that will be repeated over and over throughout the campaign to persuade the target voters. For the message to be strong, there are a number of criteria that should be considered Godson (2013). The message must be short, must be truthful and credible, must be persuasive and important to voters, must show contrast, must be clear and speak to the heart, and must be targeted and repeated again and again.

Furthermore, Winning elections requires strong local organizations. Whether running a local, statewide, or national campaign, local organization is integral to a campaign's success. The local organization a campaign creates is so important because it is involved in all of the key activities the campaign participates in, from fundraising to voter contact to getting out the vote. The organization is integral to winning the election. In fact, a local organization may be better suited to carrying out these activities than any other campaign apparatus because of one distinct advantage: proximity. The local organization is simply the closest contact the campaign can make with the voters.

In general, an effective and efficient election campaign requires wise and careful use of resources of time, money and people. Using these above mentioned steps, which were proposed by Godson, will make each campaign much more effective at persuading voters to vote for the elected candidate. Working with these steps will set the politician well on the road to electoral victory.

2.2. Political Ideologies

2.2.1. Ideology

Before trying to cope with the notion of political ideology, it is significant to elaborate on a few concepts. Belmekki (2014) says, 'Ideology is itself a complex notion which doesn't

lend itself to a specific meaning' (p.32). It is only natural that this section should begin by dealing with the notion of ideology itself and its relation with power in the political context.

One important definition is provided by the Encyclopedia Britannica is that "an ideology is a form of social or political philosophy in which practical elements are as prominent as theoretical ones; is a system of ideas that aspires both to explain the world and change it" (cited in Zaidi, 2012). This otherwise comprehensive definition can be criticized on one ground: it makes no explicit reference to religion as ideology or part of an ideology.

It should be made clear that ideology in the West is almost always understood in negative terms (Althusser, 1977; Eagleton, 1989; Fairclough, 1989). Fairclough notes that in the United States, ideology and totalitarianism are taken to be the same, as "*totalitarianism* is a superordinate term which subsumes *fascism, communism, Marxism*" (Fairclough, 1989, p. 94).

Since definitions of *ideology* have as their context the Western society and its political economic problems and issues, it would be relevant to consider non- Western perspectives on ideology too. For example, in the Islamic context, ideology is not a negative concept. It is, indeed, an exceedingly positive, inspirational notion which governs people's lives.

From the Islamic perspective, ideology and religion do not exclude each other: ideological truths are religious truths and *vice versa* (Fitzgerald, 2003). Islamic scholars have claimed that there is no difference between the Islamic and the ideological (Nasr, 1994). For an Islamist a statement like, "The ideas of the ruling class are in every epoch the ruling ideas, i.e., the class which is the ruling *material* force of society, is at the same time its ruling *intellectual* forces" should be meaningless.

In addition, one should know that when we speak about ideology, we also speak about power whether we directly say it or not. Power and ideology cannot be bifurcated; without power an ideology will not be more than a set of beliefs, or a socio-philosophical treatise

(Zaidi 2012). Ideologies without power are no more than pious well-wishers. Change, physical, mechanical, or else, is the result of power exerted in a certain way.

Power is a complex and an abstract idea and has a significant influence on our lives. It is the ability of its holders to exact compliance or obedience of other individuals to their will. According to Edelman (1977), the power-holder is a person who can “exercise influence outside the context of formal proceedings [thus wielding] real power” (p.123).

Fairclough is concerned with how power is exercised through language. He states (1989) that power in discourse is to do with powerful participants controlling and constraining the contributions of non-powerful participants. It is useful to distinguish broadly between three types of such constraints - constraints on:

- Contents, on what is said or done;
- Relations, the social relations people enter into in discourse;
- Subjects, or the ‘subject positions’ people can occupy

Fairclough’s conceptualization (2001) recognizes that power can be exercised through coercion in various ways, including physical violence, and through the manufacture of consent, whereby ‘those who have power can exercise it and keep it: through coercing others to go along with them’ (cited in Belmekki 2014, p.35). Fairclough’s declared interest in the role of language in producing, maintaining and transforming unequal power relations has no doubt influenced the perspective that he takes.

Ideologies are thus understood as the commonsense assumptions that make differential power relations appear universal and natural. It is this notion of ‘ideology’, and the concomitant assumption that discourse and language carry ideological assumptions or power relations, that. Fairclough persuasively argues that linguistic texts and socio-linguistic

conventions incorporate power differentials, that they arise out of, are the outcome of and also themselves give rise to power relations and struggles.

Foucault (1982) points out that the exercise of power is not simply a relationship between people, but a "way in which certain actions modify others" (p.219). "Power exists only when it is put into action" (p.219). Power is not a function of consent. It is rather a "mode of action which does not act directly and immediately on others. Instead it acts upon their actions." (p.219) Moreover, Van Dijk (1990) maintains that:

“Within the framework of a critical analysis of discourses, the study of the reproduction of power and dominance through discourse is a primary objective. One element in this reproduction process is the structures and strategies of 'access': who controls the preparation, the participants, the goals, the language, the genre, the speech acts, the topics, the schemata (e.g. headlines, quotes), the style, and the rhetoric, among other text features, of communicative events. That is, who can/may/must say what, to whom, how, in what circumstances and with what effects on the recipients?”.

Although the concept of ‘power’ is commonly used in a largely undifferentiated and indiscriminate manner in much of the recent literature (North, 2005, p. 6; Kohli, 2004, p.1–24), it is not a uniform phenomenon. The various ‘faces’, forms and sources of power need to be identified and disaggregated from the general concept if we are to understand in a more nuanced manner both how it works and what its implications are for the politics of pro-poor policy-making and institutional arrangements in different societies. For different institutions and organizations, both formal and informal, commonly have different forms of power at their disposal. Institutional and organizational interaction is regularly a contestation not simply

between groups with different interests and ideas, but between different forms of power. The distinction which Acemoglu, Johnson and Robinson (2005a and 2005b) make between formal (de jure) power and informal (de facto) power is useful, but basic. There are many more aspects of power with respect to both its sources and its forms that need to be identified if we are to develop a more effective framework for the political analysis of institutions. Starting with Steven Lukes' work on the subject of power gives an initial sense of how complex a concept and phenomenon it is. Lukes (1974) distinguishes between three dimensions of power.

The first and most obvious form of power is what he refers to as the one-dimensional kind, normally found in decision-making contexts where there are clear, observable and open conflicts of interest and preference (Lukes, 1974,p.15) and where one interest or position wins (for instance by majority vote, executive decision or coup). This is the standard understanding of power. The second form, or 'face', of power (attributable to Bachrach and Baratz, 1962), is part of what Lukes refers to as the two-dimensional view of power. It can be identified where issues in dispute are also known, recognised and observable, but where a decision is prevented from being taken (by agendasetting or committee procedures, for example). In short *non-decision-making* can be one way power may be used to maintain an institutional *status quo* by resisting institutional change. Lukes' three-dimensional view accepts the previous two forms, but identifies a third and deeper form of power. This derives from a situation in which a dominant ideology or view of the world, with all its implications for policy and practice, is such that subordinate groups within a particular society come to accept their subordination under the prevailing institutions of the society and do not contest or challenge them: in fact, Lukes suggests, they may not even recognise that they have 'real interests' which are in conflict with those of the dominant group or groups favoured under the prevailing institutions (Lukes, 1974,p.25). Such 'hegemonic' world-views and their institutional embodiments have

often been remarkably stable and enduring, punctuated occasionally by outbursts and challenges – as illustrated by the history of the institutions governing slavery and caste, class and gender relations.

Already one can see here a number of different forms of power which can apply as much in families, firms or farms or to wider social formations in different societies at different times. But states, to which this review turns shortly, also dispose of different forms of power. In this context, Mann, suggests a useful distinction – which may be more of a continuum – between *despotic* power and *infrastructural* power (Mann, 1986, p.169–170). The former (*despotic* power) refers to the capacity simply to coerce and rule without reference to subjects or groups in civil society, whereas the latter refers to the ‘capacity to actually penetrate society and to implement logistically political decisions’ in short, transformative capacity. Despotic power is typical of some authoritarian, military or one-party regimes which have had few or no developmental goals and even less developmental impact (as was the pre-1990 case with many African states and remains the case in Myanmar, for instance) and was a characteristic of the rule of many historic empires. *Infrastructural* power, on the other hand, entails the will and bureaucratic capacity to coordinate or facilitate (or both) the economic and political activities of society through appropriate institutional development (examples of which include both England in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, Germany and Japan in the late nineteenth century, Thailand and Turkey from before the second world war and beyond, and both Korea and China in the latter half of the twentieth century). But ‘infrastructural’ power does not have to be associated with the urgent requirements of ‘catch-up’ or forced march development. It refers essentially to the capacity of a state to implement effectively the policies which have been decided upon.

But in addition to these forms of power, there are diverse *sources* of power, control of which helps to shape the patterns of politics and the consequential contours and

configurations of institutional relations and interactions. Mann's contribution is to suggest four primary sources of power: ideological, economic, military and political.

Ideological power flows from monopolizing the norms, values and principles (the discourse) underpinning a particular institutional pattern governing social, political and economic life. Such a discourse can be hard to shift and may confer much power on those who dominate or benefit from the institutional arrangements which it entails. This is not unconnected to Lukes' 'third dimension' and is part of the claim of many of those whose work is influenced by 'discourse' and 'post-colonial' theory (Young, 2001). The dominant assumptions, ideas, theories and practices constitute what (Escobar, 1995) refers to as a:

'discursive practice that sets the rules of the game: who can speak, from what points of view, with what authority, and according to what criteria of expertise; it sets the rules that must be followed for this or that problem, theory or object to emerge and be named, analyzed and eventually transformed into a policy or a plan' (cited in Leftwich, 2007).

And it requires a complex politics to alter the ideology and hence the institutional practices that flow from it. One should not under-estimate the power of ideas in the politics of institutional formation, compliance and change, as Hall illustrates so well in his account of the shift from Keynesianism to monetarism in British economic policy in the 1970s (Hall, 1992). Peter Evans and Ha-Joon Chang make a similar point when explaining the decline and dismantling of the Korean developmental state (Chang and Evans, 2005). Conversion to market-friendly and neo-liberal ideas by key figures in the Indian political elite also appears to have been critical in the politics of Indian economic policy change from the 1980s (Kohli, 2004, p.279–280; Harriss, 2006).

For the economic power of course it derives from control of major economic resources and can be directly used for political purposes. Boone (2003) demonstrates the point well in her account of the way in which different patterns of rural economic power and control in West Africa have had direct political consequences and have been instrumental in shaping the state strategies and relations between the central state and those sources of power. The way in which large landowners have been able to thwart land reform in many developing countries (classically described by Herring in relation to Pakistan) is ample evidence of this (Lipton, 1974; Herring, 1979). This is not surprising for, as Lipton has pointed out, land reform not only affects the structure of rural wealth but rural power as well. Control of labour power by unions to influence or disrupt state or company policy is another example. In the radical tradition going back to Marx, state power was a direct expression of the economic power of the bourgeoisie in capitalist society. But more recent studies of class and power, in relation to Africa especially, have shown however that control of *political* power has been a precondition for, not a consequence of, the accumulation of economic power and hence a determinant of class relations (Shivji, 1976; Sklar, 1979; Diamond, 1987; Boone, 1994).

The third political source of power is *Military* is relatively straightforward, flowing from control of armed forces (regular or irregular) and their weaponry. One of the central defining characteristics and necessary condition for the emergence of the modern state (especially in its European development) was the process whereby monopoly control over coercive military power, and its legitimate use, came to be achieved by the state (Weber, 1964, p.156; Tilly, 1992; Bates, 2001). This is the central condition, from an institutional perspective, for an effective state. And one of the central challenges which has faced all states in their formative stages, and one of the key problems of failed, failing and even weak states (Rotberg, 2004) has been precisely the absence of that monopolistic control of coercive capacity by the state and its distribution amongst rival, resisting and contending groups in the society. This has

inevitably led to what is often endemic conflict, the absence of consistent and agreed institutions of rule and the inevitable failure to deliver public goods, both political (such as peace and security) and other.

The fourth source of power is *Political*, in Mann's terms, refers both to control of the formal powers and levers of the state at national or regional level and, more generally, to informal but traditionally legitimate powers of rulership in non-formal contexts of headship or chieftainship, for example. In the modern era it includes the authority to act internally in accordance with duly assigned authority (to raise taxes, issues licences, direct the armed forces) and to act authoritatively in relation to other states. But one should also add to that what might be termed 'popular' sources of political power in the form of mobilized activity by members of the society. While such mobilizations have occurred throughout history – for instance in protests and revolts by peasants, serfs, slaves, urban or agricultural workers – the space for such mobilization in modern (and especially democratic) societies has been greater and has not uncommonly also helped to bring about sometimes sharp or incremental change (as in the Philippines and Korea through various expressions of 'people power' in the 1980s). Routinized democratic practices – through political parties, elections, unions, civil society protest or interest groups – are further forms. Often, however, especially amongst the poor, the fragmentation of these movements has reduced their potential power and is a particularly interesting case illustrating the problem of organizing collective action (Keefer and Kehmani, 2004).

It can be concluded that this brief exploration of the concept of power illustrates how complex and multi-dimensional are its forms and expressions in practice. Different combinations of such networks of power structure different socio-political and economic configurations, and any analysis of the possibilities for, and constraints on, institutional change or improvement in a society will be deficient if it ignores this context of power.

According to Van Dijk (2006), Ideologies have both social and cognitive properties which need to be accounted for in an integrated theory. Ideologies, like languages, are essentially social. There are no personal or individual ideologies, only personal or individual uses of ideologies. The identity of groups is not only based on their structural properties, but also on their ideology. Ideological belief systems – ideologies – form the axiomatic basis of the more specific beliefs or social representations of a group, such as their group knowledge and group opinions (attitudes). Unlike in most traditional approaches to ideology, ideologies are not necessarily negative. They have similar structures and functions whether shared by dominant or dominated groups, ‘bad’ groups or ‘good’ groups. Thus, we may have negative as well as positive ideologies (utopias), depending on the perspective, values, or group membership of the one who evaluates them. Not all socially shared beliefs of a group are ideological. Thus, ideologically different or opposed groups in the same society need to have beliefs in common in order to be able to communicate in the first place. This common ground consists of socioculturally shared knowledge, which by definition is preideological within that society (although it may later or elsewhere be described as ideological knowledge).

Consequently, the traditionally problematic relationship between knowledge and ideology is resolved as follows: general, sociocultural knowledge, shared by an epistemic community, forms the common ground for all social representations of all (ideological) groups in that community. However, each group may develop specific group knowledge (e.g., professional, religious, or political knowledge) based on the ideology of the group. This knowledge is called ‘knowledge’ within the group because it is generally shared, certified, and presupposed to be true. For other groups, such knowledge may of course be called mere belief, superstition, or religion Van Dijk (2006). In other words, beliefs that are taken for granted, commonsense, undisputed, within a community, and shared by different ideological groups, is by definition non-ideological within that community.

Now that we have discussed the concept of ideology, we can move to talk about the notion of ‘politics’ and see how it is approached by different scholars and researchers.

2.2.2. Politics

It is worth noting that everybody has few thought in relation to the meaning of the word politics; to few people the question may even seem quite redundant. ‘Politics’ is what one reads in relation to the in the papers or watches on television. It deals with the behaviors of the politicians, notably the leaders of political parties. There are certainly many questions one might wish to ask. What is politics all about? Why, precisely, are these behaviors ‘political’ and what defines the nature of politics? If one starts with a definition couched in words of the behaviors of politicians, one might say that politics concerns the rivalries of politicians in their thrash about for authority. This would certainly be the type of definition with which mainly people would agree. There would, also, almost certainly be agreement that politics refers to the connection flanked by states on an international level. ‘Politics is in relation to the authority and how it is distributed.’ But authority is not an abstract entity floating in the void. It is embodied in human beings. Authority is a connection existing wherever a person can impose his will on other persons, creation the latter obey whether they want to or not. Hence, a situation characterized through leadership, a relation of power and subordination. In other words, political would contain any situation where authority dealings lived, i.e., where people were constrained or dominated or subject to power of one type or another. It would also contain situations where people were constrained through a set of buildings or organizations rather than through the subjective will of persons. Such a broad definition has the advantage of showing that politics is not necessarily a matter of government, nor solely concerned with the behaviors of politicians. Politics exists in any context where there is a building of authority and thrash about for authority in an effort to gain or uphold leadership locations. In this sense, one can speak in relation to the politics of deal unions or in relation to

the ‘university politics’. One can discuss ‘sexual politics’, meaning the power of men in excess of women or the effort to alter this relation. At present, there is much controversy in relation to the race politics with reference to the authority, or lack of it, of people of dissimilar color or race in several countries. In a narrower sense, though everything is politics, which affects our lives by the agency of those who exercise and manage state authority, and the purposes for which they exploit that manage.

In this section we will try to outline meaning of the political institution and organization and the relationship between them. But before that we will provide a variety of ways in which the activity we call “politics” is conventionally conceptualized (Leftwich, 2004).

2.2.2.1. Politics as the Study of Government

It should come as no surprise that politics can be approached essentially as the study of government. A focus on the formal-legal institutions, their differences and functioning has accordingly been the main concern of those who adopt this view and was traditionally the framework of analysis for comparative politics. It might properly be called the ‘old institutionalism’ (Peters, 1999; Rhodes, 2006). Although the formal political institutions of state and government do of course have a significant part to play in political processes, there is now widespread agreement that social, economic and political forces – and the informal institutions which they often shape – require much completer attention and to be incorporated into our understanding of politics.

2.2.2.2. Politics as Class Conflict

Another very welcome approach is that of Classical Marxists which sees politics as nothing other than class conflict (Callinicos, 2004) and hence as a function of societies where private property has developed. Under the collective ownership of the means of production in the past or in a socialist future, there is no politics. Accordingly, in the Marxist tradition the state (where it exists) has evolved to protect and promote the interests of the dominant class

and hence government is its executive (Marx, 1888 & 1958). In the Marxist tradition, the particular shape or form of the institutions is thus relatively unimportant compared to the analysis of economic power and its influence on political processes. Though economic power and class relations are significant factors in politics, the Marxist approach appears to ignore the kind of power – countervailing and sometimes dominant – which formally constituted political authority in democratic polities can deploy to constrain and shape the economic power of dominant classes (Leftwich 2007).

2.2.2.3. Politics as Economics

A third approach is to see politics as essentially an extension of economics. That is to say, based on the fundamental assumption of rational utility-maximising individuals that underpins much neo-classical economics, rational choice theorists see politics essentially as a market. Mueller (1979) describes this approach to politics as:

“Public choice can be defined as the economic study of non-market decision-making, or simply as the application of economics to political science. The subject matter of public choice is the same as that of political science: the theory of the state, voting rules, voter behaviour, party politics, the bureaucracy and so on. The methodology of public choice is that of economics, however. The basic behavioural postulate of public choice, as for economics, is that man is an egoistic, rational, utility maximiser”(p.1).

Each of these has its utility but all have one main limitation: their focus is inevitably on the special sites, venues, institutions and practices associated with the central state and ‘public’ politics in general. This is a narrow view of politics as anyone with experience of developing countries will immediately acknowledge. It divorces politics as an activity from what happens in the non-public domain, as in churches, schools, factories, businesses or any other organization, and in the relations between these and the institutions of the state. If we

are to make sense of both formal and informal institutions and how they shape and are shaped by political processes we need a wider conception of politics which recognises that it is unavoidably and necessarily a universal and pervasive phenomenon found wherever two or more people have to make decisions about the use, production and distribution of resources, whether in the private or public domain. In this sense Leftwich (2007), therefore, deploy a different conception of politics.

2.2.2.4. Politics as Process of Human Society

According to Leftwich (2007) politics is thus best conceptualised as consisting of *all the activities of co-operation, conflict and negotiation involved in decisions about the use, production and distribution of resources*, whether these activities are formal or informal, public or private, or a mixture of all (which they usually are). Such a basic conception facilitates ways of integrating both conventional ideas about *politics* (power, authority and collective decision-making) and *economics* (allocation of scarce resources) into a broader understanding of the relations between them.

In this light, politics is therefore best understood as a process, or a linked set of processes, which is not confined to certain sites or venues (parliaments, courts, congresses or bureaucracies) or specialists (such as princes, politicians or civil servants). Like ‘economics’, it is, rather, a universal and necessary process entailed in all collective human activity and does not presuppose formal institutions of rule and governance. While formal decision-making in and around public institutions may (certainly in the modern era) be the most important expression of politics (especially in established, stable and modern polities), it is nonetheless a process found in all human groups and organizations – and must be.

2.2.2.5. Levels of Politics

According to Lindner and Rittenberger (2003), there are two distinct but related levels at which politics and political contestation occurs.

- (a) The level which concerns *rules of the game* (institutions); and
- (b) The level at which games *within the rules* occurs.

(a) Rules of the game

The rules of the game, and agreement about the rules, are fundamental for any on-going political activity. Stable polities are characterised by lasting consensus about the central institutions (rules) of politics (which have seldom been established without intense contestation over long periods of time). In the modern world, these rules are normally expressed in *formal* institution [al] arrangements, that is, in constitutions, which specify formally the rules governing competition for, distribution, use and control of power and the procedures for decision-making and accountability. These may be federal or unitary, presidential or parliamentary; they may specify terms of office and timing of elections; and they may include Bills of Rights and the like. But all such formal institutions are always sustained by wider informal institutional aspects expressed in the culture, political culture and ideology which can have a critical part to play in maintaining both the consensus and adherence to the rules Leftwich (2007, p.14).

Such rules and processes need not be formal or stipulated in written constitutions. Indeed, before the emergence of modern states, most human societies – from hunting and gathering bands through to complex feudal and imperial systems – had stable if often undifferentiated polities, for long periods, based on agreed and understood processes, embedded in structures of power, expressed in cultural institutions and legitimated by a variety of ideologies and beliefs – and no constitution.

Moreover, in all stable polities – whether past or present, traditional or modern – consensus about the *political* rules of the game has normally been part of a wider and more or less explicit consensus about socio-economic goals, policies and practices. Reaching such a settled consensus has seldom been easy or conflict free, as struggles in the course of industrialization in the West between left and right through the nineteenth and twentieth centuries illustrate precisely. Even in some developing societies today where political and economic consensus has been reached, and sustained growth has occurred (such as Mauritius in the last 25 years), it has usually happened after periods of intense and threatening conflict (Bräutigam, 1997).

Each ‘settlement’, and its institutional form, has differed interestingly between various democratic capitalist societies, as well as in the East Asian developmental states, as shown in the studies on ‘varieties of capitalism’ (Hall and Soskice, 2001) and varieties of East Asian institutional arrangements in developmental states (Haggard, 2004). This is not to suggest that settlements about socio-economic goals and institutions are unchanging, but that the agreement about political rules of the game enables change to occur without a fundamental challenge to the stability of politics.

Indeed – and critically – under-girding democratic politics is normally an un-written political contract, or set of informal rules, which consists of two balancing elements. The first is that losers must accept the outcome of elections (provided legitimate), knowing that they can try again 4 or 5 years later (which winners must of course acknowledge, too). But the second element, and just as important, is that winners know that they cannot use their power (where allowed to do so by the constitution) to so undermine or threaten the interests of the losers that they (the losers) would not abide by the contract as a result. Of course there is more to the democratic compact than this implied zero-sum. There are probably only degrees of winning and losing, but although outright winners can, in theory, ‘take all’, they would in

practice be ill-advised to do so to the extent that losers' fundamental interests or opportunities are eliminated (Leftwich, 2007).

One illustration of this is that, over time, the developmental shift to formally democratic capitalist politics is also a move to an increasingly consensual structure of political and economic relations in which both the benefits of winning and the costs of losing are both steadily decreased. But early on that is not the case and hence the stakes are high and the politics can be more confrontational and often violent.

(b) Games within the rules

This second level of politics might be understood as the level at which 'normal' politics happens. It is the level of politics where the daily debates and contestations over policy and practice occur. By 'normal' Leftwich (2007) does not mean that such politics is morally correct, proper and appropriate, or that other forms of politics are abnormal or 'wrong', but only that 'normal' politics is in some sense *predictable* in that outcomes are very unlikely to produce radical shifts in the structure of wealth or power, and is only *unpredictable* within a limited but acceptable range of possibilities. This 'normal' politics only occurs where level one politics – agreement about the institutional rules of the game – has been established and consolidated, and this can occur within either formal or informal institutional arrangements.

In 'normal' politics in stable polities, the fundamental rules of the game are seldom seriously threatened (as indicated above), even when they are changed (for instance through devolution, constitutional reform). Disagreement, debate and change all occur – both in political and economic terms – but through the medium of the institutional settlements and operating procedures which remain stable while changing.

2.2.2.6. Political Institutions and Organizations

Now that we have discussed institutions and organizations in general, and made clear what we are to mean by politics (and its levels) it is appropriate to spell out in more detail what is usefully meant by political institutions (both formal and informal), political organizations (formal and informal) and how one might identify the manner of their interaction.

2.2.2.6.1. Political Institutions

Formal political institutions are a special case of formal institutions in general and best understood as the formal rules which govern public political processes. Narrowly conceived for the modern era, this refers to the formal constitutional arrangements of a state and in particular the rules relating to how formal and authoritative power is accessed, obtained, distributed, limited, used and controlled.

But a wider understanding of politics, as outlined above, suggests that in other institutional domains of social life – companies, universities, bureaucracies and churches – there will be formal rules (internal and external) governing behaviour and these, too, are best understood – on a wider reading of politics – as formal political institutions as they shape the internal political processes of those organizations. The power and committee structure of a university or a company or trade union, would be examples of that.

Informal political institutions, on the other hand, are unwritten agreements, conventions, practices and habitual procedures which operate behind, within or alongside the formal institutions. Some theorists treat informal institutions as culture, referring to the wider informal traditions and practices of a community. However, while all cultures are constituted by (largely informal) institutional rules (for example with respect to birth and death, etiquette, gender relations and much more) not all informal political institutions are part of that or derive from that. As Helmke and Levitsky (2006) point out, treating informal political

institutions as synonymous with culture would exclude the specific informal behaviours and routines within particular state institutions and other organizations which are not an aspect of the wider culture, although one might interpret these as parts of organizational cultures which may differ from organization to organization. So informal political institutions may derive either from the wider culture or be specific to organizations within it.

As Lauth (2000) has suggested, there are four kinds of informal institution. (a) They may be **complementary** to the formal institutions, in that they may make the formal institution more effective or efficient and may fill gaps (Helmke and Levitsky, 2006, p.13). A regular informal meeting to discuss an agenda or strategy before a formal meeting may help sustain the formal institution or make business more efficient. Or, a set of individualistic and egalitarian principles or cultural practices might be an essential complement for liberal democracy. (b) They may be **accommodating** informal institutions, which establish ways of behaving 'in ways that alter the substantive effects of formal rules, without directly violating them' (Helmke and Levitsky, 2006, p.15). Cross-party informal agreement about negotiation, power sharing and proportional distribution of government jobs in the Netherlands is an example, as was the series of pacts in 1958 which helped to establish Venezuelan democracy for a generation (Karl, 1986), neither of which were written into the constitutions but certainly helped to make it work. Such accommodating institutions may promote stability in a context where the political outcomes of applying the formal rules might generate conflict. (c) **Competing** informal institutions normally coexist with, but often overwhelm, distort or undermine formal institutions. Patrimonial institutions and entrenched patron-client relations, working through or behind formal Weberian-style institutions (neo-patrimonialism) have been shown to transform (in usually anti-developmental ways) those formal institutions of rule and the state and have often self-transformed into what are conventionally understood as corrupt practices (Bratton and van de Walle, 1997; van de Walle, 1994 and 2007; Wantchekon, 2003;

Hyden, 2006). In African and other polities in the developing world, civil servants find themselves torn between these formal and informal sets of institutions, as Prices' work on Ghana demonstrated empirically (Price, 1975). Finally (d) Lauth identifies *substitutive* informal institutions, which set out to achieve what formal institutions were 'designed, but failed, to achieve', such as the *concertaciones* ('gentlemen's agreements'), in Mexico which emerged during its democratic transition to resolve electoral disputes as the formal electoral courts lacked credibility (Helmke and Levitsky, 2006, p. 16). Other work on 'co-production' where informal arrangements are made to support or replace state institutions (e.g. tax collection by taxi-operatives in Ghana) offers further examples (Joshi and Moore, 2004; Joshi and Ayee, n.d.).

2.2.2.6.2. Political Organizations

As with political *institutions*, political *organizations* can be classified in terms of formal and informal ones, though there is far less literature on this and it is certainly a research area of considerable importance, as is the relationship between informal and formal political institutions in developing countries and elsewhere (Hyden, 2006). And a promising hypothesis to explore would be that the less established and consolidated are the rules of the political game, the greater will be the role of informal institutions and organizations in the play of the game.

Formal political organizations are fairly straightforward and include the obvious ones such as political parties and pressure groups, legislatures and bureaucracies and any other organizations (as defined earlier) which are explicitly and publicly concerned with formal political processes, including public lobbyists and others. It is important, also to recognise that many other organizations which are not formally political can act politically in a formal way. For instance, business associations and trades unions, think-tanks, professional associations and non-governmental organizations need to be understood as formal political organizations

when they act through the political process to influence policy formation and direction. The central characteristic of *formal* political organizations is their open-ness.

