

A PRAGMA-DIALECTICAL APPROACH IN TELEVISION TALK SHOW ARGUMENTATION:
A CASE STUDY OF THE NAMIBIA BROADCASTING CORPORATION'S *ONE-ON-ONE*
DISCOURSE

A THESIS SUBMITTED IN FULFILMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE OF
DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY IN ENGLISH STUDIES

AT

UNIVERSITY OF NAMIBIA

BY

CECILIA CHUMA SIBALATANI

220078513

OCTOBER 2024

MAIN SUPERVISOR: PROF. COLLEN SABAO (University of Namibia)

CO-SUPERVISOR: DR. ENERST JAKAZA (MSU - ZIMBABWE)

ABSTRACT

This study investigated the argumentative discourse of the Namibian Broadcast Corporation (NBC) *One-on-One* talk show interviews between the host and a guest. Although the interviews present different guests per sitting, the host is an NBC employee assigned to the interview segment and is couched within the theoretical explications of pragma-dialectical theory of argumentation (van Eemeren, 2017). The pragma-dialectical theory of argumentation is fundamentally a broad spectrum of the study of linguistics that has, through its development and growth, shifted its interest and focus from abstractions of formal logic to a more structured interest in pragmatics. This theory has since been more concerned with pragma-dialectics encompassing the rules of argumentation, strategic manoeuvring, and effectiveness through reasonableness. The discourse in argumentation varies in a range of how influential political figures represent or defend their points of view on the issue at hand. Specifically, the study represented a qualitative establishment of television show discourse, and it was primarily focused on investigating the patterns of pragma-dialectics in which the host of the talk show and the guest strategically manoeuvred to resolve differences of opinion. In the same vein, the study investigated whether the resolution of the differences of opinion was achieved and how effectiveness and reasonableness played any role in the process of the arguers' attempt to defend their standpoint on issues under discussion. The data was collected from archived audio recordings transcribed into readable text files. The topics of the talk show discussions covered were on issues pertaining to Namibia's social, economic and political spheres. The analysis employed the pragma-dialectical method to evaluate the data. The findings, on one part, demonstrated that three turn-taking strategies played a vital role in the argumentative discourse in the following ways: the arguers (especially the host) used the turn-holding strategy in order to maintain and prolong their window of talking. This was more prevalent in the repetitive use of "but", and "and". The arguers also used turn-claiming as a strategy by interjection and conjunctions such as "but!", "really!" and "Oh!" Turn-yielding strategy was also used but rarely. The arguers decided to give up their turn to talk when deemed necessary and when they seemed to have exhausted their stance in opinion. This benefitted the opponent

in the argument by rendering them more time to express and defend their standpoint at certain issues. The findings further reflected that, through the constellation of argumentative moves displayed by the arguers, argumentative patterns were employed through their typology of standpoints, a difference of opinions, argumentative schemes and argumentative structure. It was also observed that the arguers strategically manoeuvred at every stage of the discussion to maintain their standpoint; in this regard, argumentative patterns came up as a result of strategic manoeuvring. By trying to observe the importance of being effective and reasonableness, the arguers still strategically manoeuvred. Although there are numerous pragma-dialectic studies on talk shows, the study concluded that there was a need for improvement in journalistic communication skills between *One-on-One* talk show in terms of strategic manoeuvring and adhering to the rules that apply in every argumentation stage. It is recommended that further studies should be carried out directed towards communication skills in television shows, especially in situations where non-native English speakers struggle to express their opinions and fail effectively to defend their viewpoints due to language barriers and poor argumentation strategies.

Keywords: Pragma-dialectics, argumentation, argumentation structure, argumentation stages, strategic manoeuvring, television talk show discussion.

Table of Contents

ABSTRACT	<i>i</i>
LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS AND ACRONYMS	<i>vii</i>
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS	<i>viii</i>
CHAPTER 1	1
1.0 Introduction	1
1.1 Background of the study.....	2
1.2 Statement of the problem	4
1.3 Objectives of the study.....	5
1.4 Significance of the study.....	6
1.5 Limitations	7
1.6 Delimitation	7
1.7 Theoretical Framework.....	7
CHAPTER 2	9
LITERATURE REVIEW	9
2.0 Introduction	9
2.1 The Pragma-dialectics of argumentation as an approach	10
2.2 Characteristics of strategic manoeuvring in television talk shows	16
2.3 Contextualising point of view	21
2.4 Aspects of argumentation in television talk	22
2.4.1 Principles of Talk Shows	34
2.4.2 Features of Talk Shows	36
2.5 Argumentation in other settings of communication	37
2.6 The Argumentation as a theory	39
2.6.1 Contextualising the model of critical discussion	45
2.6.2 Characterising speech acts in argumentation	46
2.7 Summary.....	48
CHAPTER 3	49
RESEARCH METHODOLOGY	49
3.0 Introduction	49
3.1 Research Design	49
3.2 Research paradigm	50
3.3 Population of the Study	51
3.4 Text selection criteria for <i>One-on-One</i> TV Talk Show discussions	52
3.4.1 Inclusion criteria.....	52
3.4.2 Exclusion Criteria.....	53
3.5 Sampling Size	53

3.6	Data Collection	54
3.7	Data Analysis.....	55
3.8	Ethical considerations.....	55
3.8.1	Open source data	56
3.8.2	Permissions	57
3.8.3	Confidentiality and anonymity.....	57
3.8.4	Responsible data use and dissemination	57
3.8.5	Avoidance of harm and sensationalism	58
3.8.6	Researcher objectivity and bias mitigation	58
3.8.7	Compliance with ethical guidelines.....	58
3.9	Summary.....	59
CHAPTER 4.....		61
THEORETICAL LITERATURE REVIEW		61
4.0	Introduction	61
4.1	Historical background of the Pragma-Dialectical Theory of Argumentation.....	62
4.2	The theory of Argumentation	62
4.3	Components of Argumentation Theory.....	64
4.4	Analytical tools of pragma-dialectics	67
4.5	Meta-theoretical characters of the four principles of argumentation.....	67
4.6	Effectiveness through reasonableness in Argumentative Discourse	70
4.7	Pragma-dialectical rules of critical discussion	74
4.7.1	Critical Discussion rules.....	76
4.7.2	Rules for the performance of speech acts	77
4.7.3	Unexpressed premises in argumentative discourse	84
4.8	Argumentation structure	94
4.9	Rules for critical discussion and fallacies as violations of the discussion rules ...	102
4.10	Strategic Manoeuvring in Argumentation	103
4.11	Strategic Manoeuvring in the various stages of the resolution process	105
4.11.1	Topical Potential.....	106
4.11.2	Audience Demand	107
4.11.3	Presentational Devices	108
4.12	Fallacies and derailment in strategic manoeuvring	110
4.12.1	The four parameters of strategic manoeuvring	116
4.12.2	Fallacies as derailments of strategic manoeuvring	117
4.12.3	The inconsistency in strategic manoeuvring	121
4.12.4	The institutional bearing of strategic manoeuvring	124
4.13	The dialectical objective in the different four stages of argumentation.....	125
4.14	Argument schemes characterising types of argumentations	129
4.15	Prototypical Argumentative patterns	134
4.16	Summary.....	136
CHAPTER 5.....		138
EVALUATION AND ANALYSIS OF THE DATA		138

5.0	INTRODUCTION	138
5.1	ARGUMENTATION ON NAMIBIA'S WOMEN IN POLITICS: THE CASE OF THE MINISTER OF HOME AFFAIRS	139
5.1.1	INTRODUCTION	139
5.1.2	CONFRONTATION STAGE: Contestation of the SWAPO party presidency	143
5.1.2	OPENING STAGE: The contestation of SWAPO party president.....	143
5.1.4	ARGUMENTATION STAGE	148
5.1.5	CONCLUDING STAGE	170
5.1.6	SUMMARY	170
5.2.	ARGUMENTATION ON NAMIBIA HIGHER EDUCATION TRANSFORMATION, FUNDING AND AFFORDABILTY ON- ONE- ON DISCUSSION	172
5.2.1	INTRODUCTION	172
5.2.2	CONFRONTATION.....	174
5.2.3	OPENING STAGE.....	176
5.2.4	ARGUMENTATION STAGE	179
5.2.5	CONCLUDING STAGE: Vice chancellors' future endeavour	205
5.2.6	SUMMARY	209
5.3	ARGUMENTATION ON NATIONAL ASSEMBLY AND THE NATIONAL COUNCIL	211
5.3.1	INTRODUCTION	211
5.3.2	CONFRONTATION STAGE	213
5.3.3	OPENING STAGE.....	216
5.3.4	ARGUMENTATION STAGE	217
5.3.5	CONCLUDING STAGE	249
5.3.6	SUMMARY	250
5.4	ARGUMENTATION ON LAND AFIRMITIVE ACTION PRESSURE GROUP ADVOCATING FOR LAND FOR THE LESS ADVANTAGED	253
5.4.1	INTRODUCTION	253
5.4.2	CONFRONTATION.....	258
5.4.3	OPENING STAGE.....	259
5.4.4	ARGUMENTATION STAGE	262
5.4.5	CONCLUDING STAGE	284
5.4.6	SUMMARY	284
5.5	ARGUMENTATION ON VIEWS OF THE NAMIBIAN RULING POLITICAL PARTY.....	286
5.5.1	INTRODUCTION	286
5.5.3	OPENING STAGE.....	289
5.4.4	ARGUMENTATION STAGE	291
5.5.5	CONCLUDING STAGE	306
5.5.6	SUMMARY	308
5.6	ARGUMENTATION ON NATIONAL PLANNING COMMISSION FOR SOCIAL ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT	310
5.6.1	INTRODUCTION	310
5.6.2	CONFRONTATION STAGE	312
5.6.3	OPENING STAGE.....	312
5.6.4	ARGUMENTATION STAGE	314
5.6.5	CONCLUDING STAGE	331
5.6.6	SUMMARY	334
5.7	ARGUMENTATION ON GERMAN DEVELOPMENT AID IN NAMIBIA	336
5.7.1	INTRODUCTION	336
5.7.2	CONFRONTATION AND OPENING STAGE	337
5.7.3	ARGUMENTATION STAGE	338
5.7.4	CONCLUDING STAGE:.....	353
5.7.5	SUMMARY	355

5.8	ARGUMENTATION ON POLITICS OF INDEPENDENT PRESIDENTIAL CANDIDACY	356
5.8.1	INTRODUCTION	356
5.8.2	CONFRONTATION STAGE	359
5.8.3	OPENING STAGE	360
5.8.4	ARGUMENTATION STAGE	362
5.8.5	CONCLUDING STAGE:	387
5.8.6	SUMMARY	393
CHAPTER 6		395
DISCUSSION OF FINDINGS		395
6.0	Introduction	395
6.1	Argumentation stages: confrontation stage, opening stage, argumentation stage, and the closing stage	397
6.2	The argumentation structures employed in the discussions and the identification of recurring patterns in defending standpoints	399
6.3	Observations on the distribution of speech acts and the critical discussion rules and the defence of standpoints during discussions	403
6.4	The types of argumentative activities in the <i>One-on-One</i> discussions related to the critical discussion model	409
6.5	The types of fallacies that may result from the talk show guest participant's attempt to manoeuvre strategically	411
6.6	Manifestation of strategic manoeuvring in argumentative discourse through choices made from Topical Potential, Audience Demand and Presentational Device.....	413
6.7	Maintaining reasonableness and achieving effectiveness by using strategic manoeuvring to manage or avoid fallacy in the arguments	416
6.8	Chapter summary	421
CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS		423
7.0	Introduction	423
7.1	Conclusion	424
7.2	Recommendation for this study	431
7.3	Recommendations for future studies	435
REFERENCES		439
APPENDIX 1: ETHICAL CLEARANCE CERTIFICATE		475
APPENDIX 2: PROOF OF PAYMENT FOR THE RECORDINGS		476

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS AND ACRONYMS

APA	American Psychological Association
AR	Affirmative Repositioning
COST	Out-Of-School-Training
DTA	Democratic Turnhalle Alliance
EPA	Environmental Protection Agency
GDP	Gross Domestic Product
GIZ	German Society for International Cooperation
HDC	Higher Degree Committee
IOM	International Organisation of Migration
IPC	Independent Patriots for Change
KfW	German Development Bank
NSFAF	Namibia Student Financial Assistance Fund
NBC	Namibia Broadcasting Corporation
NCRST	Namibia Commission on Research Science and Technology
NPC	National Planning Commission
NTA	Nigerian Television Agency
NUST	Namibia University of Science and Technology
PLAN	People's Liberation Army of Namibia
SADC	Southern African Development Community
SWAPO	South-West African People's Organisation
TV	Television
UN	United Nations
UNAM	University of Namibia
UNDP	United Nations Development Programme
UREC	University of Namibia Ethics Committee
VC	Vice Chancellor
ZANU-PF	Zimbabwe African National Unity- Patriotic Front

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

Thank you, God, for being the light where it seemed impossible to imagine the end of this journey. I thank you God for the strength, good health and time. Most of all I thank you God for all the people mentioned hereunder for their important roles in my life.

It is my sincere pleasure to acknowledge people who have played significant roles in my study. Primarily, I would like to extend my acknowledgement to my supervisor Pro. Collen Sabao for being a key player in this research from the onset to the final stage. I would also like to thank my co-supervisor Dr Enerst Jakaza for his input and dedicating his time to guide and assist me throughout the duration of my studies.

Secondly, I would like to acknowledge my family. I would like to acknowledge my children, Courage, Skye, Sage, Jane and Joye for their love. I could never have done this effectively without my children's love and support. My heartfelt gratitude goes to my husband Mwita Sibatani for being a pillar of my strength. My family's love, patience, respect and support never disappointed me. In the same breath, I would like to thank my siblings Terman, Thelma and Sipiwe for their love and encouragement.

I acknowledge my friends and colleagues for supporting me throughout this journey. I also thank my employer NUST for financial backup along the way.

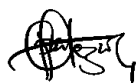
Last but not least, it warms my heart to acknowledge the two people who instilled in me good values for good work ethics. These are non-other than my late parents. It was their impactful teachings and beliefs of hard work instilled in me from a very young age that helped me to soldier on until final

DEDICATION

I dedicate this thesis to my children. I hope it inspires them to strive and reach towards their dreams, whatever those dreams may be. I want them to believe that anything they put to their minds is attainable through hard work and determination. They must not create any self-imposed limitations and should always remember that the sky is not the limit because there are footprints on the moon!

DECLARATION

I, Cecilia Chuma Sibalatani, hereby declare that this study is my own work and is a true reflection of my research, and that this work, or any part thereof has not been submitted for a degree at any other institution. No part of this thesis/dissertation may be reproduced, stored in any retrieval system, or transmitted in any form, or by means (e.g. electronic, mechanical, photocopying, recording or otherwise) without the prior permission of the author, or The University of Namibia in that behalf. I, Cecilia Chuma Sibalatani, grant The University of Namibia the right to reproduce this thesis in whole or in part, in any manner or format, which The University of Namibia may deem fit.

CECILIA C. SIBALATANI**01 SEPTEMBER 2024**

Name of Student

Signature

Date

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

1.0 Introduction

This study examined argumentation of difference of opinion in television talk show. The discussions that took place between two arguers at a given time, the host and the guest, were explored from different angles such as strategic manoeuvring that the arguer applied in an attempt at resolving the differences of opinion as reasonably and effectively as possible. Through the application of the pragma-dialectical theory of argumentation by van Eemeren & Grootendorst, (2003), this study adopted the pragma-dialectical theory to examine the occurrence of strategic manoeuvring within the One-on-One television show discussions. This chapter introduces the study by providing the research background, the statement of the problem, the objectives, the significance of the study, the limitations of the study, the delimitation of the study and finally provides a preliminary explication of the theoretical framework. This study adopted the four stages that, according to Argumentation Theory, a critical discussion consists of, namely, the confrontation stage (where the difference of opinion manifest itself), the opening stage (where the procedural and material points of departure for a critical discussion about a standpoint at an issue are established), the argumentation stage (where the standpoints are challenged and defended) and the concluding stage (where the results of the discussion are determined), (van Eemeren & Houtlosser, 2003). The relevance of Argumentation Theory in this study was closely reflected on. Van Eemeren (2018) refers to Argumentation Theory as the academic discipline that examines argumentation in all its varieties and

manifestation. Argumentation Theory focuses on how arguments are produced to support the standpoint while dealing with a specific verbal activity at any given time (van Rees, 2007, p.1455). There are several angles from which argumentation can be approached such as philosophy and logic, communication studies, linguistics and rhetoric. In all these facets, argumentation is concerned with the presentational characteristics and effectiveness of argumentation (van Eemeren, 2018, p.2). Van Eemeren (2018) therefore defines argumentation as:

“A communicative and interactional act complex aimed at resolving a difference of opinion with the addressee by putting forward a constellation of propositions for which the arguer can be held accountable in order to make the standpoint at issue acceptable to a rational judge who judges reasonably”(p.3).

1.1 Background of the study

Pragma-dialectical approach is a phenomenon of verbal communication whereby argumentation is a complex speech act in a critical discussion (Zarefsky, 2020). The pragma-dialectical approach aims to provide a sound integration of dialectics (the study of critical exchanges) and pragmatics (the study of language use in actual communication) (van Eemeren & Houtlosser, 2006). Pragma-dialectics as an approach to argumentation was initiated by Frans van Eemeren and Rob Grootendorst in the 1970s at the Speech Communication Department of the University of Amsterdam as an argumentation theory for analysing and evaluating argumentation in actual practice (Drid, 2016). The pragma-dialectical theory of argumentation can be applied to analyse, evaluate and understand several different types of argumentative discourses that may include legal argumentation, mediation,

negotiation, parliamentary debate, interpersonal argumentation, political argumentation, health communication and visual argumentation (Gerber, 2011). In this study, the pragma-dialectical approach was used to linguistically examine the argumentative discourse of the Namibia Broadcasting Cooperation's (NBC) *One-on-One* talk show discussions to establish how differences of opinion arise and how they are resolved between the arguers. By the aid of the critical discussion model, fallacious moves were identified through the violation of the critical discussion rules (van Eemeren & Houtlosser, 2008). These fallacious moves take place in all the four stages of argumentation in which dialectical objectives are identified. The argumentation moves that take place in the discussions are identified throughout in the four stages of argumentation in the arguers' attempts to resolve their differences reasonably (van Eemeren, 2010). The next section focuses on the problem statement related to the talk show argumentation at NBC. *One-on-One* talk show has aired on NBC since 2014. Amongst other tv shows that air on NBC, *One-on-One* was chosen due to its diverse topics ranging from politics, education, foreign affairs. As introduced by one of the talk show hosts at the beginning of the discussions, *One-on-One* is "a programme dedicated to bring you news markers and shakers who are making the news" and also that, it is "the show where everything is considered" (Kazimbire Zemburukwa, talk show host). This statement suggests that *One-on-One* talk show's goal is to inform the nation on issues making the news that informs the nations on the current issues of the nation. This information is targeted to all the viewers, especially those with interest in particular topics at hand. These shows are aired on Tuesday evenings on NBC 1.

1.2 Statement of the problem

The Namibian Broadcasting Corporation (NBC), (2016) has a clear mandate to inform, educate, and entertain the Namibian public. One of NBC's major roles is to afford the public time and space through various talk shows (NBC, 2016). NBC's talk shows are a form of pragma-dialectic argumentation through verbal communication meant for dispute resolution. According to Gerber (2011), pragma-dialectic approach seeks to put an end to the conflict, to resolve differences of opinion, to adjourn deliberation, and to create univocality through critical rationalism and constructive argumentation. For television talk shows, it is often inevitable that differences in opinion arise between the interviewer and interviewee. Therefore, arguers aim to maintain their standpoints by all means possible, which calls for the arguers' need to use the argumentative scheme and strategic manoeuvring to do so. In argumentative discourse, where conflict arises, argumentation plays an important role in establishing amicable reasonable resolutions (Gerber, 2011).

With regards to the Namibian context, there is a gap in literature in terms of what has been explored to ascertain whether the talk show argumentation discourse adheres to the pragma-dialectical rules for critical discussion; and whether, according to the pragma-dialectical theory of argumentation, the discussions involve a reasonable procedure in the arguers' attempt to resolve their differences or maintain their standpoint (van Eemeren, 2015, pp416-421). An article in one Namibian national daily, the *New Era* newspaper, titled the "Radio, TV talk shows being abused" cited lack of strict rules, acts of provocation and turning talk show programmes into battlefields of words (*New Era*, 05 June 2008). Therefore, this study investigated how

differences of opinion between the discussants can reasonably and effectively achieved in a tv talk show. In addition, the study sought to explore how strategic manoeuvring plays a role in the argumentative discussions in trying to manage or avoid fallacious moves in a Namibian based TV talk show. Therefore, as stated under the objectives of this study, this study, among other objectives, sought to explore ways in which strategic manoeuvring is used by the arguers in an attempt to defend and maintain their standpoints. The study further sought to investigate whether, through the use of strategic manoeuvring, the discussion rules are violated.

1.3 Objectives of the study

The study was guided by the following research objectives which sought to:

1.3.1 investigate the types of arguments presented in the four argumentation stages: confrontation stage, opening stage, argumentation stage and the closing stage and how the starting points are employed in the argumentation stages of the *One-on-One* discussions;

1.3.2 establish the argumentation structures of the *One-on-One* discussions and the recurring argumentation patterns used in defence of the standpoints;

1.3.3 investigate whether or not the rules for the performance of speech acts and the critical discussions rules are observed or violated in defence of standpoints;

1.3.4 explore how argumentation schemes are employed in the *One-on-One* discussion arguments;

1.3.5 establish the types of fallacies that may result from the arguer's attempt to manoeuvre strategically;

1.3.6 investigate the manifestation of strategic manoeuvring in argumentative discourse through choices made from the topical potential, audience demand, and the presentational devices and;

1.3.7 explore how arguers maintain reasonableness and achieve effectiveness by using strategic manoeuvring to manage or avoid fallacy and in the arguments.

1.4 Significance of the study

It is envisaged that the study will significantly contribute to the literature on argumentation in television shows as well as to research on the application of pragma-dialectic perspectives and methods in the analysis of such content. For Namibia, this study is significant because it will shed light on important aspect which can uplift the nation's journalistic effectiveness on how information is disseminated through talk show discussions. Although the primal focus for this study is Namibia, the knowledge gained from this study will benefit Africa and the world at large. The pragma-dialectics of argumentation approach in the study of talk show discussion will add a unique and educative contribution to the literature in the field of argumentation. The fact that the focus of the study was based on the recorded live oral talk shows, brings an angle that has been rarely ventured into. Theoretically, it is envisaged that this study's extension of the Pragma-Dialectical Theoretical framework (van Eemeren & Houtlosser, 2000) to the analysis of television talk show will also contribute to the advancement of the theoretic principles of the theory that will encourage research to engage in studies that is aimed to better TV shows in terms of effectiveness.

1.5 Limitations

There were several limitations identified in the study. Sample sizing was one of the limitations this study had. Although the 8 recordings used in this study were a good representative of the themes the study intended to cover, it was a limitation due to a vast catalogue of more than 100 recordings they were chosen from. Thus, this may have limited what could have been found in the analysis of other discussions. Qualitative Content analysis as the study 's research design was also limiting in a sense that the findings in this study are not representative of all tv show discussions on other broadcasting networks within and outside Namibia. Another limitation was identified through the process of transcribing the data from video recording to text. The long hours of manual transcription would have been aided by a transcribing device that had the capabilities of capturing all diverse accents accurately.

1.6 Delimitation

The study delimitation was the use of the Pragma Dialectic Theory (van Eemeren & Houtlosser, 2000). Although there are many television shows on NBC, this research was restricted to the conversations within the *One-on-One* discussion forum. A total of 8 video recordings were used as data. The selected was limited to the videos which were aired between 2017 and 2018 time period.

1.7 Theoretical Framework

This study was guided by the pragma-dialectical theory of argumentation. The pragmatic assumes that argumentation is goal-directed behaviour while the dialectical component assumes that argumentation is part of a critical exchange aimed at resolving a difference of opinion. The Extended Theory of Pragma-Dialectics

is adopted for this study because it incorporates the concept of strategic manoeuvring which has the outcome of yielding more affluent and accurate tools to explore and assess argumentative discourse (Zarefsky, 2020). According to van Eemeren (2010), through the arguers' attempts to strategically manoeuvre, their continual efforts to reconcile aiming for effectiveness with being reasonable can be used as an analytical instrument to analyse and evaluate the discussions. This whole process will result in producing a reliable critical evaluation of the data (van Eemeren, Garssen & Meuffels, 2012, p.757)

According to van Eemeren (2010), argumentation is defined as "a communicative and interactional (speech) act complex aimed at resolving a difference of opinion before a reasonable judge by advancing a constellation of reasons the arguer can be held accountable for as justifying the acceptability of the standpoint(s) at issue"(p. 29).

While Chapter 1 gave information on the background of the study, the statement of the problem, objectives of the study, limitations, delimitations and the theoretical framework, this following chapters will give detailed the following chapters will cover the Literature Review; Research Methodology; Theoretical Framework; followed by Evaluation and Analysis of Data.

CHAPTER 2

LITERATURE REVIEW

2.0 Introduction

The previous chapter provided a synopsis of the goals that this study aims to achieve and the ways in which to achieve them. The current chapter focuses on the review of literature on argumentative discourse of the television talk show, *One-on-One* discussions. The chapter draws on the measure where the host of the show and the guest speaker engage in a critical discussion by carrying out a dialectical discussion on the grounds of holding a successful communication from the beginning of the discussion to the end, depending on the time slot allocated for the show. As observed by Paltridge and Wang (2015), discourse covers a wide range of aspects on language use in varied contexts. The latter is the basic introduction of what discourse consists of because the analysis of discourse deals more with how the choices of language are made. It is also noteworthy to mention that, argumentation discourse has a way of guiding and also distinguishing the relationship between what is spoken and the meaning it carries within any given context (Paltridge & Wang, 2015).

Talk shows have been studied from different theoretical perspectives and contexts. This chapter examines different approaches from which talk shows are studied. It gives an indepth discussion and analysis of how talk shows have been studied from the pragma-dialectics angle. Most importantly, the chapter reviews literature on the Pragma-dialectic theory of argumentation, and how the theory is apt for the analysis of the communicative activity realised in the *One-on-One* Talk Show discourse. On a larger spectrum, this chapter also reviews literature on different approaches that

have been used to carry out pragma-dialectic research on argumentation and the analysis of the discussions. It addresses topics such as characteristics of strategic maneuvering; how points of views are realised and examined, how argumentation emerges within critical discussions and subsequently examines the elements of effectiveness and reasonableness in arguments. Furthermore, the chapter examines the features and principles of television shows on which arguments are structured and based and finally to investigate the role of speech acts in argumentation.

In this study, discourse analysis and the pragma-dialectics theory of argumentation were juxtaposed. These two parts can not be separated when studying the argumentative discourse. As noted by van Rees (2007), it is through the provision of fundamental descriptive and analysis of practices embeded in argumentation where discourse analysis and argumentation theory complement each other. Futhermore, when analysing discourse that falls under argumentative discourses, Argumentation Theory is considerably important because it “offers discourse analysts of a somewhat broader orientation who have found some argumentative phenomena that catch their interest a theoretical apparatus with which they can describe what they see” (van Rees 2007, p.1462).

2.1 The Pragma-dialectics of argumentation as an approach

The study of argumentation evaluates how participants in an argumentative exchange or resolve their difference of opinion with merits. Thus, the pragma-dialectic approach is apt to explore how the argumentation process is realised in television talk discourse. Normative and descriptive have been the prime aspects of the study of argumentation within the pragma-dialectic perspective as it is anchored

on normative and descriptive standards. van Eemeren et al. (1993) are of the view that the role of linguists and logicians is under the umbrella of pragma-dialectics through which the empirical and regimental behaviours come together. The diversity of these two does not in any way suggest their incompatibility with regards to the uniting for pragma-dialectics. Linguists and logicians set the foundation on which pragma-dialectics is fixed upon. For one, van Eemeren and Grootendorst (1995) refer to argumentation in relation with argumentative discourse that should be studied as a specimen of normal verbal communication and interaction and that it should be measured against a certain standard of reasonableness (1995, p.5). Argumentation also refers to words used to represent the process arguers defend their views in order to validate their standpoints which are unpopular or unassumed by their opponent in the argument (Van Eemeren et al., 2008).

Pragma-dialectics ascribes to the notion that argumentation is:

“a communicative and interactional speech act complex aimed at resolving a difference of opinion before a reasonable judge by advancing a constellation of reasons the arguer can be held accountable for as justifying the acceptability of the standpoints at issue” (van Eemeren, 2010, p.29).

Argumentation first emerged through van Eemeren and Grootendorst (1984) where they identified the four stages of a critical discussion through which the dialectical standards of reasonableness are to be realised as outlined in Chapter 3.

Argumentative discourse has been studied and evaluated since its inception. This has caused some researchers to find criticism in the way that pragma-dialectics is limited regarding the study of argumentative discourse. Gerber (2011) notes the limitations

of pragma-dialectics to the study of argumentative discourse. One of such limitations relates to refutation that:

“The current conception and applications of pragma-dialectical methodology potentially runs the risk of immorality in that arguments are deemed ‘good’ as long as they meet the goals of the speaker, regardless of what those goals or purposes might be” (Gerber (201, p.21).

Gerber (2011) observed the limits that pragma-dialectics have regarding the study of argumentative discourse. The intention of his study was to put across the fact that there could be a clearer means to evaluate the argument grounded on goals, purposes and consequences (p.22). His argument extended into the conception and application of pragmatic argumentation. The study was based on answering the question of how pragmatic argumentation is used in academic argumentation, in relation to what the model of pragmatic argumentation used in an academic argument is; what their strategic functions are; how to evaluate pragmatic argumentation used reasonably in an academic argument; and whether their investigative paper keeps to a balance between dialectical reasonableness and rhetorical effectiveness when using pragmatic argumentation (Gerber, 2011, p.22). The questions Gerber (2011) uses in the academic arguments can be applied in evaluating the *One-on-One* talk show discussions.

Gerber’s (2011) findings thus, demonstrate how the pragma-dialect method of evaluation could be adjusted in line with usefulness. One of the suggestions from the study is the incorporation of the American pragmatic philosophy and discussion of critical ways to engage in argumentative criticism. Another suggestion was that

probably there should be a consideration of theoretical starting points to drive possible resolutions regarding criticisms that are introduced at the start of academic writing. The latter suggestion takes cognisance of the fact that solving a dispute is not always a result of an argument, thus, the focus could also be directed to goal-based arguments, which is one way of how people express themselves and create their identity through arguments (Gerber, 2011, p.27). These suggestions were for the idea that the resolution of Perelman's (1959, p18) objection to the pragmatic argument is based upon its presupposed exclusion of moral or ethical determinants. The suggestion also corrects the means of avoiding "the epistemological pitfalls of an overly rationalist conception of argumentation." (Gerber, 2011, p.27). After all, as was stated by Rowland (1995, p.356), "Argument as a symbolic form is on its ability to deal with problems; the business of problem solving", meaning, argumentation in any form, happens with the goal of resolving an issue or solving a problem. This is to emphasise that, in any argumentative engagement, the focus should be on the end result that makes the argumentative situation better than when it was first approached.

In another study, argumentation was used as a means to investigate metaphorical argumentation with the investigation into Liquin commercial through metaphor studies and pragma dialectics. Zhang and Xu's (2018), established that metaphoric arguments are symptomatic, and also that, strategic manoeuvring reflects in two ways which metaphoric arguments are used in arguments. They also note that the results were achieved through two ways which are, the evaluation of sanctions to ignore communicative types and also to foreground certain areas in which the protagonist desires to convey the argument. They further established that the

metaphoric arguments positively assist in highlighting the features of smoking Liguin cigarettes, which at the same time fails to reflect on the harmful impact of such an action. Moreover, the study's focus is on extended pragma dialectics and also shows its importance in the study.

Pragma-dialectics is one of the approaches that this study applied in the analysis of the argumentation discourse. The pragma dialectical approach has come a long way of growth in its development. Since its inception, it has developed through the works of Crawshay-Williams' (in van Eemeren, 2018) "Criteria of putting an end to intractable controversy" and Naess' (in van Eemeren, 2018) "Methods for dealing with misunderstandings in discussions" (van Eemeren, 2018, p.172. In the same vein, pragma-dialectics is situated within contexts where controversy is present and where a difference of opinion seeks resolutions (van Rees, 2000).

Drawing attention to the aim and interest of this study, argumentation is a communicative process that should not be underrated. The entire process of argumentation is to be taken seriously and more attention should perhaps be paid to the dynamics of how people relate to the patterns that are more pronounced within arguments, highlighting the understanding of the context on which the base of the arguments is comprised of. It is important to note that a good and successful argument is uttered based on the societal influence around it. As Gilbert in Godden (2003) suggests, an argument is seen as an obligation that requires to be treated as a human endeavour rather than a logical exercise; and that is made to accommodate practices used by actual arguers (Gilbert in Godden, 2003, p.220). Based on this, it can be suggested that the actualness or realness of the discussion might result in a good argument that is free of transcriptions and prior planning.

Luque (2007), on the other hand, refers to argumentation as a means of a justificatory and persuasive device. She looked at the act of argumentation categorised into two roles; the first being as a tool for knowledge because it is the way beliefs and claims are justified; secondly, it has a role as a tool for individuals interplay because of the way it promotes persuasion (Luque, 2007). It is also argued that, "the dialectical nature of argumentation recursively implies that most argumentative discourses are the explicit part of a dynamic activity without a predetermined end: new provisos, defeaters and confutations might await us at any time" (Luque, 2007, p.7). Because giving a reason is part of argumentation, Luque (2007), notes that those in position of evaluating an argument tend to be the ones who actively give and ask for reasons. Notably so, although the dialectical nature of argumentation is wrapped around its dialectical practice involving two arguers, truth and value are determined when the evaluators are required to come up with an extension of argumentation so as to "ascribe to the propositions being the context of reasons and warrants" (Luque (2007, p.8).

In order to display objectivity, reasons and claims are therefore stated. This indicates how the arguers' involvement in the arguments can be objective although in one way or the other may yield to nothingness even after their reasons and claims are stated. Additionally, there are no other means to test the objectivity of our beliefs than trying to show them to be correct, that is for justification. In argumentation, confutations would be movements directed to question the relevance of a reason for a claim, and, as in the case of defeaters, they may constitute further argumentation to be appraised. In order to question the relevance of a reason for a claim, confutations are used as a form of a movement that guide the process which could extensively

lead to appraisal of argumentation, especially with the presence of the defeater (Luque, 2007). "This appraisal would result in an ascription of a truth-value the warrant of the original act of arguing" (Luque (2007, p.8).

2.2 Characteristics of strategic manoeuvring in television talk shows

Strategic manoeuvring is regarded as the aspect that reconciles the rhetorical and the dialectical noting that these two perspectives were regarded as separate from each other previously. Strategic manoeuvring plays a role of diminishing the "potential tension between pursuing at the same time a dialectical as well as a rhetorical aim" (van Eemeren and Houtlosser, 2003, p. 392). Strategic manoeuvring is always involved when argumentative moves are made in an argumentation discussion. In this light, an evaluation of a critical discussion such as a talk show, where difference of opinions are inevitable, it is to be understood that strategic manoeuvring will be in one way or another present. Generally, strategic manoeuvring should be understood based on three aspects namely; topical potential, audience demand and presentational devices. These three aspects are interdependent and mutually related (van Eemeren, Garssen, Krabbe, Henkemans, Verheij, and Wagemans, 2014). With regard to the institutionalised aspects of argumentative discourse that focuses on the pragma-dialectical pursuit of a more empirically adequate account of argumentative practice, Mohammed (2009) conducted an analysis that was specifically directed to the use and effects of strategic manoeuvring and of the argumentative moves that take place in that area as a result. Mohammed (2009) agrees with van Eemeren and Houtlosser (2005) in that every argumentative move is an instance of strategic manoeuvring in which an analytically

relevant move is realised by an intentional choice of topical, audience frames and stylistic presentational devices. Also, dialectical profiles indicate the role that a particular argumentative move plays in the course of critical testing; so, if coupled with institutional rules and conversation it informs more on “strategic function that a particular manifestation of strategic manoeuvring has” (Mohammed, 2009, p.171). van Eemeren and Houtlosser (2005) made an analysis of strategic manoeuvring (p.884) based on William the silent. William the silent, a historic figure commonly known for his political and leadership in early years of the Dutch revolt, is presented as an apologia who uses a particular kind of argumentative discourse aimed at justifying oneself against others' accusations. This study gives an in-depth contextual reflection of how apologies in pragma-dialectical perspective are realised. van Eemeren and Houtlosser's (2005) study distinguishes the apologia from the pragma-dialectical viewpoint of how it balances "real or professed dialogical resolution mindset with strategic manoeuvring, intending to achieve the rhetorical aim without sacrificing any dialectical ambitions" (van Eemeren and Houtlosser, 2005, p.884) In light of the latter, van Eemeren and Houtlosser looked at ways to exercise the opportunity that the apologie validated by analysing its rhetorical dimension, it is focused on the view of several stages that strategic manoeuvring takes place in the argumentative discussion. (van Eemeren & Houtlosser, 2005). Current studies on pragma-dialectics in the context of argumentative discourse mainly concentrates on political, legal and medical domains (van Eemeren, 2015). There has also been a significant amount of research on pragma-dialectics that has focused on politics mainly from the angle of political speeches rendered by presidents and from titles of parliamentary discourse. For example, Chikara and Sabao (2019) comparatively

examine and discuss argumentation in parliamentary discourses in the South African and Zimbabwean parliaments respectively focusing on how language use and the behaviour of the parliamentarians is argumentative and how this language is a form of argumentation through which the parliamentarians engage in verbal, social and reasoned activities in attempting to defend their standpoints. The study primarily reflects on the flaunting of conversational rule applied as an argumentative strategy. Jakaza and Visser (2016) discuss the Zimbabwean divergent parliamentary debates after the highly controversial 2008 elections, examining how strategic manoeuvring is used in attempts to reach resolutions of different opinions in the parliamentarians' divergent debates. The main argument raised by the study is that of fallacy as a strategy the parliamentarians explored in trying to reach reconcilable points of understanding. Although Jakaza and Visser (2016) concentrate on political discourse, they explore individual opinions similar to what it would be with the television talk show host who seeks out facts and truths of the given discussion topic from the guest/interviewee.

Amakali, Kangira and Ekanjume-Ilongo (2019) in their study "Ad Hominem in Argumentation of the Namibian Parliamentary Discourse" found that Members of Parliament (MPs) use emotional arguments and language to influence their opponent or audience attitudes and behaviour. Amakali, et al. (2019) concluded that various forms of ad hominem are an important and integral part of parliamentary discourse in Namibia as parliamentarians use ad hominem to convince their opponents and win arguments.

A closer examination on accounts of how pragmatic argumentation is realised through how the host of the *One-on-One* talk show and how the guests defend their opinions on the given topics under discussion, and whether reasonableness and effectiveness are maintained throughout the arguments were explored. According to van Eemeren and Grootendorst (2004, p. 135–157), the standards of reasonableness applied to argumentative discourse are in the pragma-dialectical theory depicted as rules for critical discussion.

Contributions have been made to the study of pragma-dialectics including argumentation and its functions towards the body of linguistics. One of such contributions was made by Lumar (2010) where an identification of the problems associated with the study of pragma-dialectics are explicated. This study also investigated further into Lumar's claims of pragma-dialectics being problematic in argumentation and explored whether the claims and findings were also substantiated in this study.

There have also been studies on pragmatic argumentation focusing on television talk show discussions that concern critical issues on political, educational, economic and the overall social spheres of humanity. For example, Luginbühl (2007) investigated different approaches to conversational violence and examined the part of conversational violence in a famous Swiss political TV debate. This study found that politicians devalue their opponents' opinions by using conversation violence to make their own opinions relevant.

Rui and Ting (2014) examined the conversation structural features of *The Ellen Show* focusing on two aspects of the local and global structure. The global structure analyses the opening, and the local structure analyses the body and closing of the conversations. The study found that the host (Ellen), preferred to claim the turn by using interjections and conjunctions. The turn was maintained by using closing remarks at the end of discourse. To give up the turn, the host initiated the guest to give the second part of an adjacency pair. Another finding showed that, the host used verbal feedback “ur” and “yeah” as an indication that she was paying attention which would encourage the guest to share more information (Rui and Ting, 2014, p 42). Although the study was generally linguistic and similar to this study, they are different in the sense that, unlike the current study, its focus was not directly focused on establishing the pragma-dialectical functions and argumentation theory.

In addition, Van Rees’ (2007) exploration of talk shows reflects on the relationship between discourse analysis and Argumentation Theory. It provides a detailed description of issues concerning the relationship between discourse analysis and Argumentation Theory. On the other hand, Thornborrow (2007) explores the underlying order of lay argumentation on the show and how it functions as a resource for the production of publicly mediated discussion talk. Similarly, this study hopes to realise a clear understanding of how the guest participants construct their opposing arguments and how this process is worked through to the resolution and final standpoints.

Through the pragma-dialectical model of critical discussion, this study focused on how the pragma-dialectic theory of argumentation is applied in resolving a difference

of opinions by the discussants by "putting the acceptability of the standpoints at issues to the test by applying criteria that are both problems valid as well as intersubjectively valid" (van Eemeren & Houtlosses, 2003, p. 387). The study examined how the arguers used strategic manoeuvring in defending their positions, and also how, at the same time they avoided fallacy. Strategic manoeuvring is a concept defined as the "efforts arguers make in argumentative discourse to combine making argumentative moves that are effective with observing at the same time critical standards of reasonableness" (Van Eemeren & Houtlosser, 2015, p. 14). A 'fallacy' on the other hand, is defined, from the pragma-dialectical point of view as a speech act performed in the argumentative discourse which constitutes a violation of a rule for critical discussion (Van Eemeren & Houtlosser, 2015, p. 45).

2.3 Contextualising point of view

Houtlosser (1998) states that, in all situations, arguments are of post identification of the issue of which the argument arises. The issue at hand is referred to as "the point of view" (Houtlosser, 1998, p.387). In the pragma-dialectical theory of argumentation there is the critical discussion which is evaluated critically to resolve the arguer's differences of opinion (Houtlosser, 1998). Arguments arise as the participants encounter a difference of opinion which stands as the object of argumentation.

The pragma-dialectical conception of a standpoint is guided by the metatheoretical principles of externalisation, functionalisation, socialisation and dialectification (Houtlosser, 1998, p.388). According to Houtlosser (ibid), the externalisation principle suggests that the standpoint is an expression of the commitment and

responsibility the arguers make during the discussion. The functionalisation principle suggests that the communicative speech act performed during the argumentative discussion is as important as what is the statements in which the standpoints are conveyed. The socialisation perspective refers to a situation where the speaker puts forward a public statement for acceptance with an assumption that the listener eventually accepts it regardless of whether the point of view is mutually shared or not. Finally, in dialectification the "acceptance of a standpoint is considered to be justified only when it turns out to be resistant to criticism put forward by a judge who is reasonable in a regimented procedure of pro and con discussion" (Houtlosser, 1998, p.388).

2.4 Aspects of argumentation in television talk

Principally, *One-on-One* discussions are considered to be critical discussions that aim to resolve differences of opinions. To achieve this goal, the discussants engage in an argument and the argument has to be good to reach a substantial and sound resolution. Damer (2012) notes that there are reasons for good arguments. According to Damer (2012) good arguments are characterised by the following: firstly, they play an important role of assisting the arguers make difficult moral decisions. In other words, good arguments are fundamentally helpful in making decision of what kind of positive actions to take and those which are negative to avoid. Secondly, good arguments are important for promoting the arguer's general interest in holding only those views that the arguers have reason to believe are true or defeasible. In other words, if an arguer demands good arguments of themselves, then, the demand should lead them to new and better ideas, to also reinforce the strength of their

beliefs, or expose weaknesses that are meant to push towards qualification or abandonment of those beliefs (Damer,2012, p.3). Another reason for good arguments is that they raise the level of thinking and discussions in social, business, and personal contexts. This means that good arguments have more permanent effects and also are more effective in attempts to “convince others of a point of view than are methods such as intimidation and emotional bribery” (Damer,2012, p.3). The final reason for good arguments is effectiveness in the way personal disputes are resolved and how conflicts are settled. Govier (2013) points out the importance of arguments as tools used by arguers to rationally persuade others of certain beliefs and opinions; and that arguments are more significant in attempts of controversies and rational persuasions. Since the discussions carried out on the *One-on-One* show are meant to build the nation, address issues that the people are facing or questions people need answers to, the arguments are therefore supposed to be good so that the desired outcome/results are achieved at the end of each session.

Television talk can be identified as a discourse that occurs on televised talk shows, debates or interviews that usually involve the host speaker, a guest/guests and sometimes a live audience. Television discourse is constituted by forms, practices, structures, and functions of day- to- day communication and also, the procedures and mechanisms through which participants in verbal exchanges lend and attribute order, coherence and meaning to this discourse (van Rees, 2007). Discourse is also referred to as a genre made up of spoken sentences which is generally made up of speech acts. It is a process whereby sentences are articulated amongst the discussants within any given context and then transformed into utterances; this

transformation of language is what results to what is referred to as discourse (Todorov, 1990).

Fetzer (2007) made an examination of the linguistic representation and distribution of references to reasonableness. She argued that "reasonable" is identified across the nominal expression of reasonableness, rational logic and/or through their adjectival counterparts. It was also realised that indirect speech acts such as "you've got a point there" are explicitly identified through reasonableness. Furthermore, in terms of validating claims, reasonableness is referred to in relation to the social environment of the constitutive textual system which accommodates argumentative constructions such as "for that reason, therefore, for, as, or since". The interpersonal system accommodates constructions indexing the co-participants face such as "I don't want to be unreasonable, but..." and their participation status, such as "I would expect any sensible chief secretary to." The interactional systems accommodates the sequences by the structured interplay of premises and conclusion (Fetzer, 2007).

In another study on television talk, Lauerbach (2007) studied the political celebrity talk show interviews. He focussed on ways in which argumentation theory can aid discourse analysis describing the type of argumentation found in discourse data in addition to the evaluation of the soundness of the arguments. In his attempt to find out what application of argumentation have been applied, or in what way the analysis might offer to the body of discourse analysis, it was established that argumentation analysis works well with the method of discourse and conversation analysis coupled with Goffman's (1981) concepts of frame, footings and footing changes. The analysis of the interviews found traces of pre-interview talk that take place before the

televised show. The overall result of the study suggests that there is a provision of evidence based on the fact that one argument can be co-constructed by participants intertextually over two dialogues. Secondly, the two dialogues can belong to different discourse types: expert interviews and celebrity interviews. Thirdly, there is a demonstration that each of these discourse types can have different participation frameworks, with one of the participants (the host) maintaining their stand.

