



Visual discourse and democratic transition (Tunisia as a model)

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Abstract:

Today's visual media is considered one of the most important and influential types of media in the public. It is the primary source for understanding events around the world, and it now plays a vital role in creating facts in people's minds, after transcending its traditional functions of news, education, entertainment, promotion, and advertising. to play leading role s in the political construction process and in exploding man's creative energies.

Visual speech has played a major role in the detonation, support and coverage of the Arab revolutions, making it an effective contribution to spreading revolutionary awareness among the public.

In this paper, he discusses the importance of this role through a central problem on the role of visual discourse in the Tunisian democratic transition process, which followed the January 14, 2011 revolution. He looks forward to the realization of a number of objectives, including highlighting the important roles that visual discourse played negatively and positively in the democratic transition process.

Keywords: media, visual speech, Tunisian revolution, democratic transition, political Symbols

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1. INTRODUCTION

The Tunisian revolution represented a great political event that shook the region and influenced the course of events domestically and abroad. The role played by the visual media in its launch, spread and expansion was indeed a testament to the important roles that visual discourse can play in modern times. This study examines the role that media played in the Tunisian democratic transition that immediately followed the Tunisian revolution through a central problem with the role of visual speech in the Tunisian democratic transition process that followed the January 14 revolution in 2011. The investigator looks forward to a number of objectives, including: to highlight the important roles played by the visionary in the democratic transition process; he has adopted the inductive approach as well as the analytical and historical approach

In conclusion, the study reached a set of conclusions, the most prominent of which is: the seriousness of the roles played by visual discourse in the Tunisian political process after the revolution, especially when it intersects with corrupt political money. Therefore, the researcher recommended the need to pay attention to this lethal media machine that is capable of effecting deep and positive changes, and the need to regulate it. This paper was formed after the preliminary conceptual research of two researchers and a conclusion.

The first investigator addressed the importance of visual discourse in the modern era and its transformation into a powerful authority that grows with the days, especially with the importance of the psychology of the image and the political and financial intersection in visual discourse.

The second discussed the role of visual speech in the democratic transition process in Tunisia and how it has become a large space for the manufacture of political symbols, in addition to becoming a front for managing political and ideological battles.

2. Conceptual introductory study

2.1 Definition of visual discourse:

The term "discourse" is a term that is rooted in human history, it is distributed across many fields of knowledge such as philosophy, logic, language, communication and politics and took on wider dimensions when adopted by Linguists and Structuralists, yet the concept of discourse is still open to interpretation and reading from many angles, so Van Dijk considers that the question of what a discourse is, a simple question on the surface, complicated in fact, and continues as he presents a book (the entire 700 pages of which this author is in two volumes about the subject of the discourse, is a detailed answer to the question "What is the discourse?" (Van Dijk, 2014, p568)

In the term, Michel Foucault defines the speech by saying, "It is the texts (or sayings) as presented in sum of their words, and their system of construction and their logical structure or data organization"(Foucault,1987,p34) and "De Saussure", the speech is "a language message that the speaker transmits to the recipient, who receives and deciphers them" From all of the above, we can consider that media and visual discourse in particular is a comprehensive communication process, starting from the product of media discourse that is based on doctrine or preconceived ideas, with a particular point of view towards an ev



ent or a particular issue that he seeks to communicate to the public after studying it and knowing its nature and trends, in order to convince it and influence its decision and behavior, in accordance with the interests and orientations of the producer of the discourse. Thus, media discourse becomes a cognitive and cultural authority that can form the awareness of individuals, control the minds of the public, and change the paths of public opinion in a way that is compatible with the interests of the source of the discourse and those in charge of it.

