

COST ACTION CA17132 - APPLY

EUROPEAN NETWORK FOR ARGUMENTATION  
AND PUBLIC POLICY ANALYSIS

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# REASONS, CITIZENS AND INSTITUTIONS. INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE ON ARGUMENTATION AND PUBLIC POLICY

## BOOK OF ABSTRACTS

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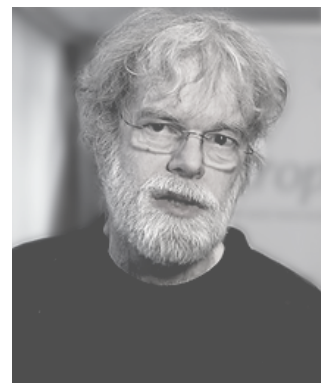
4-6 MARCH 2020

FACULTY OF LAW, ADMINISTRATION AND ECONOMICS  
UNIVERSITY OF WROCŁAW, POLAND

# Keynote Speakers

## Sven Ove Hansson

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### *Argumentative Decision Theory*

Decision theory as we know it is mainly *calculative*, i.e. it proceeds by calculating the values of decision options in order to make it possible for decision-makers to choose an option with the highest value. I will argue that we need to develop an *argumentative* decision theory that systematically develops and evaluates arguments for and against decision procedures and decision options, with the purpose of supporting deliberations that prepare for decision-making. The limitations of calculative decision-making that justify an argumentative approach will be presented, and examples will be given of how argumentation analysis can support decisions.



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## Anabela Carvalho

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### *Critical Discourse Studies and the Politics of Climate Change: Looking at Closures and Opportunities for Democratization*

As the world reaches an officially declared 'climate emergency', critical social and human scholarship is ever more important to understand how we got here and what possible routes may exist into less unsustainable futures. What did three decades of public 'debate' do to climate change? How did its meanings evolve and what social and political implications did that have? What possibilities of social transformation were discursively foreclosed and what opportunities are there for reopening and democratizing the politics of climate change? I will review various contributions of critical discourse studies to these questions and propose a discussion on research agendas for the next few years.



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# PARALLEL SESSIONS I

**4 MARCH 2020**  
**FACULTY OF LAW, ADMINISTRATION AND ECONOMICS**  
**UNIVERSITY OF WROCŁAW, POLAND**

## Jan Kleňha

Charles University in Prague, Czech Republic

### Cost-Effective Forecasting of Public Policy Priorities

In particular areas of public policy, a group of researchers participating in a forecasting tournament should be able to make accurate predictions of which policies will the most qualified experts recommend policymakers to implement when asked. If this hypothesis is proven and its practical applications properly piloted, it could make the initial policy prioritization process substantially faster and cheaper, while maintaining the accuracy of a full-scale DELPHI study, while also making the whole process more participative and interesting for the general public.

In this research, I use a probabilistic forecasting tournament (variation of a Real-time Policy Delphi) with financial rewards based on logarithmic scoring (the Proper Scoring Rule), evaluated for cost-effectiveness. The ultimate goal is to use the research to prepare the ground for a collaborative platform to aggregate outside views and bridge researchers with policymakers, resulting in more effective and evidence-based policymaking (EBPM).

**Keywords:** evidence-based policymaking, cost-effectiveness, prediction markets, forecasting tournaments, impact assessment, cost-benefit analysis, policy DELPHI study



**Sylvie Doutre**

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**Marie-Christine Lagasquie-Schiex**

University of Toulouse 3 - IRIT, France

## Formal Argumentation Frameworks for Deliberation in the Lack of Knowledge and Uncertainty

In any deliberation context, and in particular in that of public policy making, when the people involved have to take a decision, disagreement may occur, more or less strongly: each person is aware of some arguments, lacking knowledge on others, giving her own interpretation to the relationships between these arguments, and getting to her own conclusion; this individual decision process, in a fair context that equally takes into account each person, has to be merged with that of the other people involved, in order to get to the final decision.

Formal argumentation frameworks have been designed to deal with the partial knowledge individuals may have regarding the arguments, and their relationships: [1] considers individual frameworks that basically contain arguments and attacks, which are merged into a framework that reflects the various interpretations of the attack relationships by considering an ignorance, neutral relationship; [2] computes weights that reflect the various interpretations of the relationships; [3] offers a complete representation of uncertainty regarding arguments and attacks thanks to a logical formula. Beside such frameworks that consider qualitative aspects of lack of knowledge, other frameworks capture quantitative aspects, such as [4].

The applied context of public policy making encourages the use and the development of such formal frameworks: by being integrated into technological tools that would help decision makers, they would offer a clear representation of a deliberation situation that involves partial knowledge and uncertainty.

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- [3] Florence Dupin De Saint Cyr - Bannay, Pierre Bisquert, Claudette Cayrol, Marie-Christine Lagasquie-Schiex. Argumentation update in YALLA (Yet Another Logic Language for Argumentation). In: *International Journal of Approximate Reasoning (IJAR)*, Elsevier, Vol. 75, p. 57-92 (2016).
- [4] Anthony Hunter et Matthias Thimm. Probabilistic Argumentation with Incomplete Information. In: *ECAI*. 2014. p. 1033-1034 (2014).

**Keywords:** deliberation, decision, partial knowledge, uncertainty, merging

**Fabio Paglieri**

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## Public Argumentation and Online Disinformation: It's Complicated!

Online disinformation is a defining concern of our age: in 2016 “post-truth” was elected word of the year by Oxford Dictionaries, and public worries about fake news have been growing during the last decade. Such preoccupations are tied to the alleged impact of disinformation on the quality and outcomes of public discourse: fake news have been deemed responsible for influencing significant political events (e.g., US Presidential campaigns, Brexit), and the shady maneuvers of several “troll factories” have recently come to light.

