Getting Involved in an Argumentation in Class as a Pragmatic Move: Social Conditions and Affordances

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This paper investigates argumentative discussions in a school activity involving Albanian-speaking pupils in Switzerland. Our aim is to understand how pupils respond to the issue proposed by the teacher for their discussion: do they deal with it? If they introduce new issues, how does the teacher react? We explore social conditions and affordances on the pupils’ argumentative interventions, focusing on how issues emerge and how younger interlocutors feel entitled to take part in a discussion.

KEYWORDS: critical discussion, issue, migrant children, opening stage, students interactions

1. POSITION OF THE PROBLEM

In the literature on argumentation and education, there seems to be consensus on the fact that it is difficult to find argumentation by children in the classroom (Kuhn, 1991; Garcia-Mila & Andersen, 2008, Andriessen & Schwarz, 2009; Erduran & Jiménez-Aleixandre, 2008; Schwarz, 2009). In particular, a “deficit approach” is often used to explain migrant children’s school failure. Migrants are expected to fail
because of their cultural distance with the school (e.g. de Haan & Elbers, 2004). In this paper, we analyse a case in which a pedagogical activity was designed in order to foster migrant children’s participation (Mehmeti & Perret-Clermont, 2016). The focus was on a group supposed to be at risk of school failure, namely Albanian-speaking students living in Switzerland (see for instance Becker, Jäpel, & Beck, 2011; Burri-Sharani, Efionayi-Mäder, Hammer, Pecoraro et al., 2010; Kronig, 2003; Müller, 2001). This paper is part of an ongoing research project on children’s argumentation that has been developed at the University of Neuchâtel and at the Università della Svizzera Italiana since 2008-2009.

In our approach to this topic, we feel that, before assessing children’s argumentative skills or designing argumentation activities for the school, we need to observe in detail how argumentation develops in adult-children discussions. In this paper, our general question is whether all the possibilities of argumentation are fully exploited in this specific setting, i.e. if the discussion is argumentative in a proper sense, what the children’s and the teacher’s contributions are, how the teacher deals with the children’s arguments and vice versa. Such research is relevant for education, as it might invite to think about conditions that could favour a “thinking space” (Perret-Clermont, 2015).

2. THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK FOR THE ANALYSIS

Because our aim is to analyse what happens within a classroom discussion in argumentative terms, we adopt the pragma-dialectical model (van Eemeren & Grootendorst, 2004) in order to reconstruct argumentation in our data. This model foresees four stages of a “critical discussion”, in which participants solve their difference of opinion on the merits. In the confrontation stage, a difference of opinion emerges between the arguers. In the opening stage, the arguers try to establish “how much relevant common ground they share” (van Eemeren & Grootendorst, 2004, p. 60). In the argumentation stage of a critical discussion, arguments in support or against a standpoint are advanced and critically tested (ibid.). The concept of critical testing is crucial to argumentation: in fact, the arguers are not simply trying to win their cause but they want to do this by remaining within the boundaries of

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reasonableness. A concluding stage occurs if the difference of opinion is resolved on the merits.

Because the discussion we are considering is multiparty and happens in a face-to-face setting, in which all participants are contributing without pre-determined positions and roles, it is particularly important for us to understand how each participant contributes to raise issues, advance standpoints and present arguments.

As van Eemeren and Grootendorst (2004, p. 118) put it, the analytic overview helps bring to light which points are at dispute, which parties are involved in the difference of opinion, what their procedural and material premises are, which argumentation is put forward by each of the parties, how their discourses are organised, and how each individual argument is connected with the standpoint that it is supposed to justify or refute.

From a methodological viewpoint, this model serves as a grid for the analysis of argumentation in real communicative interactions. It has a heuristic function, insofar as it helps elicit argumentative discussions from conversations that might be non-completely argumentative. It also has an evaluative function, as it gives a “normative standard” of how a discussion should proceed in order to resolve the difference of opinion in a reasonable fashion.

In addition to the model of a critical discussion, when analysing “how each individual argument is connected with the standpoint that it is supposed to justify or refute” (ibid.), we will introduce the Argumentum Model of Topics (Rigotti & Greco Morasso, 2010) for the reconstruction of argument schemes. The AMT allows systematically distinguishing premises that are procedural in nature, i.e. inferential connections, from premises that are material in nature, including cultural or contextual general assumptions as well as factual data.

3. DATA

We rely on a case study, already discussed in Mehmeti & Perret-Clermont (2016) relative to a class within a school of Albanian language and culture, including 8 to 13 years old children. This class is organized and sustained by the association of teachers and parents “Lidhja e Arsimitarëve dhe Prindëreve Shqiptarë” (LAPSH). All these students attend a Swiss public school for their regular schooling.