Another interesting finding is that even in the context of political controversy, the genre of the political celebrity talk show interview is a format which disprefers an attitude of critical doubt. The genre lends itself to exploitation by the politicians who are able, through subtle changes of footing, and with the support of the host, to pursue their political agenda. Even though the integrated approach is useful, celebrities take advantage of the "political talk" overriding the host and the audience is made to believe the views put forward by the politician (Lauerbach, 2007, p. 1388). Thus, it can be argued that the "political talk show celebrity interview is a format which disprefers an attitude of critical doubt on the part of both the host and the guest, even in the context of strong political controversy" (Lauerbach, 2007, p.1417). "Conversational violence" is another term that is associated with television talk controversies. 'Conversational violence' is a linguistic term that stems from putting together two words, violence and language deriving from situations where conversations result in hurtful emotional attacks realised through language (Senta Tromel-Plotz in Luginbuhl, 2007, p.1372). Luginbuhl's definition of conversational violence suggests that it happens when there is a dramatic restriction of one's conversational rights based on the conversation or his role in the conversation (Luginbuhl, 2007).

Luginbuhl (ibid) further notes that acts of conversational violence are a combination of the strategy of dominance and defamation of enhancing their image. He argues that the politician's goal is to promote their opinion and to undervalue the opinion of others which results in intense violent attacks aimed towards the opponents. This violence further leads to threatening the integrity of the opponent. The politician who is the guest, behaves in a defensive manner as realised through speech acts. Luginbuhl contends that the result of the violation will always be a discussion that ends in a conversational power struggle between the arguers. If an argument is to be staged, one notable way to achieve success or reach some form of agreement in that argument is by staging a fight that the arguers can win without being deemed unfair or unjust considering what both the politician and the host aim to gain from the discussion (Luginbuhl, 2007). Politicians use talk shows as a way of reaching out to the voters (Baum & Molek-Kozakowska in Loeb, 2015 p. 34).

Gialabouk and Pavlidou (2019) examined the use of freestanding questions by interviewees in political interviews in Greek television as a way of challenging interviewer talk (2019, p. 27). They identified few but critical issues in their study. They noted that politicians do not openly disagree with the views expressed by the journalist but rather choose to indirectly oppose by challenging the journalist with questions. In turn, these questions are used as a form of verbal attack towards the journalist (Gialabouk & Pavlidou, 2019, p.27).

The findings by Gialabouk and Pavlidou (2019) indicate that politicians opt to use the act of challenging through questions which, as a result, make them take an aggressive approach as a strategy that ends up breaching the norms of the interview 'game'. Strategically, the politician is seen to switch roles with the interviewer by positioning

themselves as questioners and the interviewer becomes the answerer of questions (Gialabouk & Pavlidou, 2019). This interplay is a clear indication of the reality of how the politician's aim during interviews is to evade the interviewer's questions and reflect on what makes his or her political position look good. Hess-Lüttich (2007) noted several strategies such as opposition of professional incompetence or moral dishonesty by indirect questioning which benefit the antagonist in two distinctive ways. In one way, the opponent is afforded the opportunity to exercise his or her verbal fighting capacity and in the other way, the opponent is vulnerable as the argument cannot be validated. She further observed that those qualified in the media field are highly competent in what they do, hence they are good at showing and faking cooperativeness. In the same vein, they can set the mood by creating an emotional atmosphere that can be provoking and insinuating. Introspectively, this suggests that television talk is not the kind of talk that can be looked at as natural because of the strategies involved to make sure that the show runs as planned. Hess-Lüttich (2007) argued that argumentation in talk shows which is based on political issues or with politicians as participants does not seem to solve any present issues at hand, rather, it is just a symbolic act staged for viewers. Furthermore, the way that talk shows are designed is set to provoke or ignite controversy and encourage fighting instead of it being a space to exercise rational discussion and argumentation. It will be interesting to see whether the findings and results of this study will point towards or yield similar conclusions.

Television formats play a role in the formulation of professionalism and how journalists distance themselves during a political television programming. Smedt (2012) states that journalist-presenters possess powerful abilities that enable them

to successfully achieve their desired stand in their arguments, taking advantage of how interviews are contextually organised. On the same note, the work that goes into formatting and re-playing does not mean that the journalist-presenter is limited in any way or threatening to his/her professional self-presentation. Furthermore, it was established that journalistic questioning's reliance on adversarialness tends to position the journalist-interviewer in a situation where they result in aggressive interrogation and also sanctioning practices as a way of acquiring their professional status while at the same time, proving that they are competent and autonomous agents (Clayman & Heritage in Smedt, 2012).

Okafor (2020) studied the act of turn-taking in the Nigerian talk shows on Nigerian Television Authority (NTA). The study primarily focused on the examination of the norms and practices that make interaction orderly. It also looked at the participation of the participants' outstanding responses to each other in turn-taking. He argued that it is the host's responsibility to determine how the show should run by allocating time to speakers and ascertain that each speaker gets a turn in the discussion. This control by the host avoids rowdiness, making it a controlled talk environment with an orderly and organised conversation. However, the study observed that the conversations were not in order, nor organised. The main reason was that the speakers were not allocated time to speak, hence, turn-taking was impossible to be followed. By chance, if any speaker managed to hold the floor by speaking, there was no regulatory measure to determine the length they should talk which resulted in overlaps or disorganisation. The finding showed the importance of regulated talk shows and also the importance of turn-taking in a discussion.

Talk show conversation should be well planned and organised before, during and even after the event. Loeb (2015) argued that talk show host's goals and interests are achieved through a well-planned programme of designed questions, responses and personalisation. The quest for the host of fulfilling their professional objectives is reinforced through this careful planning. Talk shows may be designed to appear as casual conversations to the audience, but their wider range of practices is what makes them appear less restricted or free-flowing making it seem like any regular form of conversation (Loeb, 2015).

On the other hand Lauerbach (2010) observed that interactions between the verbal modalities of a political talk show were employed by the multiple authors of the text to construct a variety of footing for the interviewer and the interviewee. The study analysed the verbal and the visual aspects of a television show. This study's interest is on the verbal aspect that is concerned with discourse analysis between two parties involved in the conversation, the host/interviewer and the guest/interviewee. Lauerbach's analysis of the verbal exchange showed that personal relations were constructed explicitly and implicitly through the use of first names. Strategies were realised through ways of claiming common grounds, eliciting personal and emotional testimonies which came through trying to divert into technical registers, name dropping and sharing jokes and laughter.

Doury, van Haften and Henkemans (2011) studied and analysed Henry Porter's (journalist) email in which he reacted to the pragmatic argumentation of "Blair-government", referring to the former prime minister of the United Kingdom. The study gives an account of how the arguer may "strategically manoeuvre in an attempt to enhance the rhetorical effectiveness of their criticism directed at an adversary's

pragmatic argument" (Doury et al., 2011, p.35). In their examination of the reactions which followed the use of a specific argumentation scheme, they found that access was given to "norms on which arguers rely on when assessing and contesting their opponents' argument" (p.35). The analysis further revealed that "language users engaged in a debate on political issues may put forward criticisms which are not included in the list of critical questions" (p.35). The following questions were raised to assess the desirability of the action. Firstly, whether the officially proclaimed end is pursued by the arguers who have put forward the pragmatic argument, and also, whether, in reality, he does not obey a hidden agenda. Regardless of the efficiency of how the official goal is achieved, the result that shows the end difference of the overt end and the actual end has to match for the argument to be qualified (Doury et al., 2011, p.36).

On the other hand, Ekstrom in a research titled "Hybridity as a recourse and challenge in talk show political interviews" focused on the the mix of small talk coupled with seriousness of interview accountability. The analysis was based on how mixed frames of talk are invoked, used and managed in political talk show interviews (Ekstrom, 2011). Ekstrom made an analysis of how hybrid frames of activities are invoked and negotiated focusing on three different situations: firstly, how questions are asked and answered; secondly, how the host reacts during the activity of interviewing; and, thirdly, the sequential frame shifts, moving from activities of humorous small talk to serious accountability of interviewing (Ekstrom, 2011, p.135). Through the humour orientation, the interviewer finds an opportunity to pause questions meant to trick and provoke the interviewee in a way that is deemed to be obvious or face-threatening. In the same vein, the interviewer's reasonableness and

unreasonableness are two aspects the host plays on to achieve his or her goal through the interview (Ekstrom, 2011). In addition, the interviewer tests the interviewees to see whether they can defend their stand as politicians and to see how responsible they handle themselves as they attend to the tricky situations they may find themselves dealing with. This can place the interviewees under immense pressure because the broadcasted interview has an audience that spectates the moves the discussants make in the discussions. This applies in situations of live audience in the studio where the discussion is taking place or situations where the audience watch the discussion on television from their homes.

Looking at the reaction in the third position as one of the discursive recourses, it was found that the host tries to see the interviewees' reaction and how they attend to interviewees identities. The interview, therefore, results in reflecting on questions by assuming different identities to distinguish the difference between lay and expert discourses in talk shows. The interviewees do so to protect themselves in terms of the humorous and serious political frames of activities as well as the lay expert discourse.

Frame shift is a strategy the interviewer uses to move from informal discussions to the formal discussion which is the purpose of the interview. Through frame shifting, a struggle between competing projects together with troubles and complex adjustments may arise. As for the interviewee, it is his or her task to validate or defend his or her political status, reputation and identity. According to Ekstrom (2011), the interviewee is expected to uphold his or her participation roles, expectations and preferences aligned with the basic aspect of interactions namely,

the general preference structures in ordinary question; secondly, the pre-allocation of asymmetrically distributed roles in institutional interaction; lastly, the structure of shared responsibility in broadcast talk.

Ilie (1999) studied discursive features of the talk show which are regarded as host-controlled, participant-shaped and audience-evaluated speech events. The study's approach was on conversation-based research discourse analysis, pragmatics, critical linguistics, philosophy of language and media and cultural studies. Furthermore, the study was intended to make provision of, in terms of a mixed type of discourse in the content of media communication, a pragmatic framework of analysis for the description of the discursive and linguistic features of talk show interaction. Ilie (1999) noted that due to the nature of how information is shared within the current social, political, moral issues or debate programme that inspires the exchange and confrontation of opinions, talk shows play a double role as a form of a programme that serves as a form of entertainment as well as communicating information. This double standard is what Ilie (1999) coined as infotainment. This aspect of infotainment was also noted by Thussu; William and Delli; Clayman and Heritage in Loeb, (2015). In addition, it is highlighted that talk shows need to be seen for their overarching aspect of exhibiting the semi-institutional nature which means that, they are characterised by the casual conversations monitor and co-participant.

Talk shows are purposeful. Ilie (1999) stated that the institutional goal of talk shows is achieving a socialising and educational function in line with being influential, challenging opinions, addressing different social groups and professional groups (p. 249). Although Ilie (ibid) used conversation analysis and discourse analysis as the main approaches, several issues were identified in line with them. One of the issues

is that: although the talk show hosts stand in as the conversation monitors, they are at the same time expected to co-participate in the discussion. Secondly, the conversations are in some way directed because the goals of the conversation are pursued on the grounds of conversationally framed questions. She further stated that talk shows are also regarded as audience-oriented and that their target is to capture three different audiences namely, a) the directly addressed audience (guests and experts), b) the onlooker audience (studio), and c) overhearing audience (TV viewers).

The institutional contexts in which talk shows are held impact on the conversational nature. Ilie (2001) argued that repetition and non-eliciting questions are present in talk show discourse because of this. She noted that addressee-shifting repetition and message-retargeting repetition are the two forms of repetition that the show uses to “monitor the speaker selection and the turn- taking process” (p.250). Furthermore, she stated that the non-eliciting questions are meant to read into the addressee's personality and how the addressee and addresser relate. The addresser also uses the expository questions as messages and are audience-oriented other than interlocutor-oriented (Ilie, 2001, p.250).

There are several ways in which institutional discourse can be investigated. Hutchby (1996), argued that “power is best seen as a shifting distribution of resources which enables some participants locally to achieve interactional effects not available to others” (p.481). Hutchby therefore studied calls that were made to a British radio talk show to demonstrate how power plays out in discourse and can be analysed from the fundamentally local and sequential perspective of conversational analysis. A few revelations were identified in the study. Although the hosts of the show have the

upper hand of running things due to their status of being the organisers of the call, there are resources available to the caller to actually resist the hosts' powerful strategies which in turn they themselves can use against the hosts. The power in this situation is not a major aspect of radio talk as opposed to the claim put forward by Moss and Higgins in Hutchby (1996) that suggests that since the hosts are in control of the mechanics, it gives them the power to exercise the power that comes with being in control. According to Hutchby's study, the caller is the one that introduces the topic thus setting the mood of what is to follow with other callers thereafter. The opening stage is where the caller expresses a point of view on a particular issue which the host adopts as he or she comes in second. This approach to the discussion where the caller introduces the topic and states his or her point of view is interesting in a sense that, some talk shows might have different approaches depending on the issue at hand. For example, the *One-on-One* TV talk show that this study is investigating may have a different approach altogether which will be reflected in the next chapters of this study.

2.4.1 Principles of Talk Shows

There are four principles governing effective talk shows outlined by Timberg (2002):

1. The first principle states that effective talk show is anchored by a host (or team of the hosts) who is/are responsible for the tone and direction and for guiding and setting limits on the talk that is elicited from guests on the air.
2. The second principle of the television talk show is that it is experienced in the present tense as "conversation". Live, taped or repeated talk shows always maintain the illusion of the present tense. The audience are expected to feel as if

these events are happening at the present moment of viewing even if the show is an old production that was aired before.

3. The third principle is that television talk is a product - a commodity competing with other broadcast commodities. Television talk shows have over time proven to be a valuable commodity and talk show hosts themselves are valuable commodities.

4. The fourth principle is that talk shows, though spontaneous, must be highly structured.

The above-mentioned principles are significant to this study because they provided an understanding of how television shows are formed and outlined the role of the host. For instance, the first principle informs the way in which the event is directed and also the tone that the host sets at the onset, whether it will have an effect on the way the guest responds to the questions or otherwise. The second principle is cogent or sound and valid in a way that suggests the time relevance of the topic under discussion. The language and use of tenses should be relatable to the audience. The third principle informs the relevance of the talk show as a product. It looks into the value of the talk show as a commodity of the entire television broadcast. Last but not least, order is very important in any form of discussion. Therefore, the talk show has to be structured in a manner that the goal of the discussion is achieved and things are not done in a disorganised manner. This also suggests good planning and professionalism. In relation to this study, all these principles were analysed to determine whether or not there are any similarities; for instance, if the show is affected in one way or another by these factors.

2.4.2 Features of Talk Shows

According to Ilie (2001), talk shows are characterised by a combination of various aspects from the mediation of a host, a guest panel, and an audience. Some key features of the function of talk shows are as follows:

1. As audience-oriented mediatised events, talk shows target simultaneously multiple audiences made up of the directly addressed audience of interlocutors, the on-looking studio audience and the overhearing audience of TV viewers.
2. Both experts and laypeople are often present as show guests. Most of the focus of the programme has to do with the interchange between them.
3. The show host, usually a media personality, monitors most of the discussion by stimulating, guiding and facilitating the participants' contributions to the programme.
4. Each episode of the programme focuses on a particular topic of social, political or personal concern. Confrontation or conflicting opinions are guaranteed by the selection of topics of discussion and participants.
5. Personal experience and common sense have considerable status and increasingly appear as forms of knowledge that are opposed to expertise and dominant discourses (of power, race, and gender).
6. The discursive strategies of talk shows are interview, narrative, debate, game, confession and testimony.
7. These programmes are usually inexpensive to produce particularly because they are not part of prime-time broadcasting.

The features of a talk show listed above meet the requirements of the *One-on-One* talk show. Touching on a few, the discussants, both the host and the guests, are

expected to be present in person at the time of the show, although this study did not venture into the aspects of the virtual participation. Rather, the transcribed discussion from the audio is what the data comprises of. Moreover, the discursive strategy of the *One-on-One* show is in the form of interviews that focus on topics of social, economic, educational and political nature.

There are other characteristics associated with arguments in television shows as identified by van Rees (2007). Televised shows are centred around the argument and there are characteristics belonging to the discourse of television shows that have been reflected upon by researchers such as Ilie (2001) and Timberg (2002). One of the characteristics is that participants engage jointly in an argument that is constructed by the parties while they exchange questions and answers. Rees (2007) pointed out that these questions are produced as a way of eliciting concessions, such that once an answer is provided, it is regarded as an argument that is meant to strengthen the standpoint in defence (p.1455).

2.5 Argumentation in other settings of communication

Argumentative discourse is also realised during doctor-patient interaction or in medical discourse in general. Basweti (2018) observed that Gussi doctors and patients diagnosed with cancer, HIV and AIDS and diabetes engaged in argumentative talk in order to resolve their differences of opinion during consultation sessions. Basweti (2018) did an analysis of transcripts of audio recordings of the sessions looking at their argumentative patterns. It was noted that the main argument and the support arguments were complemented by either authority argumentations besides pragmatic arguments. Although Basweti's study used the discourse of

patients and doctors, several correlations can be referred to concerning television discourse in a sense that the pragma-dialectic theory of argumentation is applied to analyse the discussions. An understanding of argumentation patterns definitely informed this study as the researcher was able to explore better the communicative patterns in Namibian television talk shows.

The pragma-dialectic approach was applied in the study of fallacious arguments. Reijven (2020) noted that there are four meta-categories of fallacies to study the connection of fallacies to their institutionalised discourse. This study was used to study presidential debates as a case study to show ways in which argumentation can be improved in the aspect of fallacies. In establishing meta-categories for fallacies, it was observed that one functional way to make sure that argumentative judgement is tailored to the needs of the actual context, the pragma-dialectical needs to group fallacies according to their institutionalised and institutional point. By doing so, it assists the analysts in the process of precisely pointing to amendments to be made to the institution and training to be given to the arguers (Reijven, 2020). It is necessary and important to highlight that, Reijven's attempt of the framework brings a whole new insight into what is currently affected, its terms of pragma-dialectics as the approach to evaluating and analysing argumentation.

According to Lester Holt in Reijven, (2020), there are ways of making sure that sufficient time is allocated to each question of the discussion during the candidates' argumentation process. However, it has been concluded that more fallacies are committed in turn of the moderator's decision to proceed to the next topic or question in order to make sure that the discussion remains neutral. This act of

moving to the next topic before exhausting the one at hand is a fallacy because of unresolved issues.

2.6 The Argumentation as a theory

According to van Eemeren (2018), in order to make a strong stand in the analysis and evaluation of an argument based on the formal system of the logic, one has to consider "making a translation of each of the arguments considered into, for instance, the language of propositional logic and determining their validity with the help of the truth table method or some other method available in the propositional logic" (p.173). Among others, the aim of this study was to assess the aspect of logic in the show's discussions as this may determine the validity and truth of any arguments. This approach was poised to bring interesting results on argumentation in talk shows in determining whether the arguments produced in the discussions make translations of propositional logic.

van Eemeren (2018) further contends that it is important to view formal logical systems in the sense that they "consist of locutions whose linguistic shapes determine their logical rules," (p. 173) and that, "they are also formal in the sense of being purely logical, not providing for inaterial move or rule that depends on the meaning of logical terms, so that the logical systems involved are not in any way conditional upon facts of interpretation."(p.173). In this regard, the formal logical system are of the notion on how logical rules are applied in argumentation, paying attention to the aspects of logical purity to guard against making the logical system as the baseline of the overall analysis.

The pragma-dialectical notion of strategic manoeuvring has also been applied in the study of news production. Morasso (2012) looked at the different contextual framework, the standpoint and the loci used in the arguments employing the notion of strategic manoeuvring. She established that there was a relationship between presentational devices and topics which related to how the news is exploited and processed through comments and editorial. She further highlighted that the actual "choice of certain premises and given perspectives on the event are then assumed as the basis for more explicit and direct argumentation"(Morasso, 2012, p.212). The researcher needs to explore and find out whether Morasso's observations are applicable to situations where the host of a talk show has the advantage of formulating questions and topics to be asked the guest who might be caught unaware. However, Marasso acknowledged the weakness of their study's conception on the single case study as it may not have given a clear and full representation of how strategic manoeuvring could reflect if applied in different cases of media coverage.

Furthermore, Tavakoli and Ghadiri (2011) investigated the notion of argumentation in dialogic media genres of sports talk show interviews. They explored the type of argumentation found in media discourse data, specifically, of sports talk show interviews. Although their analysis was based on Toulmin's framework of the conception of argument as a form of conversation, it gives a different aspect of argumentation that is not driven by pragma-dialectics. Toulmin's framework of the conception of argumentation suggests that an argument comprises multiple functions categorised into the components of an argument with different functions

that can be classified into one of five categories namely; Claims, Data, Warrants, Backings and Rebuttals (Toulmin, 2003).

Tavakoli and Ghadiri (2011) firstly, established that "the argument structure of the interviews was that of substantial argument rather than the analytical one" (p.286); secondly, little if not any formal validity was observed in the skeleton of the argument; thirdly, the talk seemed to be subjective, and backing and qualifier elements widely used by the guest were not in some part satisfactory; and last but not least, "warrant, considered as one of the essential components of practical arguments, was not explicitly referred to, in some part, and must be implicitly inferred by the listeners" (p.286).

Tavakoli and Ghadiri (2011) defined an argument as:

"fundamentally dialogical practice involving prototypically two interactants and associated with proto-sequences of discourse, such as claim and challenge, or claim and counterclaim and subsequent sequences in which the interactants attempt to resolve a conflict of opinion to reach consensus or a compromise" (p. 274).

On the other hand, Morris and Johnson (2011) studied strategic manoeuvring in presidential debates focusing at the clash and non-clash argument strategies. They answered questions on whether debate formats influenced the use of certain debate strategies, and noted that format could encourage candidates to use some strategies more than others. The study's findings noted that when presidential candidates manoeuvre in the settings of formal debate, it means that they are strategically reacting to structural and functional constraints. (Morris and Johnson, 2011).

van Eemeren (2018) paid close attention to strategic manoeuvring and how it is realised in the study of argumentation. He observed that in its complexity, argumentation discourse requires consideration of theorising principles of functionalisation, socialisation, externalisation and decalcification. Strategic manoeuvring is required to make sure that the argumentative discourse is justified in terms of the argumentative predicament which is to be expected during the argument. By so doing, aiming for effectiveness coupled with the aspect of maintaining reasonableness are highly important during the argumentative discussion by the arguers (van Eemeren, 2018, p.111). As a result, this allows the arguers' engagement into voluntary/involuntary strategic manoeuvring in their effort to make argumentative moves to deal with the tension that may arise by their need to succeed in accomplishing the goal of being ineffective and reasonable in the discussion. Therefore, strategic manoeuvring becomes the "central tool used in pragma-dialectics in accounting for the strategic design of an argumentative discourse" (van Eemeren, 2018, p.112).

Strategic manoeuvring, according to van Eemeren (2018, p.112), is identified in different ways:

- 1) The selection made from the topical potential: The collection of possible argumentative moves that are as it were available to be made at a particular point in the discourse.
- 2) Strategic manoeuvring which involves adaptation to audience demands. This means preferences have to be rendered to the listeners or readers the speaker intends to reach or whose attention they intend to capture.

3) In addition, strategic manoeuvring deals with the exploitation of the presentation devices, which means that stylistic and other means of expression are employed to give clear realisation to an argumentative move.

What makes these three aspects strategic manoeuvring significant is how they individually offer different effects to the argument presented in the discussion. Furthermore, the use of these aspects provide an overview of more refined, more accurate and more complete reconstruction of what happens in an argument.

The study of fallacies within the context of argumentation is also fascinating. Walton and Krabbe (1995) argued that fallaciousness in judgements of arguments depends on the contextual surrounding of the dialogue mostly with relation to the occurrence of the dialectical shift in the process of the argument. On the other hand, Kacprzac and Yaskorska (2014) explored ways in which formal fallacies can be removed through a dialogue system. In their attempt in trying to remove formal fallacies from natural dialogues, a dialogue system was put forth which was assisted by Lorenzen's dialogical logic and Hamblin's (LHND) formal dialectic. The LHND is a dialogical system where participants cannot commit formal fallacies and have a method of both identifying and withdrawing formal fallacies (Kacprzac and Yaskorska, 2014). In so doing, Kacprzac and Yaskorska (2014) noted that Prakken tradition of persuasion dialogue games was used to establish the two coherent dialogue protocols. This resulted in a new dialogue system called Lorenzen-Hamblin natural dialogue. The purpose of Kacprzac and Yaskorska's (2014) study was to eventually reach a point of implementation where the system would be put to use in the computational system, and to further develop software that would allow the LHND games to be played online. Playing these games allows players to use an argument based on a specific

formula which is referred to as tautology; the games also use an argument based on a specific formula that has been applied; the games also allow players to challenge the formula; finally, in the course of the dialogue, the players provide a proof that the formula under question is or is not a tautology (Kacprzac and Yaskorska, 2014).

Fallacy within the context of pragma-dialectics is referred to as derailment of strategic manoeuvring (van Eemeren, 2018). Strategic manoeuvring, therefore, deals with the arguer's need to find a ground of possible resolution and the effectiveness of argumentation during *One-on-One* discourse. Another important aspect to consider is the critical discussion model which plays an important role in the analysis and evaluation of argumentation. It is concerned with the moves which could potentially stand between an obstruction of the realisation of critical evaluation of the arguer's standpoint or vice versa (van Eemeren & Gootendorst, 1992).

Furthermore, it is important to note that van Eemeren & Gootendorst's (1992) attempt at the framework brings insight into what is currently effective in the light of pragma-dialectical as the approach to study argumentation. As noted hereunder, the result and findings elude the expectation of the moderator in terms of administering or being in control of the debate. They are, in case of Lester Holt (the former presidential debate moderator), making sure adequate time is given per question of discussion, with the candidates (arguers) (van Eemeren & Gootendorst, 1992). It was observed that the move to the next topic was made to stay neutral. Through this action, it was seen that fallacies remained unresolved.

On the other hand, Zhang and Xu's (2018) study of strategic manoeuvring is from the angle of metaphor in argumentation. Bringing in what they coined as Metaphor Theory coupled with pragma-dialectics, they made an analysis of strategic manoeuvring in multimodal metaphorical argument. They looked at the study's use of metaphor in argumentation and discussed "why metaphorical argument cannot be treated as an analogical argument and further explained how metaphorical argumentation can be reconstructed by making use of pragma dialectics" (p.501).

2.6.1 Contextualising the model of critical discussion

The model of a critical discussion (van Eemeren, 2018) is an important tool in the process of arguers' attempts to resolve their differences during an argument. The model provides a requirement of the distinctive stages that must be considered during this interactive process. The effectiveness of the model lies in the establishment that the argument at hand or the difference of opinion can only be deemed to be resolved when arguers reach an agreement. This can be realised whether the standpoint at issue is acceptable by both parties or not. In this light, it is important to note that a difference in an argument is used differently from the term "settlement of a dispute." The difference of opinion is resolved when a joint conclusion is reached based on a regulated and unimpaired exchange of arguments and criticism. On the other hand, settling a dispute would suggest that mutual concern is established between the arguers, meaning that the difference of opinion has, in one way or another, been ended. The dialectical procedure part of pragma-dialectics sees whether the standpoint of the protagonist and the antagonist attempt

to achieve clarity as to whether the protagonist's standpoint can be defended based on the antagonist's critical reaction.

The model of critical discussion looks at the heuristic function and critical function in the analysis and evaluation of argumentative discourse and texts. On one hand, the heuristic function refers to a guideline for the analysis aimed at guiding the detection and theoretical interpretation of every element in, and aspect of, the discourse or text that is relevant to a critical evaluation. On the other hand, the critical function serves as a standard in the evaluation of meaning. By providing sequential norms in this respect, it is one way in which argumentative exchange of ideas that diverge from procedures that benefit the resolution of a difference of opinion can be determined (van Eemeren & Grootendorst, 2004).

Critical discussion (van Eemeren, 2018) is central to the study of argumentation within the framework of pragma-dialectics and its overall goal is aimed at resolving differences of opinion that may arise in discussions. For these differences of opinions to be resolved, a consideration of four stages namely, the confrontational stage which happens in cases where the standpoint is unaccepted due to doubt and contradiction; the opening stage which happens in cases when the arguer tries to find similarities in each other's standpoint; the argumentation stage which aims to systematically overcome the antagonist's doubt or refute their critical reaction and finally, the concluding stage in which the discussants close the discussion together by determining the final outcome-that may or may not lead them to start a new discussion (van Eemeren & Grootendorst, 2004).

2.6.2 Characterising speech acts in argumentation

The origin of speech acts can be traced back to Austin (1962) and Searle (1968) when they referenced work in the field of philosophy of language that aimed to explore different ways in which language can be used. This was followed by the widespread of speech acts studied within the linguistic sphere of discourse analysis studies (Green, 2016). According to Austin (1962) speech acts can be perceived in three ways which are locutionary act that refers to how a sentence or a phrase is formulated in sign language, writing, speech and so on; secondly, speech acts can be performed, which is referred to as illocutionary act; thirdly, it is the perlocutionary act which is the characteristic effect of illocutionary act. Green (2016), defines speech acts as “acts that can, but need to be carried out by saying and meaning that one is doing so”(p.1); and that they are analysed through two components namely, the force dimension that corresponds to how what is being said is being expressed and the content dimension that corresponds to what is actually being said (Green, 2016, p. 2).

A reflection on the role of speech acts in the analysis and evaluation of this study is unavoidable in respect of the fact that speech acts are commended as determiners of the argumentative discussions. In this regard, their application in this study was necessary. As noted by van Eemeren and Grootendorst, in Houtlosser (1998), standpoints are realised in the form of negative and positive aspects where the speaker externalises a positive position in respect of a formulated opinion. On the other hand, the arguers can assume the negative standpoint by externalising a negative position (Houtlosser,1998).

2.7 Summary

The chapter made an exploration of research contributions to the study of argumentation in television talk show discourse. Thus, existing scholarly studies and research contributions towards dialectical argumentation in television talk shows were reviewed with close attention placed on argumentative discourse that ranged from political interviews and debates – leaning more towards the nature of television talk in context. The review highlighted several challenges between the arguers. Challenges observed in the argumentation of television discourse led to several suggestions for improvement. On the other hand, an evaluation of studies on how strategic manoeuvring plays a role in discourse was assessed and several strategies were identified with regards to how politicians try to evade the interviewee's questions. The next chapter will give a detailed account of the theories within which the analysis of the data was couched. The theories that guided this study are the Pragma-Dialectical Theory of Argumentation and some explications of the Extended Pragma-Dialectical Theory. At this stage, the following aspects of pragma-dialectics will be closely investigated: the model of critical discussion, the rules of critical discussion, and the argumentative patterns in discourse and more.

CHAPTER 3

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

3.0 Introduction

This chapter explains the research methodology employed to investigate the *One-on-One* TV talk show discussions on the Namibian Broadcasting Corporation (NBC). The aim of this study was to gain insights into the argumentative dynamics and persuasive strategies employed by the interview guests during the discussions. Examining the research design, population of the study, text selection criteria, study settings, research instrument, data collection process, data quality measures, data analysis procedures, and ethical considerations, this chapter provides a framework used for conducting the analysis.

3.1 Research Design

The research design for this study refers to the overall plan and strategy employed to conduct a qualitative content analysis (QCA) of the *One-on-One* TV talk show discussions on the NBC. Because QCA is said to “show conflicting opinions and unsolved issues regarding meaning and use concepts, procedures and measures” (Granehein & Lundman, 2004), it is suited for this study because it involves a large corpus of data collected from several discussions which requires extensive analysis and interpretation. The chosen method for analysis is qualitative content analysis, which involves examining the content and themes discussed in the talk show episodes. This design enables the pragma-dialectical exploration of the depth and

breadth of the discussions, as well as the identification of recurring argumentation patterns and emerging themes throughout the stages of critical discussions.

3.2 Research paradigm

This study applied the interpretivism research paradigm. According to Alvesson and Sköldbberg (2017), interpretivism is a research paradigm that emphasises understanding and interpreting social phenomena from the perspective of the participants involved. It recognises the subjective nature of human experiences and the importance of context in shaping meanings and interpretations. In the context of analysing the *One-on-One* talk show discussions on NBC, interpretivism was applied with the aim of exploring the in-depth perspectives, insights, and opinions of the guests and understanding the social and cultural dynamics that influence the discussions. Adopting an interpretivist approach, the study acknowledges that the meaning and significance of the talk show episodes are socially constructed and context-dependent. Interpretivism is a research paradigm that emphasises the subjective nature of human experiences and the social construction of knowledge (Alvesson & Sköldbberg, 2017; Parker, 2018).

In interpretivist research, the focus is on understanding and interpreting social phenomena from the perspective of the participants involved, taking into account the context and meanings they attribute to their experiences (Creswell, 2014; Denzin & Lincoln, 2018). It recognises that individuals and groups create and assign meaning to their actions and interactions based on their unique cultural, historical, and social backgrounds (Schwandt, 2014).

At the core of interpretivist research is the belief that knowledge is not solely based on objective facts, but is also influenced by individual interpretations, perceptions, and subjective understandings (Denzin & Lincoln, 2018; Creswell, 2014). Adopting an interpretivist paradigm, this study sought to uncover these subjective meanings and interpretations through qualitative methods of textual analysis (Creswell, 2014; Silverman, 2016). They aim to gain a deeper understanding of the social and cultural dynamics, values, and beliefs that shape human behaviour and interactions (Schwandt, 2014). Interpretivism also recognises the role of the researcher in the research process. Researchers are considered active participants who engage with the data and bring their own interpretations and perspectives to the analysis (Denzin & Lincoln, 2018; Creswell, 2014). The researcher's subjectivity is seen as valuable in uncovering multiple perspectives and generating rich insights (Alvesson & Sköldberg, 2017). The interpretivist paradigm allows for the researcher to actively engage with the data, seeking to uncover the underlying meanings and interpretations embedded within the talk show discussions. It recognises the complexity and subjectivity of human communication and encourages the exploration of diverse perspectives and viewpoints. Furthermore, interpretivism promotes qualitative research methods that are well-suited to capturing the richness and depth of the talk show episodes.

3.3 Population of the Study

The population of the study included all the episodes of the *One-on-One* TV talk show that have been aired on NBC between 2016 and 2021. Among all the talk shows that air on NBC, the *One-on-One* talk show was chosen for this study because it involves one dialogue at a time, unlike other shows that involve a panel of more than two discussants at a given time. Another reason for choosing the *One-on-One* talk show

is due to its diversity in terms of the social, economic and political it covers; the diversity of the guests interviewed also gives the study a wider dimension for the analysis. The study sought to analyse a representative sample of these episodes to gain insights into the thematical topics of the discussions featured on the show through the application of the pragma-dialectical theory of argumentation.

3.4 Text selection criteria for *One-on-One* TV Talk Show discussions

The text selection criteria for the NBC *One-on-One* TV talk show discussions have been developed to ensure a representative and relevant sample of episodes. This process required hours of watching and listening to several recordings in order to diversify the selection of themes for this study. These criteria consider factors such as the time frame of episodes, the wide range of topics covered, and the inclusion of diverse guests from various fields. Employing these criteria, the aim was to capture the breadth of perspectives and expertise showcased on the talk show, enabling a comprehensive analysis of the discussions.

3.4.1 Inclusion criteria

The inclusion criteria for selecting the episodes are as follows:

1. Episodes of the *One-on-One* TV talk show aired between 2016 and 2021 in order to focus on the most recent topics that relate to the current state of affairs of the Namibian nation.
2. Episodes that covered a wide range of topics, including politics, social issues, economic developments, environmental concerns, cultural matters, and international relations.
3. Episodes featuring guests from diverse backgrounds, such as politics, business, academia, arts and culture, or any field relevant to the subject being discussed.

3.4.2 Exclusion Criteria

The exclusion criteria for selecting the episodes are as follows:

1. Repeated episodes with the same guest (s) and topic.
2. Episodes that were aired before the year 2016.

3.5 Sampling Size

Out of over a hundred episodes, the sampling size for this study was a total number of eight (8) eligible episodes that met the inclusion criteria of the topics which covered different themes such as education, and different political spheres. The selection criterion was randomly done due to a vast catalogue of similar content. In consideration of relevance and relatability of the content, the episodes were not supposed to be older than five years at the time of the selection. As a result, the 8 episodes selected for this study are a representative sample of to ensure an adequate representation of the topics and covered on the *One-on-One* TV talk show.

Table 3.1: Research instrument

3.7.1 Identification of argumentative moves
Identify the explicit and implicit argumentative moves made by the participants.
Determine the main thesis or claim of each argument.
Identify the supporting reasons and evidence used to substantiate the claims.
3.7.2 Analysis of argumentation structure
Evaluate the logical coherence and consistency of the arguments.
Assess the relevance and sufficiency of the supporting reasons and evidence.
Identify any fallacies or violations of rationality principles in the arguments.

3.7.3 Identification of strategic manoeuvre
Identify instances of strategic manoeuvring, such as shifting the burden of proof, diversion tactics, or ad hominem attacks.
Assess the effectiveness of the strategic manoeuvres in achieving the speaker's goals.
3.7.4. Assessment of persuasive strategies
Evaluate the persuasive strategies employed by the participants.
Analyse the use of rhetorical devices, emotional appeals, or appeals to authority.
Assess the impact of these strategies on the overall persuasiveness of the arguments.
3.7.5 Evaluation of critical questions
Apply critical questions from the Pragma-Dialectic approach to assess the quality of arguments.

3.6 Data Collection

The data collection process for this study encompassed several essential steps. Firstly, eligible episodes were selected based on predetermined inclusion criteria, which ensured that the chosen episodes aligned with the research objectives and addressed the desired topics. Next, the selected episodes were carefully viewed, and thorough transcriptions were made to capture the dialogue and discussions accurately (Brown, 2020; Davis, 2019). This transcription process aimed to maintain the fidelity of the content and enable subsequent analysis. After transcription, relevant information was extracted from the episodes, including key themes,

perspectives, and insights shared by the guests and hosts (Taylor, 2017; Wilson, 2021). The extracted data were then organised and stored systematically, ensuring that they were easily accessible and properly archived for further analysis (Johnson, 2020; Garcia, 2014). The meticulous implementation of these steps ensured the availability of high-quality data for comprehensive analysis and interpretation in subsequent stages of the research process.

3.7 Data Analysis

The data analysis process involved categorisation, coding, and interpretation of the extracted data. The data comprises of 8 tv talk show discussions analysed through the pragma-dialect theory of argumentation by investigating recurring topics, emerging themes, and sub-themes were identified to gain insights into the nature and scope of the discussions on the talk show. The data analysis of the study looks at the arguments according to the four stages of a critical discussion, namely the confrontation stage, the opening stage, the argument stage and the concluding stage. Through the pragma-dialectical theory of argumentation, the findings were analysed in relation to the research objectives, providing a comprehensive understanding of the topics covered and the perspectives shared. The interpretation of the findings in relation to the research objectives and research questions was conducted in Chapter Six.

3.8 Ethical considerations

The discussants involved in the discussions subject to this study were ethically considered in terms of making sure that the transcriptions were the original representation of the video recordings and that nothing was removed or added.

Ethical considerations refer to the moral principles and values that guide decision-making and behaviour in research, professional practice, and other domains (Resnik, 2015). They involve the thoughtful evaluation of the potential ethical implications, consequences, and responsibilities associated with an action or decision. According to Resnik (2015), ethical considerations encompass various aspects, including respect for autonomy, privacy, confidentiality, informed consent, fairness, justice, beneficence, and non-maleficence. Ethical considerations serve as a framework for promoting ethical conduct, integrity, and responsibility in the treatment of individuals, communities, and the broader society. They require researchers, practitioners, and individuals in positions of influence to carefully balance competing interests, avoid harm, uphold the rights and dignity of participants, and consider the broader societal impact of their actions.

3.8.1 Open source data

The collection and usage of open-source data, specifically the *One-on-One* talk show episodes published on the NBC, requires careful attention to ethical considerations. Although the show is of public domain and broadcasted on national television, these considerations aim to ensure responsible and respectful use of the data by not altering the discussion in any way. By maintaining the originality of the discussion, the privacy and rights of individuals involved is safeguarded and hence, adheres to ethical guidelines and principles.

3.8.2 Permissions

Respect for the rights and privacy of individuals involved in the talk show discussions is paramount (Smith, 2018; Johnson, 2020). As an open-source data, the *One-on-One* talk show episodes are publicly available, but it is crucial to ensure that the data collection and usage align with relevant legal and ethical requirements. Verbal permissions and clearances were obtained from the Namibian Broadcasting Corporation to access and analyse the episodes, demonstrating compliance with ethical guidelines and regulations.

3.8.3 Confidentiality and anonymity

Although the privacy and confidentiality of guests, hosts, and participants in the *One-on-One* talk show discussions must be respected (Taylor, 2017), this study named the discussants. The reason for this is that the data was publicly accessible and was aired on national television. As a result, handling personal information with confidentiality to prevent any potential harm or privacy breaches as suggested by Wilson (2021) does not apply. Nonetheless, any identifying information, such as addresses, or contact details, was redacted or anonymised, in line with established ethical practices (Garcia, 2014) and not shared in this study.

3.8.4 Responsible data use and dissemination

The data collected from the *One-on-One* talk show was used responsibly and with integrity (Davis, 2015). It was employed solely for research purposes, aiming to gain insights into the topics and discussions that shape public discourse in Namibia. The findings and analysis derived from the data were presented in an accurate and

unbiased manner, ensuring transparency and avoiding misrepresentation (Smith, 2020).

3.8.5 Avoidance of harm and sensationalism

Responsible use of the *One-on-One* talk show data necessitates avoiding harm to individuals, communities, or institutions (Johnson, 2018). The dignity of the individuals featuring in the *One-on-One* discussions was considered by maintaining the originality of the discussion through the transcription process. Hence, care was taken to avoid sensationalism or the amplification of controversial or sensitive content that could lead to negative consequences (Brown, 2021). The focus remained on providing an objective analysis that contributed to inform the public about argumentation discourse and understanding (Garcia, 2017).

3.8.6 Researcher objectivity and bias mitigation

The researcher involved in the analysis of the *One-on-One* talk show data upholds objectivity and strives to minimise personal biases that may influence the interpretation of the findings (Taylor, 2016).

3.8.7 Compliance with ethical guidelines

The research process adhered to ethical guidelines and principles set forth by the University of Namibia as an academic institution (Davis, 2019). These guidelines provided a framework for responsible data collection, analysis, and dissemination, ensuring that the research was conducted with integrity, respect, and responsibility (Jones, 2017). Ethical clearance was sought and obtained from the University of

Namibia Research Ethics Committee (UNREC). All sources cited during this study were acknowledged following the APA 7th Edition referencing style.

3.9 Summary

Chapter 3 of this study focused on the research methodology employed to investigate the *One-on-One* talk show on the Namibian Broadcasting Corporation (NBC). The chapter provided an overview of the research design, population of the study, text selection criteria, sampling size, research instrument, data collection process, data analysis, and ethical considerations. The research design adopted for this study was a qualitative content analysis, which allowed for an in-depth exploration of the content and themes discussed in the talk show episodes. The population of the study encompassed the episodes of the *One-on-One* talk show aired on the NBC during the selected time period. As a way of ensuring a comprehensive analysis, specific text selection criteria were established based on the inclusion and exclusion criteria. The selected episodes were viewed and transcribed, and relevant information was extracted for further analysis. The data collected were organised and stored for subsequent analysis. The research instrument utilised in this study was the Pragma-Dialectic Argumentation Analysis Guide, which provided a systematic framework for analysing the structure, quality, and effectiveness of the arguments presented during the talk show discussions. The instrument incorporated the principles of the pragma-dialectic theory of argumentation, allowing for a comprehensive analysis of the argumentative dynamics and persuasive strategies employed.

Data collection involved rigorous steps, including the selection of eligible episodes, viewing and transcription of episodes, extraction of relevant information, and

organisation of the data for further analysis. Throughout the data collection process, measures were taken to ensure data quality and reliability. Data analysis encompassed various aspects, such as identifying argumentative moves, analysing the argumentation structure, identifying strategic manoeuvres, assessing persuasive strategies, and evaluating critical questions. The Pragma-Dialectic Argumentation Analysis Guide served as a guide for the systematic analysis of the data, enabling a comprehensive examination of the argumentative dynamics within the talk show episodes. Ethical considerations were carefully considered throughout the research process. Measures were implemented to ensure the privacy, anonymity, and confidentiality of the participants and the data collected. Ethical guidelines and principles were followed.

The following chapter gives a detailed evaluation of the theoretical literature review associated with this study in detail.

CHAPTER 4

THEORETICAL LITERATURE REVIEW

4.0 Introduction

Chapter Three focused on the theoretical framework of the study. In this chapter, an exploration of theoretical literature review will be detailed. To enhance the issues expressed in Chapter Two, this chapter explores the theories of this study's analytical and evaluation aspects. Among others, the study looked at the Pragma-Dialectic Theory of argumentation (van Eemeren, 2018) which is primarily the theory this current study employed to examine the argumentative discourse of the *One-on-One* talk show. The chapter explores tools and rules that assisted in the analysis of the discussions such as whether the arguments reached resolutions through reasonableness and whether at the same time, effectiveness was maintained. The chapter examines how the talk show argumentative discourse adheres to the rules of critical discussion; and also, how fallacies are committed as a result of breaking certain discussion rules. Strategic manoeuvring is also an aspect that is explored to give a clear understanding of the implications and consequences of manoeuvring strategically. In addition, other theories such as the Speech Act Theory (Austin, 1962) are explored in order to find areas where they apply in the analysis and evaluation. Furthermore, this chapter looks at the functions and principles of Pragma-Dialectical Theory focusing on how they are applied in critical discussions that happen within the context of the television talk show. In a nutshell, point of view, argumentative patterns, strategic manoeuvring, fallacies, critical discussion, speech acts, argument schemes are the crucial concepts this chapter will cover to give insight into how the

Systematic Theory of Argumentation (van Eemeren & Grootendorst, 2004) is designed and how, argumentation schemes (Walton, Reed & Macagno, 2008) are applied in arguments.

4.1 Historical background of the Pragma-Dialectical Theory of Argumentation

The pragma-dialectical approach needs to be understood focusing on what pragma-dialectics is in terms of argumentation. Its birth can be traced as far back as the early 1980s with its main aim being a problem-solving framework for analysing and critiquing arguments of rhetoric or dialectical nature. As this approach kept evolving, it has since acquired several ways of definition, depending on a scholar and the genre of their investigation/research. From one angle, argumentation is defined as "a phenomenon of verbal communication" which is "studied as a mode of discourse characterised by the use of language for resolving a dispute" (Van Eemeren & Houtlosser, 2006, p.293). In the same vein, van Rees (2006) defines 'pragma dialectics' as a term associated with resolving a difference of opinion and that it is realised through the existing controversy in the arguments. "The perspective chosen in the pragma-dialectical approach in analysing the structure of argumentation is, as might be expected, pragmatic and dialectical" (van Eemeren et. al. 2014, p.21).

4.2 The theory of Argumentation

The Argumentation Theory examines argumentation of all-encompassing capacities within situations in which the arguments occur. As per the goal of this study, argumentation theory was used to analyse discourse. In situations where an analysis showed that the core fundamental prerequisites for reasonable argumentative discourse had not been fulfilled in achieving the desired resolution in an argument, it

would be senseless to take refuge in argumentation to resolve the difference of opinion. Owing to the latter, this study looked at argumentative discourse that aimed to find resolution of differences of opinions in a reasonable way. The study recognised the normative critical dimension and descriptive empirical dimension. As noted by Greco (2017), the development of argumentation has been identified by van Eemeren as the imperialisation, contextualisation and formalisation of the treatment of argumentation and is identified through critical discourse dialogues. Several theoretical concepts are likely to be tied to the analysis of argumentation. Rowland (1995) stated that all aspects of a theory of argument can be tied to a rational problem-solving purpose. Thus, it is noteworthy to acknowledge that rationality in arguments is a vital general problem-solving problem tool in human beings. It is therefore clear that people and researchers have this theory of argumentation at their disposal in argumentative discussions (Rowland, 1995). In light of this, the study investigated the length to which rational problem solving was used in the *One-on-One* discussions.

