Duality in Political Discourse: A Critical Analysis of the Constitutional Union Party in Morocco

Sami Chaaibi[1], Mohamed Marouane[2] and Najat Mokhtari[3]
[1,2,3]ALCS Lab., FLHS, Chouaib Doukkali University, EL Jadida, MOROCCO.

[1]Corresponding Author: samichaaibi@yahoo.fr

www.ijrah.com || Vol. 4 No. 2 (2024): March Issue

ABSTRACT

This article critically examines the discourse of the Constitutional Union party (CU) in Morocco, focusing on uncovering discursive duality within its political communication. Drawing on Critical Discourse Studies, the study adopts Van Dijk's (2008) mental model approach to illuminate the party's ideological perspectives and evaluate its consistency with declared liberal principles, specifically investigating how liberalism is cognitively reflected in CU's discourse. Through analysis of CU's discursive strategies claimed to embody ideological connotations across political, economic, and gender issues, the study identifies linguistic anomalies that point to a divide between liberal and non-liberal elements in the party's disseminated discourse. This observed linguistic duality prompts critical inquiries into the consistency of the party's ideological stance throughout a variety of contexts, a fact that stresses the necessity for further exploration of the social legitimacy of Moroccan political parties in relation to their circulated discourse.

Keywords- Ideology, liberalism, cognition, political discourse, duality, discursive strategies.

I.   INTRODUCTION

As Block (2019) emphasizes, the pursuit of truth in human interactions finds a unique platform within the political sphere (p. 70). Bourdieu (1991) further elaborates on this pragmatic dimension of politics, characterizing it as a "manifestation of socioeconomic processes or of relations and oppositions between classes" (p. 29). Contemporary philosophers and linguists, such as Halliday, De Saussure, Fairclough, Van Dijk, Wodak, and Allen, assert that politics operates as an operational system symbolizing law and power, orchestrating socio-political and economic relations through political discourse (Halliday, 1978; De Saussure, 2005; Fairclough, 2015; Van Dijk, 1998; Wodak, 1989; Allen, 2011). Political discourse thus, shaped by various discursive modes and cognitive processes, serves as a revealing lens through which political ideologies, objectives, and values become are supposed to be circulated to publicly stand apparent. However, when political discourse fails to reflect the primary ideological perspectives of its producers, it is within this context that

the concept of duality in discourse emerges as a crucial aspect, revealing the multifaceted nature of political communication and the notable strategic deployment of language to convey and manipulate ideologies.

In the Moroccan political landscape, the Constitutional Union party (hereinafter CU) stands out as a modern entity expected to advocate for civil, economic, and institutional liberties under the banner of liberalism (CU Statute, 2015, Art 3, p. 3). However, a concerning trend has emerged, indicating deviations between the proclaimed ideologies of certain political parties, including the CU party. This difference between stated ideology and disseminated discourse forms the core of a significant research problem that necessitates a closer linguistic examination.

The basis of the current study is rooted in the unique positioning of liberalism as a modern Western ideology within the Moroccan context and which the CU is assumably epitomizing, contending with historically entrenched ideologies from both pre- and post-independence eras, such as left-wing and conservative ideologies. The study's linguistic skepticism arises from

the observed gap between liberal ideals and the publicly disseminated discourse of the CU. The central question guiding this study is: To what extent does the CU's discourse adhere to the principles of liberalism as its claimed ideology of reference, and how does this linguistic adherence manifest in the party's political discourse across socio-political and economic contexts? Based on analytical examination of the CU party's publicly disseminated discourse, the study's hypothesis posits that the party's adherence to liberalism may vary across economic, social, and political dimensions, reflecting duality in discourse influenced by societal dynamics, political alliances, and historical factors. The claim as such insinuates that the CU's discourse may intertwine both liberal and non-liberal aspects, recognizing the pragmatic adjustments political parties often make in response to diverse political challenges. Whether the CU demonstrates consistency with liberal or exerts a duality in its ideological discourse, the findings of the study serve as a basis from which we can derive general assumptions about the adherence of Moroccan political parties to a singular ideological framework.

II.   RESEARCH RATIONALE

In political discourse, the presence of duality often sparks inquiries into ideological coherence and societal legitimacy. Within the Moroccan political landscape, for instance, Slaoui (2014) argues that political parties frequently struggle to uphold their declared principles, reflecting the historically weak ideological foundation of Moroccan politics (p. 23). Similarly, Darif (1998) examines significant structural changes within contemporary left-wing parties, particularly during the 1990s, as they navigate a shifting political and ideological terrain influenced by various factors at the local, regional, and global levels (p. 160). Additionally, Boukhars (2011) delves deeper into the essence of liberalism in Morocco, highlighting the concerted efforts of liberal parties to strike a diplomatic balance between liberal ideals and Islamic norms (p. 71). This critical analysis prompts an investigation into whether the discourse propagated by the CU party in Morocco aligns with its stated official ideology or if it utilizes discursive duality to achieve conventional social legitimacy.

III.   RESEARCH OBJECTIVE

The study's objective is to investigate discursive duality in Moroccan political discourse, notably within the CU's discourse. Every political party, as is well known, delivers a discourse based on the party's referential documents and laws which comprise its main ideology. Similarly, parties adhering to liberal ideology often propagate a rhetoric that encourages a democratic state of civil, institutional, and economic freedoms. Since its legal establishment in 1983, the CU party has officially set the stage for a discourse of liberalism to grow as a

competing ideology for the lefts and conservatives. Yet, in the world of politics, and on account of the historical divisions and alliances led to the establishment of most of the political parties in Morocco, parties may not always adhere to their ideologies in discourse and in practice for two main reasons. First, political parties may need to compromise their ideological principles in order to gain and maintain power. For example, parties may face changing political, social, and economic realities that make it difficult to preserve permanent fidelity to one ideological discourse. Second, political parties may be influenced by external factors such as interest groups, media, and public opinion, which can impact the party's discourse or contribute to the party's linguistic departure from its referential ideology. From this critical angle of reason, the current study follows the same hypothesis to explore the extent to which the CU party spreads a single-standard discourse with liberal views and aims.

IV.   RESEARCH QUESTIONS

In this study, we aim to investigate the CU party's discourse through two key research questions. Firstly, we explore the extent to which CU's discourse aligns with its professed liberal principles. Secondly, we delve into the linguistic anomalies within CU's communication that indicate a potential disparity between liberal and non-liberal elements. The questions in this vein can be addressed as follows:
Q1. To what extent does the discourse of CU's discourse align with its stated liberal principles?
Q2. Which linguistic anomalies within CU's discourse indicate a disparity between liberal and non-liberal elements?

V.   LITERATURE REVIEW

5.1. Ideology within political discourse
In the contemporary landscape of critical discourse study, an imperative focus emerges on explaining the major characteristics of political discourse. Recognizing the profound significance of understanding political discourse becomes not only a scholarly pursuit but a fundamental basis in understanding the relationship between societal narratives and political ideologies. Given the evolving background political landscape in Morocco, a comprehensive exploration of political discourse posits itself as an indispensable endeavour, offering profound perceptions about the country's political sphere. In this academic endeavour, the study's current analysis is crucial as it enables unlocking the cultural, historical, and social facets that interact to form the linguistic paradigms of Moroccan political discourse. Additionally, it serves to draw general interpretations about whether Moroccan political discourse is devoid of duality.