The two teachers (who had no previous training on argumentation) accepted to follow an activity designed by one of the researchers (Teuta Mehmeti). It was expected that a deep attention paid to the psychosocial conditions, favouring the development of a “thinking space” (Perret-Clermont, 2015), could lead children to enter
argumentation and show cognitive and social skills. In that activity, students are invited to actively discuss an issue of world importance; the teacher has a more peripheral role, being supposed to provoke discussion and the development of students’ thinking. This activity avoids the pressure of normative assessments, which can hinder children’s competencies (Butera, Buchs, & Darnon, 2011). It echoes for some points the principles for experiment design for argumentation (Jimenez-Aleixandre, 2009).

Each teacher was given the following protocol describing the activity (Mehmeti & Perret-Clermont, 2014):

1) The teacher presents the researcher: a friend who studies psychology and education and is interested in what children do during classroom activities. She explains that this lesson is different from usual: children have to play an important role conducting the discussion; the teacher will be confined to a more passive role.

2) She says that she expects the students to work in dyads first. She organizes these dyads, and informs them that she will give two photographs (figure 1) to each dyad. She writes three questions on the blackboard:
   1. What do you see in these pictures? Describe.
   2. Where could these two pictures have been taken?
      2.1 What are the characteristics of this country?
   3. What creates pollution?

![Figure 1 - Photographs given by the teacher](image)

She tells the children that they have to discuss these questions in their dyad. When they reach an agreement, they will go and write their answer on the blackboard.

3) The teacher asks the dyads to choose which member of the dyad will write the answers on the blackboard; then, s/he
does so. Then the teacher explains that one dyad will discuss the answers of another dyad.  
4) The teacher draws attention to some of the answers written on the blackboard and opens the discussion to the whole class.

4. ANALYSIS

We will analyse Extract 1, located in the third step of the activity (when all the pupils have written their answers on the blackboard and the teacher designates a group X to discuss the answers of a group Y); this extract has already been discussed from other viewpoints by Mehmeti and Perret-Clermont (2016). We will (a) reconstruct the different argumentative discussions that are present; (b) analyse to what extent these discussions are developed.

The original language is French. Albeit pupils are normally expected to speak Albanian in this special school, the teacher allowed them to use French, because it turned out that their command of Albanian was not sufficient to speak about pollution.

Contrary to other pupils who have answered by mentioning a city either from Albania or Kosovo in question 2, the dyad formed by Burim and Arlind has written “We don’t know”. Discussions are started by the children and the teacher around the different answers emerged. At a certain moment, Burim intervenes to defend his dyad’s answer (turn 1).
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Participant</th>
<th>French</th>
<th>English</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Burim</td>
<td>j'ai écrit « on ne sait pas » [à la question 2] mais pour dire que je ne suis pas d'accord avec les autres parce que [la pollution] c'est un problème qui est présent partout.</td>
<td>I wrote « we don’t know » [to the question 2] but to say that I don’t agree with the others because it [pollution] is a problem that is present everywhere</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Teacher</td>
<td>Et ça veut dire qu'en Suisse aussi ?</td>
<td>And does it mean that in Switzerland too?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Burim</td>
<td>Oui</td>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Teacher</td>
<td>Ah oui, et où par exemple ?</td>
<td>Oh yes, and where for example?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>Burim</td>
<td>Ben j'ai déjà vu mais aussi parce qu'il y a plein de grandes entreprises et industries qui produisent des choses, ça aussi ça pollue</td>
<td>Well, I have already seen it but also because there are lot of big companies and industries that produce things, this also pollutes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>Valon</td>
<td>Oui mais quand même en Suisse y'a beaucoup moins parce que par exemple y'a pas ces déchets comme ça partout</td>
<td>But still in Switzerland there is much less because for example there is not so such waste everywhere like that</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>Teacher</td>
<td>Et comment ça se fait?</td>
<td>And how does it come?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>Shpresla</td>
<td>Ben parce que la Suisse c'est pas un pays pauvre</td>
<td>Well because Switzerland is not a poor country.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>Teacher</td>
<td>Et donc?</td>
<td>So what?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>Valon</td>
<td>On peut payer pour enlever les déchets</td>
<td>The removal of waste can be paid for</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>Teacher</td>
<td>Où paye-t-on pour ça, comment ça se passe</td>
<td>Where is it paid for? How does that work?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>Burim</td>
<td>Les impôts</td>
<td>The taxes</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Participants: three pupils (Burim, Valon, Shpresla) and the teacher

Table 1 – Extract 1
4.1 Analytic overview of argumentation in Extract 1

As a first step of our analysis, we will propose an analytic overview of argumentation in Extract 1. Because this will be very important for the following discussion, we will not only mention standpoints and arguments, but we will also make issues explicit on which argumentation develops. Introducing a new issue, in fact, means introducing a new argumentative discussion; and, as it will be shown, there are three potential argumentative discussions emerging in Extract 1. We will equally specify the initiators of these issues. These changes require us to make a few amendments on how the analytical overview is presented in van Eemeren, Grootendorst and Snoeck-Henkemans (2002), although the main concepts remain unvaried.