As noted by van Eemeren (2010), an argumentative discourse carried out on the grounds of pragma-dialectics is sustained by the interpretation that comes about as a result of several moves systematically made in the discourse from the theoretical perspective of critical discussion; therefore, the conceptual instruments required to implement this perspective and using the terminological resolution that aligns with them were exploited. With regard to the latter, referencing “pragmatic” analysis without “dialectics” of “pragma-dialectics” means that discourse is observed as essentially contextualised speech acts exchange. On the other hand, the dialectical

part is interpreted as an exchange that methodologically tries to reach a resolution of difference of opinion through virtue of regulated critical exchange (van Eemeren, 2010).

Reflecting on reasonableness, Greco (2017) suggested that "conductive reasoning refers to weighing pros and cons about the same standpoint (or opposing standpoints in the same issue)" which results in reasoning being analytically developed through a wider spectacle lance (Greco, 2017, p.215). According to van Eemeren (2018), the main aspect of analytical theory in argumentative theory is to construct argumentative discourse at the point of its occurrence. In this aspect, its reality is perceived based on the model of argumentation that is selected based on the theoretical starting point (van Eemeren, 2018, p. 10).

4.3 Components of Argumentation Theory

The five components of argumentation theory are playing a very special role in this study because the argumentation subject to this study aims to explore how reasonableness is conceived; how argumentation through the model of argumentation is perceived; and also, how the realities in the arguments are captured. These components combined are critical to the analysis of the study in terms of how, on the philosophical aspect, the soundness for judging the reasonableness is perceived; based on the theoretical component of argumentation, the argumentation in this study will be substantiated in terms of how the soundness of argumentative moves is judged within given argumentation scenarios; the empirical component on the other hand, how strategic manoeuvring that takes place in the discussions are dialectically perceived in every stage of argumentation.

According to van Eemeren, (2015, 2017 & 2018), there are five components to consider concerning research programmes under argumentation theory. These components are fundamentally essential in acknowledging pragma-dialectical place in argumentation. The philosophical component of the research programme is that in “implementing the critical rationalist reasonableness conception of pragma-dialectics, the reflection should concentrate in the first place on how the context related adaptations of the soundness for judging the reasonableness of argumentative moves to the institutional context in which argumentative takes place are to be accounted for from a philosophical perspective” (van Eemeren, 2015, 2017, p.324, 2018, p.10).

On the aspect of the theoretical components of this research programme; “In pragma-dialectics further substance should be given to the contextualised specification of the criteria for judging the soundness of argumentative moves in accordance with the exigencies of the various communicative types in different domains...” (p.184). The empirical components of the research programme on the aspect of pragma-dialectics, focuses on the strategic manoeuvring that takes place in communicative activity types in the political, legal and medical domains.

The analytical component of the research programme in argumentative theory, on the other hand, the centralisation relates to the “development context-specific analytic tools for the reconstruction of argumentative discourse in various domains (including pragma-dialectics) that are examined”. It is also stated that there is an urgent need for “tools for determining in the various macro-contexts the most

appropriate pragmatic options for the premises that have been left unexpressed”
(p.186)

The practical component of the research programme speaks to the “trend towards ‘formalisation’ of the treatment of argumentation. Van Eemeren noted that “In pragma-dialectics, the most crucial parts of the theory such as the model of a critical discussion and the rules for reasonable argumentative discourse, should therefore be prepared for being put in an optimally formal shape.” (van Eemeren, 2018, p.187).

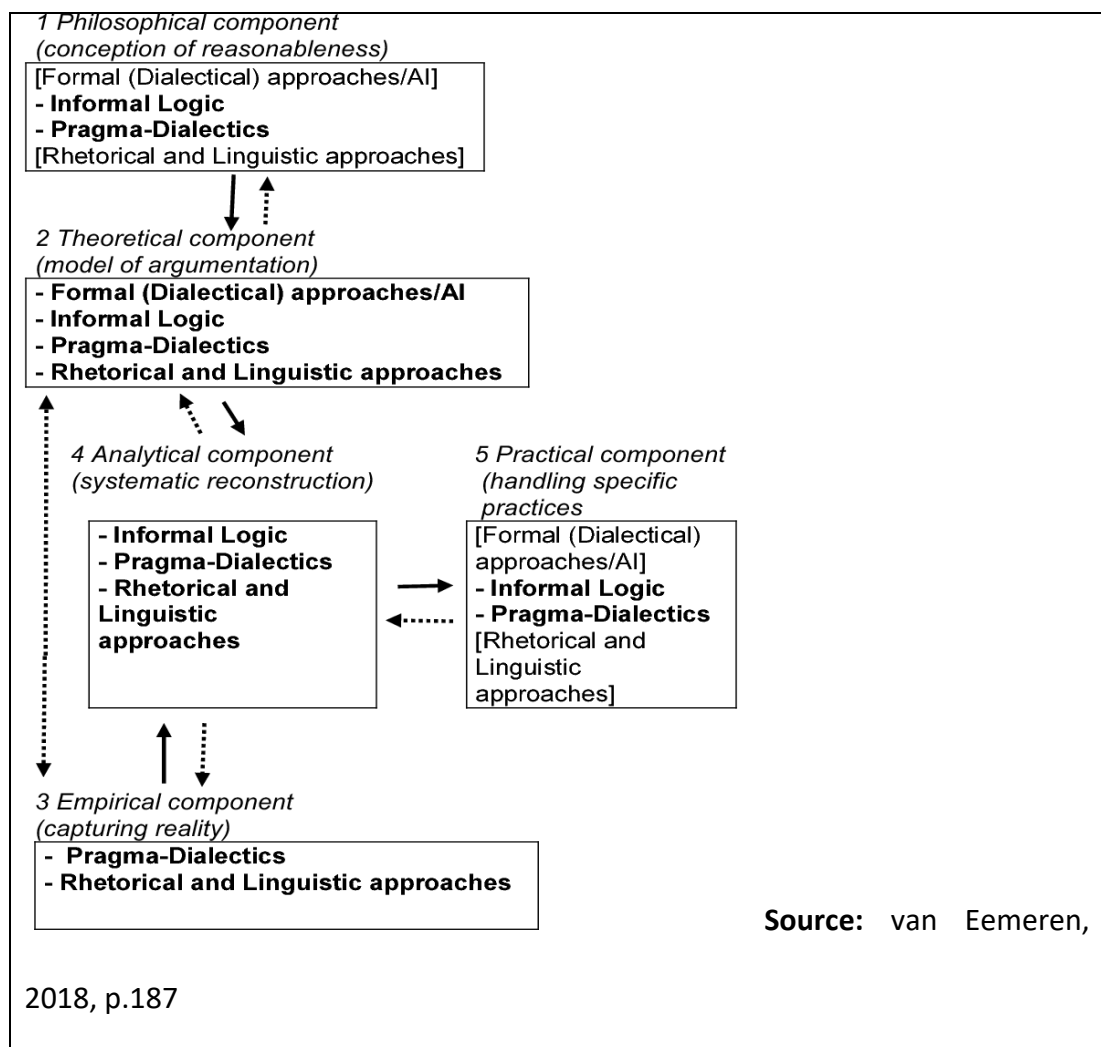


Figure 4 below looks at the contribution to the five components of argumentation theory

4.4 Analytical tools of pragma-dialectics

The following analytical tools are essential in the of pragma-dialectical procedure.

1. “A method for making unexpressed premises explicit and typologies of argument schemes and argumentation structure that can be used to identify the relationships between argumentative moves” (van Eemeren and Grootendorst in van Eemeren, 2011, p.4).
2. The rules of critical discussion.
3. “The way in which argumentative moves relevant to a critical discussion manifest themselves in argumentative reality” (van Eemeren et al. 1993, in reconstructive discourse by van Eemeren, Grootendorst, Jackson & Jacobs (2002)).
4. Prototypical argumentative patterns as described by van Eemeren (2017).

4.5 Meta-theoretical characters of the four principles of argumentation

First of all, it is good to take cognisant of the aspects that characterise argumentation as it gives clear understanding of what arguments are from a pragma-dialectical point of view. The following aspects indicate just that, (van Eemeren, 2013):

- Argumentation as a communicative act complex
- Argumentation as an interactional act complex
- Argumentation involves putting forward propositions in a way that creates commitments for which the arguer can be held accountable.
- Argumentation involves an appeal to reasonableness that drives its force from the idea of common critical standards for resolving a difference of opinion on merit.

4.5.1 Starting Points

The following starting points are significant in the study of the critical discussions of the *One-on-One Show*. According to van Eemeren et al. (2014), meta-theoretical starting points show the direction in which the pragmatic and the dialectical dimension are incorporated into the attainment of pragma-dialectics. It is further noted by van Eemeren *et al.* (2014) that in any argumentative study, descriptive pragmatics and normative dialectics are supposed to be joined when they are assumed within the pragma-dialectical research programme. In this regard, the meta-theoretical premises are required to aid as methodological principles in the study of argumentation so that the desired outcome aimed for in the argumentation through joining descriptive pragmatics and normative dialectics is successfully attained. To attain this, arguments should be functionalised, socialised, externalised, and dialectified (van Eemeren et al., 2014; van Eemeren & Houtlosser, 2015, van Eemeren & Grootendorst, 1984;).

Firstly, functionalisation is of the notion that none of the main functions of argumentation in the process of the resolution of differences of opinion are overlooked. When it comes to theorising in argumentation, more attention has to be particularly placed on the functions performed by speech acts towards resolving the difference of opinion. According to Van Eemeren et al. (2014), it is important to identify arguers' function of speech acts in order to specify the standpoints, argumentation, and argumentative moves. Functionalisation is purposefully required in determining the subject matter of argumentation. It therefore explicitly shows how language is a tool in comprehending particular communicative and

interactional purposes (van Eemeren et al, 2014, p. 524; van Eemeren & Grootendorst, 1984:93-64, 1992:30-33).

The second meta-theoretical premise of socialisation advocates for argumentation to be correlatedly perceived as “the other” in the process in which the subject matter at hand is treated communicatively and interactionally. These social communicative and interactional roles of protagonist and antagonist can be assumed by either of the arguers at any given stage in the argument and it all depends on the kind of opinion at hand. Van Eemeren and Grootendorst (1984) note that in socialisation the protagonist and the antagonist assume different roles in defence and support of a standpoint. The protagonist (guest in the *One-on-One* discussions), therefore in his or her role, tries to convince the antagonist (host in the *One-on-One* discussions) to accept his or her standpoint while the antagonist puts effort to defend and react to the argument that the protagonist may put across. Further, van Eemeren et al. (2014) van Eemeren and Grootendorst, (1984) note that, the back and forth of arguments advanced and the reactions carry on until some form of agreement is reached. All in all, the social nature of an argument is determined by the arguer's commitment to defend his or her standpoint through the argumentative moves by both parties involved in the argument and also how each of these moves relates to the other.

The externalisation stage looks at the verbal communicative impact of the subject matter at hand and also, what the theorising regarding the arguments should focus on. The focus should be based on holding both the protagonist and antagonist accountable for what they have expressed in a particular context and against a “certain informational background” in the discussion (van Eemeren et al. 2014, p.

526). In other words, verbal communication should be the starting point with consideration to determine whether the speech acts performed by the protagonist and antagonist are explicitly or implicitly interpreted. According to van Eemeren and Houtlosser (2015), trying to analyse or dissect the psychological temperaments of those involved in argumentation is not important because, as previously stated, the theorising about argumentation should be directed to the arguers' commitments "as externalised in or externalisable from" (van Eemeren & Houtlosser (2015, p. 153). They should also be directed to the way in which arguers carry themselves and their self-expression within the given context and what these commitments benefit the arguments.

Dialectification is the fourth meta-theoretical starting point. As stated by van Eemeren et al. (2014), "[d]ialectification means that argumentation is put in the perspective of a critical discussion aimed at resolving a difference of opinion on the merits and subjected to rules incorporating the standards of reasonableness that need to be observed for achieving that purpose" (van Eemeren et al. 2014, p.527). The argumentation must therefore be capable of accommodating the relevant critical reactions of the antagonist for it to be considered suitable for resolving a difference of opinion; and the theorising about argumentation should look at both the argumentation advanced by the protagonist in defence of the standpoint that drives the discussion and also the antagonist's critical reaction to this standpoint (van Eemeren & Houtlosser, 2015; van Eemeren & Grootendorst, 1984).

4.6 Effectiveness through reasonableness in Argumentative Discourse

Achieving effectiveness through reasonableness is the arguer's goal in argumentative discussions. Hence, pragma-dialectical effectiveness is supported by three claims that advance the arguer's aim towards rhetorical effectiveness while complying with dialectical standards of reasonableness (van Eemeren, Garsen & Meussels, 2011). Firstly, Van Eemerern et.al. (2011) claim that, the arguers should be in a position of knowing what to contribute to the discussion through their awareness of their dialectical obligations. These obligations are what will distinguish between reasonable from the fallacy to being unreasonable. The other claim suggests that there is an assumption that an ordinary arguer makes regarding the other party's commitment to the equivalent dialectical obligations as their counter parties. The third claim suggests that reasonableness is perceived through the ordinary arguer's preference and assumption of their interlocutor's preference and contribution to the discussion; and also, that an offence of the critical discussions will be regarded as being unreasonable. With all the above claims considered, the following paragraphs show what reasonableness and effectiveness represent in argumentation (van Eemerern et.al., 2011).

4.6.1. Reasonableness

"Using reason is a way that is appropriate in view of the communicative and international situational situation" (van Eemeren 2003, p.142). It is noted that the procedure of a dialectical discussion's reasonableness is descendant from a dual criterion namely, its problem (solving) validity and its intersubjective (or conventional) validity (Bath & Krabbe in van Eemeren, 2013). This means that, on the one hand, every part of the discussion procedure and its components, are to be

verified on whether they have the competence or are capable to deliver in terms of what they are meant to do. In other words, can they do the job they are designed to do? Can they adequately perform the task of resolving differences of opinion? On the other hand, they are to be verified on their “intersubjective acceptability to discussants” (van Eemeren & Grootendorst in van Eemeren, 2013). It is further noted that argumentative moves in the argumentative discussion are predominantly influenced based on their effectiveness in resolving a difference of opinion leaning more towards convincing the audience to be in favour of accepting their standpoint. This is to say, effectiveness and reasonableness are to be treated the same because they are important in the overall analysis of the discussion (van Eemeren & Grootendorst in van Eemeren, 2013, p.2).

According to Macagno and Walton, (2015) there are different types of arguments that can be linked to different types of reasoning. Reasoning can be deductive, influencing arguments of definition, cause to effect and expert opinion; inductive reasoning influence argument from example; and abductive influence argument from (improper) signs. See Figure below:

Types of reasoning (abstraction II)	Deductive axioms	Induction	Abduction
Types of argument (abstraction I)	Argument from definition, Genus...	Argument from example	Argument from (improper) signs
	Argument from cause to effect
	Argument from expert opinion		
	...		

Figure 5: Types of arguments and types of reasoning. (Macagno & Walton, 2015, p. 34).

With regards to argumentative speech act complex, its aim is to “resolve a difference of opinion by advancing a constellation of reasoning brought up by the arguer in order to justify the acceptability of a standpoint. Hence, strategic manoeuvring has to be employed to establish the balance between reasonableness and effectiveness. Strategic manoeuvring is applied in political speeches where “speakers frequently achieve their goals by the rhetorical means of persuasion and manipulation by misleading language use” (Ajtony, 2018, p.171). As noted in Jakaza and Visser (2016) strategic manoeuvring was found to be present in the 2008 elections’ divergent Zimbabwean parliamentary debates. The study concluded, in relation to Antony (2018), that, “strategic manoeuvring form like dissociation and association, accusing someone of employing the wrong or unwanted premise and negotiation discourse are evident in divergent political debates” (Jakaza & Visser, 2016).

It is vital in any study of the pragma-dialectical approach to argumentation to make sure that the acceptability of argumentative moves is evaluated based on whether they comply with dialectical standards which should also determine whether the move argumentatively contributes to the result in which the differences are intersubjectively accepted on critical standards (van Eemeren & Grootendorst in van Eemeren, 2013).

4.7 Pragma-dialectical rules of critical discussion

Critical discussion and pragma-dialectical procedure go hand in hand in a study of argumentation. According to van Eemeren and Grootendorst (2003, p. 366), in a case where a critical discussion has to proceed following pragma-dialectical discussion, then both the protagonist and the antagonist will systematically have to find out whether the standpoint of the protagonist has the competency of enduring the criticism addressed by the antagonist.

There is a procedure that is supposed to be followed under the critical discussion in pragma-dialectic meaning and that certain rules with regards to regulating the process of resolving differences of opinion are to be observed. These rules, therefore, are formulated under the pragma-dialectical theory of argumentation based on the identification of the validity of the problem within a discussion. Henceforth, speech acts are an aspect that should be employed in necessitating and regulating the process of a critical discussion (van Eemeren & Grootendorst, 2003, p. 366). First of all, it is important to point out how speech acts are deployed/applied

in critical discussions. And in this aspect the model of the distribution of speech acts indicates different stages to be followed (van Eemeren & Grootendorst, 1984, 2003).

Once the doubt or criticism has been stated, the protagonist will then put forward his or her argumentation to defend his or her standpoint. At this stage, a defence of either the positive or the negative standpoint will follow. On one hand, the defence of the positive standpoint requires an attempt from the protagonist to justify the proposition expressed in the standpoint. Furthermore, defending a negative standpoint requires the protagonist's attempt to refute those expressed propositions. For instance, if at this stage in the conversation the propositions are met with refutes, it will suggest further confrontations with new reactions towards the antagonist. Henceforth, this leads to ongoing attempts to refute, which then calls for new arguments which will again require the antagonist's reaction.

According to van Eemeren and Grootendorst (2003, p.366), in argumentation, there is a system of regulations that covers all speech acts which need to be carried out in a critical discussion. This system should be understood as a procedure that counts towards the resolution of the difference of opinions. The following is an illustration that shows how the four stages of a critical discussion are applied and what each of the stages involves. The confrontation stage is where the difference of opinion is developed, followed by the opening stage where the procedural and other starting points are established. The third one is the argumentation stage where the argument is put forward and subjected to a critical reaction. Finally, the concluding stage is where the outcome of the discussion is determined. The basic model of the distribution of speech acts in the different stages of a critical discussion becomes the

beginning that would later motivate and give way to what has recently come to be known as the pragma-dialectical theory of argumentation (van Eemeren et.al 2014). At this stage, the pragma-dialectical theory of argumentation aligns with the rules of procedure applied throughout the stages of critical discussion and they are then to be identified as "problem-valid" based on the particular contribution they provide in problem-solving that are identifiable in the "process of resolving a difference of opinion" (Eemeren and Grootendorst, 2003, p.366).

4.7.1 Critical Discussion rules

From the onset of the argumentation stage in the opening stage, discussants are required to agree, either explicitly or implicitly with regards to their roles in the discussion. There have to be establishments made to establish the roles of the protagonist and that of the antagonist. The role of the protagonist, therefore, is assumed due to whoever puts forth the first standpoint. The antagonist role happens to be that of the arguer that challenges the standpoint put forth by the protagonist. In the case of this study, the protagonist assumes the position of hosting the discussion segment and therefore puts forward the standpoint and the topic of the argument; in return, the guest follows by assuming the position of the antagonist as he or she will be the discussant who calls the protagonist's standpoint to question, hence an attempt to defend their standpoint. In this study, what will be interesting to learn in the process of the analysis is whether, as per van Eemeren and Grootendorst's (2003) view, the discussants exercise the pass over of "the questions of the allocation of roles in silence" in a way that qualifies the one who puts forward a standpoint to be in the position of assuming the role of the protagonist and the

opposite role for the antagonist. Another act to observe in the analysis of this study is the allocation of roles when in terms of maintaining order and ascertaining that they both get a chance to put forward their standpoints (van Eemeren & Grootendorst, 2003).

In addition, and according to van Eemeren and Grootendorst (2003), it is in the space of a critical discussion and the shared rules of discussion where the defence and attack of the standpoint occurs. In this regard, it is noted that the discussion rules only become relevant and accepted by filling the roles of the protagonist and the antagonist. Thereafter, the discussion roles' function is made clear that they are merely proposals that are employed in the discussion. In all these procedures, it is important to note that, "the discussion rules must be understood as proposals that only come into force in a discussion once they have been accepted by the discussants that fulfil the roles of protagonist and antagonist" (van Eemeren & Grootendorst (2003, p.327).

4.7.2 Rules for the performance of speech acts

Initially, in argumentative discourse, speech acts are not performed in ordinary arguments to express the speech acts that are being performed to the person being communicated to. van Eemeren (2013) noted that the use of speech acts is not a necessity in ordinary arguments that involve ordinary arguers; also, that the use of speech acts that elicit a certain response from the communication counterpart for the words to be understood, accepted and dealt with accordingly (van Eemeren, 2013, p.143). Speech Act Theory (Austin, 1989; Searle 1979,1977) suggests two things to be considered in argumentation. Firstly, it is suggested that the arguers'

main aim of communicating is achieved through the effort of understanding the illocutionary effect in the argument. Secondly, the arguers' aim to interact is pursued in trying to show the perlocutionary effect of acceptance. As a result, what ends up taking place is that "inherent perlocutionary effect consists in the acceptance of the speech act by the addressee" On the other hand, the "constative perlocutionary consequences encompass all further consequences of the speech act to the extent that all the effects and consequences are consciously aimed for in performing the speech act". Therefore, the inherent perlocutionary effect yields minimal results; whereas the results of the desired conservative perlocutionary consequences are yielded optimally (van Eemeren, 2013, p. 144).

As indicated below, van Eemeren and Grootendorst (2003) outline 15 rules that apply in the performance of speech acts and these rules are realised in the process of a critical discussion in pragma-dialectics. This study used these rules to identify areas where the discussants observe or break them in any way

RULE 1

- a. Special conditions apply neither to the propositional content of the Assertives by which a standpoint is expressed, nor to the propositional content of the negation of the commissive employing which a standpoint is called into question;
- b. In the performance of these Assertives and negative Commissives, no special preparatory conditions apply to the position or status of the speaker or writer and listener or reader.

RULE 2

The discussant that has called the standpoint of the other discussant into question in the confrontation stage is always entitled to challenge this discussant to defend his or her standpoint.

RULE 3

The discussant who is challenged by the other discussant to defend the standpoint that he or she has put forward in the confrontation stage is always obliged to accept this challenge unless the other discussant is not prepared to accept certain shared premises and discussion rules; the discussant remains obliged to defend the standpoint as long as he or she does not retract it and as long as he or she has not successfully defended it against the other discussant based on the agreed premises and discussion rules.

RULE 4

The discussant, who in the opening stage has accepted the other discussant's challenge to defend his or her standpoint will fulfil the role of protagonist in the argumentation stage, and the other discussant will fulfil the role of antagonist unless they agree otherwise; the distribution of roles is maintained until the end of the discussion.

RULE 5

The discussants who will fulfil the roles of protagonist and antagonist in the argumentation stage agree before the start of the argumentation stage on the rules for the following: how the protagonist is to defend the initial standpoint and how the antagonist is to attack this standpoint, and in which case the protagonist has successfully defended the standpoint and in which case the antagonist has successfully attacked it; the rules in which this is laid down apply throughout the duration of the discussion, and may not be called into question during the discussion itself by either of the parties.

RULE 6

a. The protagonist may always defend the standpoint that he or she adopts in the initial difference of opinion or in a sub-difference of opinion by performing a complex speech act of argumentation, which then counts as a provisional defence of this standpoint;

b. The antagonist may always attack a standpoint by calling into question its propositional content or the force of the argumentation as a justification or refutation;

c. The protagonist and the antagonist may not defend or attack standpoints in any other way.

RULE 7

a. The protagonist has successfully defended a complex speech act of argumentation against an attack by the antagonist about its propositional content if the application of the intersubjective identification procedure yields a positive result or if the propositional content is in the second instance accepted by both parties as a result of a subdiscussion in which the protagonist has successfully defended a positive sub-standpoint about this propositional content;

b. The antagonist has successfully attacked the propositional content of the complex speech act of argumentation if the application of the intersubjective identification procedure yields a negative result and the protagonist has not successfully defended a positive sub-standpoint with regard to this propositional content in a subdiscussion.

RULE 8

a. The protagonist has successfully defended a complex speech act of argumentation against an attack by the antagonist concerning its force of justification or refutation if the application of the intersubjective inference procedure or (after application of the intersubjective explicitisation procedure) the application of the intersubjective testing procedure, yields a positive result;

b. If the application of the intersubjective inference procedure or (after application of the intersubjective explicitisation procedure) the application of the intersubjective testing procedure yields a negative result; the antagonist has successfully attacked the force of justification or refutation of the argumentation.

RULE 9

- a. The protagonist has conclusively defended an initial standpoint or sub-standpoint through a complex speech act of argumentation if he or she has successfully defended both the propositional content called into question by the antagonist and its force of justification or refutation called into question by the antagonist;
- b. The antagonist has conclusively attacked the standpoint of the protagonist if he or she has successfully attacked either the propositional content or the force of justification or refutation of the complex speech act of argumentation.

RULE 10

The antagonist retains throughout the entire discussion the right to call into question both the propositional content and the force of justification or refutation of every complex speech act of argumentation of the protagonist that the latter has not yet successfully defended.

RULE 11

The protagonist retains throughout the entire discussion the right to defend both the propositional content and the force of justification or refutation of every complex speech act of argumentation that he or she has performed and not yet successfully defended against every attack by the antagonist.

RULE 12

The protagonist retains throughout the entire discussion the right to retract the complex speech act of argumentation that he or she has performed and thereby remove the obligation to defend it.

RULE 13

- a. The protagonist and the antagonist may only once perform the same speech act or the same complex speech act with the same role in the discussion.
- b. The protagonist and the antagonist must perform speech acts or complex speech acts in turn.
- c. The protagonist and the antagonist may not perform more than one speech act or complex speech act at one time.

RULE 14

- a. The protagonist is obliged to retract the initial standpoint if the antagonist has conclusively attacked it (in the manner prescribed in rule 9) in the argumentation stage (and has also observed the other discussion rules);
- b. The antagonist is obliged to retract the calling into question of the initial standpoint if the protagonist has conclusively defended it (in the manner prescribed in rule 9) in the argumentation stage (and has also observed the other discussion rules);
- c. In all other cases the protagonist is not obliged to retract the initial standpoint, nor is the antagonist obliged to withdraw his or her calling into question the initial standpoint.

RULE 15

- a. The discussants have the right at every stage of the discussion to request the other discussant to perform a usage declarative and to perform one themselves.
- b. The discussant who is requested to perform a usage declarative by the other discussant is obliged to do so.

According to van Eemeren and Grootendorst (2003), the basic rules for the performance of speech acts require a good understanding of what takes place during the critical discussion (van Eemeren & Grootendorst, 2003, p. 365). Therefore, the rules for the performance of speech acts are significant in making or breaking a critical discussion. Speech acts can be used to communicate something indirectly.

In argumentative discourse, speech acts are not performed in ordinary arguments to express the speech acts that are being performed to the person being communicated to. van Eemeren noted that the use of speech acts is not a necessity in ordinary arguments that involves ordinary arguers; also, that the use of speech acts that elicit a certain response from the communication counterpart for the words to be

understood, accepted and dealt with accordingly (van Eemeren, 2013, p.143). Speech Act Theory suggests two things to be considered in argumentation. Firstly, it is suggested that the arguers' main aim of communicating is achieved through the effort of understanding the illocutionary effect in the argument. Secondly, the arguers' aim to interact is pursued in trying to show the perlocutionary effect of acceptance. As a result, what ends up taking place is that "inherent perlocutionary effect in the acceptance of the speech act by the addressee. On the other hand, the conservative perlocutionary consequences encompass all further consequences of the speech act to the extent that all the effects and consequences are consciously aimed for in performing the speech act. Therefore, the inherent perlocutionary effect yields minimal results; whereas the results of the desired conservative perlocutionary consequences are yielded optimally (van Eemeren, 2013, p. 144).

A good example of how speech acts can be the reason to communicate something indirectly is demonstrated in a study that examined Donald Trump's inciting tweets of the United States presidential elections 2020 (AlBzour, 2021). It was noted that Trump's "tweets were not pragmatically representatives nor expressive as they might have been anticipated to be. The incitement came through Trump's Directives and Commissives in force oftentimes so that he exploited millions of Americans to rally violent support for him in his ignoble and criminal cause as well as rallying thousands to attack the US emblem of democracy and freedom in the "land of the brave and the land of the free" (p.1). Explicitly and explicitly, Trump managed to make his supporters do/act as he pragmatically led them to (AlBzour, 2021).

4.7.3 Unexpressed premises in argumentative discourse

To distinguish how argumentative discourse goes about resolving a difference of opinion, it is important to reflect on the fact that all elements are explicitly expressed, therefore, overlooking the implicit elements making it highly impossible for a proper evaluation of the argumentation to be made. Furthermore, different terms are applicable to refer to unexpressed premises such as implicit, suppressed, tacit, and missing premises, reason, or argument but also warrant, implicature, supposition and even assumption, inference and implication (van Eemeren & Henkemans, 2016).

For instance, Blair (2002) reviewed Susanne Gerritsen (2021) undertaking that clarifying the problem of unexpressed premises consists of and theoretical advance that was considered to resolve it as important. There is a "problem," first, because there is no settled theoretical answer about how to formulate unexpressed premises in reconstructing an "argumentation" (= argument), and second, because we lack a theoretical explanation of how language users manage quite readily to identify them. Gerritsen treats the following themes in connection with unexpressed premises: the deductive-inductive distinction and its implications (such as the problem of how the unexpressed premise is to be identified if the argument is taken to be non-deductive), the precise nature of statement that constitutes the unexpressed premise, the role and nature of context, the position of the analyst in the analysis (is it the arguer's intentions or the arguer's commitments that should be decisive?), and the research on argumentation schemes as a tool for analysing unexpressed premises.

Such references are dependent on the theorists in argumentation theory's theoretical background. The traditional logical approach suggests that in order to make the argument formally valid, it is important to consider making the premise explicit and the validity rules of deductive logic need to be applied (van Eemeren, 2014). This differentiates pragma-dialectics from logicians: Logicians “take a purely product-oriented approach to argumentation which is bound to be defective because they will be overlooking the fact that argumentation in colloquial speech is always committed and always will be committed to the specific conventions applying to ordinary everyday language” (van Eemeren & Grootendorst, 1984, p.8).

An argument may have several premises in some instances only one premise is put forward. Govier (2013) pointed out to a few expressions that may assist in identifying arguments. The indicators of an argument are categorised in two, the premise indicators and the conclusion indicators. The premise indicators are *therefore, since, because, for, as indicated by, follows from, on the grounds that, as shown by, given that, and may be conducted from*. The concluding indicators are *therefore, thus, consequently, hence, then, it follows that, it can be inferred that, in conclusion, accordingly, for this reason/ all these reasons, on these grounds it is clear that proves that, shows that, can infer that, and demonstrates that* (Govier, 2013).

In argumentation, rhetorical questions can express premises found at the meeting point of the dialectic and rhetoric disciplines just as through an examination of “arguments in biblical prose whose premises take the form of rhetorical questions, utilising insights from modern dialectical and rhetorical theories of argumentation” (Moshavi, 2015, p. 136). Moshavi (2015) further noted that, “The rhetorical question

plays a significant rhetorical role in these arguments, boosting the persuasive force of a disputed premise or a less-than-compelling logical relation between premises and conclusion” (Moshavi 2015, p. 136). The analysis was done in a way that all the parts of the argument were first identified; then followed by three stages process of, firstly, identifying the premise indirectly expressed by the rhetorical question; secondly, specifying the conclusion of the argument; and thirdly, supplying any implicit premises.

Table 3: Ten rules of the code of conduct in a critical discussion

Rule	Prescription
Freedom rule	Discussants may not prevent each other from advancing standpoints or from calling standpoints into question.
Obligation-to-defend rule	Discussants who advance a standpoint may not refuse to defend this standpoint when requested to do so.
Standpoint rule	Attacks on standpoints may not bear on a standpoint that has not been put forward by the other party.
Relevance rule	Standpoints may not be defended by non-argumentation or argumentation that is not relevant to the standpoint.
Unexpressed premise rule	Discussants may not falsely attribute unexpressed premises to the other party, nor disown responsibility for their unexpressed premises
Starting point rule	Discussants may not falsely present something as an accepted starting point or falsely deny that something is an accepted starting point.
Validity rule	Reasoning that argumentation is presented explicitly and completely may not be invalid in a logical sense.

Argument(ation) scheme rule	Standpoints may not be regarded conclusively defended if the defence does not take place utilising appropriate argument(ation) schemes that are applied correctly
Concluding rule	Inconclusive defences of standpoints may not lead to maintaining these standpoints and conclusive defences of standpoints may not lead to maintaining expressions of doubt concerning these standpoints.
(General) language use rule	Discussants may not use any formulations that are insufficiently clear or confusingly ambiguous, and they may not deliberately misinterpret the other party's formulations.

The rules displayed in the table above are quite important and observing them in a discussion will ensure that the arguments under analysis are evaluated accordingly. Presented below is a thorough demonstration of how, in Pragma-Dialectical Rules for Critical Discussion and Fallacies can be violated (van Eemeren, 2015, pp. 416-421).

1. Freedom rule

Parties must not prevent each other from putting forward standpoints or casting doubt on standpoints.

Violations of rule 1 by the protagonist or the antagonist at the confrontation stage.

1. *1 Placing limits on standpoints or doubts*
 - fallacy of declaring standpoints sacrosanct
 - fallacy of declaring standpoints taboo

2. *2 Restricting the other party's freedom of action*

* putting the other party under pressure

- fallacy of the stick (= argumentum ad baculum)
- fallacy of appeal to pity (= argumentum ad misericordiam)

* attacking the other party's person (= argumentum ad hominem)

- fallacy of depicting the other party as stupid, bad, unreliable, etcetera (= direct personal attack/ "abusive" variant)

- fallacy of casting suspicion on the other party's motives (= indirect personal attack/ "circumstantial" variant)

- fallacy of pointing out a contradiction in the other party's words or deeds (= "tu quoque" variant)

2. Burden-of-proof-rule

A party who puts forward a standpoint is obliged to defend it if asked to do so.

Violations of rule 2 by the protagonist at the opening stage

1 Charging the burden- of- proof to the other party

* in a non-mixed difference of opinion, instead of defending his or her own standpoint the protagonist forces the antagonist to show that the protagonist's standpoint is wrong

- fallacy of shifting the burden- of- proof

* in a mixed difference of opinion, the one party does not attempt to defend his or her standpoint but forces the other party to defend its standpoint

- fallacy of shifting the burden- of- proof

2 Escaping from the burden- of- proof

*presenting the standpoint as self-evident

- fallacy of evading the burden- of- proof

* giving a personal guarantee of the rightness of the standpoint - fallacy of evading the burden- of- proof

* immunising the standpoint against criticism

- fallacy of evading the burden of proof

3.Standpoint-rule

A party's attack on a standpoint must relate to the standpoint that has indeed been advanced by the other party.

Violations of rule 3 by the protagonist or the antagonist at all the discussion stages

1 Attributing a fictitious standpoint to the other party

* emphatically putting forward the opposite standpoint

- fallacy of the straw man

* referring to the views of the group to which the opponent belongs

- fallacy of the straw man * creating a fictitious opponent

- fallacy of the straw man

2 Misrepresenting the other party's standpoint

* taking utterances out of context

- fallacy of the straw man

* oversimplifying or exaggerating - fallacy of the straw man

4.Relevance-rule

A party may defend his or her standpoint only by advancing argumentation related to that standpoint.

Violations of rule 4 by the protagonist at the argumentation stage

1 The argumentation has no relation to the standpoint under discussion

- fallacy of irrelevant argumentation (= ignoratio elenchi)

2 The standpoint is defended by means other than argumentation

* non-argumentation

- fallacy of playing on the sentiments of the audience (= pathetic fallacy)
- fallacy of parading one's own qualities (= ethical fallacy/abuse of authority)

5. Unexpressed premise rule

A party may not falsely present something as a premise that has been left unexpressed by the other party or deny a premise that he or she has left implicit.

Violations of rule 5 by the protagonist or the antagonist at the argumentation stage

1 Adding an unexpressed premise that goes beyond what is warranted

- fallacy of magnifying an unexpressed premise

2 Refusing to accept commitment to an unexpressed premise implied by one's defence

- fallacy of denying an unexpressed premise

6. Starting point rule

No party may falsely present a premise as an accepted starting point or deny a premise representing an accepted starting point.

Violations of rule 6 by the protagonist or the antagonist at the argumentation stage

1 Meddling with the starting points by the protagonist by falsely denying that something is an accepted starting point

- fallacy of falsely denying an accepted starting point

2 Meddling with the starting points by the antagonist by falsely presenting something as an accepted starting point

- fallacy of making unfair use of presuppositions in making assertions
- fallacy of making unfair use of presuppositions in asking questions (= fallacy of many questions)
- fallacy of using an argument that amounts to the same thing as the standpoint (= fallacy of circular reasoning/petitio principii/begging the question)

7. Argument scheme rule

A standpoint may not be regarded as conclusively defended if the defence does not take place by means of an appropriate argument scheme that is correctly applied.

Violations of rule 7 by the protagonist at the argumentation stage

1 Using an inappropriate argument scheme

- populist fallacy (symptomatic relation) (= argumentum ad populum)
- fallacy of confusing facts with value judgments (causal relation) (= argumentum ad consequentiam)

2 Incorrectly applying an argument scheme

- fallacy of authority (symptomatic relation) (= argumentum ad verecundiam)
- fallacy of hasty generalisation (symptomatic relation) (= secundum quid)
- fallacy of false analogy (relation of analogy)
- fallacy of post hoc ergo propter hoc (causal relation)
- fallacy of the slippery slope (causal relation)

8. Validity rule

The reasoning in the argumentation must be logically valid or must be capable of being made valid by making explicit one or more unexpressed premises.

Violations of rule 8 by the protagonist at the argumentation stage

1 Reasoning that treats a sufficient condition as a necessary condition

- fallacy of denying the antecedent
- fallacy of affirming the consequent

2 Reasoning that confuses the properties of parts and wholes

- fallacy of division
- fallacy of composition

9. Closure-rule

A failed defence of a standpoint must result in the protagonist retracting the standpoint, and a successful defence of a standpoint must result in the antagonist retracting his or her doubts.

Violations of rule 9 by the protagonist or the antagonist at the concluding stage

1 Meddling with the conclusion by the protagonist

- fallacy of refusing to retract a standpoint that has not been successfully defended
- fallacy of concluding that a standpoint is true because it has been defended successfully

2 Meddling with the conclusion by the antagonist

- fallacy of refusing to retract criticism of a standpoint that has been successfully defended
- fallacy of concluding that a standpoint is true because the opposite has not been successfully defended (= argumentum ad ignorantiam)

10. Usage rule

Parties must not use any formulations that are insufficiently clear or confusingly ambiguous and must interpret the formulations of the other party as carefully and accurately as possible.

Violations of rule 10 by the protagonist or the antagonist at all the discussion stages

Misusing unclarity

- fallacy of unclarity (implicitness, indefiniteness, unfamiliarity, vagueness)

Misusing ambiguity

- fallacy of ambiguity

As presented in the table above, (van Eemeren & Houtlosser 2015; van Eemeren 2017), the current study adopted the ten rules of a critical discussion by investigating whether the host and the guest of the *One-on-One* talk show adhered to the rules and also investigated how fallacy played a role in resolving or rather

complicating the result of the discussion as per the arguers' individual goals. In order to distinguish whether any of these rules were adhered to or broken in the *One-on-One* discussions, all the rules were investigated. The investigation aimed to analyse whether and how both the host of the show and the guest speaker committed these violations and also, how they both strategically manoeuvred in the effort to make their standpoints validated and accepted.

4.8 Argumentation structure

The reconstruction of pragma-dialectics in argumentative discourse advocates for the notion that, additional to the consideration placed on the four stages of stages of discussion in the process of a resolution of a difference of opinion, it is also significant to consider the types of speech acts that are performed in each of the stages. In this regard, van Eemeren et al., (2014,) noted that, in making sure that the discourse is interpreted soundly considering all the moves pertinent to the resolution of opinions on the merits, the heuristic and analytical tools come in handy in the reconstruction of argumentative discourse.

As observed by van Eemeren and Snoeck Henkemans (2017), it takes several arguments to defend a standpoint. These single arguments can be arranged in a chronological order that determines that in whichever way the analyst numbers the argumentation, the defence of a standpoint is inevitably formed. This process therefore necessitates clarity of how the arguments relate to one another. "In the simplest case, a defence consists of one single argument that is, an argument that in fully explicit form consists of two and only two premises" (van Eemeren and Snoeck

Henkemans, 2017). In the analysis of argumentation, the argumentation structure is considerably the most important aspect of an argument. It puts the arguments in perspectives and allows the reconstructed argumentative discourse for a difference of opinion to be successfully resolved. The absence of the argumentation structure makes it difficult to determine whether the argument of a standpoint advances (van Eemeren & Houtlosser, 2015). The argumentative structure here forth is an elaborate term deriving from van Eemeren et al., (2014)'s definition and treatment in the pragma-dialectical model of critical discussion.

As per pragma-dialectics, van Eemeren, Grootendorst and Snoeck Henkemans (2002) and van Eemeren and Snoeck Henkemans (2017) refer to two main types of argumentation structure namely, single argumentation and complex argumentation. On one hand, in the simplest form of argumentation, the argumentation can be made of one single argument although the argumentation structure can assume a much more complex form that consists of several alternative defences deriving from the same standpoint (van Eemeren & Snoeck Henkemans, 2017). Analytically, the argumentative structure can be realised based on the use of indicators perceived in the actual verbal discussion whether the argumentation is multiple, coordinative or subordinate. In the case of the discussion analysed in this study, the analysis adopted the complex argumentation structure due to the nature of how the arguments were presented and defended. The structures, depending on the arguers' argumentation strategies, combine multiple and coordinative structure. This combination enhances the complexity of the structures (van Eemeren et al., 2002).

4.8.1 Single Argumentation

First, the simplest structure of argumentation consists of just one single argument. A single argument structure is one which in its fully explicit form consists of two and only two premises as its defence. “Usually, one of these is unexpressed, so that the single argument appears to consist of only one premise” (van Eemeren et al., 2002, p. 64). However, van Eemeren et al. (2002) maintain that in order to have a more complete picture for the evaluation of a single argument, analysts may find it helpful to make the unexpressed premise explicit and an example of this is illustrated in the Table 4 and Figure 6 below.

According to van Eemeren and Snoeck Henkemans (2017), several single arguments can be combined and arranged in a number of different ways to form the defence of a standpoint. In the simplest case, a defence consists of one single argument, that is, an argument that in fully explicit form consists of two and only two premises. When the defence amounts to one single argument, the problem is not so much how to break it down into components as to identify that there is an argument in the first place. Generally, an argument has the simplest structure possible. Therefore, achieving a more complete picture of the argument necessary in an evaluation, arguers may be required to make explicit the premise that is so often left unexpressed in a single argument.

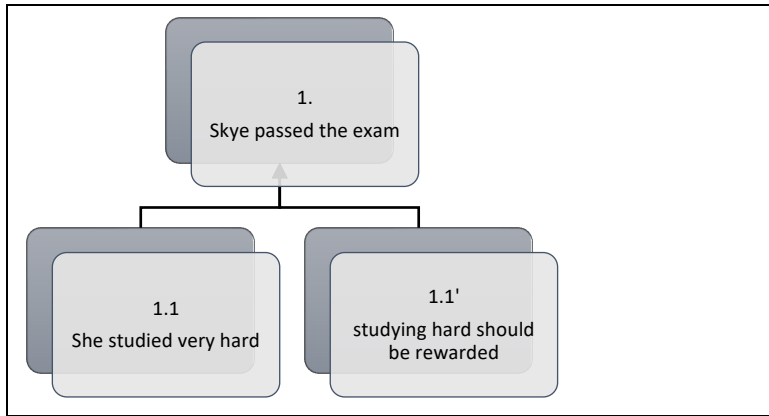


Figure: 6 Single argumentations

Table:4 Single Argumentation

No.	Description
<i>1.</i>	<i>Skye passed the exam</i>
<i>1.1</i>	<i>She studied very hard</i>
<i>1.1'</i>	<i>studying hard should be rewarded</i>

4.8.2 Multiple Argumentation

The first subtype of complex argumentation is known as the multiple argumentations. In multiple argumentation structure, the arguments consist of alternative defences of the same standpoint but presented one after another. It is important to note that although these defences are represented one after the other, they do not depend on each other to support the standpoint and are, in principle, of equal weight. Therefore, each defence could theoretically be self-representative in a way that makes it sufficient to defend a particular standpoint. van Eemeren et al., (2002) and van Eemeren and Snoeck Henkemans, (2017) noted that in multiple argumentation there can be several defences of one standpoint. In this aspect, the arguers assume that by presenting multiple defences, there is a possibility of one of them being accepted by the other party. The figure below presents a structure of a multiple argumentation (van Eemeren & Snoeck Henkemans, 2017).

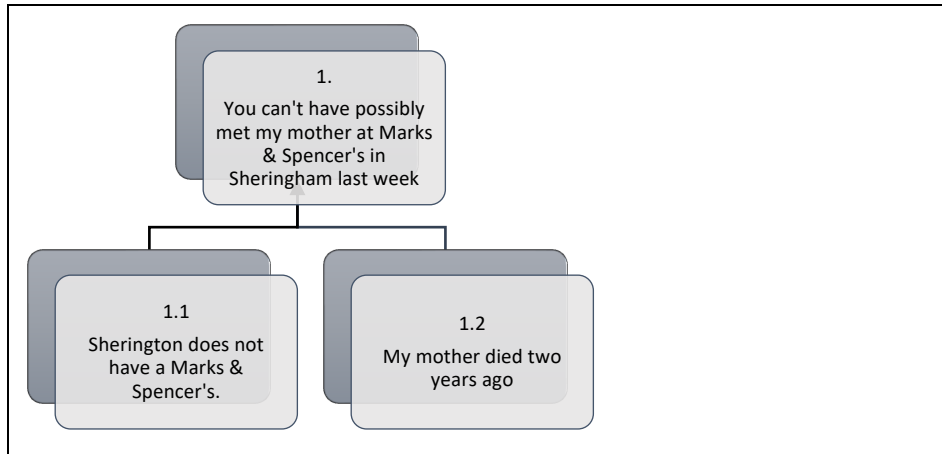


Figure 7: Multiple argumentation

Table 5: Multiple Argumentation

No.	Description
1.	<i>You can't have possibly met my mother at Marks & Spencer's in Sheringham last week</i>
1.1	<i>Sherington does not have a Marks & Spencer's.</i>
1.2	<i>My mother died two years ago</i>

4.8.3 Coordinating Argumentation

Coordinating argumentation is another subtype of complex argumentation. According to van Eemeren et al. (2002), in coordinating argumentation, the arguments put forward to defend a standpoint do not form a series of alternative defences as in multiple argumentations. Rather, a coordinative argumentation is considered as only one attempt where the arguer defends the standpoint. This particular standpoint comprises arguments combined to represent one concluding defence. In coordinative argumentation, it is maintained by the arguers that the arguments which are advanced forward in defence of the standpoint are in one way or another dependant on one other in alternative ways.