Informal political organizations, on the other hand, inhabit a shadowy (and often illicit) world. They normally have no public face and act politically behind the scenes; they may be transient, emerging to pursue a particular goal and then dissolving. They may be explicitly political or they may be informal organizations which are primarily concerned with other activities (for example, commerce) but now and again use their power and or influence politically (as is the case with the *mafia*), deploying means which range from old boy networks to outright bribery, threat and worse. Cabals, cliques, organized but secluded factions are all cases. The literature on the 'shadow state' (Reno, 2000) suggests that individuals and groups from different formal organizations, both public and private, may often inhabit a secret and parallel set of informal organizations that aims to shape decisions and outcomes in their own interests by subverting or short-circuiting formal institutional arrangements and rules.

The above sections have identified the conceptual building blocks for the political analysis of institutions and, equally, for the institutional analysis of politics. Policy, institutions, organizations, rules of the political game, political games within the rules, political institutions and political organizations (both formal and informal) are the crucial ones. But these are either static or descriptive conceptual categories and, as such, leave open the question as to what drives and shapes the relations between these categories in practice? What is the dynamic that organizes these relationships? What establishes and maintains and changes institutional arrangements? How do institutions relate to each other? What determines whether informal or formal institutions come to dominate the political process? How do organizations relate to institutions? And what determines the relative influence of

organizations whether formal or informal? There are no simple or formulaic answers to these questions and each case will be different.

Summary

Overall, it can be concluded from this section that politics is the activity through which people make, preserve and amend the general rules under which they live. As such, it is an essentially social activity, inextricably linked, on the one hand, to the existence of diversity and conflict, and, on the other, to a willingness to cooperate and act collectively. Politics is better seen as a search for conflict resolution than as its achievement, as not all conflicts are, or can be, resolved. Politics has been understood differently by different thinkers and within different traditions. Politics has been viewed as the art of government or as 'what concerns the state'; as the conduct and management of public affairs; as the resolution of conflict through debate and compromise; and as the production, distribution and use of resources in the course of social existence. There is considerable debate about the realm of 'the political'. Conventionally, politics has narrowly been seen as embracing institutions and actors operating in a 'public' sphere concerned with the collective organization of social existence. However, when politics is understood in terms of power-structured relationships, it may be seen to operate in the 'private' sphere as well.

Among many other things, ideologies are systems of beliefs. These systems of beliefs are shared by members of a social group. Groups also share other beliefs, such as knowledge and attitudes. The beliefs shared by a group will be called 'social representations' (SRs). Ideologies are the organizing, 'basic' beliefs of these SRs. Groups not only have their 'own', ideologically based, «knowledge» (often called «beliefs» by other groups), but also share in more general, consensual, culturally shared knowledge, which may be called (cultural) 'common ground'. This cultural common ground may be seen as the foundation of all cognition, across and between different groups, and thus is also presupposed by different

ideologies (Van Dijk 1998). Political ideology as Erikson & Tedin (2003) concluded in their research is a set of beliefs about the proper order of society and how it can be achieved, (p.64). Denzau & North (1994/2000) also highlight the role of social groups or collectivities and consider ideologies as the shared framework of mental models that groups of individuals possess that provide both an interpretation of the environment and a pre-scription as to how that environment should be structured.

2.3. Politics in the Moroccan Context

Before trying to understand the way political communication is managed visually and how the message travels across the audience by discussing the semiotic theories, it is significant to grasp the Moroccan political contexts in which these images were created. In this sense, we will briefly provide general information about the political system of Morocco, parties' communication and voters' relations. After that another section will be assigned to elaborate on the focus of this study. Hence, the PJD historical background and the political contexts which helped them during the campaign for the elections of November 2011 will be presented.

2.3.1. Political System and Constitution

It should be noted that the kingdom of Morocco is an Islamic, democratic and social constitutional hereditary monarchy. Since the enthronement of his majesty King Mohamed VI on 23 July 1999, Morocco has seen major changes in different domains, including changes in its political structures. The constitution set up in 1962 and officially adjusted in 1970, 1972, 1992 and 1996 continues to uphold the king as both the head of state and spiritual leader (*Amir Almouminin*).

As head of state, King Mohamed VI has the right to appoint the prime minister. He can also appoint and remove from office the members of the cabinet. He can dissolve parliament, arrange new elections and rule by decree. Since the reform of the constitution in

1996, parliament has comprised two chambers: the Assembly of Representatives (Chambre des Représentants) and the Assembly of Councillors (Chambre des Conseillers). The current 325 representatives in the Assembly of Representatives are elected directly every five years. All citizens at the age of 18 and above are allowed to vote. The 270 councillors are elected by local and regional councils that are elected directly. Every three years, one-third of the councillors are elected. The power of parliament is very limited, but has been reinforced by reforms of the constitution in 1992. Therefore, it has at present the right to fix the budget, propose laws, question ministers and convoke research committees. It can also overthrow the government by an act of impeachment (El-Maarouf, El Fahli and Kuchejda, 2009).

It should be made clear that the constitution stands to establish basic civic rights. These include freedom of movement and settlement in all parts of the kingdom, freedom of opinion, freedom of expression in all its forms, freedom of public gathering, freedom of association and the freedom to belong to any union or political group of one's choice (chapter 1, article 9). The constitution states that all Moroccan citizens are equal before the law, that men and women shall enjoy equal political rights, that secrecy of personal correspondence shall be preserved, that opportunities for employment in public offices and positions shall be uniformly open to all citizens, that all citizens shall have equal rights in seeking education and employment and that the right of strike shall be guaranteed (chapter 1, articles 5, 8, 11, 12, 13 and 14).

The Moroccan constitution indicates that political parties, unions, districts, councils and trade chambers shall participate in the organisation and representation of the country's citizens and that there shall be no one-party system (chapter 1, article 3). Political parties in Morocco, however, do not have any special functions. They can build coalitions; however, the king has the ultimate power to choose the prime minister and members of the government. Political parties in Morocco do not operate within the constitutional underlying structure

which, for instance, characterizes the functioning of political parties in Germany, according to article 21 of the German Basic Law (Grundgesetz). Apart from article 3, parties are not mentioned in the constitution. Nevertheless, political parties in Morocco do receive public funds (El-Maarouf, El Fahli and Kuchejda, 2009).

2.3.2. Political Parties

Political parties are permitted under chapter 1, article 3 of the constitution, but in the past the strategies of division and co-option employed by King Hassan II rendered them largely ineffective. Since 2006, there has been a new law (Dahir no. 01-06-18 du 15 moharrem 1527 [14 February 2006] portant promulgation de la loi no. 36-04 relative aux partis politiques) that regulates party organization (Moroccan Law on Political Parties). Accordingly, political parties in Morocco are to participate in a democratic manner in the management of public affairs (article 1). Any party founded on religious, linguistic, ethnic or regional principles is prohibited (article 4). Furthermore, the law regulates internal party administration, i.e., concerning party meetings and statutes and the requirement to declare them to the Ministry of the Interior (article 11 and the following). As to internal democracy (elections and selection processes), the law does not give any precise information. Only articles 21 and 24 point out that the party constitution has to correspond to democratic rules. In addition, article 25 specifies that the party statute must contain the election process of the candidates. Furthermore, there is a regulation for party financing (article 28 and the following), the result of which is that Moroccan political parties are financed by membership fees, donations, earnings of social or cultural activities and public funds. Public funds are paid if the party gets at least 5 per cent of votes at national elections. It will lose its rights to subvention by not respecting certain requirements, e.g., failing to hold a party conference over a period of five years (article 40).

The new law on political parties assigns parties a new role and function insofar as it is their responsibility to “organize and represent the citizens” (article 3). However, it imposes unfeasible conditions and procedural complexities for party organization: the need to submit a file to the Ministry of the Interior, including a validated licence with three signatures by three of the founding members and three copies of the draft of the statute, as well as the draft programme; and a written commitment of at least 300 founding members, who must be enrolled in the electoral regulations and distributed according to their headquarters, across half of the regions of Morocco (article 8). Given the slow pace of administrative and bureaucratic work of administrative departments in Morocco, the amount of required documents and further information parties have to submit in order to get the new law licensed may prevent parties from two of the major objectives of democratic regimes, namely, competition for access to power and the application of party programmes (TelQuel).

With respect to national elections, political parties must be authorized by the Ministry of the Interior. Moroccan expatriates are not permitted to vote in legislative elections. The Islamist (PJD) levelled sharp criticism at the government for not including opposition parties in debates. The new electoral code regulates the organization of parties, but tasks emerge mainly from the guidelines of the parties themselves. In 2007, the Moroccan ministers of the interior and justice declared strict organizational and legal measures to pursue the corruptors of political life in the country, including referring them to court in order to safeguard the credibility of the legislative elections that were held in September 2007.

The new electoral law has initiated various rules regulating party organization, including the fact that parties must have a clear written programme (article 20) to help to distinguish between different parties’ ideologies and to facilitate the process of classification. The fact that parties must be organized on the basis of democratic principles is conceived to allow all members to participate actively in the management of different party organs. The

adoption of democratic standards to select and recommend candidates for the various electoral consultations is designed to contribute to the development of democracy and the decline of parties oriented primarily towards their leaders. In addition, parties should stipulate in their statutes the proportion of women and youth to be involved in the governing body of the party (article 22). This is to help inject new blood into the veins of political life. The new law has also prevented the phenomenon of political nomads (members travelling from party to party), which spoiled the political and parliamentary life of Morocco (article 5).

Over the past five years there has been an increasing number of political parties in Morocco, especially due to spin-offs and the creation of new parties. Based on the current parliamentary representation, the following political parties can be considered as relevant (in alphabetical order):

- Mouvement Populaire (MP);
- Parti Authentité et Modernité (PAM);
- Parti Istiqlal (PI);
- Parti de la Justice et du Développement (PJD);
- Parti du Progrès et du Socialisme (PPS);
- Parti Socialiste Unifié (PSU);
- Parti Travailliste (PT);
- Rassemblement National des Indépendants (RNI);
- Union Constitutionnelle (UC);
- Union Socialiste des Forces Populaires (USFP).

The other political parties in Morocco are quite small and have only a weak representation in the Moroccan parliament. They often fuse ad hoc with other parties, or rather parliamentary groups, such as the Parti de l'Environnement et du Développement (PED), which is part of the parliamentary group Groupe Rassemblement et de Modernité.

Beyond this, there are some MPs wearing the abbreviation SAP ("sans appartenance politique"), which means that they do not have a party ticket (El-Maarouf, El Fahli and Kuchejda, 2009).

It is significant to know that there are three main reasons behind the formation of particular parties in Morocco as the following:

- Parties are the result of ideological clashes in society, e.g., between Islamists, nationalists and labour;
- Parties are a mixture of traditionally grown and stable milieux, along with people running for office and patronage relationships, a phenomenon which can be found in Morocco with notable parties, i.e., a conglomeration of people with high local influence;
- Parties have an ethnic or religious basis (such as the Berber MP or Islamist PJD), but this in fact is not allowed in Morocco owing to the possibility of provoking regional and ethnic clashes.

According to the liberal (Western) conception of a democracy, political parties play a central role as a bridge between society and the political system. They are an instrument for the expression and aggregation of interests representing the people on a political level. They also serve as mobilizers of the people, i.e., they recruit political staff and form the government (Axtmann 2004). In Morocco, however, political parties are basically vehicles for individual candidates to pursue their material and power-related ends. Only restrictively, they also serve as a terrain where the particular political ideologies (Islamic, labour, etc.) are entertained.

2.3.3. Voters' Relations

People vote, there or thereabouts, within similar mindsets and ambitions. Generally, ideological reasons govern people's voting decisions, but it is worth referring again to the high rate of patronage, i.e., that votes are bought with money. As mentioned above, the

parliamentary elections in 2007 were regarded as the fairest ever held in Morocco. The Ministry of the Interior played a fair and neutral role that astonished most observers, local and global. Ironically, this could have been one of the reasons behind the low-voting statistics (37 per cent) because few parties were able “buy” votes and the vote market broke down (Lanz 2007). The other traceable reason behind such low participation in the ballot is attributable to the general dissatisfaction with and disenchantment about politics in the country and the political class (especially in urban areas).

This rationalizes the unstable relations between parties and voters. During the past five years, these relations have become less stable because of the absence of closeness between the party and the voter and the intersection of their interests. Here the awareness of the individual (in the degree of interaction) is based on a complete retreat from the party, and from all political practices that lack real supervision. This is a political gap and a clear example of a lack of political faith and of an ominous setback and move away from politics, as witnessed in the elections of 2007. Furthermore, the increase in the practice of parties’ insincere interactions with the electorate, the absence of accountability, parties’ general selfishness and the corruption within the system all contribute to exacerbate voter apathy.

2.3.4. Parties’ communication

It is worth noting that political parties use different media to communicate with their voters, clientele and members. The majority of political parties make use of what is called the “partisan press”. Through their own newspapers, political parties voice their programmes and agendas and define their structures and bodies. Parties also invest a great deal in designing websites that are accessible to internet users. In advertising campaigns, other media are used. They can be visual in nature, namely advertising spots broadcasted on television and the radio. Written media take the form of flyers, posters and billboards. Oral media (face-to-face

communication) are also used where party members visit public spaces to convince voters about a party's programmes through personal conversations, caravans and festivals.

Since the 2007 elections, only big parties such as the Union Socialiste des Forces Populaires, the Parti Istiqlal, the Parti de la Justice et du Développement, the Mouvement Populaire and the Rassemblement Nationale des Indépendants have been able to take advantage of professional agencies for their advertising campaigns. Nevertheless, a pioneering party in seeking the services of a professional agency is the Parti du Progrès et du Socialisme, which started the tradition in 1995. The budget for campaigning is estimated at between 3 and 4 million MAD (dirham) and covers communication operations, including electoral campaigns. Despite the investment of significant efforts into political campaigns, particular problems still persist and hinder the effectiveness of political communication. One of these problems pertains, according to Houria Habib, coordinator of the Citizenship Caravan during the 2007 legislative elections, to the lack of faith among youth in the importance of the whole electoral process (Magharebia). Similarly, illiteracy constitutes a further impediment to the success of the parties' political communications. According to Abdessamad Hassad, a researcher working on the impact of illiteracy on democracy and development, only about 300,000 people read one of the 700 newspapers or magazines published in Morocco (IPS). Access to the internet is another problem, given that the estimated number of internet users in Morocco in 2007 was about 21 per cent according to the World Economic Forum (El-Maarouf, El Fahli and Kuchejda, 2009).

2.4. PJD and the Political Context

2.4.1. The Arab Spring

Started in Tunisia, a movement unfolded that fundamentally changed the Arab world. People from all kinds of backgrounds united in common goals. They were asking for freedom and democracy, which was long believed to be impossible in the Arab world. The Middle East

had the least democracy and freedom among all countries in the world (Karatnycky, 2002, p. 103). It is clear that the commencement of Arab spring has been traced back to an event which took place on December the 17th, 2010 when a young Tunisian set himself on fire. Takver (2011) describes the event clearly: “One of the sparks to this revolution was the death of a young Tunisian protester on January, Mohamed Bouazizi, who set fire to himself on December 17 after police stopped him selling fruit and vegetables without a licence and confiscated his produce” (cited in Belmekki 2014, p. 39).

There is a tendency to talk about the Arab Spring or “Arab Awakening”, as some People in the Arab world prefer to call it and consider it an expression with clear antecedents in the social, national, constitutional and even Islamic modernist reforms of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, as though it were a monolithic phenomenon (Rogan, 2011). It is true that many of the national uprisings have common features. The demonstrations are largely driven by younger citizens, using cell phones and social networking websites to circumvent state controls. There is no visible leadership in many of these essentially grass roots movements. They use the same slogans and tactics as Arab citizens in other countries, learning from the successes of revolutionary movements in other Arab countries. There are four approaches that are regarded as the cause of the Arab spring.

A first approach to the Arab Spring argues that change was inevitable because of the critical socioeconomic development in the **authoritarian states** of the Middle East. According to Volker Perthes (2011, p. 24), the most important trigger for this change was the demographic development of the Arab world. From 1970 to 2010, the population nearly tripled, going from 128 million to 359 million inhabitants (Hegasy 2011, p. 41). An estimated 41 percent of these people live below the poverty line (UNDP 2009, p. 22), and nearly 30 percent of the population is between the ages of 20 and 35 (Perthes 2011, p. 30). In addition to

that, the labor market offers limited opportunities for university graduates (Perthes 2011, p. 31).

Another approach, held especially by Philip Howard and Muzammil Hussain (2011), attributes the outbreak of the Arab Spring to the access to digital media, including **social media** such as Facebook, Twitter, YouTube, and text messages. After Mohammad Bouazizi's legendary self-immolation, people communicated throughout Tunisia in various online forums, expressing their solidarity as well as their dissatisfaction with the political situation in the country. Messages and posts on Facebook and Twitter or simple text messages immediately informed pro-testors about the next step of action and the location where it would take place. Within a few weeks, guided instructions for organizing successful protests were circulated on the Internet (Hussain, p. 38, 40).

Another view to the Arab spring argues that all protests were directly linked to the demands for **human dignity** (*karama*), freedom, and social justice (Asseburg 2011, p 3; Perthes 2011, p. 33, 34). The first major mass protest in Egypt on 25 January 2011 brought thousands of people to Tahrir Square in Cairo carrying the words "bread, freedom and human dignity" (HRW 2012). With slogans like these, people called for just structures that did not constrain them from access to jobs because they didn't belong to a particular family; political and economic systems not permeated by omnipresent corruption; and a state that would not force them to accept a poor social and economic situation (West 2011, p. 16).

From a **political-economic** point of view, the Arab Spring was caused by a fundamental crisis of the authoritarian social contract. The contract had regulated relations between the people of the Arab world and the power systems for decades (Harders 2011). This authoritarian bargain indirectly promised the population a minimum of subsidies. In exchange, people preserved some degree of political loyalty to the regime.

In general, much more research is required in order to come up with a fully satisfactory explanation of the Arab Spring. Yet, at this point it is obvious that major aspects of the different approaches to explain the Arab Spring are not mutually excluding.

2.4.1.1. PJD and the Arab Spring

It is quite clear that the experience of 2011 has been quite different in the Arab monarchies from that of the republics. Morocco and Jordan are resource poor monarchies that have responded to the challenges of 2011 by initiating constitutional reforms. Both have announced measures to promote the independence of the judiciary, to establish an elected government with the prime minister chosen by the electorate rather than the monarch, and a legislature with genuine law-making powers. By such means, King Abdullah II of Jordan and King Mohammad VI of Morocco have managed to prevent isolated demonstrations from coalescing into revolutionary movements within their borders (Rogan, 2011).

It is significant to note that nearly twenty years ago, to talk about political Islam in the Maghreb was to talk exclusively about its Algerian and Tunisian variants. At the time, it seemed unlikely that Islamism could emerge in Morocco and Moroccan observers and political figures alike were firmly convinced that the King's political function (*'amir al mousminoun*) protected the country from this ideology. That all changed at the beginning of the 1990s, when Islamism burst upon the Moroccan political scene (Amghar, 2007).

The Islamist movement in Morocco is far from homogenous.¹ Pluralistic by nature, Moroccan Islamism can be divided between two groups: the Justice and Development Party (*Hizbo alaadalati wa atanmia*, or PJD in its French acronym) under the direction of Saad Eddine Othmani, and Justice and Charity (*al 'Adl wal 'Ihsan*, JC), led by Sheik Abdessalam Yassine. In this section our focus is mainly on PJD.

The PJD was formed from the fusion of a large number of small moderate Islamist organizations and monarchist insiders. Under the name of the Constitutional and Democratic Popular Movement (MPDC) this coalition competed in the 1997 legislative elections and entered Parliament for the first time after winning nine seats. In 1998, the party changed its name to become the Justice and Development Party. During the 2002 legislative elections, the PJD won 42 out of 295 seats, becoming one of the country's main political forces. In 2004, Saad Eddine Othmani became the party's secretary general (Amghar, 2007).

It is worth noting that there are three different pathways to political change have emerged in the region as a result of the Arab Spring. The first path is that of peaceful revolution as exemplified by the Jasmine revolution in Tunisia, which more or less inspired the rest of the disenchanted Arab masses to rise up and demand political change. The second path is the Libyan way, that of a violent armed revolution that turned into a successful joint venture with western allies that eventually resulted in regime change. Both pathways to political reform necessitated regime change. Then there is the Moroccan way, which is political change without regime change (Khan, 2012).

The PJD's victory was expected and, one could argue, even desired by the King of Morocco because it legitimizes both the electoral process and the constitutional reforms of June 2011. In the last elections, held in 2007, the PJD came in second by winning forty-seven seats in Parliament. Its supporters, however, maintained that it was cheated out of several seats, and the king was accused of deliberately fixing the outcome. But now its victory is also victory for the king, for it sends the message to the masses that the elections were honest. It therefore perhaps erases the lingering resentment at past fixes and gives the reforms the oxygen of trust they need to survive (Ibid, 2012).

The PJD's victory sends a powerful message that Arab regimes can be reformed and that the West is ready to embrace change and will not actively oppose the will of the Arab

peoples. The facts that the Islamists received over 30 percent of the vote, emerged as the single largest party, and now have their leader Abdelilah Benkirane serving as prime minister are significant. Nevertheless, one must not overestimate their victory and interpret it as an indication that a “Sharia tsunami” is engulfing Morocco. In fact, several factors suggest that this election is not the beginning of a systematic take over by the Islamists (ibid, 2012).

The PJD’s campaign focus on good governance and anti-corruption measures was popular but may place the party in conflict with elites close to the palace, some of whom likely benefit from Morocco’s opaque economic governance. Many analysts view the PJD as more driven by constituent concerns than are other political parties. Still, the PJD is unlikely to significantly change “the macro political character of the Moroccan state,” as the party’s leaders have long been primarily concerned with garnering acceptance from the monarchy in exchange for integration into the political system (Arief, 2012).

Overall, in following the events that took place in the Arab world, people intuitively sensed that they had an opportunity to bring about real change. Moroccans appreciated the initiatives toward a real change by the king Mohammad VI and were excited about the constitutional and political reforms, but remained lukewarm to what was billed as an historic election. The Arab spring was a paved ground for some political actors especially Abdelilah Benkirane, the leader of the PJD, who succeeded to convince his audience that he deserves to win in the elections of November 2011.

2.4.2. The 20th February Movement

The 20th February movement is a social movement that claims for radical political and social change in Morocco. Though it is called a youth movement, it includes people from all different generations and social groups. It is called the 20th February movement because of its first demonstration that took place in the 20th February 2011, which represents the real starting point of the movement. The actual and most important reason behind the emergence

of the 20th F.M movement was the influence of the revolutions in the neighbouring countries; Tunisia and Egypt. In addition to this political opportunity, there are also other elements that helped in the emergence of this movement, such as the social misery that the majority of Moroccans lives in since long time ago. The 20th February movement is also described as the extension of Arab spring in Morocco (Brouwer, 2013).

The 20th February movement was born in the internet, mainly, through facebook and other social websites. It has neither formal leaders nor central organisation. However, each city has a committee (or coordination) that sets local meetings and the dates of demonstrations in coordination with committees of other cities. These committees are led by young activists, most of whom have no political affiliation. The most important thing in this movement is that it relies on the support of many different organisations, unions, political parties and associations. The movement relies on the support of diverse organizations (leftist, Islamist, Amazigh, students, and others) (20th February movement press kit, 2011). The initial call to demonstrate was associated with the following demands:

- A democratic constitution expressing popular sovereignty;
- The dissolution of parliament , the dismissal of the current government and the establishment of a transitional administration, which primary goal will be to initiate reforms;
- An independent judiciary under s strict separation of powers;
- The trial of all individuals involved in the mismanagement and the squandering of public funds;
- The recognition of Amazigh as an official language, besides the Arabic language;
- The release of all political prisoners and prisoners of opinion and the trial of all those responsible for arbitrary arrests and cases of “disappearances” and torture;

- A better quality of, and access to social welfare services (health, education, housing), especially for the poorest

Let's try to analyze how the political opportunity that of the occurrence of revolutions in the neighbouring countries, Tunisia and Egypt, helped to raise or advance the claims of this movement as stated by (Brouwer, 2013).

Before the revolutions took place in Egypt and Tunisia, it was unlikely for such a social movement, which called for radical changes, to emerge in Morocco because of the fear that the previous king, Hassan II, left behind him. However, the Arab spring represented a political opportunity for young people in Morocco who did not live during Hassan II reign to take the streets and call for radical changes (Brouwer, 2013).

About a week before the 20th February 2011, the first members of the 20th February movement had published in different websites, including Facebook, a list of demands. The main political demands that the list contained include: new popular and democratic constitution, dissolution of parliament and dismissal of the government, independent judiciary, and the release of all political prisoners.

Concerning the demands that are concerned with the person of the king, in every protest, slogans called for the abolition of Article 19 of the Moroccan Constitution, which enshrines the king's divine right for unlimited powers. They also called for the abolition of the notion of sacredness that the King of enjoys. In addition, it is important to mention that the sentence of "overthrowing despotism" can be understood to mean the person of the king (ibid, 2013).

Besides the claim for a new constitution, the movement concentrated on the social problems that the majority of Moroccans suffer from so that they can mobilize sympathisers. Though the movement used these social demands to gain more sympathiser, still these social claims are legitimate.

Concerning the cultural and the economic claims of the 20th February movement, there are very few in comparison with the political and social ones. Actually, the 20F.M. has only one main cultural claim; the recognition or officialising of the Amazigh language, which was also a demand of the Amazigh movement even before the emergence of the 20F.M. The new constitution has responded to this demand by officialising the Amazigh language.

Economic demands, on the other hand, are not really the main concerns of the movement. However, the movement is complaining about the high cost of both water and electricity bills, so they are asking for the departure of the company in charge (Veolia). The movement is also asking for bringing back the smuggled wealth “of the Moroccan citizens”, lowering the prices of the primary goods (e.g. flour, oil, sugar, etc.), and dividing the country’s income equally between all the Moroccans.

From all the above mentioned political, social, cultural, economic demands, we realise that most of these demands have been raised and asked for before the emergence of the 20F.M. by different associations, governmental and nongovernmental organisations and political parties. However, the 20F.M. members realised that the only way that the regime will respond to them is through demonstration as they have witnessed in Tunisia and Egypt. So the Arab spring represents the right political opportunity to the Moroccans to take the streets to ask for their rights.

2.4.2.1. PJD and 20th February Movement

The emergence of the 20F.M. put Justice and Development party in a difficult situation. The emergence of this pro-democracy movement gives PJD two deadly options; either to support the movement and gain more votes to the next elections, but that would make it on direct confrontation with the palace, or to take an opposite stance against the movement the thing that will risk the support of the public to the party. But PJD was very smart in its response to the movement. It was neither supporting the 20F.M. nor it criticizing it (Darif,

2011). By doing so, PJD had put one foot on the palace with the king and the other on the streets with the social movement and had somehow satisfied the two parties.

Abdessamad Assakkal, an official member of PJD said that “for us in PJD, when the first demonstration of the 20F.M. has been announced, there has been a debate inside PJD about the topic. The secretary-general of the party decided that it is not concerned to participate in the movement.” The secretary-general of the party said that his party is not going to participate because he does not know the affiliation of the movement’s leaders. However, other voices said that PJD did not officially support the 20F.M. because the party, according to Y. Attabt, is “afraid about the stability of the country and kingship”, after what the world had witnessed in Tunisia and Egypt (cited in Brouwer, 2013).

It was clear that in one occasion PJD announced that it is not concerned with the 20F.M. and in other we find some important members participating in the demonstrations of the movement, and in other the movement’s members agreed with the movements in certain points. This ambiguous and indecisive opinion of PJD about the 20F.M. justified by two main things; first, its fear to lose the good relationship that the party has with the palace if it would officially supported the social movement; and its fear to lose votes in the next elections (November 2011). Mohammed Darif also justifies the ambiguity of PJD towards the 20F.M. by the party’s denial to the legitimacy of the movement which considers all political parties to be responsible for the political corruption in the country. In other words, the ambiguous opinion of PJD towards the social movement can only explained by the political benefits and fears of the party.

Although the PJD might have won the elections on their own, without the appearance of the 20F.M., they wouldn’t have been in such powerful position as they are now.

We furthermore argued that Moroccan political parties gained a lot during the emergence of 20F.M. In the case of PJD, the party has gained much political power during the

last year. They gained the elections by winning the support of the Moroccan people and are now a governing party. Part of this success was because they were the party that was fighting for the same (popular) causes that 20F.M. was fighting for and the fact that they seemed very respectable in the eyes of the people who voted.

Summary

Overall, the following points can be concluded from this section:

- The Arab Spring protests in Morocco led by the February 20 Movement ushered in a new political era. An Islamist party—the Party of Justice and Development (PJD)—found an opportunity to be part of the government due to a series of constitutional reforms implemented in 2011. This was a momentous change in Moroccan politics that not only granted the PJD a chance to govern but also potentially tested the king’s religious credentials.
- Religion has always been a pillar of Morocco’s ruling Alaouite dynasty, which claims descent from the Prophet Muhammad. The king uses the title Amir al-Mu’minin (Commander of the Faithful) in order to confer religious legitimacy on his rule over Moroccans.
- The PJD derives part of its political identity from its Islamic orientation. This religious identity puts the party on a collision course with the king.
- Before the Arab uprisings began in Morocco, the PJD was effectively excluded from government despite its popularity and electoral success. Yet since the country’s constitutional reforms in 2011, the PJD has been the major partner of coalition governments in Morocco following parliamentary election victories in 2012 and 2016.