While a clear consensus is yet missing, the predominant view is that online disinformation and the dismal quality of public debate are closely related. Less clear is the causal nature of their relationship. On the one hand, it is natural to blame the poor quality of online argumentation on the equally poor quality of online information: on this view, disinformation causes shallow discussions. On the other hand, online social chatter is the prime vehicle of disinformation in the digital ecology: from this perspective, shallow online debates generate and spread disinformation. As a result, the existence of a causal loop is extremely likely. However, all these narratives share two assumptions: (i) the impact of the online environment is fundamentally bad, for public debate and information quality; (ii) users are described as victims, or at most unwitting accomplices in the spreading of trash.

In this talk I defend a more optimistic outlook, leading to different conclusions: (iii) online technologies are as much part of the problem as they are part of the solution, since they have the potential to empower users, rather than mislead them; (iv) users have an active and deliberate role to play, and our public policies should enable them to embrace such role, instead of protecting them from various alleged dangers. Articulating these claims requires discussing several online tools for scaffolding public debate (Wikipedia, GapMinder, GetBadNews), as well as recent attempts to pass legislations on such matters – both successfully (e.g., proposals for improving the contractual power of users in online data sharing) and unsuccessfully (e.g., laws that assign to social networks the mandate of certifying information quality).

**Keywords:** online disinformation, public argumentation, social media, argument technologies, data protection

**Keren Dalyot**

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**Ayelet Baram-Tsabari**

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## Argumentation of Socio-Scientific Issues on Social Media

Over the last decade, the internet has become a major force influencing many aspects of our life. Specifically, social media play an increasing part in learning and lifelong learning as they provide “easy, fast and efficient ways to access a great diversity of information and situated knowledge” (Redecker et al., 2010, p. 8). In Israel, Facebook (FB) is the leading social media with 5,800,000 subscribers (as of December, 2017) which represents almost 70% of the population. Since we know that children, teenagers and adults use the internet as a major source for science news (Ministry of Science and Technology, 2018, National Science Board ,2016, EUROBAROMETER) looking at the type of information sought out and the patterns of argumentation discourse about scientific issues in social networks is interesting and offers an important perspective. In addition, complexities of the social media landscape as an intersection of engagement with media content, with peers and with experts is important to understand. This study explores argumentation and discussion patterns of engaged participants on Facebook dedicated to the socio-scientific issue (SSI) of Non Ionizing Radiation (NIR). These discussions were prompted by TV programs and news stories on Israeli media broadcasted between 2016-2018. The stand point of these programs is that there is risk from NIR that the public needs to be aware of.

Our research aims at exploring how lay people use scientific knowledge and argumentation skills as they debate and engage with a relevant socio-scientific issue that has implications for public policy. These implications include for example deployment of Wi-Fi routers in schools and other public locations as well as regulations for use of smart phones in schools and other educational institutions.

**Keywords:** socio-scientific issues, social networks, non-ionizing radiation

**Sten Hansson**

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## On the Lack of Truthfulness in Policy Communication: The Case of Post-Referendum Brexit Debates

The breakdown of public trust in government and the proliferation of disruptive misinformation pose a threat to the sustainable development of modern societies. The lack of truthfulness in public policy debates exacerbates this problem and thus deserves much more critical analysis.

Language-based research of untruthful communication generally focuses on a particular text's relationship with reality (e.g., is that what has been said or written false or distorted?) and regards instances of deception as covertly uncooperative acts (Galasiński, 2018). Discourse analysts may try to identify inconsistencies and contradictions in a politician's text (e.g., showing that her political speech contains contradictory claims), point out differences between what the politician says/writes and what other texts say on the same issue, and engage in ethnographic research to document the differences between real social practices and the way in which a politician depicts them in her text or talk (van Leeuwen, 2018). Critical analysts of political discourse also try to uncover instances of fallacious and potentially misleading argumentation in politicians' text and talk, such as truth claims that are not logically valid or that rely on implausible argument schemes (Reisigl, 2014).

Drawing on these traditions, I analyse concrete textual examples of untruthful public communication on Brexit by senior British politicians in the post-referendum debates between 2017 and 2019. I show how they misled the public by (1) making claims about overwhelming popular support for their policy, (2) misrepresenting the power relations between the EU and the national government, and (3) seriously downplaying the complexity of negotiations involved in leaving the EU and reaching trade deals thereafter. I identify specific ways in which these fallacious moves can be normatively evaluated from the perspective of the ethics of democratic political representation.

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**Keywords:** socio-scientific issues, social networks, non-ionizing radiation



**Ewa Modrzejewska**

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## European Parliament Facing Fundamental Societal Issues. A Corpus-Based Analysis of the EP's Facebook Fanpage Communication

Using the European Parliament elections (2019) as a rhetorical exigence I examine the official communication of the European Parliament's Facebook fanpage. My interest focuses on the posts that address the important issues facing the EU, such as immigration, economic situation, climate change, and health issues (see: Standard Eurobarometr: November 2018).

In the corpus-based analysis, I search for messages that might serve as arguments in the public European discourse to support the European Union, its policies and values. The corpus consists of 123 posts collected in two research periods—one month and a half of year prior to the EP elections.

The research question focuses on the issue of whether the examined Facebook posts engage the citizens in well-informed argumentative discussions; whether they are a part of argumentation that might affect the perceived rationality and legitimacy of public decision-making.

I take into consideration the rhetorical situation, the role and the credibility (rhetorical ethos) of the sender and the reaction of the receiver/audience which is expressed in the Facebook comments section. In the paper, the strategic manoeuvring and the approach to argument schemes are used.