In theoretical terms, political discourse is characterized as a multidimensional communicative

instrument that echoes political beliefs, attitudes, decisions, and ideologies. All political narratives, speeches, debates, and political media coverage are referred to as political discourse. Exploring the linguistic aspect of political discourse, Van Dijk (2008) elucidates its social pattern of manipulation, emphasizing the cognitive processing and discursive-semiotic dimensions at play. The cognitive aspect involves the manipulation of participants' minds, while the discursive-semiotic phenomenon is exercised through text, talk, and visual messages (p. 213). In fact, the cognitive effects of political discourse have garnered significant attention in linguistic and sociolinguistic studies, particularly in understanding how language deliberately influences public opinion. In this vein, Chomsky emphasizes that the rhetorical language of political elites and the media control public opinion through fixing the "premises of discourse" (Chomsky, 1988, pp. 6; 227). Expanding on this exploration, Van Dijk (1998) delves into ideological manipulation, highlighting its impact on public influence. According to him, Political discourse, often associated with various forms of manipulation, involves strategies that manage or control the public mind, targeting recipients who may be unaware or unable to easily control the manipulation (p. 274). This includes semantic management, where political facts or situations are manipulated to keep political information implicit (p. 207). Following Van Dijk, political discourse functions through cognitive mechanisms, enabling control over public perceptions, attitudes, and collective cognition—an influential instrument of cognitive manipulation.

In addition to what is said earlier, the perspective framework of this study draws inspiration from Jones (2006) to emphasize how political discourse embraces political ideologies and how it is ideologically utilized to control public opinions and decisions. Such critical assumption aligns with Antonio Gramsci's perspective on the hegemonic role of ideology in creating social dominance and shaping people's understanding of the world (Jones, 2006, p. 9). In fact, in addition to the fact that political discourse functions as a cognitive tool of communication within sociopolitical settings, it is a dynamic social practice deeply connected with societal interactions and is used to protect ideologies of certain social domains (Van Dijk, 2008, p. 215).

Modern linguistics highlights the vital role of discourse studies in examining the ideological dimensions within social, cultural, economic, and political contexts. In this context, linguists contend that effective political discourse must encompass (political) ideology to confer preferred authority upon political institutions and individuals. Karl Marx, as cited in Drucker (1972), underscored the significance of ideology in delineating class interests across diverse situations, including social, political, and economic realms. In the realm of ideology, Van Dijk (1998) explicates the "pervasive role" played by political ideologies in shaping social norms and conditions (p. 189). Furthermore, he emphasizes the

"persuasive power" of political discourse in upholding social dominance (Van Dijk, 1989, p. 40). Examining Gramsci's perspective on ideology, Jones (2006) accentuates the hegemonic role of political discourse in "policing crises" within the political domain (p. 102-105). Conversely, Fairclough (2015) suggests that ideology in political discourse should be viewed as "a stake in social struggle" rather than solely a tool for persuasion and manipulation (p. 3).

In analysing political discourse, it becomes evident that the selection of ideological rhetoric is deliberate rather than arbitrary. Turnip (1995) contends that by examining the discursive dimension of signs, we gain insight into the symbolic nature of discourse, as it shapes ideological perspectives (p. 307). Accordingly, political discourse serves specific ideological purposes, including the promotion of political ideologies, enforcement of institutional policies, advocacy for particular political affiliations, and legitimization of power and control across various contexts. Fairclough (2015) on his tern strongly underscores the interplay between the role of ideology in discourse to reach social legitimacy and political power. To elucidate the legitimacy of such power, a thorough analysis of discourse demands explanatory critique, as emphasized by Fairclough. This involves employing the fundamental concept of manipulation to illuminate how political perspectives are produced within the discourse (p. 49). Analytically, the preceding discussion sheds light on the multifaceted nature of political discourse, presenting it as a complex instrument that encompasses cognitive and discursive-semiotic dimensions. The emphasis on manipulation, both cognitive and discursive-semiotic, highlights how political discourse strategically shapes public opinion by consciously deploying language, as discussed by Chomsky (1988). Within the frame of the ideology-discourse dichotomy analysis, the aspect of duality within discourse emerges, introducing the potential for anomalies within the discourse itself. It is emphasized, therefore, that political discourse is most effective when it aligns with the claimed ideology of its producers. Conversely, when there is a disconnect between discourse and ideology, the discourse becomes rhetorical in nature, lacking substantive ideological content.

However, the present study deals with the concept of duality in political discourse at its discursive level, drawing insights from George P. Conger's findings. Conger (1922) proposes that acknowledging the notion of (implicit) duality in discourse is necessary as it shall influence realistic debates about political ideology in discourse without taking a stand with or against (p. 235). In political discourse, therefore, it is a fact that duality is very often used to relieve contradictions that may exist between competing ideas or ideologies within a certain political setting (Conger, 1922, p. 237).

That is why, recognizing dualism in political discourse might change the perception of the frequency of

party ideology in discourse. For example, in the field of governance, discussions over policy matters like social welfare, healthcare, and taxes are frequently characterized by the conflict between liberals and socialists. Proponents of individual liberty argue for minimal government intervention to safeguard personal freedoms, while socialists emphasize the government's role in promoting social equality and equitable wealth distribution. Overall, recognizing duality in political discourse not only helps us understand why parties with opposing ideologies seek avenues for cooperation and compromise but also highlights how duality serves as a strategic tool for disseminating ideological perspectives.

5.2. Types of political ideologies

The ideological dimension of political discourse holds significant importance in critical discourse analysis, a premise particularly relevant to the context of this article. This chapter systematically examines political ideologies, asserting that political ideology remains the primary aspect reflecting the values, beliefs, and goals of political parties (Van Dijk, 1998, 1989, 2008; Fairclough, 1992, 2003b; Fairclough, 2012; Foucault, 1981). This analysis forms a foundational framework for understanding the intricate interplay between language, ideology, and political power, providing insights into the ways discourse shapes and is shaped by political ideologies. While navigating the complex web of political ideologies, emphasis is placed on the notion that ideology is fundamental, serving as the basis upon which all political systems and institutions are built and shaped. As the chapter progresses, it systematically analyzes various political ideologies until it converges upon 'liberalism'— chosen as the central ideology for linguistic examination in this article. Given the objective of analyzing the political discourse of the CU party, it becomes essential to emphasize and elucidate the fundamental tenets of liberalism inherent in their political framework.

In politics, ideology is the most prominent feature that reflects the political parties' values, beliefs, and objectives (Van Dijk, 1998). Every political system or institution is founded and shaped based on a prearranged ideology. The notion of ideology emerged during the 18th century, the middle age of enlightenment when intellectual movements appeared in Europe to challenge the Christian's religious legitimacy and the kings' divine power. Modern political ideologies were first introduced by prominent intellectuals such as the English philosopher John Locke, known for being the founder of liberalism, the Genevan philosopher and writer Jean-Jacques Rousseau, a leader of revolutionary thoughts against the ruling systems in the age of enlightenment, and the French philosopher Montesquieu, whose theory of deszpotism sparked revolutionary movements about power domination. It is at that time in history that a range of modern ideologies began to emerge (Boesche, 1990, p. 742).

One of the socially most influential ideologies which appeared during the French revolution in the 18th century is nationalism. Challenging the legitimate power of aristocrats and monarchs, nationalist movements argued that power and sovereignty should be assigned to the public. The most important tenet of nationalism is its emphasis on community union to preserve national culture, history, and shared values (Fuchs, 2020, p. 236). Whether nationalism has succeeded in mobilizing people against colonialism, it was arguably the trigger for a variety of worldwide wars and conflicts to emerge.