2.5. Semiotics Theory

Before understanding the way communication is managed visually and how the message travels across the audience, we have to take a look at the concept of semiotics. Semiotic derives from the Greek *semesion*, meaning sign, *semainon* which means signifier and *semainomenon* meaning signified or indication. Generally, semiotic is the study of signs or an epistemology about the existence or the actuality of sign in societal life. Many pioneers, researchers, practitioners and authors of semiotic such as Ferdinand de Saussure, Charles Sanders Peirce, Roland Barthes, Roman Jakobson, Charles Morris and Umberto Eco (Eco, 1979; Leeds-Hurwitz, 1993; Panuti & Zoest, 1996; Chandler, 2002) have agreed on the simple definition. For understanding and clearer purpose, semiotics accounts for everything that can be seen or be interpreted as a sign as postulated by Umberto Eco in his book entitled 'A Theory of Semiotics' who indicated that 'semiotics is concerned with everything that can be taken as a sign. A sign is everything which can be taken as significantly substituting for something else' (1979, p.7). According to Umberto Eco, that 'something else' does not necessarily exist exactly at the same time when the sign represent or replace its position. Therefore, Umberto Eco often refers to it as theory of lie, or deception because it can be used for misleading or deceiving others (1976, pp. 6, 7).

Tracing the historical background and its advent, especially during the development of the classical semiotic, the philosophy pertaining to the significance of semiotic in the life of mankind has begun about more than two thousand years ago by the Greek philosophers. Later during the medieval times, the meaning and the use of signs have been discussed in depth by the Stoici (Zeno) as well as other philosophers and scholars. However, the term 'semiotic' only appeared at the end of 18th century when introduced and applied by a German philosopher, Lambert. Later in the 20th century, the thought and the use of signs on a systematic basis began to gain public attention and till then the field of semiotics has

continued to become a research topic and writings among scholars and academicians to date (Panuti & Zoest, 1996; Yarni, Erizal, Studs, & Amris, 2001).

It should be noted clear that in the development of the modern semiotic history, there are two pioneers from western countries who have made big contributions towards the respected field, namely Ferdinand de Saussure (1857-1913), a linguist from Switzerland and Charles Sanders Peirce (1839-1914), a philosopher from America.

Ferdinand de Saussure is a linguist scholar who has developed the basis or groundwork of general linguistic theory. He is well-known as a founder of modern linguist. The emergence of the sign theory in the field of linguistics started when he felt that the theory of linguistic signs should be placed in a more general basis theory. Inspired and grounded from that thought, he has proposed the term 'semiology' in a few compilations of lecture notes taken by his students based on lectures given since 1907 to 1911, which eventually have been published as a book entitled 'Course in General Linguistics'. Finally, those works or masterpieces became a high-impact source of linguistic theory which is known as structuralisme. Given below are the excerpts from Saussure which are considered as a catalyst for the emergence of semiotic field:

A science that studies the life of signs within society is conceivable; it would be a part of social psychology and consequently of general psychology; I shall call it semiology (from Greek semeion 'sign'). Semiology would show what constitutes signs, what laws govern them. Since the science does not yet exist, no one can say what it would be; but it has a right to existence, a place staked out in advance. Linguistics is only a part of the general science of semiology; the laws discovered by semiology will be applicable to linguistics, and the latter will circumscribe a well-defined area within the mass of anthropological facts (Leeds-Hurwitz, 1993, p. 4).

The gist and primary focus of Saussure's theory is the principle that emphasized language as a system of sign, and besides language there are many other sign systems that exist in the world of mankind. However, in his opinion the system of linguistic signs or language is the most superior sign system compared to other sign systems that exist in the real world because it plays an important role in constructing reality. He focuses on the underlying system of language (*langue*) as compared to the use of language (*parole* or speech). There are several views or basic concepts underlying Saussure's theory of sign, namely the two-dimensional system, the consensus or conventional system, the networking relationship between signs system and the arbitrary system.

In a nutshell, Saussure's theory of sign gives more emphasis to internal structure devoted to cognitive thought process or activity of human minds in structuring the physical (material) or intangible (abstract) signs of their environments or surroundings, and among them is the structure of linguistic signs in the language system that allows them to function as human beings and communicate with each other. According to the Saussurian model, a sign consists of the signifier and the signified, and signification is the relationship between the two (Chandler, 2001). In Saussure's model, both the signifier and the signified are abstract rather than material. The signifier in Saussure's model is "the form which the sign takes" and a signified is "the concept it represents" (Chandler, 2001, *Signs*, para. 3). A signified is not to be recognized as a referent; rather, it is a concept in the mind (Chandler, 2001, *Signs*, para.10). In other words, rather than an actual object, it is the notion of an object (Chandler, 2001, *Signs*, para.10).

Saussure's theory is considered as the proponent to the thought that "language does not reflect reality but rather constructs it" because we do not only use language or give meaning to anything that exists in the world of reality, but also to anything that does not exist in it" (Chandler, 2002, p. 28). Saussure's principle is also known as structuralisme and has

given the basic core to the mind of prominent scholars in other fields, and one of the most important is the approach of structuralisme by Levi-Strauss.

However, people who have adopted Saussure's model now take the signifier as the material form of the sign, which can be seen, heard, touched, smelled or tasted. The signified, on the other hand, is still treated as a mental concept, but it is pointed out that it might as well refer to material things in the world (Chandler, 2001).

Charles Sanders Peirce is well-known as a pioneer of pragmatism doctrine who has provided the basic in the general theory of signs through his writings, and texts that have been compiled 25 years after his death in a single comprehensive piece of work entitled *Oeuvres Completes* (Zoest, 1991). Unlike Saussure who has introduced the term 'semiology', Peirce proposed the term 'semiotic', which according to him is synonymous with the concept of logic that focuses on the knowledge of human thinking process as portrayed in his writing published in 1931/1958:

Logic, in its general sense, is, as I believe I have shown, only another name for semiotic, the quasinecessary, or formal doctrine of signs. By describing the doctrine as "quasi-necessary", or formal, I mean that we observe the characters of such signs as we know, and from such an observation, by a process which I will not object to naming Abstraction, we are led to statements, eminently fallible, and therefore in one sense by no means necessary, as to what must be characters of all signs used by a "scientific" intelligence, that is to say by an intelligence capable of learning by experience (Leeds-Hurwitz, 1993, p. 4).

Peirce (1998) offered a triadic account of the sign, in which meaning potentials are generated in relations among *objects* (real or imagined, conceptual and material), *representamens* (sign-vehicles), and *interpretants* in the minds of recipients. Peirce emphasized that each interpretant could then enter into relations of a new triadic sign, perhaps

revising the understanding of the original object, perhaps serving as a representamen for another object and a second order interpretant. This recursive generative chaining led Peirce to the notion that semiosis is a dynamic, open-ended process. One of Peirce's (1960, p. 135) definitions of the sign makes two critical amendments to the medieval definition as he says that signs "stand to somebody for something in some respect or capacity". Peirce's sign then is not ideal but situated: not standing for something in the abstract, but doing so to some particular person and in an interested, partial, situationally-motivated fashion.

Although Saussure and Pierce are considered the fathers of semiotics, Roland Barthes' writing led to the widespread use of semiotics in the cultural studies area (van Zoonen, 1994). From Barthes' perspective, signs could be denotive or connotive (Rose, 2001). Signs at the denotive level are easy to interpret (Barthes, 1977), but signs at the connotive level are subtle and more difficult to decode because they have a higher-level meaning (Rose, 2001). More specifically, denotation refers to the literal, obvious, superficial meaning of a sign (Chandler, 2001, Denotation, Connotation and Myth, para.2). Connotation, on the other hand, refers to the ideological and individual affiliation of the sign (Chandler, 2001, Denotation, Connotation and Myth, para.3). These associations are in relation with the interpreter's background such as class, age and gender (Chandler, 2001, Denotation, Connotation and Myth, para.2). Therefore, signs in their connotations allow more room for interpretation than they can in their denotations.

In relation to the denotation and connotation is the notion of myth. Myth is a form of ideology. It converts things that happened into natural phenomenon; it makes natural the way things are. In other words, myths are the dominant ideologies that people don't question (Chandler, 2001). Barthes (1967) declared that:

(S)emiology therefore aims to take in any system of signs, whatever their substance and limits; images, gestures, musical sounds, objects, and the complex associations

of all of these, which form the content of ritual, convention or public entertainment: these constitute, if not languages, at least systems of signification. (p. 9).

The approach of semiotics analysis entails a critical change from “the simple interpretation of objects and forms of communication to investigations of the organization and structure artifacts and, in particular, to enquiry into how they produce meaning” (Dyer, 1982, p. 115). In other words, semiotic analysis focuses on interpreting an image by looking at the signs within it. It allows researchers to make overt of what is usually hidden (Chandler, 2001). Conducting a semiotics approach helps a researcher to decode the signs and read the latent messages in an image.

Although Barthes rarely directly referenced the work of his influences such as Marx, Freud, Lacan and others, he was inevitably associated during most of his lifetime with the school of structuralism and founding studies of semiology / semiotics. For structuralists, society is seen as an entity composed by structures that restrict and guide human agency. Barthes is regarded as a structuralist of sorts mostly due to his focus on cultural phenomena as language systems. Swiss linguist Ferdinand de Saussure whose linguistic model created an analytical method that attempted to describe the overall organization of sign systems as "languages" was responsible for establishing the basis of the theory of structuralism. According to Saussure, languages are the most important system of signs responsible for human communication and are therefore the model for the study of other symbolic systems (University of Waterloo, 2012). French intellectual Claude Lévi-Strauss is another key structuralist who influenced Barthes work by applying Saussure's theory to anthropology and reaching the conclusion that all myths and societies were linked by one universal system. Despite the deep influence of structuralism in Barthes work, his departure from many of its established paradigms, namely, with the introduction of the concept of "metalanguage", led

him to be increasingly seen as the link between structuralism and post-structuralism (Pope, 2002, p. 130).

Even though the concept of semiotics arose from structuralism, it became a separate, well-established discipline since, instead of, concerning itself with the description of underlying structures in a range of human activities, it became more concerned with the use of signs in specific social situations (Chandler, 2005). The English academic Terence Hawkes however, believed that the interests of the two spheres are not fundamentally separate and indeed both could be considered part of the embracing discipline of *communication* (Hawkes, 1977, p. 124). The structuralist Saussure as the father of modern linguistics and one of the founding fathers of semiotics, described semiotics very succinctly as the study of the role of signs as part of social life (Saussure, 1974, p. 16). He was responsible for the introduction of the structuralist core concept of the field that signs were "twosided entities" composed by a signifier and a signified (Holdcroft, 1991, p. 66). The signifier is the sound image and "the hearer's psychological impression of a sound" while the signified is the abstract content of the sign (Saussure, 1986, p. 66). In addition to this, he claimed that the signification, the relationship that holds together the signifier and the signified, was arbitrary since "there is no rational connection between a physical object (signified) and the word or symbol attributed to it (signifier)" (Saussure, 1986: 67; University of Waterloo, 2012). In his view, signs only gained their meaning from their relationship and contrast with others seeing that "red" can only be understood in opposition to "blue", "yellow" or any other colour. Despite Barthes' belief that semiology was a "tentative science" that had the necessity of being improved upon, these foundations would prove essential for the understanding of his application of semiotics to the reading of popular culture forms since he saw it, after all, as the ideal method to conduct this analysis.

It seems clear that Barthes was interested in applying the method of semiotics into the reading of everyday life phenomena and, in particular, popular culture since he was convinced that objects and events always meant more than themselves; "they are always caught up in systems of representation, which add meaning of them" (McNeill, 1999). When describing the potential of semiotics, Barthes went beyond Saussure's notion of semiology and regarded it as having the aim to:

"take in any system of signs, whatever their substance and limits; images, gestures, musical sounds, objects, and the complex associations of all of these, which form the content of ritual, convention or public entertainment: these constitute, if not languages, at least systems of signification." (Barthes, 1967, p. 9).

It is very important to note that Barthes was convinced that semiotics would provide an appropriate reading of modern culture since unlike liberal humanist studies of culture, it is "a science of signs that not only possesses a notion of ideology against which the truth of science can be measured, but it promises a scientific way of understanding popular culture" (Strinati, 2004, p. 97). In his arguably most influential and widely read book *Mythologies* (1957), Barthes looks at semiotics with the purpose of unmasking particular pieces of cultural material which in his opinion were being used by the bourgeoisie as tools to impose their values on others. His semiological analysis of popular culture included the decoding of signs in areas such as fashion, literature magazine, music and photography. Essential to the understanding of how he develops his analysis is his division of language into two systems: a first order language (language itself) and a second-order language or "metalanguage" (the use of language about language) (Moriarty, 1991, p. 13). In Barthes view, the role of the semiotician should be to comprehend the first-order language through the spectacles of the second. It is in this context that by exemplifying it with a photo he defines denotation as the simple description of what, or who is represented and connotation as the ideas and values

expressed through what was being represented, and through the way in which they were represented (Leeuwen, 2005, p. 37).

The key concept introduced in this work is nevertheless, the notion of *myth*: a form of popular culture that is "a system of communication, that is a message" not defined "by the object of its message, but by the way in which it utters this message" (Barthes, 1988, p. 117). In other words, myths are dominant-hegemonic connotations attached to material and social phenomena (Lacey, 1998, p. 68; Hall, 1992, p. 104/114). These myths are to be found on metalanguage, the second-order language previously mentioned. By drawing on Marxist theory, Barthes analysed "self-proclaimed petit-bourgeois myths" in order to expose how they were socially constructed realities created with the purpose of converting their particular "historical class-culture into a universal nature" (Barthes, 1988, p. 5). Bourgeois values of capitalism and consumerism were according to Barthes being imposed by the principle carriers of myth that passed unnoticed: language and images. Unlike the linguistic sign that Saussure described, the "mythical signification ... is never arbitrary; it is always in part motivated" (Barthes, 1988, p. 136). In his view, the common reader consumed myths innocently because "the signifier and the signified have, in his eyes, a natural relationship" (cited in Strinati, 2004, p. 103). He saw this as the result of the first-order sign being used as an alibi in the sense that it masks itself from its ideological intentions. Barthes believed that the masses took these myths for granted and avoided having them seriously considered, as any attempt to discuss them would be instantly dismissed by pseudo common sense. It is in this context that academic Em Griffin (2008, p. 188) states that in Barthes' view, only those with "semiotic savvy can spot the hollowness of connotative signs" and consequently expose the rhetorics of the ruling class. Semiotics appeared to Barthes as a fundamental method for an ideological critique concerned with the process of signification done through a system of codes, conventions and signs (Barthes, 1988, p. 5; Strinati, 2004, p. 98). In his opinion, the

usage of this method proved his notion that reality was always encoded; that all denotation was connotation.

Overall Semiotics, like case studies, deals with a comparatively small amount of images. The result of the analysis only represents the data rather than a wider range of material. Its results are not generalizable; thus, the results “stand or fall on its analytical integrity” (Rose, 2001, p. 73).

The way the signs are constructed depends on the medium (Berger, 1982). Different aesthetic aspects influence the construction of those signs and the meaning they convey. The camera angle, the colors used in the image, the lighting used, the perspective of the image, all of these factors impact on the outcome of the picture. It is up to the author of the image to manipulate those factors, in order to create a picture that transmits a specific message to the viewer. For instance, if the illustrator chooses to depict the politician from lower angle it represents his or her authority and a viewer subconsciously puts himself in a subordinate position. This could be interpreted negatively as well as positively depending on the culture and overall personality of the viewer. Some might feel uncomfortable, others may feel more connected to the politician. One way or another, the creator presented the politician as a powerful, independent character.

It should be made clear that the semiotic analysis is also a subject to a major criticism, despite its importance of image decoding. The analysis is mainly concerned with the relationship of the signs and tends to ignore the quality of the work itself; it neglects the bigger picture and focuses on its particular elements solely. As Berger (1982) mentions “semiotics is not really concerned with art, but rather with meaning and modes of cognition (the codes that we need to understand a text)” (p. 37).

In the political context, semiotics has been examined by the philosophers such as Ernst Cassirer, who analyzed political semiotics in relation to the concept of utopia and C.G. Jung that applied political semiotics to his Archetypes theory (Drechsler, 2009). A few studies have observed semiotics in the political nature to analyze the images used for general elections (William J. Jones, 2014) and propaganda posters (Lu Xing-Hua, 2005).

Semiotics is important in relation to political advertising. The camera manipulation and the image constructed influences the outcome of the image presented to the public. The mental image that will be fixed in the minds of the viewer will influence their opinion on the performance and likability of the candidate.

Summary

It is also important to recognize that semiotics has served as a kind of banner for studies that have resisted language-centric views of communication and cognition. For example, studies of nonverbal communication (gesture, posture, facial expression, gaze, non-linguistic sounds) have routinely appeared in semiotic journals and collections, often without any explicit reference to more general semiotics. Of course, semiotics ultimately resists the privileging of any single semiotic domain, suggesting that studies of other specific semiotic resources, such as gestures or images, should orient to a multi-semiotic or multimodal framework, one that considers multiple channels, media, codes, and contexts rather than any single one. In sum, if one long-standing impetus for work on semiotics has been a theoretical interest in articulating the relations of sign, reference, and meaning, another has been a deep desire for a complex, heterogeneous, holistic account of semiotic life.

2.6. Social Semiotics

In *Semiotics Encyclopedia*, social semiotics refers to two different entities but related to each other: firstly, ‘social semiotics’ without capital letters is broadly oriented semiotics. It is heterogeneous and encompasses many disciplines related to the social dimension of

meanings, both in communication media, production, interpretation and circulation, as well as in their implications in the social process as cause and effect; Secondly, ‘Social Semiotics’ with capital letters is the school of linguistics and semiotics which specifically addresses the social aspects (Hodge).

Halliday (1978) has introduced the term of social semiotics (as cited in Hjørland, Birger and Nicolaisen, 2007, p. 1) as follows:

“By their everyday acts of meaning, people act out the social structure, affirming their own statuses and roles, and establishing and transmitting the shared systems of value and of knowledge. [...] We have to proceed from the outside inwards, interpreting language by reference to its place in the social process. This is not the same thing as taking an isolated sentence and planting it out in some hothouse that we call a social context. It involves the difficult task of focusing attention simultaneously on the actual and the potential meanings, interpreting both discourse and the linguistic system that lies behind it in terms of the infinitely complex network of meaning potential that is what we call the culture.” (Hjørland, Birger and Nicolaisen, 2007).

Ten years later Hodge and Kress systemized this Halliday’s term into *Social Semiotics*. The ideas was based on Marx that human real consciousness could never be anything other than ideology. They interpreted Marx’s point as the involvement of each individual in the exchange of ideas with one another in the real world as the basis and the source of consciousness into a unified process of semiotics with agents, objects and power that come from the material and social world, and it can only be understood from its own world. Hodge and Kress have given the definition of social semiotics as follows:

Social semiotics is primarily concerned with human semiosis as an inherently social phenomenon in its sources, functions, contexts and effects. It is also concerned with

the social forms, through semiotic texts and semiotic practices, in all kinds of human society at all periods of human history (p. 261) (Hodge, Robert, and Kress, 1988, p. 261).

The term of semiotic text in this sense contains a broader meaning, that all kinds of signs are the vehicle of social activities. Manning shows comprehensively that social semiotics considers as a social life, a structure of the group, belief/religion, and cultural practices. The meaning of social relations is analogous to the structure of the language, hence all human communication actions could be seen as a sign or text, that should be read first in order to understand the meaning (Manning and Cullum-Swan, 2009). The firm and straight statement expressed by Gottdiener and Lagopoulos (1986) that social semiotics is a materialistic analysis of the ideology in everyday life (Randviir & Copley, 2010).

Because every community is different, the signs used by one community may be different from those used by another, For example, the color red indicates mourning for people in Ivory Coast, whereas, in contrast, it represents procreation and life for people in India.

According to Harrison (2003), Social semioticians apply three important principles when analyzing a semiotic system such as language or imagery—principles that have significance for professional communicators.

1- Semioticians believe all people see the world through signs. As Chandler explains,

Although things may exist independently of signs we know them only through the mediation of signs. We see only what our sign systems allow us to see. . . . Semioticians argue that signs are related to the signifieds by social conventions which we learn. We become so used to such conventions

in our use of various media that they seem “natural,” and it can be difficult for us to realize the conventional nature of such relationships. (2001)

Schrivers suggests that successful professional communicators use intuition to “imagine the audience and draw on their internal representation of the audience as a guide to writing . . . ” (1997, p. 156). I would add that this intuitive “internal representation” includes a highly sensitized understanding of the sign conventions in a communicator’s particular language semiotic system. This sensitivity contributes to the skills that enable writers to replicate their communities’ discourse in ways that attract interest or please readers (Harrison, 2003).

2- The meaning of signs is created by people and does not exist separately from them and the life of their social/cultural community.

Therefore, signs have different meanings in different social and cultural contexts—meanings that can range from very different (for example, different languages) to subtle and nuanced (for example, spoken English in U.S. versus spoken English in India). This principle has profound implications for professional communicators who must write for international audiences. The growing number of books and articles on this subject attests to the difficulties writers face when trying to create messages for people whose semiotic systems are different from theirs.

3- Semiotic systems provide people with a variety of resources for making meaning. Therefore, when they make a choice to use one sign, they are not using another. As Lemke adds,

These are the contexts of “what might have been”. . . . In the same sentence, what other words could have been used? At the same point in the game, what other plays might have been made? For the same detail in the painting, what other colors could have been used? (1990, p. 188).

The ability to choose gives communicators a certain amount of power to use signs in unconventional ways and, therefore, affect and even alter meanings.

2.7. Visual Design Grammar

Visual social semiotics follows Halliday's theory of metafunctions (1994; 2004; Halliday & Matthiessen 2004), which postulates that language fulfils three metafunctions simultaneously, namely **ideational**, **interpersonal** and **textual**. The same metafunctions have been extended to visual social semiotic resources by Kress and van Leeuwen in their book *Reading Images: the Grammar of Visual Design* (1996; 2006) and renamed as **representational**, **interactive** and **compositional**. They consider that "the visual, like all semiotic modes, has to serve several communicational (and representational) requirements, in order to function as a full system of communication" (2006, p. 41).

Throughout *Reading Images* the grammars of written and visual communication are compared and contrasted. This may be explained by the fact that Kress is a Professor of English and Education and van Leeuwen is a lecturer in Communication Theory. They take their ideas in part from written communication and the ideas of Michael Halliday. Kress and van Leeuwen attempt to draw together the study of languages and images as they are so intertwined in communication (Kress and van Leeuwen 1996, p. 183). Although they acknowledge the advances in semiotics made by Roland Barthes, they differ with him on one major point. Barthes believed that the meaning of images is dependent on verbal text. Visual design grammar shows that the image is an independent message, which is connected to the text but does not solely rely on it and vice versa (Kress and van Leeuwen 1996, p. 17).

Kress and van Leeuwen start out in *The Grammar of Visual Design* by stating that their aim in producing a 'grammar of visual design' is to present a socially-based theory of visual representation (1996, pp. 1, 5). In doing so they draw an analogy with language, noting

that others working in visual semiotics before them have tended to concentrate on what could be described as the ‘lexis’ rather than the ‘grammar’ of images, in that they have concentrated on the meaning projected by the individuals, scenes and objects portrayed within images rather than the connected meanings. The use of the term ‘grammar’ therefore implies that they will attempt to examine the ways in which what is depicted in images is combined into a coherent, meaningful whole, in much the same way that discourse analysts examine how words are combined into clauses, sentences and whole texts. This is a kind of visual discourse approach which aims, in common with many functional linguistic models, to link form with meaning, and where linguistic and visual “grammatical forms [are seen] as resources for encoding interpretations of experience and forms of social (inter)action”. Thus, culture and ideology are also important in both the verbal and visual grammars, a point which Kress and van Leeuwen highlight in quoting Halliday’s assertion that “grammar goes beyond formal rules of correctness. It is a means of representing patterns of experience ... It enables human beings to present a mental picture of reality, to make sense of their experience of what goes on around them and inside them” (1985, p. 101).

It should be made clear that Kress and van Leeuwen utilise Halliday’s (1978, 1985) Systemic Functional Linguistics (SFL) theory to provide an analogy for the development of a visual grammar and to outline the kinds of categories which they regard as essential to the analysis of the visual semiotic. They suggest that

The visual, like all semiotic modes, has to serve several communicational (and representational) requirements, in order to function as a full system of communication. We have adopted the theoretical notion of ‘metafunction’ from the work of Michael Halliday for the purpose of dealing with this factor. The three metafunctions which he posits are the ideational, the interpersonal, and the textual (1996, p. 40).

Kress and van Leeuwen then posit that reading (or viewing) a visual involves two kinds of participants: the *interactive participants*, and the represented participants. The former are the participants who are interacting with each other in the act of reading a visual, one being the graphic designer/photographer/artist, and the other the viewer. This category represents the social relations between the viewer and the visual. The latter is all the elements or entities that are actually present in the visual, whether animate or inanimate, elements which represent the situation shown, the current world-view, or states of being in the world.

In this section we will introduce the ideas of visual design grammar and shed some light on the critique it has received.

2.7.1. Representational Metafunction

In their discussion of representational structures in the visual transitivity system, or the visual resources for representing interactions and conceptual relations between people, places and things in visuals, Kress and van Leeuwen recognise two major processes: Conceptual and Narrative processes (1996, p. 56). Both these processes represent patterns of experience and phenomena in terms of sequences of process configurations, and configurations of processes, participants, and circumstances, objects, qualities, and quantities. Conceptual processes are seen to “represent participants in terms of their generalised and more or less stable and timeless essence” , and “in terms of class, or structure, or meaning”, while Narrative processes or patterns (which were formerly referred to as Presentational processes in Reading Images 1990) “serve to present unfolding actions and events, processes of change, transitory spatial arrangements”. Narrative processes therefore deal with depicted actions and events, rather than depicted states of being which have the essence of constancy, and their spatial arrangements are in a sense transitory, rather than being concerned with a fixed and constant spatial order, as in the conceptual processes. Kress and van Leeuwen approximate the conceptual processes with the *existential* and *relational* processes of

Halliday's TRANSITIVITY system, and the narrative processes with the material, behavioural and in a limited way mental and verbal processes, again making the point that they recognise that "while visual structures and verbal structures can be used to express meanings from a common cultural source, the two media are not simply alternative means for representing 'the same thing'" Kress and van Leeuwen (1996, p. 56).

2.7.2. Interactive Metafunction

This section deals with a discussion of the ways that visuals attempt to address their potential viewers in interactional (interpersonal) terms in their visual grammar. In their discussion of interactive meanings in their visual grammar, Kress and van Leeuwen recognise that visual forms of communication also utilise resources which both constitute and maintain interaction between the producer(s) and viewer(s) of a visual. As pointed out earlier, Kress and van Leeuwen posit that reading (or viewing) a visual involves two kinds of participants, the interactive participants, and the represented participants (1996, pp. 45, 46). The former are the participants who communicate with each other via visual means (the photographer and the viewer(s) for example), and the latter are what is actually depicted in a visual (the people, places and things shown). As it is between speaker/writers and listener/readers, the interpersonal metafunction in relation to visual communication is also concerned with the representation of social relations, in this case between the visual and the viewer. This is important because the placement of the viewer and the visual socially will have a significant influence on how the visual is read and used, or in other words, their relative social placement affects what may be represented, the ways that it is represented, as well as how it may be read and put to use.

Thus, viewing a visual involves "being located in a particular social way by and in relation to the image" (Kress and van Leeuwen 1990, p. 23). This happens despite the fact that the producer of the visual is more often than not absent physically from the communicative

situation. Even though there is this disjunction between the context of production and the context of reception, the “two do have elements in common: the image itself, and a knowledge of the communicative resources which allow its articulation and understanding, a knowledge of the way social interactions and social relations can be encoded in images” (Kress and van Leeuwen 1996, p. 120).

2.7.2.1. Contact

The visual resources used to establish and maintain contact between the image and the viewer are concerned with the ways that images directly or indirectly address their viewers, and what they simultaneously require them to do. The aspect of importance here is the relation between the sets of participants involved in the viewing of the visuals, the interactive participants. In conventional spoken communication, the interactive participants are usually seen as the speaker-listeners (who can in turn reverse roles). There are also the participants who are represented participants by virtue of being spoken or written about. They may not physically be there (a typical situation), or they could be the speakers and listeners themselves. With visuals however, there is no physical speaker or drawer actually there; the viewer is alone with the visual, and there is no opportunity for turn-taking as there is in normal speech-based communication. The situation with the interactive participants in viewing visuals is not dissimilar to that of the writer-reader interactive relationship, where communication is carried out orthographically. The interactive relationship which is common in visuals is one where there is an interactive participant (viewer or viewers) and one or more represented participants which have been drawn or produced for the viewer(s).