**Keywords:** European Parliament, strategic manoeuvring, corpus-based analysis, argument schemes, argumentative discussion

**José Alfonso Lomelí Hernández**

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## **Journalists' Argumentative Moves in Political Press Conferences and their Implications for Accountability Purposes**

Political press conferences are important spaces for public accountability because they give journalists the opportunity to scrutinize politicians' decisions and policies (Bovens, 2009). However, the structure of press conferences poses specific constraints to journalists because their role is limited to ask questions, and therefore, journalists have to convey all their communicative goals in this way. This situation is not problematic if the only goal journalists have is to ask informative or critical questions, but it becomes problematic if they want to advance standpoints, arguments, or criticisms. In the latter case, journalists have to perform those argumentative moves through facade questions in order to comply with the protocol of press conferences. For this reason, it is not easy to distinguish the argumentative function of journalists' questions from an analytical point of view. Without a clear understanding of the argumentative moves journalists perform in political press conferences, it is not possible to determine the extent to which the discussion is reasonable, and therefore, the value of the discussion for accountability purposes becomes uncertain. This paper draws on the pragma-dialectical theory of argumentation (Van Eemeren 2010) to give an argumentative account of political press conferences. Furthermore, journalists' argumentative moves are specified at the speech act level and it is explained how each argumentative move can be performed through questioning.

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**Keywords:** accountability, argumentative scenarios, political deliberation, press conferences, questions

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**Dima Mohammed**

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## Argumentative and Framing Analysis in the Media Coverage of the Serbian Protests Against Dictatorship

This paper is about the relationship between the media coverage of protests and the readers' comments in a polarised media environment. Taking the Serbian protest Against Dictatorship held in 2017 as a case in point, the study aims at characterising the polarisation discursively, in terms of the dominant frames and the argumentative relationship between the frames. The corpus includes news (N=130) and comments (N=3,238) from two Serbian news websites (Blic and Telegraf) during a month of the protest life cycle. Following the protest paradigm (Chan & Lee, 1984; McLeod and Hertog 1999), the examination starts from a content analysis, in particular frame analysis, of the material. The findings of the content analysis are finetuned by subjecting the frames and the material to an argumentative analysis (Lewinski & Mohammed, 2016). The analysis results in a nuanced portrayal of the disagreement scene, where the discursive strategies that are employed to (re-)construct it are sketched, and the way the polarisation is (re-)produced is better understood.

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**Keywords:** protest paradigm, framing, user comments, media polarisation, argumentative analysis

**Shalom Zarbiv**

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## Hindered by the Rule of Law: Justifying Assimilation Requirements for Naturalization and Residency in Germany and France

Germany and France have been widely considered in the literature as the prototypes capturing the core meaning of the two contradictory models of immigrant integration. Germany is historically taken as the exemplar of the differential exclusionary model underpinned by an Ethnocultural logic of nationhood which is based on the idea of a community of descent, while France is the most well-known case of the republican assimilationist model based on a civic-territorial conception. However, despite their different logic and ontology, concerning the administrative process of assessing assimilation requirements for naturalization and residency, the two models, I argue, justify a common set of illiberal and potentially exclusionary administrative practices, namely, excessive administrative discretion and illiberal intrusion into the applicants' inner-dispositions. The research attempts to investigate why was Germany in the 1990s and 2000s successful in terms of large-scale liberalization of these two practices, while in France the degree of change remained limited and incremental without making any substantial change to its illiberal assimilationist policy paradigm. I argue that differences between Germany and France regarding the historical development of doctrines of rule of law in the formative stages of state-building have been of importance for the differing ways in which these two administrative practices could be defended by policymakers. Most important is the degree of compatibility between national doctrines of rule of law and the traditional reasoning of assimilation. The French state-building process has led the relevant Rousseauian rule-of-law doctrine for foreigners seeking citizenship and residency to be ineffective in restricting the legislative power or establishing substantive rights against state infringement. Consequently, illiberal republican assimilationist practices remain to this day the primary organizing force behind the French naturalization policy. In Germany, by contrast, the inherent conflict between the Kantian doctrine of rule of law and ethnocultural exclusionary nationalism has led to the latter's retreat, resulting in a major change in the policy paradigm of assimilation during the 1990s and 2000s. These conclusions are based on extensive analysis of legislative acts and regulations and other relevant documentation such as administrative decisions, policy reports, judicial decisions, and discussions in governments and parliaments.

**Keywords:** immigrant integration, rule of law, nationalism, naturalization, administrative discretion, illiberalism

**Jędrzej Janicki**

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## On the Necessity of Including Lawmaker's Objectives at the Stage of Law Application

The paper is devoted to the need to include, at the stage of law application, the objectives that guided the legislator when creating a given regulation. This necessity is particularly noticeable when performing teleological interpretation and applying the so-called "legal reasonings". As will be indicated on the example of the Belgian legislation, the omission of the objectives followed by the legislator may lead to the destruction of the sense of a given regulation. In the literature on the subject there is a fairly well-grounded view about the need to take into account the objectives followed by the legislator - the method and sources of reconstruction of the objective of a given regulation may raise more controversy. The basis for the reconstruction of objectives can be found: 1) in the normative act itself, 2) in the principles of law, 3) outside the normative act. In this paper, the strongest emphasis is placed on the possibility of searching for the objective of a given regulation outside the normative act. This possibility was even indicated by Stanley Fish who postulated to maximize the extension of the range of possible sources of reconstruction of the objective of a given regulation. Moderate supporters of textualism, without rejecting the need to search for the objective of a given regulation, are particularly sceptical about legislative materials as sources of reconstructing the objectives of regulations. In a broader context, the problem of reconstructing the objective of a given regulation would be synonymous with determining the intention of the legislator when creating a given regulation. Contrary to Ronald Dworkin's position, the legislator's intentions cannot be reduced to the unverifiable mental states of the legislator. Therefore, one of the main tasks of the subject applying law is both to determine the intention of the legislator and to reconstruct the objective of the regulation - these two activities remain closely related. As will be pointed out in the paper, the above-mentioned remarks will show that the view on the superiority of a linguistic interpretation over a non-linguistic (including teleological interpretation) is unfounded.

**Keywords:** teleological interpretation, lawmaker's objectives, "legal reasonings", non-linguistic interpretation



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## Learning Healthcare Systems and the Challenge of Argumentation-Based Education

The main objective of this presentation is to propose an argumentation-mediated solution to problems related to the secondary use of electronic health records (EHRs) for research purposes.