Another prominent ideology to arise in the late 18th and early 19th century is conservatism. It is historically exerted by right-wing parties and seeks to guard traditional values, religion, and social institutions. Another tenet of conservatism is maintaining allegiance to the ruling systems in order to preserve communal peace and stability. Even though conservatism has adapted itself to political and economic variations in society, conservatives often oppose modern changes that may threaten social values and traditions such as secularism (Huntington, 1957, p. 455).

The other ideology which emerged during the industrial revolution of the 19th century is socialism. Socialists challenged capitalism and refused individual ownership of the means of production. Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels (1986) are philosophers amongst others who pointed out that capitalism is an unfair system that benefits capitalists at the expense of their employees. Seeking to create a more equitable and democratic society in which the benefits of economic growth and development are shared by all, socialism advocates collective rights to wealth and power (Cockshott & Cottrell, 1993, pp. 3; 53)

Stemming from socialism during the 19th century to decline capitalism, communism basically contradicts social inequality and economic exploitation while, meanwhile, it advocates public share of the community's wealth and capital. Marx and Engels (1986) enhanced the existence of communism through a substantial work which they coined "the Manifesto" in 1848 in which they criticize the socio-political role capitalism in creating social hierarchy and increasing struggle between social classes upon economic benefits (Cockshott & Cottrell, 1993, p. 159).

Liberalism, which the current research paper revolves around and whose main tenets will be discussed in the forthcoming section, is another Western ideology that emerged in the age of enlightenment and is strictly exerted by left-wing political parties (Rousseau & Walker, 2012, p. 23). The rise of the wave of liberalism dates to the post-World War II period with the collapse of Soviet communism in the late 20th century (Bell, 2014, pp. 682; 684). Calls for radical change in human and institutional freedoms paved the way for new political ideologies to emerge, such as postmodernism (which promotes cultural and political diversity), liberalism, and neoliberalism. Noting that neoliberalism is more concerned about economic advancement, emphasizing the privatization of markets and institutions, liberalism,

on the other side, is a more philosophical ideology that focuses on individual freedom, civil rights, and absolute democracy (Wolthuis, 2016, p.8).

To put it plainly, liberalism stands out as a prominent ideology that represents human morality, carrying significant influence over modern political thought and discourse (Wolthuis, 2016, p.3). The core tenets and features of liberalism highlight its emphasis on individual, institutional, and economic freedom. Central to this ideology is the principle of individualism, wherein the state is tasked with safeguarding the importance of the individual. Furthermore, liberalism champions the concept of freedom, allowing citizens the liberty to practice religion, voice opinions, form associations, and own property. According to Kymlicka (1989), liberalism contends that our primary interest lies in accurately holding and implementing our beliefs. In this view, government should demonstrate equal regard and respect for individuals by furnishing them with the liberties and means required to explore and act upon their beliefs (Kymilcka, 1989, p. 13). A crucial aspect of liberal ideology is then the belief in limited governance, advocating for a state that does not wield absolute control and power. For liberals, constitutional rules are seen as essential, but their main goal should maintain a balanced system that ensures collective well-being. Liberalism's endorsement of a free-market economy is another key facet, promoting economic growth and prosperity while relying on constitutional regulations to restrain excessive governmental interventions. Legal equity holds paramount importance in the liberal framework, with a persistent belief in social equality before the law. Liberals insist on the clarity and fairness of legal procedures, championing judicial liberalism to maintain justice for both individuals and organizations. Additionally, liberals advocate for tolerant diversity in thoughts, fostering social and political tolerance by encouraging a variety of perspectives and lifestyles. Overall, in the liberal paradigm, individuals are free to make choices and think independently, unconstrained by rigid doctrines or principles.

As was previously said, political ideologies have their origins in the enlightenment of the 18th century and function as essential markers that represent the beliefs and objectives of political parties. Different political philosophies, such as nationalism, conservatism, socialism, and communism, have influenced various political environments. But the main focus of this study paper is liberalism, a Western philosophy that emerged after World War II. Liberalism is distinguished by its emphasis on individual, institutional, and economic freedom as well as its dedication to ideas like individualism, limited government, and a free-market economy. In this regard, essential to recall is that the analytical assessment of this study aims to assess the degree to which the CU party adheres to liberalism in its disseminated discourse. This analysis aims to reveal the extent to which liberalism shapes the party's narrative in one direction, demonstrating its commitment to a single ideology discourse.

5.3. Liberalism in Morocco's diverse politics

As this chapter embarks on an exploration of Morocco's political evolution, understanding the complex ideological framework becomes paramount. This historical context serves as the foundation for the core objective of this study: the examination of the CU party's ideology and its significance or deviation within the broader political discourse of Morocco. In fact, the political landscape of Morocco, initially constructed on account of resistance against colonial forces and then shaped by diverse ideological currents, sets the stage for the emergence of liberalism, officially claimed by the CU party. Accordingly, by understanding the broader ideological multiplicity and historical forces at play, we can better conceive the linguistic formation of the CU party's discourse vis-à-vis liberalism.

The exploration of Morocco's political evolution is crucial to comprehending the complexities of its multi-plurality system and the emergence of new ideologies, as is the case for liberalism, which is the core subject of this study. The political landscape in Morocco, modeled by means historical imperatives such as the resistance against French and Spanish colonialism, paved the way for to diverse perspective to emerge, forming a heterogeneous system of intellectual, religious, and modern ideologies in Morocco nowadays (Slaoui, 2014, p. 27). Notably, despite the ideological multiplicity pattern as such, political analysts like Slaoui (2014), Darif (1998) and Boukhars (2011), agree that only three basic poles of ideologies characterize the Moroccan political spectrum. The first pole represents right-wing parties in Morocco, exemplified by the Istiqlal Party (PI) and the Consultancy and Independence Party (CIP). Rooted in the early 1930s during the nationalist battle against French and Spanish imperialism, these parties uphold conservative values, advocating for social democracy, solid government, political stability, and collective wellbeing. Simultaneously, they express reservations about unregulated capitalism and authoritarianism. The second pole is constituted of leftist parties, including the Socialist Union of Popular Forces (SUPF), the Party of Progress and Socialism (PPS), the Socialist Vanguard Party (SVP), and the Social Union of Popular Forces (SUFP). These parties diffuse a discourse of socialist ideology, criticizing public injustice, and promoting a ruling philosophy of social and economic equality. The third pole incorporates parties claiming to uphold liberal or center-liberal ideology, such as the Party of Hope (PE), the National Rally of Independents (NRI), and the CU party whose discourse is the empirical case of the current study. Parties in this category aim for individual liberties, minimal government involvement in economic and social matters, and a free-market economy with encouraging taxation system.

Placed in its historical context, liberalism in Morocco found its track to the country during the colonial

period when French and Spanish colonizers and migrants settled liberal ideas and institutions, which enabled Moroccan intellectuals and elites to adopt and support liberal changes comprising democratic governance of institutions, liberal individualism, and economic freedom. Under the governance of the king Hassan II, the post-independence period was the right time for new political and economic reforms to take place. Nonetheless, the new wave of liberalism in Morocco occurred in the 20th century especially with the foundation of liberal political parties and movements in Morocco. Amongst the most influential parties adopting liberal ideologies in Morocco, we find the CU party (1983), the Party of Hope (Hizb Al Amal, 1999), and the MLP (the Moroccan Liberal Party, 2001).