Coordinative argumentation is one of the subtypes of complex argumentation. Coordinative argumentation is characterised by the nature of the arguments the arguers may advance. The arguments in this type of structure are not followed by a

chain of different defences, Instead, in a combination of arguments, the arguers only have a single opportunity to defend a standpoint (van Eemeren *et al.*, 2002). The examples below show how coordinative argumentation is structured.

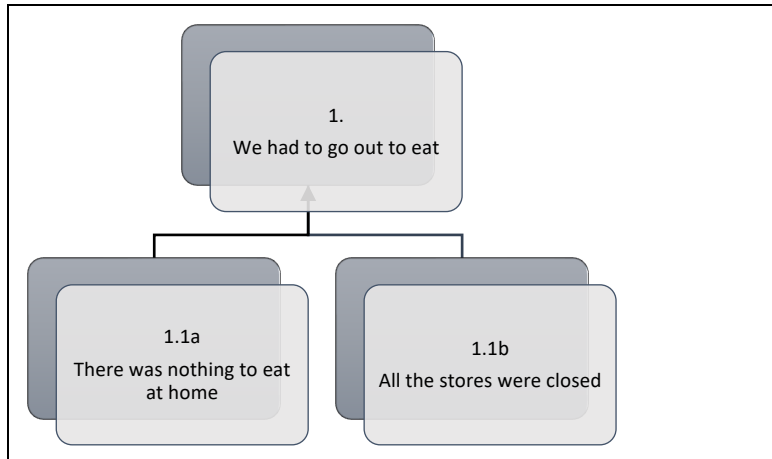


Figure 8: Coordinating Argumentation

Table 6: Coordinating Argumentation

No.	Description
<i>1.</i>	<i>We had to go out to eat</i>
<i>1.1a</i>	<i>There was nothing to eat at home</i>
<i>1.1b</i>	<i>All the stores were closed</i>

4.8.4 Subordinative Argumentation

The third structure of complex argumentation is subordinative argumentation, where arguments are put forward for arguments. The defence of the initial standpoint is constructed layer after layer, as it were. This goes on until the arguer is satisfied that the defence will be accepted as conclusive (van Eemeren *et al.*, 2002). Characteristic of this third type of complex argumentation, is that arguments are given for arguments. The defence of the initial standpoint is made layer after layer, as it were. If the supporting argument for the initial standpoint cannot stand on its own, then it is supported by another argument, and if that argument needs support, then a

further argument is added, and so on, until the defence seems conclusive. Discussants use subordinative argumentation because they anticipate that some parts of the argumentation need to be further defended. It is noted that in this argumentation, the slip segment that needs further defence is referred to as *sub standpoint* and the defences put forward for these sub standpoints are referred to as *sub argumentation*. What will continue through the argumentation, therefore, is the routine where, on the flip side, the *sub argumentation* turns into a *sub standpoint* and its defence becomes the *subsubargumentation* (van Eemeren et al., 2002). As indicated in the table below, subordinative argumentation is a chain of arguments that depend on each other presented as a series of vertically connected arguments. If an argument has only one point (1.1 or 1.1a or 1.1') it is not yet regarded as subordinative. The subordinative is characterised by *sub arguments* that have two points (1.1.1 or 1.1.1a or 1.1.1'); *subsubarguments* are marked with three points (1.1.1.1), and so forth, depending on the length and *sub arguments* involve.

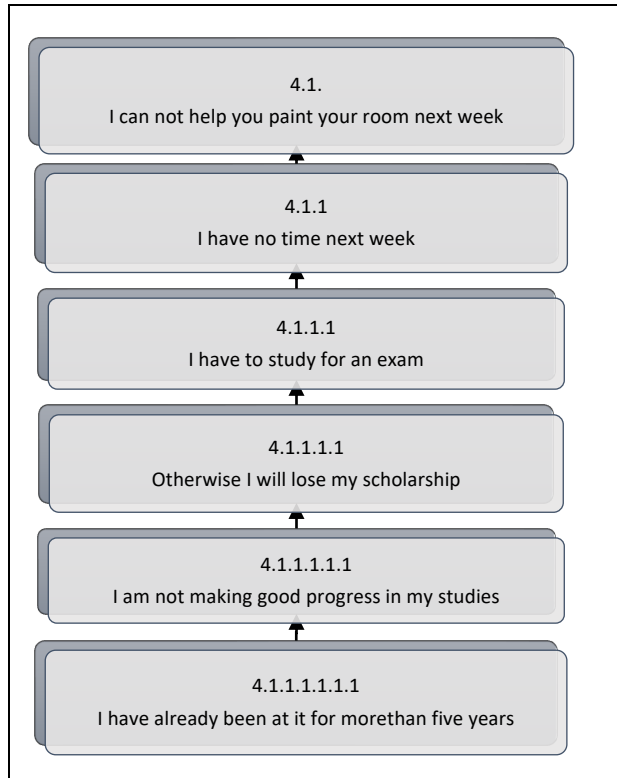


Figure 9: Subordinative Argumentation Structure

Table 7: Complex Argumentation Structure

No.	Description
4.1	<i>I cannot help you paint your room next week</i>
4.1.1	<i>I have no time next week</i>
4.1.1.1	<i>I have to study for an exam</i>
4.1.1.1.1	<i>Otherwise, I will lose my scholarship</i>
4.1.1.1.1.1	<i>I am not making good progress in my studies</i>
4.1.1.1.1.1.1	<i>I have already been at it for more than five years</i>

4.8.5 Complex argumentation

Depending on the nature of the difference of opinion (single or mixed) and the critical reactions that need to be addressed or are anticipated by a party, an argumentation structure can become more complex in various ways. Thus, complex argumentation is made up of three subtypes: multiple, coordinative, and subordinative argumentation. Multiple argumentations consists of alternative defences of the same standpoint, presented one after another (van Eemeren et al., 2002; van Eemeren & Snoeck Henkemans, 2017). van Eemeren (2015b) further maintained that, in

principle, each defence in this argumentation can stand on its own as it is considered sufficient to defend a standpoint. One of the reasons for advancing multiple defences of the same standpoint is the anticipation that the arguer has in that a single defence which may not be accepted by everyone.

In addition, van Eemeren et al., (2002) also demonstrated that the structure of subordinative argumentation is made up of combination of multiple and a coordinative argumentation. This combination produces a more complex argumentation structure. The structure below shows an example of a complex argumentation which can be identified in different forms namely, multiple, coordinative and subordinate argumentation.

4.9 Rules for critical discussion and fallacies as violations of the discussion rules

As noted by van Eemeren and Houtlosser (2015), there are rules for critical discussion that arguers are required to consider in order to make explicit the discourse requirements. These are referred to as the ten rules which are meant to guide the dialectical model of a critical discussion in the entire discussion and throughout the solution process in all the discussion stages. Also, all parties in the argumentation process are prone to committing rules for critical discussion violations. Rules are usually put in place to control the situation in any procedural scenarios. This suggests that a step out of the line of the set rules results in a violation of the rules. According to van Eemeren et al. (2014), a violation of any of the ten rules for critical discussion results in fallaciousness because it stands between the argument's resolution of opinions on the merits. These fallacies are a hindrance that prevents the resolution of opinion to be reached reasonably and effectively.

4.10 Strategic Manoeuvring in Argumentation

In argumentative discourse, the people involved in the argument strive toward resolving the difference of opinion at hand while at the same time observing the critical standards/obligations of maintaining reasonableness and achieving effectiveness. During this process, the arguers' interest is in resolving the difference of opinion in favour of their individual positions within the argument. To achieve the primary aim of maintaining reasonableness and achieving effectiveness, it is important to understand that these two go hand- in- hand in every stage of the argumentation process (van Eemeren, 2010). At this stage, the arguers engage in what is referred to as strategic manoeuvring where the arguers attempt to make moves that allow them to maintain a balance between effectiveness and reasonableness within the argument.

In as much as it is important to maintain reasonableness and effectiveness through strategically manoeuvring, it is also important to note that, by so doing, tension is created between the arguer's pursuit to achieve their goals by carefully making moves which in turn create another complication. This tension results from the differences arising from arguers' efforts to maintain reasonableness and effectiveness. Regardless of the effort put in by the arguers to balance the situation, the outcome is mostly an imbalance in the sense that, one aspect usually outweighs the other resulting in the process of resolving the difference of opinions on the merits of being partial. On lesser occasions, if a situation occurs otherwise, the results usually become reasonable (van Eemeren, 2010).

There are three main aspects in which strategic manoeuvring is identified and these aspects are to be observed in all stages of the resolution process based on the options the discussants make. First, “topical potential”, is the selection of what lines of argument to use; second, “audience demand,” is how the arguer adapts his or her argument to the beliefs and commitments of the audience; and lastly, “presentational choice” refers to specifications of style, structure, clarity, literalness or figurativeness and so on (van Eemeren, 2009).

In a critical discussion on the other hand, the arguers can strategically manoeuvre to shed “expressed degree of standpoint commitment for rhetoric effect” (Matchell, 2010, p. 219). In a study that analysed President Bush’s 2002-2003 pre-war commentary on Iraq (Matchell, 2010), theoretical resources for understanding strategic manoeuvring was studied by reflecting on the gaps that exist between externalised and actual “discussion attitude” where it was established that high order strategic manoeuvring contributed significantly to the pre-war discourse failure. “One possible reconstruction of George W. Bush’s contributions to the pre-war public argument on Iraq revealed his utterances expressing commitment to processes of ‘debate’ and ‘discussion’ to signal something very different from sorts of speech acts that in pragma-dialectical argumentation theory indicate an interlocutors implied acceptance of critical discussion norms” (Matchell, 2010). “The gap between Bush’s professed commitment to standpoint contingency and the actual status of his war decision reflects a form of strategic manoeuvrings that has yet to receive systematic theoretical treatment from argumentation scholars” (Matchell, 2010).

4.11 Strategic Manoeuvring in the various stages of the resolution process

According to van Eemeren (2010), strategic manoeuvring is recognised through its role in argumentative discourse in several ways. One way in which strategic manoeuvring can be defined and found is determined by the existing opportunities towards reaching the objective of resolving a difference of opinion in a dialectically reasonable way. Since the discussants aim to achieve the dialectical and rhetorical aim in the best way they can, they are inclined to make use of all four stages in the resolution process. Concurrently, both parties have to reconcile their preferences for rhetorical effectiveness with the dialectical requirements of reasonableness inherent in the stage concerned through their attempt in making expected dialectical moves that serve their rhetorical interests at every stage.

Van Eemeren and Houtlosser in van Eemeren (2010) refer to the terminology of strategic manoeuvring by noting that "strategic manoeuvring in argumentative discourse refers to the efforts that are made in the discourse to move about between effectiveness and reasonableness in such a way that the balance -in equilibrium- between the two is maintained (van Eemeren, 2010, p.41).

According to van Eemeren (2010), strategic manoeuvring manifests itself in argumentative discourse in the choices that are made from the topical potential, audience demand, and the presentational devices. These three aspects of strategic manoeuvring can influence the outcome of the discourse to go in one direction that favours one party in the resolution of opinion. Firstly, in the "topical potential" is available at a certain stage in the discourse and where a discussant can choose based

on the options at his disposal towards a standpoint to be used in a particular discussion stage; Secondly, in the “audience demand” the discussant may opt for the dynamic pattern of adaptation that he or she is relatable to him or her; Thirdly, the discussant can exploit “presentational devices” in favour of achieving effectiveness. It is noteworthy to mention that these aspects normally work hand- in- hand (van Eemeren 2010; Kauffeld, 2002; Tindale, 2004, p.86). The arguer’s dialectical and rhetorical aims are usually geared towards the coordinated move by the three aspects of strategic manoeuvring. The diagram below illustrates the relationship between topical potential, audience demand and presentational devices.

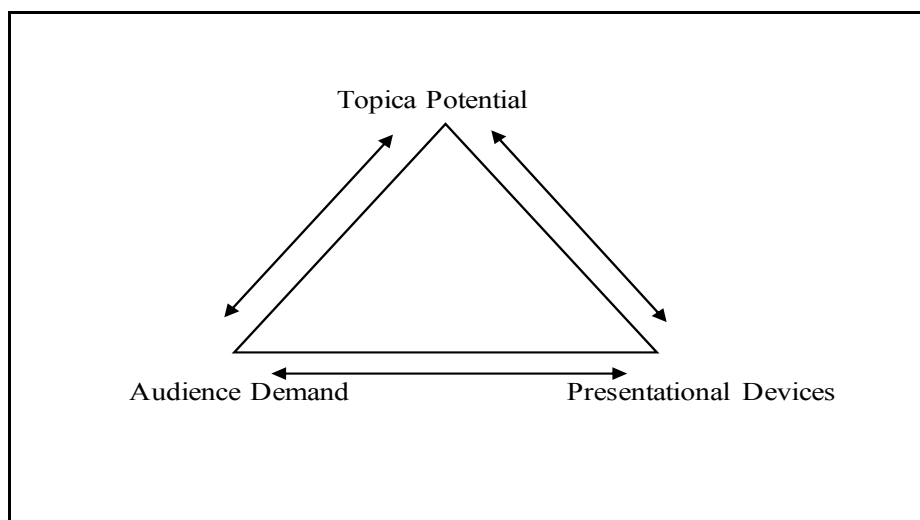


Figure: 10 Strategic Manoeuvring triangle (van Eemeren 2010, p. 95)

4.11.1 Topical Potential

As noted by van Eemeren and Houtlosser (2009), in every strategic manoeuvring, the initial thing to note is that the topical choice has to be realised for the consideration of reasonableness. For the interviewee, their stand in the discussion is to take up a particular pragmatic argumentation policy of manoeuvring strategically so as to

advance the criticism. The interviewer sets the tone according to his or her expectation, at the same time the interviewee also strategically responds with the intention to strengthen his or her standpoint to stay afloat in the discussion and has to decide on the critical questions to use.

As explained by Van Eemeren and Houtlosser (2009) through the arguer's attempt to remain dialectically reasonable while rhetorically effective, they made a topical selection that favoured their argumentation in the discussion by choosing materials from those available based on what was believed to be the best in advancing their interests. For instance, in situations where an interviewer renders an accusation to a politician in an interview, the politician's maintenance and defence of the standpoint will be in favour of the interviewer.

4.11.2 Audience Demand

Fundamentally, the audience plays a vital part in political discourse (Larson, 1984), which in this instance is very different from the *One-on-One* discussions where political figures are interviewed. In this study, the primal audience, the viewers, and the secondary audience, the host who stands in place of the primal audience put forward standpoints which are regarded as the "people's views. Although the *One-on-One* discussion are broadcast on national television and that it does not have actual audience present at the discussion session, the audience who view via television are as many participants on the receiving end and this is to take into consideration that, the issues/problems being discussed are those of the general public. Hence, Larson (1984) noted that, in a discourse of a political nature, politicians do not only present their faces to the party interviewing them but also to a larger

audience who view or listen at a national level or world-wide. In this regard, politicians/interviewees tend to manoeuvre by being indirect in their responses by trying to save their own face. These indirect responses in turn appear as cancellable nature of implicatures and the politicians are not liable to what they have not directly uttered (Wilson 1990 & Obeng 1994,1997).

4.11.3 Presentational Devices

Presentational device is another special aspect of strategic manoeuvring that pragma-dialectics has an interest in. In order to achieve an advantage rhetorically, the arguers are exposed to alternative ways to exploit an argument. According to van Eemeren (2010), detailed presentational choices that derive from specific discourse are particularly investigated, and more often so, combined for the attainment of specific communicative and interactional effects aimed towards serving a strategic function. In the same vein, making use of presentational choices as manifestation of strategic manoeuvring denotes that pragmatic strategies are also used as a variation to drive the discourse in the direction of achieving the same certain communicative and interactional effects.

An argumentation, for instance, that is made in a political interview may be explicitly presented, but its communicative function is implicit. In other words, implicit presentations are indirect if the communicative function or the propositional content of the speech act conveying the move is only a secondary function or content of the speech act that is literally performed whereas the primary function or content of the speech act is different (van Eemeren, 2010).

The table below shows the aspects of strategic maneuvering with two dimensions in four discussion stages. In relation to the aims and goals of this study, these dimensions will be explored in terms investigating how these dimensions are stipulated.

Table 8: Four aspects of strategic maneuvering with two dimensions in four discussion stages.

Van Eemeren (2010, p.97).

	<i>Dialectical dimension</i>	<i>Rhetorical Dimension</i>	<i>Aspect of topical choice</i>	<i>Aspects of anticipating audience demand</i>	<i>Aspect of presentational choice</i>
	<i>Reasonableness</i>	<i>Effectiveness</i>	<i>Reasonable and effective topical selection</i>	<i>Reasonable and effective handling of audience demand</i>	<i>Reasonable and effective use of presentational devices</i>
Confrontation stage	Reasonable definition of difference of opinion	Effective definition of difference of opinion	Reasonable and effective choice of issues and critical responses	Reasonable and effective adjustment of issues and critical responses to audience	Reasonable and effective presentational design of issues and critical responses
Opening stage	Reasonable establishment of point of departure	Effective establishment of point of departure	Reasonable and effective choice of procedural and material starting points	Reasonable and effective adjustment of procedural and material starting points to audience	Reasonable and effective presentational design of procedural and material starting points
Argumentation stage	Reasonable development of lines of attack and defense	Effective development of lines of attack and defense	Reasonable and effective choice of arguments and criticisms	Reasonable and effective adjustment of arguments and criticisms to audience	Reasonable and effective presentational design of arguments and criticisms
Concluding stage	Reasonable statement of results	Effective statement of results	Reasonable and effective choice of conclusion regarding the results	Reasonable and effective adjustment of conclusion regarding the results to audience	Reasonable and effective design of presentation of conclusion regarding the results

All in all, van Eemeren (2001) strongly maintained that a combination of rhetorical insight with dialectical insight is problematic in a sense that the only way to effectiveness can be pursued adequately through the pragmatic lance.

4.12 Fallacies and derailment in strategic manoeuvring

The arguers need to search for explanations that back up the fallacies' potential persuasiveness, and this is only applicable when those fallacies have been detected. Therefore, in an investigation that examines the strategic manoeuvring moves and fallacies, the following investigations are of vital importance: Firstly, it is important to investigate why these potentially treacherous deviations from the rules for critical discussion are in certain cases for some arguers so hard to detect and secondly it is to find out why fallacies in actual argumentative practices regularly remain unnoticed (van Eemeren, 2013). These investigations were assets to this study because they provided well-informed knowledge of why deviating from the rules was indeed hard to identify, at the same time, getting an insight into why fallacies in actual argumentative practices regularly remained unnoticed.

At this point, it is important to consider how theorising about fallacies is significant in learning and understanding argumentation. Theorising about fallacies “has to start from a general and coherent perspective on argumentative discourse that provides a common rationale to the treatment of all fallacies” (van Eemeren & Houtlosser, 2007, p. 63). According to van Eemeren & Grootendorst (2003), there is one strategic way in which theorising about fallacies can be approached. The approach has to be viewed from a general and coherent angle on argumentative discourse in which

treatment of fallacies is provided based on shared reasoning. The analytical model of a critical discussion plays a significant role as a theoretical device that assists in channelling procedural testing. van Eemeren and Houtlosser (2005, p.75) suggest that this model is a design that merely reflects on what could be expected in a situation where argumentative discourse would, to its capacity and potential, be directed at methodically resolve a difference of opinion on the merit.

To successfully achieve an analysis that constitutes a good foundation for a critical evaluation where all occurrences of the fallacious moves in the discourse are identified, the analysis will have to use the model of critical discussion as a tool for reconstructing argumentative discourse (van Eemeren & Houtlosser, 2005). As a result, the outcome of this reconstruction forms an analytical overview that encompasses all fundamentals that may be essential in the goal of resolving a dispute regardless of whether they are implicit in the discourse or not. So, if some of the elements do not share the same goal, then they are not considered; as a result, "a resolution-oriented order is imposed on the discourse and unequivocal systematizing is secured in the description" (van Eemeren & Houtlosser, 2005, p.75).

There is a notable distinction between the model of critical discussion and argumentative types. Unlike the model of critical discussion that focuses on the analytic considerations that are 'internal' to the process of resolving a difference of opinion, the various argumentative types on the other hand reflect on conventionalised bodies that can be notable by 'external' empirical observations of the communicative practices in the various domains (van Eemeren & Houtlosser, 2005). These argumentative activity types are situated within several institutional

variants and "their associated speech events are cultural artefacts that can be identified based on careful empirical observation of argumentative practice" (van Eemeren & Houtlosser, 2005, p.75).

Owing to the nature of this current study of the argument involving only two (2) discussant, the argumentative activity types may not all apply. On the other hand, in the case of organised shows such as the *One-on-One* talk show, there is a crew behind the scenes who could be considered as the third party. In any situation where a dispute might spiral out of control, the "behind the scenes" parties would step in to terminate the dispute. Nonetheless, it is worth exploring to find out whether there is a gap in which through the arguments, these three argumentative activity types, adjudication, mediation and negotiation might show or reveal their "likeness" relationship assisted by the model of critical discussion. The three activity types are described as follows:

1. Adjudication

It is noted that adjudication aims for the termination of a dispute by a third party rather than the resolution of a difference of opinion by the parties themselves. The involved parties stick to their individual goals of trying to out-smart one another in terms of their roles of seeking to persuade each other in their effort to convince the adjudicator. It is also important to note that adjudication is highly institutionalised from the onset in the sense that it deals with formalised scripted speech events that follow an accurately outlined format. This formalised format involves the procedural and material starting points including, mainly explicit codified rules and explicitly

established concessions. Also noted is that "The argumentative means that are used amount to be presenting an argumentative interpretation of the concession that is made in terms of facts and evidence" (van Eemeren & Houtlosser, 2005, p.77). The third party in control of the situation is the only one permitted to sustain the final and only outcome. Also, the parties involved are not allowed to go back to the initial situation (van Eemeren & Houtlosser, 2005). "In a discussion, the aim of adjudication is to terminate disputes based on the decision of a third party aim for the termination of a dispute by a decision of a third party sustained by argumentation based on an interpretation of concession in terms of relevant facts and evidence tested against largely explicit codified rules" (van Eemeren & Houtlosser, 2005, p.80).

2. Mediation

This is an activity that acts as a neutral facilitator in a situation where the parties fail to resolve a disagreement on their own. The difference of opinion as the cause of the disagreement will therefore require a third party to assist by facilitating the discussion process that eventually will guide the parties to cooperate in their pursuit of the solution. Although mediation exudes no power to stop the disagreement, it aims to assist the parties involved to reach some form of agreement that they both are satisfied with.

Mediation, a second activity type, aims for the conclusion of a disagreement by a mediated arrangement of the parties that is achieved with the help of argumentation conveyed in would-be spontaneous conversational exchanges that do not start from explicitly recognised concessions and are guided by implicitly enforced regulative

rules (van Eemeren & Houtlosser, 2005, p.81). In the confrontational stage, one can cause the parties to shift aspirational levels that are too high to a more realistic level. In the opening stage, one can also modify the perceived meaning of the concession that are implicitly made so that they can be easily used to come to an agreement. In the argumentative stage, one can give presence to the ideas of justice and fairness to make the conversational exchanges more effective. In the concluding stage, one can prepare the parties to accept an arrangement by allowing both to save face (van Eemeren & Houtlosser, 2005, p.81).

3. Negotiation

Negotiation is an activity type that starts from a conflict of interests rather than merely a difference of opinion. Unlike adjudication and mediation, in negotiations, the disputes are focused presumably neutral third party and their negotiations prototypically aim for a compromise that, primarily, those involved have the freedom to choose the format that binds. Once that has been determined, this brings about clarity of the rules to the discussants. All in all, it is up to both the involved parties to make the final verdict on whether the outcome of the negotiation is accepted or whether they would rather approach the conversation from the beginning (van Eemeren & Houtlosser, 2005).

“Negotiation, our last case, is a multi-varied type that in all its versions is aimed at ending a conflict of interest between the parties by a compromise or otherwise mutually acceptable option through rule-governed exchanges of offers, counter-offers and other Commissives that are interspersed with argumentation and start

from sets of explicit concessions that may change during the negotiation process”
(van Eemeren & Houtlosser, 2005, p.82).

Table 9: Types of argumentative activity related to the model of a critical discussion

Critical Discussion	Confrontational Stage	Opening Stage	Argumentation Stage	Concluding stage
Action Type	Initial Situation	Starting Points (Rules, Concessions)	Argumentation Means	Outcome
Argumentative discourse	Difference of opinion; decision up to the parties	Largely implicit intersubjective rules; explicitly and implicitly shared concessions	Argumentation defending standpoints in critical exchange	Resolution of difference by joint decision parties or return to the initial situation
Adjudication	Dispute; 3 rd party with jurisdiction to decide	Largely explicit codified rules; explicitly established concessions	Argumentation based on interpretation of concessions in terms of facts and evidence	Settlement of dispute by a sustained decision 3 rd party (no return to initial situation)
Mediation	Disagreement: 3 rd party with no jurisdiction to decide	Implicitly enforced regulative rules; no explicitly recognised concession	Argumentation conveyed in would-be spontaneous conversational exchange	Conclusion of disagreement by mediated arrangement parties or provisional return to initial situation
Negotiation	Conflict of interest; decision up to the parties	Semi-explicit constitutive rules of the game; changeable sets of explicit concessions	Argumentation incorporated in exchanges of offers, counter-offers and other Commissives	End of conflict by compromise, parties, mutually accepted agreement or return to initial situation

By adopting the three types of argumentative activities related to the model of a critical discussion, it is realised that due to the nature of the talk show under study,

it has characteristics that border around tension inherent aspects in which the discussants aim to make their arguments successful based on their pursuit to achieve success and, at the same time maintain reasonableness. These tensions, according to van Eemeren and Houtlosser (2005), are deemed as tensions that manifest themselves in strategic manoeuvring and two specific ways of theoretically capturing them are by using dialectical and rhetorical knowledge. Thus, focusing on these three activities will assist in distinguishing how strategic manoeuvring is coherently affected by the way these activity types are carried out.

4.12.1 The four parameters of strategic manoeuvring

According to van Eemeren and Houtlosser (2006), an analysis that focuses on the strategic function of a particular case of manoeuvring should observe the following parameters:

First is to explain what kind of outcome may be aimed for by a particular strategic manoeuvring act. It is vital to primarily identify the results that are likely to be achieved "by making the argumentative move that is made" (van Eemeren & Houtlosser, 2006, p. 386).

Second is to explain what route is taken by carrying out this particular kind of strategic manoeuvring, knowing which reasonable options are available when making the argumentative move.

Third is to explain what the conversational preconditions are that the strategic manoeuvring must meet in argumentative discourse. One has to consider the institutional constraints of the argumentative discourse that is carried out.

Fourth is the explanation of what situational demands the strategic manoeuvring must respond to, the initial knowledge of the actual state of affairs in the discourse when strategic manoeuvring takes place (van Eemeren & Houtlosser, 2006).

The four parameters above should be considered in analysing the manoeuvring manifesting itself in the discourse at the point the analyst is focusing on. By properly considering these parameters, the following may be achieved: the explanation of strategic function of manoeuvring, characterised by a certain combination of topical choice, audience orientation and presentational design (van Eemeren & Houtlosser, 2006). Van Eemeren and Houtlosser (2006) further noted that, for each category of strategic manoeuvring where the type of strategic manoeuvring is carried out, the analysis should consider the three parameters of the results that can be achieved, that is the routes that can be taken to achieve those results; the constraints of the institutional context; and finally, the mutual commitments that define the argumentative situation.

4.12.2 Fallacies as derailments of strategic manoeuvring

Researchers spend time studying arguments, bad or good because as Damer (2012) puts it, it is important for the arguers to be able to discriminate between fallaciousness and good reasoning. Therefore, a good argument is hard to construct if the arguers are not able to distinguish the difference between a good argument and a bad argument. Thus, knowing how these fallacies come about in argumentation is crucial.

Derailment in strategic manoeuvring happens when "a party allows its commitment to a critical exchange of argumentative moves to be overruled by the aim of persuading the opponent so that his moves are no longer in agreement with the critical norms." (van Eemeren & Houtlosser, 2006, p. 387).

Reflecting on discussants' commitment in a discussion, there are situations when telling of lies is something that can happen during argumentative discussions. Telling of lies can occur when one attempts to defend a standpoint successfully to win a point. In this regard, Marsali argues that "a definition of lying based on the notion of 'assertoric commitment' can succeed where other accounts have failed." By this definition, a distinction can be drawn on speech acts such as promises, assertions, and oaths that can constitute as lies, on the other hand; speech acts such as commands, suggestions and assumptions which under no circumstances qualify to be referred to as lies (Marsali, 2020, p. 3261). Furthermore, Marsali (2020) claims that, a lie can be determined based on its commitment. For instance, the commitment can set a distinction between lies and other statements with contents believed to be false but not necessarily lies. Statements which could be believed to be false could be in the form of ironic and metaphoric utterances. Therefore, Marsali proposed to define the act of lying as an insincere assertion, whereas to assert would refer to acquiring a specific stand of commitment (Marsali, 2020, p. 3258).

Furthermore, there are situations in a discussion where something uttered is considered to be inappropriate to the other party. In such a situation for the party accused there may be need for the difference between the explicit contents of such utterances and their implicature to be explored (Boogaart, Jansen & Leewen, 2020).

Dealing with arguers' acceptance of accountability is something that may come up in an argumentative discussion. Arguers are likely to accept accountability for the explicitly uttered consents and not commit to what is alleged. The data through classical status theory, established that were pragma-dialectical discussion concerning commitment, firstly the denial of implicature includes denial of literal meaning in the discussion due to the fact that literal is negotiable. Therefore, a complete picture of commitment of denial was learnt through Boogaart et. al. (2020).

It is also good to note that fallacies in this regard are equally derailment of strategic manoeuvring. They can easily go unnoticed because they may not, during the course of the argumentative discussion, be obvious and hard to be noticed by those concerned that a fallacy has been committed. Hence, there will be some thorough aspects of fallacy that are similarly complimentary of those of strategic manoeuvring. (van Eemeren & Houtlosser, 2006).

A reflection of how fallacies surface in argumentation could be seen through doctors and patients argumentation discourse. Argumentation is a valuable tool in rationalising persuasions in doctors and patients argumentation discourse. In this type of argumentation, beliefs that underlie individuals' attitudes and decision-making process can be influenced with respect to the fallacies that may be committed. Therefore, fallacy is a serious aspect of argumentation that doctors commit during consultation with their patients, and this happens due to several reasons. Fallacies could be evoked by the doctor's obligation to provide information adequately by laying everything on the table, from types of treatment available together with the benefits and side effects of those treatments (Rubinelli, 2013). The

fallacies doctors could end up using range from omission through their representation of partial information; insufficient information regarding the available options the patients have for treatment coupled with what is available elsewhere and lack of knowledge of new treatments on the market. Therefore, Rubinelli's (2013) study supports the importance of argumentation as a persuasion tool that is aimed at playing the role of offering the patients the opportunity of making decisions independently and this can be achieved when the doctors present and discuss all options to the patient (Rubinelli, 2013).

Thus, Van Eemeren (2006) maintains that the difference between a legitimate manifestation of strategic manoeuvring and the manifestations which are fallacious have to do with the soundness which may not have been met in the discourse. In this case, the only way to determine "whether or not a certain norm for critical discussion has been violated may be dependent on the institutional conventions of the argumentative activity type concerned with regards to how argumentative discourse is disciplined" (van Eemeren & Houtlosser, 2006, 388).

Another angle fallacy can be viewed is in relation with the aim to achieve reasonableness. Since argumentation schemes, formal dialogue models, and profiles of dialogue are useful tools for studying properties of defeasible reasoning and fallacies, Walton (2009) argues that some traditional fallacies should be considered as reasonable arguments when used as part of properly conducted argument. According to Walton (2009), there are three leading violations of proper dialogue standards for defeasible reasoning necessary to see how fallacious work, namely improper failure to retract a commitment, failure of openness to defeat and illicit

reversal of burden of proof. Defeasibility can either reflect as open or closed in situations where a defeasible argument that is put forward is not defeated, leaving it open to the assumption that the dialogue has not yet closed. Another point to note that came out of the study is that defeasible arguments are often used during the argumentation stage of the dialogue. Although these arguments can be perceived to be wrong, often, they can also be reasonable (Walton, 2009). Another noteworthy point from the study is that argument from ignorance suggests that if a statement is not yet known to be true or false, the argument is then tabled on the basis of either being true or false. "The premise may be true (false) at some point in an investigation of collection of data that is underway (p.405)". An argument from ignorance is regarded non-feasible once the dialogue reaches the closing stage and thus the assumption is made based on the argument closed (Walton, 2009).

4.12.3 The inconsistency in strategic manoeuvring

Another thing to note is that, while strategic manoeuvring moves are made, there may be inconsistencies that take place. These inconsistencies may be realised between starting points, the procedural starting points (explicit or explicit) and the material starting points (explicit or implicit). These starting points should be made clear to the discussants to identify the types of starting points they are dealing with. The discussants need to assume their place in the discussion in terms of the proposition they can comfortably accept when the discussion is in motion (van Eemeren & Houtlosser, 2006). van Eemeren and Houtlosser further noted that, a proper critical discussion, therefore, can be conducted when parties involved concur from the onset in the opening stage where the burden of proof, the discussion rules

and propositions which in turn may come up in the argumentative stage in the defence and challenge on the standpoint at issue (van Eemeren & Houtlosser, 2006). It is also important to note that in some institutional contexts such as political debates, the discussants deal with a presupposed agreement about certain procedural and material starting points (van Eemeren & Houtlosser, 2006).

Accusations of inconsistency as a confrontational way of strategic manoeuvring is something that is under critical discussion. To shed more light on this aspect, Andone (2009) examined how these accusations of inconsistency may be seen as a particular way of the manifestation of strategic manoeuvring that takes place in confrontation stage of a critical discussion. In this study, it is indicated that argumentative exchanges showed that accusation of inconsistency is achievable based on the arguer's argumentative choice. In order to achieve the consequence of retraction, opportunities open up and constraints are available to the protagonist to react to the accusation. (Andone, 2009).

On the other hand, Mohammed (2009) investigated strategic manoeuvring from a theoretical stand where the prime minister's issues in "the prime minister's question time", were categorically analysed and evaluated. Noteworthy points to carry from Mohammed's study is that 1) attempting to avoid a discussion does not always equal to unreasonableness although when a fallacy is detected, argumentative discourse is consequently critical. 2) "In the present examination of the prime minister's responses with accusation of inconsistency to criticism as instances of confrontational strategic manoeuvring, the Prime Minister is assumed to be trying to eliminate an initial disagreement about the criticism advanced by the opposition"

(p.144). “Because the dialectical profile of the confrontational stage presents all the moves that play a role in the critical testing procedure, a typology would in principle represent all the instances of confrontational strategic manoeuvring” (p.145).

In relation to the content of the study by Andone (2009), van Eemeren and Grootendorst in van Eemeren and Houtlosser (2006, p. 388) noted that “there are a lot of cases in which it is first negotiated in a sub-discussion whether or not particular propositions may serve as a common starting point. Viewed dialectically, the parties are under no obligation to provide a reason for not admitting a proposition as a common starting point”. In this regard, the discussants have some kind of direction to stir their views by following the propositions given in the sub-discussions on the grounds of what common starting point maybe adopted at the same time, they are free not to adhere to that particular starting point.

The three soundness conditions observed by van Eemeren and Houtlosser (2006) are also important to note. These conditions are situated where a decision has to be made regarding the antagonist manoeuvres “in an admissible way when refusing to admit a proposition as a starting point because of a proclaimed inconsistency between the proposed proposition and the protagonist’s (verbal or non-verbal) behaviour on a different occasion” (van Eemeren and Houtlosser 2006, p. 390). The following points based on these three soundness conditions aid in making it possible to make this decision. The first point inquires on how inconsistency is to be defined so that it is possible to determine whether two propositions are logically or pragmatically inconsistent (a point of definition); secondly, how an accusation by the antagonist can be incorporated that pertains to an inconsistency between the

proposition presently proposed as a starting point and something that was earlier done (a matter of scope); and third, what is in practice to be understood by 'on a different occasion,' so that it can be determined in a specific case whether pointing at an inconsistency makes sense from a dialectical perspective (a quasi-empirical issue) (van Eemeren and Houtlosser (2006, p.390).

4.12.4 The institutional bearing of strategic manoeuvring

According to van Eemeren and Houtlosser (2005):

"The participants make use of strategic manoeuvring to reconcile the simultaneous pursuit of their individual goal of reaching a successful outcome and the collective goal of bringing this outcome about in a way that is deemed reasonable in view of the specific aims and qualities of the activity type concerned" (p. 80).

As indicated above, strategic manoeuvring is a tool that is at the arguers' reach in order to make sure that their standpoint is represented and defended as far as possible. It will be an interesting reveal to learn how, if strategic manoeuvring is used by the discussants on *One-on-One* show, they benefit from it in reaching their desired goal.

van Eemeren and Houtlosser (1999) state that strategic manoeuvring can be identified in several ways. "Strategic manoeuvring can take place in making an expedient choice from the options constituting the topical potential associated with a particular discussion stage, in selecting a responsive adaptation to audience demand, and in exploiting appropriate presentational devices.

The speaker's responsibility is to make sure that, the material in the discussion is selected based on what is easier for them to handle and consider what may be favourable to the audience. Furthermore, the choice of words can also play an important role of adding weight to the effectiveness of the discussion.

Given a certain difference of opinion, speakers or writers may choose the material they find easiest to handle. They may choose the perspective most agreeable to the audience and can present their contributions in the most effective wording. With respect to each of these three aspects of strategic manoeuvring, they have an opportunity to influence the result of the discourse to favour their arguments (van Eemeren and Houtlosser,1999).

4.13 The dialectical objective in the different four stages of argumentation

According to van Eemeren (2010), there are four different stages in which dialectical objectives are identified. He noted that in every stage, the dialectical objectives assumed respective rhetorical analogues. In addition, each of the moves is strategically made in a certain stage to complete the stage reasonably. This, therefore, results in the strategic manoeuvring that the discussants use in all the individual moves that are instrumental in achieving the purpose of resolving a difference of opinion on the merits. At any point in this process, it should be understood that strategic manoeuvring is not a theoretical concept at an abstract level detached from actual argumentative discourse but rather, a theoretical concept that is closely related to what goes on in argumentative practice.

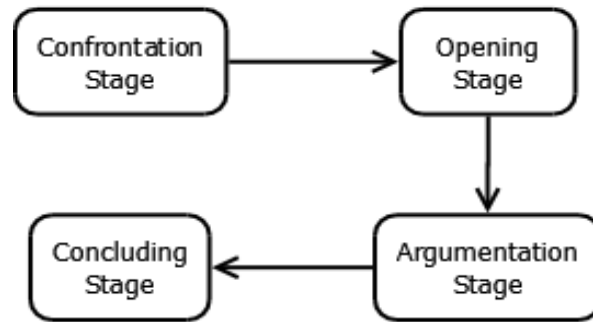


Figure 11: The four stages of argumentation

The first stage is the confrontational stage where the dialectical objective of the discussants is to achieve clarity regarding the positions of each party in the difference of opinion. The rhetorical objective will be based on the pursuit of effectiveness by attempting to define the difference of opinion in a way that will lead to the discussion of issues serving best the interests of the positions assumed by each party.

The second stage is the opening stage where the dialectical objective of the discussants is to establish a clear point of departure for the discussion. This point of departure consists of mutually accepted procedural starting points and also material starting points defining the premises of the discussion, which can be concessions that may be built upon in the discussion as it develops the rhetorical aim for both discussants.

The third stage is the argumentation stage. In this stage, the dialectical objective is to test the acceptability of the standpoints that influences the difference of opinion from the opening stage which is the point of departure for all proceedings in the argument. For the protagonists in the discussion, it will mean that they have to be able to advance argumentation in response to the critical doubts expressed by the

antagonist until all the possible moves have been exhausted. On the other hand, for the antagonists, it will mean that they have to express their critical doubts concerning all the standpoints. In this stage, the rhetorical aim for the protagonist should be able to continue to articulate a combination of reasons, using multiple, coordinative and subordinative argumentation, that will be able to satisfy the antagonists until there is no doubt left. The antagonist, on the other hand, should raise the most effective attacks by expressing critical doubts wherever it is appropriate from their perspective.

Finally, in the concluding stage, the dialectical objective is to establish the result of the critical procedure by determining whether the protagonist may maintain his or her standpoint after the criticisms launched by the antagonist or whether the antagonist may maintain his or her standpoint despite the arguments produced by the protagonist. In this stage, the rhetorical aim for both parties will be to claim their position and the position that remains firmer and more convincing as the result of the strategic manoeuvring gets the overall advantage in the argument.

There are several ways in which the relevance and possibility of a standpoint at an issue can be identified. To begin with, there has to be an identification of what the standpoint is in order to deal with the identified problem at hand. In an analysis of argumentative discourse, it is first important to identify the standpoint in the discussion. The means by which the standpoint is identified establishes argumentative theory's main problem area. It is also important to understand that the standpoints at issue in a difference of opinion can be descriptive, evaluative, or prescriptive, but in all cases, they can be reconstructed as a claim to acceptability (in

case of a positive standpoint) regarding the proposition the standpoint pertains to. A standpoint can be seen in different aspects namely, the claim, conclusion, thesis, debate position, belief and opinion. There are different theoretical angles that the notion of standpoint can be reflected:

1. Claim, as per Toulmin in van Eemeren (2014) "presents the solution to a problem or, more generally, an assertion that deserves attention". "The merits of a claim depend on the arguments that can be produced in its support..." Also, "A significant difference between a claim and a standpoint is that, in Toulmin's approach, every assertion implies a claim, whereas not every assertion expressed in argumentative discourse automatically implies a standpoint" (van Eemeren, 2014, p.14).
2. Conclusion (the notion of a conclusion) is commonly used by logicians to find logic formally and informally. They are endpoints used to denote "what is inferred in a piece of reasoning or follows or may be derived from a set of assumptions or premises but also to denote what is being defended by evidence or reasons that are advanced to persuade or convince others (Govier in van Eemeren, 2014, p.15). In addition, a "conclusion can be used to denote the result of an inquiry or investigation, in which case the conclusion in the hypothesis advanced to explain the phenomenon that was in question". The conclusion makes what was in question more comprehensible instead of another set of statements making the conclusion more comprehensible (van Eemeren, 2014, p. 15).
3. The notion of thesis "refers to a paradoxical belief of some eminent philosopher or to a view contrary to men's usual opinions about which we have an

argument; practically all dialectical problems indeed are now called theses" (Aristotle in van Eemeren et al. 2014, p. 15).

4. The notion of debate proposition refers to a situation where "two parties attempt to justify or refute a (policy) statement by means of argumentation". "Like standpoints, debate propositions pre-suppose deference of opinion and involve a burden of proof, which the proponents of the standpoints can acquit themselves of by forwarding arguments" (van Eemeren et. al. 2014, p.15).

5. The notion of belief denotes to "a belief is in principle an inner mental state" and "plays an important role in cognitive research on reasoning and epistemology..." (van Eemeren et al. 2014, p.15). In addition, one needs or is required to have good reasons for adopting the belief, although "a belief does not create the obligation to provide argumentation to defend the belief when it is challenged" (van Eemeren et al. 2014, p.15).

6. The notion of opinion can be seen more in discourse analysis dealing with argumentative conversations. "Unlike beliefs, opinions are inherently disputable. Both opinions and standpoint express a position which is likely not to go undisputed, but opinions do not carry a burden of proof" (Schiffrin in van Eemeren, 2014, p.16).

4.14 Argument schemes characterising types of argumentations

Recognition of which type of argumentation put forward in defence of the standpoint makes it easier to figure out whether the argumentation indeed plays a role in the defence of the standpoint. Therefore, "An argument scheme is an abstract characterization of the way in which in a particular type of argumentation a premise is used in support of a standpoint in order to bring about a transfer of acceptance

from that premise to the standpoint" (van Eemeren et al. 2014, p.19). van Eemeren and Grootendorst in van Eemeren et. al. (2014) note that, in order to legitimatise the argumentation and move from premise to standpoint, the pragmatic principles need to be presented via the pragma-dialectical schemes. Argumentation schemes are referred to as "forms of argument (structure of inference) that represent structures of common types of arguments used in everyday discourse." Several argumentation structures can be identified in an argumentative discussion as stated in van Eemeren et al., 2002); van Eemeren & Garsen, 2020 distinguishes three distinctive types of argumentations focused in pragma-dialectics, namely, the symptomatic (sign) argumentation, causal (consequence) argumentation and comparison (resemblance) argumentation.

Argumentation schemes are important because, 1) they are instruments that can be used for the purpose of teaching critical thinking; 2) they are instruments for analysing and recognising natural arguments occurring in ordinary and specialised discourse; 3) schemes can be used in education for both teaching through argumentation etc. In this study, argumentation schemes were applied in the discussion to find out whether arguers used them in defence of their standpoints. Argumentation schemes are also recognised by their ability to describe patterns from which specific arguments can be drawn.

First, the symptomatic argumentation presents types of argumentations in which the arguer tries to convince his or her counterpart by pointing out that one idea is taking place as a result of another that has been expressed prior to that. For example, the

argument premise result to the conclusion. In addition, the argument and the standpoint have a common referent, but different predicates.

The second argumentation scheme recognised in pragma-dialectics is the argumentation based on similarities/comparison. Also, the argument and the standpoint have a common predicate, but different referents. This scheme is grounded on a relation of analogy between what is stated in the argument premise and what is stated in the conclusion. The third scheme is the causal where the argument and the conclusion are linked by a very broad relation of causality and here the argument and the standpoint involved in causal argumentation have a common referent. (Macagno, Walton & Reed, 2008; Hitchcock, Wagemans, pp186-187, 2011; Macagno,

Arguments that feature in a wide range of every day arguments are represented by argumentation schemes. "They represent the premise-conclusion structure of an argument, and they are defeasible. Their defeasibility conclusions are shown as a set of critical questions, dialectical instruments to help begin the procedure of testing the strength and acceptability of an argument by weighing the pro and con argument". (Macagno, Walton & Reed, 2008, p.518).

Furthermore, Macagno and Walton (2015) note that, "Argumentation schemes are stereotypical patterns of inference, combining semantic ontological relations with types of reasoning and logical axioms and representing the abstract structure of the common types of natural arguments"

In addition to the argumentation schemes, there are also argumentation structures as per trans (van Eemeren et al. 2014, p.23). As seen below, there are different structures by which argumentation can be categorised that is, single, multiple, coordinating and subordinating.