Designing and regulating learning healthcare systems (LHSs) pose multiple and multi-leveled difficulties. The defining feature of an LHS is assembling and analyzing as much high quality data as possible and feeding them back to the system so that it can improve (Friedman 2014). Patients' EHRs are an excellent source of Big Data for LHSs but how exactly they should be used remains notoriously controversial.

The reasons behind the controversy are meaningful. Firstly, there are many groups of stakeholders (patients, medical professionals, legislators, governments, researchers, NGOs, businesses etc.). Secondly, a whole chain of ethically, legally, culturally, and economically significant decisions needs to be made, including decisions regulating the scope and means of data collection and governance as well as the consent process. Which aspect is more important? How should related values be weighted? Thirdly, the matter is especially delicate because of the sensitive character of health data and, therefore, the enormous potential for misuse and harm (esp. consequences of re-identification, King 2012).

Latest systematic literature review (Piasecki et al., forthcoming) shows that it is impossible to extract any coherent picture of public attitudes from existing research. Each research team prioritize a different aspect of LHS policy and respondents likely follow their biases. Moreover, participants learn through participation in research and are prone adopt more research-friendly positions (Hill 2013).

We argue that recommending education as a mean for mitigating conflicts around EHRs use for research (Riodan 2015, Stevenson 2015) is insufficient. We suggest conducting research differently than standard surveys and focus groups: all stakeholders' arguments should be properly collected, analyzed, evaluated, and hierarchized. Only then educators will know what exactly should be addressed and how.

We believe that mapping out argumentative roots of relevant narratives with some tools more typical for argumentation theory (for a fine example see Strech 2011) could be game-changing in cases like designing regulations for LHS, especially if combined with clever study design like assessing different scenarios (see Grande 2014).

**Keywords:** learning healthcare systems, electronic health records, public attitudes, argumentation analysis for education, recommendations for research

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## Parents as Pre-School Education Service Co-Producers in Lithuania: 4 Years After

In 2015 scientists from Klaipėda university (Lithuania) researched the conditions for the parents' co-production in the provision of pre-school education service in Klaipėda city municipality (Lithuania). Situation then was unique and provided for with the exceptional case as Klaipėda city municipality was the only one where for the first (and only) time in country's history more than 2200 parents[1] (of small children attending kindergartens) expressed their protest against being neglected in the provision of the service by signing a petition. This encouraged making a research aimed to disclose the challenges for co-production according to the view of all the participating stakeholders: pre-school education service providers (i.e. local authorities, the managers of the kindergartens, and the teachers) as well as the clients (i.e. parents and NGOs').

**Purpose:** This paper is aimed to find the obstacles for the co-production and value co-creation in the pre-school education and to provide (based on E. Ostrom, J. Alford theories of coproduction) the best solution for the increase of parents' involvement in the co-production. The four-year time gap enables to reveal which obstacles for the co-production were overcome and what new challenges followed.

**Design/methodology/approach:** Based on the concept of stakeholder theory multilevel methodology is applied. The data for the analysis has been collected using the conception of triangulation and using several sources: (i) quantitative re-survey of pre-school organization managers and parents followed by the comparative analysis of both (2015 and 2019) surveys' results; (ii) focus groups with parents, NGOs' representatives and officials from the municipality; (iii) last phase of our analysis is interactive participation.

**Findings:** The re-survey and comparative analysis disclosed the increased value of the merits of co-production in both groups of respondents. However, values of co-production's demerits increased as well. Conclusion is that we have a better understanding of the value of co-production, but still lack practical capabilities for its implementation.

**Keywords:** co-production, stakeholders, citizens participation, local authorities, public services, involvement, interests

# PARALLEL SESSIONS II

**4 MARCH 2020**  
**FACULTY OF LAW, ADMINISTRATION AND ECONOMICS**  
**UNIVERSITY OF WROCŁAW, POLAND**

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**Maria Molek**

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## Why Rebel? An Argumentation and Rhetorical Analysis of Extinction Rebellion's Online and Social Media Appeals

Extinction Rebellion describes itself as an international movement that “uses nonviolent civil disobedience in an attempt to halt mass extinction and minimize the risk of social collapse.” It aims to mobilize citizens to oppose harmful governmental policies or governments’ inaction to confront a worsening ecological crisis. To this end it publicizes online instructions, declarations and statements in textual, photographic and video formats via its webpages and social media accounts. As a social movement intent on rallying a wider public, it strives to convince citizens to embrace its values and endorse its actions through a range of argumentative choices and rhetorical devices. Drawing on the framework for argument analysis in public deliberation proposed by Fairclough and Fairclough (2012), and on a range of concepts derived from rhetoric and political discourse analysis (Eemeren, 2010), we report on a pilot analysis of a corpus of online appeals published by XR around the UN Climate Change Conference COP 25 in Madrid. We aim to identify the salient patterns of argumentation and mobilization used by the activists to highlight what actions and initiatives should be undertaken. We look at verbal and visual resources used to achieve following and to represent global environmental issues as local concerns. We note how XR not only engages in the critique of neoliberal arrangements (cf. Klein, 2014) through blaming, but also envisions pro-democratic deliberative solutions, such as citizen assemblies. We also look at how scientific data and estimates are incorporated into the social media feed. Finally, we compare XR’s constellation of argumentative and rhetorical strategies to how established environmental organizations communicate the causes related, for example, to climate change (Zelko, 2013).

