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A Socio-cognitive Analysis of the Role of Emancipatory Discourse in Social Structures

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Abstract

   Emancipatory discourse is a form of communication that empowers marginalized voices, encourages collective action, and reinforces values such as unity, accountability, and solidarity. The study explores the role of emancipatory discourse in political speeches, focusing on its ability to address societal crises, promote social justice, and strengthen social cohesion. Adopting Van Dijk's (1988, 1995, 2005) socio-cognitive model, the study examines the strategies used to foster unity, accountability, and resilience in political speeches, and the role of political leaders in shaping social structures through emancipatory communication. The analysis focuses on a speech by Iraqi Prime Minister Mohammed Shia' Al-Sudani following Al-Hamdaniya fire tragedy. The study identifies strategies such as norm expression and authority, which reinforce societal norms and credibility, while National Self-Glorification and consensus promote national unity and social cohesion. The study emphasizes the importance of empathetic and inclusive communication in addressing systemic failures and inspiring collective action, particularly in divided contexts such as Iraq. The study concludes that the speech effectively addresses the Hamdaniya tragedy using inclusive language, promoting solidarity, accountability, and hope, demonstrating the power of words to heal and inspire change.

تحليل اجتماعي-ادراكي لدور الخطاب التمكيني في البنى الاجتماعية

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الكلية المفتوحة، وزارة التربية، مركز نينوى

المستخلص

   يُعدّ الخطاب التمكيني شكلاً من أشكال التواصل الذي يمكّن الأصوات المهمشة، ويشجع العمل الجماعي، ويعزز قيماً مثل الوحدة والمسؤولية والتضامن. تستكشف الدراسة دور الخطاب التمكيني في الخطابات السياسية، مع التركيز على قدرته على معالجة الأزمات المجتمعية، وتعزيز العدالة الاجتماعية، وتقوية التماسك الاجتماعي. باعتماد النموذج الاجتماعي الادراكي لفان دايك (1988، 1995، 2005)، يدرس البحث الاستراتيجيات المستخدمة لتعزيز الوحدة والمسؤولية والمرونة في الخطابات السياسية، ودور القادة السياسيين في تشكيل البنى الاجتماعية من خلال التواصل التمكيني. يركز التحليل على خطاب رئيس الوزراء العراقي محمد شياع السوداني في أعقاب مأساة حريق الحمدانية. تحدد الدراسة استراتيجيات مثل التعبير عن المعايير والسلطة، التي تعزز المعايير المجتمعية والمصداقية، في حين أن التمجيد الذاتي الوطني والإجماع يعززان الوحدة الوطنية والتماسك الاجتماعي. تؤكد الدراسة على

أهمية التواصل التعاطفي والشامل في معالجة الإخفاقات النظامية وإلهام العمل الجماعي، خاصة في السياقات المنقسمة مثل العراق. وتخلص الدراسة إلى أن الخطاب يعالج مأساة الحمدانية بشكل فعال باستخدام لغة شاملة، معززاً التضامن والمساءلة والأمل، مما يظهر قوة الكلمات في الشفاء وإلهام التغيير .
الكلمات المفتاحية: اجتماعي ادراكي، التمكيني، فان ديك، تحليل الخطاب، البنى الاجتماعية

1.1 Introduction

Language is a crucial tool for human interaction, enabling individuals to express thoughts, emotions, and ideas. Communication (i.e. the exchange of information) builds relationships and resolves conflicts. Language and communication are interconnected with emancipation, empowering individuals to challenge oppression and advocate for change. To study this interrelationship, discourse analysis can be used. Lukes (2005, cited in Hussein et al, 2024) [1], writes that "discourse analysis looks at how language is used to construct meaning and interpret the world around us, whereas politics is concerned with the use of power and decision-making by individuals and institutions that affect people and groups". Dattoba (2014) [2] declares that discourse refers to the way and content of a presentation, determining what one says and does not say.

The role of discourse analysis is to understand how language conveys perspectives, impacts relationships, and forms social identities (Hussein & Ali, 2024) [1]. It is a generalization of conversation and relates to the body of a text that communicates specific information and knowledge about a subject. Discourse provides a unified set of words, symbols, and metaphors that construct and communicate the interpretation of reality. However, according to Ohmayed (2024) (3), it is the responsibility of listeners to infer the intended meaning and contribution to the ongoing discourse. In humanities, discourse describes a formal way of thinking expressed through language, speech patterns, and dialects used by a community. She adds according to French Social Theorist Michel Foucault in his The Archaeology of Knowledge (1972), discourse is a medium of speaking subject and plays a wider role in the social rocess of power and constructing the truth. It is related to power and knowledge, and has various definitions and applications.

As a kind of discourse, emancipatory discourse is a crucial tool for shaping social structures by challenging oppressive systems, promoting inclusivity, and empowering marginalized voices. Emancipatory discourse aims to free people from institutional forces that limit personal control and autonomy, often considered beyond our control. It also aims to free people in a work environment from restrictive traditions and power relations that hinder their ability to fulfill their needs and wants. Emancipatory discourse cannot be reduced to social engineering by benevolent management (Alvesson and Willmott, 1992: 4). It can inspire hope and build trust in political speeches resembling motivational discourses which Hussein and

Ali (2023:5) define as external forces that can motivate people because they still need to get them to respond to a situation inwardly. These speeches are intended to motivate listeners to behave in a particular manner.