2.2 Definition of Democratic Transition:

The term democratization, the degree of its occurrence, and the conditions for its establishment are numerous and varied in academic and political circles, like many political terms. The concept of democratization, in its broadest sense, refers to the transition from a non-democratic system of government to a democratic system formula (Hassanein, 2016). The concept of democratic transition represents a stage through which the old non-democratic system is dismantled, collapsed and a new democratic system is built. The process of transformation includes elements of the political system, such as the constitutional and legal structure, and political processes. (Schmitter, 1986)

3. Visible discourse: a growing authority in an era of transformations

3.1 Importance of Visual Speech in the Age of Globalization:

With the technological revolution and contemporary informatization and turning the world into a small village, the visual media is no longer a tool to communicate knowledge and provide people with news and event, or even just a means of recreation, entertainment and entertainment, but a profound transformation of backgrounds and goals into a cultural industry, an effective tool in the public opinion industry and a dangerous soft power. If some consider the media discourse a fourth authority in the past for its important and influential role in the events industry and the formulation of collective consciousness, today it is more dominant, an incursion and an influence. We are not exaggerating if we say that it has become the first authority that monitors and traps the rest of the authorities and affects them and makes them especially after the terrible technical developments that this sector has defined in order to become a cultural industry with multiple media and compete for the formation of political decision centers. The video discourse has become "from the main sources of the reformulation of values, the production of ready-made symbols, the formation of awareness, conscience, taste, and the receipt of ideas and knowledge in a mechanism that makes the future human being more frequent, thinking, tasting and suggesting in a semi-unified way." (Katani, 1997;P87) Over the years, the visual discourse has witnessed successive developments that have made it a tool of influence and domination by its ability to influence, possess and control information, whether social, political, military, cultural or educational, and has led to a universal convergence of human societies, regardless of their language, ethnicity, religion, religion, geography and geography. In addition to this, the culture of the image has penetrated all borders, and the culture of the image has penetrated all borders, and the fact of history has been broken, and the facts of history have been recorded for a moment, and the facts of history are the most effective and the most effective



means of calling. To inform, educate, attend, and influence, and the image that intensifies the meaning of the ideas, and we sing about a number of written sheets, and we have to consider them from each side, and we have to consider the satellite channels and their dangerous role in terms of the enormous technical potential and capabilities of photography, performance, montage and excretion, which makes the cinematic discourse in a process of suspense and sensationism that inescapism is inevitable, and the excitement that makes it inevitable to be attracted to it. and integrate with it and be influenced by its message..

To resort to a culture of image and make it an alternative to the culture of the word, especially in our societies where illiteracy has spread, it is a serious threat to the elements of cultural cohesion, and to the nationalism of the less powerful and advanced parties, if it is not to be treated with the challenges of the world of communication, and because the image occupies an important place in human communication, and it is natural that this is a reason for providing communication through space, and the occupation of satellites, the first place before the cards in bringing about that communication. Thanks to this development and through channels and communication networks, the picture is the magic key to the new cultural system; that is, the human awareness production system in the world, and it does not need to be accompanied by a written speech or a language accompanying a language to be carried out to realize the recipient. It is itself a complete and complete speech, in which it expresses itself, and has other means of effective influence in the future, because the mirror line is intended to communicate directly with a broad base of the world's people. Therefore, we find the cultural contents of this discourse based on the selection of the colors of the dominant culture of exporting it, which is the popular culture, rather than the elite or elite culture that depends on the intellectual, intellectual and creative achievements of senior philosophers and scholars, and thinkers in literature, art, political and scientific theory, (barakat, 2007) and what happens today is a boom of images, references and texts on the permanent electronic screens, which is a threat to the systems of values and symbols, and a change in existential references and life styles. The methods of thinking, as well as the turmoil that occurs in defining the major goals associated with the message of the individual in life, which is not a new approach in the curricula of psychological warfare and propaganda, is a result of the massive qualitative and quantitative development in the media and the media. Rather, the soft war can be considered as natural and inevitable, and the fourth generation of media and media technology (satellite channels, digital cellular communication devices, websites and web pages) (bamber, 2006) can be expanded. All the social networks are based in soft warfare on all influences, visual symbols, information, cultural, academic, research, trade, public relations and diplomacy, as well as a tool that does not interfere with the capabilities, and the military tools that are part of the power, and which is not included in the framework of the soft war, which is planned by the Western mind and its institutions in the framework of the soft war, in which the Western mind and its institutions are planning techniques and accuracy, in choosing the means, and in choosing the means, and in defining the goals, and in defining the goals. To classify them by stage,



depending on their value, importance and priority. (Saadna, 2016, p. 62.)