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**Keywords:** climate change, mobilization, online media, social movements

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## From Climate Change to Emergency: the Adpositional Argumentation of Greta Thunberg's Speech in Paris

Greta Thunberg's speech at the National Assembly in Paris the 27th of July 2019 marks an important turn in the argumentation of environmental activism. In fact, she refers to the current situation no more as 'climate change' but as 'climate emergency', paving the way to the mass global climate strike ensued in September 2019. In this paper, we analyse her speech using Adpositional Argumentation (AdArg), a method for annotating arguments based on the argumentative categorisation framework of the Periodic Table of Arguments (PTA), paired with the linguistic representation framework of Constructive Adpositional Grammars (CxADGrams). We annotate arguments as argumentative adpositional trees (arg-adtrees), which are a convenient form to highlight linguistic and argumentative information both for humans and machines. The adtrees let the analyst clearly identify certain patterns that lead to a robust analysis of the main actants enrolled in Greta Thunberg's argumentative strategy fostering her call to immediate action. The paper shows how the linguistic analysis -- in terms of CxADGrams -- provide useful hints to facilitate analysts in performing robust reconstructions of the arguments -- in terms of the PTA, using concrete examples extracted from Greta Thunberg's speech. At the end, argumentation theorists may take such examples in order to find if, and if yes, where, there are systematic differences between arguments carried out by activists and arguments carried out by other actors, for instance, politicians, bureaucrats, and experts.

**Keywords:** adpositional argumentation, AdArg, periodic table of arguments, PTA, constructive adpositional grammars, CxADGrams, climate change, climate emergency, environmental activism, Greta Thunberg, arg-adtrees, adtrees



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## **Advocacy Campaigns for Social and Environmental Justice: Mobilizing Publics to Support Causes through One-Sided Argumentation**

Contemporary expressions of citizen engagement in policy-making encompass online petition-signing or “like”-clicking as increasingly popular modes of democratic participation, supported by the development of communication technologies. The citizens’ decision to uphold claims and solutions advanced by activists and other civic actors is supposed to be a reasonable one. However, the presentation of arguments does not usually take place within a deliberative, but within an advocacy format, where one-sided arguments are put forward. In such cases, “the normative context” is defined by fewer constraints and obligations, the norms that are in place having to do with openness about the objectives, avoidance of unethical persuasion means such as bribery or threats, non-falsity (but not to the point that it interferes with the objectives) and defensibility, if the argument is challenged (Goodwin 2013). Any further commitment to norms of reasonableness is optional in partisan argumentation, every situation requiring contextual analysis (O’Keefe 2009). At the same time, responsibility also lies with interlocutors and publics to engage critically with the one-sided argument.

By drawing upon examples from media and activist advocacy campaigns on migration and deforestation, the study reflects upon differences in the choice of premises that are selected, emphasized and defended in campaign dispositives with citizen mobilization aims, as a matter of argument construction and performance staged by distinct activist and media organizations. It discusses the opportunities created for the public to respond and become critically engaged, as well as upon the advantages and disadvantages to be found in this currently widespread type of citizen participation in policy-making.

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**Keywords:** advocacy argumentation, norms of reasonableness, citizen mobilization, citizen engagement in policy-making

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## The Right to be Wrong

What does it mean to be wrong about something? For purposes of this talk, I will define that to be wrong means to carry out actions that do not result in intended outcomes or they have unintended effects more harmful than it is acceptable. I will argue that there is the right to be wrong in any critical discussion and that there are two basic forms of it. The first form is regarding the limited abilities of the parties involved. Even though parties succeed in resolving the difference in their opinion, they still might be wrong. Parties are restricted regarding their knowledge and other cognitive capacities. The second form of right to be wrong is due to the nature of critical discussion itself. Parties are limited to reasonable means. It is not permissible in critical discussion to use brute force on others to make them follow the rules or stay in the discussion. Furthermore, if one party is not further interested in the given discussion and the resolution of a difference of opinions is not achieved, another party cannot claim success in defending its position, and this position is justified regarding critical rationalism.

I will argue that this poses a severe problem for any form of paternalism. Although this problem is not unsolvable, if we want to follow critical rationalism, there is a strong demand to be able to accept outcomes that seem to be and even might be harmful and damaging. We have to be able to take results which are adopted in due process or challenge the process itself in meta-discussions. There are two crucial questions that I want to address: Do also institutions have the right to be wrong, and in what forms? Is this right applicable when the stakes are high?

**Keywords:** right to be wrong, critical discussion, critical rationalism, paternalism, argumentation in public domain, argumentation of institutions, argumentation of organizations

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## Turning the Tables: Up- and Downgrading of Evaluative Terms in Public Controversies

Eulogistic and dyslogistic terms contain evaluations supporting one's own views or challenging the views of others. We focus on the upgrading of pejorative terms to laudatory ones and the downgrading of laudatory terms to pejorative ones (cf. Charles L. Stevenson on "persuasive quasi-definition"). Examples are: "deplorables" and "multiculturalism." By such up- and downgrading of evaluative terms the proponent of a standpoint may attempt to turn the tables in a public controversy: what formerly looked like a bad argument comes to be regarded as a strong one, or vice versa. Is this a licit strategy?

First, we characterize up- and downgrading as an argumentative technique: what once generally looked like containing a worth while implicit argument ("...deplorable ... therefore ... bad ..." or "...multicultural ...therefore...good"), no longer does – thus turning reason into unreason – and what once generally looked like containing a worthless argument ("...deplorable ... therefore ... good" or "...multicultural ...therefore...bad"), may no longer do so – turning unreason into reason.

Second, we discuss how such semantic innovations may play a positive role. For one, it may free issues from old and rusty fashions. Views that have long been taken for granted may be "politicized," and opened up for discussion.

Third, we discuss its dangers: such innovations may deliver no more than verbal magic that does not advance the dialectic, or "question begging appellatives" that smuggle controversial starting points into the discussion.