1.2 Problem of the Study

Emancipatory discourse in crisis response has not been systematically examined through critical discourse analysis lens. The lack of research stems from the absence of a unified analytical framework integrating solidarity-building strategies, accountability rhetoric, and transformative hope. A discourse-based approach, grounded in emancipatory communication theory, can reveal how such speeches join collective shock with calls for justice, filling a gap in both sociopolitical and linguistic studies.

1.3 Aims of The Study

To examine how emancipatory discourse is employed in political speeches to address societal crises and promote social justice.
To analyze the linguistic and cognitive strategies used in emancipatory discourse to foster unity, accountability, and resilience.
To explore the role of political leaders in shaping social structures through emancipatory communication.

1.4 Hypotheses

1.Emancipatory discourse contributes to the reinforcement of shared values such as solidarity, coexistence, and justice within diverse societies
2. Political leaders who employ emancipatory discourse effectively can strengthen social structures and promote resilience in the face of adversity.

1.5 Research Questions

What cognitive strategies are used in emancipatory discourse to raise unity, accountability, and resilience?
What role do political leaders play in shaping social structures through emancipatory communication?
How does emancipatory discourse influence public trust, collective action, and social cohesion?

1.6 Significance of the Study

This study explores the use of emancipatory discourse in political speeches, highlighting its potential to challenge systemic failures, promote accountability, and strengthen social cohesion. It informs political leaders, policymakers, and communication experts on how to effectively use emancipatory discourse to address societal challenges, build public trust, and inspire collective action. The study also emphasizes the importance of empathetic and inclusive communication during crises, particularly in the context of the Iraqi context, where social structures are often shaped by sectarian, ethnic, and political divisions.

1.7 Data Collection and Analytical Procedure

The study focuses on a speech delivered by Iraqi Prime Minister Mohammed Shia' Al-Sudani in Nineveh on September 28, 2023, following a tragic incident in the Hamdaniya district where a fire swept through a Christian wedding party, killing approximately 122 people and injuring 82 others on 26th September, 2023. The speech is downloaded from YouTube platform and the transcript of the speech is divided into 10 extracts to give full analysis for each part. First, each extract is given in its original language, Arabic, then it is translated to English. Following Van Dijk's socio-cognitive model (1998 (6), 1993 (7) supported by his (2005) (8) discursive strategies model are employed.
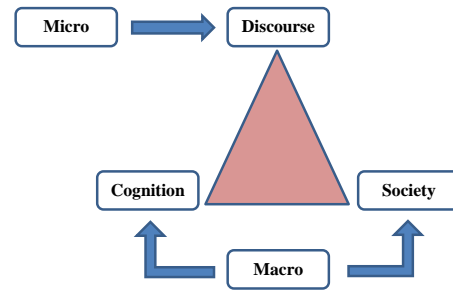
1.8 The Model

Van Dijk (2000: 9) claims that the relationship between discourse and society is primarily characterized by the relationship between society members and its structure, as well as the interaction between society and discourse at both micro and macro levels as two dimensions of CDA framework analysis. Those two dimensions are not independent; rather, they are interrelated and interactional. In van Dijk's proposed triangle, there are several elements such as:

Discourse, encompassing oral interactions, written text, body movements, and pictures, is a crucial aspect of ideology analysis, according to van Dijk (1993: 7). He argues that ideologies are not explicitly expressed or reproduced in discourse, and social cognition mediates the relationship between society and discourse.

Cognition which refers to any set of beliefs, values, emotions, goals, and other mental structures both personal and/or social cognition.

Society which includes both local micro structures and political, social and universal macro structures which are defined in terms of groups and their relationships such as control, power, dominance and inequality.

Van Dijk's (1998: 6) approach connects discourse, cognition, and society, defining ideologies as the basis of social representations shared by group members. Ideology helps group members arrange their views about organizational standards and act appropriately. Van Dijk considers ideology as a band of ideas in people's minds, such as feminism or sexism, and helps them arrange their social views about the organization's standards.

Figure (1) The Stages of Van Dijk (1988, 1995) Model of Analysis

The context of discourse production and consumption is defined by social and cognitive dimensions, with two types: macro and micro. Macro context refers to the broader historical, cultural, political, and social structure where a communicative event occurs, while micro context focuses on the immediate interaction and situation. Van Dijk (1998, 1993: 7, 8) calls micro context a contextual model, defining it as a mental representation of a communicative situation. Researchers must evaluate formal structures, examine the historical, political, or social background, analyze power relations, identify positive and negative opinions, and express implied and presupposed beliefs. Accordingly, context models are mental representations in long-term memory that reflect knowledge, views, and attitudes about events. They control features of text production, forming, consumption, and comprehension, such as genre, topic choice, cohesion, speech act, style, and imagery. Van Dijk's (1998,1993) (7,8) models of dominance and power relations aim to connect linguistic or discursal dimensions with social and cognitive structures. This leads to investigating discursive dimensions of misuse of power, injustice, inequality, dominance, and authority, which result from discourse production and consumption. Van Dijk (2009: 11) posits that discourse is created, processed, and understood through a cognitive structure, where linguistic elements like words, phrases, clauses, sentences, paragraphs, or turns are represented, controlled, and represented by mental models, knowledge, and sometimes ideologies. In other words, "contexts should be defined and dealt with according to the participants' mental models of specific communicative events (Van Dijk, 2002: 12).