Taking Halliday's notion of speech functions and the speech acts they can realise, Kress and van Leeuwen draw a distinction between two kinds of image acts. These are demands and offers. In speech, one can offer information (make a statement), which can then be agreed with or contradicted, or one can offer goods and services (make an offer), which

can then be accepted or rejected. Also, in speech one can demand information (ask a question), which can then be answered or disclaimed, or one can demand goods and services (give a command), which can then be obeyed or refused Kress and van Leeuwen (1996, pp. 127, 129). When images offer however, they most commonly offer information, and when they demand, they most often demand the particular goods and services which would realise a particular social relation, or some kind of response from the viewer. Thus, as Kress and van Leeuwen assert, in Western cultures, visuals generally perform only these two image acts, and not the full range that is possible with the four primary speech functions.

The realisation of a visual demand is determined by the presence or absence of a *gaze*, which indicates a form of direct or indirect address to the viewer. The producer is thus using the image to act on or do something to the viewer. The gaze always takes the form of a vector formed by the glance of one or more of the animate represented participants outwards to the viewer of the visual. This may often be supported by some kind of physical gesture. The animate represented participant(s), which could be human or animal (mostly human), will demand something via one or more pairs of eyes looking directly at the viewer, and what is demanded by the represented participant(s) in the image depends entirely on how the look is conveyed. There may be a smile (suggesting social affinity), a stare (suggesting disdain), or a pout (suggesting a sexual offer). Each of these actions requires some kind of response from the viewer in terms of entering into some kind of social relation, which in this case is to accede to or deny the demand Kress and van Leeuwen (1996, pp. 122, 123).

In visual offers, on the other hand, there is not the requirement of the viewer to enter into some kind of imaginary social relation with the represented participants. The viewer is however asked to examine or look at the represented participants as objects for uninvolved viewing, objects which really have no socio-relational call on the viewer. In visuals where offers are being made, the represented participants are always looking away from the viewer -

there is no look being projected directly at the viewer. This kind of image is an offer because “it ‘offers’ the represented participants to the viewer as items of information, objects of contemplation, impersonally, as though they were specimens in a display case”.

2.7.2.2. Social Distance

Visually-based interactive resources are also used to determine how much social distance there is between the viewers and the represented participants. Social distance is concerned with the kinds of social relations between interactants, whether they be long-term types in which they may be considered as intimates, friends, colleagues, acquaintances, total strangers, or even aliens (in a cultural sense), or short-term relationships which last only as long as the actual communication act, and are largely context-dependent. Kress and van Leeuwen suggest that the use of size of frame, in a similar way to the ways it is used in cinematography, can be used to convey a sense to the viewer of his or her social closeness in relation to the represented participants (1996, pp. 130, 135). These social relations are realised by varying the size of frame through the use of very close-up shots, close-up shots, medium shots, and long or distance shots, all techniques which derive from cinematography and photography. These techniques are used even when the participants represented may be complete strangers to the viewers. In most cases (especially in a magazine like *The Economist*), the represented participants are complete strangers to the viewers, although they may well be famous people who are in a popular media sense well known to them (as in pop stars, politicians, sports stars, etc.). Whether they are known to the viewers or not in this populist sense however is not important in determining the choice of frame size. In visuals,

The social relation between the human participants represented in images and the viewer is once again an imaginary relation. People are portrayed as though they are friends, or as though they are strangers. Images allow us to imaginarily come as close to public figures as though they were our friends

and neighbours - or to look at people like ourselves as strangers, 'others' (Kress and van Leeuwen 1996, p. 132).

Kress and van Leeuwen suggest further that the methods used to create a sense of social distance can also be applied to the representation of objects and of the environment, a suggestion not given in *Reading Images* (1990). They tentatively express the idea that:

at least three significant distances can be distinguished, and that there are correspondences between these distances and our everyday experience of objects and of the environment, in other words, that size of frame can also suggest social relations between the viewer and objects, buildings and landscapes (Kress and van Leeuwen 1996, p. 134).

Thus, a close-up shot implies engagement, that the object can almost be touched or used, a middle distance shot gives a sense of more distance and less engagement, while a long distance shot suggests that the object is there for the viewer's contemplation only, and that there is no possibility of engagement beyond this.

2.7.2.3. Perspective

The third dimension, perspective, is a way to express subjective attitudes towards the contents of an image through the selection of an angle. Images in Western culture can either be subjective (have built-in point of view –central perspective) or objective (no central perspective – shows what there is to know, i.e. furniture instructions). Subjective images impose a certain point of view on both the viewer and represented participants. With subjective images it is important to keep such questions in mind: “who could see this scene in this way? Where would one have to be to see this scene in this way, and what sort of person would one have to be to occupy that space?”. (Kress and van Leeuwen 1996, pp. 137, 149.).

Kress and van Leeuwen examine aspects of the subjective features of visuals in depth, dividing them into two possible simultaneous choices which they refer to as degrees of

involvement and power. In the former there can be either involvement or detachment, and in the latter there can be viewer superiority, viewer equality, or viewer inferiority. Both the categories of involvement and power are realised through various choices of visual horizontal and vertical angle respectively. The horizontal angle relates to the interaction between the frontal plane of the visual designer or producer (as in a photographer) and the frontal plane of the represented participants. There are a number of possibilities here. They can have parallel alignment, and thus have a frontal point of view, or they can be at an angle, and thus have an oblique point of view. This frontal to oblique distinction may be seen as a continuum of degrees of obliqueness, as opposed to a strict either/or dichotomy, and is related to the relative placement of vanishing points. Vanishing points are the points at which receding parallel lines appear to converge, and can be derived when lines are drawn through the visual along the perceived linear arrangements of the participants. They are important in that they control the direction of view (Porter and Greenstreet 1980, p. 76).

A frontal angle occurs when the vanishing point(s) can be placed within the vertical boundaries of the visual, whereas an oblique angle occurs when the vanishing point(s) can be placed outside the vertical boundaries of the image. The range of oblique and frontal angles presents different degrees of involvement. The horizontal angle of a visual therefore encodes whether or not the graphic designer (and concomitantly the viewer) are in some kind of relationship with the represented participants or not. The frontal angle projects a message of inclusion, suggesting that the represented participants are part of the viewer's and visual designer's world, while the oblique angle projects a message of exclusion, suggesting that the represented participants or the scene is not part of their shared world, and as a result there is a lack of involvement (Kress and van Leeuwen 1996, pp. 142, 143).

The vertical angle is an important element in interpersonal meanings in visuals in that it allows for the establishment of power relations between the viewer and the represented

participants. These relations are also important in cinematography, and operate in the ways that visuals attempt to project meanings. The major difference is that the viewer is the subject of having or not having the power, rather than the participants in a film or video. Thus, if the represented participant is viewed by the viewer from a high angle, or from 'above' as it were, then the interactive participant (the viewer) is deemed to have a more powerful position relative to the represented participant. The relation is reversed when the angle is one of the represented participant being in a lower position. Further, if the represented participant is at the same level as the interactive participant, then the relation is one of equality, or of neutral power. As in the horizontal angle and degrees of involvement, the power relation is a continuum, or a matter of degrees of power (Kress and van Leeuwen 1996, pp.146, 148).

2.7.2.4. Modality

Modality refers to the truth-value or credibility of statements about the world. In images we seek to know if what we see is true, real, factual. An image can represent its contents as if it was real. Judgment of this reality depends on the social setting and history. Kress and van Leeuwen believe that the main standard by which we judge visual modality is naturalism or photo-realism. This means that the more an image is represented like we normally see it – the more it is considered real. This representation is of course dependent on the technology available at the time. In order to trust the information shown we look for 'clues' or modality markers such as color, contextualization (background), representation, depth, illumination, and brightness. (Kress and van Leeuwen 1996, pp.160, 167).

The use of colour variation is an important method for expressing visual modality in that the more that colour is reduced, the lower the modality. One continuum of visual modality in colour is colour saturation, which relates to common standards of photographic naturalism and runs from full colour saturation to a complete absence of colour (as in black and white visuals where the only variation in the colours is in terms of brightness). Another

scale is colour differentiation, which is a scale ranging from full colour differentiation in the visual to what may be termed a 'reduced palette', and then to monochrome. There is also colour modulation, a continuum running from modulated (using many different shades of a single colour) to a single plain, unmodulated or flat colour. The principle for all scales is the same: the more the colour is abstracted from naturalistic presentation, the lower is the modality.

Contextualisation refers to the degree to which a setting is presented in a visual. When a represented participant is shown with no setting, then it is in a sense in a void, and is thus presented generically as a typical example of its type, rather than as something with an individuality which is peculiar in a contextual sense. In naturalistic images, the absence of context lowers the modality and there is a continuum from the presentation of a full setting to no setting. Within this continuum there are degrees of contextualisation ranging from a full contextual representation to varying degrees of de-focused settings, or settings which are under or over-exposed, thus reducing their clarity. Other variations may include the use of a minimal number of setting variables to give the suggestion or implication of a setting, with the rest of the frame totally blank. Further along, there may be just irregular shading or patterning, or a regular pattern of light shapes for example. At the extreme end is the absence of setting; there is totally unmodulated colour, a black background, and most commonly, a blank or white background.

Representation relates to the effect of differences or variations in detail between the foreground and background in a visual, and can be interpreted as a scale running from maximum abstraction to maximum representation of pictorial detail. A visual may show the finest details of the represented participants, or it may show various levels of abstraction away from this detail. The effect of reduced representation, or a reduction in detail in the background or setting may lead to a decrease in the modality of the setting, and concomitant

increases in the modality of the foreground. For example, some of the finest details of the represented participants may be shown, such as wood grain, skin texture, hair strands etc., while the background may have lesser degrees of detail, leading to a variation in the modality between background and foreground (Kress and van Leeuwen 1996, p. 166).

Depth, illumination and brightness are all important modality markers for naturalistic images, especially in examples from portrayed art and in photography. With regard to the use of depth, the highest modality accrues to the use of central perspective, (frontal angle only which displays the front of the visual in an attempt to represent optical reality and engage the viewer in seeing a realistic image of physical space). Degrees of lesser modality derive from this, ranging from the angular-isometric perspective, to the frontal isometric perspective, and finally to the depth created by simple overlapping (see Arnheim 1974, pp. 262, 285; Saint-Martin, pp.128, 144; Kress and van Leeuwen 1996, pp. 152, 153).

Variations in illumination project different meanings depending on the techniques used. In naturalistic images, participants are represented in relation to the sources of illumination, with highlighting used to draw the viewers' attention to particular aspects or participants within the visual frame, while in some less naturalistic images there may be abstractions from illumination, with shadows or shading being used to allow just enough to convey the volume or shapes of objects (Kress and van Leeuwen 1996, p. 167). Other uses of shadowing or shading may be to indicate areas that recede into the distance, or the use of highlighting to emphasize prominent areas. Within this shading technique there are also degrees of illumination, ranging from a full or modulated darkening of the shadowed areas to the use of dotting or hatching of the shading, to light and shade being completely abstracted away to the use of only lines rather than shading to indicate the receding contours of a visual feature.

The scale of brightness values which may be used in a visual ranges from a large number of different degrees of brightness to only two, that of black and white, two shades of grey, or two brightness values of the same colour. There is also a variation in the ways that brightness can contrast with other scales of brightness, as in an extreme contrast between the darkest and lightest areas of a visual, or where there is a slight variation in brightness values, giving a hazy or misted effect.

2.7.3. Compositional Metafunction

The third metafunction, textual, concerns composition and the relation between what is represented (first metafunction – relations between the people, places and the things they depict) with interactive components (second metafunction – relations between images and viewers). It looks at the way in which the first two metafunctions come together into a meaningful whole. Where elements are placed gives them information values in relation to each other. Many images are made up of different elements, i.e. text, graphics, photos, etc. Kress and van Leeuwen see all the parts of an image interacting and affecting each other as an integrated whole. Composition looks at the relation of the first two metafunctions via three interrelated systems: information value, salience, and framing. (Kress and van Leeuwen 1996, pp. 181, 183).

2.7.3.1. Information Value

The horizontal axis in a visual has been referred to previously with reference to degrees of involvement, but it is important also because it generates a left-right distinction in the structural meanings within multimodal compositions that can have an influence on the information value accorded to the various visual elements. Kress and van Leeuwen (1996) examine the continuous movement between left and right in horizontal layout structure in a number of multimodal magazine articles, and based on their examination assert that generally

when pictures or layouts make significant use of the horizontal axis, positioning some of their elements left, and other, different ones right of the centre (which does not, of course, happen in every composition) the elements placed on the left are presented as Given, the elements placed on the right as New (p.187).

The positioning of elements in relation to each other offers information values. These values are assigned to the “zones” in the image: left and right, top and bottom, center and margin. (Kress and van Leeuwen, 1996, p. 183).

In looking at the information value of the two sides of an image, there seems to be a pattern. The left side shows the ‘already given’. This involves that which the readers are assumed to know as part of their culture. It is familiar and is used as a common base from which to communicate. The ideas are presented as common sense and obvious although not all will interpret them in that way.

The right side represents the new. This is key information that warrants special attention. It is not common knowledge and has not been unanimously agreed upon. This makes it ‘problematic’ and ‘contestable’. Kress and van Leeuwen explain this horizontal division in part due to the reading direction and sentence structure of western cultures. Text is read from left to right with the new information at the end of the sentences. Although information may be shown to have the above meanings to the reader, inevitably all readers will not receive the message in this fashion. Thus this given/new distinction should be interpreted as an ideological structure that is presented as if these values are significant in western societies. (Kress and van Leeuwen 1996, pp. 186, 188).

As with the horizontal division of the page, the vertical sides may show meaning. The top can be connected with the ideal or the promise an image makes i.e. status, glamour, and fulfillment. The upper section seems to appeal more to the emotions and possibilities that are available. This part is often the most eye-catching as well. The lower section concentrates

more on the real, actual or factual. It often shows the product and gives information about it. The bottom is more practical in that it gives details and evidence i.e. photos, maps, directions. The vertical sections are not as connected as their horizontal counterparts. In advertisements there may be a photo on the top and only text at the bottom. This gives a feeling of contrast and opposition in vertical composition as opposed to the movement between left and right sides. (Kress and vanLeeuwen, 1996, pp. 193, 194). Figure 1 gives an illustrated summary of the informational value fields.

Visual design grammar concentrates on visual images in western culture where central composition is not so common. When used, the middle element often holds a symbolic meaning which brings together those elements surrounding it. The center is shown as the nucleus of the information and the elements situated in the margins surrounding the central element are often similar to each other. Thus there is not a strict distinction of left-given, right-new, top-ideal, bottomreal. (Kress and van Leeuwen 1996, pp. 203, 206.) The above text refers to circular type compositions. Figure 2 shows how the center is relevant when looking at triptych compositions. In this case the idea of left-given and right-new is accompanied with a center which connects the two and acts as a mediator. This can also be achieved with vertical triptychs where top-ideal and bottom-real are brought together by the center. (Kress and van Leeuwen 1996, pp. 208, 211).

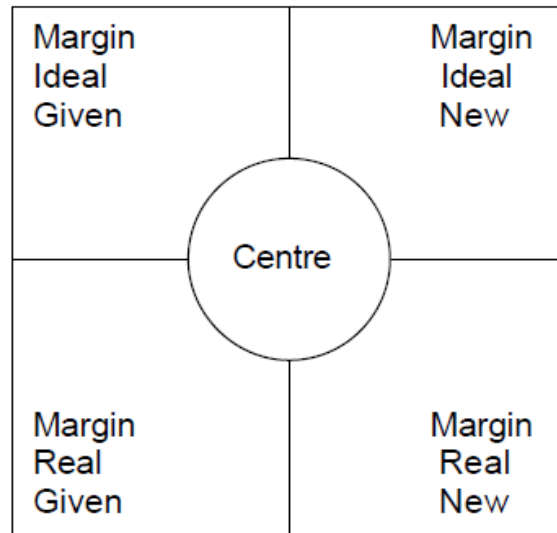


Figure 1. The dimensions of visual space (Kress and van Leeuwen 1996, p. 208)

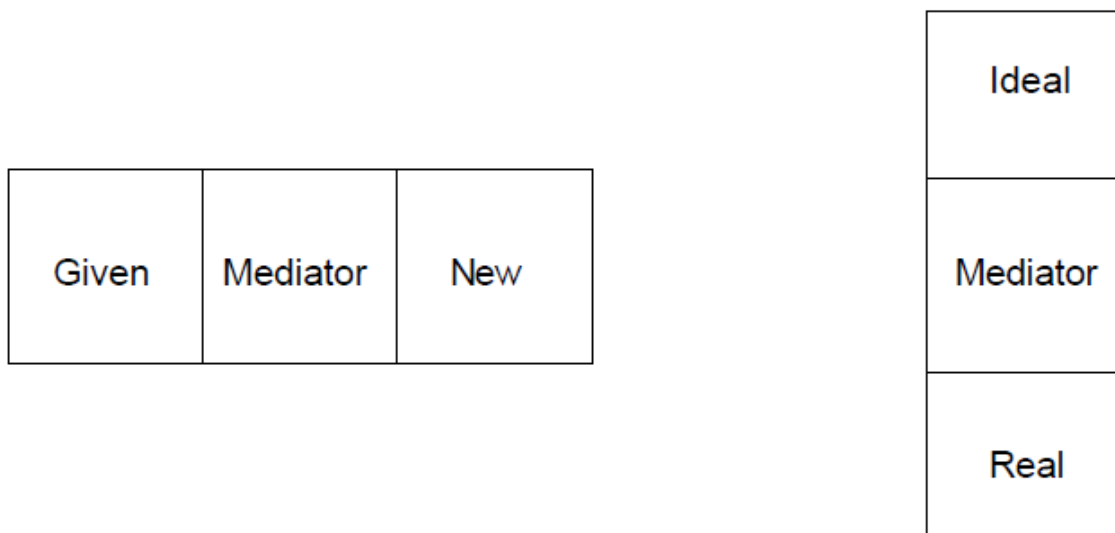


Figure 2. Horizontal and vertical triptychs (Kress and van Leeuwen 1996, p. 211)

2.7.3.2. Salience

Salience describes how the elements in an image are made to attract the viewer's attention at varying levels. When viewing spatial composition we assign a "weight" to the composition. The greater the weight, the more salient is the element. Elements draw attention to themselves and thus create levels of importance. When looking at reading paths of images they usually begin with the most salient and move on down towards less salient items. (Kress and van Leeuwen 1996, p. 218.) Salience cannot be measured objectively as there are so many variables involved. The following is but a sampling of factors used to achieve salience:

- perspective - foreground objects are more salient than background objects, and elements that overlap other elements are more salient than the elements they overlap
- contrasts in tonal value - areas of high tonal contrast, for instance borders between black and white, have high salience
- placement in the visual field - elements not only become heavier as they are moved towards the top, but also appear "heavier" the further they are moved towards the left, due to an asymmetry in the visual field
- cultural factors –ex. the appearance of a human figure or a potent cultural symbol-thus they are culturally determined.

(Kress and van Leeuwen 1996, p. 212).

2.7.3.3. Framing

Framing involves the degree to which elements of an image are disconnected or connected together. Various devices are used to join elements or separate them from each other. This can indicate whether or not they belong together. The stronger the element is framed, the more it is an isolated source of information. Framing signifies individuality and

differentiation while without framing the elements are seen more as a group. Framing can be accomplished by dividing lines, actual frame lines, discontinuities of color/shape, and empty space. (Kress and van Leeuwen 1996, pp. 215, 216).

Summary

In these two sections we have attempted to outline a set of researchers who have used linguistically-derived insights from the general theory of language and communication developed by M.A.K. Halliday (1978, 1985) to examine non-linguistic modes. It has been shown that there is a significant amount of work that has been carried out by those working from a Hallidayan interpretation of meaning-making in visual semiotic modes, and that it is concerned mainly with two areas: various types of images such as photographs, drawings and diagrams, and displayed art such as painting, sculpture and architecture.

What is new and interesting in Kress and van Leeuwen's work is their application and adaptation of a different, linguistically-focussed paradigm to examine the ways that visual information is organised and projected. Their sets of work are characterised by a concentration on and adaptation of differing aspects of the SFL model. Kress and van Leeuwen's application of Hallidayan SFL principles to the visual mode specifically involves adapting the TRANSITIVITY, MOOD, MODALITY, and THEME systems from the lexicogrammar to the ways that the range of images they examine organise their meanings. Kress and van Leeuwen also examine a wide variety of images and image types to illustrate how the visual meanings they are referring to are produced, but they do this with minimal reference to the specific contexts in which the images they analyse originally occurred. When they do support their interpretations with reference to specific contexts of situation, it seems that their interpretations are more powerful.

What is also of immediate note from this review is that the metafunctional terminology posited by Halliday to describe meanings at the semantic level in his SFL model

has been changed or adapted by both sets of authors to suit their analyses and the modes they focus on. Kress and van Leeuwen begin by using Halliday's metafunctional terminology, and then proceed to adapt it to what they perceive as the appropriate terminology for visual sign-making (Kress and van Leeuwen 1996, pp. 40, 41). Thus, under ideational they refer to Representational (Narrative and Conceptual) meanings, under interpersonal they refer to Interactive meanings, and under textual to Composition(al) meanings.

Overall, Kress and van Leeuwen's proved a useful descriptive tool for analyzing the manner in which elements of images work together to produce meaning. All images which are put for analysis can be dealt with Kress's observation that 'no sign is innocent; people are increasingly shaped by the signs they encounter in all aspects of their daily lives. Therefore, it is becoming ever more important to have a means with which to discuss and describe these representations to better understand them and their interactions.

2.7.4. Researchers' Feedback to Visual Design Grammar

The response to visual design grammar has been mixed. In summary it seems as if it has been received as a bold attempt to harness a vast field yet it falls short in many areas. One indication of the reception *Reading Images* has received is the lack of response from the visual community. If visual design grammar really is, as the back cover suggests, "an invaluable "tool-kit" for reading images", then I would have expected to find more than just a few articles about the topic (Ruppert, 2004).

Esa Sirkkunen found visual design grammar to be a broad and ambitious tool to interpret images. He believes it offers a consistent method to approach the multiple meanings and levels that images hold. He used the third metafunction, spatial composition, to analyze a photojournalistic article in *Helsingin Sanomat*. (Sirkkunen 1996, pp. 24, 35) In most of the articles I found on visual design grammar it has been utilized only in part – most often the ideas concerning composition. I have yet to find a thorough analysis of images using all three

metafunctions.

Nicholas Addison addresses the topic of semiotics in art and design education. He believes that the art world is “fearful of methodological contamination”. He describes the caution connected with attempting to force images into categories and thus narrow their meaning. The use of the word grammar may scare people off from the beginning, as they fear it will define and thus limit and control. Addison believes that visual design grammar is important in art education because it stresses the use of images, not just their description. This could be a key element in any art program that stresses the importance of the social context. Addison also states that semiotics incorporates a variety of mediums, i.e. word, image, sound, which is a very current theme with the advent of multi-media, etc. (Addison 1999, p. 37).

Elina Lahti used visual design grammar in her Masters thesis to analyze 60 advertisements in a Finnish magazine. Her goal was to see how the theory would work in practice and what it would reveal about Finnish advertising. She found that visual design grammar brought to light the many levels and detailed structure by which advertisements strive to communicate. The ideas of Kress and van Leeuwen proved to be an extremely useful tool for analyzing images (Lahti 2001, p. 102).

Hugh Aldersey-Williams wrote a highly critical review of visual design grammar. He was disappointed that the theory did not show any evidence for their claims in the beginning of the book that not being visually literate will attract social sanctions and that visual literacy will be a matter of survival. He believes that the rules of this grammar are already obvious or intuitive to good designers. Aldersey-Williams criticizes the language used in the text as being difficult to understand. In opposition to Kress and van Leeuwen’s academic jargon, he prefers the clearly written work of Rudolf Arnheim to describe many of the same topics. *Reading Images* offers analyses of images as examples. As Aldersey- Williams comments, the

interpretations vary so much that the power of these to offer a comprehensive grammar of design is questionable. (Aldersey-Williams 1996, pp. 44, 45).

Veikko Pietilä thoroughly critiqued *Reading Images* soon after it was published. He found areas that are in need of further clarification. *Reading Images* is based on the assumption that pictures can stand alone. They can be interpreted in a context-free manner that can be then enriched with contextual realities. Yet in their analyses of images, Kress and van Leeuwen do not keep to this strict line and sometimes resort back to the context of the images to find initial meaning. Pietilä finds loopholes in the explanation of narrative representations. There are instances where there are actors, actors and goals but what about images that have only goals or movement without actors and goals? Kress and van Leeuwen admit that pictures are made up of multiple levels of meaning and interpretation. This may be contradictory to their grammar or taxonomy where it seems that images fall neatly into their categories. If both narrative and conceptual qualities exist in a work, how will it be categorized? How to know where the limits between categories are? Reading an image depends on what the interpreter stresses. (Pietilä 1996, pp. 78, 82).

Concerning the interpretation of images, Pietilä points out that compositional structures do not produce meaning in and of themselves. The meaning is a result of social interaction. He also questions if some of the compositional structures even function as the theory describes. Pietilä sees a more serious point to be that an interpretation based solely on compositional structures can turn out to be very misleading once the context is taken into consideration. (Pietilä 1996, pp. 78, 82).

Pietilä echoes the fact that visual design grammar does not offer any revolutionary new ideas. What *Reading Images* does offer is a systematic framework of established compositional structures. He states that some of their analyses felt surprisingly competent and offered interesting insights. The theory shows that with a relatively simple knowledge of

composition, one can see images in a different light. *Reading Images* offers an approach to image analysis that will help uncover the significant cultural phenomena that images hold. Pietilä sees visual design grammar as an important step in the right direction and he hopes it will spur further development in this field. (Pietilä 1996, pp. 78, 82).

Kress and van Leeuwen's ideas are not all new and innovative. They admit themselves that they "provide inventories of the major compositional structures which have become established as conventions" (Kress and van Leeuwen 1996, p. 1). They take them one step further and show how they produce meaning. What they offer then is a unique framework for looking at images. This framework is lacking in some areas. Kress and van Leeuwen claim that visual design grammar covers all forms of visual images yet their examples were, in large part, from popular media. I was often left wondering i.e. how a Mark Rothko painting would be analyzed as 'ideal or real'. The section on salience was left amazingly sparse. The other sections went into more detail as to how meaning is produced. Here, for example, it is merely mentioned that color has an effect without looking at the wide amount of research available. The ideas here could be developed considerably. The work of famous psychologist of art Rudolf Arnheim, among others, would be a crucial addition to substantiate the theory (Ruppert, 2004).

The Reading Images theory is of course broader and more in depth than just the ideas that have been presented here. The various metafunctions and the subsections are not meant to be interpreted as strictly 'either ... or'. Images represent the above ideas in a matter of degree and one image may contain numerous 'sub-images'. This creates meanings in a multi-level fashion that makes their interpretation challenging (Ruppert 200, p. 36).

Kress and van Leeuwen have undertaken a massive project and realize themselves the limitations involved. Trying to describe how meaning is communicated in various settings is so varied that it can never be neatly categorized to represent the “richness of the actual semiotic world” (Kress and van Leeuwen 1996, p. 264).

Chapter Three

Methodology and Analysis

Introduction

Semiotic analysis has been carried out in overall research as the vital methodology based on the Kress and Leeuwen's approach. Semiotic analysis intensifies the image content relationship and presents the meaning of signs in images. Visual Semiotic analysis method is popular in media studies. Moreover, analysis was carried out on the fifteen themes (images) from electoral political program of PJD party. Each image depicts the different scenario of the Moroccan society, culture and intended issues. The themes include Morocco today, uneven condition of Morocco, Corruption, exportation, freedom of press, Sports, Justice, Disability, Health Care Sector, Human Rights and Freedom, decent housing and living, Family members, women illiteracy, importance of territorial units and involving the people living in abroad in elections and decision making respectively. Visual Semiotic analysis digs out the hidden meaning from the images and presents the clear depiction of each element. Concisely, with the interpretation of signs research identifies and perpetuates the hidden meanings behind signs. Several messages are latent via this analysis. Respective images are analyzed as Textual, interpersonal and ideational visual design's functions as per the Kress and Leeuwen theory. Ideational Meta function intensifies the image-content relationship. Interpersonal Meta function identifies the producer or viewer affairs. Textual Meta function identifies the spatial composition in the images. Textual meta-function represents interactive and representative concerns.

3.1. Research Questions and Hypotheses

In the Moroccan context, visual communication plays an important role for political parties to create meaning and transmit their ideologies. Thus, the purpose of this research is to investigate whether the system of visual language that is being used in PJD electoral program

allows people to engage on its constructed meanings. In order to achieve the objectives of this research, the following questions will be attempted:

1. Are visual elements a medium through which political parties transmit their dominance and ideologies?
2. To what extent visual elements have an impact in the degree of adopting a good strategic campaign by the PJD?

Based on research questions above, the following hypotheses can be expected:

3. Visual elements are a medium through which political parties transmit dominance and ideology.
4. PJD gained trust and support from the audience due to the captivating printed media.