1. Single argumentation

It consists of an explicit 'reason' (consisting, as a rule of a premise and an unexpressed bridging premise) in favour of a standpoint. A 'complex' argumentation consisting of more reasons can, analytically, always be broken down into certain combinations of single argumentations, each of the reasons involved in these single argumentations being in a particular way related to the other and the standpoint that is being defended.

2. In multiple argumentations, the consistent single argumentations are, in principle, alternative defences of the same standpoint aimed at responding to different kinds of critical responses.

3. In coordinating (ly compound) argumentation, the consistent single argumentation constitutes one joint defence of the standpoint because they are interdependent and are in principle all necessary for responding conclusively to the other party's (expressed or anticipated) critical response.

4. In subordinative (ly compound argumentation), the defence takes place by putting forward (single or complex) argumentation to support a premise of the argumentation advanced because a critical response is expressed or anticipated regarding that premise

Depending on what type of argument the *One-on-One* discussions are, an exploration can be done to ensure that the analysis is completely representative of the criteria aligned with those arguments. For instance, if the discussion falls under single argumentation, then it will be good to understand whether the reasons /answers to particular questions are explicitly given. Also, in complex arguments situation, are reasons or explanations given consistent or valid.

Although the complexity of argumentative discourse keeps evolving, as a result the existing models of argumentative need to be extended and this should be in the line with the reflection towards the important dimensions of real-life argumentative discourse. A complex argumentative discussion is a multi-issue discussion that focuses on forming these different issues on the basis of that particular order. Thus, through an examination of Facebook discourse of the Rhodes Must Fall movement in South Africa, Greco et al. (2018) claimed that, in order to transform a single-issue discussion to a complex argumentative discourse, arguers could use justified reframing. The study investigated “how reframing is justified by means of arguments, allowing the protagonist to claim as legitimate their reframing of a single issue into a complex argument discussion. All in all, the conclusion of the study revealed that, as already confirmed in social research that focused on social movements- the only way social movement issues can be achieved is through argumentative discourse (Greco et al., 2018). With regards to argumentation study at a theoretical level, the study highlighted the kind of complex argumentative discussion that might be formed through justified reframing (Greco et al. 2018, p. 737).

4.15 Prototypical Argumentative patterns

In argumentation research such as this very study, it is important to take into consideration the notion of prototypical argumentative patterns as the focal point of the characteristics central to the discussions in the interviews.

For this purpose, the patterns will assist in identifying these prototypical argumentative patterns in the context of the discourse that takes place in the discussion as in the shows. Therefore, a prior reflection of the pragma-dialectical theory, including the model and the rule for a critical discussion is necessary. It will also be enlightening to look at what the extended pragma-dialectics brings to the table concerning argumentation study.

The pragma-dialectical rules of communication are fundamental in the exploration of analytical tools. These tools should be achieved because they serve the purpose of being significant to the analyst's aim of achieving an adequate analytical overview. Among the tools that were developed is a method for making unexpressed premises explicit and typologies of argument schemes and argumentation structure that can be used to identify the relationships between argumentative moves and standpoints (van Eemeren and Grootendorst, 1992, in van Eemeren, 2017). What makes prototypical argumentative patterns an important aspect in this current study is that a pragma-dialectic study of its nature will require an examination of co-dependency of arguments in some areas of the discussions (van Eemeren, 2017).

In the television show discussions regarding this study, the type of standpoint at issue was considered according to the ways they varied, which in this case are evaluative

and prescriptive standpoint (van Eemeren, 2017). Through the exchange of argumentation on the *One-on-One* show, institutional preconditions of communicative activity types together with critical reactions are to be perceived as an important aspect in consideration of communicative type that relates to the argument scheme in use. By so doing, it will assist in identifying the argumentative patterns.

According to van Eemeren (2017), "an argument active pattern is characterised by a constellation of argumentative moves in which, in order to deal with a particular kind of difference of opinion, in defence of a particular type of standpoint a particular argument scheme or combination of argument schemes is used in a particular kind of argumentation structure" (p.19).

There a few items which are important in the communicative activity type which should be considered when carrying out an argumentative exchange, such as, taking note of institutional preconditions of these communicative activity types and also, the critical reactions. When conducting discourse in this manner, it will produce argumentative patterns useful to analyse argumentation (van Eemeren, 2017). Through the use of modes of strategic manoeuvring, prototypical argumentative patterns come up which are, in an exceptional way, very important in the process of obtaining institutional point of a communicative activity type which are in harmony with institutional preconditions responsible for making sure that responses to certain critical questions crucial to the institutional conventions of the communicative activity type are given (van Eemeren, 2017, p.21).

van Eemeren and Grootendorst in van Eemeren, (2017) noted that in order to reveal through qualitative empirical research the prototypical argumentative pattern, which is functional in certain domains of argumentative reality, several theoretical instruments developed in pragma-dialectical are used. These instruments are typologies of differences of opinions (single or multiple mixed or non-mixed), of standpoints (descriptive, evaluative, prescriptive) of argument schemes (casual, comparison, symptomatic and their sub schemes), and of argumentation structures (single, multiple, coordinative, subordinative and their combination) (van Eemeren & Grootendorst, 1992, in van Eemeren, 2017, p.21). Therefore, it is worth noting that, categories and subcategories eminent in the said typologies are a definition of the manifestation of the argumentative patterns in discourse through particular constellations of the moves made in the arguments (van Eemeren, 2017).

4.16 Summary

It is clear that, the *One-on-One* show discussions qualify as critical discussions, and that the pragma-dialectical theory of argumentation is suitable to analyse and evaluate them. The theoretical framework was adopted to investigate the difference of opinions of the discussants. The rules of the critical discussion rules were assigned to examine the discussions in a more detailed and analytical manner. The study employed the pragma-dialectical theory of argumentation to do the following: to examine the strategic manoeuvring moves in the conversational exchange between the discussant's efforts to defend their standpoint, examine the fallacies that may result from these strategic manoeuvring moves and also to investigate whether or not reasonableness is achieved by both parties along the way. A thorough

description of the theoretical framework stipulated in this chapter opened doors to Chapter 5, where the *One-on-One* discussions will be evaluated and analysed. Chapter 5 will present the critical discussions by dissecting the discussion in different segments based on the four stages of critical discussion namely, the confrontation stage, the opening stage, the argumentative stage and the concluding stage. Thereafter, the presentation of findings and discussion will follow in chapter 6.

CHAPTER 5

EVALUATION AND ANALYSIS OF THE DATA

5.0 INTRODUCTION

In this chapter, the eight *One-on-One* discussions will be evaluated and analysed. By applying the argumentation theory, each discussion will be evaluated based on the objectives of the study. Firstly, the argumentation structure will be distinguished giving a good analytical base on the arguments. Each discussion will be categorised in four argument stages namely the confrontational, the opening, the argumentation/ critical discussion stage and the concluding stage. The argumentation stage of each discussion comes with multiple arguments which are wide and detailed depending on the nature and the outline of the sub-topics introduced. Another notable distinction of these discussion is that, although each discussion has main opening stage of the entire discussion, other sub-openings in the argumentation stage opens the critical discussion to the dynamic arguments such as sub-arguments, attacks, premises and defences the discussants engaged in. The breaking down of the argumentation and establishment of the argumentation structure will be followed by the evaluation; investigate strategic manoeuvring argumentative patterns used in the defence of the standpoints and also investigate fallacies that may occur as a result; and also, establish whether arguers maintained reasonableness and achieved effectiveness in the argumentation moves through the efforts of defending their standpoints. In addition, the chapter will investigate the manifestation of strategic manoeuvring in argumentative discourse through choices made from the topical potential, audience demand, and the presentational devices.

The analysis and evaluation will also investigate violation of critical discussion rules and performance of speech acts.

The eight discussions under analysis and evaluation in this chapter present different political themes that are significant to Namibia as a nation. These themes feature under the following heading, 5.1 Argumentation on Namibia's Women in Politics: A case study of the Minister of Home Affairs; Argumentation; 5.2 Argumentation on Namibia Higher Education Transformation, Funding and Affordability; 5.3 Argumentation on National Assembly and the National Council; 5.4 Argumentation on Land Affirmation Action for Land for the Less advantaged; 5.5 Argumentation on views of the Namibian Political Ruling Party, SWAPO and its Secretary General; 5.6 Argumentation on National Planning Commission for Social Economic Development; 5.7 Argumentation on German Development Aid in Namibia; and 5.8 Argumentation on Politics of Independent Presidential Candidacy.

5.1 ARGUMENTATION ON NAMIBIA'S WOMEN IN POLITICS: THE CASE OF THE MINISTER OF HOME AFFAIRS

5.1.1 INTRODUCTION

The role of women in African politics has been steadily increasing over the past decades, but women still face significant challenges in accessing political power and decision-making positions (Kanyangarara, 2014). Societal norms, discriminatory laws, and lack of access to education and resources have excluded women from political participation in many African countries. However, women's representation in politics has improved in recent years, with more women being elected to parliament and

appointed to high-level government positions (Akaateba & Dzorgbo, 2018). Several African countries have implemented affirmative action policies such as quotas to increase women's representation in politics. For example, Rwanda has the highest percentage of women in parliament in the world, with women holding 61% of the seats in the lower house (Hegewisch et al., 2019). Namibia, together with other countries such as South Africa and Senegal is among other African countries with high levels of women's representation in parliament (Akaateba & Dzorgbo, 2018). Despite these gains, women still face barriers to political participation in many African countries. Women politicians often face gender-based discrimination and violence, including harassment, intimidation, and physical attacks (Kandjii-Murangi, 2019). Additionally, cultural and societal norms that prioritise men's leadership and authority continue to undermine women's political aspirations (Akaateba & Dzorgbo, 2018).

Namibia has made significant strides in promoting women's participation in politics. The country's constitution guarantees gender equality, and women have made notable gains in political representation in recent years (UN Women, 2019). In the 2019 elections, women accounted for 46% of candidates fielded by political parties and won 44% of the seats in the National Assembly, a significant improvement from the 24% of seats they held in the previous assembly (Electoral Commission of Namibia, 2019). Namibia has also implemented policies to promote women's participation in politics, including a quota system that requires political parties to ensure that at least 50% of their candidates are women (UN Women, 2019). The government has also established a Ministry of Gender Equality and Child Welfare to

address issues related to gender equality and promote women's empowerment. Some of the Namibian women in politics are Netumbo Nandi-Ndaitwah and Saara Kuugongelwa-Amadhila. Kuugongelwa-Amadhila is a Namibian politician who has been the Prime Minister of Namibia since 2015 and still holds the same position (2023). She is the second woman to hold this position in the country's history. Kuugongelwa-Amadhila is a member of SWAPO (South-West Africa People's Organisation) and has held various positions within the party, including that of Minister of Finance from 2003 to 2015. Besides the aforementioned is Netumbo Nandi-Ndaitwah. Nandi-Ndaitwah is a Namibian politician who has held various positions within the ruling party, SWAPO. She has served as the Deputy Prime Minister of Namibia since 2015 and she is also currently in that position (2023). Furthermore, she is the current Minister of International Relations (2023) and the vice president of the ruling party, SWAPO and the presidential candidate in the 2024 Presidential elections.

Despite these developments and powerful appointments of Saara Kuugongelwa-Amadhila and Netumbo Nandi-Ndaitwah, women in Namibian politics still face challenges. Women are underrepresented in local government structures and traditional leadership positions, and gender-based violence and discrimination persist (UN Women, 2019). Women politicians also face challenges such as harassment, sexism, and lack of support from their parties and communities (Bischoff & Shindondola-Mote, 2020). As indicated earlier, another prominent Namibian female politician is Pendukeni Iivula-Ithana. She has been actively involved in politics since the country's independence in 1990. From 1990 to 1991 she was deputy minister of Wildlife Conservation and Tourism; From 1991 to 1996, she was the

Minister of Youth and Sport; From 1996 to 2001 she was the Minister of Lands, Resettlement and Rehabilitation. She is also known for her strong leadership and advocacy for social justice and human rights. She significantly became the first woman to be elected as secretary general of SWAPO's presidential candidacy of which she ran alongside Hage Geingob and Jerry Ekandjo. Following her loss to Hage Geingob, she was then appointed as Minister of Home Affairs and Immigration in 2012. Iivula-Ithana served as Minister of Justice in 2014 and during her tenure, she implemented several reforms to improve access to justice and promote human rights in Namibia (Namibia Institute for Democracy, 2015). Looking at the political positions, Pendukeni Iivula-Ithana has held, it is a clear indication of how she has contributed to the growth of Namibia since independence.

In 2015, Iivula-Ithana ran for the position of Secretary-General of the ruling party, SWAPO, but lost that position. Following her loss, she resigned from her position as Minister of Justice and announced her intention to retire from politics (The Namibian, 2015). However, in 2017, Iivula-Ithana returned to politics and ran for the position of SWAPO Vice President. The Vice President position was one of the most senior positions within the party, second only to the President. She faced stiff competition for the position, with several other high-profile party members also vying for the post. Despite not being successful in her bid for the Vice President position, Iivula-Ithana remained an influential figure within the party. Her outspokenness on issues related to corruption and social justice continued to make her a respected and admired figure within the party and the broader Namibian political landscape.

5.1.2 CONFRONTATION STAGE: Contestation of the SWAPO party presidency

The confrontation stage sets the discussants in a situation where they both establish their positions in discussions. The objective of this stage is for the discussants to bring into line their pursuit with effectiveness when they make their attempts to define the difference of opinion that would drive towards the concerns that best represent the arguers' interest throughout the discussion. As seen in the dialogue below both the host and the arguer have assumed their positions from the onset of introduction where the host points out to who the guest is and that it is "Women's Day" which could be symptomatic of what is to come in the discussion regarding women's position in the political sphere.

Dialogue Extract: 5.9.2 [Transcribed verbatim, so no error correction]

Patrick: *Good evening Namibia, it is Tuesday and time for One-on-One. I'm Patrick Sam, and this is a program dedicated to bring you news makers, movers and shakers while making the news for all who are in the news.*

My guest tonight is Honourable Pendukeni Iivula-Ithana, the Minister of Home affairs and Immigration and tonight's edition is in celebration of International Women's Day so, to all the women out there we definitely wish you all the best in your daily endeavours. Good evening, honourable and welcomed to One-on-One.

Pendukeni: *Good evening Patrick and good evening Namibia.*

Confronting the discussion with the acknowledgement of the stride made by the Minister by being the first woman to contest for party president is strategically good in that the minister will find a base of engaging in the discussion on a positive note. Although, as identified by the host that she did not win, it is in some way an achievement on its own to contest, to show that women also have space in such positions which could lead to the possibility of running for president. (1.1 & 1.1a).

5.1.2 OPENING STAGE: The contestation of SWAPO party president

Dialogue Extract 5.9.2 [Transcribed verbatim, so no error correction]

Patrick: Let's just start, you know, in the obviously light of International Woman's Day. **(1.1)** You made history by being the first woman to ever contest for party president, a last year, you didn't win it, but definitely it showed that women are able to contest for. **(1.1a)** Tell us a little bit about this experience as a woman, contesting for the position that could have led to being president of the country.

Pendukeni: Well, uh, **(1.2)** contestation is a democratic exercise and does not really have a home to say it is only for men or only for women. And I have participated in the I contestations for some time. This was not the first, it was probably the first in its magnitude. That it was really to deliver somebody to another level. Otherwise, I- **(1.2a)** I felt as a Namibian, as a woman as a leader, what could prevent me from participating, you know, so long as it is done in within the regime of our party regime governing the country. So really, I-I felt at home. I knew also that when you participate in a contestation and you are three or two one of you will have to win, and if you have not won, that's not the end of the world.

Patrick: **(1.1.1)** But let's talk a little bit about, you know, the nature of this contestation generally, when you do see, I mean, historically, was the first time that woman was contesting for party president that could have made you the first woman president of the country. **(1.1.1a)** So, in that regard, we saw that, for instance, SWAPO women's league didn't necessarily support your candidacy. What does that speak of a woman, support a woman running for positions.

Pendukeni: **(1.1.2)** That's, that is not really something that could be said that it's endemic in women's thinking on women's make up. **(1.1.2a)** Individuals differ, understandings differ, and you, you don't necessarily support the candidate, just because that candidate happens to be of your Gender. **(1.1.2b)** Maybe people were looking at other things other than just gender. You know, uh, of course, of course it could have made a different sense, has the women's Council rallied behind the candidate. Probably it could have sent another message, but you look at what had happened in its infancy, in its first of its kind and therefore really, **(1.1.2c)** we were breaking ice. I kept saying I broke the ice, I was determined to say If I cannot, you know, show the Namibian women that a woman can stand for all/any position. More so that the party for the first time, included that in our, in our rules of procedure.

TABLE 5.1.2: Opening [Transcribed verbatim, so no error correction]

No.	Description
(1.1)	You made history by being the first woman to ever contest for party president, a last year, you didn't win it, but definitely it showed that women are able to contest for.
(1.1a)	Tell us a little bit about this experience as a woman, contesting for the position that could have led to being president of the country.
(1.2)	Well, uh, contestation is a democratic exercise and does not really have a home to say it is only for men or only for women.
(1.2a)	I felt as a Namibian, as a woman as a leader, what could prevent me from participating, you know, so long as it is done in within the regime of our party regime governing the country. -So really, I-I felt at home.
(1.1.1)	But let's talk a little bit about, you know, the nature of this contestation generally, when you do see, I mean, historically, was the first time that

	<i>woman was contesting for party president that could have made you the first woman president of the country.</i>
<i>(1.1.1a)</i>	<i>So, in that regard, we saw that, for instance, SWAPO women's league didn't necessarily support your candidacy. What does that speak of a woman, support a woman running for positions.</i>
<i>(1.1.2)</i>	<i>That's, that is not really something that could be said that it's endemic in women's thinking on women's make up.</i>
<i>(1.1.2a)</i>	<i>Individuals differ, understandings differ, and you, you don't necessarily support the candidate, just because that candidate happens to be of your Gender.</i>
<i>(1.1.2b)</i>	<i>Maybe people were looking at other things other than just gender. You know, uh, of course, of course it could have made a different sense, has the women's Council rallied behind the candidate...</i>
<i>(1.1.2c)</i>	<i>...we were breaking ice. I kept saying I broke the ice, I was determined to say If I cannot, you know, show the Namibian women that a woman can stand for all/any position.</i>

The contestation of the SWAPO party presidency has been a topic of heated debate in Namibian politics. The arguments begin with a confrontation about political office contestation. One argument made in this debate is that contestation is a democratic exercise and should not be restricted based on gender. Pendukeni Iivula-Ithana, a prominent Namibian politician and former Minister of Justice, argued that contestation is a democratic exercise that should be open to both men and women. She stated, "Well, uh, contestation is a democratic exercise and does not really have a home to say it is only for men or only for women. I felt as a Namibian, as a woman as a leader, what could prevent me from participating, you know, so long as it is done within the regime of our party, the regime governing the country" (Nakale, 2017). Another argument made in this debate is that supporting a candidate based solely on their gender is not always the best decision. Iivula-Ithana argued that individuals differ, and their understanding of the candidate and their abilities could not be based on gender. She stated, "Individuals differ, understandings differ, and you don't

necessarily support the candidate just because that candidate happens to be of your gender" (Nakale, 2017).

In some cases, supporting a candidate based on their gender may be beneficial. In the case of the SWAPO party presidency, there was a lack of female representation, and therefore, supporting a female candidate could have been advantageous. Iivulathana acknowledged this when she stated, "Of course, of course it could have made a different sense, has the women's Council rallied behind the candidate. We were breaking ice. I kept saying, I broke the ice" (Nakale, 2017). According to Theron (2018) women's political representation in Namibia has been limited, and more needs to be done to address this issue. She reiterates that, "Although Namibia has made strides in terms of women's political representation, there is still a significant gender gap in elected positions, with women comprising only 31% of parliamentarians" (Theron, 2018, p. 143).

Similarly, in his article "Party Politics and Democracy in Namibia," Henning Melber (2016) argued that the lack of female representation in Namibian politics was a cause for concern. Melber stated, "The continued marginalisation of women from meaningful participation in the political process is not only a concern for gender equality but also undermines the credibility of Namibian democracy" (p. 115).

The contestation of the SWAPO party presidency has been a subject of intense debate in Namibian politics. Through the analysis of various arguments using the pragma-dialectical theory and through the arguer's strategic manoeuvring moves, it was argued that contestation should not be restricted based on gender. However,

supporting a candidate based solely on their gender may not always be the best decision. In the case of the SWAPO party presidency, the lack of female representation is a cause for concern, and more needs to be done to address this issue.

The Ministry of Home Affairs is a government department in Namibia responsible for a range of functions related to internal security, citizenship and immigration, and civil registration. According to the Namibian government's website, the Ministry's main functions include the management of immigration and citizenship matters, civil registration and documentation, as well as the formulation and implementation of policies related to internal security (Government of Namibia, 2021). One of the key functions of the Ministry of Home Affairs is the management of immigration and citizenship matters in Namibia. This involves the regulation of the entry and exit of foreigners, issuance of visas and work permits, as well as the enforcement of immigration laws and policies. The Ministry also oversees the naturalisation process for foreign nationals seeking citizenship in Namibia. The aim is to ensure that Namibia's immigration policies are in line with the country's development goals and priorities.

Another important function of the Ministry of Home Affairs is civil registration and documentation. The Ministry is responsible for the registration of births, marriages, and deaths, as well as issuing and maintaining identity documents for Namibian citizens (Government of Namibia, 2021). Through these processes, the Ministry aims to provide accurate data on the country's population, which is essential for planning

and policy-making. The Ministry of Home Affairs also plays a critical role in the formulation and implementation of policies related to internal security. This includes the maintenance of law and order, crime prevention, and emergency management. The Ministry works closely with law enforcement agencies, such as the Namibian Police Force, to ensure that citizens are protected from crime and that public safety is maintained (Government of Namibia, 2021). The Ministry is also responsible for the issuance of firearms licenses, which are tightly regulated to ensure that firearms are used responsibly.

The Ministry of Home Affairs plays a crucial role in ensuring the security and wellbeing of Namibian citizens. Through its functions related to immigration and citizenship, civil registration and documentation, and internal security, the Ministry is responsible for the protection of Namibian citizens and their interests. It is essential that the Ministry continues to carry out its duties effectively, efficiently, and in line with the country's development goals and priorities.

5.1.4 ARGUMENTATION STAGE

5.2.4.1 Argument 1: Home Office

The opening stage is followed by the argumentation stage. This stage is divided into sub arguments that focuses on one standpoint at a time. Sarrico and Mahlangu (2021) explained that the Ministry of Home Affairs was responsible for issuing identification documents such as birth certificates, national identity cards, and passports. The Ministry is also responsible for processing immigration and citizenship

applications. In the following dialogue, the discussion is geared towards the duties of the prime minister and the responsibilities of the ministry of Home Affairs.

Dialogue Extract **5.2.4.1 [Transcribed verbatim, so no error correction]**

Patrick: *OK so, let's talk a little bit about then your point as a home office minister, (1.1) probably the ministry and that historically had the most complaints in terms of service delivery was it different for the first time that a woman, you know, obviously not a minister, but as somebody that was able to change service delivery, how was that in terms of ... (1.1a) you know a lot of times, people saying women should be, they're based on quotas versus being based there on merit and change in the ministry, what does that signify?*

Pendukeni: *Well, (1.2) when I went to the home office, if I was made then to choose, obviously I wouldn't have accepted to go to home affairs for obvious reasons, (1.2a) but then I sat down and told myself that home affairs is a very important Ministry of our country saving the nation from birth to death and in between. (1.2b) And if I cannot make my contribution to help the citizens of a country to get what they are entitled to get in terms of civic service then who else can I say It's only you and not me.*

Patrick: *(1.1.1) But in either, that's interesting for me, obviously, you have a track record now, you have done well! But but but but, do you think that that that achievement necessarily translates into your position in the party for instance, are, you know, not making it onto the Parliament, less through the vote at the presidency bringing you back and then bringing you back as minister, do you think your leadership at a national level affects your position in the party.*

Pendukeni: *Well, there are dynamics wherever you go. And I don't want really to get into the dynamics of what happened, but back to (1.2.1) my achievements, speaks for themselves,*

Patrick: *(1.1.1a) But then, how does that in terms of mobilising people at a party level to vote for you, wouldn't say Pendukeni Ivula Itana, has the merit to be on the ninety-six list of Parliament I mean it seems very disjointed,*

Pendukeni: *(1.2.1a) You know, it's very, very disjointed I agree with you but I have saved my party in whatever level before. And I-I have told myself my record speaks for itself. I am not in the habit of lobbying and doing all kinds of things for people to vote for me. If for whatever reasons they were convinced that this is not the person we want this time around, I have no problem with that either.*

Patrick: *(1.1.1b) And in terms of your usual delivery at home affairs, what is your strategy in ensuring that there is a turnaround of that need to take place here.*

Pendukeni: *Well, that that really came out of the realization that for Home Affairs to reach the level of service delivery that I have envisioned. (1.2.1b) Something had to be done, and really, I-I-I went out of my way to look at best practices you know, uh, somewhere, and when I saw that, I you know, I developed ideas is to how to help our system Home Affairs.*

Patrick: *(1.1.3) So, where were the challenges.*

Pendukeni: (1.2.3) *The challenges were all over in all over, in the sense that, (1.2.3a) Home Affairs deals with a lot of paperwork, you know, a lot of paperwork, and the system did not have the tools to support, you know, the people who were dealing with fish. It's manual and filing system were not proper. You know, personnel got frustrated because they had to deal with so many issues in and, they were few also. I must say, (1.2.3b) the structure of the Home Affairs has really never been reviewed for the purpose of looking at what the military does in terms of its mandate and the personnel, you know, placed to run the system. So, And and you know, when you deal with an issue for a long time wrongly or rightly you, you tend to to do relax also. Because I remember very well, at the beginning, when I started directing in a certain way I faced resistance. Some people had even the courage to tell me that, we always did it this way. Yeah, you know, that's why I realized that ah ah, (1.2.3c) I-I just have to change the mindset of my personal and help them also to see the world in a different light.*

Patrick: (1.1.3') *Right, we will take a quick break, and we will be back, we are talking to the honourable Minister of Home Affairs and immigration that is Pendukeni Ivana We will be back right after the break, do stay with us.*

5.1.4.1: The role and function of the Ministry of Home Affairs in Namibia [Transcribed verbatim, so no error correction]

TABLE: 5.1.4.1

No.	Description
(1.1)	<i>let's talk a little bit about then your point as a home office minister, the ministry and that historically had the most complaints in terms of service delivery was it different for the first time that a woman, you know, obviously not a minister, but as somebody that was able to change service delivery, how was that in terms of ...</i>
(1.1a)	<i>you know a lot of times, people saying women should be, they're based on quotas versus being based there on merit and change in the ministry, what does that signify?</i>
(1.2)	<i>Well, when I went to the home office, If I was made then to choose, obviously I wouldn't have accepted to go to home affairs for obvious reasons,</i>
(1.2a)	<i>but then I sat down and told myself that home affairs is a very important Ministry of our country saving the nation from birth to death and in between.</i>
(1.2b)	<i>And if I cannot make my contribution to help the citizens of a country to get what they are entitled to get in terms of civic service then who else can I say It's only you and not me.</i>
	<i>But in either, that's interesting for me, obviously, you have a track record now, you have done well! -But but but but, do you think that that that achievement necessarily translates into your position in the party for instance, are, you know, not making it onto the Parliament -do you think your leadership at a national level affects your position in the party.</i>
(1.2.1)	<i>my achievements, speaks for themselves,</i>

(1.1.1a)	<i>But then, how does that in terms of mobilising people at a party level to vote for you, wouldn't say Pendukeni Ivula Itana, has the merit to be on the ninety-six list of Parliament I mean it seems very disjointed,</i>
(1.2.1a)	<i>You know, it's very, very disjointed I agree with you but I have saved my party in whatever level before. -And I-I have told myself my record speaks for itself. -I am not in the habit of lobbying and doing all kinds of things for people to vote for me. -If for whatever reasons they were convinced that this is not the person we want this time around, I have no problem with that either.</i>
(1.1.1b)	<i>And in terms of your usual delivery at home affairs, what is your strategy in ensuring that there is a turnaround of that need to take place here.</i>
(1.2.1b)	<i>Something had to be done, and really, I-I-I went out of my way to look at best practices you know, uh, somewhere, and when I saw that, I you know, I developed ideas is to how to help our system Home Affairs.</i>
(1.1.3)	<i>So, where were the challenges.</i>
(1.2.3)	<i>The challenges were all over in all over, in the sense that, a different light.</i>
(1.2.3a)	<i>Home Affairs deals with a lot of paperwork, you know, a lot of paperwork, and the system did not have the tools to support, you know, the people who were dealing with fish. It's manual and filing system were not proper. You know, personnel got frustrated because they had to deal with so many issues in and, they were few also. I must say</i>
(1.2.3b)	<i>, the structure of the Home Affairs has really never been reviewed for the purpose of looking at what the military does in terms of its mandate and the personnel, you know, placed to run the system. So, And and you know, when you deal with an issue for a long time wrongly or rightly you, you tend to to do relax also.</i>
(1.2.3c)	<i>I-I just have to change the mindset of my personal and help them also to see the world in</i>
(1.1.3')	<i>Right, we will take a quick break, and we will be back</i>

Once again, the host brings up gender in the discussion, stating that, a woman has managed to solve the problem the nation had faced for the longest time with regards to service delivery. It is in some unspoken way suggested that a man is expected to deliver but when a woman achieves something it is surprising (1.1). The minister stated that she if it were a matter of choosing an office she could not have chosen the home office for “obvious reasons” which is an unexpressed premise that supposes the complications or the state the office was in. Nonetheless she noted

that she decided to take the challenge. (1.2). The host is inciting the guest to talk about the proceedings of how she ended up in the current office and also still referring to SWAPO issues. Here, there could be an interesting background to this discussion which the discussants are not really delving into. There are a lot of unexpressed premises which in the hindsight, they both know but not necessarily known by the listeners (1.1.1). Implicitly, she acknowledged the existence of “dynamics” she might have been in and that it was not something she wanted to reflect on. In light of everything, the guest points out to her strength in that “her achievements speak for themselves” (1.2.1). The host at this point is still advancing the argument relating to “what might have transpired”; the fact that the minister was not selected as a parliamentarian despite her achievements and seemingly, hard work. (1.1.1a). The host came back to the main point of the discussion around what was currently happening at Home Affairs office (1.1.1b). This is the strongest argument made by the guest in the sense that, she made a turnaround of a situation that was, for the longest time problematic. (1.2.3).

In the argumentation move, the livula-lthana identified the challenges faced by the Ministry of Home Affairs in Namibia. One of the major challenges was the handling of paperwork, which was a manual and filing system. The lack of proper tools to support the personnel dealing with paperwork created frustration among them. This issue was also noted by Isaacs (2019), who stated that the manual system of the Ministry of Home Affairs in Namibia was outdated and that the Ministry needed to adopt digital technology to improve its services. Another challenge highlighted by the livula-lthana was the need to review the structure of the Ministry of Home Affairs.

She explained that the structure had never been reviewed to assess whether it was aligned to the Ministry's mandate. The Ministry of Home Affairs needs to align its structure with its mandate to ensure that it has the appropriate personnel to run its operations. This issue was also mentioned by Nampala and Kakumba (2015), who argued that the Ministry of Home Affairs needed to review its structure to improve its service delivery.

Another move of argumentation that can be employed in this analysis is the "confrontation" move, which involves challenging the interlocutor's argument or position. In this case, one can confront the idea that the Ministry of Home Affairs in Namibia failed in its role and function. This can be supported by the fact that the Ministry made efforts to improve its service delivery, as indicated by the interviewee's statement that they went out of their way to look at best practices from other countries and developed ideas to help the system. According to a report by the International Organisation for Migration (IOM) in 2015, the Ministry of Home Affairs in Namibia made progress in improving the efficiency and effectiveness of its services. The report cited the implementation of an electronic birth registration system and the establishment of mobile units to reach remote areas as some of the measures taken to improve service delivery. Additionally, a study by Kangumu and Shikongo (2021) found that the Ministry of Home Affairs in Namibia has been proactive in addressing challenges related to documentation, such as birth registration and identification, through the implementation of various reforms. The study highlighted the importance of these reforms in promoting social and economic development by facilitating access to basic services and rights.

Pendukeni livula-Ithana emphasised the need for change in the mindset of personnel in the Ministry of Home Affairs. She further highlighted the resistance faced when trying to direct personnel in a new way of doing things. However, she acknowledged the importance of changing the mindset of personnel to improve service delivery. This issue was also mentioned by Anigbogu (2018), who argued that the mindset of personnel was critical in improving service delivery in the public sector. The roles and functions of the Ministry of Home Affairs in Namibia are crucial for the country. The Ministry faces several challenges, including the handling of paperwork, the need to review its structure, and the need to change the mindset of personnel. These changes will not only improve service delivery but also enhance the reputation of the Ministry of Home Affairs.

5.1.4.2 ARGUMENT 2: Decentralisation of the Ministry of Home Affairs service delivery

Decentralisation has been identified as a solution to improve service delivery by the Ministry of Home Affairs in Namibia. According to Pandey et al. (2015), decentralisation is the transfer of power and responsibilities from central government to lower levels of government or non-governmental actors. Decentralisation of the Ministry of Home Affairs would involve transferring some of its functions and responsibilities to lower levels of government or non-governmental actors. According to Bontle-Mareme and Mostert (2015), decentralisation can help to address the challenges of service delivery in the Ministry of Home Affairs by enabling local officials to respond more quickly to the needs of the people they serve. Decentralisation can also increase the level of accountability and transparency in the

Ministry of Home Affairs by allowing for more effective monitoring and evaluation of service delivery at the local level. The need for decentralisation in the Ministry of Home Affairs has been recognised in Namibia. In particular, there have been calls for the decentralisation of immigration services to regional and local levels of government (Mendelsohn et al., 2018). This is because immigration services are crucial for economic development, and decentralisation could help to improve efficiency, reduce corruption, and increase accountability in the provision of these services (Mendelsohn et al., 2018).

The benefits of decentralisation are known for improving service delivery. According to Seddoh et al. (2020) decentralisation of health services in Ghana resulted in improved service delivery, increased accountability, and better health outcomes. Similarly, a study by Jha and Gupta (2015) found that decentralisation of agricultural services in India led to increased productivity, better resource allocation, and improved service delivery. However, there are also potential challenges to decentralisation. These include the need for sufficient resources and capacity at lower levels of government or non-governmental actors, ensuring effective coordination and communication between different levels of government, and potential duplication of services (Pandey et al., 2015).

Furthermore, decentralisation of service delivery in the Ministry of Home Affairs can also lead to improved accountability and transparency in the provision of services. When services are provided at a local level, it becomes easier for citizens to hold their local officials accountable for the services delivered. In turn, this can help to improve

trust and confidence in the government and its institutions. In their study of decentralisation and service delivery in Uganda, Golooba-Mutebi and Hickey (2015) found that decentralisation can lead to improved accountability and responsiveness, particularly in the provision of social services.

However, there are also potential challenges to decentralisation, particularly in the context of developing countries. These challenges can include a lack of resources and capacity at the local level, as well as the potential for increased corruption and patronage networks (Gaventa, 2016). In order for decentralisation to be successful, it must be accompanied by efforts to build capacity and ensure accountability at the local level. In the case of the Ministry of Home Affairs in Namibia, there have been efforts to decentralise service delivery through the establishment of regional offices. However, there have been challenges in implementing this decentralisation, particularly in terms of resource constraints and capacity building (Republic of Namibia, 2019). There is a need for continued efforts to strengthen the capacity of regional offices and ensure that they have the resources and support necessary to provide high-quality services to citizens.

Another challenge is the need for effective coordination and collaboration between the central government and local governments. According to Mathabatha and Shilungu (2017), effective coordination is necessary to ensure that the objectives of decentralisation are met and that local officials are held accountable for their actions. The Ministry of Home Affairs should therefore work closely with local governments

to establish clear lines of communication and ensure that policies and procedures are consistent across all levels of government.

Dialogue Extract 5.9.4.2 **[Transcribed verbatim, so no error correction]**

Patrick: *This is One-on-One, and in celebration of international women's day, we talking to the minister of a home affairs and immigration that is P.I.I. Before the break, we started you know, talking about home affairs and, what a challenge it was taking on that white elephant. (2.1) Let's talk a little bit about, you know, public perception around public institutions like the Ministry of Home Affairs where, a lot of the times people think that when things aren't going right, it's naturally because of incompetence or corruption and maybe not sometimes of maladministration or of a process or capacity issues. (2.1a) So, in response to the criticism that a lot of public institutions face, what is your response to that they're not really there to provide service delivery had an effect of an efficient level.*

Pendukeni: *Well, (2.2) it's true that our institutions some of them are not doing well, but we fail to diagnose where the problems are. Some people have been uh in the system for a long time, they have been doing things just that way, when you have personnel in a system that do not get training from time to time they don't, you know, we bought computers thinking that computer by themselves are you know provider of efficiency. Yet we do not train those to use these computers, you know how to do it in order to lessen the burden.*

Patrick: *But, but, if you are looking at implementation, a lot of the times, it seems like it is centralized, and we know, historically, the ministry had long queues, because the assumption was that people come to Windhoek to go to centralise. Let us talk a little bit about the challenges when it comes to decentralization and within the ministry, and maybe that being an obstacle in terms of the system (2.1.1) how have you addressed the systemic issues of decentralization in ensuring that services get to the people in the localities in the constituencies?*

Pendukeni: *(2.2.1) Yes, decentralization is key to service delivery. (2.2.1a) The mandate of the Home Affairs, one of them is to, you know save to issue documents, you know serve documents to babies as they are born to write certificates to those that are departing and on daily basis. We have such occurrences in the villages that are very, very far away from the centres where the services and if Windhoek remains the shining example of where you can get service obviously, obviously people flock to the Windhoek for service. (2.2.1b) And you know when a system is not working properly people create means, other means of fast tracking whatever they want to do. And that's why there were talks that Home Affairs was corrupt. You know, some people did not just want to join the queue, because it was frustrating. You are there for the whole day, so they must find another way to do so.*

Patrick: *(2.1.3) So, have you done enough to decentralize?*

Pendukeni: *(2.2.3) We have decentralized to the extent that our resources could afford us. If there were limitless resources I-I was going to say we should be at every constituency office and that is not even enough. Constituency office.... (interjection)*

Patrick: *So, (2.1.3a) so when we talking about, for instance, the issuing of ID cards and passports and it is not decentralized, isn't there an economic cost to the people*

who are more marginalized, obviously, in this rural area, so the question is, how do we bridge those gaps because they do exist.

Pendukeni: Obviously! (2.2.3a) Yeah, we are in the process of decentralizing. Now at least at every regional headquarters there is a home affairs office with a capacity to capture the image for, for the ID. But what I'm saying is it's not enough, yeah, really for Namibia to say, now we are saving our people. We must be at constituency level. Then people will be able to reach, you know although there is still a distance. Some regions are so big. A constituency is just another region, but I'm saying, if we can reach there then we have made, you know, some progress.

Patrick: (2.1.3b) You probably brought a very interesting point around, you know, we don't have limited resources, but obviously the expectation, sometimes from the citizen is that the government must deliver, as we request these services. So, do you and your ministry make enough efforts or the public sector to make people aware of these gaps in funding, for instance, in saying that, you know, this is our five-year strategic plan, or how do we make the people understand that these challenges are real, but they have been afforded within time the idea on process. Does the public sector do enough in terms of explaining the process that involved in an adequate and an efficient service delivery?

Pendukeni: (2.2.3b) Well I don't, I don't want to say what we do is sufficient, but during budget debate, it is really where ministry by ministry go into the budget length and outline the shortage, and the whatever, which they see with respect to the funds allocated. We debate this budget, you know, extensively but then we do so in English, of course the majority of people probably do not really follow the debate unless there is translation but the means are there. We give ministerial statements in parliament, we address meetings in the regions, in the constituencies whenever we go around. (2.2.3c) Our citizens, you know, should also understand that the resources that we get is what they contribute in terms of paying tax. We we, we do not have any other you know recourse outside of what we produce it in the country.

Patrick: (2.1.4) Let us talk a little about something that obviously a lot of people criticize the Ministry of Home for, is this idea that the ministry functions in isolation. And you know, for instance, I will give you an example for the Ministry of Education is about more than 2000 currencies when it comes to teachers, and a lot of people argue that we could use a lot of foreign teachers, but Home Affairs and the qualification for these jobs, because they can be done by the Namibians, becomes an obstacle. So how does the ministry then navigate other national concerns for instance, in education within other sectors as well.

Pendukeni: (2.2.4) Yeah, you should understand that the Ministry of Home Affairs is one of the, I don't want to say security ministry, but the data that we keep, you know personal information of the citizens of the country cannot just be dealt with by anybody, anyhow. Otherwise you, you, you jeopardise, you know the integrity of the data that we have. So, we we are linking up in terms of for example, when we register, the eighteen-year olds those who are writing grade 10, we liaise with the ministers like health you know, when people pass on and now, poverty eradication ministry for the old age. You know, patients, GIPF, we, we will link up because they pay pension for those who retire. There are, there are those linkages, but as for ministers helping us to capture our information also, or so it becomes a little bit complicated,

Patrick: We want to continue with the conversation after the quick break that will be taking, this is One-on-One will see you right after the break, pleased do stay with us.

Table 5.1.4.2 Decentralisation of the Ministry of Home Affairs service delivery
[Transcribed verbatim, so no error correction]

No.	Description
(2.1)	<i>Let's talk a little bit about, you know, public perception around public institutions like the Ministry of Home Affairs where, a lot of the times people think that when things aren't going right, it's naturally because of incompetence or corruption and maybe not sometimes of maladministration or of a process or capacity issues.</i>
(2.1a)	<i>So, in response to the criticism that a lot of public institutions face, what is your response to that they're not really there to provide service delivery had an effect of an efficient level.</i>
(2.2)	<i>Well, it's true that our institutions some of them are not doing well, but we fail to diagnose where the problems are</i>
(2.1.1)	<i>system how have you addressed the systemic issues of decentralization in ensuring that services get to the people in the localities in the constituencies?</i>
(2.2.1)	<i>Yes, decentralization is key to service delivery.</i>
(2.2.1a)	<i>The mandate of the Home Affairs, one of them is to, you know save to issue documents... We have such occurrences in the villages that are very, very far away from the centres where the services are and if Windhoek remains the shining example of where you can get service obviously, obviously people flock to the Windhoek for service.</i>
(2.2.1b)	<i>And you know when a system is not working properly people create means, other means of fast tracking whatever they want to do. And that's why there were talks that Home Affairs was corrupt.</i>
(2.1.3)	<i>So, have you done enough to decentralize?</i>
(2.2.3b)	<i>Well I don't, I don't want to say what we do is sufficient, but during budget debate, it is really where ministry by ministry go into the budget length and outline the shortage, and the whatever, which they see with respect to the funds allocated</i>
(2.2.3c)	<i>Our citizens, you know, should also understand that the resources that we get is what they contribute in terms of paying tax</i>
(2.1.4)	<i>Let us talk a little about something that obviously a lot of people criticize the Ministry of Home for, is this idea that the ministry functions in isolation... So how does the ministry then navigate other national concerns for instance, in education within other sectors as well</i>
(2.2.4)	<i>Yeah, you should understand that the Ministry of Home Affairs is one of the, I don't want to say security ministry, but the data that we keep, you know personal information of the citizens of the country cannot just be dealt with by anybody, anyhow. Otherwise you, you, you jeopardise, you know the integrity of the data that we have.</i>

This part of the discussion is another strong standpoint presented by the minister by showing, once again, her strength and pointing out to the areas where the system was not working well. The home office as the minister declared, serves the people at their very time of need in the most human manner; say, issuing birth certificates to the newly born babies and issuing death certificates for the deceased. In addition to this, travel documents and identification documents are significantly essential for the citizens. The minister also alluded to allegations of corruption in relation to the shortcomings experienced in the system. Some people found other means to get their things done faster than to wait in the long queues (2.2.1). This is another strong argument in relation to what has been done and what still needs to be done to serve the people.

(2.2.3a). The minister also pointed out to the fact that there have not been sufficient resources to cater for the whole wide country in terms of the required services. She identified the poor use of the English language as a hindrance when it came to the defence of the budget during the budget debates. Another important aspect of this argument is to refer to the citizens as having a role in all the proceedings to understand that resources are limited to what the taxpayers contribute. Outside that, there is nowhere else these funds can be sourced (2.2.3b).

The strategic manoeuvring within the argumentation theory assumes that speakers engage in strategic moves to achieve their communicative goals. In the case of the argument for the decentralisation of the Ministry of Home Affairs service delivery, the speakers strategically employed several moves to advance their position. In this

argument, Pendukeni Iivula-Ithana began by acknowledging the problems within some of the country's institutions but argued that the root of these problems had not been diagnosed. This move functions as a pre-emptive defence against potential counterarguments that might challenge the need for decentralisation.

According to Iivula-Ithana, the mandate of the Ministry of Home Affairs is to issue important documents such as birth certificates and passports on a daily basis. However, when the system is not working properly, people resort to corrupt means to fast-track their requests. Iivula-Ithana acknowledged that the Ministry had decentralised to the extent QCA is used in this study because it involves a large corpus of data collected from several discussions which requires extensive analysis and interpretation. Decentralisation is a popular topic in public administration and has been extensively studied in academic literature. According to Agbese and Adeleke (2015), decentralisation can lead to improved service delivery by bringing decision-making closer to the people and allowing for greater local control. Similarly, in their study of decentralisation in Tanzania, Mwakaje and Kinyondo (2019) found that decentralisation improved the quality of public services in local government authorities.

According to Gulzar (2017) decentralisation can lead to fragmentation, inefficiency, and lack of accountability. Furthermore, decentralisation can be costly and may require significant resources to implement effectively (Bird, 2015). In the context of the Ministry of Home Affairs in Namibia, there are several challenges that may arise from decentralisation. For example, maintaining the integrity of personal information may be more difficult if there are multiple centres responsible for handling data.

Additionally, coordination between different regional centres may be challenging, and communication between centres may need to be improved to ensure that everyone is operating efficiently and effectively.

Another important argument for decentralisation is that it can increase access to services for citizens in remote areas. According to a report by the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) on decentralisation in Namibia, "Decentralisation has improved access to public services and information for people living in rural areas" (UNDP, 2019, p. 20). This is particularly important for services provided by the Ministry of Home Affairs, such as issuing birth and death certificates, as these services are critical for legal identity and accessing other public services.

However, decentralisation also comes with its own set of challenges. One such challenge is ensuring the quality of services provided at decentralised offices. As noted by Ogunlana and Chan (2015), "Decentralisation can lead to increased service delivery efficiency, but it can also lead to disparities in service quality, particularly in regions that lack the capacity to deliver quality services" (p. 162). This is particularly true for the Ministry of Home Affairs, which deals with sensitive personal information and has a responsibility to ensure the integrity of data. In addition, decentralisation can also lead to fragmentation and duplication of services. As noted by the UNDP (2019), "Decentralisation can lead to the creation of parallel or overlapping systems, resulting in inefficiencies, confusion and delays in service delivery" (p. 21). This is a risk for the Ministry of Home Affairs, which has a complex mandate that includes multiple services related to legal identity and citizenship.