Van Dijk (2005: 9) suggests a set of discursive strategies that provide specific linguistic and rhetorical tools that enact the broader theoretical principles of power, ideology, and social cognition in his socio-

cognitive (1998, 1993) (7,8) model. These discursive strategies involve the following:

Actor Description (meaning): How individuals or groups are portrayed in discourse. For instance: Describing a protester as a "freedom fighter" (positive) vs. "troublemaker" (negative).

Authority (argumentation): Using expert opinions or credible sources to support a claim. For instance: "According to scientists, climate change is accelerating."

Burden (topos): Suggesting responsibility or blame falls on someone or something. For instance: "The government is to blame for the economic crisis."

Categorization (meaning): Grouping people, ideas, or things into categories. For instance: Labeling someone as a "genius" or a "criminal."

Comparison (meaning, argumentation): Highlighting similarities or differences between two things. For instance: "This policy is as ineffective as the last one."

Consensus (political category): Claiming widespread agreement to legitimize a position. For instance: "Everyone agrees that we need stricter laws."

Counterfactuals (meaning, argumentation): Imagining alternative scenarios to argue a point. For instance: "If we had acted sooner, the crisis could have been avoided."

Disclaimers (meaning): Qualifying statements to avoid responsibility or criticism. For instance: "I'm not racist, but immigrants are taking all the jobs."

Euphemism (rhetoric, meaning): Using mild or indirect language to soften harsh realities. For instance: Saying "passed away" instead of "died."

Example (argumentation): Providing specific instances to support a general claim. For instance: "Many countries, like Sweden, have successfully implemented this policy."

Generalization (meaning, argumentation): Making broad statements based on limited evidence. For instance: "All politicians are corrupt."

Hyperbole (rhetoric): Exaggerating for emphasis or effect. For instance: "I've told you a million times!"

Irony (meaning): Saying the opposite of what is meant, often for humor or criticism. For instance: "Oh great, another traffic jam!" (when frustrated).

Lexicalization (style): Choosing specific words to convey a particular tone or meaning. For instance: Using "freedom fighter" instead of "rebel."

Metaphor (meaning, rhetoric): Comparing two unrelated things to highlight similarities. For instance: "Time is a thief."

National Self-Glorification (meaning): Praising one's own nation as superior. For instance: "Our country is the greatest in the world."

Norm Expression (normalization): Presenting something as standard or expected. For instance: "It's normal to work hard for success."

Number Game (rhetoric, argumentation): Using statistics or numbers to persuade. For instance: "9 out of 10 doctors recommend this product."

Polarization (meaning): Dividing people or ideas into extreme opposites. For instance: "You're either with us or against us."

Vagueness (meaning): Using ambiguous language to obscure meaning. For instance: "Some people say the policy is problematic."

Victimization (meaning): Portraying someone or a group as a victim to gain sympathy. For instance: "The community has suffered for years due to neglect."

Van Dijk's approach (1998, 1995) (6,7) , supported by his (2005) (8)discursive strategies model is chosen due to its clear resemblance to the model's components, making it a suitable framework for detecting and analyzing hidden ideologies of dominance and power in the speech of the Iraqi prime minister Al-Sudani as an emancipatory discourse.

Emancipatory Discourse

Discourse is the language used to represent phenomena and frames how we construct reality. Emancipatory discourse resists disempowerment while avoiding the disempower of others. This resistance is achieved by "not letting our own needs he neglected, not allowing ourselves to be effaced" (Janks and Ivanic, 1992:12; Maartens ,1996: 13). Singh (2006: 14) states that the term 'emancipation', derived from Latin 'emancipation', refers to the release from authority. Initially used to describe the release of minors, it has since been associated with various human freedom ideas, including the emancipation of slaves, individuals from prejudices, the mind from superstition, and nations from tyranny or subjection, ultimately involving the freeing of slaves. In this regard, Susen (2015: 15) maintains that in Latin "emancipation" indicates that the notion of "emancipare" originally referred to the idea of "transferring ownership of something or somebody to someone else," particularly the conveyance of an object, a person's release from slavery, or an individual's freedom from paternal authority. In modern English, the term "emancipation" generally describes the transition from heteronomy to autonomy, from dependence to freedom, or from alienation to self-realization.

Raelin (2008: 16) writes that emancipatory discourse aims to free people from institutional forces that limit personal control and autonomy, which are often taken for granted. It also aims to free people in a work environment from restrictive traditions and power relations that inhibit opportunity for fulfillment of needs and wants. Emancipatory discourse cannot be reduced to social engineering carried out by benevolent management. Habermas (1987) (17), in recognition of the increasing dominance of economic and political institutions in lived experience, called for enlarging

emancipatory discourse to involve passionate proponents of critical social movements. In this context, Pasque and Neubauer (2013: 18) claim that campaigns, standards movements, investments, and accountability plans often promote political ideologies rather than emancipatory approaches to address inequities.

According to Blühdorn et (2022: 19), emancipatory politics, which have expanded individual rights, achieved freedoms, and addressed environmental issues, are facing challenges in advanced societies in the Global North. Social inequality, exclusion, and declining confidence in democratic processes and institutions are leading to an emancipatory paradox. Social justice, equality, and political, economic, and cultural self-determination were central goals of emancipatory politics. However, despite the expansion of political articulation and participation, there is a perceived breakdown in collective action. Communication technologies and information accessibility suggest improvement in societal deliberation, but contemporary societies fragment into diverse discourse communities, making democratic negotiation difficult. Susen (2015: 15) presents three different elements of emancipation: (i) the type of "entity" considered as the carrier of emancipation, (ii) the form of "liberation" underlying the process of emancipation, and (iii) the mode of "control" constituting an obstacle to emancipation.