Arguably, absolute liberalism encounters significant challenges in gaining legitimate power within Morocco, primarily due to two key factors. Firstly, Morocco operates as a sovereign kingdom, wherein the constitution emphasizes the parties' unique framework of abiding by the presiding system as a source of stability and guidance, fostering a system where adherence to the constitutional framework and to the decisive role of the government is considered not just a duty but a privileged alignment with the nation's values and principles (Moroccan constitution, 2011, Article 7, p. 5). Second, due to the colonial endurance Morocco went through, conservative, and nationalist parties are more likely to receive social allegiance, unlike liberal parties which may be socially resisted on account of the ideology's western-based origin. That is why, in recent years, the influence of factual liberal ideas in Morocco are noticeably predominated by Islamist and conservative values. The latter are represented by key political parties which align with the traditionalist and religious values of the country's history and monarchy, such as the Istiqlal Party. Another Islamist party which proved its social legitimacy and consequently ruled the Moroccan government for two legislative terms (2011-2020) is the Justice and Development Party (PJD).

Still, while there exists an "extreme intellectual and political poverty" in Morocco's politics, as pointed out by Slaoui (2014, p. 95), a fact that may be due to the parties' inability to exert a convincing politics that benefits the citizens at the first place, Moroccan liberalism is trying to voice itself as a new modern ideology that can make fundamental changes in the country's political, social, and economic sectors.

5.4. The Constitutional Union party (CU)

Driven by its strong historical background and expanding societal influence, the 1983-founded Constitutional Union (CU) party officially declares advocating for liberalism in Moroccan politics (CU Statute, 2015, Art 3, p. 3). With 18 out of 395 seats won and a sixth-place finish in the 2021 legislative elections, this party outperformed more established parties like the PJD and PPS. This shows that the party is becoming more and more relevant in the complex Moroccan political landscape. The CU party, which was selected for this study due to its contemporary political philosophy that seems challenging established social and conservative standards in Morocco, makes sense as a focus point for this kind of research.

Founded by the Prime Minister Maati Bouaabid in 198, the CU party had been granted royal support and presented itself as a new alternative party to defend individual, institutional, and economic freedoms and, on the other hand, to counter the flow of the Marxist ideology. In the first legislative elections, the party gained 83/306 seats in 1984 and 54/333 seats in 1993. In the parliamentary elections of 1998, the party took a stand in the opposition by establishing alliance with two other parties, the NRI and the PM (Al Haraka Chaabia) to officially form *Al-Wefaq* group, the new political opposition in Morocco, which was later joined by the Social Democratic Movement and the Labor Party. Throughout the three sequential parliamentary elections 2002, 2007, and 2011, the CU party was able to win 16/325, 27/325, then ranked the sixth in parliament (in 2011) after winning 23/325. In the last 2021 parliamentary elections, the party ranked sixth and won 18 seats out of 395. In October 2022, the CU elected Mohamed Joudar the party's new Secretary General. Ideologically, the party advocates the establishment of the state of rights and free institutions as it officially declares its adoption to liberal views and objectives (CU Statute, 2015, Art 3, p. 3). In the Constitutional Reform Memo (n.d., pp. 2-4), the CU calls for social, ethnic, and economic liberty before the law. In the meantime, the party official confirms in its Statute its loyalty to a royal, democratic, socialist, and modern system in Morocco (CU Statute, 2015, Art 3, p. 3).

According to the pivotal historical conference held on October 9, 1983, in Casablanca, the CU party outlined its core ideological objectives. These encompassed a devoted commitment to fortifying the constitutional monarchy and reclaiming Moroccan territories from Spanish control, particularly emphasizing the restoration of the Moroccan Sahara within the nation's territorial unit. Embracing a free-market economic policy, the CU party also aims to amplify Morocco's role both regionally and internationally (Slaoui, 2014, p. 65). Of significance is its pursuit of a balanced foreign relations approach, aspiring to strike a harmonious equilibrium between the East and West. Decisions originating from the conference underscore the party's determination to uphold the constitutional monarchy, strengthen national institutions, and reject concessions on the Western Sahara issue. In fact, it was during the historic 1983 conference that the CU party formally laid the foundation for its officially declared liberal ideology, marking a transformative moment that has since influenced the trajectory of Moroccan political dynamics (Slaoui, 2014). However, the focus of the study is to examine whether the CU party genuinely represents liberalism or if its duality

of discourse is reflected in the rhetoric disseminated in public settings.

VI. RESEARCH FRAMEWORK AND METHODOLOGY

6.1. Analytical framework

Coached within applied linguistic framework, the current research applies critical discourse analysis (CDA) to analyse ideology within the CU party's discourse in social, economic, and political contexts. The study opts for Van Dijk's (2008) mental modal approach as it offers a suitable framework for conducting cognitive analyses of discursive techniques which shape ideological implications within political discourse. According to Van Dijk, comprehending the language of politicians necessitates the development of a theory of political "cognition" (Van Dijk, 2008, p. 27). Further, Van Dijk's mental model perspective posits that ideology can only be theorized based on "a cognitive component that is able to properly account for the notions of beliefs or belief systems" Van Dijk, 2006, p. 116). In this regard, Foucault (1981) highlights the essential role of ideology in examining political discourse, emphasizing its function as a cognitive tool for manipulating public opinion. According to him, discourse reflects politicians' doctrinal allegiance and serves as a means to express devotion to various societal elements such as class, race, or resistance (p. 63-64). The model's foundation rests on three crucial concepts: the influence of pre-existing mental models on interpretation, the role of power and ideology in shaping these mental models, and the recognition that discourse can either reinforce or challenge existing power structures and ideologies. Chilton (2004) supports Van Dijk's (2008) cognitive approach for critically analysing political discourse, asserting that such discourse is inherently shaped by individual and collective mental processes (Chilton, 2004, p. 51).

6.2. CDA: A framework for analysing research discourse

Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) is a multidisciplinary framework within which we can examine the role of discourse in reflecting political ideology. Accordingly, CDA highlights the discursive ways through which cognitive representations are influenced by ideologies and values, and how these representations are implemented to maintain ideological control over groups or individuals (Fairclough, 2015, p. 17). In political discourse studies, practically, the role of CDA involves two main objectives: First, to decipher the discursive and cognitive peculiarities of discourse and, thus, explain how such discourse is produced and disseminated. Second, to explain how discourse is ideologically utilized to echo ideologies, control minds, shape identities, disseminate actions, legitimize power, create social and political relations.

Scholars have affirmed the relevance of CDA in providing critical insights into how discourse both reflects

ideology within specific contexts. "Fairclough underscores the macro-level significance of CDA, emphasizing its role in investigating social relations, inequalities, and propagated ideologies (Fairclough, 2003, p. 203). In this vein, he notes the increasing integration of CDA by scholars from diverse fields within their research designs (Fairclough, 2003, p. 212). Additionally, Van Dijk advocates for CDA, highlighting its effectiveness in elucidating how discourse constructs and contests ideological meanings, particularly in relation to power structures and dominance in society (Van Dijk, 2008, p. 86). Both Fairclough and Van Dijk view CDA as an essential ethnographic method that considers socio-cultural representations integral to discursive and ideological processes underlying language use (Fairclough, 1989, pp. 17, 35). In this research, therefore, the utilization of CDA is motivated by its proven efficacy in critically exploring the CU's ideology within discourse for CDA provides the necessary analytical framework to comprehend and explain how the CU's discourse advocate or fails to align with liberal thoughts while formulated within societal and institutional environments.