**Keywords:** evaluative term, persuasive quasi definition, public controversy, eulogistic term, dyslogistic term

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## Qualifying Adjectives That Prevent Contradiction: A Swiss Case Study of Political Websites Before a Vote

Four times in a year, Swiss citizens are voting on a national issue. Two groups, either in favor or against the object of the vote, create websites rather quickly, with an argumentative content which tries to justify their opposite standpoints. In the context of a vote whose goal is to build affordable housing (campaign from October 2019 until February 2020), two websites arguing for opposite opinions are created; while their visual structures are very much alike, these websites do not seem to dialogue in a balanced and comparable way. Indeed, the choice of certain qualifying adjectives make both parties sometimes appear to prevent interaction between them. This could be a form of violation of the first pragma-dialectic rule: '[...] Discussants may not prevent each other from advancing standpoints or from calling standpoints into question'. (van Eemeren, 2019: 59).

In the studied case, we contend that the qualifying expressions permit drawing three categories with different pragmatic effects. Firstly, questionable qualifiers: this category includes adjectives defended by one party and whose opposite is supported by the other party ('necessary' vs. 'useless'). Second, certain qualifying adjectives ('bureaucratic', 'statist vision', etc.) can be considered as 'flag words' or as ideological stigmatizing words for one party only (Strauss & Zifonun, 1983). In this case, the opponents have no interest in participating in the debate since it would weaken their own argument; therefore, the other party often disregards these qualifying adjectives and the arguments in which they appear. Finally, some adjectives are so appraised or rejected in a community of speech that their opposites cannot be endorsed by the opponents: they can be considered as miranda and anti-miranda words (Dieckmann, 1975; Girth, 2015). In our case, those who want a 'no' vote cannot legitimately make the case for 'unaffordable' rents. Our objective is then to study the choice of qualifiers in this campaign, how they fit in the preceding categories, in order to determine the stakes for the argumentation in an adversarial debate in a theoretical framework which is sensitive to linguistic markers and their pragmatic effects.

**Keywords:** contradictory debate, linguistics, pragmatics, qualifying adjectives

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## To Argue Through the Policy Spaces of Debate. Understanding the Career of Policy Proposal

The communication develops a pragmatic approach to understand policy process in considering public problem and policy proposal as statements which are defined by policymakers involved, and shaped collectively in the spaces of debate the policy statement, the arguments and their owner go through. Drawing from the case study of shale gas in France, we present three main kinds of spaces of debate organized by different sets of rules structuring the debate and the exchange of arguments in the policy-making process. Public forum are conflictual spaces such as the (social) media, the parliament and public meetings where actors broadcast a discourse toward a large audience and are criticized by other actors. Confined atriums on the contrary are delimited, consensual and powerful spaces where the owner of the legitimate discourse enforces a set of rules and mobilizes the feasible arguments (technical, financial, legal, etc.) to limit the access to the atrium. Discrete arenas are conflictual spaces where no feasibility regime dominates, such as inter-ministries meetings, and where argumentation struggles dominate. Following the definition and the trajectories of different policy proposals to solve the shale gas problem and the coalition who support them through the different spaces of debates, we suggest that if public problems often emerge in public forums, solution proposals came from discrete arenas and atriums. We argue that solution proposals have to be resistant to critical argument in the different spaces to be able to set the governmental agenda and be voted. The communication is based on 50 interviews with key actors, press and report analysis.

**Keywords:** policy process, spaces of debate, policy proposal, public problem



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## Mapping Stakeholders in the Landscape of Public Policy Argumentation

The use of the term 'stakeholder' raises a series of questions in the context of public policy. The stakeholder concept was originally developed in strategic business management and public relations studies (Palmieri, Mazzali-Lurati, 2016), and therefore its use in public policy still needs to be explored. In the most basic sense, the term tends to define organized interest and advocacy groups in policy process (Kahane et al., 2013). In doing so, the differentiation between stakeholder and citizen representation is established. It is an explicit distinction that can also be found in the documents regulating stakeholders' consultation by the European Commission (Kahane et al., 2013). The stakeholders in the policy realm may be called lobbyists, NGOs, public affairs agencies, etc. – each calling carrying a number of representations (i.e. these callings are not neutral). Further, all these categories contain a great deal of heterogeneity. Hence, with this presentation we are aiming to deepen the understanding of the full range of stakeholders in public policy and to expand the taxonomy of the stakeholder categories and the relationship they are likely to have. We combined several approaches in achieving these objectives: (1) a literature review (of extant concepts) and a review of relevant policy documents for identification of relevant groups, organizations and individuals; and (2) collaborative stakeholder (expertise and resources) mapping.

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**Keywords:** stakeholders, stakeholder mapping, public policy argumentation

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## **Argumentation on Sustainability of the Social Systems – the Labor Market, the Retirement Methods and Pension Plans.**

### **The Public Debate and Policy in Bulgaria**

Institutional attention for the ageing population began to appear in the last decade of the 20th century. The UN Principles for Older Persons (Resolution 46/91) are grouped under five themes: independence, participation, care, self-fulfillment and dignity. The Madrid International Plan of Action on Ageing (MIPAA) and the Political Declaration, adopted by the Second World Assembly on Ageing in April 2002, are still among the global guiding documents that have a priority focus on the areas of the rights of older adults and their well-being in a supportive environment (United Nations, 2014). Demographic imbalances, such as population decrease and ageing strongly impact the workforce developments. Thus, they create problems for the macro-fiscal stability and sustainability of all social systems - the labor market, the retirement methods and pension plans, the healthcare arrangements, the social assistance and long-term care order, etc. The rise of the proportion of retired and older people over the next few decades is considered to be one of the greatest challenges to the economic and social system of the EU (Loos et al, 2008). According to the convergence program Bulgaria submitted to the European Union, public pension expenditure is expected to decrease from 9.1% of GDP in 2019 to 7.9% in 2050. In contrast, the EU-25 average will increase from 10.6% of GDP to 12.8% over the same period (Pension Funds Online, 2019). In this regard, the paper seeks to answer two research questions: What are the differences between the arguments on sustainability of the social systems of politicians, bureaucrats, experts, entrepreneurs and activists – and the arguments of common people? How to evaluate arguments and decision-making processes on this highly disputable topic considering the demographic and the socioeconomic factors? In-depth face-to-face interviews with 50 respondents at retirement age and with their children has been conducted. The paper presents the results of these interviews with the aim to compare the opinions of the interviewees on three key areas: the labor market, the retirement methods and the pension plans. The national debate on this issues in the country compared with other European systems has also been addressed.