The first element, emancipation carriers are often human, with various intellectual traditions recognizing their ability to transform themselves into protagonists. Key concepts include the thinking, rational, socio-historical, working, unconscious, linguistic, experiencing, bodily, desiring, and communicative subjects. Regardless of the chosen account, entities capable of liberating themselves from repressive power and control are considered human actors. Modern social and political thought often links theories of emancipation to the concept of the subject. Critics (ibid) argue that anthropocentric interpretations, such as religious, vitalist, and environmentalist perspectives, can be problematic. However, most philosophers believe that emancipation is a process influenced by human actors, who can shape their existence conditions.

As for the second element, emancipation is regarded as a social practice aimed at liberation, often referred to as autonomy, self-realization, transformation, revolution, enlightenment, or empowerment. These processes involve an individual or collective entity asserting sovereignty and exempting themselves from arbitrary control. Historically, actions aimed at liberation from repressive powers have been a major normative impulse of social and political change. Despite reservations about the political legitimacy, ethical concerns, and long-term viability, all processes of emancipation are oriented towards achieving specific forms of liberation.

Obstacles to emancipation, the third element, are often seen as negative forces, based on the arbitrary exercise of power. However, there is disagreement on the nature and significance of these obstacles. Theoretical critique and practical rejection aim to deconstruct and remove barriers to human development. Conservative values may be suspicious of attempts to undermine authority. Susen (2015: 15) maintains that criticism and opposition to obstacles preventing individuals and collective entities from realizing their potential have been on the agenda for a long time and will continue to be important in future social life.

Hence, Susen's (2015) (15) approach highlights the multifaceted nature of emancipation, emphasizing that it involves not only the agents of change but also the specific forms of freedom they seek and the systemic barriers they must overcome. By examining these elements, this approach offers a detailed perspective on the dynamics of emancipation, emphasizing the importance of addressing both the structural and individual dimensions of liberation in the search of greater equality and autonomy.

Previous Studies

Siang's (2010) (20) study argues for a multimodal approach to emancipatory discourse, focusing on the use of language and other semiotic systems to promote freedom and respect for all people. It analyzes postcard advertisements from the Association of Women for Action and Research (AWARE) and explores mechanisms in multimodal texts that use multi-semiotic resources. The study aims to encourage more research on appropriating multi-semiotic resources to make emancipatory discourse more effective, accessible, and powerful. It recommends instilling critical awareness of multimodal practices into education and encouraging participation from photographers, artists, and graphic designers in the design and creation of multimodal emancipatory texts.

Ott (2015) (21), in his paper, critiques the universalistic and egalitarian semantic potential of religious myths, language, concepts, and symbols in Habermas and Ratzinger's (2006) (22) Dialectics of Secularizaton: On Reason and Religion. Accordingly, Habermas argues that this potential should be translated through an "institutional translation proviso" to allow religion's alternative normative potential for a more rational and reconciled future society to enter the realm of modern secular public and political spheres. However, Habermas' analysis neglects the systemic, globalizing power of neoliberal/neo-conservative capitalism, US imperialism, and the increasing carnage it produces. The paper concludes that the historical materialist critique, particularly that of the first generation of

critical theorists, must be more deeply synthesized with Habermas' discourse ethics to make them more socially, historically, and humanistically relevant in the struggle for a more reconciled, future global society.

In their study, Sik and Ozdemir (2020) (23) claim that the Middle East, often overlooked by Western countries, is a region with significant challenges such as poverty, instability, ethnic and sectarian conflicts, uncontrolled migration movements, and gender inequalities. Lebanon, a country facing these issues, offers an opportunity to understand the region from various perspectives. The Capernaum film, directed by Nadine Labaki, is a significant example of how security is defined and perceived in Lebanon. The film reflects the economic, social, and religious problems of Lebanese individuals in the context of human security. While Capernaum effectively addresses Lebanon's security concerns, it may not adequately address the causes, historical, and social origins of these issues, potentially leading to audience disconnections.

Nartey and Ernanda (2019) (24) examine a speech by Indonesian President Sukarno at the First Asia-Africa Conference, where he promoted the idea of Asian-African unity as an answer to colonialism, imperialism, and neo-colonialism. The study uses a Postcolonial Discourse Analysis (PDA) framework to examine how Sukarno used language to build a sense of importance, community focus, and support for his ideas. The results are an emancipatory discourse of hope, comfort, and reassurance. The idea of Asian-African solidarity has survived, with the establishment of the New Asian-African Strategic Partnership (NAASP) in 2005 and the Asian-African Business Summit in 2015. This paper contributes to understanding postcolonial rhetoric in Asia and Africa, particularly in terms of Asia-Africa relations.

The studies by Siang (2010) (20), Ott (2015) (21), Sik and Ozdemir (2020) (23), and Nartey and Ernanda (2019) (24) explore emancipatory discourse, but differ in focus, frameworks, and methodologies. Siang (2010) (20) examines multimodal discourse in postcard advertisements, while Ott (2015) (21) critiques religious and secular discourse in Habermas and Ratzinger's work. Sik and Ozdemir (2020)(23) analyze human security in Lebanon through Capernaum, while Nartey and Ernanda (2019) (24) focus on postcolonial discourse in Sukarno's speech. The current study focuses on political discourse in crisis situations, specifically analyzing Prime Minister Al-Sudani's speech. It introduces a socio-cognitive approach, emphasizing the cognitive processes behind discourse, and expands the understanding of emancipatory discourse to include political contexts and crisis management.