6.3. Research methodology

The research methodology is firmly grounded in Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) to explore the ideological duality within the discourse of the CU party. This approach is informed by scholars such as Foucault (1981), Fairclough (2003), and Van Dijk (2008), who emphasize the dissemination of ideology through cognitive processes. In alignment with this perspective, the study adopts Van Dijk's mental modal approach, recognizing discursive manipulation in politics as a means for ideological control and dissemination.

The research employs a content-based critical analysis to examine the discursive tactics employed by the CU party including *word choice, metaphor, deemphasizing, foregrounding, repetition, referencing, using statistical numbers, ambiguity or uncertainty, vagueness, statistical data and rhetorical diversion in discourse*. By examining cognitive connotations laid behind using these tactics, the study aims to uncover the extent to which the CU party adheres to a singular ideological discourse.

The chosen timeframe, spanning from October 1st, 2018, to October 1st, 2022, has been intentionally narrowed down to provide a focused and impactful overview of the data. The sampling strategy employed for this research is purposive, deliberately selecting discourse from the CU party derived from two primary categories. First, the chosen written texts comprise excerpts from the party's official Statute of 2015 (Figures 1, 3, 4, 5, 6, 8, 9, and 10), an excerpt from the party's official Facebook page (Figure 7), and the party's Constitutional Reform Memo (n.d., pp. 2-4). Second, the spoken texts comprise two excerpts from the party's representatives. These include the speech of Hassan Aabaiba, a key member of the party's political bureau, posted on the party's official website (Figure 2), and the speech of the party's Secretary

110

General, Mohamed Sajid, who was interviewed on Media TV Channel on June 12th, 2021 (Figure 11).

The post-data discussion will play a crucial role in guiding the study toward formulating significant findings regarding the ideological expression within the CU's discourse. This will be achieved by presenting evidence regarding the CU's stance on three dimensions of liberalism: religious freedom, liberal economy and limited governance, and gender equality. Through an analysis of the extent to which the party upholds or diverges from these liberal values, the findings will aid in determining whether the CU party's discourse aligns appropriately with liberalism or leans towards a discourse marked by double standards.

VII. DATA PRESENTATION AND ANALYSIS

The initial segment of the analysis will concentrate on the official discourse of the CU party, with particular reference to Article 3 of its official Statute (2015). As depicted in the party's narrative in Figure 1, the party articulates its firm commitment to liberalism as a foundational political philosophy.

Figure1

CU' official narrative featuring the party's social liberalism (CU Statute, 2015, Article 3, p. 3)

Original Version (*Arabic*):

نشر وإشاعة الفكر الليبرالي الاجتماعي المرتكز على الحرية والمبادرة الخاصة والمنافسة الشريفة كأساس للإبداع، ولكل الأنشطة السياسية والاقتصادية والاجتماعية والثقافية والإعلامية،

English version:

Dissemination and promotion of social liberal thought based on freedom, private initiative, and fair competition as the foundation for creativity in all political, economic, social, cultural, and media activities.

Officially, the CU party claims to adhere to liberalism, as stated in Article 3 of its charter. (CU Statute, 2015, p.3). Figure 1 is a major statement in the party's official language that clearly summarizes the party's commitment to liberal values, especially with regard to fair competition, private ventures, and individual liberties. Linguistically, the use of the term "Dissemination and promotion of social liberal thought" highlights the CU party's stated commitment to a political doctrine based on progressive principles and individual liberties. The deliberate reference to "freedom" and "private initiative" in the speech further stresses this commitment, indicating the party's goal of fostering an atmosphere in which people can exercise their rights in social, economic, and political spheres without excessive limitations (CU Statute, 2015, Article 3, p. 3). Notably, this support for social and economic freedoms embodies the core principles of liberal thought, suggesting a position that values little government involvement and recognizes the vital role that private industry plays in driving Morocco's economy.

Figure 1 clearly state that the CU party is liberal. However, there is still doubt about how consistently the party adheres to this liberal discourse, which raises the question of possible deviations to different perspectives. This calls for assessment of the ways in which the CU party responds to the three liberal tenets that were previously mentioned: religious freedom, liberal economy and limited governance, and gender equality. Specifically, the objective is to assess the party's adherence to these liberal principles in its discourse and to pinpoint any instances of discourse duality. Discourse duality in this context refers to scenarios characterized by disparities or contradictions between the party's officially declared liberal stance, as delineated in the CU Statute (2015, Art 3, p. 3), and its expressed discourse concerning these three dimensions of liberalism.

7.1. CU discourse versus religious narratives

For liberalism, separating religious institutions from the state's governing system is a necessary condition for promoting individual freedom and preventing the abuse of power by religious authorities. The following excerpt of the speech of Hassan Aabaiba, a member of the political bureau of the CU, contrasts religious and political discourse:

Figure 2

Speech of Hassan Aabaiba, a member of the CU's political bureau (Official website)-Oct 1ˢᵗ, 2015

Original Version (*Arabic*):

الاقتصاد لا يعالج بالشعبوية، ولا بالخطابات العاطفية، ولا الشعارات، ولا المبني على أشياء لا أصل الأشخاص ولا اللجوء إلى العالم الافتراضي لها، خطاب العواطف الاجتماعية والدينية يجلب أصواتا ولا يجلب تنمية.

English version:

Economy is not dealt with through populism, emotional discourses, slogans, people, or resorting to a virtual world based on things that have no basis, the discourse of social and religious emotions brings voices and does not bring development.

Prior analyzing the CU party's narrative of Figure 2, it is important to contextualize the political landscape within which it operates. During the period under examination, the Party of Justice and Development (PJD) held leadership in the Moroccan government for two consecutive terms, from 2011 to 2015 and then from 2015 to 2019. The PJD is known as a conservative party that typically adopts a religious discourse based on Islamic principles. Understanding the contrasting ideologies between the PJD and the CU party provides valuable insight into how the CU party perceives religious conservatism.

In Figure 2, the *choice* of terms like "populism" and the use of *metaphor* to compare the PJD's discourse to "emotional" discourse that "doesn't lead to development" suggests that the speaker *deemphasizes* the religious discourse of the PJD while simultaneously highlighting the importance of keeping the two (religion and politics) separate. In criticizing the PJD's discourse, which is typically religious and populistic, the speaker attempts to stress the significance of secularism by

contrasting it with religion as a fundamental value toward economic and social progress. At this stage of analysis, The CU party's critical discourse of religious discourse implies a preference for secularism in political affairs, showcasing the party's pragmatic perspective. However, upon closer examination of the party's official discourse, as will be explored through Figures 3, 4, 5, and 6, it becomes evident that the party's rhetoric does not prominently feature the noted liberal secularism.

Crucial to note that, in Morocco, political parties are adherent to the Islamic religion, and it is widely understood that Islam cannot be separated from governance. This is due to the country's long-standing history with Islam, as well as the fact that the Moroccan constitution recognizes Islam as the state religion. For this reason, it is noticed that Moroccan politicians incorporate religious principles within discourse. Likewise, despite their distinct ideologies, the CU party along the other political parties in Morocco are expected to adhere to Islam when disseminating a discourse to the public. The official statute of the CU party states both the terms "Islam" and "religion" three times in four discourses of its official statute as illustrated in the four subsequent excerpts:

Figure 3

CU's official narrative showing advocacy for the religion of Islam (CU statute, 2015, p.3)

Original version (*Arabic*):

الحفاظ على مقومات الإسلام ديناً، ووحدة المذهب المالكي عقيدة

English version:

Preserving the fundamentals of Islam as a religion, and the unity of the Maliki school of thought.