3.2 The psychology of the image and its role in modern visual discourse:

All psychology studies indicate that the visual image center is memory, which receives information from the environment around the individual via sensory human receptor to the brain, and memory is responsible for recording, preserving and retrieving past experience from the ideas, tendencies, trends, behavior and images that the individual has accumulated throughout his life, settling into the (long-term memory store) through nerves that play the role of information from the senses to the brain according to three axes according to the theory (incident formation):

- 1) Coding (encoding): Explains the information and symbolizes it to be formed and then stored as information about past knowledge and experience.
- 2) Storage (storages) any save in the long memory pool to reretrieve them when needed.
- 3) Prepare or recover: i.e. return it again as a symbolic image iconic that the iconic memory is visual in nature as its survival depends and continues on the terms of vision. (Al-Takma, 2019)

Media, psychology, sociology and policy experts have worked on these data and tried to employ them to optimize the use of the image in order to achieve the objectives of the ruler. Digital and space television has occupied the greatest attention from the beginning of this third millennium, especially after the great boom and expansion that this sector has known. Today's television speech is the most unchallenged in the visual discourse in general. It is in every house that publishes its message with a high quality technology, which touches all segments of society, free in most of it, and draws attention, and the contemporary human is almost trapped in its details. (Makki and barakat, (2003))

The analysis of television discourse leads us to learn about the features of the artistic characteristics of television and how it is being employed by the speech producer to draw the attention of viewers and their minds to other meanings other than the use of medium features such as camera angles and movements, lighting, colors, accessories, fashion, and sound and sound effects, within the context of Semialei which is distinguished from the rest of the media, and its reliance on the sense of sight in the first sense, and the sense of hearing. Through the sense of sight, the person acquires about 90 percent of his information. The television picture is a factor of attraction and psychological excitement to receive the communication message, regardless of its kind and content, and the successful television work is the work of using the image as a foundation, which is illustrated by the BBC director, as television workers are advised to always imagine that they are addressing those who have lost the grace of hearing, and the basis of the television discourse in its various artistic aspects and its cutting, ordering and montage. As well as the graphic effects and charts of Gravix, colors, lighting, decoration, decoration, accessories, and evidence that the exposure to television speech is another feature of television, the viewer may receive the



television message, which is in the case of mental relaxation and psychological comfort in his home, and is often seen in the context of family members, and the television techniques are often characterized by the need for the recipient to participate in the elements of the idea by the effect of the visual perception of the viewer, or the mental awareness of the order of facts, events and the movement of personalities. Television also achieves more familiarity with characters and positions because of its small screen and proximity to scenes and viewing conditions, which provide greater characteristics of the connection facing me. (N.I.S.T, 2017)

Television of repetition and diversity is capable of repeating the topic and presenting the same idea with multiple forms and forms without the viewer feeling bored and suspicious, which will achieve the desired effect, as well as its ability to overcome political and geographical barriers and address the public where it is found and passing through the literacy barrier. It does not require reading skill, as in the media and television features, to convey it immediately in the transmission of events with voice and image, as well as its cumulative psychological impact. The issues adopted by television discourse are deposited in the minds of viewers over the long term, creating a new awareness and perception of things, or taking earlier values and impressions, or replacing them with alternative conceptions of television by virtue of the long accumulation of exposure, and then the television could influence the values and attitudes that already exist, (Shafiq, 2008) and help build models, create stereotypes, and then build the field of private speech and forecasting frameworks, and in general it provides us with our images of the world. (Bahish, 1998)

With reference to the literature of the television media discourse, the most prominent features of the television speech are:

- a. -It is mainly a visual speech, which forms the television picture and what is related to the president's corner, and the language of the image is the language expressing the communication message, which is in control at the level of significance and influence, and that the language is integrated with the image of the required impact events. (Adnoun, 2021)
- b. A successful television speech is a diverse, exciting and influential discourse, which can employ television features as an influential media medium that combines image, voice and movement, and its use to present content with diverse and refined forms and templates without monotony or dull.
- c. It is a speech based on the ability of television to impress and influence, using the image that represents an important and influential means of persuasion capable of shaping attitudes and trends, as well as the rest of the elements of television work that contribute to the achievement of its mission in influence.
- d. The television discourse varies according to media patterns and functions, and there is television news, propaganda television, advertising television, educational speech, entertainment speech, and so on.
- e. Television speech is often an ideological speech that expresses the visions of its source and seeks to achieve its objectives and reality according to those visions and



the policy of the media organization or funded to it. This is why television discourse, especially news discourse, is biased and not neutral when it comes close to the propaganda speech and moves away from its main function of media, news, and the transmission of facts.