A first important change (see Table 2) is that we mark the issue on which participants are discussing with a letter (A, B, C). Issues are listed in connection with the bit of the discussion (turns) in which they emerge. A standpoint which is advanced on a given issue is marked with the traditional pragma-dialectical notation: A1 will be a standpoint on issue A, B1 a standpoint on issue 2, and so on. We also insert protagonist(s) and antagonist(s).

As it emerges in Table 2, the initial issue for the discussion corresponds to the second question proposed to the students: “Where could these pictures have been taken?”. When Burim starts talking at turn 1, he is giving an argument to explain why he wrote “We don’t know” on the blackboard.

From a linguistic viewpoint, Burim’s standpoint B1 is outside of the paradigm of expected answers for the question “Where could these two pictures have been taken?”. Burim is raising a meta-issue (issue B), which could be formulated as: “Can we answer the question “where have these pictures been taken”?”. His standpoint on this issue is “No”, and he gives an argument for it: pollution is everywhere. However, we do not mean that Burim necessarily has a polemical objective in mind. His answer could be his way of discussing the teacher’s question and it is difficult to say, on the basis of the data at our disposal, how much he feels the need to oppose his fellow students.

To this, the teacher immediately responds by asking questions that challenge argument B1.1 (turns 2 and 4). By this doing, she also shifts the issue of the discussion, which becomes: “Is there pollution in Switzerland? (and where?)”.

The discussion is then moved on this new issue (issue C) and the first to take a position is, again, Burim. This is not surprising: having said that pollution is everywhere, he now only needs to specify his position speaking about Switzerland. At turn 5, Burim repeats his
standpoint “Yes” and gives as an argument the fact that there are big companies and industries in Switzerland; and this also pollutes.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Turns</th>
<th>Issue</th>
<th>Standpoint and arguments (protagonists)</th>
<th>Antagonists</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Preceding discussion</td>
<td>A (Teacher) Where have these pictures been taken?</td>
<td>Other pupils: A1 In Kosovo or Albania (various answers written on the blackboard)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1-2</td>
<td>B (Burim) Can we answer the question “where have these pictures been taken”?</td>
<td>Burim: B1 We cannot answer B1.1 Because pollution is everywhere</td>
<td>Teacher: ? Challenges B1.1 and thus opens issue C</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2-12</td>
<td>C (Teacher) Is there pollution in Switzerland (and where)?</td>
<td>Burim: C1 (Yes) there is pollution in Switzerland C 1.1 there are lot of companies and industries which produce things, this also pollutes</td>
<td>Valon: C1′′ No there is much less pollution in Switzerland C.1.1′′ There is not so much waste everywhere like that Valon + teacher + Shpresa + Burim: C.1.1.1′′ Because the Swiss pay to remove waste (via taxation) C.1.1.1.1′′ Because Switzerland is not a poor country</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 2 - Analytic overview of argumentation in Extract 1

Valon, another pupil, assumes a contrary standpoint, saying that in Switzerland pollution is “much less”; he presents an argument for his standpoint: there is not so much waste (turn 6). At this point, Valon’s argumentation is further developed with a series of subordinative
arguments produced by Shpresa (turn 8), Valon (turn 10) and Burim himself (turn 12). Each of these arguments (represented in table 2 as C1.1.1” and C1.1.1.1”) is solicited by a question asked by the teacher.

4.2 Discussion

The analytic overview in section 4.1 is similar to a tree in which some branches are not fully flourishing, while others are. Some branches have been cut as soon as they started to grow. The gardener, in this metaphor, is the teacher, who controls the development of the discussion. Concerning this metaphor, we think that it is important to point out some hypotheses on these processes: what seems to motivate students' arguments, what they interpret about the issues that are addressed in the activity or in teacher's interventions, how they follow or interrupt their line of reasoning.