3.2. Description and Analysis

Semiotic analysis has been carried on the Justice and Development party (PJD) of Morocco. PJD is one of the strongest parties in Morocco. The executive branch of the Moroccan Government has been laid by the party. The main purpose is to elicit the visual elements in prospects of the election campaign by Kress and Leeuwen approach. Visual elements will identify the degree impact for having a strong strategic campaign. Additionally, the semiotic analysis would also perpetuate the medium for visualization and to clarify the path for ideologies and dominance. Below is the first image on which semiotic analysis has been conducted as follows:

المغرب الحالي

تضخم الفوارق وتفاقم العجز وتراجع المؤشرات
رغم ما توفر من إمكانات استثنائية



Figure 3: Morocco today

Visual design grammar

The interesting theoretical framework has been provided by Kress and van Leeuwen in order to analyze the images visually. Visualizations produce meaning and it can be analyzed by composition, framing, perspective and color. Textual, interpersonal and ideational are visual design's functions as per the Kress and Leeuwen theory. Above mentioned image is among one of the election campaigns, which depicts the text on the header as 'Morocco Today, inflammation of differences, disruption of the deficit and indicators decline despite exceptional potential' and the image depicts the two ladies showing current economic condition where an image which represents the current Moroccan situation where old women try green healing herbs because of poor financial conditions and can't afford to go to the private hospitals for medication as compared to the rich people.

Ideational Meta function – image content relation

Under the Ideational Meta function, there are interactive and representative participants. Here the interactive participants are the followers of the PJD party because the party communicates with the audience through images. On the other hand, representative participants are the two ladies; one purchases the herbs and the other sells the herbs. The text written on the header of the image is also a representative element which shows the current situation of the city. The poor sector is being addressed in the image which can't afford the expensive medicines and hospitals. The representation of the relations and interactions are depicted in the image. Moreover, there are two types of ideational meta-function representations i.e. conceptual and narrative. The context here in the depicted image is from the current status and movement of Morocco where people sell the different types of herbs on the streets for the remedy of expansive medicines. Two women are illustrated in a timeless fashion which depicts the poor class of Morocco as a whole. The action is being involved in the narrative representation and depicts the movement towards peace and stability. The direction sense is towards the betterment of Morocco via political communication.

Interpersonal meta-function - producer/viewer affair

The interpersonal meta-function depicts the viewer and producer interaction. The producer is the PJD party competing for the election to gain the votes and viewers are the laymen of Morocco. The electoral program depicts the social interaction between the two women with the motive of reducing poverty and stabilizing the condition. The motive of the PJD party is to encompass the critical situations being faced by poor people. The PJD party has worked to deliver its point of view to promote better living. Two women deliver the sense of values and conventions which further determines the social attitudes. Imaginary relation to the party has been created because portrayed of poverty is shown in the image which would address the problems of common people.

Being said that, images address the crucial things for PJD party for having strategic political campaigns. It addresses the people, current situation, stability, and betterment. As discussed above, in between the viewers and participants images produce three types of relations i.e. gaze, frame size, and perspective.

Gaze: Demand/Offer

Here as per the illustrated image, there is no direct eye contact of the viewer to the participant. So it depicts the offer because viewers are viewing the current scenario of poverty in Morocco. The PJD party wanted to educate the people that the party is trying to overcome the brutal situation. Moreover, representation participant shows the viewer contemplating objects and information.

Size of the frame and social distance

The dimensions size of frame and social distance has been taken into consideration Kress and van Leeuwen who have worked on the Proxemics and Edward hall studies. The study focuses on the size of frame which basically depicts the closeness of participant on the other end the nearness and fairness have been determined by the social relations.

The two women show the personal and intimate atmosphere by eliciting the feelings of not having enough money in order to buy the medicines. Moreover, in between the women, there is the close distance which depicts that one woman is personally involved by purchasing the medicinal herbs from another one.

Perspective

The expressive subjective attitudes of the people are depicted in the image with the central perspective. Current situation and scenario are represented and addressed for having successful election campaigns. Moreover, the image depicts the horizontal angle which further promotes the involvement of the intended people. It shows the degree of involvement

of the PJD party. The horizontal line clearly elaborates the neediness of the people which directly hits the audience. It shows the involvement of how much party is involved for the people around.

From the vertical point of view, power is depicted among the people that how strongly party addresses the nation. The angle from which the viewer views the image shows the strong relationship and makes the part at the power by looking down at the main prospect of the party.

Modality: Credibility

Modality relates to the credibility of the PJD party due to the photorealism and naturalism as per the societal problem. The image taken is real and thus delivers the real value of need to the audience and for the PJD as well in order to get the people to think that this party is directly addressing the issues of common people and tries to solve the poverty problems around. Furthermore, the natural colors are being utilized in the image and more illumination is given to the text written on a header with a blue background which delivers the sense of stability, wisdom, loyalty, trust, and fidelity.

Textual Metafunction: Spatial Composition

Textual Metafunction represents the concerns and textual concerns to the interactive and representative Meta functions. This Meta function represents as a whole that what information gives values and meanings combinedly. The promotional election program is made up of photo and text and each part is interrelated to each other. The textual and image part are dependent on each other because with the glimpse of text overall context of the image can be undergone. Framing, salience, and value are the three interrelated systems and composite with the first two Meta functions.

Information Value

Information value identifies the information located at different zones of the image for instance center and margin, top and bottom, left and right.

The certain pattern is being made when extracting the information value from left to right. The left part/side conveys that the information is already known while right part conveys the latest information. From the electoral program point of view the left part of the image depicts that the people already need the herbs for medication and the right part illustrates the new herbs are being introduced by the people in order to overcome the heavy private hospital expenses.

From the top and bottom zone point of view, the meaning is shown by the vertical sides where top conveys the ideal information and bottom contains the real information. As per the image, on the top, fulfillment promise has been made by the PJD party to fulfill the needs of the common people by addressing the health issues. As from the lower part, the real and practical situation and evidence (image) are depicted.

The center information as per the Kress and Leeuwen conveys the important information whereas margin has the subservient information. From Center and margin point of view, the symbolic meaning is illustrated as the herbs are the center of attraction from the viewer's prospects. The center point is important from an election point of view due to the remedial solutions of medication in private hospitals.

Salience: Eye-catching

Salience tool analyzes the gaining attention of the viewer's towards the image by focusing on size, color and overlapping. The size of the image is normal and poor people have been targeted so image size appropriate. The dominant colors which have been targeted are blue, white, light green, and shades of red. The blue color shows that people are under

depression because of the rising poverty. On the other hand the overlapping white text on the blue illustrates that poverty will come to end in nearest future. Furthermore, it illustrates the peace and healthy living. The light green color shows that the party has the goodness for the Moroccan people around. The shades of red reflect that PJD party has the love and passion for the Moroccan People and willing to serve the nation with best possible services. Having said that weight to the each composition is assigned and the element is more salient as per the weight. The importance value is created by the image because it draws the attention of the huge community of Morocco i.e. the poor sector. The most salient element is the text at the top and then moving towards the women where they exchange the medicinal herbs.

Salience cannot be measured objectively as there are so many variables involved in the image. Following are the factors used to achieve salience: placement, contrast, cultural and perspective of the object. Perspective elements are the text at the header and the image of the two women. The light border shows the salience at the moderate level in terms of tonal value. In the visual field, the placements text shows the asymmetry. The image determines the cultural symbol for human appearance and potent figure.

Framing: Connectedness

Connectedness shows the connectivity of the elements of the image. The text and image connectedness shows strong framing. Here differentiation and individuality are represented for the people that each and every person is equally important due to social norms and cultural values. For PJD party all people are considered worth having the good medication. Moreover, the promotional image shows more connectedness among the people as well for sharing the sympathy and tranquility.



Figure 4: Drop out of School

Analysis on the second image is carried out as per the Kress and van Leeuwen theory i.e. ideational, interpersonal and textual visual design functions where the visual and written grammar of the image is examined.

Ideational Meta-function

Under the ideational meta-function actual situation of Moroccan society is depicted through visual representation. The image is produced within the poor class of Morocco which carries ideological engrained societal situation around the country.

As this is semiotic analysis interactive participants are the people of Morocco to whom the actual condition of the country is perpetuated. On the other hand, a representative participant is the PJD party of Morocco which is addressing the critical issues of common people around via communicating through the image.

The interaction representation and the relation of the party to the poor class of Morocco are addressed where young girls are dropped out of school due to lack of schools in

rural areas so she is doing domestic work, for instance, fetching the water far from the home as illustrated in the image. Moreover, irrespective of the environment hotness, a young girl is forcibly sent due to the harsh condition of the family. Financial brutality can also be seen where the donkey is used as a means of transportation. The movement has been shown to overture the conceptual representation where a participant in the general notion is portrayed in class prospects as a larger whole.

Interpersonal Meta-function - Producer/Viewer affair

Under Interpersonal meta-function, the interaction between the people of Morocco and PJD is represented which further reveal the uneven condition of Morocco in terms of relations and interactions. Viewers i.e. the Moroccans and the producers i.e. the PJD party interact via the image because face to face communication to each individual is not possible. The party has utilized the program in order to get their point into the minds of the Moroccan people. The Party is socially determined; the imaginary relations are catered with the help of electoral program on the basis of cultural perspective. The party is related to overcome the financial crises of young children and to introduce the education system within the rural areas.

Strong relations among the people and PJD party are depicted under interactive meaning due to the relaying system of illiteracy that goes beyond the imagination. Social distance, Contact/Gaze, modality, and attitude are the four major systems of interactive meaning and discussed as below:

Gaze: Demand/Offer

The very first element Gaze in interpersonal meta-function is an offer from PJD party to the Moroccans because there is no direct eye contact. The image offers the sense of urgency the Moroccan children require and the basic right of children is violated due to

poverty. The audience of the electoral program is viewing that the common rights of the children i.e. education are not being provided. The illiteracy rate due to this problem is also increasing. The represented participant delivers the contemplation impersonally. The offer is towards young children for their prosperity and education. The image elicits the priority of the PJD party. Emotional connection is built which addresses directly the whole nation's common problem via the sense of resonance and longing the trigger.

The size of the frame and social distance

Size of the frame and social distance of the image illustrates the closeness of Moroccans to the PJD party. A young girl delivers a personal and intimate atmosphere in which common people's feelings are addressed. The image has been taken as a close shot in order to get into the minds of common people that party is personally involved in the great future of the young children.

Perspective /Attitude

The attitude, as per the intended image is subjective in nature which has defined the point of view i.e. the drop out of school due to poverty. The people could see the image from the same perspective as the party delivers. As horizontal angle depicts that the PJD party is totally involved with the poor sector and for the support of young children education as well. On the frontal angle, close shot of the young girl is shown which illustrates the prime concern of the PJD party. Additionally, eye level angle implies intimate and sympathized bond between the viewer and the young girl in which the PJD has power to change this tragic situation of Moroccans

Modality: Credibility:

Under Modality intended image is true and real because the social setting is the current situation of Morocco is being addressed by the PJD party. The image is real because as we see

the image it depicts the naturalism. The naturalism is based on the representation i.e. the poor class and young girl drops out of school due to poverty. Black, blue, brown and red shades are illustrated in the image where full-color saturation is deployed by image, with differentiated colors featured by green, red and golden brown. The black color shows the dark era of the Moroccans. The Green color depicts the goodness and great future which is yet to come with the struggle of the PJD party. The red and brown colors show the devotion of party towards the people of Morocco. Blue color shows the depressed people of the Morocco. The color modulation is also noticeable. With different shades of red, green and golden, the picture looks coordinated yet presents multiple layers, which take on a natural atmosphere. Additionally, representation illustrates the naturalism where the details are carefully portrayed. For instance, the upset facial expression of the represented participant, the donkey, and the bucket are depicted to the Moroccans clearly.

Textual meta-function: Spatial composition

Textual meta-function combines the above discussed interactive and representative meta-functions as a whole and each element bears a value for another one. Moreover, a single image is depicted but its elements have effects on each other. Salience, framing, and information value is the three systems on which interactive and represented meta-functions are examined as a whole.

Information Value

Each element has its associated information through which its value is examined as per the zones assigned to each element i.e. left and right, top and bottom and center and margin.

On the left and right there is just the drastic land which is common in Morocco and delivers that people need financing for having the cultivated lands. The left side is given that

from the times, the land is drought and on the other hand, the right side depicts the same scenario where special attention to the drought land is required for cultivation.

From top to bottom the trees, girl, donkey, and the bucket are depicted. As the top depicts the trees, it perpetuates the promise of the part that it would fulfill and make the land as the cultivated and delivers the possibilities for the common sector of Morocco. Furthermore, the bottom part of the image depicts the actual situation of Morocco. The evidence of the current situation is being addressed practically. The center part of the image illustrates the important issue that the young girl is drop out of the school and involved in domestic work.

Salience:

At varying levels, image seeks the attention of the Moroccans. The image has a great level of importance where the most salient element in the image is the young girl. The young girl drives the attention of all the people of Morocco by eliciting the common needs of the people. Following are the factors for achieving the salience:

Perspective:

The background object like drought land is less salient. On the other hand, foreground elements like a donkey, girl, and bucket are more salient because the main problem is addressed via these elements. It shows the degree of involvement of the PJD party. The Moroccans needs are clearly illustrated from which audience can get the exact meaning behind the campaigns. It shows the involvement of PJD party towards the betterment of the Morocco.

Contrast:

Borders of the electoral program have the rounded soft edges which illustrated that the borders are not that much salient where the tonal contrast is grey. More contrast can be seen on the girl, donkey and the bucket because these elements are the major fact of concern.

Visual field Placement:

The placement of the elements like a young girl and the donkey is heavier because these elements cover most of the image area. These elements are the prime concerns for the PJD party in order to target the majority of the people living in the rural areas. Visual placements affect the people because common and basic issue is catered via the image. PJD party works towards the bright future of children where party would introduce the education system for the poor class.

Cultural factors:

The image is culturally determined due to the presence of the young girl which illustrated the current situation of Morocco children and their education system. The culture of the rural areas is clearly addressed where in rural areas people forcibly send their children for domestic work. Illiteracy rate is also increasing due to the intense poverty.

Framing:

The Framing shows the connectedness degree of the PJD party towards the people of Morocco. The elements utilized in the image indicate that they belong to each other and are depicted as an individual item. As per the image, each element signifies the separate information. For instance the young girl depicts the whole rural area's education system is diminishing the future of children. Donkey is used as the means of transportation which depicts the poverty level of the Moroccans.



Figure 5: Say no to corruption

Analysis of the third image is carried out as per the Kress and van Leeuwen theory. Kress and Van Leeuwen theory is based on ideational, interpersonal and textual visual design functions where the visual and written grammar of the image is examined.

Ideational Meta-function

Under the ideational meta-function the main focus is on the replenishment of Morocco for having the corrupt free nation. Visual representation emphasizes on the prosperity of the nation. Furthermore, Image depicts that the fidelity of the PJD party towards the people of Morocco.

The representative participant is the PJD party of Morocco which is addressing the critical issues i.e. corrupt people which includes the political leaders and other high-class people. Interactive participants are the people of Morocco to whom the actual condition of the country is perpetuated by emphasizing on the honest living.

The interaction representation and the relation of the party to the people of Morocco especially the higher class of Morocco is targeted. The message is to live honestly and say no

to corruption. The message is not to take the rights of poor people because due to deformity condition economy has taken the downward trend where poor people are becoming poorer. A major focus is towards the political corruption where other political leaders are corrupt and have corrupted the millions of dollars. Not only poor class but the economy and global standards are vanquishing slowly as well. The prime purpose of the campaign is not to do corruption irrespective of the gender, cast, status and social stability.

Interpersonal Meta-function - Producer/Viewer affair

Under Interpersonal meta-function, The PJD party is trying to convey the message “say no to corruption” via interacting through the campaign. Such a campaign leads towards the strong relationships between the people of Morocco and PJD. Viewers i.e. the Moroccans and the producers i.e. the PJD party interact via the image because face to face communication to each individual is not possible and spreading such message would let the people think of the party in an optimistic way. The party has utilized the electoral program in order to get their point into the minds of the Morocco people. The Party is socially determined; the imaginary relations are catered with the help of a electoral program on the basis of political perspective. The party is related to overcome the financial crises and get back the rights of the Moroccans because corrupt leaders are only destroying the nation.

Social distance, Contact/Gaze, modality, and attitude are the four major systems of interactive meaning and examined as the electoral program thoroughly:

Gaze : Demand/Offer

The initial element Gaze in interpersonal meta-function is an offer from PJD party to the Moroccans because there is no direct eye contact and just hands are depicted holding the powerful message “say no to corruption” which means to stop corruption which is undergone via any means. The image offers a sense of urgency in which human rights and due to which

poverty is spreading to a great extent. The audience i.e. people of Morocco is viewing the seriousness of the party towards the nation. PJD party is fully determined towards the betterment of the country by totally eliminating the corruption in any means; bribery, graft, extortion, kick back, cronyism and the embezzlement.

The size of the frame and social distance:

Size of the frame and social distance of the image depicts the fidelity of the party towards the nation. A character holding the card delivers the message in an affectionate manner to get the motive of the party into the minds of Moroccan people.

Perspective /Attitude:

The attitude, as per the intended image is subjective in nature which has defined the point of view i.e. say no to corruption. The people could see the image from the same perspective as the party delivers. As horizontal angle depicts that the PJD party is totally involved with the progress and prosperity of the country by eliminating the dishonesty from every sector. On the frontal angle, close shot illustrates the main message.

Modality: Credibility

Under Modality, electoral program delivers the direct message where the light on the current situation of Morocco is being addressed by the PJD party. The image is delivering a real sense of knowledge. Black and red shades are illustrated in the image where full-color saturation is deployed by image. The black color shows the dark era of the Moroccans. The red color shows the devotion of the party towards the people of Morocco. Moreover, the text written is also in bold red and white background depicts that party is attached solely to the prosperity of the country and wants to spread peace and maintain the tranquility. The color modulation is also noticeable. Additionally, representation illustrates the message clearly where the details can be carefully portrayed and understood by the people of Morocco.

Textual Meta-function – Spatial composition:

Textual meta-function combines the above discussed interactive and representative meta-functions as a whole. Moreover, a single message is delivered via the electoral program. Salience, framing, and information value is the three systems on which interactive and represented meta-functions are examined thoroughly as below:

Information Value:

Each element has its associated information through which its value is examined as per the zones assigned to each element i.e. left and right, top and bottom and center and margin.

The left side shows the half man saturated in the black color which shows the dark side of Morocco where politicians are encountered corrupt. The right side is the half man with a saturated red color which shows that the party is totally attached to the country and wants the honest democracy system.

From top to bottom the message in the red bold color which white background is shown. It can be taken as the promise from the party for bringing the honest politicians around. The center part of the image is the core part which shed light on the important issue.

Salience:

At varying levels, image seeks the attention of the Moroccans. The image has a great level of importance where the most salient element in the image is the text “say no to corruption”. The message is delivered in order to aware the people to not to vote to corrupt leaders. Following are the factors for achieving the salience:

Perspective:

The background objects i.e. man with saturated black and red shows that every single entity matters for the country. On the other hand, the foreground element delivers the core message to the nation which shows the degree of involvement of the PJD party.

Visual field Placement:

The placement of the message with the white background is heavier because this element has the most eye-catching placement. Visual placements affect the people because the common and basic issue is catered via the image crucially. PJD party works towards the bright future of Morocco where the party would incorporate the honest leaders with the pure election.

Cultural factors:

The image is generally determined which illustrates the current situation of Morocco, for instance, the corrupt leaders who have taken the money which was needed to be invested in the different sectors. Due to such corruption, common people are suffering and only dearth is increasing which is affecting the people extensively.

Framing:

The Framing shows the connectedness degree of the PJD party towards the people of Morocco by addressing the crucial issue of corruption. The party is wholly associated with reducing corruption and maintains the stability in the country. The party via the campaign shows the degree of closeness to the Moroccans.



Figure 6: Exportation

A semiotic analysis has been carried on the political campaign of the PJD party. The prime purpose of this analysis is to elicit the visual elements in prospects of the election campaign by Kress and Leewan approach. Visual elements will identify the degree of impact for having a strong strategic campaign. Additionally, the semiotic analysis would also perpetuate the medium for visualization and to clarify the path for ideologies and dominance.

Textual, interpersonal and ideational are visual design's functions as per the Kress and Leewan theory. The above mentioned image is among one of the election campaigns carried out by the party.

Ideational Meta function: Image content relation

Under the Ideational Meta function, there are interactive and representative participants. Here the interactive participants are the followers of the PJD party because the party communicates with the audience through images. Representative participants are the

labors working in the food industry and cleaning the different vegetables for exportation. The representation of the relations and interactions are depicted in the image. Moreover, there are two types of ideational meta-function representations i.e. conceptual and narrative. The context is conceptual because cleaning the different vegetables/herbs is undergone by the ladies and then packing for the exportation is carried out. This image illustrates that the party would be completely involved with the poor sector by offering the jobs which would further boost the exportation.

Interpersonal meta-function - Producer/Viewer affair

The interpersonal meta-function depicts the viewer and producer interaction. The producer is the PJD party competing for the election to gain the votes whereas viewers are the general people of Morocco more focused towards the middle and poor class. The campaign image illustrates that exportation would be increased rapidly through which the country's economy will also stabilize. To put it another way, exportation is one of the major factors from which trading would improve immensely. The import would be cheap if the export is good. It addresses the people, current situation, stability, and betterment. The PJD party has worked to deliver his its point of view to promote better living. For the poor class in Morocco, it is difficult for the people to bear the household expenses so via the industrial work poor sector can easily earn to cater to the financial crises. That is to say that image addresses the crucial things for PJD party for having strategic political campaigns.

Gaze, size of the frame, social distance, perspective, and modality are the different factors of the interpersonal meta-function discussed below:

Gaze: Demand/Offer

As per the campaign image, the gaze is the offer because there is no direct eye contact with the viewers. The image is offering trading assurance and enormous jobs. The PJD party

wants to overcome the difficulties being faced the families in order to run the houses. On the other hand, viewers would seek information for opportunities for evolving opportunities. Moreover, the country would also be benefited in terms of economy and exportation in the agriculture sector.

Size of the frame and social distance:

The workers at the industry illustrated the seriousness towards the work and independently cleaning the vegetables/herbs from the buckets which would be exported. It also depicts that wages for each worker are independently defined as the work.

Perspective:

The expressive subjective attitudes of the people are depicted in the image. Perspective would be clearly understood by the people of Morocco. People needs and trading choices and jobs opportunities are represented and addressed for having successful election campaigns meanwhile solving the problems of common people. The vertical point of view shows the involvement of the party among the people that how strongly party addresses the nation. The angle from which the viewer views the image shows the strong relationship and makes the part at the power by looking at the main prospect of the party where the image depicts the horizontal angle which further promotes the involvement of the intended people. It shows the degree of involvement of the PJD party. The horizontal line clearly elaborates the motive of the party.

Modality: Credibility

Modality relates to the credibility of the PJD party due to introducing the trading choices for the locals. The image taken is real and thus delivers the real value of need to the audience and for the PJD as well in order to get the people to think that this party is directly addressing the issues of common people and increasing the exportation in the agriculture

sector. Furthermore, the natural colors are being utilized in the image blue, red and grey. Blue color shows the poor people who are depressed due to the financial crises and other household expenses. These people work day and night to run their houses but the good thing is that more or less such people are earning and PJD party would revolutionize the way people earning. Red color depicts that part is contributing in order to increase the labor wages so that exportation can increase as well.

Textual Meta-function – spatial composition

Textual meta-function represents interactive and representative concerns. This Meta function represents as a whole what information gives values and meanings in a combined manner. Exportation is the prime factor in the intended electoral program which depicts the great trading flexibility and other opportunities for the people of Morocco.

Framing, salience, information value, and perspective are the interrelated systems and composite with the first two Meta functions discussed thoroughly below for the campaign image.

Information value

Information value identifies the information located at different zones of the image for instance center and margin, top, and bottom left and right.

The certain pattern is being made when extracting the information value from left to right. The left part/side conveys that the information is already known while the right part conveys the latest information. From left to right workers are shown which conveys that the people are working in the industry and cleaning the vegetables that would be exported. From Center and margin point of view, the symbolic meaning is illustrated as the ladies are the center of attraction from the viewer's prospects. From the top and bottom zone point of view, the meaning is shown by the vertical sides where top conveys the ideal information and

bottom contains the real information. As per the image, on the top, fulfillment promise has been made by the PJD party to fulfill the needs of the common people by addressing poverty. As from the lower part, the real and practical situation and evidence (image) are depicted.

Salience = Eye-catching

Salience tool analyzes the gaining attention of the viewer's towards the image by focusing on size, color, and overlapping. The most salient feature is the workers working in the industry for exportation purpose. The size of the image is normal and poor people have been targeted so image size appropriate. The dominant colors which have been targeted are blue, white, green, and red. The blue color shows that people are under depression because of rising poverty. Having said that weight to each composition is assigned and the element is more salient as per the weight. The importance value is created by the image because it draws the attention of the huge community of Morocco i.e. the trading sector.

Salience cannot be measured objectively as there are so many variables involved in the image. Following are the factors used to achieve salience: placement and cultural perspective of the image as below:

Visual field Placement:

The direct sight of the eye goes on the workers working and cleaning the vegetables/herbs. Visual placements affect the people because the common and basic issue is catered via the image. The PJD party works towards the bright future of Morocco where the party would introduce the new means of exportation that would lead towards the better Morocco.

Cultural factors:

A strong message has been delivered which would influence the minds of people. People would have more choices to earn and trade. Exportation would benefit the country's economy. People would be culturally determined by having clear prospects of earning.

Framing = connectedness

Connectedness shows the connectivity of the elements of the image. Strong framing has been shown via the electoral program. Here differentiation and individuality are represented for the people that each and every person is equally important and PJD party is working in order to maintain such equality and increasing the trading opportunities.



Figure 7: Justice

Here the theme of the analysis is the “Justice”. Justice in terms of equal opportunities, equal responsibilities, equal merit, genuine respect for people, fairness and more for the people of Morocco. Justice on each and every thing PJD party is offering to the nation. A nation where there is immense need for the justice. As per the justice theme, the PJD party’s campaign image is taken for the analysis. The analysis is carried out on the textual, interpersonal and ideational meta-functions. Kress and van Leeuwen have identified the fact that each element in the picture has hidden meaning. This is basically referred to the written and visual grammar i.e. grammar of text, images, placement etc. Below is the thorough analysis of each element as per the Kress and van Leeuwen theory:

Ideational meta-function

As per the main theme “Justice”, it shows the PJD party’s agenda which is to bring the justice, peace and prosperity to the country. It’s more or less fair-play in each sector whether its government or private. Justice for everyone means bringing fairness, giving equal opportunities and increasing the merits. As we can see, the visual representation is illustrating the impartiality of the political party addressing the whole country. What image reveals, people

can easily get the whole message. Every democratic country has the ruling elite class and majority of the elite class people are involved in the massive breakdowns of the country from corruption to demerits. Therefore, PJD wants the prosperous country where poor would have the same justice treatment as the ruling elite.

Moreover the relational representation and the interaction are being depicted of the party to the people of Morocco. It illustrates that party is equally involved with all the matters of common people. The message is not to take the rights of poor people because due to injustice, people are facing more poverty. Poor people are not given chance to become part of higher duties and there is no merit. A major focus is towards the political justice where other political leaders are corrupt and have taken the millions of dollars. That money belongs to the fair people, country's development and other development areas.

Interpersonal meta-function - producer/viewer affair

Producer and viewer affairs are the strongest elements of the Kress and Van Leeuwen theory. Both effects are equally important because what producer has produced should convey the proper message to viewer. Here the producer is the PJD party, who has created the campaign poster for delivering its message to the nation. The party has utilized the electoral program in order to persuade the Moroccan people. The Party is socially determined; the imaginary relations are catered with the help of an electoral program on the basis of political perspective. The party is related to overcome the financial crises and get back the rights of the Moroccans because corrupt leaders are only destroying the nation. Viewers are the people of Morocco. Moroccans can easily view the party prospect of justice. Viewers i.e. the Moroccans and the producers i.e. the PJD party interact via the image because face to face communication to each individual is not possible and spreading such message would let the people think of the party in an optimistic way and thus party would have greater chance for

more votes. Social distance, Contact/Gaze, modality, and attitude are the four major systems of interactive meaning that are examined thoroughly below:

Gaze = demand/offer

The Gaze tool identifies that whether the party is demanding something or offering. As there is no direct eye-contact between the PJD party and Moroccans so campaign image is offering the 'justice. The image offers the justice in each and every sector. The PJD party is fully determined towards the betterment of the country by totally eliminating the corruption in any means; bribery, graft, extortion, kick back, cronyism and the embezzlement. As it is clear from the electoral program image the weight counter plates are equal from both sides which means that the PJD party will equally treat the people all around.

The size of the frame and social distance

Size of the frame and social distance of the image illustrates the rationality towards the Moroccans. The motive of the party is depicted clearly from the image. People can get the right message from viewing the image.

Perspective /Attitude

The people could see the image from the same perspective as the party delivers i.e. the perspective of justice. The attitude, as per the intended image is subjective in nature which has defined the point of view of Justice. All angles equally participate by delivering the right message to the nation i.e. as horizontal angle depicts that the PJD party is totally associated for bringing the justice in the country by eliminating the dishonesty from every sector.