- f. It is a speech that transcends geographical, political and cognitive barriers, and reaches the audience wherever it is without barriers and specifications, except for the cultural background and reference frames of viewers, and does not require special cognitive or cultural skills to be received contrary to the media discourse.

We conclude from the foregoing that the television discourse is: (the media discourse that uses television as a means of communication to deliver its messages to a large and diverse audience with different orientations and desires, relying on the technical characteristics of television and its ability to persuade, influence and overcome barriers, and it is the sum of the communication activities that are included in television messages and presented to viewers, through Various templates and art forms that are characterized by excitement and suspense, and the media discourse uses the components of television work to send messages with semantic, semantic dimensions within a system based on the policy of television as a media institution that operates according to a specific ideology adopted by the source of the speech and seeks to achieve its goals and draw viewers' perceptions according to its desires and interests, and may contribute to persuasion Reality and its shaping and influencing viewers' values and attitudes.)

3.3 The dialectic of the political and media in modern visual discourse

The relationship between the media and politics is a close and historical relationship. It has traditionally been a political marketing and propaganda, and, by contrast, the media views politicians as a public figure and has a duty to follow and monitor their activities for the public good, of course, while respecting the rules and disciplines of professional ethics and taking into account the editorial line of the institution to which they belong. (Adnoun, 2021)

To this extent, it is considered natural, but with the great transformations that the world and the Arab region are witnessing, and a great escalation of the importance of the media authority, which has grown, and this kind of tension has often come between political and media, perhaps most notably, what we have noticed in recent years is the question of some political institutions, especially representative, and then the nature of the media treatment that tends to be subject to objective failure and sometimes to open up files that might disturb some of the politicians and the institutions that represent them. This introduced the relationship between the media and the politician to the arena of the conflict. Each one used the legal and judicial weapons and the authority of public opinion to win the battle, and because of the escalation of the conflict and the bad relationship between the media, the media and the political and political institutions, and the belief in the importance of media



and public opinion, some media organizations resorted to creating media and media organizations. Political media and media were mixed with media and political media, and the roles were confused, and the borders disappeared and one of them became at the mercy of the other. Political and media have lost their independence and confidence in confronting society because of weak experience and experience and the violation of the principle of neutrality and independence, and this has subsequently moved to include media and political institutions, and economic, financial and legal factors have increased the entrenchment of this miserable situation.

As the relationship between the two parties increased, it was the entry of a third party (the corrupt capital or the political money), which took advantage of the sharp and influential presence of the media in our contemporary life. It sent many satellite channels and bought some others and controlled the line of inquiry, but even more dangerous to make it a marketing tool for the owner of the channel in political life in the form of the Berlusconi-style political life.

As a result of this new situation, much of the visual media has become a political money baroness, so many satellite channels have become a tit and a loss of objective standards, integrity and balance; these platforms have become a battleground for ideas, which do not solve the essence of the subjects; the political talk providers, especially the political ones, control the debate and public debate, so that the term "foreign policy" is the most appropriate term to describe the media landscape for the time being. It appears that there are steps to be missed by a range of channels to catch up with good media. (Hazem, 2015)

These transformations created a profound crisis in the visual media discourse, which was generally manifested in:

- The media application, which refers to selectivity of issues, subjects, attitudes and outcomes, according to interests.
- Overtime and hype in the description of events or in the context in which they respond.
- The media diagnosis, which results in a certain pattern in dealing with the events and focusing on the chirps and the leadership.
- Conflict and acquisition of public opinion to shape its trends.
- Political money control over media policies,

so that the visual media in previous times is controlled by the authority, according to what serves its political and ideological purposes, and this led to the emergence of the problem of freedom and independence in the performance of Arab media, but the freedom gained after the wave of Arab revolutions and global transformations, and opening the door to the practice of politics in front of all, opened the appetite of businessmen to invest in this field, especially if we consider them to contribute to pluralism and enrich the media field and its openness. It may sometimes pose a serious threat to the media, considering that these channels are in the grip of businessmen in the political field, which might help them exploit these channels to serve political and ideological purposes or to pass their own interests. One