4.2.1 Legitimate issues and meaningful issues

A first observation concerns the issue set by the teacher in her question: “Where have these two pictures been taken?” Our first hypothesis is that, asked to this group of pupils, this might have been perceived as a rhetorical question. In fact, it is evident for most pupils that the two pictures have been taken in Kosovo or Albania; all answers are consonant except for Burim and Arlind’s.

If this hypothesis is true, i.e. if the answer is obvious, why asking this question? Generally speaking, an informative question must ask for something that is not known, while rhetorical questions ask for something that the answerer should know already (Gobber, 1999). In argumentative terms, if there is no actual difference of opinion (because the “issue” is not a real issue) no discussion needs to be opened. Independently from the original intentions with which this question had been formulated, it is possible that Burim thinks that somehow the picture in question is leading pupils to give answers that support a stereotyped and prejudiced view of Kosovo and Albania.

A second observation also concerns the emergence of issues. When, at turn 1, Burim sets a new issue (B), he makes a very courageous move, as he questions his teacher's question, by saying that it is not possible to answer it. In ordinary school situations, teachers’ questions are reputed to be part of a “didactic contract” (Brousseau, 1980; Schubauer-Leoni, 1986; Sensevy & Mercier, 2007). As such, they are perceived as meaningful and not discussed. However, following the design proposed by the researcher, the teacher has announced that this
lesson will be different. It could be that, therefore, Burim dares to question what is normally taken for granted.

Burim provides an argument for his standpoint (see table 2):

B1 We cannot answer
B1.1 Because pollution is everywhere

The teacher reacts by challenging B1.1 repeatedly at turns 2 and 4. We cannot know if this is done on purpose or inadvertently, but what happens here is that an issue introduced by a young pupil is immediately abandoned as an effect of the teacher’s questioning. So, the argumentative discussion on issue B is left unaccomplished, as we do not get to any concluding stage. This might induce to think that the pupil’s issue (B) was not legitimate.

4.2.2 Developing different lines of argument?

Burim reacts to issue C on which the teacher has steered the discussion:

C1 Yes there is (pollution in Switzerland)
C1.1 there are lot of companies and industries which produce things, this also pollutes

To this, Valon replies with another standpoint and argument opposing Burim’s (see table 2):

C1” No there is much less pollution in Switzerland
C1.1” There is not so much waste everywhere like that

So, even though the teacher has not accepted Burim’s issue (see section 4.1.1), she still finds herself confronted with a good example of argumentation developed by her pupils. Specifically, the scenario is that of a mixed dispute with a protagonist and an antagonist (Burim & Valon) who both have advanced arguments in favour of their respective standpoints.

The teacher intervenes in this discussion asking questions (turns 7-9-11) in such a way that she seems to be willing to develop children’s argumentation. We found a similar role of adults’ questioning in previous research (Greco Morasso, Miserez Caperos, & Perret-Clermont, 2015). However, in this case, the teacher only talks to Valon, while she does not interact with Burim, thus only developing one side of the mixed dispute. Different persons contribute to this development: Shpresa (turn 8), Valon (turn 10), and even Burim (turn 12), who has
been able to follow this line of argument, while de facto abandoning his own.

Thus, a mixed dispute that was balanced up to turn 6 becomes unbalanced after the teacher’s interventions. Because the goal of the argumentation stage of a critical discussion is submitting the parties’ standpoints and arguments to critical scrutiny in order to resolve a difference of opinion on the merits (see section 2), the argumentation stage as it is developed here is questionable at the least. In fact, one side is completely abandoned while the opposing side is developed; they are not really confronted. As a consequence, there is no proper concluding stage of this discussion. Whether the students have reached agreement or not is not clear because no space is given for exploring this aspect.

Moreover, the teacher’s questions induce her students to provide subordinative argumentation in support of Valon’s argument. On the opposite, there is no exploration (inventio) of further arguments in support of Valon’s (or Burim’s) standpoints. Our hypothesis is that the teacher’s questioning about Valon’s argument creates new expectations and interpretations of the activity: it could be that students feel that they do not need to critically think about arguments but rather to answer the teacher’s questions.

Notably, fostering a process of inventio on all sides of an argumentative dispute is not strictly required by a standard critical discussion, unless it is explicitly functional to the goal of resolving the difference of opinion. Thus, one could object that it might have been unnecessary to raise further arguments in this case. However, the context in which this discussion takes place must be taken into account in order to fully appreciate the potential value of assigning a broader space to inventio. In fact, because the aim of the activity was to foster students’ argumentation, it might have been functional to give a broader space to the exploration of other arguments.