Data Analysis and Discussion

The speech delivered by the Iraqi PM Al-Sudani is divided into ten extracts to have a clear and comprehensive analysis of the speech. The analysis explores how Van Dijk's strategies operate at both micro (discourse and cognition) and macro (society) levels, shaping public perception, reinforcing shared values, and addressing societal crises. Each extract is translated, followed by a thematic analysis and a detailed discussion of the strategies used.

Extract 1

" أتقدم بإسم الحكومة العراقية وبإسم كل العراقيين بخالص التعازي والمواساة والتضامن مع أبناء شعبنا في هذا الجمع في قضاء الحمدانية اثر الحادث المؤسف الذي راح ضحيته عدد كبير من المواطنين، وهناك عدد أيضا من الجرحى."

"I extend, on behalf of the Iraqi government and all Iraqis, my deepest condolences, sympathy, and solidarity with our people in this gathering in the Hamdaniya district following the unfortunate incident that claimed the lives of a large number of citizens, with many others injured."

Thematic Analysis

This extract sets the tone for the speech, emphasizing solidarity and shared grief. The Prime Minister positions himself and the government as representatives of the nation, fostering a sense of collective responsibility and unity.

Strategies Analysis

Actor Description: The phrase "أبناء شعبنا" (our people) frames the victims as part of a unified national community, reinforcing collective identity. This strategy operates at the micro level by shaping perceptions of unity and shared responsibility.

National Self-Glorification: By referring to "بلدنا العزيز" (our dear country), the Prime Minister evokes national pride and emotional attachment, reinforcing the macro-level narrative of Iraq as a cohesive nation.

Victimization: The mention of "الحادث المؤسف" (the unfortunate incident) portrays the Iraqi people as victims of tragedy, evoking empathy and justifying the government's response. This strategy operates at both micro (emotional engagement) and macro (justifying governmental action) levels.

Extract 2

" هذا الحادث الذي اصاب كل العراقيين، اليوم نجد حالات الحزن والمواساة تعم كلّ ارجاء بلدنا العزيز، في صورة من صور التكاتف والتآزر والأخوة، هذه الصفات التي يتسم بها شعبنا العزيز، كلنا جميعا بمختلف اديان والمذاهب والتوجهات نؤمن بالله سبحانه وتعالى وبقضائه وقدره، ولا راده لقضاء، رغم الالم والحزن الذي تتسم به اجواء هذه الحادثة، بفقد الاحبة والاعزاء ، نواسي العوائل، ونقدر مستوى الالم في دواخلهم، لكن يجب ان يكون ايماننا بالله كبير."

"This incident has affected all Iraqis. Today, we see grief and condolences spreading across our dear country, in a display of solidarity, cooperation, and brotherhood. These are the qualities that characterize our dear people. All of us, regardless of religions, sects, or orientations, believe in God Almighty and His will

and decree, and there is no escaping His will. Despite the pain and grief that characterize this incident, with the loss of loved ones, we console the families and acknowledge the depth of their pain. However, our faith in God must remain strong."

Thematic Analysis

This extract emphasizes national unity, religious faith, and resilience in the face of tragedy. The Prime Minister reinforces shared values and collective identity.

Strategies Analysis

Categorization: The phrase " كلنا جميعا بمختلف اديان والمذاهب والتوجهات" (all of us, regardless of religions, sects, or orientations) groups diverse communities under a unified national identity, operating at the micro level to promote inclusivity.

Norm Expression: The statement " يجب ان يكون ايماننا بالله كبير" (our faith in God must remain strong) establishes religious faith as a normative value, reinforcing resilience and acceptance. This operates at the macro level by promoting societal norms.

Consensus: By emphasizing shared beliefs and values, the Prime Minister constructs a sense of collective agreement, reinforcing unity at both micro (discourse) and macro (society) levels.

Extract 3

" في نفس الوقت هناك تقصير، هناك اهمال، هناك عدم احساس بالمسؤولية، وهذا واجبنا احنا كدولة تجاه هذا الخلل الكبير. منذ ساعة الحادث اوعزت السادة الوزراء: السيد الوزير الداخلية ، السيد وزير الصحة بالتواجد الميداني للوقوف على ملابسات الحادث وايضا معالجة ما يتعلق بالأثار من ضحايا ومصابين."

"At the same time, there is negligence, there is neglect, there is a lack of responsibility, and it is our duty as a state to address this major failure. Since the moment of the incident, I directed the respected ministers: the Minister of Interior and the Minister of Health to be present on the ground to investigate the circumstances of the incident and to address the aftermath, including the victims and the injured."

Thematic Analysis

The extract focuses on accountability and governmental responsibility. The Prime Minister acknowledges systemic failures while emphasizing the government's proactive response.

Strategies Analysis

Burden (Topos): The phrase ("هناك تقصير، هناك اهمال" there is negligence, there is neglect) assigns blame to systemic failures, operating at the micro level to justify corrective actions.

Authority: By naming specific ministers (" السيد الوزير الداخلية، السيد وزير الصحة"), the Prime Minister establishes credibility and reinforces the government's commitment to accountability. This operates at the macro level by legitimizing governmental actions.

Victimization: The mention of "الضحايا والمصابين" (the victims and the injured) evokes empathy and justifies

the government's intervention, operating at both micro (emotional engagement) and macro (justifying actions) levels.