of the most important reasons for the current media performance is due to the immense resources that have been pumped through the businessmen-since the Arab Spring revolution and so far-to create new satellite channels to control the political orientation. In the face of the pressure to make concessions, adherence to the values and professional standards is not easy. Thus, the media sphere has shifted from the control of a political system to the control of another system (the businessmen). It was one of the dangers of controlling political orientation. This is the case of a fragmented divide that threatens civil peace, as the dominance of political money has contributed to the media in turning it into tools of inclusion and division among the citizens.

4. Visual discourse and its role in Tunisia's democratic transition

4.1 Visual discourse before and after the Tunisian revolution:

With the fall of the system of repression and tyranny represented by the regime of former President Ali Ibn Ali, Tunisia witnessed after the revolution, according to media experts, a banner, as hundreds of newspapers, magazines, websites and private radio stations were created, and the Tunisian media has been divided since independence into three types: state media that serves the state political, defends its basic choices and refutes all opinions criticizing any circumstances in the conduct of government programs and a second kind of pro-government media. He always seeks to appease her and perhaps conceal part of the truth from her until he receives the necessary material and moral support, which in some cases is often used by the state policy and tries to fallacy in some cases. There is a third section of the media, which is partisan media, and is owned by the opposition, which relies on opinion journalism in the first place, and is based on the sharp criticism of the government's projects. It represents the empty half of the cup in a big meeting with the government's private properties and media, which seeks to beautify the image of the ruler and show the state of government work. This is for the information written. As for the visual and audible media, some private radio stations have been given to the ruling party, and they have been given to the ruling party's loyalists, and they have been given to the ruling party's loyalists, and they have been directed at entertainment radio stations away from the world of politics. He always lives away from the world of politics and does not come close to it, and the government controls all the media by means of public advertising, in which the external communication agency acts and distributes it according to the degree of loyalty of the media to the government and the party and not to be involved in politics, especially the human rights file, which has always been the issue of the authorities. (Saeedani ;2018)

There is a consensus that freedom has been the most significant gains made, in terms of lifting restrictions on political and civil governance and entering the country's multiparty system, as well as at the level of multiple areas of governance and openness of news sources and the right to know. This new situation has allowed freedom of the media, and freedom of expression in general, to create a pluralistic media and a boom in media and communication. It was accompanied by efforts to develop legislation regarding the press, media and



independent structures to help the sector regulate its activity and enable it to remove obstacles to reaching sources of news and activating the principle of self-modification. (Haddad, s.d.)

The visual discourse of this rule did not give rise to this rule. The other is a big change. The numerical boom has been devoted to unprecedented diversity and effective pluralism in the visions, perceptions and editorial lines, but at the same time, it has found itself caught in a state of chaos as a result of:

- Lack of clear legislative ground regulating the performance of journalists and media organizations.
- The absence of a legal or procedural mechanism regulating the distribution of public declarations and support after the suspension of the External Liaison Agency and the Ministry of Communication.
- Absence of structure regulating the process of audience measurement.
- The absence of the structures of amendment and self-modification

All these loopholes turned a number of visual media outlets after the revolution into easy prey for the financial and political lobbies, which quickly took over most of the private media platforms and lavished gifts on them and took control of their editorial lines and directed them scandalously either to serve the Islamists' split (Al-Zaytouna and Al-Zaytouna channels Hedaya, TN Anne, the average person, the human being, etc...) And as for serving the anti-Islamist faction, similar to the Nessma channel, which mobilized to fight the Ennahda movement and the project of political Islam, then turned into a trumpet for the campaign of the "Nidaa Tounes" party of its leader, the late President Beji Caid Essebsi, to finally dock in the port of the party "The Heart of Tunisia" by Nabil Karoui, owner of Nessma TV itself. (Majri, 2020)

However, despite the steps taken, the practice benefits from the continuity of a number of negative aspects and shortcomings and the emergence of new phenomena, which makes the image as if the media sector is still fragile and in a situation similar to a continuous sorting process.