Throughout the argument, livula-Ithana employed strategic manoeuvring moves to anticipate counterarguments and position themselves as a reasonable advocate for decentralisation. These moves include acknowledging limitations, establishing causal links, demonstrating progress, and anticipating potential objections. Strategically employing these moves, the speaker advanced a persuasive argument for decentralisation of the Ministry of Home Affairs service delivery.

5.1.4.3 ARGUMENT 3: Marriage scams, loss of documents and placements of offers at the borders

Marriage scams are prevalent in many countries, and Namibia is no exception. It has become a significant problem for the Ministry of Home Affairs as it affects the accuracy of the national population registry and undermines the credibility of the country's immigration policies. Many of these marriage scams involve foreigners marrying Namibians for immigration purposes without any genuine intent of establishing a marital relationship (Nakale, 2018). These scams are often orchestrated by individuals and syndicates who exploit the vulnerabilities of individuals and profit from the proceeds of the scam. According to a report by The Namibian newspaper, cases of marriage scams have been on the rise, with the Ministry of Home Affairs being unable to keep up with the ever-increasing number of fraud cases (Nakale, 2018). These scams result in the loss of documents such as birth certificates and identity documents, leading to further complications and challenges for the ministry's service delivery. The loss of such documents makes it difficult for

the ministry to verify the identity and citizenship status of individuals, leading to delayed processing of applications and increased administrative costs.

Furthermore, the placement of officers at the borders has also been a challenge for the Ministry of Home Affairs. The border regions of Namibia are vast and sparsely populated, making it difficult to maintain proper border control. Reports have highlighted the ease with which individuals can cross the border illegally and even obtain fraudulent travel documents (Nel & Mbai, 2015). The Ministry of Home Affairs has had to develop strategies and mechanisms to address this issue, including increased surveillance and the establishment of border control posts. In addition, the placement of officers at the borders has also resulted in issues such as corruption and bribery (Schmeidl, 2014). Some officers may easily be swayed by offers of bribes, leading to the compromise of the country's security and immigration policies. This is a significant challenge for the Ministry of Home Affairs, which is tasked with upholding the rule of law and ensuring the integrity of the country's immigration system.

The Ministry of Home Affairs has implemented various measures aimed at improving service delivery and enhancing the integrity of the immigration system. The ministry has introduced biometric identification systems and improved document management to mitigate the risk of document loss and fraud (Shapumba & Kandjii-Murangi, 2021). The ministry has also worked with various stakeholders, including the police, to improve border control and reduce the incidence of corruption and bribery.

Dialogue Extract 5.1.4.3 [Transcribed verbatim, so no error correction]

Patrick: Thank you for joining One-on-One in light of international means. We're talking to.

The Minister of Home Affairs and Immigration Pendukeni Ivula Itana. Before the break we were talking a little bit about the interconnectivity between the various ministries. (3.1) But I think in the last session is a lot of kind of low hanging fruits of the people want to discuss about the Ministry of Home Affairs, and one of them is, you know, the marriage scams. (3.1a) A lot of Namibians are feeling that maybe the acquisition of marriage to other Namibians, makes the country economically vulnerable as a result of then giving people that aren't in a citizen of this country better opportunities than those that accidents. How's the Ministry, for instance addressing this.

Pendukeni: (3.2) You have touched a raw nerve as far as the Ministry of Foreign Affairs is dealing with these concerns. We have the system sometimes disjointed. (3.2a) The marriage offices are not under the Ministry Home Affairs and Immigration, we only issue marriage certificates. The marriages are conducted by the churches, the magistrate, of the Ministry of Justice. (3.2b) However, what we have realized is that people are making use of the provision of the constitution where under article four a foreign national married to a Namibian can acquire, you know, citizenship and really this has become a scam. It's gone to such an extent that we, we are in the process of seeking interpretation of this provision so that we, we, we find a way to curb this abuse.

Patrick: (3.1.1) Another issue that other people are criticizing the Home Affairs is for the loss of the documents. How is your ministry ensuring that when people given, obviously, documents that are key that they protected?

Pendukeni: Well, that is true we are issuing the supplementary documents almost on daily basis, because people are losing their documents. I-I had never really thought, safekeeping of important documents is a responsibility of the Ministry of Home Affairs. I thought individuals as they get their precious items, including national documents, they think of how to keep them safely somewhere but this is not the case, and if it has to become function of the or irresponsibility of Home Affairs and Immigration then, probably we can keep all the save at our institution other than to give them to the owners, but then the owners would need these documents on daily basis. How do you keep them away from them? (3.2.1) It's just a matter of our people really understanding the value and the importance of these documents and they're not obtained freely, free of charge. The passport or birth certificate that are getting lost right to left, right and centre. I-I just don't know how to make the nation understand that these documents are worthy of their lives.

Patrick: Let's talk a little bit about the placement of all of obviously border officials at the various borders, there seems to be some challenges in this placement, again, obviously that affects the effectiveness of the Ministry in carrying out its mandate. (3.1.2) How do you create a more enabling environment for home affairs officials when our operating in very isolated places to ensure that, you know, they do protect the interest of the country because it dealing with important issues?

Pendukeni: (3.2.2) Patrick, the less than two weeks since I visited the borders, all the border posts in the south of the country and it is a mother, and as a human being I

left from there distraught, really distraught, because the condition under which our immigration officials believe it is deplorable, deplorable. I know we we have planned to create accommodation, particularly accommodation for them, for those who are sleeping in tents, but this project is overtaken by some others that seem to be more important, more a priority than the people at the borders. I am, I have seen that and and and,

Patrick: (3.1.2a) ...and you understand that it's in deplorable state?

Pendukeni: (3.2.2a) ...and I understand, I understand!

Patrick: (3.1.3) Ah, Dukwe refugee camp, what is Home Affairs' process of the closure of the camp?

Pendukeni: (3.2.3) Well, Dukwe camp is situated in the Republic of Botswana while the residents of that place are Namibians, we have no extra judicial powers to going to Botswana and get Namibians back home. Refugees are governed by refugee conventions it is, they have been there the under the protection of the Botswana Government and DNCL. The Botswana government the point where they're called me to say come December, thirty first, your nationals must return home. U-N-H-E-R is voluntary repatriation. (3.2.3a) Nobody will be forced to repatriate to the place where they don't want. So, we made all necessary arrangements, preparation as to how to receive them, what to do at the borders as the comeback; you know, materials to assist them to set up their new life in Namibia, but come thirty first December, some of them went to challenge the Botswana authority as to why they should be the sent to Namibia.

Table 5.1.4.3: Marriage scams, loss of documents and placements of offers at the borders [Transcribed verbatim, so no error correction]

No.	Description
(3.1)	<i>But I think in the last session is a lot of kind of low hanging fruits of the people want to discuss about the Ministry of Home Affairs, and one of them is, you know, the marriage scams.</i>
(3.1a)	<i>A lot of Namibians are feeling that maybe the acquisition of marriage to other Namibians, makes the country economically vulnerable as a result of then giving people that aren't in a citizen of this country better opportunities than those that accidents. How's the Ministry, for instance addressing this.</i>
(3.2)	<i>You have touched a raw nerve as far as the Ministry of Foreign Affairs is dealing with these concerns. We have the system sometimes disjointed.</i>
(3.2a)	<i>The marriage offices are not under the Ministry Home Affairs and Immigration, we only issue marriage certificates. The marriages are conducted by the churches, the magistrate, of the Ministry of Justice.</i>
(3.2b)	<i>However, what we have realized is that people are making use of the provision of the constitution where under article four a foreign national married to a Namibian can acquire, you know, citizenship and really this has become a scam.</i>

(3.1.1)	<i>Another issue that other people are criticizing the Home Affairs is for the loss of the documents. How is your ministry ensuring that when people given, obviously, documents that are key that they protected?</i>
(3.2.1)	<i>It's just a matter of our people really understanding the value and the importance of these documents and they're not obtained freely, free of charge. -The passport or birth certificate that are getting lost right to left, right and centre. - I-I just don't know how to make the nation understand that these documents are worthy of their lives.</i>
(3.1.2)	<i>How do you create a more enabling environment for home affairs officials when our operating in very isolated places to ensure that, you know, they do protect the interest of the country because it dealing with important issues?</i>
(3.2.2)	<i>Patrick, the less than two weeks since I visited the borders, all the border posts in the south of the country and it is a mother, and as a human being I left from there distraught, really distraught, because the condition under which our immigration officials believe it is deplorable, deplorable</i>
(3.1.2a)	<i>...and you understand that it's in deplorable state?</i>
(3.2.2a)	<i>...and I understand, I understand!</i>
(3.1.3)	<i>Ah, Dukwe refugee camp, what is Home Affairs' process of the closure of the camp?</i>
(3.2.3)	<i>Well, Dukwe camp is situated in the Republic of Botswana while the residents of that place are Namibians, we have no extra judicial powers to going to Botswana and get Namibians back home.</i>
(3.2.3a)	<i>Nobody will be forced to repatriate to the place where they don't want.</i>

Pendukeni livula-Ithana, the former Minister of Home Affairs and Immigration, addressed several concerns regarding the ministry's service delivery, particularly in relation to marriage scams, loss of documents, and the deplorable conditions of immigration officials at the borders. She argued that the marriage offices are not under the purview of the ministry, but they issue marriage certificates. However, she noted that there is a growing concern with the abuse of the provision in the constitution that allows foreign nationals married to Namibians to acquire citizenship. This has become a scam, and she is seeking an interpretation of the

provision to curb this abuse. In her argument, livula-Ithana employed various strategic manoeuvring moves, including presenting a clear argument, identifying and acknowledging counterarguments, and proposing solutions to address the issues at hand. She started by acknowledging that the concerns raised touch a raw nerve as far as the Ministry of Foreign Affairs is dealing with them. This showed that she was aware of the magnitude of the problem and that it required urgent attention. In support of her argument, livula-Ithana cited Article 4 of the Namibian constitution, which allows a foreign national married to a Namibian to acquire citizenship. She went on to state that this provision had been abused to the point where it has become a scam.

In addition, livula-Ithana emphasised the importance of these documents and the fact that they are not obtained free of charge. She employed the strategic manoeuvring move of appeal to consequences, emphasising the negative consequences of losing one's documents. She further stated that she was unsure how to make the nation understand that these documents were worthy of their lives. This was an emotional appeal and an attempt to evoke a sense of responsibility among citizens to safeguard their documents. Loss of such documents was a major concern, and she stressed the need for people to appreciate the value of these documents and take better care of them.

Regarding the poor conditions at the borders, livula-Ithana employed the strategic manoeuvring move of description of consequences, where she described the situation as deplorable. She further explained that she left the borders distraught, emphasising the emotional toll of the situation. This shows that the government is

aware of the issue and is taking steps to address it. She visited all the border posts in the south of the country and left feeling distraught due to the conditions that officials worked under. She noted that there were plans to create accommodation for them, particularly for those who were sleeping in tents. However, she also acknowledged that the project seemed to be overtaken by others that are considered more important or given priority. Using the pragma-dialectical theory of strategic manoeuvring moves of argumentation, livula-Ithana effectively made her argument by using various strategic moves.

She used the move of introducing new arguments by discussing the issue of marriage scams, loss of documents, and deplorable conditions of immigration officials at the borders. She also used the move of presenting a rebuttal by noting that the marriage offices were not under the ministry's purview. However, she also acknowledged that the ministry was seeking to curb the abuse of the provision in the constitution that allowed foreign nationals married to Namibians to acquire citizenship. She also used the move of presenting an argument from consequences by noting the importance of people understanding the value and importance of documents such as passports and birth certificates. livula-Ithana's argument highlighted some of the challenges facing the Ministry of Home Affairs and Immigration in delivering quality services to Namibians. She presented a compelling argument that supported the need for greater awareness and appreciation of the value of important documents such as passports and birth certificates. Additionally, she stressed the importance of addressing the deplorable conditions that immigration officials worked under at the borders.

5.1.5 CONCLUDING STAGE

Future expectations for the ministry of Home Affairs [Transcribed verbatim, so no error correction]

Patrick: (1.1) Well, as a final question, what can the public expect from the Ministry of Home Affairs in your next ten-year phase?

Pendukeni: (1.2) Well there will be the turnaround strategy that we implemented up to the thirty first of December last year, has come to an end. We have set up its sustainability committee that has been working like an understudy to do the consultants who were running the turn-around. And we are now those that are, for example, falling back to the old way of doing things that sustainability committee in charge to really make sure that there will be no turning back.

Patrick: (1.1a) Thank you very much for making the time out honourable minister on international women's day and.

Pendukeni: (1.2a) You are most welcome.

Patrick: (1.1a') Yes, thank you. Well, Namibia it is International Women's. They go out and celebrate the women in our society, as you can see, they have value to add, they are busy contributing in meaningful ways. So, take a moment, and it's all appreciate that all around us, that's all we had for you, from the One-on-One team until next week, from me Patrick Sam it's good night.

No.	Description
(1.1)	Well, as a final question, what can the public expect from the Ministry of Home Affairs in your next ten-year phase?
(1.2)	Well there will be the turnaround strategy that we implemented up to the thirty first of December last year, has come to an end.
(1.1a)	Thank you very much for making the time out honourable minister on international women's day and.
(1.2a)	You are most welcome.
(1.1a')	Yes, thank you.

5.1.6 SUMMARY

Based on the model of the critical discussion (van Eemeren and Houtlosser, 2005),

The difference of opinion was well established in the confrontation stage where both the host, and the guest took up the decision to participate in the discussion. The discussant both remained implicitly intersubjective on the standpoint that were brought forth. Also, they adhered to the discussion rules explicitly and implicitly.

Dialectically, the discussants-maintained reasonableness in all their attempt to

resolve their differences. The following were also observed throughout the four stages of argumentation. Firstly, in the confrontation stage and opening stage, topical choices of the topic at hand were reasonably and effectively established by the host's introduction of the discussion topic. The guest critical responses to the host's question were also performed in a reasonable and effective manner. On audience demand, it was well handled by the discussants throughout the arguments in the manner in which reasonableness and effectiveness were realised in adjustment of issues and critical responses by the guest. In the conclusion of each sub-argument reasonableness and effectiveness were seen through the adjustment of how the arguments were concluded and also through the kinds of information the discussants shared in the form of questions/prompts by the host and answers/defences by the guest. As a result, fallacies and derailments in a form of deviations from the rules of critical discussion were not detected. For instance, the freedom rule was adhered to by both parties as they allowed each other to put forward their standpoint without obstruction. There were some instances where the guest cast doubt on the standpoint presented by the guest (2.11 of Argument 2) where the host questioned the effectiveness of services to all. On the other hand, the burden of rule was also well observed because the guest took up her obligations to defend her standpoints whenever the host to counterattack her defences. Although there was a part where premises were unexpressed (1.1.1 a & b of Argument 1), there were no questions which were deliberately avoided. All other rules such as the relevance rule, the standpoint rule, the validity rule and the closure rule were all well adhered to throughout the discussion.

5.2. ARGUMENTATION ON NAMIBIA HIGHER EDUCATION TRANSFORMATION, FUNDING AND AFFORDABILITY ON- ONE- ON DISCUSSION

5.2.1 INTRODUCTION

Strategic manoeuvring is an essential aspect of argument discourse and plays a crucial role in shaping the success of an argument. The concept of strategic manoeuvring in argumentation refers to the way that the individuals use various argumentative strategies to persuade their audience and achieve their desired outcome. In this context, strategic manoeuvring involves the use of rhetorical devices, such as analogies, as well as the use of various argumentative techniques to convince others of a particular point of view.

These are complex issues that require nuanced argumentation and persuasive tactics to ensure that the message is conveyed effectively. The use of strategic manoeuvring can help individuals to present their arguments in the most convincing and effective way possible, by carefully selecting the language and tactics that will resonate most strongly with their audience.

This section examines the use of strategic manoeuvring in argument discourse on Namibian higher education transformation, funding, and affordability to gain a deeper understanding of how persuasive arguments are constructed in this complex and important area of public policy.

The brief historical background of the Namibia University of Science and Technology dates back to 1980 when the Academy for Tertiary Education was established as the first higher education institution in the Republic of Namibia. Five years later, the South African government enacted Act 9, which created a university, a vocational training college, and a science and technology college. These were the University of

Namibia (UNAM), the College of Out-of-School Training (COST), and Technikon Namibia. After UNAM's formation in 1992, the Academy for Tertiary Education lost its university status. The COST and Technikon colleges merged to form the Polytechnic of Namibia in 1994 under the Parliament Act 33 / 1994. In July 1995, Dr Tjama Tjivikua was appointed as the rector and the inaugural council was formed.

Since its establishment as the Polytechnic of Namibia in 1994, the Namibia University of Science and Technology (NUST) has had multiple chancellors but the vice chancellor remained the same. From 1994 to 1997, the institution was led by the founding Vice-Chancellor, Dr Tjama Tjivikua. Under his leadership, the Polytechnic of Namibia underwent significant expansion and development, including the establishment of new faculties and the introduction of new academic programmes. In 2015, the Namibian government passed the Namibia University of Science and Technology Act, which transformed the Polytechnic of Namibia into the Namibia University of Science and Technology (Namibia University of Science and Technology Act, 2015). This change was intended to elevate the institution's academic and research capabilities and allow it to offer a wider range of programmes. Following the establishment of NUST in 2015, Dr Tjama Tjivikua returned as the institution's Vice-Chancellor, serving in that role until 2020. During his tenure, the university continued to grow and expand, with a particular focus on research and innovation. In 2020, Dr Eroid Naomab was appointed as the new Vice-Chancellor of NUST, succeeding Dr Tjama Tjivikua. In addition to its Vice-Chancellors, NUST has also had several chancellors over the years. The first Chancellor of the institution was Dr Sam Nujoma, who served in that role from 1995 to 2005. He was succeeded by Dr

Hifikepunye Pohamba, who served as Chancellor from 2005 to 2015. The current Chancellor of NUST is Professor Peter Katjavivi who assumed the role in 2019.

NUST has a governing council, which is responsible for overseeing the institution's overall direction and management. The council is made up of various stakeholders, including representatives from the government, academic staff, students, and industry partners. Since its establishment, NUST has undergone significant expansion and development. In 2015, the university launched its first research unit, the Centre for Research and Development, which has since been renamed as the Directorate of Research, Innovation and Development (Namibia University of Science and Technology, n.d.). In 2013, NUST opened the Namibia Business School, which offers a range of MBA and executive education programmes (Namibia University of Science and Technology, n.d.). In recent years, NUST has also made significant strides in research and innovation. The university has established partnerships with a variety of local and international organisations to promote research and knowledge exchange. It has also established a number of research centres and institutes, including the National Botanical Research Institute, the Namibia Energy Institute and its latest development was the opening of the Eenhana campus, in the Ohangwena region of Namibia.

5.2.2 CONFRONTATION

The speaker then introduced the guest, Dr Tjama Tjivikua, who was then the Vice Chancellor of the Namibia University of Science and Technology. This introduction is an example of strategic manoeuvring, which involves the use of argumentative strategies to persuade the audience and achieve a desired outcome. In this case, the speaker strategically acknowledged the guest with reference to his expertise on the

topic at hand, which enhanced the credibility of the show and made the conversation more compelling. Dr Tjama Tjivikua's response to the introduction is an example of the politeness principle in pragma-dialectic theory. Acknowledging the introduction and thanking the host for the interview, he established a positive tone for the conversation and indicated his willingness to engage in a constructive dialogue. This is an important aspect of argument discourse, as it helps to create a cooperative and respectful environment for the exchange of ideas. This argument demonstrated the use of pragma-dialectic theory and strategic manoeuvring in argument discourse. Establishing the purpose of the conversation, introducing a credible and knowledgeable guest, and using polite and cooperative language, the speaker set the stage for a constructive and informative discussion.

Dialogue Extract: [Transcribed verbatim, so no error correction]

Patrick: (1) Good evening Namibia welcome to another edition of One-on-One, (1a) a show in which things are considered critically. (1b) That means we're looking at what's working and what's not working so well. I'm your host. A Patrick Sam. (1c) Tonight, we sit down, obviously, with the Vice chancellor of the Namibia University of science and Technology that's Dr Tjama Tjivikua. Good evening Sir, and welcome to One-on-One.

Tjama: (2) A good evening sir, thanks for the interview.

Table 5.2.2: Confrontation arguments about Namibian higher education

No.	Description
(1)	Good evening Namibia welcome to another edition of One-on-One TV talk show.
(1a)	A show in which things are considered critically.
(1b)	That means we're looking at what's working and what's not working so well.
(1c)	Tonight, we sit down, obviously, with the Vice chancellor of the Namibia University of science and Technology that's Dr Tjama Tjivikua.
(2)	A good evening sir, thanks for the interview.

In this argument, the speaker introduced the TV talk show *One-on-One* and established its purpose as a critical examination of what was working and what was not working well. This is an example of the opening stage of an argument in the pragma-dialectic theory of argumentation, where the goal is to establish the common ground between interlocutors and set the rules of the argumentation game. The speaker's statement on what they were looking at what was working and what was not working well implied an evaluative approach to the conversation. The use of the word "critical" also suggests that the conversation would be based on reason and evidence, rather than personal opinions or emotional appeals. This set the stage for a potentially constructive and informative discussion.

5.2.3 OPENING STAGE

In the opening stage of the argument, the host of the *One-on-One* TV talk show, introduced the topic and the guest, who was the Vice Chancellor of the Namibia University of Science and Technology Dr Tjama Tjivikua. The host set the tone of the conversation by stating that the show was critical in nature and that they would be examining what was working and what was not. This opening set the stage for a potentially evaluative conversation. From a pragma-dialectic perspective, the opening stage of an argument serves to establish the common ground between the interlocutors and to set the rules of the argumentation game. In this case, the host established the common ground by introducing the topic of discussion and the guest, and by stating the purpose of the show. By indicating that the conversation would be

critical, the host also implied that both parties were expected to engage in reasoned argumentation.

Dr Tjama Tjivikua responded to the host's opening by acknowledging the introduction and thanking the host for the interview. This response is an example of the politeness principle, which is an important part of the pragma-dialectic theory of argumentation. According to this principle, speakers are expected to be polite and cooperative in their exchanges, even if they have different views. Dr Tjama Tjivikua's response set a positive tone for the conversation and indicated his willingness to engage in a constructive dialogue. The opening stage of the argument set the foundation for a potentially critical and evaluative conversation between the host and the guest. The host established the common ground by introducing the topic, setting the tone of the conversation, and indicating the purpose of the show. Dr Tjama Tjivikua's response was polite and cooperative, indicating his willingness to engage in a constructive dialogue.

Dialogue Extract 5.2.3 [Transcribed verbatim, so no error correction]

Patrick: *Let's obviously, look at a very extensive career at the university, now, obviously known as the Namibia University of Science and Technology. The nation was really shocked to hear that you're leaving when it was time to think of this was a lifetime appointment. (1.1) Talk to us a little bit about what necessitated this this decision to leave the University, looking at your legacy as well.*

Tjama: *(1.2) Well, when I was interviewed back in Nineteen ninety-five I had a goal in mind, it was to transform the university. The institution to become a technical or technological university. So, I stayed that long to achieve that goal, and we did have the renamed the institution renamed. ~~In Nineteen ninety~~, two thousand and fifteen and this was doing my current term of the last term of five years so, that's when I decided to make space for new leadership, and to take the institution to greater heights.*

Patrick: *But some people said, I mean, even even the transformation that you had anticipated, you know, you'd see that happening at a lot faster rate. You had also wanted in terms of what you've been advocating for, a greater budget allocation, you also want to less bureaucracy. (1.1a) Uh, this is really indications of a burned out*

Tjama Tjivikua fighting at the worlds of politics and trying to transform this university, rather than saying, you know, I still have energy, you've basically just burned out!

Tjama: (1.2a) *No, absolutely not, I-I worked today as I worked in 1995. I work today as I worked in 2000, so there's no burning out on my side. At one point or another, all of us have to vacate our positions.*

Table 5.1.3: Opening

No.	Description
(1.1)	<i>Talk to us a little bit about what necessitated this this decision to leave the University, looking at your legacy as well.</i>
(1.2)	<i>Well, when I was interviewed back in Nineteen ninety-five I had a goal in mind, it was to transform the university. The institution to become a technical or technological university. So, I stayed that long to achieve that goal... I decided to make space for new leadership, and to take the institution to greater heights.</i>
(1.1a)	<i>Uh, this is really indications of a burned out Tjama Tjivikua fighting at the worlds of politics and trying to transform this university, rather than saying, you know, I still have energy, you've basically just burned out!</i>
(1.2a)	<i>No, absolutely not, I-I worked today as I worked in 1995. I work today as I worked in 2000, so there's no burning out on my side. At one point or another, all of us have to vacate our positions.</i>

The opening move was made by the NBC *One-on-One* TV host who expressed shock and curiosity about Dr Tjama Tjivikua's decision to leave the university. The host advanced the argument by asking Dr Tjama Tjivikua to explain the reason behind his decision and reflect on his legacy. Dr Tjama Tjivikua responded by making an argument from goal commitment. He stated that he had a goal to transform the university into a technological institution, and he had stayed long enough to achieve it. He further argued that his decision to leave was a result of his desire to make space for new leadership and take the institution to greater heights. Dr Tjama Tjivikua denied any indication of burnout and emphasised that he faced challenges but never gave up.

5.2.4 ARGUMENTATION STAGE

5.2.4.1 ARGUMENT 1: Rationalisation for leaving the institution

From the onset of the discussion, it was important to establish the criteria suitable to evaluate the arguments at every stage. The reason for this was to make sure that arguments were assessed according to the criteria at hand. Standpoints are supported by the correct argumentation scheme which, if used appropriately, will assure that the argument stands a chance of being accepted by the audience (van Eemeren & Grootendorst, 1992). Therefore, it is important to determine whether the arguments put forward by the arguers in defence of their standpoints are appropriately applied within the jurisdiction of the argument scheme being used.

The host speaker advanced the argument by questioning Dr Tjama Tjivikua's argument from goal commitment. He implied that Dr Tjama Tjivikua could have been burned out, considering the challenges he faced in politics and transforming the university. Dr Tjama Tjivikua responded by denying the implication and highlighting the challenges he faced, such as infrastructure, funding, curriculum, bureaucracy, and politics. The host speaker advanced the argument by questioning the funding of the university and private institutions' success. He implied that some private institutions could not guarantee growth without extensive public funding. Dr Tjama Tjivikua responded by stating that some private institutions could not survive without public funding. He argued that running a public institution meant being mindful of students' background and balancing the budget.

In this first argument of the argumentation stage the host introduced the main standpoint that spread into several premises. With regards to the question of challenges asked by the host (1.1 & 1.1.1), the guest generalised the response by saying that there were many challenges in higher education but not particularly the challenges he faced as a leader of a higher education institution. The challenges named by the host emanated from lack of funding. He explained (1.2.1) that funding was the solution to all the challenges faced such as the need to develop infrastructure, creation of proper curriculum and framework and also stipulated the fact that academics cost money. The host's premise of "false expectation" (1.1.1a) suggested that the problem could be planning beyond the available funds and that other universities such as IUM could manage within their means. Another standpoint raised by the host suggested that NUST had an elitist attitude which made it difficult for access and affordability (1.1.2c); the argument being lack of consideration of socioeconomic situation of the country in determining fees.

In his defence to the premises made by the host, the guest firmly pointed out to several standpoints. Firstly, he stated that there had been unfairness in the distribution of funds of which he referenced the 2015 incidence where NSFAP funded IUM a hefty amount disregarding the fact that it was a smaller institution compared to NUST (1.2.1a). The guest dismissed the issues of the possibility of a higher institution's ability to run without funds and that of NUST being elitist, among others. He proceeded by clarifying that NUST was run with consideration of students' background and their ability to afford tuition fees. Thus, identifying that, the balance was established in the budget (1.2.1a2). The guest further added that in each

academic year a comparative analysis was made to ensure that NUST ran within the range of other institutions in the region.

Without acknowledging the stand made by the guest, the host proceeded with another point regarding “the fees must fall” movement that opposed the guest’s view point (1.1.3). With regards to the question of how to ensure constitutionally given mandate around access to education and who should pay for it, the guest’s principal stance was against a movement like “fees must fall” (1.1.3 & 1.1.3a). The guest’s response indicated that free education up to grade 12 was acceptable and a total opposite when it came to higher education and regarded the movement as a very difficult thing due to the fact that Namibia was not in the category of countries like Europe, Norway and Finland where funds are scheduled for higher education (1.2.3a). He noted that higher education should not only be seen as a cost but also as the graduate’s investment towards better employability opportunities.

Further, the host asked who the benefactor of running the institution was (1.1.3b); and at what cost in terms of who ended up paying the burden and how the poverty gap was closed in order to enable the students coming from disadvantaged background to have access tertiary education. The guest also questioned the role of lawmakers and policymakers in this regard. The standpoints of the guest to these premises indicated that the lawmakers and policymakers had been involved and that the fact that funds were inadequate had been made known. At this stage, the host insinuated that the guest had been ineffective (1.1.3h) and unpersuasive (1.1.3h) in sourcing adequate funds but the guest nullified this by maintaining that it had nothing to do with leadership but on the fact that the funds were not enough (1.2.3f

& 1.2.3i). In closing this first argumentation, the host accepted the guest's standpoint by stating that the points made had been understood (1.1.3').

Dialogue Extract 5.2.4.1 **[Transcribed verbatim, so no error correction]**

Patrick: (1.1) *But in terms of challenges, even in trying to transform the university, what type of impact that you have on your terms of a transformation at a high tertiary level and the obstacles you faced, you can't say that you didn't face any, uh, right now that you're leaving.*

Tjama: (1.2) *I didn't say I did not face any challenges. I said, there's no burn out on my side. I-I work as hard as I did twenty years ago, of fifty years ago, ten years ago... And throughout that period, I've had challenges, but I never gave up. I never became discouraged to the point where I cannot perform anymore.*

Patrick: (1.1.1) *But let's look at the time, at the challenges,*

Tjama: (1.2.1) *Oh challenges, there are many challenges in higher education. Starting with infrastructure, you want to create a proper campus, a proper University, so you need funding for that you want to create a proper curriculum, framework, you need funding for that. So, funding has been an issue throughout the period. I've never really got the right appropriation. You need to recruit staff at a higher level. Academics cost money, and you're getting in a low budget, so how do you balance, eh, the requirements of the institution. Of course, there were issues of bureaucracy, the governments working together but, difficult and then, of course there was politics behind the whole story of transformation and to see this institution to become a university or not,*

Patrick: *But, let's look at some of the ones that you mentioned here, particularly when it comes to maybe the expectation that public institutions like a NUST and UNAM have traditionally gotten financing, but some of the private institutions are making an argument to say that we, like IUM have been able to guarantee growth also, we have had quite greater recruitment without the extensive support of public funds. (1.1.1a) So, what do you say towards, you know, maybe having false expectation of having a certain level of public expenditure committed toward your University?*

Tjama: (1.2.1a) *Some private institutions are not able to survive without public funding? If you look at appropriation, for instance, in 2015 where as NSFAF had eighty-five million for the students, uh, for scholarships or bursaries. IUM got ninety-five million, and IUM was much smaller, eh, at that time it was a much smaller institution than Polytechnic at that time. (1.2.1a1) So, what are you talking about when you say some people are very successful with and others are not. (1.2.1a2) Mind you, we are running a public institution, which means that we can't charge any fee we have to be cognisant of the background of students to be able to balance our budget, in terms of needs and in terms of students' capability to pay.*

Patrick: (1.1.2c) *I think that's one of the biggest criticisms from student organizations and student movements that the university almost had an elitist attitude, rather than looking at issues or access and affordability. What your response to that?*

Tjama: (1.2.2c) We, we make an analysis, comparative analysis every year about our fees and compare fairly well with institutions in the region, so what's elitist about that? we should not forget...

Patrick: But, but, in social context of other countries in the region might be different. I mean, that the household per capital income in a county like Botswana, versus a household income per capital with disparity that exists in Namibia. **(1.1.2d)** I mean, you have to look at the socioeconomic context of the country, in order to set your pricing. You can't just look at it in isolation and comparing prices at the universities, and I think that's where the argument is. What is the relation of pricing to the social context in which we live?

Tjama: (1.2.2d) Tell me you think if I build an infrastructure first for, suppose that first faculty building of 20000 square meters, does it cost me much less than it cost me in South Africa? No! If I am recruiting a professor, do you think it could cost less in Namibia because they coming to Namibia, they would settle for half the income, No. So, these is a, there got to be a balance. And and I think in this picture, there is a balance.

Patrick: Let's talk about that because **(1.1.3)** obvious we realise as well, there's big movement of fees must fall; people argue against your position in that because it almost seems again, tied to the previous question. ``How do we ensure constitutionally given mandates around access to education and who should pay for it?

Tjama: (1.2.3) We accept the free, free education is up to grade 12. It's as easy. Higher education comes at the cost,

Patrick: But, but then you see there's always the social movement against that, you know, I didn't take off in the move as much, **(1.1.3a)** but what is your principal stance against a movement like fees must fall?

Tjama: (1.2.3a) Oh, they are advocating for, for, for education, they are advocating for something that is in this environment, very difficult. We don't have a sovereign fund that the scheduling for for higher education, like they have in other countries in Europe like Norway and Finland, and so on. We don't have the kind of fund able to cater for higher education, so therefore, they don't have to pay or they pay, the minimum of your fund of registration and so on education in Namibia it comes at the cost, is a commodity that and that we have to make an investment in. Get to understand that is just not a cost, also an investment once you graduate, you have a better opportunity to be employed in Namibia and elsewhere.

Patrick: But, but, obviously for me, it becomes leadership if it is a financing formula for universities to excel as a funding gap, it shouldn't be a governance issue to respond to that funding gap, ultimately, you shifting responsibilities by saying that we don't have enough money, and then the burden of those costs must be on the students versus on the school's management. For instance, I mean, the salaries you take off, for instance, is another crisis that you face. So how do you respond? **(1.1.3b)** so who benefits from the running of the institution?

Tjama: (1.2.3b) Everybody, they get benefits from the university. Whether it is the parent, whether as a student, the graduate, the public sector, private sector. They all benefit from it.

Patrick: But, but, what about the cost? because, that's the argument, **(1.1.3c)** at what cost who, if you are looking at your budget expenditure, the amount of money that

you are saying is being paid, or the amount of money that's not being paid. Ah, who's paying that burden, if you notice in our society there's a lot of kids who want mobility through accessing tertiary education to ensure to overcome poverty, which is another national development goal. How do you enable that to happen, that's really my question?

Tjama: (1.2.3c) *There is a formula that works. If you don't want to pay fees, that's a discussion with government. Because an institution has a cost that, you know, it's a running cost that it must cater for, we get a subsidy that is not adequate to cater for every student's needs,*

Patrick: (1.1.3d) *But if you know the subject of adequacy, why don't you allow lawmakers and policymakers to ensure that the funding gap is bridged?*

Tjama: (1.2.3d) *Who tells you that we haven't? We have been...*

Patrick: (1.1.3e) *So, you've been ineffective at it?*

Tjama: (1.2.3e) *All along we have said we don't have adequate funding to create a proper infrastructure,*

Patrick: (1.1.3f) *...and all along they have been giving you adequate funding, which means, it's leadership then,*

Tjama: (1.2.3f) *No, it was not reflecting on leadership, it was reflecting on the other end, there isn't enough money to go around for everyone,*

Patrick: (1.1.2g) *But then that could mean that you are not persuasive. Could that be valid.*

Tjama: (1.2.2g) *No! We have made arguments we have made every year would make documents available to government. We document our needs, we document our problems and all that,*

Patrick: (1.1.3h) *Would you say you've been persuasive?*

Tjama: (1.2.3h) *We have made, we made our point. The question is, has it been catered for or into eternity or not is another point,*

Patrick: (1.1.3i) *Why hasn't it been catered for, why do you think it hasn't been catered for?*

Tjama: (1.2.3i) *As I indicated to you isn't, there aren't enough resources to, to cover, to cover every single cost of a student. There isn't enough budget to cater for the institution's needs in totality and what we think should happen is that we should have gotten a better funding allocation throughout the years so that we can be at the right level of performance, like all the institutions in the region, the top in the universe is in the region.*

Patrick: (1.1.3') *I think that point is understood!*

Table 5.2.4.1: Views on higher education in Namibia [Transcribed verbatim, so no error correction]

No.	Description
(1.1b)	<i>But in terms of challenges, even in trying to transform the university, what type of impact that you have on your terms of a transformation at a high tertiary level and the obstacles you faced, you can't say that didn't face any</i>
(1.2b)	<i>I didn't say I did not face any challenges. I said, there's no burn out on my side.</i>

(1.1.1)	<i>But let's look at the time, at the challenges,</i>
(1.2.1)	<i>Oh challenges, there are many challenges in higher education. Starting with infrastructure, you want to create a proper campus, a proper University, so you need funding for that you want to create a proper curriculum, framework... - So, funding has been an issue throughout the period. I've never really got the right appropriation. You need to recruit staff at a higher level. Academics cost money</i>
(1.1.1a)	<i>So, what do you say towards, you know, maybe having false expectation of having a certain level of public expenditure committed toward your University?</i>
(1.2.1a)	<i>Some private institutions are not able to survive without public funding? ... for instance, in 2015 where as NSFAF had eighty-five million for the students, uh, for scholarships or bursaries. IUM got ninety-five million, and IUM was much smaller, eh, at that time it was a much smaller institution than Polytechnic at that time</i>
(1.2.1a1)	<i>So, what are you talking about when you say some people are very successful with and others are not</i>
(1.2.1a2)	<i>Mind you, we are running a public institution, which means that we can't charge any fee we have to be cognisant of the background of students to be able to balance our budget, in terms of needs and in terms of students' capability to pay.</i>
(1.1.2c)	<i>I think that's one of the biggest criticisms from student organizations and student movements that the university almost had an elitist attitude, rather than looking at issues or access and affordability. What your response to that?</i>
(1.2.2c)	<i>We, we make an analysis, comparative analysis every year about our fees and compare fairly well with institutions in the region, so what's elitist about that?</i>
(1.1.2d)	<i>I mean, you have to look at the socioeconomic context of the country, in order to set your pricing. You can't just look at it in isolation and comparing prices at the universities, and I think that's where the argument is -What is the relation of pricing to the social context in which we live?</i>
(1.2.2d)	<i>Tell me you think if I build an infrastructure first for, suppose that first faculty building of 20000 square meters, does it cost me much less than it cost me in South Africa? No!... -So, if I am recruiting a professor, do you think it could cost less in Namibia because they coming to Namibia? No!... -Yes, everybody cannot afford to, but we should not forget there is no free higher education in Namibia</i>
(1.1.3)	<i>obvious we realise as well, there's big movement of fees must fall; people argue against your position in that because it almost seems again, tied to the previous question. -How do we ensure constitutionally given mandates around access to education and who should pay for it?</i>

	<i>(1.1.3a) How do we ensure constitutionally given mandates around access to education and who should pay for it?</i>
<i>(1.2.3)</i>	<i>We accept the free, free education is up to grade 12. It's as easy. Higher education comes at the cost,</i>
<i>(1.1.3a)</i>	<i>but what is your principal stance against a movement like fees must fall?</i>
<i>(1.2.3a)</i>	<i>Oh, they are advocating for... is in this environment, very difficult. -Get to understand that is just not a cost, also an investment once you graduate, you have a better opportunity to be employed in Namibia and elsewhere.</i>
<i>(1.1.3b)</i>	<i>So, who benefits from the running of the institution?</i>
<i>(1.2.3b)</i>	<i>Everybody, they get benefits from the university.</i>
<i>(1.1.3c)</i>	<i>at what cost who, if you are looking at your budget expenditure, the amount of money that you are saying is being paid, or the amount of money that's not being paid... who's paying that burden, if you notice your society there's a lot of kids who want mobility through accessing tertiary education to ensure to overcome poverty,</i>
<i>(1.2.3c)</i>	<i>There is a formula that works. If you don't want to pay fees, that's a discussion with government. Because an institution has a cost that, you know, it's a running cost that it must cater for, we get a subsidy that is not adequate to cater for every student's needs,</i>
<i>(1.1.3d)</i>	<i>But if you know the subject of adequacy, why don't you allow lawmakers and policymakers to ensure that the funding gap is bridged.</i>
<i>(1.2.3d)</i>	<i>Who tells you that we haven't?</i>
<i>(1.2.3e)</i>	<i>All along we have said we don't have adequate funding to create a proper infrastructure,</i>
<i>(1.1.3f)</i>	<i>...and all along they have been giving you adequate funding, which means, it's leadership then,</i>
<i>(1.2.3f)</i>	<i>No, it was not reflecting on leadership, it was reflecting on the other end, there isn't enough money to go around for everyone,</i>
<i>(1.1.2g)</i>	<i>But then that could mean that you are not persuasive. Could that be valid.</i>
<i>(1.2.2g)</i>	<i>No! We have made arguments we have made every year would make documents available to government. We document our needs, we document our problems and all that,</i>
<i>(1.1.3h)</i>	<i>Would you say you've been persuasive?</i>
<i>(1.2.3h)</i>	<i>We have made, we made our point. The question is, has it been catered for or into eternity or not is another point,</i>
<i>(1.1.3i)</i>	<i>Why hasn't it been catered for, why do you think it hasn't been catered for?</i>
<i>(1.2.3i)</i>	<i>As I indicated to you isn't, there aren't enough resources to, to cover, to cover every single cost of a student. There isn't enough budget to cater for the institution's needs in totality and what we think should happen is that we should have gotten a better funding allocation throughout the years so that we can be at the right level of</i>

	<i>performance, like all the institutions in the region, the top in the universe is in the region.</i>
(1.1.3')	<i>I think that point is understood!</i>

Using the Pragma Dialectic theory of argumentation, the argument presented revolved around the decision of Dr Tjama Tjivikua to leave the university and to maintain his legacy. The argument was complex, as it addressed various issues related to the transformation of the university, financing, access to education, and the role of leadership in the success of an institution. The argument was presented in a dialogical format, with the NBC *One-on-One* TV host asking questions and Dr Tjama Tjivikua answering. The argument was characterised by several moves, such as opening, advancing, and responding, which are all typical of the Pragma Dialectic theory.

The NBC *One-on-One* TV host, Patrick advanced the argument by questioning the university's elitist attitude and lack of concern for access and affordability. Dr Tjama Tjivikua responded by stating that higher education came at a cost and required an investment. He argued that access to free education was up to grade 12, and higher education came with a cost. He emphasised that the burden of the cost should not be on the students alone but shared with the institution's management. The show host advanced the argument by questioning the effectiveness of Dr Tjama Tjivikua's leadership and the allocation of funding. He implied that Dr Tjama Tjivikua was ineffective in achieving the goals of the university despite receiving adequate funding. Dr Tjama Tjivikua responded by stating that the institution did not receive enough funding allocation throughout the years to be at the right level of performance.

The argument presented was characterised by the use of various moves, such as opening, advancing, and responding. Dr Tjama Tjivikua's argument revolved around goal commitment, challenges faced, and the need for investment in higher education. The host's argument revolved around questioning the effectiveness of Dr Tjama Tjivikua's leadership and the allocation of funding. The argument presented highlighted the complex nature of transforming an institution and the challenges that came with it.

The TV show host used the pragma-dialectical approach by questioning Dr Tjama Tjivikua's stance on the matter. The host asked Dr Tjama Tjivikua to clarify his position on "the fees must fall" movement, and he responded by acknowledging the difficulties of the movement in a country like Namibia, where there was no sovereign fund to cater for higher education. Dr Tjama Tjivikua further highlighted that education was an investment that opened opportunities for employment. The TV show host then challenged Dr Tjama Tjivikua by arguing that the burden of funding the university should not be on the students, and that it should be a government issue to respond to the funding gap. Dr Tjama Tjivikua responded by saying that everyone benefited from the university, but the host continued to push the argument by asking who paid the burden of the costs. Dr Tjama Tjivikua suggested that the government should be involved in finding a solution to the funding gap, but the host suggested that the institution's leadership was responsible for not being persuasive enough to acquire funds.

According to the Pragma Dialectic Theory of argumentation, an argument should follow certain rules in order to be effective. These include the critical discussion rule, which emphasises that the participants should not violate the rules of reasonableness, and the difference rule, which emphasises that the participants should respect each other's differences and points of view. In the given argument, the TV show host initially violates the critical discussion rule by suggesting the guest, Dr Tjama Tjivikua, is burned out due to the challenges he faced while trying to transform the university. This comes across as condescending and suggests that Dr Tjama Tjivikua's decision to leave the university was a result of his inability to achieve his goals. The guest, however, responded in a composed manner by denying the host's claim and asserting that he was still as committed to his work as he was 20 years ago.

The host then violated the critical discussion rule again by suggesting that Dr Tjama Tjivikua faced challenges while transforming the university, and that he could not deny it. This violated the rule of reasonableness, as it suggested that Dr Tjama Tjivikua was not being honest about his experiences. However, Dr Tjama Tjivikua responded calmly and acknowledged that he faced challenges, but never gave up or became discouraged. The host then brought up the issue of funding and suggested that NUST may have had false expectations regarding public expenditure. Dr Tjama Tjivikua responded by pointing out that private institutions also relied on public funding and that NUST's requirements were not being met in terms of funding. The argument between the TV show host and Dr Tjama Tjivikua followed some of the rules of Pragma Dialectic theory, but the host occasionally violated the critical discussion rule

by making assumptions and suggestions that were not reasonable. Dr Tjama Tjivikua, on the other hand, responded in a composed and reasonable manner, acknowledging the challenges he faced while working to transform the university. However, the host also made personal attacks, which violated the critical discussion rules.

5.2.4.2 ARGUMENT 2: Modalities of universities in terms of fourth industrial revolution

In this segment of argumentation, the discussants engaged in a critical discussion regarding the place of tertiary education in the Fourth Industrial Revolution (FIR). The Fourth Industrial Revolution is transforming the way humans live and work, and universities have a crucial role to play in preparing students for this new era. With the rise of automation, artificial intelligence, and other advanced technologies, universities are encouraged to adapt their modalities to provide students with the skills and knowledge needed to thrive in the rapidly changing world of work. In this section, Dr Tjama Tjivikua and the host engaged in a debate about the various modalities of universities in terms of the Fourth Industrial Revolution, including online learning, experiential learning, and interdisciplinary approaches.

Dialogue Extract 5.2.4.2: **[Transcribed verbatim, so no error correction]**

Patrick: *Welcome back. We speak to the are going to be seen of the Namibian University of Science Technology that better known as NUST, Dr Tjama Tjivikua. I think in the beginning we kind of set the role, in terms of what are some of the obstacle, and how do you overcome them as somebody's been managing a high tertiary institution. (2) Let's talk a little bit about the, the, the role of higher tertiary institution. In every evolving world people are talking about, you know, the fourth industrial revolution. (2.1) What's the key purpose of your institution in a country like Namibia in ensuring that we are actively participating in being players of the fourth industrial revolution?*

Tjama: *Universities, uh, um, platforms for knowledge creation and knowledge dissemination. Universities are vehicles for developing human capacity and also to develop other systems for each of systems, innovation systems, um, and so on, and so*

on. **(2.2)** So, we are positioning ourselves as a technological university that kind of place where you can go to get a qualification in the appropriate field of engineering or whatever the case maybe. But also walking away with foundation in innovation in entrepreneurship.