Figure 4

CU's official narrative showing advocacy for Islam values (CU statute, 2015, p.4)

Original version (*Arabic*):

وتدعيم دوره الطلائعي في الحفاظ على انتمائه الإسلامي والمغاربي والأفريقي والعربي

English Version:

And strengthening his pioneering role in preserving his Islamic, Maghreb, African and Arab affiliation.

Figure 5

CU's official text featuring the party's commitment to Islamic religion (CU statute, 2015, p.4)

Original version (*Arabic*):

دون أي تمييز يرتكز على دافع أو غاية مخالفة لأحكام الدستور أو القوانين الجاري بها العمل، أو يهدف إلى المس بالدين الإسلامي، أو بالوحدة الوطنية، أو الترابية للمملكة، أو بالنظام الملكي، أو المبادئ الدستورية، أو الخيار الديمقراطي

English Version:

Without any discrimination based on a motive or purpose contrary to the provisions of the Constitution or the laws in force, or aimed at harming the Islamic religion, the national or territorial integrity of the Kingdom, the monarchy, constitutional principles, or the democratic choice.

Figure 6

CU's official narrative contending religious restrictions to join the party (CU statute, 2015, p.4)

Original Version (*Arabic*):

وللمغاربة ذكوراً وإناثاً البالغين سن الرشد القانوني، سواء كانوا مقيمين بالمغرب أو خارجه، وغير الممنوعين بحكم القانون من الانخراط في الأحزاب السياسية، أن ينخرطوا في الاتحاد الدستوري بكل حرية؛ دون أي قيد يرتكز على أساس ديني، أو لغوي، أو عرقي، أو جهوي

English Version:

Moroccan males and females who have reached the age of legal majority, whether they reside in Morocco or abroad, and who are not prohibited by law from joining political parties, may freely join the constitutional union; Without any restriction based on religious, linguistic, ethnic, or regional basis.

The CU party's discourse continuously highlights "Preserving the fundamentals of Islam" (Figure 3) and "preserving Islamic affiliation" (Figure 4), *highlighting* the party's adherence to Islamic ideals through the use of the language tactic of *repetition*. Furthermore, as stated in the Moroccan constitution of 2011 (Article 3, p. 4), it strengthens its position against any perspective "aimed at harming the Islamic religion" (Figure 5). This further solidifies its commitment to Islam as the only and central religion of the Moroccan state. In contrast, the accepted language (Figure 6) states that "may freely join the constitutional union; Without any restriction based on religious" demonstrates the party's recognition and support of the plurality of religious views in the nation. This sentence reveals the CU party's willingness to accept members of any faith, revealing a nuanced approach to religious tolerance in its platform.

The discourse presented in Figures 3 to 6 clearly demonstrates the CU party's recognition of the significance of Islam in Moroccan society and governance. Across these figures, the rhetoric is consistently focused on preserving Islamic identity and adhering to Islamic ideals. However, the discourse in Figure 2 stands absurd due to its distinct critique of the religious rhetoric of the PJD, likening it to populism. This disparity suggests that the party's publicly expressed discourse (figure 2) diverges from its official position, as depicted in Figures 3 through 6.

7.2. CU discourse versus liberal economy and limited governance

In a religious state like Morocco, acknowledging modern economies that may contradict religious principles such as the cannabis cultivation must bring about political debate and social objection. Attempting to reach out liberal economy, however, the CU is supposed to take a stand against the mainstream religious ideologies. The following excerpt shows the CU's political view toward regulating the cannabis cultivation in Morocco:

Figure 7

Excerpt from Meeting of the political bureau of the CU party (Facebook page)-March 14th, 2021

Original Version (*Arabic*):

الاجتماع كذلك نوه بالقانون المتعلق بزراعة القنب الهندي وكذلك بمشروع القانون الإطار المتعلق بالتغطية الاجتماعية

English Version:

The meeting also praised the law on the cultivation of cannabis, as well as the draft framework law on social coverage.

Based on Figure 7, the cited discourse shows *reference* to legislative regulations, which is one of the discursive techniques politicians usually resort to as a means to bring legitimacy to discourse. The sentence also suggests that the CU party supports legislative regulations of this activity. By supporting regulation of cannabis cultivation, the CU party *foregrounds* the party's openness to the free-market economy as well as its ability to take on challenges in economic contexts. This position can be seen as consistent with the party's overall support for liberal economic policies that promote entrepreneurship and innovation. Additionally, the CU's approval of the cultivation of cannabis goes hand in hand with the party's official discourse in their Statute of 2015, as explained in Figure 8, elaborated as follow:

Figure 8

CU's rhetoric advocating economic freedom and initiative (CU statute, 2015, p.3)

Original version (*Arabic*):

حماية الحرية الاقتصادية باعتبارها جزءا لا ينفصل عن الحرية السياسية. تشجيع المبادرات الخاصة المدرة للدخل والمحققة للعيش الكريم للمواطنات والمواطنين.

English version:

Protecting economic freedom as an integral part inseparable from political freedom.

Encouraging private initiatives that generate income and achieve a decent living for citizens.

The discourse shown in Figures 8 demonstrates how strongly the CU supports economic liberalism. The party conveys a strong commitment to advancing free markets and individual initiative, giving them precedence over governmental interference in social and economic matters, by frequently citing ideas like "encouraging private initiatives" and "protecting economic freedom". Furthermore, Figure 18 upholds the liberal stance of the CU by stating that promoting active citizenship and highlighting the private economy are essential components of guaranteeing individuals a "decent living.

However, within the same discourse of Figure 7, a duality in discourse regarding the CU party's advocacy for social coverage becomes apparent. While the party's discourse ostensibly aligns with liberal principles *emphasizing* the importance of building a strong economy, the broad acceptance of governmental decisions for "social coverage" (Figure 3) suggests a departure from this perspective. Liberals typically advocate for investments and budgets to prioritize building a robust economy over allocating significant resources to social affairs. Therefore, the party's approval of the draft framework law on social coverage in this context may indicate a departure from traditional liberal

economic policies in favor of prioritizing social welfare initiatives. This discrepancy highlights a potential inconsistency in the CU party's discourse regarding its ideological stance on socio-economic matters.

7.3. CU discourse versus gender equality

At its core, liberal discourse champions social equality by *emphasizing* individual rights, gender equality, economic independence, and democratic institutions (Rosseau & Walker, 2012, pp. 21-22, 29). According to Rosseau and Walker (2012), liberalism as a political ideology is multifaceted, encapsulating various meanings such as "individual freedom, political participation, private property, and equality of opportunity" (p. 21). In terms of gender issues, it is common for liberal advocates and parties to propagate a discourse that challenges gender-based stereotypes. Liberals argue that all individuals, regardless of gender, should enjoy equal rights and opportunities across all aspects of life, including education, employment, and politics. Consequently, liberalism tends to support laws and policies aimed at legitimizing gender equality. However, an analysis of the discourse outlined in the CU's official statute of 2015 (pp. 8, 10, 11, 15, 16, 17) suggests that while granting youth and women a privileged position in its governing bodies may appear to be a step towards gender equality, a closer examination reveals that the discourse in question still does not place men and women on equal footing.

Figure 9

CU's official narrative featuring the party's perspective on women's and youth's representation (CU statute, 2015, p.3)

Original Version (*Arabic*):

يسعى الاتحاد الدستوري إلى تخويل الشباب والمرأة مكانة متميزة داخل أجهزته المسيرة وطنياً وجهوياً، وتخصيصهم بالنسب المقررة في القوانين والأنظمة الجاري بها العمل

English Version:

The Constitutional Union seeks to grant youth and women a privileged position within its governing bodies nationally and regionally, and to allocate them in the proportions established in the laws and regulations in force.