Modality: Credibility

Campaign Image delivers the direct message where the justice which is the basic need of Morocco is being addressed by the PJD party. The color modulation is also noticeable. The image is delivering a real sense of knowledge. Brown shades are illustrated in the image

where full-color saturation is deployed by image. The black cum brown color illustrates the dark era of the Moroccans.

Textual Meta-function: spatial composition

Textual meta-function combines the above discussed interactive and representative meta-functions as a whole. Moreover, a single message is delivered via the electoral program. Saliency, framing, and information value are the three systems on which interactive and represented meta-functions are examined thoroughly as below:

Information Value

Each element has its associated information through which its value is examined as per the zones assigned to each element i.e. left and right, top and bottom and center and margin.

The left side shows the counter plate; right side depicts the counter plate with the justice hammer. This means from left to right party would emphasize on bringing the justice to Morocco.

Saliency:

The image has a great level of importance where the most salient element is the image showing the “Justice”. At varying levels, image seeks the attention of the Moroccans. The message is delivered in order to aware the people to support the PJD party. Following are the factors for achieving the saliency:

Perspective:

The background objects i.e. books of the constitution are illustrated. The perspective is to deliver the justice to the people. The justice is bringing the fairness, equality, prosperity, equal opportunities, and increasing the merits in education and jobs.

Visual field Placement:

Visual placements affect the people because the common and basic issue is catered via the image crucially. The placement of the message with the brown background is heavier because this element has the most eye-catchy placement. PJD party works towards the bright future of Morocco where the party would incorporate the honest leaders with the pure election.

Cultural factors:

As per the recent cultural prospects, rich are becoming richer and poor are becoming poorer. It's only because of the injustice in the higher sectors. The brutal economic conditions are due to such injustice. People can view the clear message of the party and thus Moroccans will be intrigued towards the party.

Framing:

The Framing shows the connectedness degree. Here the connectedness of the PJD party is shown that how much party is connected with the Moroccans in bringing the justice in the country. The party via the campaign shows the degree of closeness to the Moroccans. The party is wholly associated with reducing corruption, poverty by justifying the needs of the people.



Figure 8: Freedom of Press

The next theme is the “freedom of press”. Freedom of press means government is accountable for each and everything. Democratic country means free and independent press. In order to participate in the democracy, freedom of press is necessary however, press should be secured as much as possible because most of the time public officials attack the press in several ways.

Ideational Meta-function

According to the theme, ideational meta-function strives for the country where public is informed and engaged in the functions of democracy. In order to do so, press should be protected constitutionally and must be independent entity. As per the PJD party agenda people have the right to know what is right and know the truth as well that what is operating around the country. By having the full transparency, people can easily trust the PJD party at the greater extents. As per the visual design grammar, there are two parts of the ideational meta-function i.e. the interactive participants and representative participants. In this theme the interactive participants are the people of morocco whereas representative participant is the PJD party. The movement has been shown to overture the conceptual representation where a

participant in the general notion is portrayed in class prospects as a larger whole. As per the ruling party, press is running so there is no freedom of press is remaining but public have right to know the right at the right time irrespective of any hurdles.

Interpersonal Meta-function - Producer/Viewer affair

The producer and viewer affair in the interpersonal meta-function depicts the motive of what PJD party is trying to deliver and what people would conceive. The interaction between the people of Morocco and PJD is represented which further reveal the uneven condition of Morocco in terms of relations and interactions. Viewers i.e. the Moroccans and the producers i.e. the PJD party interact via the image as per the theme there is no face to face communication. The party has utilized the electoral program to in order to get their point into the minds of the Morocco people. The Party is socially determined; the imaginary relations are catered with the help of electoral program on the basis of cultural perspective. The PJD party wants to bring the freedom of press so that locals would be equally informed for the real information. Freedom of press also strives for the sensitive matters that what should be revealed to public and what not. Among the people and PJD party freedom of information legislation are undertaken. Public material should be exercised rightly. Journalist should be given ease to publish the material without censorship of government in Morocco. Social distance, Contact/Gaze, modality, and attitude are the four major systems of interactive meaning are discussed thoroughly as followed:

Gaze: Demand/Offer

The very first element Gaze in interpersonal meta-function is an offer from PJD party to the Moroccans because there is no direct eye contact. The image illustrates the importance of freedom of press. People would be informed about the current situation of Morocco transparently. On government wrongdoing, press would act as a watchdog. The represented

participant delivers the contemplation impersonally. The offer is towards the people of Morocco. The image elicits the priority of the PJD party where freedom of press would increase the level of trust. By having freedom of press, people can express themselves on verity of opinions and crucial information thus acting as a vibrant marketplace of the governmental activities openly.

The size of the frame and social distance

Social distance is somewhat how people of Morocco would perceive the freedom of press. Size of frame depicts that how it can influence the people of Morocco. The image has been taken as a close shot in order to get into the minds of common people that party is personally involved towards the betterment of the people.

Perspective /Attitude

The perspective in the image is clear of providing freedom of press to the people of Morocco whereas attitude is subjective which has defined the exact point of view. The people can see the image from the same perspective as the party delivers. As horizontal angle depicts that the PJD party is totally involved with the journalists. On the frontal angle, close shot of the newspapers is illustrated. PJD holds the power to change the current situation of the Morocco by giving the openness to the fourth branch of government.

Modality: Credibility

As per the modality or credibility image is taken from some of the local shop which is selling the newspapers. Intended image is true and real because the social setting is the current situation of Morocco is being addressed by shedding light that news agencies are equally important. Black, white and red shades are illustrated in the image with full-color saturation is deployed by image. The black color shows the dark era of the Moroccans that press is not

given freedom as per their will still governmental agencies control its freedom. The little red colors illustrate the devotion of party towards the people of Morocco.

Textual meta-function – spatial composition

Textual meta-function i.e. is the spatial composition which combines the above discussed interactive and representative meta-functions as a whole and each element bears a value for another one. Moreover, a single image is depicted but its elements have effects on each other. Salience, framing, and information value is the three elements on which interactive and represented meta-functions are examined as a whole.

Information Value

Each element has its associated information through which its value is examined as per the zones assigned to each element i.e. left and right, top and bottom and center and margin. On both side, newspapers are put into the rack for intensifying the right sense of knowledge to the people of Morocco. As per the PJD party agenda people have the right to know what is right and know the truth as well that what is operating around the country. By having the full transparency, people can easily trust the PJD party at the greater extents. Same is the scenario from top to bottom as well.

Salience:

Salience is basically identifying the most prominent element in the campaign image. It is clearly illustrated in the image that what PJD party wants to prevail. At varying levels, image seeks the attention of the Moroccans towards the freedom of press. The image has a great level of importance where the most salient element in the image is newspapers.

Perspective:

The background object like drought land is less salient. On the other hand, foreground elements like a donkey, girl, and bucket are more salient because the main problem is addressed via these elements. It shows the degree of involvement of the PJD party. The Moroccans needs are clearly illustrated from which audience can get the exact meaning behind the campaigns. It shows the involvement of PJD party towards the betterment of the Morocco.

Visual field Placement:

The placement of newspaper visually appeals to the people. These elements are the prime concerns for the PJD party in order to target the majority of the people around. Visual placements affect the people because common and basic issue is catered via the image. PJD party works towards the bright future by bringing the freedom of press in the country.

Cultural factors:

The cultural factors demonstrate the norms of the culture which are addressed by the PJD party. By giving freedom of press people would become surer what is going on around and what is important for them. PJD party can attract the huge no of voters by benefiting the people on cultural basis.

Framing:

The Framing is the most vibrant element on which closeness of the people towards the party can be illustrated. The elements utilized in the image indicate that they belong to each other and are depicted as an individual item belonging to different news agencies of Morocco. As per the image, each element signifies the separate information that each individual entity is equally crucial.



Figure 9: Sports

The theme of this analysis is “Sports”. The PJD party is trying to gain the attention of the youth through this political campaign. Majority of the youth in Morocco is intrigued to play the different kinds of sports. Most favorable among all are football, hand ball, golf, tennis and basketball. The prime purpose of this analysis is to elicit the visual elements in prospects of the election campaign by Kress and Leeuwen approach. Visual elements will identify the degree impact for having a strong strategic campaign. Additionally, the semiotic analysis would also perpetuate the medium for visualization and to clarify the path for ideologies and dominance. Textual, interpersonal and ideational are visual design’s functions as per the Kress and Leeuwen theory. Followed is the thorough analysis of the theme

Ideational Meta function: Image content relation

Ideational meta-function identifies the relation of interactive and representative participants. Interactive participants are the teen agers of the Morocco whereas representative participant is the PJD party. The representation of the relations and interactions are depicted in the image. As we can see youngsters are playing the football in the sport court. Party is targeting the youth by offering them the different sports opportunities locally as well as internationally. It is a common fact that youth of Morocco has not been given that much opportunities and sponsorships in order to play the sports professionally. PJD party would allow the youth to leverage the different sports opportunities. As there are local championships of the football in Morocco, more teenagers are attracted towards the football but due to the lack of football courts people are left behind. PJD party through political campaign is addressing the youth that it would facilitate the youth with football courts and increase the sponsorships as well.

Interpersonal meta-function: Producer/Viewer affair

Producer and viewer affair is the prospect through which political campaign is carried out. Producer is PJD party and viewers are the youngsters of the Morocco. The producer is the PJD party competing for the election to gain the votes whereas viewers are the teenagers of Morocco. The image illustrates the potential of the teenagers playing the football irrespective of the hot weather conditions. That is to say that image addresses the importance of sports for PJD party for having strategic political campaigns. Gaze, size of the frame, social distance, perspective, and modality are the different factors of the interpersonal meta-function addressed below thoroughly:

Gaze: Demand/Offer

Viewers are not directly addressed and it can be seen in the image there is no direct eye contact of PJD party with the youngsters so it means it is offer not demand. PJD party is offering the potential opportunities to the teen agers. Youngsters rest assures for the sports facilities around the country. Viewers would seek information for opportunities for evolving opportunities. Moreover, the country would also be benefited in terms of economy and international tournaments especially in football.

Size of the frame and social distance

Size of frame and social distance illustrates the social interaction of the party with the viewers. It ensures the public of wide range of sports facilities including introduction to new games as well. It also shows that leveraging such sports would not only attract the locals but tourism would also be increased.

Perspective

Image is addressing the clear perspective of the PJD party i.e. to increase the sports facilities and to engage the youth in no of sports especially the football. The expressive subjective attitudes of the people are depicted in the image. Perspective would be clearly understood by the people of Morocco. The angle from which the viewer views the image shows the strong relationship and makes the part at the power by looking at the main prospect of the party where the image depicts the horizontal angle which further promotes the involvement of the teenagers. It shows the degree of involvement of the PJD party. The horizontal line clearly elaborates the motive of the party of increasing the sport courts.

Modality : Credibility

The image taken is real and thus delivers the real value of need to the youngsters and for the PJD as well in order to get the people to think that this party is directly addressing the

issues of youth and increasing the sporting facilities. Furthermore, the natural colors are being utilized in the image blue, green and grey. Blue color shows the people who are lacking the sporting facilities. Moreover, PJD party wants to educate the parents as well for allowing the children to get into the different kinds of sports. Red color depicts that part is contributing in order to increase the foot ball courts so that youth can take the maximum benefit.

Textual Meta-function: Spatial composition

Textual meta-function represents interactive and representative concerns. This Meta function represents as a whole that what information gives values and meanings in a combined manner. Sporting is the prime factor in the intended electoral program which depicts the great sporting flexibility and other opportunities for the people of Morocco. Framing, salience, information value, and perspective are the interrelated systems and composite with the first two Meta functions discussed thoroughly below for the campaign image.

Information Value

Information value identifies the information located at different zones of the image for instance center and margin, top, and bottom left and right.

The certain pattern is being made when extracting the information value from left to right. The left part/side conveys that the information is already known while the right part conveys the latest information. From left to right children are shown which conveys that the youngsters are playing the football. From the top and bottom zone point of view, the meaning is shown by the vertical sides where top conveys the ideal information and bottom contains the real information. As per the image, on the top, fulfillment promise has been made by the PJD party to fulfill the needs of the youth. As from the lower part, the real and practical situation and evidence (image) are depicted.

Salience: Eye-catching

Salience tool analyzes the gaining attention of the viewer's towards the image by focusing on size, color, and overlapping. The most salient feature is the youth playing football in the sport court. The size of the image is normal and poor people have been targeted so image size appropriate. The dominant colors which have been targeted are blue, white, green, and red. The blue color shows that people are upset because of less sporting facilities. Having said that weight to each composition is assigned and the element is more salient as per the weight. The importance value is created by the image because it draws the attention of the huge community of Morocco i.e. the teenagers. Salience cannot be measured objectively as there are so many variables involved in the image but the most salient feature is football. Following are the factors used to achieve salience:

Visual field Placement:

As we can see the image directly draws our attention to the football played by teenagers. Visual placements affect the people because the common and basic need is catered via the image. PJD party wants to establish the new football courts and enhance the overall sporting facilities as well.

Cultural factors:

A strong message has been delivered which would influence the minds of youngsters. People would have more choices to choose from. Sporting would benefit the country's economy by increasing the tourism as well.

Framing: Connectedness

Connectedness shows the connectivity of the elements of the image. Strong framing has been shown via the electoral program. Here differentiation and individuality are represented for the people that each and every person is equally important and PJD party is

working in order to maintain such equality and increasing the sporting opportunities. If the youth will be connected more the no of people would vote the PJD party.



Figure 10: Health Care Sector

Health system of the Morocco is the crucial element for the PJD party to address for the election campaigns. Here with the help of semiotic analysis, the intended figure is examined and analyzed to have the clear visual elements in prospects of the election campaign. The semiotic analysis would also perpetuate the medium for visualization and to clarify the path for ideologies and dominance. The analysis will elicit the degree of having strong strategic election campaign. Moreover, textual, interpersonal and ideational are visual design's functions which are also analyzed as per the Kress and Leeuwen theory. Above mentioned image is among one of the election campaigns carried out by the party. The health system of the Morocco includes the Ministerial departments, local communities, royal armed forces which covers the different environments. Medical teams are designated to the areas which visit the area and promote health care in every corner of the country. Morocco is engrained with the several chronic diseases and PJD party wants to play crucial role in these

prospects via hospitalizations, consultations, emergency care, dental care, radiological examination testing and water treatment, school hygiene.

The major fact of concern is that Morocco is still facing non-productivity in health sector due to the bad governance which encountered the ill health system. Moreover, there is intense inequality in health care sectors of urban and rural areas.

Ideational Meta function – image content relation

An interactive and representative participant comes under the Ideational Meta function. Of course it is the analysis of the Justice and Development Party where representatives are the members of the party which delivers the motive of election campaign via the image. On the other hand interactive participants are the Moroccan nationals to whom health crucial things are addressed. Health is the basic need and necessity of every single people. The relations in between the nationals and PJD party are represented by the image which further illustrates the conceptual presentation. The concept here is that due to emergency accidents, diseases and other severities, there is immense need to expedite the operations in health care sector. Morocco is lacking doctors which PJD party promises to overcome such situation. This image illustrates that the party would be completely involved in enhancing the health care sector by increasing the job market, hospital facilities and more.

Interpersonal meta-function - producer/viewer affair

Producer and Viewer affair are analyzed under interpersonal meta-function. Producers are the outstanding members of the PJD party which wants to deliver the motive of the election campaign. The prime concern of the party is to facilitate the locals with the latest health care services. People in Morocco often have to wait for the operations because sometimes equipment is not available or due to shortage of specialized doctors. Party wants to overcome such hurdles. Viewers in the Interpersonal Meta function are the people of

Morocco. People around the country are suffering from the several diseases. That is to say that image addresses the crucial things for PJD party for having strategic political campaigns. The country can only stabilize if it has better health care system. It is clear that people can't afford heavy bills of hospitals and thus suffers from the basic medication as well due of financial crises and brutal governance.

Different types of power and social relationships are analyzed via Interpersonal Meta function in political campaign. Modality, perspective, social distance, size of frame and gaze tools are utilized to proceed the analysis.

Gaze = demand/offer

As per the campaign image, the gaze tool shows that image is an offer from the PJD party to the people of Morocco. The image is offer because there is no direct eye contact with the viewer's i.e. Moroccans. The image is offering enormous jobs in the health sector. The PJD party wants to overcome the difficulties being faced by the families. Health care facilities are minimal in number and people lack the basic necessities of life.

Size of the frame and social distance

Surgeons and other doctors are operating the patient. Serious operation is being undertaken when three to four doctors are examining the critical condition of the patients. The seriousness shows that there is immense need to stabilize the health sector.

Perspective

The perspective shows the seriousness of the operation theater where surgeons are busy in operation. Moreover, the expressive subjective attitudes of the people are depicted in the image. Perspective would be clearly understood by the people of Morocco. The vertical point of view shows the party really cares about the nation and health care sector would improve gradually. The angle from which the viewer views the image shows the strong

relationship in between the PJD party and Moroccans. It shows the degree of involvement of the PJD party. The horizontal line clearly elaborates the motive of the party.

Modality = credibility

Modality or credibility of the PJD party is towards the betterment of the country. The image taken depicts the real scenario where doctors are seriously engaged in operation.

Furthermore, the natural colors are being utilized in the image blue and white. Blue color depicts the seriousness of operation. This also depicts the critical condition of the patient. White color shows that the peace is yet to come so people don't need to worry about anything. PJD party will overcome all the hurdles gradually and bring the enormous facilities to people of Morocco.

Textual Meta-function – spatial composition

Textual meta-function represents interactive and representative concerns i.e. PJD party and People of Morocco. This Meta function represents as a whole that what information gives values and meanings in a combined manner. Morocco is still facing non-productivity in health sector due to the bad governance which encountered the ill health system. Moreover, there is intense inequality in health care sectors of urban and rural areas.

Framing, salience, information value, and perspective are the interrelated systems and composite with the first two Meta functions discussed thoroughly below for the campaign image.

Information value

Information value identifies the information located at different zones of the image at the center and margin, top, and bottom left and right. The certain pattern is being made when extracting the information value from left to right. The left part/side conveys that the information is already known while the right part conveys the latest information.

From left to right doctors are shown which conveys that the patient is really in critical condition and doctors are busy in operating the patient. Center and margin point of view, the symbolic meaning is illustrated as the doctors pay attention to the patient's condition. From the top and bottom zone point of view, the meaning is shown by the vertical sides where top conveys the ideal information and bottom contains the real information. As per the image, on the top, fulfillment promise has been made by the PJD party to fulfill the healthcare needs of the common people by addressing the ill democracy and governance. On the other hand, PJD party is trying to restore the active health care system by focusing on the below model (Massachusetts Medical Society, 2016):



Figure 11: Health Care Model

Salience = eye-catching

Salience tool analyzes the gaining attention of the viewer's towards the image by focusing on size, color, and overlapping. The most salient feature is the doctors operating the patient. The size of the image is normal and healthcare sector is shown which need immense

improvement. Healthcare sectors lack the doctors, equipment and other necessary materials for operations and OPDs.

The dominant colors which have been targeted are blue and white. The blue is worn by the doctors to be attentive to the patient's condition while as analysis the blue color means depression, i.e. the depression of being in hospital. Moreover, weight to each composition is assigned and the element is more salient as per the weight. The importance value is created by the image because it draws the attention of the huge community of Morocco because health sector is deteriorating by the poor governance. Additionally, Saliency cannot be measured objectively as there are so many variables involved in the image. Following are the factors used to achieve saliency: visual field placement and framing of the image as below:

Visual field Placement:

As viewer views the image, directly sight goes on the surgeons being involved in the operation. Visual placements affect the people because the common and basic issue is catered via the image. PJD party works towards the establishment of healthcare sector that would be better for the progress and prosperity of the nation.

Framing = connectedness

Here as per the analysis connectedness can be seen how the doctors are co-operating with each other when undergoing the operation. Strong framing has been shown in the election campaign Image. Here differentiation and individuality are represented for the people that each and every person is equally important and PJD party is working in order to maintain such equality and increasing the health facilities around the country.



Figure 12: Disability

The theme for the analysis is raising “Disability” in Morocco. Party of Justice and Development (PJD) aims to focus on the issue and address it through the election campaign. The semiotic analysis will amplify the impact of an election campaign from the political prospect. Semiotic analysis is carried out as per the approach of Kress and Wan Leewan how visualization can be an effective medium for dominance and ideologies. Textual, interpersonal and ideational are visual design’s functions are thoroughly analyzed from the election campaign point of view.

Disability is the increasing norm in Morocco which cannot be neglected. Disability can be of any type, physical, mental and sensorial. 56.20% of the people in Morocco are physically disabled were 24.90% and 18.80% are bearing sensorial and mental disabilities. Prevalence of disability factor is connected with the age factor however physical disability arises with the accidents and other causalities. People in Morocco which are over 60 years of age are more prone to the disability. Disability factor is also increasing in children and young

adults. PJD party is trying to overcome the hurdles faced by the disabled persons like lack of medical facilities, equipment, and other necessary things. Here is the pictorial illustration (El Ouazzani Touhami, 2015):

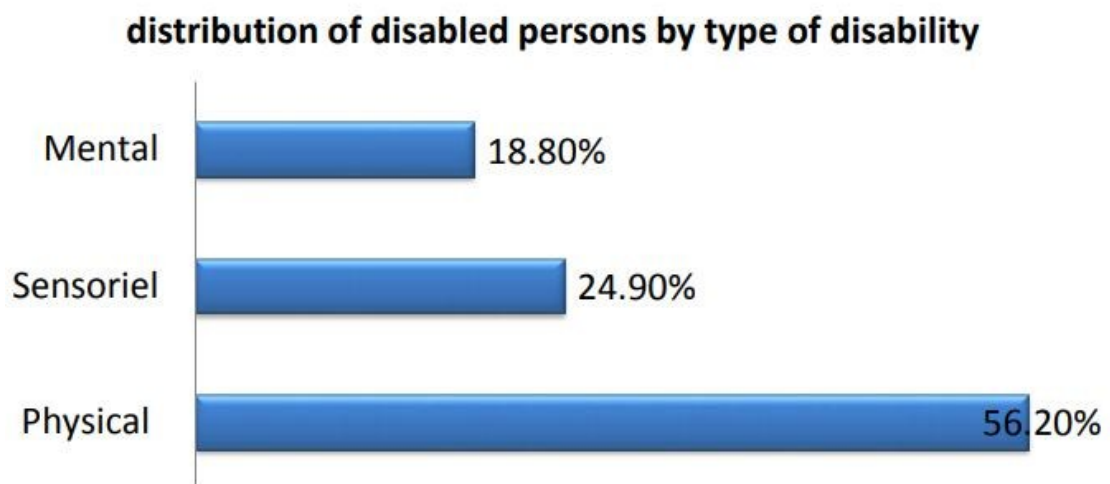


Figure 13: Disabled persons distribution

Ideational Meta function – image content relation

Image content relation can be easily identified by the Ideational Meta-function. Representative participants are the PJD party's founding members and interactive participants are the people of Morocco especially the disabled persons. The image illustrates that disability ratio is increasing day by day and this matter is addressed by the representations of relation and interaction.

The two types of ideational meta-function representations i.e. conceptual and narrative; the context is conceptual because the important issue is carried out by the political campaign. Through Morocco this election campaign disabled people are addressed who have equal opportunity to live and vote. It is clear from the image that disabled people have no facilities anywhere in hospitals, shopping malls, and other public places.

Interpersonal meta-function - producer/viewer affair

The producer and Viewer interactions are analyzed under Interpersonal meta-function. The producers are of course PJD party members whereas viewers are the disabled people of Morocco. Through the election campaign, the PJD party has addressed the disabled people to show sympathy and equality among all. Disabled people around Morocco are facing brutal conditions because there are no facilities provided to such people that can tackle the current situation, stability, and betterment. The PJD party has worked to deliver his its point of view to promote better living. Party wants to enable people to participate in society and community life. Moreover, the Party wants to make it mandatory commercially to provide ease of services and support to the disabled people. That's how the party would manage to maintain the status at regional and local levels to improve the local governance system. Current system of the government faces accountability, criticism and anger issues.

Gaze, size of the frame, social distance, perspective, and modality tools are utilized of the interpersonal meta-function discussed below:

Gaze = demand/offer

As per the campaign image, the gaze is the offer because the guy shows the back that means it is difficult for the disabled people to face the world. The image also shows that the party is fully involved to help the disabled people by providing the various facilities at the public places.

Size of the frame and social distance

Size of frame is normal while social distance shows the fidelity towards the people because Disability factor is increasing in the children and young adults. PJD party is trying to overcome the hurdles faced by the disabled persons by medical facilities, equipment and other necessary things in the public places.

Perspective

Perspective is quite clear to be understood by the people of Morocco. Disability is the increasing norm in Morocco which cannot be neglected. The vertical point of view shows the involvement of the party among the people that how strongly party addresses the nation. Disability can be of any type, physical, mental and sensorial. 56.20% of the people in Morocco are physically disabled were 24.90% and 18.80% are bearing sensorial and mental disabilities. Prevalence of disability factor is connected with the age factor however physical disability arises with the accidents and other causalities. Pictorial depiction by age wise is as follows (El Ouazzani Touhami, 2015):

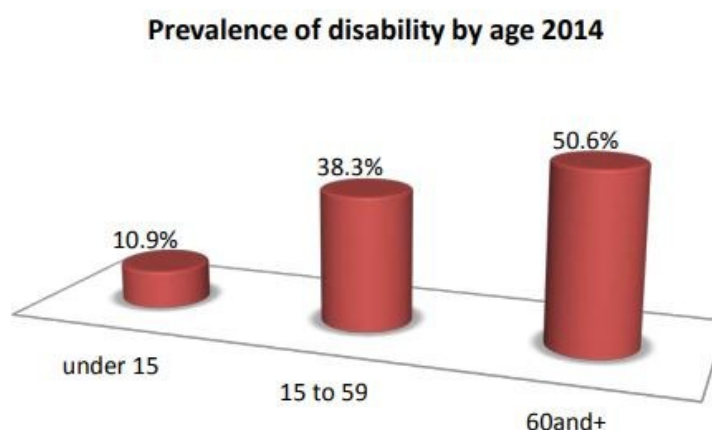


Figure 14: Prevalence of Disability

The horizontal line clearly elaborates the motive of the party. The angle from which the viewer views the image shows the strong relationship and makes the part at the power by looking at the main prospect of the party where the image depicts the horizontal angle which further promotes the involvement of the disabled people in the community. It shows the degree of involvement of the PJD party.

Modality = credibility

The image taken is real and thus delivers the real value of need to the audience and for the PJD as well in order to get the people to think that this party is directly addressing the issues of disabled people and facilitating them with the wide variety of things like slopes for wheelchairs at hospitals, shopping malls, parks and other places. Furthermore, the natural colors are being utilized in the image blue, red and grey and black. Blue color shows that how much difficulty is faced by the disabled people. Red color shows the bravery, valour, strength and hardness of the disabled people. Black color shows both strength and sadness of the people; strength to fight with the world and sadness for the lack of facilities.

Textual Meta-function – spatial composition

Textual meta-function represents interactive and representative concerns. This Meta function represents as a whole that what information gives values and meanings in a combined manner.

Disability factor is increasing in Morocco, It is being addressed by the framing, salience, information value, and perspectives which are the interrelated systems and composite with the first two Meta functions addressed thoroughly via the as followed for the election campaign program:

Information value

Information value identifies the information located at different zones of the image for instance center and margin, top, and bottom left and right. The certain pattern is being made when extracting the information value from left to right. The left part/side conveys that the information is already known for while the right part conveys the latest information where the left and the right side shows the similar information that is wheel chair and a boy sitting on it having difficulty to how to cross the stairs. It also shows that whatever is the place it has no

facilities for disabled persons. From the top and bottom zone point of view, the meaning is shown by the vertical sides where top conveys the ideal information and bottom contains the real information. As from the lower part, the real and practical situation and evidence (image) are depicted. From the image perspective, the top shows that the boy is normal but bottom shows the reality as the boy is sitting on the wheel chair having the difficulty to cross the stairs.

Salience = eye-catching

A most salient feature is the boy sitting on the wheel chair because through salience tool the gaining attention of the viewer's towards the image by focusing on size, color, and overlapping are analyzed. The image can be seen from the common perspective and it delivers the real sense of situation around morocco. The importance value is created by the image because it draws the attention of the disabled community of Morocco by illustrating their needs.

There are so many variables involved in the image and salience cannot be measured objectively. Following are the factors used to achieve salience: placement and cultural perspective of the election campaign program as below:

Visual field Placement:

The direct sight of the eye goes on the disabled boy. Visual placements affect the people because the common and basic issue is catered via the image.

Cultural factors:

Cultural factors are important because a strong message has been delivered which would influence the minds of people directly. Disabled people need facilities around them i.e. proper pedestals and slopes.

Framing = connectedness

Here framing shows the differentiation and individuality are represented for the people that each and every person is equally important to the PJD party. Connectedness shows the connectivity of the elements of the image. Strong framing has been shown via the electoral program. The party wants to implement important policies for the people of specific needs. Disability is not gendered specific so all areas are equally important. Special peoples need to be facilitated with most of the things because giving freedom and right to all is highly recognized.