Extract 4

" ايضا كان لدي اتصال مع الاخ محافظ نينوى. اليوم او غدا سوف تستكمل التحقيقات، ويحدد فيها المقصرين، وتقريبا واضحة امامنا الجهات المقصرة بهذه البناية التي كان يفترض ان تتوفر فيها كل اشتراطات السلامة المطلوبة، هناك موافقات صدرت، وهناك اهمال من بعض الدوائر تجاه بناية هي في وصف القانون، هي تجاوز ، وكان يفترض ان يكون تصرف مسؤول بدءا من رئيس الوحدة الإدارية والدوائر المعنية وانتهاء بالدوائر القطاعية ، هذا كله مشخص."

"I also contacted the Governor of Nineveh. Today or tomorrow, the investigations will be completed, and the negligent parties will be identified. It is almost clear to us who the negligent parties are in this building, which was supposed to meet all required safety standards. Approvals were issued, but there was neglect by some departments regarding a building that, according to the law, was an infringement. There should have been responsible action starting from the head of the administrative unit and the relevant departments, all the way to the sectoral departments. This is all clear."

Thematic Analysis

The extract highlights transparency and accountability. The Prime Minister reassures the public that the government is committed to identifying and addressing negligence.

Strategies Analysis

Actor Description: The phrase "الجهات المقصرة" (the negligent parties) assigns blame to specific entities, operating at the micro level to reinforce accountability.

Authority: By detailing the investigative process, the Prime Minister establishes the government's credibility and commitment to justice, operating at the macro level.

Norm Expression: The statement " كان يفترض ان يكون تصرف مسؤول" (there should have been responsible action) reinforces the norm of accountability, operating at both micro (discourse) and macro (society) levels.

Extract 5

" واود ان اطمئن الجميع لا يوجد اي تساهل مع اي حاله تقصير او اهمال تحصل ، من اي موظف في الدولة، هذا هو منهج الحكومة، ولعله في حوادث حصلت سابقا وجدتم ما هي قرارات واجراءات الحكومة ، عندما نقف امام هذا الحادث بهذا العدد من الضحايا والجرحى بالتأكيد هناك مقصر، والمقصر أيا كان يجب ان يحاسب وفق القانون."

"I want to reassure everyone that there will be no leniency towards any case of negligence or neglect by any employee of the state. This is the government's approach, and perhaps in previous incidents, you have seen the decisions and actions of the government. When we stand before this incident with this number of victims and injured, there is undoubtedly negligence, and the negligent party, whoever they are, must be held accountable according to the law."

Thematic Analysis

The extract reinforces the government's commitment to justice and accountability. The Prime Minister reassures the public that negligence will not be tolerated.

Strategies Analysis

Disclaimers: The phrase "لا يوجد اي تساهل" (there will be no leniency) preemptively addresses potential criticism, operating at the micro level to reinforce the government's credibility.

Burden (Topos): By emphasizing) " المقصر أيا كان يجب ان يحاسب" (the negligent party, whoever they are, must be held accountable), the Prime Minister assigns blame and justifies corrective actions, operating at the macro level.

Norm Expression: The statement "هذا هو منهج الحكومة" (this is the government's approach) reinforces accountability as a normative value, operating at both micro (discourse) and macro (society) levels.

Extract 6

" هذا هو التزامنا تجاه شعبنا في هذا الجانب. الجانب الاخر منذ يوم امس، والتوجيهات صدرت لكل الجهات المعنية في وزارة الصحة والوزارات الاخرى بشان توفير العلاج للجرحى، حاليا ننتظر تقرير من الأطباء، انا كنت في زيارة المستشفيات في الموصل، الان في الحمدانية."

"This is our commitment to our people in this regard. On the other hand, since yesterday, directives have been issued to all relevant authorities in the Ministry of Health and other ministries regarding providing treatment for the injured. Currently, we are waiting for a report from the doctors. I visited the hospitals in Mosul, and now I am in Hamdaniya."

Thematic Analysis

This extract focuses on the government's commitment to healthcare and transparency. The Prime Minister emphasizes the government's proactive response to the crisis.

Strategies Analysis

Authority: By detailing the government's actions ("التوجيهات صدرت"), the Prime Minister establishes credibility and reinforces the government's commitment to healthcare, operating at the macro level.

Actor Description: The phrase " اخوانكم وابنائكم في وزارة الصحة" (your brothers and sons in the Ministry of Health) humanizes healthcare workers, fostering trust and empathy at the micro level.

Norm Expression: The emphasis on "توفير العلاج للجرحى" (providing treatment for the injured) reinforces healthcare as a normative value, operating at both micro (discourse) and macro (society) levels.

Extract 7

" هذا التقرير على اساس قرار من الطبيب سوف يتم نقل الجرحى الى خارج العراق، رغم ان اخوانكم وابنائكم في وزارة الصحة بذلوا جهود استثنائية ولا توجد مستلزمات ما متوفرة، كل الموارد و الإمكانيات متاحة وموجودة و الفريق الطبي من اعلى سلم الهرم في وزارة الصحة نزولا الى محافظه نينوى والمحافظات المجاورة ، كلها مسخره لمعالجه هذا الحادث."

"This report, based on the decision of the doctor, will result in the transfer of the injured abroad, despite the exceptional efforts of your brothers and sons in the Ministry of Health. There are no unavailable supplies; all resources and capabilities are available and present. The medical team, from the top of the hierarchy in the Ministry of Health down to the governorate of Nineveh and the neighboring governorates, is fully mobilized to address this incident."