As for the content level, the Tunisian visual discourse, immediately after the revolution of January 14, 2011, entered the stage of "absolute freedom," as if it were the natural alternative to "restricted freedom." Despite the breaking of restrictions, the lifting of barriers and obstacles, the opening up of multiple sources of information, and the significant shift in the level of modern means of communication and social networks in the direction of being a space for information, the practice has witnessed a lot of turmoil and overlap, and this is what caused an outburst that distorted, and still is, the legal value of media activity. Where very dangerous phenomena have emerged remarkably, the most important of which (Haddad, s.d.):

- ❖ The search for excitement to attract the audience and raise the viewership rates, making the visual discourse fall into scandalous, exciting, interesting scenes that sometimes reach the point of shock by crossing all limits, including those that violate



professional ethics and legal texts, and harm public taste and the laws and regulations of the public space.

- ❖ The phenomenon of partisan, political, and trade union alignment, which is mostly concealed, unannounced, and is one of the most dangerous emerging phenomena, which seriously threaten media freedom.

- ❖ The absence of independence and the disturbance of the media identity. The desire to play a political role obscured the principle or condition of independence and caused a confusion in the identities of the various media outlets, as the editorial line became hostage to the centers of influence and the forces that control the national decision and the interests of the

- ❖ The news industry and the discrediting of professional media work: the previous phenomena led to the discrediting of visual discourse and the decline of good media contents by the loss of the news of the conditions of professionalism and journalistic ethics and their controls, and the exacerbation of the phenomenon of the news industry and false news in particular .economic and financial lobbies.

4.2 Visual discourse and political symbols industry:

The concept of political symbol has been associated with periods of national struggle, such as Gamal Abdel Nasser in Egypt, Nelson Mandela in South Africa and Mahatma Gandhi in India, Habib Bourguiba and Al-Thawabi in Tunisia or the authoritarian regimes in which the leader of the leader, and the trumpets of political propaganda, gloriate his abilities and abilities to protect the nation and protect the people. Despite the retreat of old political propaganda mechanisms, and the emergence of more interactive and modern styles of political communication, the media has been playing a role in building the mental image of political leaders. Focusing on their individual features, he strengthened and coordinated with the growing trend of declining ideological and partisan influence in front of the rise of personal influence in contemporary political systems. (Al-Zahraa, 2018, pp. 39-45)

Social and political code plays a critical role in shaping the movement of communities and in guiding them and in imposing a certain pattern of thinking and perception that inevitably leads to complex internal and external agendas. Today, with the expansion of the need to control societies, control and control the movement of the masses and monitor their reactions, social symbols have become a key instrument in the hands of political power in order to assert regime control over society and the state. Rather, the value of political and social symbols is not limited to the internal dimension of the image of the political system itself, but to the need for the international system itself to manufacture its models, symbols and icons. The video and television discourse specifically played a prominent role in the rise of many political leaders in the Tunisian political arena, and this role specifically increased with the revolution of Tunisian freedom and dignity in 2011. The influence of television programs on creating awareness of the Tunisian citizen and interfering in determining his political and electoral preferences has increased indirectly through systematic media



policies to polish certain political leaders and tarnish the image of others. We noted the media's preference for certain personalities, highlighting them and trying to polish their image in front of the masses. It is enough to remember the role that the media played in blowing in the Badji figure, who was a distant figure on the political and political history, and whose political history is not honorable, especially in the era of Bourguiba, where many consider him to be involved in the suppression of those exposed and his hands stained with the blood of many innocent people, especially in the incident of the darkness.

To the extent that the visual discourse was absent and called for the presence of the political leadership and leadership that was struggling against and struggling against the tyrannical ruling regime and its parties in a systematic policy of authoritarianism aimed at assassinating morally and symbolically from the social and political spectrum, no one competes with the leader of the country and the loyal leader, the president of the country, to appear in the image. It is a form of dispute between its Sultan and its symbolic field. The eruption of the revolution in 2011 opened the field wide to all political formations in order to exist in the public space, including the spaces and visual media platforms that have been liberated from the grasp of tyranny. The political platforms, their content and backgrounds have diversified, and the public and private media have been active in showing new political faces, which the public did not know and whose images and details of their life and history were not known.