Figure 15: Family Members

Analysis of the next theme “Family members” has been carried out according to Kress and van Leeuwen theory. Kress and Van Leeuwen theory are based on ideational, interpersonal and textual visual design functions where the visual and written grammar of the image is examined thoroughly as per the perspectives taken into consideration.

Ideational meta-function

Under the ideational meta-function the main focus is on making the powerful family i.e. the family which leads towards the solid and cohesive society. Visual representation contains the family members celebrating a birthday. Furthermore, Image depicts that the concern of the PJD party towards the families of the Morocco. Party emphasizes on the happy living of the people. Party wants to show via this image that party is totally concerned with the wellbeing of the people of Morocco.

The representative participant is the PJD party of Morocco which is addressing the wellbeing of people from every class rather its poor, middle or high class. Interactive participants are the people of Morocco to whom the actual condition of the country is perpetuated by emphasizing on the happy and honest living.

The interaction representation and the relation of the party to the people are targeting living style of each class of Morocco. The message delivers that party is promoting the powerful family system which entitles the wellbeing of each family member. The prime purpose of the campaign is to elicit the different means of lively spending the whole life. Moreover, party focuses on the social stability and status of the people.

Interpersonal meta-function - producer/viewer affair

Under Interpersonal meta-function, party delivers the message of prosperity, being social and spending every event of life with happiness. Campaign ensures that party is fully involved in making efforts to promote the better living. Party wants to help the people in health, education and social wellbeing of the families and societies. Such a campaign leads towards the strong relationships between the people of Morocco and PJD. Viewers i.e. the Moroccans and the producers i.e. the PJD party interact via the image because face to face communication to each individual is not possible and spreading such message would let the people think of the party in an optimistic way. The party has employed the electoral program in order to get their point into the minds of Moroccan people. The Party is socially determined; the imaginary relations are catered with the help of an electoral program on the basis of political perspective. The party is related to overcome the problems of the families facing during the tough times.

Social distance, Contact/Gaze, modality, and attitude are the four major systems of interactive meaning and examined as the electoral program thoroughly:

Gaze = demand/offer

The initial element Gaze in interpersonal meta-function is an offer and demand both from PJD party to the Moroccans because one woman is having the direct eye contact and

while others are not. The image is offering the people with the happy living while demanding the hand in hand for promoting the progress and prosperity of powerful family system.

The audience i.e. people of Morocco is viewing the seriousness of the party towards the nation. PJD party is fully determined towards the betterment of the powerful family system by totally illustrating the each and every aspect of the solid family system.

The size of the frame and social distance

Size of the frame and social distance of the image depicts the vitality of the party towards the nation. The frame depicts the five family members celebrating the birthday of the younger children. The family delivers how small occasions are important for the families and how children should be given importance so that they can enjoy each and every moment of life.

Perspective /Attitude

The attitude, as per the intended image is subjective in nature which has defined the point of view of prosper family system. On the front angle, close shot illustrates the main message that how people consider their families. The people could see the image from the same perspective as the party delivers. As horizontal angle depicts that the PJD party is totally involved with the progress and prosperity of the powerful family.

Modality = credibility

Under Modality, electoral program delivers the direct message where the light on the current situation of Morocco is being addressed by the PJD party. The image is delivering a real means of the family system. White, green, grey shades are illustrated in the image where full-color saturation is perpetuated by image. The white color shows that people needs peace and prosperity inside and outside the family. The grey color shows that still there is need of improvement in the family systems. Male dominance has wretched the family system to some

extent. The color modulation is also noticeable. Additionally, representation illustrates the message clearly where the details can be carefully portrayed and understood by the people of Morocco. Females are the building blocks of family. Party is demanding the contribution from the females in order to contribute more towards the family system. Moreover, green color shows that people would have the brighter family system if the party wins the elections.

Textual meta-function – spatial composition

Textual meta-function combines the above discussed interactive and representative meta-functions as a whole. Message of peace and prosperity is delivered via the electoral program. Salience, framing, and information value is the three systems on which interactive and represented meta-functions are examined thoroughly as below:

Information value

Each element has its associated information through which its value is examined as per the zones assigned to each element i.e. left and right, top and bottom and center and margin. From the image point of view, left right, top and bottom elicits the information of all the family members.

Salience:

At varying levels, image seeks the attention of the Moroccans. The image has a great level of importance where the most salient element in the image is the celebration of birthday party of all family members. Party is focused towards the powerful family system that is only possible with the collective endurance of all families further to build solid society. Following are the factors for achieving the salience:

Perspective:

Perspective shows the how families need to interact with each other and the motive of the party is to deliver the best possible amenities to families when it comes to education, health and fulfilling other needs of the families.

Visual field Placement:

The placement of the message with the white background is heavier because this element has the most eye-catching placement. Visual placements affect the people because the common and basic family issue is catered via the image crucially. PJD party works towards the bright future of Morocco where the party would incorporate overall equal family system for all.

Cultural factors:

The image is generally determined which illustrates the current culture of Morocco. Common people would be offered with variety of facilities for the families. People are keen towards the bright future of the Morocco which can be only building with the bright family systems.

Framing

The Framing shows the connectedness degree of the PJD party towards the people of Morocco by addressing family systems. The party is totally concerned with offering the different facilities in order to maintain the stable family system in the country.

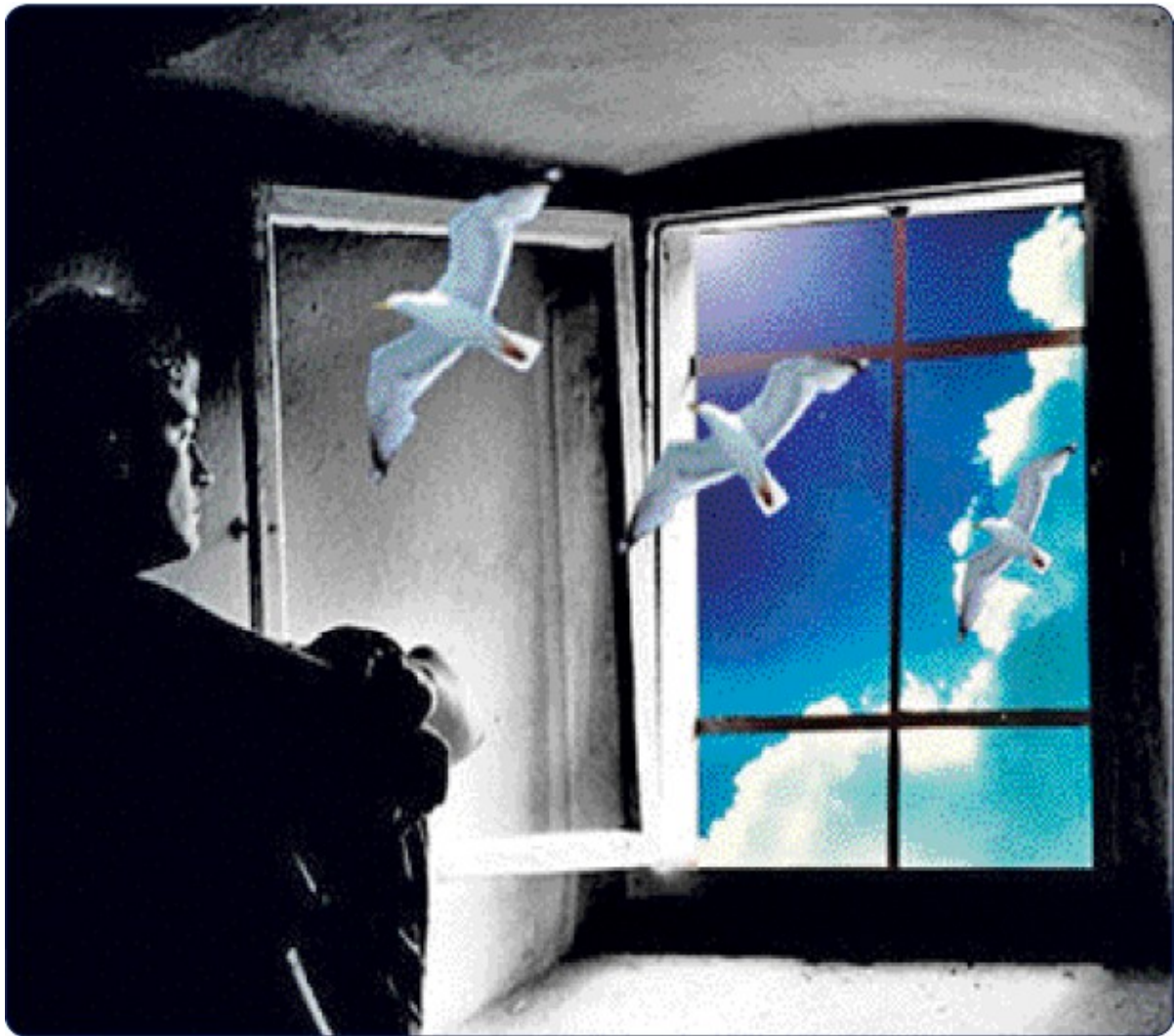


Figure 16: Human Rights and Freedom

The theme for the analysis is the “Human rights and freedom”. This theme illustrates this PJD party is looking for a new approach for freedom and human rights. Freedom refers to the freedom of speech, freedom of rights, freedom of press, freedom of assembly and more. On the other hand, human rights are also equally important for PJD party in Morocco.

Ideational meta-function

According to the theme, ideational meta-function strives for the country where the public has freedom in everything as per the pertaining laws of the country and people should be informed and engaged in the functions of democracy and other crucial aspects. In order to do so, human rights and freedom should be addressed properly. In the electoral program, it is

quite clear that people still don't have the freedom and thus human rights are violated in one means or another.

PJD party builds strategic decisions so that people have the right to know what is right for them and know what rights they are pledged with. PJD party wants to bring the full transparency among people so that people can easily trust the PJD party.

Visual design grammar has the two parts of the ideational meta-function i.e. the interactive participants and representative participants. In this theme, the interactive participants are the people of morocco whereas representative participant is the PJD party. As a whole PJD party wants to bring the equality in all sectors. As per the ruling party, press is running so there is no freedom given to the people but PJD party is working on the human rights so that people can have equal freedom in every aspect.

Interpersonal meta-function - producer/viewer affair

The producer and viewer affair in the interpersonal meta-function depicts the motive of what PJD party is trying to deliver the equal rights for all and wants to bring freedom of association, freedom of association, freedom of expression, freedom of press and more. The interaction between the people of Morocco and PJD is represented which further reveal the uneven condition of Morocco where minorities' human rights are violated and thus elite class is enjoying in every aspect. Viewers are the Moroccans and the producers are the PJD party interacts via the image as per the theme there is no face to face communication. The party has employed the electoral program in order to get their point into the minds of Moroccan people for bringing the gender identity, helping the domestic workers, enlightening the girls and women rights, providing equal amenities to refugees and migrants and bringing increment in the intolerance in terms of the public decent. The Party is socially determined; the imaginary relations are catered with the help of an electoral program on the basis of cultural perspective.

Freedom and human rights strive for bringing the equal opportunity to all because human right is the inherent need and people should live without the fear of punishment or censorship. All forms of expressions are crucial for the people in order to live healthily and prosper life. Overt government ship would be avoided and people would not see brutal defamation, obscenity and hate speech laws.

Social distance, Contact/Gaze, modality, and attitude are the four major systems of interactive meaning are discussed thoroughly as followed:

Gaze = demand/offer

The very first element Gaze in interpersonal meta-function is an offer from PJD party to the Moroccans because there is no direct eye contact. The image illustrates the importance of freedom and human rights in Morocco because people in Morocco are still facing the human rights violation to some extent. On the other hand, among Arab countries, Morocco is one of the leaders which are forefront in the human rights. Religious freedom and human rights are the vital aspects of any nation. Moreover, party looks for the protection and promotion of substantial initiatives for human rights and freedom in every aspect. Morocco's constitution is enriched with association, assembly, press and speech freedom but this is not always true when it comes to normal people rights and freedom. Moreover, party is also offering the gender equality to the people of Morocco. Party is providing assurance to the people for compensating the human rights violations. This offer is towards the people of Morocco. The image elicits the priority of the PJD party where freedom and human rights would increase the level of trust and security. By having freedom, people can express themselves on verity of opinions and crucial information thus acting as the main aspects of the society.

The size of the frame and social distance

Social distance is depicting the how people are facing freedom problems where boy depicts as a whole of Morocco society and seeing the flying birds which depict that how boy wants the freedom in the country. Size of frame depicts how it can influence the people of Morocco. The image has been taken as a close shot in order to get into the minds of common people that party is personally involved towards the betterment of the people to overcome the subtle issues of the country.

Perspective /Attitude

The perspective in the image is clear of providing freedom of press to the people of Morocco whereas attitude is subjective which has defined the exact point of view. The people can see the image from the same perspective as the party delivers. As horizontal angle depicts that the PJD party is totally involved with the people of Morocco. On the frontal angle, close shot of the of the boy and birds is illustrated. PJD holds the power to change the current situation of Morocco by giving the common rights to the people.

Modality = credibility

As per the modality or credibility image is taken of one of the citizens. Intended image is true and real because the social setting is the current situation of Morocco is being addressed by shedding light on the human rights violation. Black, white and blue shades are illustrated in the image with full-color saturation is deployed by image. The black color shows the dark era of the Moroccans that freedom is not given to the people and thus human rights are violated. The blue colors illustrate the devotion of party towards the people of Morocco to bring the justice in terms of freedom and human rights.

Textual meta-function – spatial composition

Textual meta-function i.e. is the spatial composition which combines the above discussed interactive and representative meta-functions as a whole and each element bears a value for another one. Moreover, a single image is depicted but its elements have effects on each other. Salience, framing, and information value is the three elements on which interactive and represented meta-functions are examined as a whole.

Information value

Each element has its associated information through which its value is examined as per the zones assigned to each element i.e. left and right, top and bottom and center and margin. On top and left the dark side of the boy is illustrated which shows the lack of freedom and human rights. On the right and bottom side image illustrates the change the party wants to bring into the country. As per the PJD party's prospects people have the right to know what is right and know the truth as well that what is operating around the country. By having the equality, transparency and freedom, people can easily trust the PJD party at the greater extents.

Salience:

Salience is basically identifying the most prominent element in the campaign image. It is clearly illustrated in the image that what PJD party wants to prevail. At varying levels, image seeks the attention of the Moroccans towards the human rights and freedom. The image has a great level of importance where the most salient element in the image is the flying birds with the open wings and the boy seeing through the window.

Perspective:

Corner s with the differentiating shades is less salient. On the other hand, foreground elements i.e. birds and the boy starring are more salient because the main problem is

addressed via these elements. It shows the degree of involvement of the PJD party. The Moroccans needs are clearly illustrated from which the audience can get the exact meaning behind the campaigns. It shows the involvement of PJD party towards the betterment of the Morocco.

Visual field Placement:

The placement of a boy in the electoral program visually appeals to the people. These elements are the prime concerns for the PJD party in order to target the majority of the people around. Visual placements affect the people because common and basic issue of human rights and freedom is catered via the image. PJD party works towards the bright future by bringing the freedom of speech, press, association and assembly in the country.

Cultural factors:

The cultural factors demonstrate the norms of the culture which are addressed by the PJD party. By giving freedom of press people would become more active and freely demonstrate their views and what is important for them in terms of human rights. The aim of the PJD party is to attract the people so that party can have the more votes.

Framing:

The Framing is the most vibrant element on which closeness of the people towards the party can be illustrated. The elements utilized in the image indicate that they belong to each other. As per the image, each element signifies the separate information that each individual entity is equally crucial for building the prosperous country.

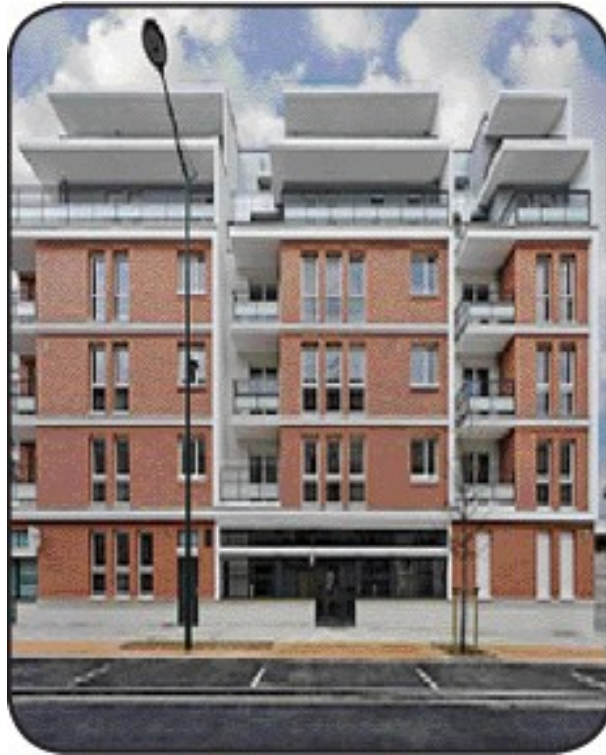


Figure 17: Decent Housing and Living Conditions

Decent housing and better living is the key need for the people of the Morocco. PJD party addressed the decent housing and living conditions theme for the election campaigns. Here with the help of semiotic analysis, the intended figure is examined and analyzed to have the clear visual elements in prospects of the election campaign. The semiotic analysis would also perpetuate the medium for visualization and to clarify the path for ideologies and dominance. Most of the Moroccan population lives in units, flats and traditional dwellings.

Textual, interpersonal and ideational are visual design's functions which are going to be analyzed as per the Kress and Leewan theory. Above mentioned image is among one of the election campaigns carried out by the party. The housing system of the Morocco stats are as follows, 43% of people in Morocco live in rented houses, and 41% has their own houses. Third forth of people have their own private kitchens and more than 40% are having private toilets. According to an official government report, about 320,000 families were living in slum areas. Since 1995 the government has been working on a program to build 200,000 low-

cost housing units same responsibility come to the PJD party. The major fact of concern is that Morocco is still facing lack of housing due to the bad governance which encountered shortage of affordable houses around.

Ideational Meta function – image content relation

An interactive and representative participant comes under the Ideational Meta function. Of course it the analysis of the Justice and Development Party where representatives are the members of the party which delivers the motive of election campaign via the image. On the other hand interactive participants are the Moroccan nationals to whom decent housing and living conditions are addressed. Proper and healthy living is the basic need and necessity of every single people. The relations in between the nationals and PJD party are represented by the image which further illustrates the conceptual presentation. The concept here is that decent housing would be built under the governance of PJD party. Morocco is lacking decent housing system which PJD party promises to overcome the lack of housing and improve the living conditions. This image illustrates that the party would be completely involved in enhancing the living conditions and proving the better housing.

Interpersonal meta-function - producer/viewer affair

Producer and Viewer affair are analyzed under interpersonal meta-function. Producers are the outstanding members of the PJD party which wants to deliver the motive of the election campaign. The prime concern of the party is to facilitate the locals with the decent houses and proper living conditions services. Moreover, Living conditions in Morocco are quite satisfying where Moroccan population is mix of Arab and Berber and Islam is the religion of more than 95% of population. The climate is generally hot which usually rises from 18 to 28C and in winter the average temperature ranges from 8 to 17C. Moroccan has two official languages, modern standard Arabic and Tamazight, but French is also widely spoken in Morocco. Party wants to facilitate each of the religion equally. Viewers in the

Interpersonal Meta function are the people of Morocco. That is to say that image addresses the crucial things for PJD party for having strategic political campaigns. The PJD party is trying to stabilize if it has better housing system. It is clear that people can't afford individual houses and thus suffers from the basic ease of living well due of financial crises and governance issues.

Different types of power and social relationships are analyzed via Interpersonal Meta function in political campaign. Modality, perspective, social distance, size of frame and gaze tools are utilized to proceed the analysis.

Gaze = demand/offer

As per the campaign image, the gaze tool shows that image is an offer from the PJD party to the people of Morocco. The image is offer because there is no direct eye contact with the viewer's i.e. Moroccans. The PJD party wants to overcome the difficulties being faced by the families for instance different cultures exists in morocco as Berber, Arab, Spanish and French but the Arab culture is the dominant and women generally wear loose fittings that covers the whole body while scarfs are not worn necessarily. Moroccan society is very religious and it is very peaceful and moderate city. But it is combatively liberal than many other Muslim countries.

Size of the frame and social distance

Building is depicted via the theme which shows that part is crucially concerned towards the betterment of the housing and promotion of the living conditions.

Perspective

Perspective would be clearly understood by the people of Morocco with the intent of affordable housing and better living conditions. The vertical point of view shows the party really cares about the nation and housing sector would improve gradually. The angle from

which the viewer views the image shows the strong relationship in between the PJD party and Moroccans. It shows the degree of involvement of the PJD party. The horizontal line clearly elaborates the motive of the party thus making living conditions in Morocco easier and party suggests that that life in morocco is up to the standard and one can adjust with culture, food, climate and social behavior very easily.

Modality = credibility

Modality or credibility of the PJD party is towards the betterment of the country. The image taken depicts the real housing system of the Morocco. Furthermore, the natural colors are being utilized in the image blue, white, light brown and black. Blue color depicts the seriousness of the PJD party towards the societal betterment. White color shows that the peace is yet to come so people don't need to worry about housing and living conditions. PJD party will overcome all the hurdles gradually and bring the enormous facilities to people of Morocco.

Textual Meta-function – spatial composition

Textual meta-function represents interactive and representative concerns i.e. PJD party and People of Morocco. This Meta function represents as a whole that what information gives values and meanings in a combined manner. Morocco is still facing some non-productivity in housing sector due to the bad governance. Moreover, there is inequality in housing system.

Framing, salience, information value, and perspective are the interrelated systems and composite with the first two Meta functions discussed thoroughly below for the campaign image:

Information value

Information value identifies the information located at different zones of the image at the center and margin, top, and bottom left and right. The certain pattern is being made when

extracting the information value from left to right. The left part/side conveys that the information is already known while the right part conveys the latest information.

From left to right series of building i.e. flats are depicted which means major population of Morocco is living in the flat system. Center and margin point of view as the theme is catering the housing system and better living. From the top and bottom zone point of view, the meaning is shown by the vertical sides where top conveys the ideal information and bottom contains the real information. As per the image, on the top, fulfillment promise has been made by the PJD party to fulfill the living needs and better housing of the common people by addressing the ill democracy and governance where PJD party is trying to overcome such conditions.

Salience = eye-catching

Salience tool analyzes the gaining attention of the viewer's towards the image by focusing on size, color, and overlapping. The most salient feature is the series of buildings. The size of the image is normal and housing and living concerns are shown which need immense improvement. The dominant colors which have been targeted are blue, white, light brown and black. Moreover, weight to each composition is assigned and the element is more salient as per the weight. The importance value is created by the image because it draws the attention of the huge community of Morocco. Additionally, Salience cannot be measured objectively as there are so many variables involved in the image. Following are the factors used to achieve salience: visual field placement and framing of the image as below:

Visual field Placement:

As viewer views the image, directly sight goes on the building with the forefront road. Visual placements affect the people because the common and basic issue is catered via the image. PJD party works towards the establishment of sector that would be better for the

progress and prosperity of the nation because it is combatively liberal than many other Muslim countries.

Framing = connectedness

Here as per the analysis connectedness can be seen with the basic need of housing. Strong framing has been shown in the election campaign Image. Here differentiation and individuality are represented for the people that each and every person is equally important and PJD party is working in order to maintain such equality in Moroccan society because it is very peaceful and moderate city.



Figure 18: Women Illiteracy

The theme for the analysis is “Women Illiteracy” in Morocco. Party of Justice and Development (PJD) aims to focus on the issue and addressed through the election campaign. The semiotic analysis will amplify the impact of an election campaign from the political prospect. Semiotic analysis is carried out as per the approach of Kress and Wan Leewan how visualization can be an effective medium for dominance and ideologies. Textual, interpersonal and ideational are visual design’s functions are thoroughly analyzed from the election campaign point of view.

Illiteracy especially women illiteracy is the increasing in Morocco which cannot be neglected. Literacy is considered as the best source to break the poverty cycle and to enhance country’s prosperity and development. Morocco is a developing country and the literacy rate is not very satisfying. Over the last 15 years, Morocco has been working on advancement in domestic rights of women through the "Moroccan Family Code" and many other programs. But despite the long term commitment to human rights and women’s education, still the

literacy rate is not very satisfying and there is still a considerable difference between the literacy rate of rural and urban and especially men and women.

Prevalence of illiteracy factor is connected with the future of Morocco. Illiteracy factor is also increasing in women especially. PJD party is trying to overcome the hurdles faced by the women in education sector by providing quality education.

Ideational Meta function – image content relation

Image content relation can be easily identified by the Ideational Meta-function as it shows that woman is teaching the other women in the classroom with the help of blackboard. Representative participants are the PJD party's founding members and interactive participants are the people of Morocco especially the illiterate women. The image illustrates how PJD party is trying to overcome the illiteracy ratio in Morocco and bringing gender equality in terms of literacy. Education is an important factor for the generations in order to prosper and bring awareness of society.

The two types of ideational meta-function representations i.e. conceptual and narrative; the context is conceptual because the important issue is carried out by the political campaign. Through Morocco this election campaign disabled people are addressed who have equal opportunity to live and vote. It is clear from the image that women have fewer facilities for having an education.

Interpersonal meta-function - producer/viewer affair

The producer and Viewer interactions are analyzed under Interpersonal meta-function. The producers are of course PJD party members whereas viewers are the women especially illiterate women of Morocco. Through the election campaign, the PJD party has addressed the women in order to show that party considers all equal. There are many reasons for this such as rural villages are miles away from schools, the temperature is unbearably hot in summer and

freezing in winter, main roads are crowded and poverty sicken families who cannot afford transport. In traditional families in morocco young girls are not allowed to go to schools for the above-mentioned reasons. Women in Morocco are facing brutal conditions because there are no facilities provided to such families that can tackle the current situation, stability, and betterment. The PJD party has worked to deliver his its point of view to promote education among women. Party wants to enable people to participate in society and community life so that they can better understand the worth of education. Moreover, the Party wants to make it mandatory for women to have ease of services and education at all levels. That's how the party would manage to maintain the status at urban and rural levels to improve the literacy rate.

Gaze, size of the frame, social distance, perspective, and modality tools are utilized of the interpersonal meta-function discussed below:

Gaze = demand/offer

As per the campaign image, the gaze is the offer and demand as well because the women show the back that means it is difficult for the illiterate people to face the world on the other hand party is demanding from women to participate in promotion of education system. The image also shows that the party is fully involved to help the illiterate women by providing the various facilities at the public places.

Size of the frame and social distance

Size of frame is normal while social distance shows the fidelity towards the women because illiteracy is increasing and if this issue still persists it will confluence on global level. According to a report of HIGH commissioner it is found that more than 53% of women can neither read nor write. PJD party is trying to bring the awareness of education and women empowerment in the society. Moreover, more than half start working in the age of 15 years

and they are the illiterates and can afford to go to school. Women are the equal assets for the country and party wants to bring the change in society.

Perspective

Perspective is quite clear to be understood by the people of Morocco as it illustrates woman is teaching the other women. The vertical point of view shows the involvement of the party among the people that how strongly party addresses the nation about educating women. The same source also suggested that rural women are affected more as compared to the urban ones and 71.8% of urban women are illiterate against four in every ten urban women. 47.6% women are completely unskilled 24% are active .it suggests that nearly one in two has no skills at all. Women entered especially rural women entered the labor market at the age of 15 years that is a very negative effect on enrollment of schools. The same source suggested that more than half that is 59.5% of women are working in agriculture sector.

The horizontal line clearly elaborates the motive of the party. The angle from which the viewer views the image shows the strong relationship and makes the part at the power by looking at the main prospect of the party where the image depicts the horizontal angle which further promotes the involvement of the disabled people in the community. It shows the degree of involvement of the PJD party.

Modality = credibility

The image delivers the real sense of knowledge with the real value of need to the audience and for the PJD as well in order to get the people to think that this party is directly addressing the issues of women empowerment and illiteracy. Furthermore, the natural colors are being utilized in the image blue, red shades and black. Blue color shows the lack of education system in Morocco. Red color shows the bravery, valour, strength, and hardness of

the women face in society. Back color shows both strength and sadness of the women; strength to fight with the world and sadness for the lack education facilities around the city.

Textual Meta-function – spatial composition

Textual meta-function represents interactive and representative concerns. This Meta function represents as a whole that what information gives values and meanings in a combined manner.

Literacy is being addressed by the framing, salience, information value, and perspectives which are the interrelated systems and composite with the first two Meta functions addressed thoroughly via the as followed for the election campaign program:

Information value

Information value identifies the information located at different zones of the image for instance center and margin, top, and bottom left and right. The certain pattern is being made when extracting the information value from left to right. The left part/side conveys that the information is already known for while the right part conveys the latest information where the left and the right side shows the women wearing colorful Abayas and taking the class. From the top and bottom zone point of view, the meaning is shown by the vertical sides where top conveys the ideal information and bottom contains the real information. As from the lower part, the real and practical situation and evidence (image) are depicted. From the image perspective, the top shows the dark era of illiteracy rate and the bottom shows that women want to prosper in the education sector.