**Keywords:** argumentation, sustainability, social systems, labor market, retirement

# PARALLEL SESSIONS III

**4 MARCH 2020**  
**FACULTY OF LAW, ADMINISTRATION AND ECONOMICS**  
**UNIVERSITY OF WROCŁAW, POLAND**

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## Contemporary Incrementalism at Work: How Portuguese Low-Carbon Energy Professionals Negotiate Long-Term and Short-Term Goals

A key trend in environmental policymaking in the last three decades concerns the shift from traditional rule making mechanisms to a governance agenda built on goal setting. With its 17 global goals, 169 targets, and growing list of regionalised indicators, Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) is a case in point; one indicating that the operationalisation of loosely set long-term goals can be more demanding than their formulation. The practical argumentation approach provides a powerful toolset in the analysis of such goals-based, means-ends, specification, or operationalisation relations. In the first part of this presentation, I discuss an extended practical reasoning and argumentation framework to elucidate a particular relationship among environmental goals as well as policy positions. The framework focuses on the Action claims in the light of the Circumstances, Goals, Values, and available Means featuring in a particular proposal. As environmental goals typically appear in clusters and hierarchies (e.g. SDGs), each action is examined as a means to a higher-level goal, making explicit the succession of goals and values. My aim in discussing the framework, more specifically, is to refashion a persistent distinction drawn in the literature between incremental and transformative social change. In the second part of the presentation, I review the distinction as reflecting the tension between the status quo and the overarching goal of sustainability, and focus on incrementalism as the key position in the contemporary energy and climate change debates. Examining interviews (N=25) conducted with corporate actors involved in the transition to low-carbon energy in Portugal, I show that the incrementalist governance agenda enables these actors to shift the temporal scope of the discussion and mediate between otherwise difficult to reconcile goals and positions. In conclusion I argue that the “vision” provided by the SDGs and other global goals reform contemporary incrementalism, namely from “muddling through” towards a “strategic outlook”. Despite this strategic outlook – that it is built upon long-term goals – incrementalism is primarily directed towards the status quo exigencies.

**Keywords:** incrementalism, means-ends reasoning, specification of goals, interview discourse

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## Argumentation for Policy-Making Processes, Institutional Engagements and Citizens Activities in Bulgaria on Climate Change

The climate change is the greatest threat to nature and humanity in the 21st century – this thesis is alarmed by world-renowned scientists, institutions, politicians, public figures, NGOs, mass media, etc. over the last decades. The European Union has taken action in various aspects to reduce greenhouse gas emissions and to limit the global warming. Climate change is already having an impact on the environment, the economy and people's health worldwide, with different regions on different continents being affected differently. In the situation of increasingly topical issue of climate changes and their consequences, the protection of the environment, the changing of habits around the world with regard to the use of disposable plastic and nylon products, etc., a question arises whether in Bulgaria exists adequate policies, legal measures and effective regulatory practices to handle the problem. This study aims to investigate the ways policymakers, experts and citizens understand, evaluate and contribute to policy-making processes on the topic of climate change. It aims to analyze the pro and con reasons that are invariably articulated in public argumentation. The research aims to explore the complex relations between reasons, citizens and institutions in the context of public policymaking about climate change. It also aims to determine the extent to which the country has relevant legal framework and implementation of regulation in line with the requirements and procedures of the EC regarding the climate changes. Among the tasks of the survey is to trace whether Bulgarian Media adequately reflect the issues and whether they are effectively involved in the democratic debate. The object of the study is the topic of climate change. The subject is the way how politicians, institutions and citizens argument about the problem and how they show their commitment to the topic. The study method is qualitative analysis and the study period is 2018-2019. The paper is developed within the framework of the COST Action A17132, The European Network for Argumentation and Public PoLiCY Analysis (APPLY) and the research project of the National program "Young scientists and Postdocs" of the Bulgarian Ministry of Education and Science.

**Keywords:** climate change, argumentations, reasons, citizens, institutions, public policy



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## Argumentative Style in a Study on Climate Change Policies

A recent study issued by the Policy Department for Economic, Scientific and Quality of Life Policies of the European Parliament may be considered as a source of topics and directions to be considered in approaching the area of climate change European policies. Although mainly descriptive and informative, the document may be approached from the perspective of argumentative analysis since it gives a general view on various evolutions of the data available in climate change studies, the current state of climate policies, and actions taken by member states (MSs) of the EU. The analysis shows that arguments both of quantitative and qualitative nature are used in recommending measures to be taken by the MSs. Quantitative arguments appear to belong to three broad categories: little vs large quantity, and insufficient or too large in correlation with another quantity (or figure). In any of the cases under consideration, instrumental argumentation is the general rule. It is mainly concerned with the negative consequences to which improper actions of entities in the MSs may lead, as well as with – and in correlation with – recommendations concerning the most appropriate policies to be adopted and the possible ways leading to their adoption. The newly introduced pragma-dialectical concept of argumentative style – detached or engaged – is used in the analysis to establish the role such arguments may play in the economy of such a document. It is also shown that such a document itself plays the role of what could be called a “warrant of the warrant”, meant to ensure a sound basis for political decisions to be adopted by the Parliament.

**Keywords:** argumentation, argumentative style, pragma-dialectics, rhetoric, EU policy

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## Conditional Used as an Argument in Deliberative Political Discourse

Fischer (1989) notes that "supposition [...] is very common in argumentation". It even happens that an entire argumentation process is based almost entirely on suppositions: this was the case of the "No Billag" deliberative debate in Switzerland. In this context, Swiss citizens had to decide in a popular vote on the abolition of the licence fee for public television, by taking a stand on a central issue: what will happen if the licence fee is abolished?