Political marketing has played an active role in the definition of political parties, their leadership and leadership. This marketing is concentrated and is usually active in election and political campaigns. This created an atmosphere of competition between television channels and talk shows that were racing to host this political face or that for furnishing their programs. This was not limited to political programs, but rather to entertainment television and social programs, and politicians became stars who sang and danced with artists and artists.

Political marketing has been active through political propaganda of the political leader and partisans, and satellite channels have often become a mechanism for political communication, and the media has had enormous capacity to manipulate people's minds, psychologically, intellect and culturally. Some of the television channels in the political game became crude, leading to political and media smear campaigns and turning visible rhetoric into a facade of political battles and ideology.

4.3. Visual speech is a facade to manage political and ideological battles.

The Tunisian revolution has opened a wide margin of freedom. The minds were free from fear and freedom of the press and expression were the most prominent of their manifestations. Instead of taking this matter to the success of the democratic transition process, the old ideological struggle was called up in a bilateral polarization between Islamists and the left to serve the agenda of the anti-revolution, and to poison the political life in Tunisia after the revolution. The result of the events and the clashes that took place in



the first months of the revolution, especially during the electoral competition. The Tunisian Marxist left in the 1970s rejected the existence of an Islamic movement and considered it as a strange and jealous movement as a "reactionary force and an instrument of imperialism against progressive and revolutionary forces in the Arab world". The result of this, the Tunisian University since the mid-1970s, has witnessed an intense battle between the two parties, which was sometimes marked by the exchange of physical violence. (Al-Jurshi, 2021)

The system of tyranny of the regime of General Zine El Abidine Ben Ali early on to the ideological movement in the Tunisian arena, and it absorbed his contradictions, worked to hire him in a high professional, and she moved his contradictions to be one of the most important pillars of ensuring its continuity. It invested in antagonism between Islamists and the extreme left to use the second in the first mastectomy (Bin Hadiya, 2020) and took root in the general mind that it was impossible to coexist between the different intellectual stripes and to convince everyone, especially after the revolution, and entered the country in a (crisis of recognition). The anti-revolution was not recognized by all. The revolution was adopted against this conviction, which is shared by all the parties to spasm dialogue and poison the climates through some media outlets that put themselves on their viliations to drag the country into the square of violence.

Many institutions and organizations have become fortified ideological castles and are ready to be tools in which ideological camps fight their "holy jihad" after they quit their Mukol role.

To this day, the scene looks a lot different than it was in the ' 80s. A broad section of the left and a strong return of Islamists to the political arena-not only a "imminent danger" - but also an opportunity to reunify the forces of the left again against a "common enemy."

The conflict between the two contradictory trends has intensified on the identity and pattern of the Tunisian society between the Islamic trend, which considers that the Islamic reference should be present in the constitution of the Tunisian state, as long as Arab and Islamic and a current consider itself progressive, calling for a civil state based on freedoms, equality and the separation of religion over the state in the reproduction of Western experiments.

The media arena, especially the visual media, was not remote from this conflict, but the media became the president for the fierce political and ideological battle between the two rival camps in the country (Islamists and secularists). The partisan lineup of journalists between these two media camps turned the media into a propaganda platform for the two parties, as the media became again affiliated with the political agenda. As a result, the opportunity for local journalists to become professional and independent was sacrificed once again



5. Conclusion:

The visual discourse in the era of globalization has defined major developments that have made it a dangerous and growing authority for all parties to employ on their political agendas. It is now necessary to make a difference between the politician and the media in order to preserve the noble message of the visual discourse and not to employ it in the ideological and political battles of the social and political actors, which is a sacred task that emanates the media and makes them independent entities that are not affiliated with the corrupt policy and money barons.

And to the extent that the visual discourse succeeded in the Tunisian democratic transition in destroying large areas of media freedom, it made it play an important role in creating political symbols, but it fell into the quagmire of political and ideological battles, and was prey to the dominance of corrupt political money. For this, the researcher recommends that:

- ♣ Neutralizing the media discourse from political tensions in order to improve its basic function.
- ♣ Protecting Freedom Square, which developed the Tunisian media scene.
- ♣ Involvement of visual discourse positively for the success of the Tunisian democratic transition process.



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