Thematic Analysis

This extract emphasizes the government's commitment to healthcare and resource allocation. The Prime Minister reassures the public that all necessary measures are being taken.

Strategies Analysis

Authority: By emphasizing "قرار من الطبيب" the decision of the doctor), the Prime Minister reinforces the professionalism and expertise of healthcare workers, operating at the macro level.

National Self-Glorification: The phrase " كل الموارد و الإمكانيات متاحة" (all resources and capabilities are available) glorifies the government's efforts, fostering national pride at the micro level.

Norm Expression: The emphasis on "معالجه هذا الحادث" (addressing this incident) reinforces healthcare as a normative value, operating at both micro (discourse) and macro (society) levels.

Extract 8

" لكن من باب الاطمئنان لعوائل الجرحى، لا يوجد لدينا اي تأخير بشان نقل الجرحى، اليوم راح ننقل حالات وصلت لحدود خمسه او سته ممن قدم فيهم الاطباء تقرير بإمكانية النقل لأنه احنا اتكلم عن ظروف صحيه وامكانيه نقل حالات لا يمكن تقديرها لا المتحدث ولا وزير الصحة ولا اهل البساط هذا فقط قرار الطبيب ايضا هذا جزء من التزامنا اتجاه عوائل الضحايا والجرحى كل ما لدينا من صلاحيات سوف نتخذ القرارات الخاصة بتعويضهم ورعايتهم ومعالجه كل الاثار."

"However, to reassure the families of the injured, there is no delay in transferring the injured. Today, we will transfer five or six cases for which the doctors have submitted a report indicating the possibility of transfer. We are talking about health conditions and the possibility of transferring cases that cannot be estimated by the speaker, the Minister of Health, or even the families. This is solely the decision of the doctor. This is also part of our commitment to the families of the victims and the injured. We will use all our powers to make decisions regarding their compensation, care, and treatment of all effects."

Thematic Analysis

The extract focuses on transparency and commitment to the victims' families. The Prime Minister reassures the public that the government is prioritizing the well-being of the injured.

Strategies Analysis

Authority: By emphasizing "قرار الطبيب" (the decision of the doctor), the Prime Minister reinforces the

professionalism and expertise of healthcare workers, operating at the macro level.

Disclaimers: The phrase "لا يوجد لدينا اي تأخير" (there is no delay) preemptively addresses potential criticism, operating at the micro level to reinforce the government's credibility.

Norm Expression: The emphasis on "تعويضهم ورعايتهم" (their compensation and care) reinforces the government's commitment to justice and healthcare, operating at both micro (discourse) and macro (society) levels.

Extract 9

" هذا هذه الحوادث تحصل وعهدنا كبير بأبناء شعبنا ان تكون مناسبه للوحدة والتضامن وتعزيز قيم التعايش التي تجمعنا وان لا تكون مناسبه للفرقة او للإستهدافات او للتصفيات، حادث مؤلم يجب ان نتضامن بكل ما لدينا من عناصر القوة وما نحمله من قيم ومبادئ في هذه المناسبة، وبالتأكيد نحن على ثقه كبيره من ابناء شعبنا بكل الطوائف بكل توجهاتهم على مستوى كبير من المسؤولية والحكمة والعقلانية."

"These incidents happen, and our covenant with our people is great. They should be an occasion for unity, solidarity, and the promotion of the values of coexistence that unite us, and not an occasion for division, targeting, or settling scores. This is a painful incident, and we must stand together with all our strength and the values and principles we hold dear on this occasion. We have great confidence in our people from all sects and orientations, who demonstrate a high level of responsibility, wisdom, and rationality."

Thematic Analysis

This extract emphasizes national unity, solidarity, and resilience. The Prime Minister calls for collective action and rejects division.

Strategies Analysis

Consensus: By emphasizing "الوحدة والتضامن" (unity and solidarity), the Prime Minister constructs a sense of collective agreement, operating at both micro (discourse) and macro (society) levels.

Polarization: The phrase "لا تكون مناسبه للفرقة" (it should not be an occasion for division) polarizes unity against discord, reinforcing the importance of solidarity at the micro level.

National Self-Glorification: The phrase " وعهدنا كبير بأبناء شعبنا" (our covenant with our people is great) glorifies the Iraqi people, fostering national pride at the macro level.

Extract 10

" هذا هذه الحوادث تحصل وعهدنا كبير بأبناء شعبنا ان تكون مناسبه للوحدة والتضامن وتعزيز قيم التعايش التي تجمعنا وان لا تكون مناسبه للفرقة او للإستهدافات او للتصفيات، حادث مؤلم يجب ان نتضامن بكل ما لدينا من عناصر القوة وما نحمله من قيم ومبادئ في هذه المناسبة، وبالتأكيد نحن على ثقه كبيره من ابناء شعبنا بكل الطوائف بكل توجهاتهم على مستوى كبير من المسؤولية والحكمة والعقلانية."

"These incidents happen, and our covenant with our people is great. They should be an occasion for unity, solidarity, and the promotion of the values of coexistence that unite us, and not an occasion for

division, targeting, or settling scores. This is a painful incident, and we must stand together with all our strength and the values and principles we hold dear on this occasion. We have great confidence in our people from all sects and orientations, who demonstrate a high level of responsibility, wisdom, and rationality."

Thematic Analysis

This extract reiterates the themes of national unity, solidarity, and resilience. The Prime Minister reinforces the importance of collective action and rejects division.