Patrick: But, but, would you make that relevant in terms of Namibian context when I asked the question, universities where could you call at the university, for instance, in a country which is one of developing context, were university in Finland, they also have the same role in society, I think, that is the idealistic role, and what do university should be serving. **(2.1a)** But

A lot of people make the argument to say that universities, especially in Sub Saharan Africa, in the global South, aren't being innovative enough, and on having a key role in driving the national agenda of making sure that we have created patents, copyrights innovating as a key driver for our economy.

Tjama: (2.2a) Mind you, Universities go through different stages of growth. We started as a polytechnic, so do you expect us to perform as two hundred, you know...

Patrick: That's marking university, which is,

Tjama: Exactly! But even in the region, you look at UCT for example there are over a hundred years old, so they have developed systems over the years that we are still putting in place, for instance. **(2.2a1)** So, we are looking at creating that institution that caters for local needs, but also for global or global needs. We are surely at the different stage of development in terms of infrastructure, in terms of ranking and so on, but this because we are late starters. But we are in a game, when you compare the things we have done today.

Patrick: (2.1.1) But some universities in Asia are late starters but they have been able to leapfrog by insuring, you know, centralisation are used around and modern teaching pedagogy, for instance at a university, so are you making the argument, you can't leapfrog and parallel other universities, I mean, this is been seen in other countries,

Tjama: This case, we're making to government. Those, **(2.2.2)** if you look at public institutions in other countries like China, they are driven by government, there is a lot of infusion of capital and human capital, not only finance capital, but also human capital. And they are bringing people from, from the diaspora to work in the country, you understand. So, we are not at that level yet. When we are asking for funding, we are not getting the right funding. You have a vision, that vision has been not being properly or fully supported to create that niche institution that you are talking about.

Patrick: (2.1.2a) I think it is false expectation, because the model like the United States, where the learning institutions are driven by private funding where the research and development components of that has a large part of the private sector is imbedded in universities that enhances manufacturing in those countries, maybe you have the false expectation of betting on government in a country like Namibia, we know this limited resources, but you following at a Chinese model with the Chinese government has extensive amount of resources shouldn't you have leverage for the US model, but it puts private sector responsible for innovation and research, and say, here is an institution, where you can invest your money, and then we will do the research and development for your products.

Tjama: (2.2.2a) Where do you go for funding in Namibia in terms of private sector? The other day, we sent students to participate in the Shell Eco-marathon, it was last

at the end of last year, last month, we out to industry, we got one sponsor, but even to cover the full cost, one sponsor. I took an initiative of a micro-computer we developed in the institution, I took it to market, I took it to a private sector.

Patrick: (2.1.2b) So, what is the challenge there, what are the challenge you noticed in the private sector?

Tjama: (2.2.2b) There's no response! the private sector is mall. They are not responsive to the needs of the of the universities. When you talk about America and Namibia, they are completely different worlds. But you still want to create that institution where a professor from America can come and work in your country where yours can go and study in the other country on the higher level, because you've provided environment locally, that that is comparable to us.

Patrick: (2.1.2c) But, but, when we were talking about the private sector we are looking at, those additional value change that you are referring to that they must have been absorbed, what must be national value change; why can't they be regional value change or global value change. Is your perspective limited in terms of which market you access, and who are you doing that research and development for it doesn't have to be local!

Tjama: (2.2.2c) No, but just imagine how much money do we get this year from NCRST, the funding agency for research in Namibia, how much did we get, we have a process pending with them. There's no money at all from NCRST today, but we are getting millions of dollars from Europe, from other countries to perform research to create innovation in the system, so we are not lying down just waiting for things to happen. We are driving the institution to become a model in Namibia.

Patrick: (2.1.2d) So how to strengthen it, how to strengthen NUST,

Tjama: (2.2.2d) There must be a lot of political will to support the instructions to become what they should be in the first place. Secondly, you have to recruit a human capital, not only for Namibia, but from anywhere in the world, you want the best talent,

Patrick: But, but, let's talk a little about that, I think a lot of times, Namibians find that, you know, **(2.1.3)** having immigrants here is adding value to society when we talk about knowledge, knowledge-based economy, and would looking at people who do not necessarily possess the skilful twenty first century job market. That is an important argument because you have also been criticized for that.

Tjama: (2.2.3) If you only look for Namibian to teach at the University you will not offer all the qualities you want to offer, you probably won't offer even one qualification fully in the country because of lake of resources.

Patrick: (2.1.3a) Because there is no adequate human capacity in the country?

Tjama: (2.2.3a) There isn't, there isn't human capacity in the country, no adequate human capacity in the country! So, when we recruit from elsewhere, it's because there is need. We have advertising in the media we don't get, we don't get the talent, so where do you go? We must go outside, because you must provide for your people, but everybody gets elsewhere, that's why you go outside, so it is a process you've gone through to look for talent locally, and you haven't, and if you get the best out of Namibia, of course, we will employ Namibians.

Patrick: (2.1.3b) Ok! what else, what else do we need to do to strengthen the institution?

Tjama: (2.2.3a) As I indicated there must be a lot of political will to support it, they should be supported. There must be adequate funding for universities to grow, as they should be growing. **(2.2.3b)** We must create talent in Namibia in many ways to support innovation, must support entrepreneurship, must support research, we must be liberated for the universities to do what they want to do we should not interfere politically. **(2.2.3c)** The political will that I am talking about is not to interfere in the running of the universities is to support the universities at the international level. Ah, the foreign minister goes to another country and they promote the universities for instance.

Patrick: But, but, also looking at you as head of operations, **(2.1.4)** what has been the role of people who are into council and how important is their role in it, what do we need to strengthen governance perspective in them engaging, sensitizing, creating workshops that that allow that political world to be brought in. Because that just not something going to happen through self-discipline, all of self-awareness, how do you, out of council and that govern the structure could support you better in ensuring that these gaps are closed.

Tjama: (2.2.4) Council has a responsibility to support the university. As advocates of the university, they must, obviously campaign for funding for the institution, they must promote the institution at different levels. They must be also your voice to government, how you need support. They must also talk to the private sector, sometimes in individual capacity, but also as a group. So, we believe we need that. But often times, you don't have the right level of support in the board. Uh...

Patrick: (2.1.4a) Does the council frustrate at some point?

Tjama: (2.2.4a) Well we have had councils that just didn't perform, and it became unworkable, the relationship became unworkable because they are not governing anymore, they, they want to administer, or they are not fully engaged, and so on, and so on. I'm not saying the current council is like that, but we, in the past, we've had things like that... And it doesn't help the institution, and **(2.2.4b)** if you appoint people to the board, must make sure that they have a skill, they have right attitudes, they are active, not just because somebody has a qualification you put them on the board and they are not active at all, it doesn't advance the goal of the institution.

Patrick: Let's keep it there! That's Dr Tjama Tjivikua the outgoing VC of NUST, when we come back we'll look at the man who has been running the institution for the past years, since 1994. Stay with us.

Table 5.2.4.2 Modalities of universities in terms of fourth industrial revolution
[Transcribed verbatim, so no error correction]

No.	Description
(2)	Let's talk a little bit about the, the, the role of higher tertiary institution. In every evolving world people are talking about, you know, the fourth industrial revolution.
(2.1)	What's the key purpose of your institution in a country like Namibia in ensuring that we are actively participating in being players of the fourth industrial revolution?

(2.2)	<i>So, we are positioning ourselves as a technological university that kind of place where you can go to get a qualification in the appropriate field of engineering or whatever the case maybe. But also walking away with foundation in innovation in entrepreneurship.</i>
(2.1a)	<i>But a lot of people make the argument to say that universities, especially in Sub Saharan Africa, in the global South, aren't being innovative enough...</i>
(2.2a)	<i>Mind you, Universities go through different stages of growth. We started as a polytechnic...</i>
(2.2a1)	<i>So, we are looking at creating that institution that caters for local needs, but also for global or global needs. We are surely at the different stage of development in terms of infrastructure, in terms of ranking and so on, but this because we are late starters.</i>
(2.1.1)	<i>But some universities in Asia are late starters but they have been able to leapfrog by insuring, you know, centralisation are used around and modern teaching pedagogy...</i>
(2.2.2)	<i>if you look at public institutions in other countries like China, they are driven by government, there is a lot of infusion of capital and human capital, not only finance capital, but also human capital... we are not at that level yet... we are not getting the right funding...</i>
(2.1.2a)	<i>maybe you have the false expectation of betting on government in a country like Namibia</i>
(2.1.2a)	<i>I think it is false expectation, because the model like the United States, where the learning institutions are driven by private funding where the research and development components of that has a large part of the private sector is imbedded in universities that enhances manufacturing in those countries...</i>
(2.2.2a)	<i>Where do you go for funding in Namibia in terms of private sector? I took an initiative of a micro-computer we developed in the institution, I took it to market, I took it to a private sector... we got one sponsor</i>
(2.1.2b)	<i>So, what is the challenge there, what are the challenge you noticed in the private sector?</i>
(2.2.2b)	<i>There's no response! the private sector is mall. They are not responsive to the needs of the of the universities.</i>
(2.1.2c)	<i>But, but, when we were talking about the private sector we are looking at, those additional value change that you are referring to that they must have been absorbed, what must be national value change; why can't they be regional value change or global value change. Is your perspective limited in terms of which market you access, and who are you doing that research and development for it doesn't have to be local!</i>
(2.2.2c)	<i>No, but just imagine how much money do we get this year from NCRST... There's no money at all from NCRST today, but we are getting millions of dollars from Europe...</i>
(2.1.2d)	<i>So how to strengthen it, how to strengthen NUST</i>
(2.2.2d)	<i>There must be a lot of political will to support the instructions to become what they should be in the first place.</i>

	<i>Secondly, you have to recruit a human capital, not only for Namibia, but from anywhere in the world, you want the best talent.</i>
(2.1.3)	<i>having immigrants here is adding value to society when we talk about knowledge, knowledge-based economy... That is an important argument because you have also been criticized for that.</i>
(2.2.3)	<i>If you only look for Namibian to teach at the University you will not offer all the qualities you want to offer, you probably won't offer even one qualification fully in the country because of lake of resources</i>
(2.1.3a)	<i>Because there is no adequate human capacity in the country?</i>
(2.2.3a)	<i>There isn't, there isn't human capacity in the country, no adequate human capacity in the country!</i>
(2.1.3b)	<i>Ok! what else, what else do we need to do to strengthen the institution?</i>
(2.2.3a)	<i>As I indicated there must be a lot of political will to support it, they should be supported. There must be adequate funding for universities to grow, as they should be growing.</i>
(2.2.3b)	<i>We must create talent in Namibia in many ways to support innovation, must support entrepreneurship, must support research, we must be liberated for the universities to do what they want to do we should not interfere politically.</i>
(2.2.3c)	<i>The political will that I am talking about is not to interfere in the running of the universities is to support the universities at the international level</i>
(2.1.4)	<i>what has been the role of people who are into council and how important is their role in it...</i>
(2.2.4)	<i>Council has a responsibility to support the university.</i>
(2.1.4a)	<i>Does the council frustrate at some point?</i>
(2.2.4a)	<i>Well we have had councils that just didn't perform, and it became unworkable, the relationship became unworkable because they are not governing anymore, they, they want to administer, or they are not fully engaged, and so on, and so on. I'm not saying the current council is like that, but we, in the past, we've had things like that... And it doesn't help the institution,</i>
(2.2.4b)	<i>and if you appoint people to the board, must make sure that they have a skill, they have right attitudes, they are active, not just because somebody has a qualification you put them on the board and they are not active at all, it doesn't advance the goal of the institution.</i>

The strategic manoeuvring pragma-dialectical theory of argumentation was used to analyse the argument presented above. According to this theory, argumentation is a strategic and goal-directed activity aimed at resolving a difference of opinion in a reasonable way. The parties involved in the argumentation use various strategies and

tactics to achieve their goals, and the effectiveness of their argumentation depends on how well they use these strategies and tactics.

In the dialogue presented above, the interlocutors were engaged in argumentation about the role of universities in driving innovation and economic growth in Namibia. The Vice Chancellor, Dr Tjama Tjivikua, argued that the National University of Science and Technology (NUST) was positioning itself as a technological university that not only provided education but also fostered innovation and entrepreneurship (2.2). The talk show host challenged this argument, claiming that universities in the global South, including NUST, were not being innovative enough and were not playing a key role in driving the national agenda of creating patents, copyrights, and other forms of innovation.

Dr Tjama Tjivikua responded to this challenge by pointing out that universities went through different stages of growth, and that NUST started as a polytechnic and was now working towards creating an institution that catered for local and global needs (2.2A1). The host then questioned the funding mechanisms available for NUST, arguing that the private sector funding was limited and that the government was not providing enough support. Dr Tjama Tjivikua responded by highlighting the need for political will to support the institution and to recruit the best talent from around the world. Both speakers used strategic manoeuvring to advance their arguments. Dr Tjama Tjivikua used the strategy of justification to defend NUST's position as a technological university that fostered innovation and entrepreneurship. The host used the strategy of challenge to question the effectiveness of universities in the global South in driving innovation and economic growth. Both speakers also used the

strategy of adaptation, modifying their arguments in response to each other's challenges.

Dr Tjama Tjivikua used the strategy of argument from analogy, comparing NUST to institutions in other countries, particularly China, to highlight the differences in funding mechanisms and support structures. The talk show host used the strategy of argument from authority, citing the lack of adequate human capacity in the country as a reason for recruiting talent from outside. Both speakers also used the strategy of implicitness, leaving some of their arguments unstated and relying on the other's inferential abilities to fill in the gaps. The strategic manoeuvring pragma-dialectical theory of argumentation provided a useful framework for analysing the argumentation presented above. Identifying the strategies and tactics used by each speaker helped to reveal the strengths and weaknesses of their arguments and provided insights into how they can be improved.

In this argument, Dr Tjama Tjivikua and the talk show host discussed the role of higher education institutions in Namibia in the context of the Fourth Industrial Revolution. They used pragma-dialectic moves of strategic argumentation to discuss the issue. Dr Tjama Tjivikua argued that universities had different stages of growth and that they were at a different stage of development in terms of infrastructure and ranking because they were late starters. He also suggested that funding from the government and private sector was limited and not adequate to support the growth of universities. Furthermore, he argued that there was a lack of adequate human capacity in the country, which necessitated recruiting from other countries. Dr Tjama Tjivikua initially argued that universities in Sub Saharan Africa were not being innovative enough, and that they should play a key role in driving the national agenda

of creating patents and copyrights as key drivers of the economy. However, he quickly pointed out that universities went through different stages of growth and that NUST was a late starter. The host then pointed out that comparing NUST with Asian countries was unfair as they had some of the top leading technological countries, meaning that NUST could not parallel them in terms of infrastructure and fast-tracking development. Dr Tjama Tjivikua employed a strategic manoeuvre of using the comparison move to compare NUST with public institutions in China and UCT in South Africa to highlight the difference in funding, human capacity, and infrastructure. He also used an exemplification move by providing concrete examples of the challenges faced by NUST, such as the limited response from the private sector and the lack of funding from Namibia Commission on Research Science and Technology (NCRST). The argument was characterised by a combination of justification moves, concessive moves, shift of burden moves, pre-emptive moves, comparison moves, and exemplification moves. Dr Tjama Tjivikua argued that in China, public institutions were driven by the government, with a lot of infusion of capital and human capital, and that they were bringing people from the diaspora to work in the country. He emphasised that Namibia was not at that level yet and that when asking for funding, they were not getting the right funding. He also pointed out that the private sector in Namibia was not responsive to the needs of universities, and that there was a significant challenge in that regard. Dr Tjama Tjivikua further stated that NUST was not lying down and waiting for things to happen, but he was driving the institution to become a model in Namibia.

In terms of strategic argumentation, Dr Tjama Tjivikua used the "challenge" move to point out the lack of funding and the unresponsiveness of the private sector in

Namibia. He also used the "blame" move to point out that the government's false expectations were to blame for the goals not achieved. Additionally, he used the "justify" move to justify the employment of human capital from other countries, and he justified why NUST had to play at the same level as international institutions. The talk show host uses the "question" move to ask about the challenges in the private sector, and he also asked about how to strengthen the institution. Dr Tjama Tjivikua responded to these questions by emphasising the need for political will to support the institutions and the recruitment of human capital from anywhere in the world. He also justified why NUST employed from elsewhere, pointing out the need for such employees, who demanded high salaries.

5.2.4.3 ARGUMENT 3: *Expected qualities of NUST's future leadership [Transcribed verbatim, so no error correction]*

Patrick: *Welcome back we speaking to Dr Tjama Tjivikua, the ongoing VC of NUST. (3.1) In conclusion, let's look at, maybe just a lot of times, people forget the, obviously, leaders you've been there at home for the longest time. You've been the only one that has been there, what type of character does it take to lead institution like NUST?*

Tjama: (3.2) *First of all, you must be a visionary and you must protect the big picture. Where is this institution going to be in ten years from now and so on, whereas you're standing at this moment where we want to be, in five years, in twenty years and so on. So, you must first of all be a leader, you must be an active leader. Being a visionary is one thing, but you must also be a driver. You must be hands on manager because things can easily fall apart, especially in the Namibian environment where uh, we take work for granted that I am employed so, can just wake up and leave, And I'm not saying everybody in Namibia is like that, but many people behave like that. (3.2a) The first thing you do is with a people come and sell themselves nicely, I can do this, I can do that. The moment you employ them they start giving you problems. Then they start running to the labour commissioner, what at, what not. That is not the right attitude to build a University with or economy with, (3.2b) I think Namibians are too relaxed about work. They're not in general, that is, we are not taking this country to the next level. Like this, we will get there maybe one day, and this may be because we are not driven people.*

Patrick: (3.1.1) *But, but to be critical, obviously, of yourself as well, what is the biggest strength and your biggest weakness.*

Tjama: *And and obviously to conclude the other point, (3.2c) you must be, he must be in the know. You must travel the world must understand where the world is going in*

terms of education. And you must be in the discussion, you must be there. You cannot lead an institution from your office. You must be connected to industry, connected to governments and so on, because lots of our funding and partnerships come from governments. That's very important, or ...

Patrick: (3.1.1') *What do you think about your strengths and weaknesses?*

Tjama: (3.2.1) *I've been a driver, I've been, I think I've created a vision for the institution. We've driven it from a small business college, called Technical Namibia, which became polytechnic and now University of Science and Technology. So that that is a huge achievement, I must say. So, I have a vision, I was driven, I, made sure things happened. I advocated for the station vehemently. I still am, and I will also continue to advocate for the University because even this member of the public I must also support the University.*

Patrick: (3.1.1a) *Weakness?*

Tjama: (3.2.1a) *Weakness when if you think that being driven, we think that being proactive is weakness,*

Patrick: (3.1.1b) *Some may argue that you were a bully in your experience of getting things done.*

Tjama: (3.2.1b) *If you set targets and the person must achieve certain targets they don't achieve, how are you bullying them?*

Patrick: (3.1.1c) *So, you don't have any weaknesses in the experience?*

Tjama: (3.2.1c) *What, what are you talking about, when you say a weakness. If you say, I'm bullying somebody, for instance...*

Patrick: (3.1.1d) *What if you do a Swot analysis, for instance, and the vice chancellor is part of the Swot analysis, which is here are the strength, here are the weaknesses, here are the opportunities, here are the threats, you can't say that, in the quadrium of the weaknesses you don't fill anything.*

Tjama: (3.2.1c) *My, my, I focus on my strengths as elite of the university that's others now indicate that I have a weakness, and if what I'm saying is, if I am a driver if I am a hard driver, and that's a weakness, then I'm sorry that person doesn't belong in that position, because we're not going to be shifting responsibility,*

The success of any organisation, including universities, relies heavily on the quality of its leadership. As the Namibia University of Science and Technology (NUST) continues to evolve and grow, it is crucial to identify the type of character and expected qualities of its future leadership. In this section, the study examines the argumentative views of Dr Tjama Tjivikua, the former Vice-Chancellor of NUST, regarding the strengths and weaknesses of his leadership style, and his suggestions for the type of character needed to lead NUST in the future. Dr Tjama Tjivikua's

insights provide valuable perspectives on the leadership qualities that are necessary to guide NUST through the challenges and opportunities of the years ahead.

Table 5.2.4.3: Expected qualities of NUST's future leadership [Transcribed verbatim, so no error correction]

No.	Description
(3.1)	<i>In conclusion... You've been the only one that has been there, what type of character does it take to lead institution like NUST?</i>
(3.2)	<i>First of all, you must be a visionary and you must protect the big picture. Where is this institution going to be in ten years from now and so on, whereas you're standing at this moment where we want to be, in five years, in twenty years and so on</i>
(3.2a)	<i>The first thing you do is with a people come and sell themselves nicely, I can do this, I can do that. The moment you employ them they start giving you problems. Then they start running to the labour commissioner, what at, what not.</i>
(3.2b)	<i>I think Namibians are too relaxed about work... and this may be because we are not driven people</i>
(3.1.1)	<i>But, but to be critical, obviously, of yourself as well, what is the biggest strength and your biggest weakness.</i>
(3.2c)	<i>And and obviously to conclude the other point, you must be, he must be in the know. You must travel the world must understand where the world is going in terms of education. And you must be in the discussion, you must be there. You cannot lead an institution from your office. You must be connected to industry, connected to governments and so on, because lots of our funding and partnerships come from governments. That's very important,</i>
(3.1.1')	<i>What do you think about your strengths and weaknesses?</i>
(3.2.1)	<i>I've been a driver, I've been, I think I've created a vision for the institution. We've driven it from a small business college, called Technical Namibia, which became polytechnic and now University of Science and Technology. So that that is a huge achievement, I must say...</i>
(3.1.1a)	<i>Weakness?</i>
(3.2.1a)	<i>Weakness when if you think that being driven, we think that being proactive is weakness</i>
(3.1.1b)	<i>Some may argue that you were a bully in your experience of getting things done.</i>
(3.2.1b)	<i>If you set targets and the person must achieve certain targets they don't achieve, how are you bullying them?</i>
(3.1.1c)	<i>So, you don't have any weaknesses in the experience?</i>
(3.2.1c)	<i>What, what are you talking about, when you say a weakness. If you say, I'm bullying somebody, for instance...</i>
(3.1.1d)	<i>What if you do a Swot analysis, for instance, and the vice chancellor is part of the Swot analysis, which is here are the strength, here are the</i>

	<i>weaknesses, here are the opportunities, here are the threats, you can't say that, in the quadrium of the weaknesses you don't fill anything.</i>
(3.2.1c)	<i>My, my, I focus on my strengths as elite of the university that's others now indicate that I have a weakness, and if what I'm saying is, if I am a driver if I am a hard driver, and that's a weakness, then I'm sorry that person doesn't belong in that position, because we're not going to be shifting responsibility,</i>

The argument made by the former vice-chancellor of NUST was analysed using the Pragma-dialectic theory of argumentation. According to this theory, an argument must meet certain criteria to be considered a successful argument. These criteria include the ability to resolve a difference of opinion, the adherence to the rules of rational discourse, and the ability to create a shared perspective among the participants. The vice-chancellor's argument can be divided into two parts. The first part is his response to the question about the type of character it takes to lead an institution like NUST. He began by stating that a leader must be visionary and must protect the big picture. He then went on to explain that a leader must be well-connected and must travel the world to understand where the world was going in terms of education. He also stressed the importance of being in discussions with industry and government to secure funding and partnerships. In terms of pragma-dialectic theory, the former vice-chancellor's argument met the criteria of resolving a difference of opinion as he was providing clear answers to the questions posed by the talk show host. He was also adhering to the rules of rational discourse by providing reasons to support his claim. However, he was not creating a shared perspective as he was only presenting his own views without considering the views of others.

The second part of the argument is the response to the question about weaknesses in his leadership. The former vice-chancellor denied having any weaknesses and instead focused on his strengths as a leader. He defended his proactive and hard-driving nature and suggested that if someone could not meet the targets he sets, then they do would not belong to their positions. From a pragma-dialectic perspective, this part of the argument was weaker. The former vice-chancellor was not acknowledging the possibility of weaknesses or shortcomings in his leadership, which created a barrier in resolving differences of opinion or creating a shared perspective. He was also not providing any evidence or reasons to support his claim that being a hard driver was a strength and not a weakness. The former vice-chancellor's argument met some of the criteria of pragma-dialectic theory but fell short in others. While he provided a clear response to the initial question and adhered to the rules of rational discourse, he did not consider other perspectives or acknowledge the possibility of weaknesses in his leadership style. This may have limited his ability to resolve differences of opinion and create a shared perspective among stakeholders.

According to pragma-dialectics theory of argumentation, an argument consists of a proposition that is put forward as true and supports the evidence for that proposition (van Eemeren & Grootendorst, 2016). In this argument, Dr Tjama Tjivikua was asked about the qualities that were expected in the next leadership of NUST. He argued that a visionary leader who was also a hands-on manager and driver was required to lead an institution like NUST. He further emphasised the importance of being well-

connected to industry and government, as funding and partnerships often came from these sources.

However, Dr Tjivikua was also asked about his own strengths and weaknesses as the VC of NUST. He claimed that his biggest strength was being a driver who created a vision for the institution and advocated for its success. When asked about weaknesses, he appeared defensive and unable to acknowledge any personal shortcomings. He even suggested that being a hard driver was not a weakness, but a necessary quality for someone in his position. According to the pragma-dialectics theory, this argumentation can be analysed in three stages: opening, confrontation, and concluding stages. In the opening stage, the proposition is presented and the context of the argument is established. In the confrontation stage, the proposition is examined through critical questions and counterarguments. In the concluding stage, a resolution or compromise is reached, or a decision is made based on the argumentation (van Eemeren & Grootendorst, 2016).

In this argument, the opening stage is when Dr Tjivikua presented his proposition about the qualities needed in the next leadership of NUST. The confrontation stage began when he was asked about his own strengths and weaknesses. However, instead of acknowledging his weaknesses, he became defensive and argued against the questioner's claims of his bullying behaviour. This can be seen as a failure to engage in the argumentation process to address the issues raised. While Dr Tjivikua's argument about the qualities needed in the next leadership of NUST was reasonable, his inability to acknowledge his own weaknesses weakened his argumentation.

According to pragma-dialectics theory, an effective argument must engage in all three stages of argumentation and address counterarguments and critical questions in a rational and open-minded way (van Eemeren & Grootendorst, 2016).

5.2.5 CONCLUDING STAGE: Vice chancellors' future endeavour

Dialogue Extract. 5.1.5 [Transcribed verbatim, so no error correction]

Patrick: *But let's keep it that way, out of the running out of time. (4.1) What's next for Tjama Tjivikua?*

Tjama: *(4.2) I'm going to be a member of the public, as I said, I will continue to support the University where and whenever needed. I'm going to be in Namibia and we're going to enjoy doing other things.*

Patrick: *Tell us how long can we wait to be expected next VC of the university.*

Tjama: *It is only in the hands of the board, um, the process is ongoing at this moment, and uh, one of these days the board will find somebody else, couples, and then they will make an announcement. It is entirely their hands and big support of the board*

Patrick: *(4.1.1) What's your message to the nation as somebody who's been at the helm of ensuring that we have a knowledge-based society and were able to be competitive, but also from collaboration, so you know, with the rest of the world in ensuring innovations that are able to solve the human problems?*

Tjama: *(4.2.1) That the culture of work in Namibia must change. (4.2.1a) We must depoliticize the system, it seems in Namibia everything starts with politics, and it ends with politics. You cannot run the university in a political way, it must be run as a University. (4.2.1b) Then, depersonalize the the people in the system. You cannot connect to politics, therefore, you do that because of politics. It's a big problem in Namibia. (4.2.1c) We must be more driven. We must be more creative, we must be more supportive of good things happening in the Namibia instead of trying to break them down, because it takes a long time to build up something but it takes five minutes to break it down. (4.2.1d) I think our attitude must teach you must really support the good initiatives that happening in Namibia. There are many good pockets of good things happening in Namibia, but often times they don't get the right support; a good initiative starts and then in weathers, because there isn't the right support.*

Patrick: *Dr Tjama Tjivikua, thank you very much, (4.1.2) I think, uh, for coming to the program, but as well as your institution that I think most Namibians will be proud of in terms of looking at it, what's worked, I think if we are honest, we can say that you did a good job in running this institution.*

Tjama: *Thank you very much and (4.2.2a) I am very proud of our University of science Technology. I've given it all, I could, um, and it's not standing very proud. Um. We, we are in the world seen as a very good university, and that's why we get the exchanges, professors, and students, different programs, research programs, and so on. (4.2.2b) There's a lot of good things happening there. We just don't see it because we are on the outside, and we only sometimes hear something could have something in something not so good happening, but there's a lot of good happening.*

Patrick: Thank you very much. Namibia there you have it, Dr Tjama Tjivikua the outgoing VC of NUST. This is One- on- One, until next week from me, Patrick San, it's a good night.

As the landscape of higher education continues to evolve, it is essential to focus on developing effective and impactful leadership that can navigate the challenges and opportunities of the future. NUST and Namibian higher education system, in particular, require strategic and visionary leaders who can set clear goals, foster innovation, and inspire collaboration among stakeholders. In this context, it is crucial to provide advice on the goals of future leadership in NUST and Namibian higher education to ensure that the institutions remain relevant, competitive, and responsive to the needs of the 21st-century learners and society. This section of the study analysed Dr Tjama Tjivikua's argumentative insights into the qualities, skills, and priorities that the future leaders of NUST and Namibian higher education should possess to drive excellence, growth, and impact in the years to come.

Table 5.2.5: Vice chancellors' future and leadership of NUST [Transcribed verbatim, so no error correction]

No.	Description
(4.1)	<i>out of the running out of time. What's next for Tjama Tjivikua?</i>
(4.2)	<i>I'm going to be a member of the public, as I said, I will continue to support the University where and whenever needed. I'm going to be in Namibia and we're going to enjoy doing other things</i>
(4.1.1)	<i>What's your message to the nation as somebody who's been at the helm of ensuring that we have a knowledge-based society and were able to be competitive, but also from collaboration, so you know, with the rest of the world in ensuring innovations that are able to solve the human problems?</i>
(4.2.1)	<i>That the culture of work in Namibia must change.</i>
(4.2.1a)	<i>We must depoliticize the system, it seems in Namibia everything starts with politics, and it ends with politics. You cannot run the university in a political way, it must be run as a University.</i>
(4.2.1b)	<i>Then, depersonalize the the people in the system. You cannot connect to politics, therefore, you do that because of politics. It's a big problem in Namibia.</i>

(4.2.1c)	<i>We must be more driven. We must be more creative, we must be more supportive of good things happening in the Namibia instead of trying to break them down, because it takes a long time to build up something but it takes five minutes to break it down.</i>
(4.2.1d)	<i>I think our attitude must teach you must really support the good initiatives that happening in Namibia. There are many good pockets of good things happening in Namibia, but often times they don't get the right support; a good initiative starts and then in weathers, because there isn't the right support.</i>

The concluding stage of this argument reflects a message that emphasises the need for a change in the culture of work in Namibia, particularly in the context of the University. The Vice chancellor, Dr Tjama Tjivikua pointed out that the system must be depoliticised and that the people in the system must be depersonalised to avoid connecting them with politics. He advocated for a more driven, creative, and supportive attitude towards good initiatives happening in the Namibian higher education system. In terms of the pragma-dialectical theory, the concluding stage of this argument serves as a summative statement that recaps the key points raised in the earlier stages. Tjivikua expressed pride in the University of Science and Technology, highlighting its positive reputation on the global stage despite the challenges it faced internally.

Tjivikua reiterated that he would continue to support the university whenever needed, but also planned to enjoy doing other things in Namibia. The next question concerned the time frame for the next VC of the university. Tjivikua did not provide a specific answer, which can be seen as a weakness in his argument as it does not address the specific question being asked. The final question related to the message Tjivikua had for his successor and what he thought needed to be done to improve the

higher education system in Namibia. He suggested that the culture of work in Namibia needed to change and that the university should be depoliticised and run as a university, not as a political institution. He also stressed the need to depersonalise people in the system and be more supportive of good things happening in Namibia. Tjivikua argued that there were many good pockets of initiatives in Namibia, but they often lacked the necessary support.

Tjivikua's argument was coherent and structured, addressing the questions and concerns raised. However, his argument could benefit from more specific and concrete examples to support his claims, especially regarding how the culture of work in Namibia needed to change. Nonetheless, his argument provided valuable insights into the challenges and opportunities facing the Namibian higher education system and offered a potential path forward.

In the concluding stage strategic manoeuvring, was employed to achieve the overall effectiveness of the argumentation in achieving its intended goal. Based on this perspective, the argumentation presented in the conversation seemed to be aimed at showcasing Dr Tjama Tjivikua's accomplishments and offering insight into the challenges and opportunities that the university would face in the future. Dr Tjivikua employed strategic manoeuvring by defining the problem of the university as political affiliation and personal connections in the system. Framing the problem in this way, he positioned himself as an objective leader who was hampered by political interference in his efforts to run the university. Throughout the conversation, Dr

Tjivikua used various strategic manoeuvres to achieve his goal. For example, he emphasised the need to depoliticise the system and depersonalise the people in the university, which he identified as the biggest problem that the university faced. He also stressed the importance of being more driven, creative, and supportive of good initiatives in Namibia. In doing so, he positioned himself as a knowledgeable and experienced leader who had valuable insights into the issues facing the university.

The talk show host supported Dr Tjivikua's argumentation by acknowledging the achievements of the university under his leadership and by giving him the opportunity to share his thoughts on the university's future. In his concluding remarks, the host also praised Dr Tjivikua for his contributions to the university. The argumentation in the conversation seemed to be effective in achieving its intended goal of presenting Dr Tjivikua as a competent and accomplished leader and offering insights into the challenges and opportunities facing the university. Using various strategic manoeuvres, Dr Tjivikua was able to effectively communicate his message and gain support from the talk show host.

This argumentative conversation demonstrates how language can be used strategically in argumentation to advance one's position and persuade an audience. Dr Tjivikua and the *One-on-One* talk show host employed various tactics to reinforce the positive image of the university and its outgoing VC and advocated for a change in the culture of work in Namibia.

5.2.6 SUMMARY

With reference to the discussion rules and argumentation, some rules were violated while others were not. The host maintained good standards of allowing the guest the freedom to put forward his standpoint without obstruction. The host did not seem to be under pressure at any stage although there were instances where the host's character of person was attacked (Argument 3, 1.1.3e & 1.1.3h). There were no violations with regards to casting suspicions over each other's moves and no contradictions surfaced in either of the arguer's words. Throughout the argumentations, the burden of proof was maintained by both parties in a sense that, no fallacies were committed through being pressurised in any form. Furthermore, the host did not violate the standpoint rule by misrepresenting the guest's standpoints. The defences were in relation to the advanced standpoints. No violations were observed in the argumentation. The standpoints and the arguments related in a sense that, arguments were defended by means of reason and not argumentation. There was no indication of arguers playing on sentiments or parading their qualities. On the starting point rule, the host applied presupposition in making assertions unfairly, which is fallacious. The host also asked too many questions which at some point the guest could not fully express himself within the time given, for example, the fourth and back exchange in (1.1.3d) to (1.1.3i) in Argument 1. The argument scheme was violated in several ways. First, the host applied too many generalisations in comparison of NUST and other universities. The quality of leadership was questioned. There were fallacies of confusion of facts with value of judgements in terms of some of the arguments made by the host. For example, the host alleged that NUST received enough funds as other universities such as IUM. He supposed that false expectation (2.1.2 in Argument 2) was the problem and so forth.

He also referred to NUST being elitist in terms of how funds were managed. There was also fallacy of false analogy when the host related NUST to other higher institutions in China, USA and Europe. On the other hand, the argumentation showed fair exercise of reasoning because the argumentation was logically valid and there was no indication of confusion in the properties of part and whole. With regards to the closure rule, all the defences of standpoints in the argumentation stage were successful because the host retracted his views or doubts before moving to the next question. Finally, the language usage rule was not violated because there was no unclarity and there was no indication of ambiguity in the argumentation.

5.3 ARGUMENTATION ON NATIONAL ASSEMBLY AND THE NATIONAL COUNCIL

5.3.1 INTRODUCTION

This section will showcase the actuality of the process of argumentation. The arguments/ discussions will be displayed in eight different segments which, individually carries different discussion topics with different guests. Three different hosts feature in the interviews at a given time but within each discussion, there are several sub arguments.

Strategic manoeuvring, which involves the use of argumentation tactics to influence the decision-making process, is a common practice in parliamentary debates. This section explores the various strategies used in argument discourse on the Namibian Parliament, National Assembly, National Council, and the Constitution. The discussion reflects on language that appeals to emotions, uses logical reasoning, and draws on cultural norms and values. This section aims to shed light on the complex dynamics of strategic manoeuvring in a talk show discussion that focuses on

parliament and power dynamics and the factors that influence the decision-making process. This will be examined with reference to the discussion between the speaker of the Namibian parliament, Professor Peter Katjavivi and the *One-on-One* Television Show host.

Namibia's constitution established a separation of powers among the legislature, executive, and judiciary, with distinct functions and powers for each branch to prevent any one branch from becoming too powerful (Constitution of the Republic of Namibia, 1990). The legislature, consisting of the National Assembly and the National Council, is responsible for making laws (Article 44). The executive branch, led by the president and comprising ministers and other officials, implements laws and policies (Article 26). The judiciary, consisting of various courts and tribunals, interprets and enforces the law (Article 78).

The constitution provides checks and balances to ensure that no branch of government dominates the others. For example, the executive can veto laws passed by the legislature, but the legislature can override a veto with a two-thirds majority (Article 63). The judiciary can declare laws unconstitutional, thus limiting the power of both the legislature and the executive (Article 79). The branches of government are held accountable through various mechanisms. The legislature is accountable to the people through regular elections (Article 47). The executive is accountable to both the legislature and the judiciary (Article 39). The judiciary is accountable to the constitution and the rule of law (Article 79). Namibia has an independent judiciary, led by the Chief Justice, who is appointed by the President on the recommendation of the Judicial Service Commission (Article 80). This independence ensures that the

judiciary can perform its functions effectively without fear of political interference or retribution.

Namibia's democratic system is based on the separation of powers among the legislature, executive, and judiciary. The constitution creates checks and balances to prevent any one branch from becoming too powerful and provides mechanisms to hold the branches accountable. An independent judiciary ensures that the rule of law is upheld, promoting democracy and good governance in the country.

5.3.2 CONFRONTATION STAGE

Dialogue Extract: *[Transcribed verbatim, so no error correction]*

Patrick: (1.1) *It is Tuesday evening and it is time for One-on-One, good evening Namibia and as usual as you know this is a programme dedicated to bring you news markers, movers and shakers. My guest tonight is the speaker of the national assembly that is Professor Peter Katjavivi, welcome to One-on-One.*

Peter: (1.2) *Thank you.*

In the confrontation stage, the host begins with the introductions and sets off the discussion. The dialogue quickly moves away from the opening stage where the arguers have set the tone of the whole discussion and at this stage they are both in agreement of continuing with the discussion.

In the opening stage the host applies the presentation devices that allow him to strategically manoeuvre in favour of his or her standpoint with the aim of being reasonable and effective as possible. This strategy is therefore introduced through the question towards the guest (van Eemeren & Houtlosser, 2009). The standpoint assumed by the guest is a result of the negative approach towards the question the presenter asks. As a result, there is a difference of opinion regarding the statement

made by the host and the guest's response. This can be seen in (2.2) where the host thinks, "with the constitutional mandate, and looking at the mere design of the constitution obviously we have separated power to ensure a balance of power". This statement on its own introduces the first problem that requires a solution. The statement can also be seen as a gas lighter that opens and drives the discussion. The audience demand is observed by the host in the way that he or she responds to the host. The host through his or her questions retrieves certain information from the guest, he or she represents the people who are sitting at home watching the discussion unfold. In this understanding, he or she represents the audience.

As noted by Larson (1984) in a discourse of a political nature, politicians do not only present their face to the party interviewing them but also to a larger audience who view or listen at a national level or world-wide. In strategic manoeuvring, presentational devices are very important because they offer the arguer with the ability to phrase the moves based on their discursive and stylistic effectiveness (van Eemeren, 2001). This gives the arguer a rhetorical advantage by providing a variety of angle the argument can be exploited. In this light, the host's question, (1.2.1) *"...given the context of the country after 26 years, would you say there is a balance of power or that, ah, executive is dictating the national agenda in this country?"*. This question comes as a bet that could go in any direction depending on the way the guest responds to it.

At this point, the argument stage begins when the guest makes his first standpoint by replying the question asked. In (1.2.1a) the guest fails to answer the host's question and at the same time waives the strength of his initial standpoint that

stated that there is indeed balance of power. Instead, the reply after the guest supposes challenges his reply by implying that, (1.2.2) the balance he is alluding to only applies on paper and not in actuality. He diverts and refers to the past proceedings which took place at the beginning of Namibia's independence in that, (1.2.3) *"the executive, obviously were the dominant organ of state and that is where the decisions are made in terms of what laws are brought to parliament..."*. The statement expressed in (1.2.1b) is not very assuring in terms of the tense the discussion is carried out. The argument moves from the fact that the current decisions are affected by the past and that the future is, he, the current national speaker (1.2.3b) *"can say without hesitation that we are moving in that direction of making sure that, the three organs of the state are moving towards being fully equal in terms of the way how they are constituted by the core institution"*. The prior statement is contrary to the fact relayed earlier in the discussion which suggest that there is balance of power between the three organs. At this point, the guest admits that the equality of the three organs is something to expect in the future which means that in the present it was not really the case. It can be seen in this instance that the guest's commitment to prove the initial standpoint of equality of power between the three organs is not maintained. Hence, the collusion shows that the host standpoint is proven to be correct in the sense that there is no balance of power between the legislature, executive and judiciary. Therefore, it can be concluded that in this first part of the discussion that the argumentation is effective and reasonable. The table below is a continuation of the discussion that starts in the confrontation station but in the next stage, which is the argumentation stage, the conversation

becomes critical and displays the intensity of the standpoints prompted in the confrontation stage.

5.3.3 OPENING STAGE

The opening stage is the second stage of critical discussion. In this stage, the party's discussion roles are decided according to the pragma-dialectical theory. As noted by van Eemeren and Grootendorst (2004); van Eemeren (2010), it is important for these roles to be identified in the opening stage. For instance, in the case of this discussion, the antagonist is the host of the show; the protagonist is therefore the guest. The host's duty is to defend all the standpoints he advances in situations where the standpoints are attacked or challenged by the host. Another important aspect to consider in the opening is the is establishing whether the discussants have common grounds in relation to starting points of knowledge and also of values and rules (van Eemeren et al., 2007).

Dialogue Extract: **OPENING STAGE [Transcribed verbatim, so no error correction]**

Patrick: *I think, let's start off, I think with the constitutional mandate, and looking at the mere design of the constitution obviously we have separated power to ensure a balance of power, ah, (1.1) given the context of the country after 26 years, would you say there is a balance of power or that, ah, executive is dictating the national agenda in this country?*

Peter: *(1.2.) Well, I hold the view that the national assembly and the national council constitutes the Namibian parliament. Each of those institutions have got respective functions. (1.2a)The national assembly is the principle legislative body, empowered by the constitution to formulate laws and that's what we do while the national council is there to review such laws and to make sure that they are balanced and in line with the constitution of the republic, ah, (1.2b) yes, we have three organs of state, legislature, executive and judiciary, and as far as I am concerned, they are equal and complementary.*

Table 5.3.3

No.	Description
-----	-------------

(1.1)	<i>given the context of the country after 26 years, would you say there is a balance of power or that, ah, executive is dictating the national agenda in this country?</i>
(1.2)	<i>Well, I hold the view that the national assembly and the national council constitutes the Namibian parliament. Each of those institutions have got respective functions.</i>
(1.2.a)	<i>The national assembly is the principle legislative body, empowered by the constitution to formulate laws and that's what we do while the national council is there to review such laws and to make sure that they are balanced and in line with the constitution of the republic, ah,</i>
(1.2.b)	<i>...yes, we have three organs of state, legislature, executive and judiciary, and as far as I am concerned, they are equal and complementary.</i>

5.3.4 ARGUMENTATION STAGE

5.3.4.1 ARGUMENT 1: *The balance of power between the three organs of state, legislature, executive and judiciary*

Dialogue Extract 5.3.4.1 [Transcribed verbatim, so no error correction]

Patrick: *But, (1.1) but is that only in terms of what is written in the constitution, but in terms of the way that it plays out and if we had to define power, because we only trying to balance power around the idea of being important and being influential, is the legislative important and is legislator influential with regard to the mandate it is given under the constitution.*

Peter: *(1.2) Everything we do has a beginning at the time of our independence, (1.2.a) the executive, obviously were the dominant organ of state and that is where the decisions are made in terms of what laws are brought to parliament and as time went by, (1.2.b) I can say without hesitation that we are moving in that direction of making sure that, the three organs of the state are moving towards being fully equal in terms of the way how they are constituted by the core institution.*

Patrick: *But, obviously there's been constitution amendments that took place that led to the expansion of the house but people would argue that those legislations changes, because obviously, the legislatures role is to regulate the players, to regulate, to create the laws for the executive; (1.1.1) a lot of people would say that, even that, I mean, that prior to your time but even that process when you were an MP was not driven by MPs; it was driven by executive, (1.1.1a) so the argument here is that the executive used by the legislators to drive its own agenda, so it is more powerful.*

Peter: *(1.2.1) The executive has to drive that; by nature, the laws, the bills that are brought to the national assembly emanate from there. But do not make a mistake that there are certain aspects that were reflected when the constitution was amended that they were equally driven by parliamentarians, and I will give an example, the issue relating to call room, in the past we had a particular challenge with respect with not having a sufficient call room at times; members of parliament were equally*

committed to that but impressing upon the executive to make sure that we reveal that particular aspect of the core institution, so there is an element of cooperation in all that, (1.2.1a) but of course I do accept the fact that it is the executive that have to come forward with bills because that is part of their responsibilities.