In Figure 9, the CU's discourse uses two discursive techniques to enforce the party's engagement in gender equality. First, the *choice* of the expression "seeks to grant" shows that the CU stresses *emphasis* on its responsibility to enforce individual liberty. Second, the discourse includes *reference* to the existing legal regulations. However, the use of the term "privileged" suggests that women are being given special treatment rather than being treated equally to men. Additionally, allocating women and youth in accordance with the existing laws and regulations does not necessarily guarantee equal representation or treatment. Arguably, referring to the existing laws which may grant women a "privileged" representation in social and political contexts denotes that the CU party aligns with the mainstream gender-based policies. Another clear-cut gender

distinction appears in the CU's official statute (2015) where the party states in number women's and youth's anticipated representation in the National Council:

Figure 10

CU's perspective on women's and youth's representation within the party (CU statute, 2015, p.3)

Original Version (*Arabic*):

يمثل اعضاء الحزب الشباب، الذين لا تتجاوز سنهم أربعين (40) سنة، نسبة 5% من مجموع أعضاء المجلس الوطني. وسيسعى الحزب لبلوغ نسبة 2 30% من التمثيلية لفائدة النساء، في انتظار المناصفة،

English Version:

Young members of the party, whose age does not exceed forty (40) years, represent 5% of the total members of the National Council. The party will strive to reach 30% of the representation for the benefit of women, pending parity.

Based on the CU party's official discourse presented in Figure 10, it is suggested that the CU party is not treating men and women equally, as evidenced by the imagined *statistical* number "30%" that is afforded to women in the National Council. Another linguistic feature lies in the *choice* of the expression "strive to reach 30%" which indicates that there is a significant disparity in the representation of men and women within the party's ideology, otherwise, the party should call for 50% of women's representation as opposed to men. Another linguistic expression to consider is "pending parity" which leaves room for *ambiguity* and interpretation. It is *unclear* what steps the party is taking to achieve parity, and whether they have a clear plan in place to achieve this goal.

We will now analyze the publicly disseminated discourse of the CU party concerning gender issues, as illustrated in Figure 11. This figure features a dialogue involving the discourse of the CU's former Secretary General, Mr. Mohamed Sajid, discussing the party's approach to addressing the status and representation of women in Moroccan society. It is worth noting that Mr. Sajid's speech was broadcasted on the Medi1 national TV program. This objective examination aims to provide an impartial assessment of the CU party's publicly stated discourse on gender equality and its initiatives pertaining to women's rights and empowerment within the Moroccan political context.

Figure 11

Speech of the CU's former SG, Mohamed Sajid in Medi1's TV program مواجهة للإقناع (YouTube)- June 12th, 2021

Original Version (*Arabic*):

الصحفية: ماذا ستفعلون لنا في على مستوى تعزيز التمثيلية النسائية لأن هاته كذلك رسالة قوية ومهمة في هاته اللحظة التاريخية؟

ساجد: الوعود سهلة. سوف أزيد في أجرة الموظفين والأساتذة. كل هذا يتحمل مسؤوليته من يقوله. اليوم نحن عندنا قناعات أن النموذج التنموي الجديد...يجب أن يكون هناك تغيير جذري. اليوم نتكل عن البرامج الانتخابية وعن الأولويات. إذا سألت أي شخص عن ماهية الأولويات. ما هي هاته الأولويات؟ ما هي هاته الأولويات؟ التعليم الصحة الشغل الحماية الاجتماعية

English Version:

Interviewer: What will you do for us on the level of promoting women's representation, because this is also a strong and important message at this historical moment?

Sajid: Promises are easy. I will increase the wages of employees and teachers. All of this is the responsibility of whoever says it. Today we have convictions that the new development paradigm... There must be a major change. Today we talk about electoral programs and priorities. If you ask anyone what the priorities are... What are these priorities? What are these priorities? education, health, work, social protection

In Figure 11, the target discourse lacks specificity and is full of *vagueness*. Instead of providing a pragmatic answer, the former CU president *diverged* discourse by raising the question *repeatedly* "What are these priorities?" (Figure 11) as a discursive way to guide the receivers' attention toward basic issues that most of the politicians usually call "priorities (education, health, work, social protection). While it may sound promising to make social change, the discourse lacks details on how this will be achieved, and what policies the party will implement to make this a reality. This leaves room for doubt about the feasibility of the party's promise or commitment. Furthermore, the statement that "there must be a major change" is *vague* and does not provide any concrete ideas or policy proposals for how this change will be achieved.

Indeed, the observed lack of specificity in discourse and the deviation from addressing the question about women's representation raise questions about the CU party's liberal pragmatism. The party's discourse (Figure 11) reveals the speaker's discursive inability to respond to the interviewer's question in a pragmatic manner. The former leader of CU has failed to emphasize the party's practicality or outline a clear policy toward gender equality at both the social and political levels.

VIII. DISCUSSION OF THE FINDINGS

The study clarifies the linguistic extent to which the CU party expresses its dedication to liberal ideals through cognitively based discursive strategies. Additionally, it reveals the presence of duality within the party's political rhetoric, enhancing our understanding of its disseminated ideology.

As stated in Figure 1 and Article 3 of its charter, the CU party formally embraces liberalism. The party's dedication to progressive principles and individual liberties is emphasized by terms like "Dissemination and promotion of social liberal thought" which specifically highlight ideas of freedom and private initiative. Strong support for economic liberty is indicated by this, which is consistent with core liberal beliefs that advocate less government interference and acknowledge the critical role that private industry plays in promoting economic growth. However, the concurrent analyses have revealed

linguistic anomalies, indicating a discursive shift within the party's rhetoric towards other ideological purposes.

In Figure 2, the CU party's criticism of the PJD's religious discourse points to a pragmatic viewpoint that favors keeping politics and religion apart. Nonetheless, a close examination of the official language presented by the CU in Figures 3 to 6 indicates a persistent emphasis on upholding Islamic principles and conserving Islamic identity. This disagreement highlights a gap between the party's language and its declared attitude on Islam and suggests that the CU's publicly proclaimed discourse deviates from its official stance on religious values.

The discourse depicted in Figures 8 demonstrates the CU's consistent support for economic liberalism, emphasizing the need of free markets and individual initiative for economic expansion. Figure 7, however, presents a contradictory picture of the CU's position on social coverage. Although the party emphasizes a strong economy, it departs from traditional liberal economic views in that it accepts decisions made by the government regarding social programs. This inconsistency draws attention to any potential gaps in the CU's discourse and raises doubt on the party's socioeconomic positions.

The discussion of gender equality in Figures 9 and 10 reveals that the CU party disseminates an unclear and inconsistent narrative in this regard. For example, the suggestion of allocating 30% representation to women in the National Council raises doubts about the party's commitment to achieving gender equality. Moreover, the phrase "pending parity" adds to the confusion about the party's true intentions regarding gender parity. Similar ambiguity is observed in Figure 11, where the former CU president repeatedly avoids addressing inquiries about gender objectives. In fact, while the discourse in Figure 11 promotes social change, it lacks specific plans or tactics concerning women's status in Morocco, particularly within the party. This inconsistency in language usage highlights a shift in stance regarding gender equality and practicality.