Strategies Analysis

Consensus: By emphasizing "الوحدة والتضامن" (unity and solidarity), the Prime Minister constructs a sense of collective agreement, operating at both micro (discourse) and macro (society) levels.

Polarization: The phrase "لا تكون مناسبه للفرقة" (it should not be an occasion for division) polarizes unity against discord, reinforcing the importance of solidarity at the micro level.

National Self-Glorification: The phrase " وعهدنا كبير بأبناء شعبنا" (our covenant with our people is great) glorifies the Iraqi people, fostering national pride at the macro level.

Discussion of Findings

The following table shows the frequencies along with the percentages of the used strategies:

Table (1): Frequencies and Percentages of the Used Discursive Strategies

Strategy	Frequency	Percentage
Actor Description	3	10%
National Self-Glorification	4	13.33%
Victimization	2	6.67%
Categorization	1	3.33%
Norm Expression	6	20%
Consensus	3	10%
Burden	2	6.67%
Authority	5	16.67%
Disclaimers	2	6.67%
Polarization	2	6.67%
Total	30	100%

The analysis of the speech reveals a strategic use of discursive strategies to address Al-Hamdaniya tragedy, with a strong emphasis on highlighting shared values, building trust, and promoting social cohesion. The most prominent strategy, Norm Expression (20%), shows the government's emphasis on establishing societal norms such as accountability, solidarity, and faith in God. By steadily reinforcing these norms, the Prime Minister leads public behavior and attitudes during the crisis, confirming that the population adheres to shared values and principles. This is evident in statements like "يجب ان يكون ايماننا بالله كبير" (our faith in God must remain strong), which stress resilience and collective concern. The second most frequent strategy, Authority (16.67%), highlights the government's credibility and decisive actions. By repeatedly referencing governmental decisions and actions, such as directing

ministers and investigating negligence, the Prime Minister locates the government as a trustworthy authority capable of addressing the crisis. This builds public trust and legitimizes the government's reaction. For instance, phrases like "أوعزت السادة الوزراء" (I directed the respected ministers) and "قرار من الطبيب" (the decision of the doctor) highlight the government's professionalism and expertise, reassuring the public that the situation is being handled competently.

National Self-Glorification (13.33%) is another significant strategy, used to induce national pride and unity. By glorifying Iraq and its people, the Prime Minister raises a sense of collective identity and national pride, which helps unify the population across sectarian and ethnic divides. Phrases like "بلدنا العزيز" (our dear country) and "عهدنا كبير بأبناء شعبنا" (our covenant with our people is great) reinforce the idea of a strong, unified nation, encouraging solidarity during a time of crisis.

Moderately used strategies, such as Actor Description (10%) and Consensus (10%), play a vital role in outlining collective identity and constructing shared agreement. By referring to "أبناء شعبنا" (our people) and "كلنا جميعا بمختلف اديان والمذاهب" (all of us, regardless of religions or sects), the Prime Minister shapes views of unity and responsibility, emphasizing social cohesion. Similarly, strategies like Burden (6.67%), Victimization (6.67%), Disclaimers (6.67%), and Polarization (6.67%) are used to assign responsibility, evoke empathy, obstruct criticism, and reinforce unity. For example, the phrase "هناك تقصير، هناك اهمال" (there is negligence, there is neglect) assigns blame to negligent parties, while "لا تكون مناسبه للفرقة" (it should not be an occasion for division) contrasts unity with discord, emphasizing the importance of solidarity.

The least used strategy, Categorization (3.33%), though less frequent, is significant in supporting inclusivity and unity across religious and sectarian lines. By grouping different communities under a unified identity, the Prime Minister emphasizes national unity, as seen in statements like "كلنا جميعا بمختلف اديان والمذاهب" (all of us, regardless of religions or sects).

Hence, the speech reflects a balanced attitude, joining emotional appeals (e.g., Victimization, National Self-Glorification) with rational requests (e.g., Authority, Norm Expression) to engage the audience both emotionally and rationally. The emphasis on shared values, trust-building, and accountability reveals the government's commitment to addressing the crisis efficiently. By promoting unity, resilience, and a sense of collective responsibility, the Prime Minister's speech functions as an influential tool for crisis management, confirming that the population remains cohesive and resilient in the face of adversity.

Unlike the previous studies which explore emancipatory discourse using different frameworks and methodologies, the current study analyzes Prime Minister Al-Sudani's speech in crisis situations, utilizing a socio-cognitive approach to understand cognitive processes and expands emancipatory discourse understanding to political contexts and crisis management.

Conclusions

The study reveals the significant role of emancipatory discourse in political speeches, particularly in addressing societal crises and promoting social justice. It examines Prime Minister Al-Sudani's speech following Al-Hamdaniya tragedy, highlighting how linguistic and cognitive strategies are used to foster unity, accountability, and resilience. Emancipatory discourse is a powerful tool for political leaders to reinforce shared values, especially in diverse societies like Iraq. Key strategies include norm expression, authority, national self-glorification, actor description, consensus, and polarization, which reinforce societal norms and build public trust in government ability to address crises. Strategies like burden, victimization, and disclaimers emphasize accountability and transparency. Political leaders also play a critical role in shaping social structures through emancipatory communication. By using empathetic and inclusive language, leaders can inspire collective action, strengthen social resilience, and foster shared responsibility. This study provides valuable insights for political leaders, policymakers, and communication experts on the importance of strategic language use in raising unity and resilience.

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