4.2.3 What is pollution? A problem with the opening stage

The difference of opinion between Burim and the others could be resolved, at least in part, by tackling the meaning that they attribute to the term “pollution”. In fact, while the photos obviously point to two specific forms of pollution (waste and cars’ smoke), the linguistic term “pollution” per se covers a wider area of phenomena. When Burim alludes to industrial pollution, he relies on this broader interpretation.

Now, if this broader meaning of pollution is adopted, Burim’s claim that pollution is everywhere is difficult to contradict. The AMT representation of his argument (standpoint C1 and argument C1.1) is represented in figure 1. Burim adopts a locus from cause to effect to
show that there are different independent causes for pollution and some of them (big companies and industries that produce things) are present in Switzerland; therefore, pollution is necessarily present in Switzerland.

However, if one takes the specific meaning of pollution that is suggested by the photos, then Burim's claim is not acceptable because his main contextual or cultural premise, i.e. the endoxon, would fail to be true.

![Diagram](image)

**Endoxon:** Waste, cars' smoke, big companies and industries that produce things are causes of pollution

**Datum:** Big companies and industries that produce things are present in Switzerland

**Maxim:** If the cause is present, the effect will be present

**First conclusion / Minor premise:** Some of the causes of pollution are present in Switzerland

**Final conclusion:** There is pollution in Switzerland (C1)

Figure 2 - AMT analysis of Burim's argument (standpoint C1 and argument C1.1)

In this passage, we have a typical case of ambiguity raised by a natural language term (i.e. pollution). As a consequence, there is a problem with the opening stage, as participants do not agree on the meaning of a term that is central to the discussion. Problems with the opening stage, especially linked to ambiguities, may generate misunderstandings and conflicts (Dascal, 2003).

Thus, this ambiguity should be resolved for the discussion to proceed in a reasonable way. Clarifying this term could bring to a
resolution of the difference of opinion on issue (C), as participants might agree that there is industrial pollution in Switzerland, while other forms of pollution (such as waste abandoned in the streets) would be less frequently seen in Swiss cities. However, the discussion proceeds without solving this problem, thus leaving the difference of opinion unresolved.

5. CONCLUSIONS AND OPENINGS

This paper has analysed a case of argumentation in the classroom in which a group of pupils discuss on an issue related to pollution. This discussion testifies to the presence of argumentation in a classroom in which minority children are involved. In this case, and contrary to previous studies, we found that children do not lack basic skills of argumentation: they are able to spontaneously open new issues for a discussion; they advance standpoints and arguments. Moreover, they can follow the teacher when she opens new paths for their discussion.

However, we have found that the three argumentative discussions opened by the teacher and her pupils are not corresponding to an ideal critical discussion because some elements are missing. In section 4.2.1 and 4.2.2, we have found that the concluding stage was missing; in section 4.2.2, this was linked to a problem with the critical testing of arguments in the argumentation stage. In section 4.2.3, we discussed a problem with the opening stage, based on the ambiguity of the term "pollution".

We assume that a teacher has a special role, to some extent exceeding the "normal" or "canonical" role of a participant to an argumentative discussion: she is in control of turn taking, she manages issues and helps develop arguments. Ideally, as we think, she is also in charge of the fact that each argumentative discussion in the classroom might become an occasion for young pupils (and herself) to learn more about argumentation as a form of reasonable resolution of disagreement.

Following this line of reasoning, we have two aspects on our agenda for future work.

1. The "special role" of the teacher, who participates in the pupils' argumentative discussion without being a canonical participant, is similar to the role of a dispute mediator (Greco Morasso, 2011). The latter is responsible for the creation of an argumentative space in which parties, who enter the discussion as conflicting disputants, can resolve their conflict via argumentation. We therefore assume as a working hypothesis for future research that, if a teacher (or adult) wants to
foster children's argumentation, it might be useful to model his or her role upon the mediator's.

2. We need to better clarify the argumentation context in which this discussion takes place in terms of an argumentative activity type (van Eemeren, 2010). This is, however, a delicate item on our research agenda. In fact, one cannot simply say that there is one activity type corresponding to "discussions in the classroom". Many things happen in the classroom. Not all discussions are argumentative; and not all of them have the same goals and characteristics. Therefore, we should carefully consider what activity types are happening in a classroom, considering whether students and teacher(s) are involved in a formal or informal discussion; what subject is being taught; what the goal of that segment of interaction is, and so on. Moreover, as we think, classroom activities must not be confined into rigid boundaries, so one should not think to establish activity types whose boundaries are too rigid. As Danish and Enyedy (2015) show, teachers may capitalize on discussions that arise from students even though they are outside the boundaries of a pre-defined activity type.

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