The analysis reveals that the CU party emphasizes social benefits and employs cognitively based discursive tactics like "referencing" and "deemphasizing". However, despite appearing concerned about women's issues, the party fails to advocate for gender equality from a liberal standpoint, evident in its meager female representation of only thirty percent. Framing these findings within Van Dijk's (2008) mental model, the CU party utilizes these discursive techniques to propagate ideological representations significantly diverging from liberal perspectives. As emphasized by Fairclough (2013) and Van Dijk (2008), political discourse reinforces ideologies crucial for gaining social legitimacy. However, the analysis uncovers a notable discrepancy in the CU's discourse, as the party engages in discursive dualism based on current political circumstances. This departure from its professed ideology, particularly through double standard narratives,

raises concerns about the party's ideological reliability and its discursive capability to attain social legitimacy.

IX. CONCLUSION

In conclusion, the discourse analysis of the CU party has demonstrated the party's extent of adherence to liberal principles as well as the existence of duality in its political discourse. Although the party stresses concepts like freedom and individual initiative and officially favors liberalism, closer inspection reveals that there may be instances in which these values are not met. The party's continuous emphasis on maintaining Islamic ideals contrasts with its criticisms of religious discourse, showcasing a difference between the party's official and public positions on religious values. Similarly, the CU's ideological consistency is uncertain due to the party's inconsistent attitude on social coverage, despite its continuous support for economic liberalism. Gender equality debates also draw attention to the party's narrative of vagueness and inconsistency, which suggests a change in position on gender equality and pragmatism. Indeed, the investigation reveals disparities in how the party articulates its liberal philosophy. With its dual discourse, this variation in discourse suggests the possibility of further linguistic debate regarding the party's social legitimacy, aiming to fully grasp the implications of its ideological coherence.

LIMITATIONS

While the research examined the duality of discourse within the CU party, focusing on specific data for thorough analysis, it is important to acknowledge that the study does not encompass the entirety of the party's discourse across various periods. Thus, while our findings offer valuable insights, they remain open to debate, particularly concerning the party's adherence to declared ideologies within diverse contexts. Additionally, while this study serves as a foundation for future exploration into political ideologies within the Moroccan context, shedding light on potential shifts in political discourse away from parties' professed ideologies, it operates under the assumption that political discourse may rely on strategic dualism. Hence, further research is encouraged within the broader framework of political discourse, recognizing the pivotal role of discursive duality in facilitating negotiations within the realm of political rhetoric.

REFERENCES

[1]   Allen, K. (2011). *Marx and the alternative to capitalism*. Pluto Press, Inc.

[2]   Bell, D. (2014). What is liberalism? *Political theory*, 42(6), 682–715. http://www.jstor.org/stable/24571524

[3]   Block, D. (2019). *Post-truth and political discourse*. Palgrave Pivot.

[4]   Boesche, R. (1990). Fearing monarchs and merchants: Montesquieu's two theories of despotism. *The western political quarterly*, 43(4), 741–761. https://doi.org/10.2307/448734

[5]   Boukhars, A. (2011). *Politics in Morocco: Executive monarchy and enlightened authoritarianism*. Oxon: Routledge.

[6]   Bourdieu, P. (1991). *Language and symbolic power*. (M. Adamson & G. Raymond, Trans., J. B. Thompson, Ed.). Cambridge: Polity Press.

[7]   Cockshott, W. P., & Cottrell, A. (1993). *Towards a new socialism*. Nottingham: Spokesman.

[8]   Conger, G. P. (1922). The implicit duality of thinking. *The journal of philosophy*, 19(9), 225–238. https://doi.org/10.2307/2939773.

[9]   De Saussure, L., & Schulz, P. J. (2005). Manipulation and ideologies in the twentieth century. *John Benjamins publishing company.* John Benjamins Publishing Company. https://doi.org/10.1075/dapsac.17

[10]   Drucker, H. M. (1972). Marx's concept of ideology. *Philosophy*, 47(180), 152–161. https://doi.org/10.1017/s0031819100040882

[11]   Fairclough, I & Fairclough, N. (2012). *Political discourse analysis: A method for advanced students*. Oxon: Routledge.

[12]   Fairclough, N. (1992). *Discourse and social change*. Cambridge: Polity Press.

[13]   Fairclough, N. (2003). *Analysing discourse: Textual analysis for social research*. London: Routledge.

[14]   Fairclough, N. (2010). *Critical discourse analysis: The critical study of language*. NY: Routledge.

[15]   Fairclough, N. (2015). *Language and power.* London: Routledge, Taylor & Francis Group.

[16]   Foucault, M. (1981). *The order of discourse*. In Young, R. *Untying the text: a post-structuralist reader* (pp. 51-78). Routledge and Kegan Paul Ltd.

[17]   Fuchs, C. (2020). Nationalism, communication, ideology. *Communication and capitalism: a critical theory* (Vol. 15, pp. 235–258). University of Westminster Press. https://doi.org/10.2307/j.ctv12fw7t5.14

[18]   Halliday, M. a. K. (1978). *Language as social semiotic: The social interpretation of language and meaning*. London: Edward Arnold Ltd.

[19]   Herman, E. S., & Chomsky, N. (1988). *Manufacturing consent: The political economy of the mass media*. New York: Pantheon Books.

[20]   Huntington, S. P. (1957). Conservatism as an ideology. *The American political science review*, 51(2), 454–473. https://doi.org/10.2307/1952202

[21]   Jones, S. (2006). *Antonio Gramsci*. Routledge.

[22]   Kymlicka, W. (1989). *Liberalism, community, and culture*. NY: Oxford University Press.

[23]   Marx, K., & Engels, F. (1986). *The communist of the manifesto party*. Progress Publisher.

[24]   Rousseau, D. L., & Walker, T. C. (2012). Liberalism. *Handbook of security studies* (pp. 22-33). Hoboken : Francis & Taylor.

[25]   Turpin, B. (1995). Discours, langue et parole. Une comparaison entre la réflexion sur les anagrammes et les études sur les légendes. *Linx*, (7), 301–312. https://doi.org/10.4000/linx.1173

[26]   Van Dijk, T. A. (1989). Structures of discourse and structures of power. *Annals of the international communication association*, 12(1), 18–59. https://doi.org/10.1080/23808985.1989.11678711

[27]   Van Dijk, T. A. (2006). Ideology and discourse analysis. *Journal of political ideologies*, 11(2), 115-140. doi:10.1080/13569310600687908

[28]   Van. Dijk, T. A. (1998). *Ideology: A multidisciplinary approach*. London: Sage Publications.

[29]   Van. Dijk, T. A. (2008). *Discourse and power*. Basingstoke, Hants: Palgrave Macmillan.

[30]   Wodak, R. (1989). *Language, power, and ideology: Studies in political discourse*. Vienna: J. Benjamins B.V.

[31]   Wolthuis, B. (2016). The realism of political liberalism. *Theoria: A Journal of Social and Political Theory*, 63(149), 1–17. http://www.jstor.org/stable/44647299

[32]   السلاوي، م. أ. (2014). *الأحزاب السياسية المغربية*. 1934-2014. مطابع الرباط نت، المغرب

[33]   ضريف، م. (1996). *المغرب في مفترق الطرق: قراءة في المشهد السياسي*. المجلة العلمية لعلم الاجتماع السياسي

[34]   ضريف، م. (1998). *الحقل السياسي المغربي: الأسئلة الحاضرة والأجوبة الغائبة*. المجلة المغربية لعلم الاجتماع السياسي.

[35]   العلمي، م. (1997). *المغرب بين الاختيار الايديولوجي والحوار السياسي*. شركة بابل للطباعة والنشر والتوزيع، الرباط