From a corpus of "If...then" conditional sentences used as arguments in the "No Billag" debate in Switzerland, I propose to characterize supposition in this deliberative framework by means of two characteristics:

1. The probability of the suppositional argument varies with respect to the discursive context.
2. The function of the suppositional argument is to modify the context.

To do so, I first take up Chilton's (2004) proposition that "political discourse is anchored in multi-dimensional deixis", in order to model the context of the debate. Then, from a probabilistic analysis of supposition in line with Adams' hypothesis for conditionals (1975), I show that, because of their argumentative dimension, the conditionals in my corpus:

1. Play the role of micro-representations of the deictic variables of the discourse.
2. Influence the deictic variables of the discourse.

In conclusion, I make two hypotheses about suppositional arguments in my corpus. First, conditional-arguments are neither counterfactual (Gibbard and Harper, 1978) nor indicative (De Rose, 2010), but "counter-indicative". Second, "counter-indicative" conditionals compensate the absence of factual arguments in deliberative political discourse.

**Keywords:** supposition, conditional, deliberative discourse, political discourse

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## An Evaluation Procedure for Public Reasoning

In this presentation, we set out our proposal for a systematic assessment tool which can be applied to the reasoning employed in public policy debate in order to aid in the understanding and evaluation of that reasoning. The procedure we present is the result of the adaptation of the Periodic Table of Arguments (PTA) (Wagemans, 2019b) from a purely descriptive tool into an evaluative one, and its employment as the basis for reasoning analysis within the wider framework of the Comprehensive Assessment Procedure for Natural Argumentation (CAPNA) (Hinton, forthcoming & <http://filologia.uni.lodz.pl/hinton/ias>). The presentation will include brief descriptions of the theoretical principles of both the PTA and the CAPNA, with an emphasis on how they are to be employed in practice to evaluate natural language argumentation. The method of the CAPNA relies on subjecting texts to a series of procedural questions which allow three aspects of argumentation to be evaluated: Process, Reasoning, and Expression. In employing the PTA at the Reasoning level, first comes the Argument Type Identification Procedure (ATIP) (Wagemans, 2019a), which allows natural arguments to be identified along the lines of the PTA's theoretical framework. From the identification, the underlying mechanism of the argument can be derived. Once this has been done, the analyst can ask the relevant procedural questions for the argument under scrutiny. This process will be demonstrated with the use of examples from public policy discourse. As well as helping to identify and evaluate the reasoning behind public policy arguments, and other types of argumentative discourse, this approach raises interesting questions about the theoretical understanding of argumentation and, in particular, about the ways in which arguments may be said to go wrong, leading to a revised view of what fallacies are and how they should be considered, points we touch upon in our closing remarks.

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**Keywords:** argument evaluation, periodic table of arguments, comprehensive assessment procedure for natural argumentation, fallacies

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## Lay Epistemic Argumentation: A Social Psychological Model

Scholarly work conducted within the framework of motivated reasoning has been gaining traction, countering the classic paradigm of rational choice models. One such theory of motivated reasoning is lay epistemic theory, which holds that humans argue for a specific conclusion, utilizing subjectively relevant evidence. Evidence from evolutionary, rhetorical and cultural psychology supports this premise. In this paper, we present the minimal model of informal argumentation, which is grounded in lay epistemic theory, and views arguments as being claim-centred, and as capable of being conceptualised using a minimal structure of claim-warrant-evidence. The minimal model can thus be used for analysing public argumentation by coding textual data into claims, warrants and evidence, together with qualifiers if and when they are identifiable. Previous data from in-depth interviews with Maltese participants concerning the integration of Arabs in Malta had been coded using the Toulmin model of informal argumentation. Accordingly, the data had been coded for claims, data, warrants, backings, qualifiers, and rebuttals. In this paper, we present data from in-depth interviews conducted with Arabs in Malta concerning their arguments on the integration of Arabs in Malta, which was coded using the minimal model (claim, warrant, evidence, and qualifiers when identifiable). The appeal of the minimal model lies in that: (a) it is grounded in psychological theory and empirical research; (b) it is very amenable to coding public argumentation; (c) it avoids the ambiguity of certain components of the Toulmin model; and (d) it is more parsimonious, that is, its minimal structure retains only those components of argument that can be clearly identified and coded. We argue that the minimal model sheds light on the descriptive features of argument, the kinds of arguments used on public issues by different stakeholders, and how certain public arguments can be socially legitimated more than others by virtue of being more ecologically rational.

**Keywords:** argumentation analysis, claims, parsimony, lay epistemic theory, ecological rationality

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## Analysis of Argumentative Gaps in the Controversy over Fashion Sustainability

In the current urge for sustainable policies, public institutions such as the European Union or NGOs have denounced the lack of sustainability in the fashion industry. Sustainability is then defined both in terms of environmental impact of materials, products and processes, and in terms of violations of human rights in the supply chain.

Critics argue, however, that the arguments for fashion sustainability are not widely accepted, as some unsustainable practices continue “undisturbed” in the fashion industry. In front of such a situation of potential impasse, it is important to ask the question why these appeals for sustainability are not accepted and/or not acted upon.

This paper sets out to make a contribution to this research question, by investigating discourses on fashion sustainability by different involved stakeholders (public institutions, NGOs, companies, private citizens) on different platforms (websites, media, social media). We will identify the main gaps in discourses of these different stakeholders, looking in particular at (a) misalignments as to the definition of discussion issues, in particular how the concept of sustainability is defined and what is seen as problematic; (b) conflicting frames concerning agentivity and responsibility for actions that could ensure such sustainability. The goal of this empirical study is to make sense of where the main problems in the controversy on fashion sustainability are to be located, ultimately in order to contribute to suggesting how to redefine the public discussion on this topic in view of avoiding impasse.

**Keywords:** fashion sustainability, misalignments, definition of discussion issues, agentivity, framing