Salience = eye-catching

A most salient feature are the women taking education from the woman because through salience tool the gaining attention of the viewer's towards the image by focusing on size, color, and overlapping are analyzed. The image can be seen from the common

perspective and it delivers the real sense of situation around morocco. The importance value is created by the image because it draws attention to the majority of women around Morocco.

There are so many variables involved in the image and salience cannot be measured objectively. Following are the factors used to achieve salience: placement and cultural perspective of the election campaign program as below:

Visual field Placement:

The direct sight of the eye goes on the women empowerment and education. Visual placements affect the people because the common and basic issue is catered via the image. Women would get more knowledge and education because the PJD party is going to establish the next level of education for all.

Cultural factors:

Cultural factors are important because a strong message has been delivered which would influence the minds of people directly. For instance women, in many areas women are not given the proper knowledge and education even about the basic women rights. Education can bring a lot of change in Morocco.

Framing = connectedness

Here framing shows the differentiation and individuality are represented for the women that each and every woman is equally important to the PJD party. Connectedness shows the connectivity of the elements of the image. Strong framing has been shown via the electoral program. Special peoples need to be facilitated with most of the things because giving freedom and right to all is highly recognized. The party wants to implement important policies for the people of the specific needs of women education.



Figure 19: Importance of Territorial Units

Here the theme of the analysis is the “Importance of the Territorial units”. All territorial units have equal importance in terms of equal opportunities, equal responsibilities as per the cities and states. PJD party is offering the responsibly of security across all borders to the nation. A nation where there are immense needs to highlight the importance of territorial units like Spain (Sebta, Oualili, Melilla) and Sahara. Party is working on the defense of such states. As per the importance of territorial unit theme, the PJD party’s campaign image is taken for the analysis. The analysis is carried out on the textual, interpersonal and ideational meta-functions. Kress and van Leeuwen have identified the fact that each element in the picture has hidden meaning and convey unique sense of knowledge. This is basically referred to the written and visual grammar i.e. grammar of text, images, placement, etc. Below is the thorough analysis of each element as per the Kress and van Leeuwen theory:

Ideational meta-function

PJD party is totally involved in bringing peace and prosperity to the country by addressing the major territorial issues. It's more or less fair-play in each sector of the government because territorial issues cannot be avoided at any cost. Morocco holds the sovereignty over two territorial units in Africa's Mediterranean coast named as Sebta and Melilla. Sebta and Melilla are also claimed by Spain as well since its independence in 1956. The sovereignty of Perejil also remained unsolved after a military confrontation between Spain and Morocco. Hundreds of other issues are being created due to this territorial issue. The biggest issues are that the relation between Spain and Morocco are never restored to normal pleasant conditions since then, and due to which economy is greatly affected. Freedom for everyone means bringing fairness to each territory. As we can see, the visual representation is illustrating the impartiality of the political party addressing the whole country. What image reveals, people can perceive the meaning of text as it is written. Every democratic country has some issues with the territory alliances; however it is equally mandatory to address each one.

Moreover, the relational representation and the interaction are being depicted of the party to the people of Morocco. It illustrates that party is equally involved with all the matters of common people. A major focus is on the political concern where other political leaders are not taking this matter on the serious grounds and have taken millions of dollars. That money belongs to the defense of the country and those Spain occupied territories. Spanish operation was done in Alhucemans Islands, which was perceived to be aggression by Morocco. In 2007 once again a short-lived Morocco-Spain conflict was raised when the king of Spain announced to rule over the Sebta and Melilla which are claimed by Morocco.

Interpersonal meta-function - producer/viewer affair

Producer and viewer affairs are the strongest elements of the Kress and Van Leeuwen theory. Both effects are equally important because what producer has produced should convey the proper message to viewer. Here the producer is the PJD party, who has created the campaign poster for delivering its message to the nation. The party has utilized the electoral program in order to get their point into the minds of the Morocco people regarding the territorial importance. The Party is socially determined; the imaginary relations are catered with the help of an electoral program on the basis of political perspective. The party is related to overcome the territorial issues and get back the territories to Morocco because these territories never belonged to Spain. Viewers are the people of Morocco. Moroccans can easily view the party prospect of justice. Viewers i.e. the Moroccans and the producers i.e. the PJD party interact via the image because face to face communication to each individual is not possible and spreading such message would let the people think of the party in an optimistic way and thus party would have a greater chance for more votes. Social distance, Contact/Gaze, modality, and attitude are the four major systems of interactive meaning that are examined thoroughly below:

Gaze = demand/offer

The Gaze tool identifies whether party is demanding something or offering. As there is direct eye-contact between the PJD party and Moroccans so campaign image is demanding the freedom of Spain claimed territories. The image demands justice for each rejoins. PJD party is fully determined towards the betterment of the country as it is clear from the electoral program image the girl is holding the poster and asking for the freedom of territorial units.

The size of the frame and social distance

The size of the frame and social distance of the image illustrates the rationality towards the Moroccans. The motive of the party is depicted clearly from the image. People can get the right message from viewing the image.

Perspective /Attitude

The people could see the image from the same perspective as the party delivers i.e. the perspective of freeing the territorial units from Spain. The attitude, as per the intended image is objective in nature which has focused on territorial importance. The girl taking a poster written in Moroccan Arabic (Darija) which means: “Sebta is Moroccan, Oualili, Melilia, and Sahara are Moroccans as well”. Further she is talking about the cities in the north which are still occupied by Spain (Sebta, Oualili, Melillia). and she is also talking about the Sahara which is Moroccan and not for any other party like as it is claimed (Front Polisario). In 2002 another armed conflict arose between these two countries named Perejil Island crises. It took place over a small uninhabited Perijil island when a squad of Royal Moroccan Navy occupied it. A war named as Rif War was also an armed conflict. This war started in 1920 and ended in 1927 between the colonial power Spain and the Berber tribes of Morocco. The PJD wants to convey is that the territorial unit is one of the important issues that should the party defend and work on. Moreover, all angles equally participate by delivering the right message to the nation i.e. as horizontal angle depicts that the PJD party is totally associated with bringing justice in the country by eliminating dishonesty from every sector.

Modality = credibility

Campaign Image delivers the direct message where the freedom of the territorial units is the basic need of Morocco is being addressed by the PJD party. The color modulation is also noticeable. The image is delivering a real sense of knowledge. Brown shades are

illustrated in the image where full-color saturation is deployed by image. The black and brown color illustrates the dark era of the Moroccans. Blue shades illustrate the prosperity of the country which PJD is concerned to bring.

Textual meta-function – spatial composition

Textual meta-function combines the above discussed interactive and representative meta-functions. Additionally, a single message is delivered via the electoral program. Salience, framing, and information value is the three systems on which interactive and represented meta-functions are examined thoroughly as below:

Information value

Each element has its associated information through which its value is examined as per the zones assigned to each element i.e. left and right, top and bottom and center and margin. From left to the right girl is depicted holding the poster with the text “Sebta is Moroccan, Oualili, Melilla, and Sahara are Moroccans as well”. This means from left to right party would emphasize on making the territorial units free.

Salience:

The image has a great level of importance where the most salient element is the girl taking the poster in which “Sebta is Moroccan, Oualili, Melilia, and Sahara are Moroccans as well” is written. At varying levels, image seeks the attention of the Moroccans. Province of Sahara now called Western Sahara was ruled by Spain between 1884 and 1957 but Spain had to give its possessions of Sahara province to Morocco following Moroccan demands and international pressure. In 2005 September, hundreds of African migrants tried to cross Morocco’s borders with the Spanish enclaves of Melilla and Ceuta. Morroco deports many illegal migrants. Both countries reveal lack of mutual understanding and respect for each other. They should promote peace and a new approach towards each other. They should try to

settle the disputes and restore their relations for the sake of political, cultural and economic welfare. The message is delivered in order to aware the people to support the PJD party for bringing peace in Spain occupied regions as well. Following are the factors for achieving the salience:

Visual field Placement:

Visual placements affect the people because the important issue is catered via the image crucially. The placement of the message with the brown background is heavier because this element has the most eye-catching placement. PJD party works towards the bright future of Morocco where the party would incorporate the honest leaders with the pure election.

Cultural factors:

As per the recent cultural prospects, the regions are also equally important for prosperity and territory unity. It's only because of the injustice in the higher sectors. Economic conditions are also affected. People can view the clear message of the party and thus Moroccans will be intrigued towards the party in voting and wellness prospects.

Framing

The Framing shows the connectedness degree. Here the connectedness of the PJD party is shown that how much party is connected with the Moroccans of Spain occupied territories. The party via the campaign shows the degree of closeness to the Moroccans. The party is wholly associated with reducing the Spain involvement in such territories.



Figure 20: Police Woman receiving Old man

Semiotic analysis has been carried on one of the images of the political campaign of the PJD party .i.e. welcoming Moroccans of abroad. The prime purpose of this analysis is to elicit the visual elements in prospects of the election campaign by Kress and Leewan's approach. Visual elements will identify the degree impact for having successful election campaign. Additionally, the semiotic analysis would also analyze the medium for the campaign and would also clarify the path for Moroccans living abroad in its election campaign.

Textual, interpersonal and ideational are visual design's functions as per the Kress and Leeuwan theory. Above mentioned image is among one of the election campaigns carried out by the party.

Ideational Meta function – image content relation

Under the Ideational Meta function, there are interactive and representative participants. Here the interactive participants are the followers of the PJD party because the party communicates with the audience through images. Representative participants are the people living in Morocco having the Moroccan nationalities. The representation of the

relations and interactions are depicted in the image as the police lady is welcoming one of the people from abroad by taking necessary information about the travel. Moreover, there are two types of ideational meta-function representations i.e. conceptual and narrative. The context is getting abroad nationalities in confidence in order to increase the votes and prosper the economy as well. This image illustrates that the party would be completely involved with the people living abroad by offering the good and flexible services which would further boost the decision-making capabilities and involvement in foreign affairs.

Interpersonal meta-function - producer/viewer affair

The interpersonal meta-function depicts the viewer and producer interaction. The producer is the PJD party competing for the election to gain the votes whereas viewers are the people of Morocco more focused on the people of abroad. The campaign image illustrates that foreign dwellers would be the best to involve in the political decision increased stable economy. To put it another way, foreigners are the one which contributes to the major factors from which economy would improve immensely by inducing different businesses. The party would have greater benefit in terms of political decisions by providing ease to the foreign dwellers. It addresses the people, current situation, stability, and betterment. The PJD party has worked to deliver his point of view to promote better living and enhanced decision-making capabilities. Foreign dwellers are often neglected but PJD party is facilitating them as they are also part of the nation. That is to say the image addresses the crucial things for the PJD party for having strategic political campaigns for nationals which are foreign dwellers.

Gaze, size of the frame, social distance, perspective, and modality are the different factors of the interpersonal meta-function discussed below:

Gaze = demand/offer

As per the campaign image, the gaze is the offer because there is no direct eye contact with the viewers because the man is busy giving the information while lady cop is getting all information. The image is offering the easiness and flexibility to foreigners. The PJD party wants to overcome the difficulties being faced the foreigners in order to increase the benefits they are providing to the country. On the other hand, viewers would seek information for opportunities for evolving opportunities. Moreover, the country would also be benefited in terms of economy and better decision-making capabilities.

Size of the frame and social distance

The lady is welcoming the old man warm way so that they can feel special while coming back home. The size of the frame is normal and it depicts the normal conversation between the two.

Perspective

The expressive subjective attitudes of the people are depicted in the image. Perspective would be clearly understood by the people of Morocco that how lady police mean government services are being provided to the people. People need more flexibility and easiness in the procedures like visas etc. and PJD party is trying to represent and address such issues for having successful election campaigns meanwhile solving the problems all around. The vertical point of view shows the involvement of the party among the people that how strongly party addresses the nation. The angle from which the viewer views the image shows the strong relationship and makes the part at the power by looking at the main prospect of the party where the image depicts the horizontal angle which further promotes the involvement of the foreign dweller's people. It shows the degree of involvement and concern of the PJD party. The horizontal line clearly elaborates the motive of the party that PJD tries to engage them in elections and political decisions because they are part of the country.

Modality = credibility

Modality relates to the credibility of the PJD party due to introducing the new decision points and voting facilities for the people of Morocco living abroad. The image taken is real and thus delivers the real value of need to the audience and for the PJD as well in order to get the people to think that this party is directly addressing the issues of abroad people. Furthermore, the natural colors are being utilized in the image blue, red and brown and black shades. Blue color shows that people living in abroad also face big problems and huge challenges over the other countries so PJD is addressing and trying to involve such crises. These people work day and night in foreign just for the sake of good earning. PJD wants to overcome such crises by availing them a bunch of facilities in Morocco and abroad as well. The red color depicts that party is contributing in order to increase the votes so that party would have successful election campaigns.

Textual Meta-function – spatial composition

Textual meta-function represents interactive and representative concerns. This Meta function represents as a whole that what information gives values and meanings in a combined manner. Foreign is the prime factor in the intended electoral program which depicts the great trading flexibility and other opportunities for the people of Morocco. Framing, salience, information value, and perspective are the interrelated systems and composite with the first two Meta functions discussed thoroughly below for the campaign image.

Information value

Information value identifies the information located at different zones of the image for instance center and margin, top, and bottom left and right.

A certain pattern is being made when extracting the information value from left to right. The left part/side conveys that the information is already known while the right part

conveys the latest information. From left to right workers are shown which conveys that the lady cop is working on its duty while old man is providing the related information. From Center and margin point of view, the symbolic meaning is illustrated as the lady and the man are the center of attraction from the viewer's prospects. From the top and bottom zone point of view, the meaning is shown by the vertical sides where top conveys the ideal information and bottom contains the real information. As per the image, on the top, fulfillment promise has been made by the PJD party to fulfill the needs of the abroad people. As from the lower part, the real and practical situations and evidence (image) are depicted.

Salience: Eye-catching

The salience tool analyzes the gaining attention of the viewer's towards the image by focusing on size, color, and overlapping. The most salient feature is the lady and the old man. The size of the image is normal and people living abroad have been targeted so image size appropriate. The dominant colors which have been targeted are blue, brown and red. Having said that weight to each composition is assigned and the element is more salient as per the weight, for instance, the lady and the old man as per the image bear more weight as compared to the car driver and security police. The importance value is created by the image because it draws the attention of the huge community of Morocco living abroad.

Salience cannot be measured objectively as there are so many variables involved in the image. Following are the factors used to achieve salience: placement and cultural perspective of the image as below:

Visual field Placement:

Visual placements affect the people because the common and basic issue is catered via the image. PJD party works towards the bright future of Morocco where the party would introduce the new means of facilities for the people living abroad that would lead towards the

better Morocco. Moreover, party is also trying to involve people to have enhanced decision-making capabilities.

Cultural factors:

A strong message has been delivered which would influence the minds of people living abroad. People would have more choices to earn and trade. Exportation would benefit the country's economy. People would be culturally determined by having clear prospects of the country's government and its efforts towards the betterment.

Framing = connectedness

Connectedness shows the connectivity of the elements of the image. Strong framing has been shown via the electoral program. Here differentiation and individuality are represented for the people that each and every person is equally important and PJD party is working in order to maintain such equality and increasing the facilities for the people living abroad as well.

3.3. Results and Discussions

Indeed to attract and get the attention of the audience, political campaigns target intended representatives via electoral programs and brochures. The target audience is focused as per the needs of the electoral campaigns. Several analyses are based on the textual analysis but here whole visual photographic perspectives of PJD party's electoral campaign are addressed. Visual grammar has also the meaning as textual grammar. Images contain the meaning that cannot be perceived normally, semiotic analysis thoroughly identifies each sign in the images and present the viable meaning of images. Visual language investigates how influential was the PJD party in electoral campaign inherently. It is quite clear from the investigation that visual elements do have the great impact for having the strong strategic campaign. However, the results persist to the qualitative results only. Moreover, latent

messages and ideologies behind each theme intensify the different meaning pertaining to Morocco. The images were taken from the weekly newspaper for the elections of November 2011 during the campaign. Thorough analysis illustrated the power and ideology hidden in the images. Socially constructed knowledge would help the political parties to organize the electoral campaigns and design the overall themes to target the audience. Visual Grammar instantiated the need for understanding the social contexts and institutionalized contexts in terms of embedded messages in images. Visual elements have its own structure of language and it is quite clear from the analysis that audience perceive the themes in the right sense as the party delivered. Additionally, social semiotic tool identifies each element of the images for instance Gaze, Size of frame, social distance, perspective modality, information value, salience, visual field placement and so on. These tools clearly transmit the power and ideologies of images to real meaningful contexts of executing the strategic political campaign.

Voters decisions are the crucial aspect of every electoral campaign, this analysis proved the hypothesis that visual elements do impact the decisions of voters. Additionally, parties like PJD can take great advantage of executing the right electoral programs at the right time. Political communication is carried out by the election campaigns and people make great use of images, brochures etc. Social semiotic analysis has determined the impact of targeting the audience in specific context.

Visual communication implies a process of perception that plays a fundamental role in executing the effective communication. The harmonic beauty lies under composed norms which not only to contemplate it as mere spectators but also understand it from the line, the point, the surface, the dimension. The processes and relationships constructed the understanding of the visual grammar by clearly articulating the view, position and attraction formally as well as technically. Communicating the right sense of information to the audience

visually is simply just responding to their needs. Analysis resulted to be the paramount and necessary as there are only few studies conducted with the prospects of political campaigns.

In total fifteen images are analyzed to contemplate the research on electoral program of Justice and Development Party (PJD) during the election campaign of November 2011. Descriptive analytics ideologically shaped by relations of power and struggles over power and also explored the opacity of relationships in between the themes and the society. The major purpose of the study gets the results to deliver the visual aid to the people of Morocco. PJD party successfully delivers the message to the audience. Moreover, as per the themes it is quite understanding that party has chosen the images which are current need of the country. Even party has illustrated that importance of the territorial units to show the empathy to every corner of the country. It is also clear from the analysis that visual communication do impact on the minds of people faster to yield the intended outcome.

The study has depicted that PJD electoral program has totally engaged its audience in constructed meanings of the images. Moreover, thorough analysis also contemplates that visual elements are the medium through which political parties shows their ideologies and try to dominate the minds of people. Visual elements are the building blocks of having the good strategic campaigns and PJD electoral campaign is the viable depiction of such case. The hypothesis is confirmed as each research question pertains to the respective answer as per the analysis. The hypotheses confirmed that visual elements do impact on the minds of the people and PJD party gains the trust of the people of Morocco due to the captivating printed media. Additionally, election campaigns also depend on the choice of the themes and the way to deliver to the audience. The objectives of the campaign must depict the motive of the campaign and it can only be attained through coordination, planning and proper communication. The semiotic analysis has reshaped the way for the further studies and clear depiction of Kress and Van Leeuwen approach.

Chapter Four

General Conclusion

4.1. Conclusion

The research analysis of PJD is an example to demonstrate how visual elements in political campaigns contribute to a certain extent to successfully improve the images of political parties to the electorate. Semiotic analysis has been carried out in overall research as the vital methodology based on the Kress and Leeuwen's approach. It is found that visual design grammar brought to light the many levels and detailed structure by which electoral programs strive to communicate. The ideas of Kress and van Leeuwen proved to be an extremely useful tool for analyzing images. Fifteen images were taken from the electoral campaign where each image was thoroughly analyzed. Each Image has the different theme and addressed the specific set of people in a certain context. The fifteen themes included are; current Morocco situation, uneven condition of Morocco, Corruption, exportation, freedom of press, Sports, Justice, Disability, Health Care Sector, Human Rights and Freedom, decent housing and living, Family members, women illiteracy, importance of territorial units and involving the people living in abroad in elections and decision making respectively. The images were taken from the weekly newspaper for the elections of November 2011 during the campaign. Moreover, thorough analysis illustrated the power and ideology hidden in the images. What Kress and Leeuwen offer then is a unique framework for looking at images they claim that visual design grammar covers all forms of visual images. In order to attract and get the attention of the audience political campaigns can target intended representatives via electoral programs and brochures. Socially constructed knowledge would help the political parties to organize the electoral campaigns and design the overall themes to target the audience and has determined the impact of targeting the audience in specific context.

Additionally, the processes and relationships have been constructed by understanding of the visual grammar. Visual semiotic analysis interprets the simple images of the election campaign and enquires the meaning the each element present in the images by communicating

the right sense of information to the audience visually is simply just responding to their needs. It is found that visual design grammar to be a broad and ambitious tool to interpret images. I believe it offers a consistent method to approach the multiple meanings and levels that images hold.

Furthermore, descriptive analytics ideologically shaped the relations of power and struggles over power and also explored the opacity of relationships in between the themes and the society. Moreover, analysis has illustrated that visual elements have remained the medium of delivering the ideologies to the intended audience. This approach has proved to be useful for our research and answered all the questions with effective tools. Finally, the hypothesis thus confirmed as each research question pertains to the respective answer as per the analysis. The hypothesis confirmed that visual elements do impact on the minds of the people and PJD party gains the trust of the people of Morocco.

4.2. Research Limitations

Every research methodology has the strengths and weaknesses so has the social semiotic approach. The major strength of the approach is that it is the most viable approach because this approach provides the whole phenomenon of communication studies. Social semiotic approach provides the coherent, comprehensive and systematic results as the outcomes. Visual meaning in photos can be efficiently analyzed by the semiotic analysis but social conditions and construction matters a lot. Conversely, semiotic analysis only provides the specific results, and terminology is little bit confusing due to elaboration. The major reason behind confusion is that some of the terminologies are well defined while some other needs intense elaboration. Images contain several meaning at a time i.e. images are polysemic in nature. However, visual semiotic analysis provides only one meaning of image at a time. The interpretation can be different as per the analysis of different persons. One person might perceive the different meaning of the sign with other can have different thoughts. The

thoughts might vary due to the different background, gender, class, racial, cultural and social differences. The analysis of the photographs was based on the literature I reviewed; however, my cultural and social background influenced my findings.

4.3. Recommendations

There are several paved grounds for the future research in the same field. Researchers are suggested that how PJD party has really chosen those photographs and what criteria they used to put them in such way. Furthermore, other researchers can focus on how voters read those images in order to have a thorough idea of this analysis. Researchers can take other parties or target media content to analyze the importance of visuals that how it tailors on the minds of people around. The approach remained successful and provides with the wide open area to the future researchers.

Appendix 1:



المغرب الحالي

تضخم الفوارق وتفاقم العجز وتراجع المؤشرات
رغم ما توفر من إمكانات استثنائية



Figure 3: Morocco today



Figure 4: Drop out of School



Figure 5: Say no to corruption



Figure 6: Exportation



Figure 7: Justice



Figure 8: Freedom of Press



Figure9: Sports



Figure 10: Health Care Sector



Figure 12: Disability



Figure 15: Family Members



Figure 16: Human Rights and Freedom

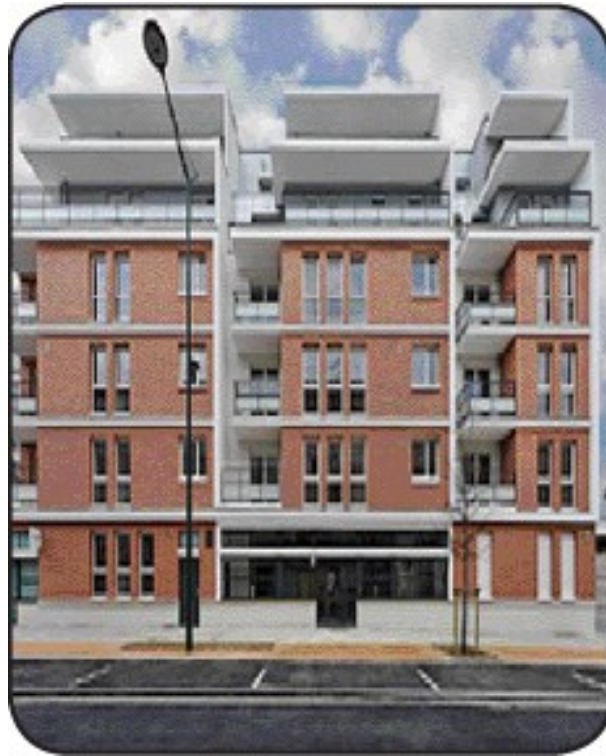


Figure 17: Decent Housing and Living Conditions



Figure 18: Women Illiteracy



Figure 19: Importance of Territorial Units



Figure 20: Police Woman receiving Old man

Appendix 2: Emails of Gunther Kress and Theo van Leeuwen

 ● **Kress, Gunther** <g.kress@ucl.ac.uk>  8 mai à 07:33 ★
À : n.belmekki@yahoo.fr

Dear Nabil Belmekki I have had a very quick look at your text, in between pressing work in a busy life!
I think it is a good start. There is a difference between "description" (saying "this is what is there") and "analysis" (this what the choice of what is there might mean") (statements about meaning are always a hypothesis; if the reasons are strong, the hypothesis may be confirmed)
To do the second – to attempt an account of what a particular choice (might) means, you can try to say "the choices in this situation were as follows: the fact that X (say, the use of a specific colour) was chosen may mean that X is better at expressing what the makers of the text wanted to mean". (you would need to have a sense of what different colours mean in Morocco)
Michael Halliday said that "meaning is choice in context"
I will, sadly, have to stop communicating on this.
I wish you much success!
All best wishes
Gunther Kress

 ● **Kress, Gunther** <g.kress@ucl.ac.uk>  29 août 2018 à 15:33 ★
À : n.belmekki@yahoo.fr

Hi Nabil just very quickly: the notion of multimodality implies that modes act together to make a (complex) message. Modes do NOT mean on their own, although the use of *this* image rather than *that* is of course significant.
Two tips: 1 ask yourself with each element why this was chosen rather than some other element that could have been chosen.
And 2 try to move things around: what if the written element(s) were placed differently in relation to the image element (for instance, in the original image might be above the written: ask: what difference in meaning is produced if I invert their relation. And do that with all elements, always asking :what is the difference if I change them.
All the time there is the assumption that whoever – one person or a team – selected the modes, and put elements in a specific order, had their reason – knowingly or not really knowingly to do that. They might just have ""felt"" that putting element X where they put it helps achieve what they want to achieve more than placing it differently.
So: good luck!
Have you thought what "ideology" means? A very simple way is to think this: no matter who it is, and what they are doing, they occupy a specific point from which the " world" has a particular look. If you are standing next to someone, and you are both looking at the same thing, necessarily each of you sees that thing differently, even if only slightly so.
Transfer that simple example to any situation, and you have a sense of how ideology is shaped: quite simple. If you are standing on one side of a statue and someone is standing on the other side, are you seeing the same statue? In the same way??
All the best with your work. And just to say: I will have to leave my advice at that point.
Gunther



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1 juin 2018 à 10:57 ★

Dear Nabil Belmekki

Thank you for writing to me. Unfortunately it is precisely **NOT** the case that in a semiotic description and analysis you can simply "... do it by describing subjectively what I could see in the photographs and how it create meaning?" if that were the case you would not need semiotics, or any theory for that matter.

The semiotics I do is called *Social Semiotics*. It does not use concepts such as connotation or denotation, etc: And yes every element in the materials you will study is or can be relevant: that depends on the Research Question you are using: that determines what might be or become relevant.

So all I can suggest is that you look in your library – or in libraries to which you have access – for work on Social Semiotics: for instance one of my books *Reading Images*, or *Social Semiotics*, my book from 2010 on Multimodality: a social semiotic approach to contemporary communication.

Let me know if you can get access to any of these.

Best wishes for your work

Gunther Kress



● **Theo van Leeuwen** <Theo.vanLeeuwen@uts.edu.au>
À : n.belmekki@yahoo.fr



4 juin 2018 à 00:08 ★

You could have a look at G. Kress and T van Leeuwen (2006) *Reading Images - The Grammar of Visual Design*, as well as at handbooks like eg T van Leeuwen and C, Jewitt (eds) *Handbook of Visual Analysis*, and E. Margolis and L. Pauwels, eds *The Sage Handbook of Visual Research Methods*.

Best wishes

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Dear Nabil,

Thanks you for your email and apologies I have not been able to reply earlier.

In answer to your questions, yes, of course images have an impact, and of course political parties use them to 'transmit their dominance and ideologies'.

If, to describe images, you use a method of analysis that is not purely formal, but semiotic, ie linking forms with meaning potentials, you have a key to studying how they are employed in given contexts to get a message across. The message that Kress and I have developed for visual analysis has that potential, and demonstrates it through many examples. It has been applied in various studies of posters, election commercials etc. Search the relevant journals - Visual Communication, Social Semiotics, Critical Discourse Studies, etc.

It is als important to always analyze the whole text, ie verbal text and image in relation to each other.

Best wishes

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Dear Nabil,

You are not obliged to do anything, you are only obliged to give good reasons for why you do things the way you do., and reference your approach.

That said, in social semiotics it is good practice to take the context into account when analyzing any text - this include the co-text as well as the context (e.g. who publishes the material for whom, etc). Of course, it may be that a page contains quite different articles - but (though I cannot read the verbal text you have appended, it looks (visually!) as if there is one headline for the whole, and visual rhyme between the various text boxes. The visual is not just images, but also colour, layout and typography.

As far as verbal and visual text is concerned, the approach to analyzing visual communication which Gunther Kress and I have developed deliberately uses compatible ways of analyzing verbal and visual text - and this may, in both cases, either have an explicit critical aim or not.

I hope that answers your questions.

Best wishes

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