Patrick: (1.1.1b) *So, you are trying to infer, Mr speaker that there is a certain inherent contradiction here because you said the mandate of the national assembly was to formulate laws and it seemed like at least public perception that the constitution amendments at the time when you were the chief were not constituted by, ah, primarily by members of the parliament, but it came directly from the executive and by law reform development commission, and so those constitutions under the executive are more powerful and more influential in the lives of the Namibians.*

Peter: (1.2.1b) *I would not really say, more powerful but I think there is a shared responsibility, ah, the way immediately after independence, it is a fact that our parliament had been basically in terms of the bills that actually come before the national assembly, they are initiated from somewhere, from the executive and brought to the house and once they are brought to the house I will also say, there is nothing to prevent members of parliament to come forward with their own, either in private bill or some kind of initiative that will then be formulated and be presented to the house. (1.2.1c) But, it so happens that from our own experience the way how we're be functioning so far was purely to rely on the executive to come-up with the bills that are normally brought to the council for debate...-Interjection-*

Patrick: (1.1.1c) *... I think that is undermining the legislative power.*

Peter: (1.2.1d) *...it doesn't, it doesn't, it simply, as a time goes on, I'm actually convinced that, there will come a time when we'll be, the members might even be prepared to come up with their own initiative that would be formulated into private bill, that will be initiated within the parliament so far that has not been our experience but that does not prevent members in the house to come together to come up with a particular bill which they feel it is absolutely necessary.*

Table 5.3.4.1 Power balance [Transcribed verbatim, so no error correction]

No.	Description
(1.1)	<i>But, but is that only in terms of what is written in the constitution, but in terms of the way that it plays out and if we had to define power, because we only trying to balance power around the idea of being important and being influential, is the legislative important and is legislator influential with regard to the mandate it is given under the constitution.</i>
(1.2)	<i>Everything we do has a beginning...</i>
(1.2.a)	<i>...at the time of our independence, the executive, obviously were the dominant organ of state and that is where the decisions are made in terms of what laws are brought to parliament and as time went by</i>
(1.2.b)	<i>I can say without hesitation that we are moving in that direction of making sure that, the three organs of the state are moving towards being fully equal</i>
(1.1.1)	<i>But, obviously there's been constitution amendments that took place that led to the expansion of the house...</i>

	<i>- but people would argue that those legislations changes, because obviously, the legislatives role is to regulate the players, to regulate, to create the laws for the executive...</i>
<i>(1.1.1a)</i>	<i>so, the argument here is that the executive used by the legislators to drive its own agenda, so it is more powerful.</i>
<i>(1.2.1)</i>	<i>The executive has to drive that; by nature, the laws, the bills that are brought to the national assembly emanate from there. - But do not make a mistake that there are certain aspects that were reflected when the constitution was amended that they were equally driven by parliamentarians</i>
<i>(1.2.1a)</i>	<i>...but of course, I do accept the fact that it is the executive that have to come forward with bills because that is part of their responsibilities.</i>
<i>(1.1.1b)</i>	<i>So, you are trying to infer, Mr speaker that there is a certain inherent contradiction here... -so those constitutions under the executive are more powerful and more influential in the lives of the Namibians.</i>
<i>(1.2.1b)</i>	<i>I would not really say, more powerful but I think there is a shared responsibility...</i>
<i>(1.2.1c)</i>	<i>But, it so happens that from our own experience the way how we're be functioning so far was purely to rely on the executive to come-up with the bills that are normally brought to the council for debate...</i>
<i>(1.1.1c)</i>	<i>... I think that is undermining the legislative power.</i>
<i>(1.2.1d)</i>	<i>...it doesn't, it doesn't, it simply, as a time goes on, I'm actually convinced that, there will come a time when we'll be, the members might even be prepared to come up with their own initiative that would be formulated into private bill, that will be initiated within the parliament - so far that has not been our experience but that does not prevent members in the house to come together to come up with a particular bill which they feel it is absolutely necessary.</i>

In this dialogue, the speaker discussed the balance of power between the three organs of the state, the legislature, the executive, and the judiciary in Namibia. The speaker asserted that the National Assembly was the principal legislative body, with the power to formulate laws, while the National Council was responsible for reviewing the laws to ensure that they were balanced and in line with the Constitution. The speaker argued that these three organs of the state were equal and complementary, and that their functions were clearly defined by the Constitution.

However, the speaker obviously admitted to the host's suggestion that the balance of power was only reflected on paper and not in practical terms.

Furthermore, the speaker highlighted the historical dominance of the executive branch of government, which has traditionally been responsible for driving the legislative agenda. However, the speaker also emphasised that there was a shared responsibility between the three organs of state, and that members of parliament had the right to come forward with their own initiatives and bills. The speaker's argument was consistent with the principles of the pragma-dialectical theory of argumentation. The speaker presented a clear and logical defensive argument as his standpoint supported by evidence and acknowledged the strengths and weaknesses of different positions. The speaker also recognised the importance of cooperation and shared responsibility in the functioning of the state. The speaker's argument provided a comprehensive analysis of the balance of power between the three organs of state in Namibia and highlighted the importance of cooperation and shared responsibility in the functioning of the state. The argument was consistent with the principles of the pragma-dialectical theory of argumentation and provided a strong basis for further discussion and debate on the topic.

From an argumentative analysis perspective, the speaker presented a persuasive argument that emphasised the importance of balance and cooperation between the three organs of state in Namibia. By acknowledging the historical dominance of the executive branch and the shared responsibility of all three branches, the speaker effectively argued for a more collaborative approach to law-making. The speaker's use of examples, such as the call room issue, further strengthened his argument by

illustrating the benefits of cooperation between the executive and legislative branches. By showing how members of parliament were able to work with the executive to address a specific issue, the speaker demonstrated the potential for constructive collaboration between different branches of government.

The speaker's argument was a compelling analysis of the balance of power between the three organs of state in Namibia. By emphasising the importance of cooperation and shared responsibility, the speaker presented a vision of government that was responsive, accountable, and effective. The argument was both logical and persuasive and provided a strong basis for further discussion and debate on this important topic.

The discussion centred around the balance of power between the three organs of state in Namibia, namely the legislature, executive, and judiciary. The host opened up the discussion by asking the guest whether there was a balance of power or whether the executive was dictating the national agenda in the country. The speaker of parliament responded by saying that the national assembly and the national council constituted the Namibian parliament, and each of those institutions had their respective functions. The national assembly is the principal legislative body, empowered by the constitution to formulate laws, while the national council is there to review such laws and to ensure that they are balanced and in line with the constitution of the republic. The speaker of parliament went on to say that as far as he was concerned, the three organs of state were equal and complementary.

The host challenged this viewpoint by asking whether this was only in terms of what was written in the constitution or in terms of the way it played out in reality. The host suggested that what was on paper had no actuality in real scenarios. The speaker of parliament agreed and admitted that everything they did had a beginning at the time of Namibia's independence. He further admitted that the executive was the dominant organ of state at the time, and decisions were made there regarding what laws were brought to parliament. The host made a stand supported by previous information that suggested that the legislature used the executive to drive its own agendas. The speaker of parliament acknowledged that the executive had to drive that, but there were certain aspects that were equally driven by parliamentarians. The speaker of parliament gave an example of the issue relating to call room, where parliamentarians were equally committed to that but impressed upon the executive to make sure that they revealed that particular aspect of the core institution. He admitted that there was an element of cooperation in all that.

The host tried to implicate the guest in admitting to the exact thing he had been alleged to imply that there was an imbalance of power in parliament. The guest denied that the executive was more powerful but said that there was a shared responsibility between the three organs of state. The host interjected and said that the legislative power was being undermined. The speaker of parliament responded by saying that as time went on, he was convinced that the three organs of state would move towards being fully equal in terms of the way how they were constituted by the core institution.

The discussion revealed that there was a shared responsibility among the three organs of state in Namibia. However, the executive seemed to hold more power than the other two organs, particularly in terms of driving the legislative agenda. The speaker of parliament acknowledged this but also highlighted that parliamentarians had an equal responsibility to drive the legislative agenda and ensure that it was balanced and in line with the constitution of the republic.

5.3.4.2 ARGUMENT 2: Implications of Namibian parliament expansion

The expansion of the Namibian Parliament from 62 to 96 members raised questions about its implications on public expenditure and investment in the various branches of government. While the expansion was intended to improve representation and ensure more diverse perspectives in the law-making process, it is important to assess whether there have been any significant returns on the public investments made in the expansion. In this context, it becomes imperative to analyse the benefits to the Namibian people, including whether they are better represented, whether there is a wider range of laws coming from diverse parts of the country, and what other positive impacts the expansion has had. In this introduction, the researcher will delve into these issues and explore the implications of the expansion of the Namibian Parliament.

In the context of the Namibian Parliament expansion, it is important to examine the strategic moves made by those advocating for and against the expansion. This includes evaluating the effectiveness of their arguments, identifying any fallacies, and assessing the overall impact of their discourse on the public perception of the

expansion. The expansion of the Namibian Parliament has had significant implications for public expenditure, investment, representation, and diversity. By using the theory of argumentation, the reader can gain a deeper understanding of the discourse surrounding this issue and evaluate the effectiveness of the arguments made by both proponents and opponents of the expansion.

The theory of argumentation, developed by Van Eemeren and Houtlosser (2002), can be applied to the discourse surrounding the expansion of the Namibian Parliament. According to this theory, argumentation is a strategic activity that involves a speaker making a case for a particular position by using various rhetorical strategies to influence the audience's perception of the argument (van Eemeren & Houtlosser, 2002). In the case of the expansion of the Namibian Parliament, various rhetorical strategies were employed to persuade the public to either support or oppose the expansion.

For example, supporters of the expansion may argue that it promotes better representation of diverse voices in the Namibian political process. On the other hand, opponents may argue that the cost of the expansion is too high, and that the funds could be better spent on social services or infrastructure development. By analysing the arguments put forward by both sides, it became clearer that strategic manoeuvring was the central aspect of argumentation in the Namibian Parliament. The expansion of the Namibian Parliament had implications for public expenditure and investment, as well as the effectiveness of the legislative branch in Namibia. By applying the theory of argumentation, it became clear that rhetorical strategies were

being employed to support both sides of the debate. It is important for the Namibian government to continue to evaluate the impact of the expansion and ensure that the benefits of the expansion outweigh the costs.

Argument 2: Dialogue Extract 5.3.4.2 [Transcribed verbatim, so no error correction]

Patrick: (2.1) But let's look at this expanded parliament that has had implications on the public expenditure and public investment into the various branches of government, (2.1a) would you say that there's been returns in public the investments in the expansion of parliament from 62 to 96 members? What benefits the Namibian people, are they better represented, are the laws being instated from like there are more diverse coming from diverse parts of the country- what positive impact has the expansion had?

Peter: I think I will look at the number of parliamentarians, (2.2) this expansion brought in a number of younger parliamentarians, and brought in a substantial number of female parliamentarians; it has made us proud today we say Namibia is linked on top of that league/link in terms of gender representation, all these issues basically are very much linked to the extended increase in terms of representation in terms of...

Patrick:(interjection)- (2.1.1) But, but those gains could never be presented by the 72 members on the national assembly rather that parliament, could those gains not have been made with 72 members, having greater youth representation, having greater women representation?

Peter: Well, (2.2.1) there's nothing wrong in what we have done in terms of bringing youths in terms of a big number in terms of women; all that has come about, actually, as a result of the amendment to the core institution and I am simply saying that, this has been a positive development, not the negative ones!

Patrick: Well, (2.1.2) people have argued that, actually being a negative because now parliament is asking for expansion of parliament because MPs don't have office space, there's not enough space for the two houses to meet, I mean we saw the launch this year the opening of parliament in the garden, (2.1.2a) so, a lot of people argue that the opportunity cost the expansion has been the infrastructure amendment that you are proposing for; the public would say that they are against, so is that not a negative impact?

Peter: (2.2.2) No, not at all, those who are advancing that argument are holding the wrong end of the stick. The way to look at it is that the growth will have to come about whether it happened last year or a couple of years back, this is something that was on the card that it was going to happen. Sooner or later we will have to come to terms with the fact that (2.2.2a) the parliament that we have it was never meant to be a parliament, it was a headquarters of the Germany colonial governor; and it had never actually, not actually suited to house a national parliament, so the amendment of constitution, I think actually hasten the process of this country to come to terms with the fact that the time will have to come soon or later to build a national parliament, and that parliament, basically is in line with most of the national

institution that we have, (2.2.2b) we never had a state house, we never had a supreme court, all these institutions are/ had come about as a result of the fact that we are a nation.

Patrick:*(2.1.3) But, but I don't think that's the public argument, I think the public's argument is the timing of it, I think from now as a speaker you are saying that this is supposed to be something that is going to happen, but the people are arguing that at the time when public expenditure is cut, obviously saw the term preview, the minister coming to parliament out of national assembly last year to tell us where cuts are being done so the argument is the timing is wrong.*

Peter: *(2.2.3) The timing in terms of the particular challenge we face in financial terms should not negate the opportunity for us to act when it is time to us to do so; these are all challenges that we have to face as a nation but it does not necessary cancel the importance of having national institutions.*

Patrick:*(2.1.3a) But, I think people are talking about public expenditure being prioritised and they are saying that this is not a priority for Namibia, is this a part of the legislator that saying that, I mean, what is your response to the people of this country that say this should not be a priority in 2016?*

Peter: *The people who elected the government of the day are the very people that you are claiming are saying that and I am simply saying, there are also people who are saying, (2.2.3a) we must get on to govern this country to the best of our ability and I am saying, we are not going to simply build a building at any price.*

(2.2.3b) What I am simply saying is that, for instance the national assembly have come up with the select committee that's going to be joined with another selected committee of a national council that's going to be working with our line ministry to look at this issue of a new parliament and reflect on that carefully, and at the budget, and make sure that we have a budget that we can live with, that will provide us with a necessary space for the national parliament and to provide the accommodation in terms of office space, we are already spending money, that money is being spent for hiring offices, that's also a cost, but what we are saying is that we need to be much more cost effective in terms of sustainability.

Patrick: *(2.1.3a') Ok, well, thank you Mr speaker, Namibia there you heard from the speaker himself justifying the reason or rather the need for new parliament in saying that obviously we've built a new state house, we've built a new supreme court and this is a natural progression. I will continue talking about the impact of the parliament right after the break, do stay with us... [Break]*

Table 5.3.4.2: Argument 2: Implications of Namibian parliament expansion
[Transcribed verbatim, so no error correction]

No.	Description
(2.1)	<i>But let's look at this expanded parliament that has had implications on the public expenditure and public investment into the various branches of government</i>
(2.1a)	<i>would you say that there's been returns in public the investments in the expansion of parliament from 62 to 96 members? -What benefits the Namibian people, are they better represented, are the laws being instated from like there are more diverse coming from</i>

	<i>diverse parts of the country- what positive impact has the expansion had?</i>
<i>(2.2)</i>	<i>this expansion brought in a number of younger parliamentarians, and brought in a substantial number of female parliamentarians</i>
<i>(2.1.1)</i>	<i>But, but those gains could never be presented by the 72 members on the national assembly rather than parliament, could those gains not have been made with 72 members, having greater youth representation, having greater women representation?</i>
<i>(2.2.1)</i>	<i>Well, there's nothing wrong in what we have done in terms of bringing youths in terms of a big number in terms of women... I am simply saying that, this has been a positive development, not the negative ones!</i>
<i>(2.1.2)</i>	<i>Well, people have argued that, actually being a negative because now parliament is asking for expansion of parliament because MPs don't have office space...</i>
<i>(2.1.2a)</i>	<i>so, a lot of people argue that the opportunity cost the expansion has been the infrastructure amendment that you are proposing for; the public would say that they are against, so is that not a negative impact?</i>
<i>(2.2.2)</i>	<i>No, not at all, those who are advancing that argument are holding the wrong end of the stick. -The way to look at it is that the growth will have to come about whether it happened last year or a couple of years back, this is something that was on the card</i>
<i>(2.2.2a)</i>	<i>the parliament that we have it was never meant to be a parliament, it was a headquarters of the Germany colonial governor; and it had never actually, not actually suited to house a national parliament</i>
<i>(2.2.2b)</i>	<i>we never had a state house, we never had a supreme court, all these institutions are/ had come about as a result of the fact that we are a nation.</i>
<i>(2.1.3)</i>	<i>But, but I don't think that's the public argument, I think the public's argument is the timing of it...</i>
<i>(2.2.3)</i>	<i>The timing in terms of the particular challenge we face in financial terms should not negate the opportunity for us to act when it is time to us to do so - these are all challenges that we have to face as a nation but it does not necessarily cancel the importance of having national institutions</i>
<i>(2.1.3a)</i>	<i>But, I think people are talking about public expenditure being prioritised and they are saying that this is not a priority for Namibia, -is this a part of the legislator that saying that, -I mean, what is your response to the people of this country that say this should not be a priority in 2016?</i>
<i>(2.2.3a)</i>	<i>The people who elected the government of the day are the very people that you are claiming are saying that.. -there are also people who are saying, we must get on to govern this country to the best of our ability...</i>
<i>(2.2.3b)</i>	<i>What I am simply saying is that, for instance the national assembly have come up with the select committee that's going to be joined with another selected committee of a national council that's going to be</i>

	<p><i>working with our line ministry to look at this issue of a new parliament and reflect on that carefully,</i></p> <p><i>-and at the budget, and make sure that we have a budget that we can live with, that will provide us with a necessary space for the national parliament and to provide the accommodation in terms of office space, we are already spending money,</i></p> <p><i>-that money is being spent for hiring offices, that's also a cost, but what we are saying is that we need to be much more cost effective in terms of sustainability.</i></p>
(2.1.3a')	<p><i>Ok, well, thank you Mr speaker, Namibia there you heard from the speaker himself justifying the reason or rather the need for new parliament in saying that obviously we've built a new state house, we've built a new supreme court and this is a natural progression.</i></p>

In this discourse, strategic manoeuvring was employed to justify the expansion of the parliament by bringing in younger and female parliamentarians. The speaker argued that this expansion was necessary and inevitable, given the fact that the parliament was never intended to be a parliament but rather a headquarters for the German colonial governor. The speaker also acknowledged the financial challenges the country was facing but believed that this should not negate the need to act when necessary.

The speaker employed the use of enthymemes to support his argument. For instance, he argued that there was nothing wrong with bringing in young and female parliamentarians since it was always on the cards to happen. This argument was supported by recent scholars who highlighted the importance of increasing the representation of women and youth in parliament (Alkire & Santos, 2013; Norris & Inglehart, 2019). Additionally, the speaker employed the use of a comparative argument to demonstrate the cost-effectiveness of the expansion. The speaker argued that the country was already spending money on hiring offices, which was

also costly, but expanding the parliament would provide the necessary accommodation in terms of office space and promote sustainability.

The speaker also employed the use of meta discourse to emphasise his argument. He repeatedly used the phrases "*what I am simply saying is*" and "*I am saying*" to clarify and emphasise his position. Additionally, the speaker employed the use of a concession to address potential counterarguments. He acknowledged that some would argue that the expansion was not necessary, but he argued that this was holding the wrong end of the stick. The speaker employed strategic manoeuvring to justify the expansion of the parliament by bringing in younger and female parliamentarians. He used enthymemes, comparative arguments, meta discourse, and concession to support his argument and address potential counterarguments. This discourse demonstrated the importance of strategic manoeuvring in academic discussions to persuade and convince audiences.

Using the pragma-dialectical theory of argumentation, the discussion on the expansion of parliament can be analysed in terms of the moves made by the speakers to advance their arguments. The speaker of the Namibian parliament, Peter Katjavivi, used strategic manoeuvring by claiming that the expansion of parliament led to an increase in the number of female and younger parliamentarians, which helped to improve gender representation in Namibia. He also claimed that the expansion of parliament was a positive development and dismissed the argument that it was a negative move due to the lack of office space and the need for infrastructure amendment. On the other hand, the host used critical questioning to challenge the

speaker's argument, asking whether the benefits of the expansion could not have been achieved with fewer parliamentarians. The host also pointed out the negative implications of the expansion, such as the lack of office space and the need for infrastructure amendment, which have cost implications for the Namibian people.

In response, the speaker used the same strategic manoeuvring technique, arguing that the growth in the number of parliamentarians was inevitable, and that the expansion had hastened the process of building a national parliament, which was a necessary institution for the country. He also dismissed the argument that the expansion was not a priority for Namibia and pointed out that the government had formed a select committee to look into the issue of a new parliament and come up with a budget that was cost-effective and sustainable.

The discussion on the expansion of parliament shows the use of strategic manoeuvring and critical questioning to advance arguments and counterarguments. The pragma-dialectical theory of argumentation can be used to analyse the moves made by the speakers and to evaluate the effectiveness of their arguments.

Using the theory of argumentation, it is crucial to assess the effectiveness of the Namibian Parliament in changing the lives of the people. Despite the official launch of the parliament and the proposal of a considerable number of bills (110), it is important to question whether the emphasis has been on quantity over quality. According to the theory, argumentation involves the use of various rhetorical and argumentative techniques to persuade and influence an audience. In the case of

parliament, strategic manoeuvring is essential in ensuring that the legislative branch is effective in addressing the needs and concerns of the people.

The Namibian Parliament plays a critical role in shaping the country's policies and ensuring that they are responsive to the needs of the people. However, the effectiveness of parliament in achieving this goal remains a subject of debate. While the high number of bills proposed indicates a commitment to addressing various issues affecting the people, it is important to evaluate the quality of these bills and their impact on the lives of the people. Additionally, there are concerns about the effectiveness of parliament in implementing these bills and ensuring that they result in tangible changes for the people. Thus, the National Speaker stood as the voice of the parliament to answer to the questions many Namibians asked pertaining the whole system and how certain things are run.

5.3.4.3 ARGUMENT 3: Effectiveness of parliament in changing the lives of the people

Dialogue Extract 5.3.4.3 [Transcribed verbatim, so no error correction]

Patrick: Well Namibia if you have just joined us we are talking to the national speaker of the assembly, professor Peter Katjavivi. Ah, professor, before we were talking a little bit more about the balance of power that exists, that's obviously constitutionally mandated; in this part lets focus a little bit on the effectiveness of parliament in really changing the lives of the republic, the people of this country. **(3.1)** Since the official launch of the parliament in the opening of it, there's been a hundred and ten bills that have been proposed, would you say that the project of parliament favours quantity over quality?

Peter: **(3.2)** Not at all, not at all, ah, as you know the parliament does not necessary, the initiative bring forward bills to the national assembly is the executive. The executive are the ones working on the bills, they are government of the day and they have to provide us with the bill for us to be able to deal with them. **(3.2a)** So, to a

certain extent, ah, for now we do not initiate bills, but we take them up when they are brought forward and deal with them in a manner that is required; for instance I will give you an example, the civil aviation bill was a very technical bill, comprehensive, a lot of details, that require members to refer such a bill to a parliamentary committee, and that parliamentary committee if they did not have necessary expertise it was up to them to provide a necessary experts and take them through paragraph by paragraph. That's what we did and I am extremely happy to say that we worked with the ministry of works and transport we facilitated that important exercise and eventually the bill went through, now...

Patrick: *[interjection]***(3.1.1)** But, the question is how do you prioritise what bill is needed at a time, because obviously when we looking at the example of the civil aviation bill, that has direct economic implication as well to the country, but has that for the public to understand how does it get prioritised like per, for example, the residential, shebeens in residential's bill; how do you do the weighting in that?

Peter: **(3.2.1)** Absolutely, I will come to that. We have what we get, internal arrangements where bills are brought to the house and the national assembly will then use internal arrangements to /with the participation of the prime minister and the whips (every political part has got a Whip) and we use that mechanism to make sure that we prioritise the list of bills that will have to be taken forward depending on the requirement, that's what are normally do and it's the convention that's applicable to most parliaments, so we have to prioritise the list of how the bills taken through.

Patrick: **(3.1.2)** Let's talk a little about the quality of debates in parliament; a lot of people obviously are of the opinion because the fact that parliament is largely controlled by the ruling party, that, that undermines the quality of debate in parliament, what's your response to this?

Peter: **(3.2.2)** My response to that is simply to say no! when the 6th parliament started and want to start there, we had a week long induction where we organised all members of parliament, ministers, back benchers, were all, had an opportunity to be taken through a proper induction where we deal with all aspects of parliament in terms of rules, in terms of issues in terms of interpersonal relationship and it's in line with all rules and order governing the house; and it was the most effective system in my view because I think the majority member, some of them were members, I feel most of them benefited from that important exercise.

Patrick: **(3.1.2a)** But, but, let's look for instance at the involvement of the executive members that, obviously are part of legislative as well, ah, constitutionally you have to be an elected official in order to be a part of the executive, but do you think there should be a constitutional amendment that needs to be changed in terms of measuring the impact of a full time parliamentarians and excluding them from the executive, how do you deal with that? Because, obviously, it seems like a burden in time commitment if you are an MP and a minister, and could undermine the quality of debate in parliament.

Peter: **(3.2.2a)** Not at all, not at all! My experience is the other way around. I will give an example, a couple of days ago we had a debate on genocide, a motion that was brought by the Honourable Mahamberwa. Basically, to talk about the need for us to have a remembrance, a day dedicated to having to remember the terrible events that took place in our country. That debate brought the whole house together. Some

people might have seen that to say that this might call division etc, etc, contrary, it brought the whole house together.

Patrick: (3.1.2b) But how does that deal with the issue of duplication may be on behalf of being an executive, and being a legislative an- an- and just not having the time to be fully committed to one of the branches?

Peter: (3.2.2b) I think we must live with a system that we have. This is the system that we have, first and foremost, you must be a member of Parliament before the president could appoint you...

Patrick: (3.1.2c) But shouldn't we change, like, for instance, in other countries like Singapore and Kenya where ministers directly apply, what your opinion on that?

Peter: (3.2.2c) My opinion, that I want to stick with a system that we know best. At the moment, I think it's working extremely well. Ministers have got their duties during the course of the day, cetera, in the in the morning, in the afternoon. They have got their duty to be in the house and to take up issues from the respective ministries. It is working extremely well. And I also want to add that parliamentarians in general, **(3.2.2c')** I think the quality of debate is improving and it is something that comes with time. At the beginning, people who are you in the, in any particular...

Patrick: [interjection] (3.1.3) Next question, has the number of parliamentarians decrease the quality of our parliamentary debates?

Peter:(3.2.3) Not at all, not at all, I think they are, they are, managing extremely well. All of them partaking in database equally, and I think, **(3.2.3a)** I also see the level of quality work taking place at the committee level, where in our system, you can hardly tell whether the members belong to this party or to that party where party where they work together in harmony for the, for the purpose of making sure that they improve the quality of legislation that are brought to the house.

Table: 5.3.4.3 Effectiveness of Parliament in Changing the Lives of People
[Transcribed verbatim, so no error correction]

No.	Description
(3.1)	Since the official launch of the parliament in the opening of it, there's been a hundred and ten bills that have been proposed, would you say that the project of parliament favours quantity over quality?
(3.2)	Not at all, not at all... The executive are the ones working on the bills, they are government of the day and they have to provide us with the bill for us to be able to deal with them.
(3.2a)	So, to a certain extent, ah, for now we do not initiate bills, but we take them up when they are brought forward and deal with them in a manner that is required
(3.1.1)	But, the question is how do you prioritise what bill is needed at a time... but has that for the public to understand how does it get prioritised like per, for example, the residential, shebeens in residential's bill
(3.2.1)	Absolutely, I will come to that...internal arrangements where bills are brought to the house and the national assembly will then use internal arrangements to /with the participation of the prime minister and the whips and we use that mechanism to make sure that we prioritise the

	<i>list of bills that will have to be taken forward depending on the requirement...</i>
(3.1.2)	<i>Let's talk a little about the quality of debates in parliament; a lot of people obviously are of the opinion because the fact that parliament is largely controlled by the ruling party, that, that undermines the quality of debate in parliament, what's your response to this?</i>
(3.2.2)	<i>My response to that is simply to say no! -we had a week-long induction where we organised all members of parliament, ministers, back benchers, were all, had an opportunity to be taken through a proper induction where we deal with all aspects of parliament in terms of rules, in terms of issues in terms of interpersonal relationship and it's in line with all rules and order governing the house</i>
(3.1.2a)	<i>But, but, let's look for instance at the involvement of the executive members that, obviously are part of legislative as well, ah, constitutionally you have to be an elected official in order to be a part of the executive, -but do you think there should be a constitutional amendment that needs to be changed in terms of measuring the impact of a full-time parliamentarians and excluding them from the executive, how do you deal with that? -Because, obviously, it seems like a burden in time commitment if you are an MP and a minister, and could undermine the quality of debate in parliament.</i>
(3.2.2a)	<i>Not at all, not at all! My experience is the other way around (example given in defence) ...</i>
(3.1.2b)	<i>But how does that (example given in defence in (3.2.2a)) deal with the issue of duplication may be on behalf of being an executive, and being a legislative an- an- and just not having the time to be fully committed to one of the branches</i>
(3.2.2b)	<i>I think we must live with a system that we have..., you must be a member of Parliament before the president could appoint you...</i>
(3.1.2c)	<i>But shouldn't we change, like, for instance, in other countries like Singapore and Kenya where ministers directly apply, what your opinion on that?</i>
(3.2.2c)	<i>My opinion, that I want to stick with a system that we know best. At the moment, I think it's working extremely well.</i>
(3.2.2c')	<i>I think the quality of debate is improving and it is something that comes with time</i>
(3.1.3)	<i>Next question, has the number of parliamentarians decrease the quality of our parliamentary debates?</i>
(3.2.3)	<i>Not at all, not at all, I think they are, they are, managing extremely well. All of them partaking in database equally</i>
(3.2.3a)	<i>I also see the level of quality work taking place at the committee level, where in our system, you can hardly tell whether the members belong to this party or to that party where party where they work together in harmony for the, for the purpose of making sure that they improve the quality of legislation that are brought to the house.</i>

The speaker also used the argument from consequences by suggesting that the current system prioritised bills effectively and that the quality of debate was improving. This was an attempt to persuade the audience by suggesting that the current system was working well and that any changes could have negative consequences. Therefore, several strong arguments were made in support of the speaker's position that the executive should be responsible for providing bills and that the National Assembly should prioritise them using internal arrangements. The speaker's argument was based on the principle of separation of powers. The executive was responsible for proposing bills and policies, while the legislature was responsible for scrutinising and passing them. This separation of powers ensured a balance of power between the different branches of government and prevented any one branch from becoming too powerful.

The speaker's argument was also based on efficiency. The executive was better equipped to initiate bills as they had the resources and expertise to research and develop policies. By allowing the executive to initiate bills, the National Assembly could then focus on scrutinising and passing them, which was a more efficient use of their time and resources. In addition to that, the speaker made his arguments based on practicality. The National Assembly is made up of elected representatives who may have different priorities and agendas. Allowing them to initiate bills could result in a flood of bills that may not align with the government's priorities. By prioritising bills brought forward by the executive, the National Assembly could then focus on passing bills that aligned with the government's agenda.

The speaker's argument was supported by the idea that the quality of debate was improving. By allowing the executive to initiate bills, the National Assembly could focus on scrutinising and improving them through debate and discussion. This process of scrutiny and debate could lead to better-quality bills to achieve the intended outcomes.

In the context of discussing the effectiveness of parliament in changing the lives of the people, the speaker of the National Assembly, Professor Peter Katjavivi, engaged in strategic manoeuvring by defending the quality of debates in parliament and the prioritisation of bills. The host raised the concern that the project of parliament favoured quantity over quality, given the large number of bills that have been proposed since the official launch of the parliament. The speaker of the national assembly responded by stating that the initiative to bring forward bills to the national assembly was the executive's responsibility. Therefore, parliament took up bills when they were brought forward and dealt with them as required. The speaker provided an example of the civil aviation bill, which was referred to a parliamentary committee that included experts who scrutinised the bill. It is a norm that the internal arrangements of parliament are used to prioritise bills for debate, and the prime minister and political party whips participate in this process.

When asked about the quality of debates in parliament, the speaker refuted the suggestion that the ruling party's control of parliament undermined the quality of debates. He defended the induction process, which he claimed was effective in

dealing with all aspects of parliament, including rules and interpersonal relationships. This response demonstrated the speaker's strategic manoeuvring by emphasising the effectiveness of the induction process and implying that the ruling party's control did not affect the quality of debates. The host alleged the involvement of executive members in the legislative branch and suggested that being both an executive and a legislative member could undermine the quality of debates. The speaker responded by stating that a debate on genocide brought the whole house together, showing that being both an executive and legislative member can be beneficial. The Speaker concluded that people must live with the system that individuals must be members of parliament before being appointed as ministers.

The Pragma-dialectic Theory of Argumentation examines various strategic manoeuvres such as the Speaker's use of the argument from authority when citing the internal arrangements and conventions applicable to most parliaments. The Speaker provided an example of the Civil Aviation Bill, which was scrutinised by a parliamentary committee, indicating that parliament did not favour quantity over quality. Furthermore, the Speaker used the argument from analogy when stating that *“we must live with the system we have, and we cannot change the requirements that individuals must be members of parliament before being appointed as ministers”*.

The host used the argument from consequences by suggesting that being both an executive and a legislative member could undermine the quality of debates. However, the Speaker had to counter this argument by using the argument from emotion when mentioning the debate on genocide that brought the whole house

together. The Speaker of the National Assembly used various strategic manoeuvres in response to the host's concerns about the effectiveness of parliament in changing the lives of the people. The pragma-dialectic theory of argumentation can help in analysing this argument's strategic manoeuvres.

5.3.4.4 ARGUMENT 4: Parliament Standing Committee

Table: 5.3.4.4 [Transcribed verbatim, so no error correction]

Patrick: (4.1) *I am going to focus on parliamentary standing committee for the last bit before we get there, do you think there's a lack of expertise in parliamentarians, in shaping laws that are adequate and effective to changing society in terms of the constitutional preamble, talk about social justice talk about equality, is there still a gap?*

Peter: (4.2) *Parliament are dynamic institutions. They, they go with the changes we have parliamentarians who are...*

Patrick: (4.1a) *Do we have the required expertise?*

Peter: ... (4.2a) *Of course, if you have a highly experienced Parliamentarians who come and go, and of course, as the exit parliament, you need also to make sure that you have got young Parliamentarians who are coming along, who are developing the necessary skills. (4.2a)* *And it is up to us as the leaders to expose young parliamentarians to the necessary training exposure so that they can also catch up.*

Patrick: (4.1a') *Ok, well, Namibia there you heard from the speaker himself, we will be back, after the break. This is One-on-One see you right after the break.*

In terms of the expertise of parliamentarians in shaping laws that are adequate and effective in promoting social justice and equality, there is certainly room for improvement. While some members of parliament may have specialised knowledge in specific fields, many may lack the technical skills and expertise necessary to address complex policy challenges. Additionally, there may be biases and ideological differences that can impede the development of inclusive and equitable legislation. Therefore, it is important to promote ongoing education and training for parliamentarians, as well as active engagement with civil society organisations and other stakeholders, to ensure that legislation is grounded in evidence-based research

and reflects the needs and priorities of all Namibians. In closing Argument 4 segment, the host accepted the guest's standpoint by redirecting it to "Namibia" the primary audience he was representing (1.4a').

Table 5.3.4.4: Expert knowledge in the Namibian parliamentary standing committee [Transcribed verbatim, so no error correction]

No.	Description
(4.1)	<i>I am going to focus on parliamentary standing committee for the last bit before we get there, do you think there's a lack of expertise in parliamentarians</i>
(4.2)	<i>Parliament are dynamic institutions. They, they go with the changes we have parliamentarians who are...</i>
(4.1a)	<i>Do we have the required expertise?</i>
(4.2a)	<i>Of course, if you have a highly experienced Parliamentarians who come and go</i>
(4.2a)	<i>And it is up to us as the leaders to expose young parliamentarians to the necessary training exposure so that they can also catch up.</i>
(4.1a')	<i>Ok, well, Namibia there you heard from the speaker himself,</i>

The initial proposition in the Speaker's argument is that parliament is a dynamic institution that requires expertise in standing committees. This proposition can be supported by various sources that emphasise the importance of expertise in parliamentary committees. For example, a recent study by Hansen and Pedersen (2022) found that the quality of parliamentary committee work is positively correlated with the level of expertise of its members. The study suggested that parliamentary committees that had a higher proportion of experts were more likely to produce high-quality reports and recommendations.

To further support the argument, it is important to clarify what constitutes expertise in parliamentary standing committees. This can be done by referring to the criteria for selecting committee members outlined in parliamentary rules and procedures. For example, the Namibian parliamentary rules state that committee members

should have relevant knowledge and experience in the area of the committee's mandate. This can be further elaborated by referring to the specific expertise required for each committee, such as legal expertise for the legal and constitutional affairs committee or financial expertise for the public accounts committee. In terms of strategic manoeuvring, the argument can be strengthened by anticipating and responding to counterarguments. For example, one potential counterargument is that expertise is not the only factor that determines the quality of committee work. This counterargument can be addressed by acknowledging that other factors, such as political ideology and party affiliation, may also influence committee work, but emphasising that expertise is a necessary precondition for effective committee work. Furthermore, the Speaker's the argument can be strengthened by highlighting the potential consequences of not having sufficient expertise in parliamentary standing committees. For example, a lack of expertise can lead to biased and uninformed decisions, which can undermine the credibility and legitimacy of parliamentary committees. This point can be supported by referring to cases where parliamentary committees have been criticised for their lack of expertise, such as those parliamentary select committees on science and technology. The host's argument that parliamentary standing committees require expertise is supported by empirical evidence and parliamentary rules and procedures. Strategic manoeuvring can be used to anticipate and respond to counterarguments and to emphasise the potential consequences of not having sufficient expertise. This argument highlights the importance of ensuring that parliamentary committees have a sufficient level of expertise to produce high-quality reports and recommendations that are credible and legitimate.

The argument presented in the dialogue between the Speaker of the Namibian parliament and the host of the *One-on-One* show regarding the expertise of parliamentarians in shaping laws that are adequate and effective to changing society was not adequately addressed. The strategic manoeuvring in the dialogue was not effective in addressing the question posed by the host. The Speaker of the Namibian parliament started by emphasising the dynamic nature of parliament and the need for highly experienced parliamentarians who come and go. However, when the host asked specifically about the required expertise, the Speaker responded by discussing the importance of developing the necessary skills in young parliamentarians. This response appeared to be a way of avoiding the question rather than addressing it directly. This is an example of a fallacy of diversion, where the Speaker attempted to deflect attention from the question posed by the host.

To analyse the argument using strategic manoeuvring, it is important to identify the various moves made by the Speaker and the host. The Speaker used the move of emphasis by highlighting the dynamic nature of parliament and the importance of highly experienced parliamentarians. However, this move was not directly related to the question posed by the host, which is whether there was a lack of expertise in parliamentarians in shaping laws that were adequate and effective to the changing society. On the other hand, the host used the move of interjection to emphasise the need for a direct response to the question. However, this move was not followed up with a counterargument or a response to the Speaker's diversionary response. As a result, the argument remained unresolved.

To strengthen the argument, it would be important to provide empirical evidence or references to support the claim that there is a lack of expertise in parliamentarians in shaping laws that are adequate and effective to the changing society. For example, a study by Töller and Svensson (2020) found that many parliamentarians lack expertise in areas such as digitalisation and sustainability, which are becoming increasingly important in shaping laws and policies. This evidence could be used to support the argument that there is a gap in expertise in parliamentarians. The argument presented in the dialogue between the Speaker of the Namibian parliament and the host of the *One-on-One* show regarding the expertise of parliamentarians in shaping laws that are adequate and effective to changing society was not adequately addressed. The strategic manoeuvring in the dialogue was not effective in addressing the question posed by the host. To strengthen the argument, empirical evidence or references could be used to support the claim that there is lack of expertise in parliamentarians in shaping laws that are adequate and effective to the changing society.

5.3.4.5 ARGUMENT 5: Parliamentarians declaration of assets

Dialogue Extract 5.3.4.5 [Transcribed verbatim, so no error correction]

Patrick: *This is One-on-One, if you just joining us, we are speaking to the speaker of national Assembly, that is Professor Peter Katjavivi, could you. I think in the last segment, we really want to focus on, just again, the nature of Parliament and parliamentarians and the standing committee and I want to start with, ah, this idea around, you know that Parliamentarians don't want to declare assets, which is obviously a mandate for Parliamentarians. (4.1) Do you think sometimes it's very difficult for parliamentarians to want to declare assets, and what is the current state status of asset declaration in your 6th parliament?*

Peter: *Let me, let me, let me share with you. (4.2) Declaration of assets in the Namibian Parliament, whether being the national assembly of the national council is something that goes back. There was a time when we had to revise the form that was originally introduced and we needed to do that so that we are up to date in terms of the requirement, so we succeeded due to do that. (4.2a) Members of the national Assembly were required to do that and last year they declared their assets, and this asset declaration is consist of two to two parts. Part one is a private one where you want to keep whatever you have declared on confidential basis, and the other one is for public purpose. So that has been done and done away with. Right now, the national Assembly is committed to the promotion of upholding the declaration assets as an important aspect of our work. Members right now are required to do so, and we have no reason to doubt their commitment as they have done last year, they will be required to do likewise this year.*

Patrick: (4.1.1) *But, what's the criteria when you say that there in one of those they would like to keep private, because I think a lot of people in the public think, if you want to be an elected official, we want to know what you privately own, so the demarcation in saying that one is private, is against public interest.*

Peter: (4.2.1) *No, no, no! that I can, I can, I can, I can deal with that upright. First of all, there is a question of security, what you are required to declare, everything about your property, your residency and personal details those things cannot be just exposed through public and access. It's for your own protection that we have to keep that secured.*

Patrick: (4.1.1a) *So, what is made public?*

Peter: *What is made public? (4.2.1a) Everything, you are a shareholder, you have what you do, you have a shareholding in whatever company that information is actually made available and that is available, and we are currently, basically going through this second declaration asset, which is basically it's renewed on the yearly basis. We have now started and everybody is really required to do so,*

Patrick: (4.1.1b) *And has everybody done so?*

Peter: (4.2.1b) *They have already begun to do so*

Patrick: (4.1.1c) *Ok so you can't categorically, classify that most of all, MPs, a national assembly, have to declared their assets publicly?*

Peter: (4.2.1c) *Most of them actually started to submit the form and I'm sure if you ask me, by the end of June I'll be able to give you the total submission that had been done, and if there's any outstanding members who have not done so, then it would be dealt with according to the rules of the national Assembly.*

Patrick: (4.1.3) *Let's look a little bit about, uh, you know, parliamentary standing committee because obviously this is almost, I mean the connection to the people on the ground, when you looking at an, is normally a parliament, which includes national council as well. You looking at the interaction that is had between the people and parliamentarians. Do you think that that actually shapes the country's development positively, or is the adequate interaction between the MPs and the electorate?*

Peter: (4.2.3) *I think the most important thing is this, the question of taking Parliament to the people is a critical one. It's a very vital link between us as lawmakers and their citizens we represent. So, it is a fundamental requirement that our parliamentary standing committees must actively engage the citizens in various parts of our country, that is what we do. But it must be done in a very coordinated manner.*

Those who are expecting us in the various part of the country should be properly informed and they should know when these committees are going to come around so that a proper consultation is utilized, and there's no wastage in terms of time and resources.

Patrick: (4.1.3a) *But, but, is that not effected by your relationship with national council, the council, through its official national regional councils, as well have constituency offices that can mobilize people to be part of these activities, but is that weakness that's manifested between the two houses, also not filtering down in terms of the consultations?*

Peter: (4.2.3a) *I-I think, I think, if you ask me, I am a committed person in terms of ensuring that both houses are working together in harmony for the purpose of meeting the needs and aspirations,*

Patrick: (4.1.3b) *Are they working effectively?*

Peter: (4.2.3b) *Well, yeah, I-I would, I would not say that it's hundred percent, but I'm simply saying, there is an absolute commitment on the part of the leadership of both houses to make sure that we do so.*

The declaration of assets is a crucial aspect of ensuring transparency and accountability in government, particularly for parliamentarians who hold positions of public trust. However, despite its importance, there have been concerns about the reluctance of some parliamentarians to declare their assets. This raises questions about the challenges that parliamentarians face in declaring their assets, and the current status of asset declaration in Namibia's 6th Parliament.

The Namibian Constitution requires parliamentarians to declare their assets upon taking office, and to update their declarations annually (Namibian Constitution, Article 30). The purpose of this requirement is to promote transparency and prevent conflicts of interest, by ensuring that parliamentarians do not use their positions for personal gain (Namibian Constitution, Article 43). Despite this mandate, there have been reports of parliamentarians who are reluctant to declare their assets, citing concerns about privacy and security (Nicanor, 2021). Some parliamentarians have argued that the declaration of assets could put them and their families at risk,

particularly in a country with high levels of crime (Nicanor, 2021). Others have suggested that the process of asset declaration is overly bureaucratic and time-consuming, and may deter potential candidates from running for office (Nicanor, 2021).

The current status of asset declaration in Namibia's 6th Parliament is unclear. While some parliamentarians have declared their assets publicly, others have been criticised for their lack of transparency (Namibian Sun, 2020). This has led to calls for greater accountability and transparency among parliamentarians, and for the government to enforce the requirement for asset declaration (Namibian Sun, 2020). The declaration of assets is an important tool for promoting transparency and accountability in government, particularly for parliamentarians. However, concerns about privacy, security, and bureaucracy may make it difficult for parliamentarians to comply with this mandate. The current status of asset declaration in Namibia's 6th Parliament is unclear, highlighting the need for greater accountability and transparency in government.

Table 5.3.4.5: A requirement for declaration of assets [Transcribed verbatim, so no error correction]

No.	Description
(4.1)	<i>Do you think sometimes it's very difficult for parliamentarians to want to declare assets, and what is the current state status of asset declaration in your 6th parliament?</i>
(4.2)	<i>Declaration of assets in the Namibian Parliament, whether being the national assembly of the national council is something that goes back.</i>
(4.2a)	<i>Members of the national Assembly were required to do that and last year they declared their assets, and this asset declaration is consist of two to two parts. Part one is a private one where you want to keep whatever you have declared on confidential basis, and the other one is for public purpose...</i>

(4.1.1)	<i>But, what's the criteria when you say that there in one of those they would like to keep private, because I think a lot of people in the public think, if you want to be an elected official, we want to know what you privately own, so the demarcation in saying that one is private, is against public interest.</i>
(4.2.1)	<i>No, no, no! that I can, I can, I can, I can deal with that upright. First of all, there is a question of security, what you are required to declare, everything about your property, your residency and personal details those things cannot be just exposed through public and access. It's for your own protection that we have to keep that secured</i>
(4.1.1a)	<i>So, what is made public?</i>
(4.2.1a)	<i>Everything, you are a shareholder...you have a shareholding in whatever company that information is actually made available.... We have now started and everybody is really required to do so...</i>
(4.1.1b)	<i>And has everybody done so?</i>
(4.2.1b)	<i>They have already begun to do so</i>
(4.2.1b)	(4.1.1c) <i>Ok so you can't categorically, classify that most of all, MPs, a national assembly, have to declared their assets publicly?</i>
(4.2.1c)	<i>Most of them actually started to submit the form -and I'm sure if you ask me, by the end of June I'll be able to give you the total submission that had been done, and if there's any outstanding members who have not done so, then it would be dealt with according to the rules of the national Assembly.</i>
(4.1.3)	<i>Let's look a little bit about, uh, you know, parliamentary standing committee... Do you think that that actually shapes the country's development positively, or is the adequate interaction between the MPs and the electorate?</i>
(4.2.3)	<i>I think the most important thing is this, the question of taking Parliament to the people is a critical one. -It's a very vital link between us as lawmakers and their citizens we represent. --So, it is a fundamental requirement that our parliamentary standing committees must actively engage the citizens in various parts of our country, that is what we do.</i>
(4.1.3a)	<i>But, but, is that not effected by your relationship with national council, the council, through its official national regional councils, as well have constituency offices that can mobilize people to be part of these activities, but is that weakness that's manifested between the two houses, also not filtering down in terms of the consultations?</i>
(4.2.3a)	<i>I-I think, I think, if you ask me, I am a committed person in terms of ensuring that both houses are working together in harmony for the purpose of meeting the needs and aspirations...</i>
(4.1.3b)	<i>Are they working effectively?</i>
(4.2.3b)	<i>Well, yeah, I-I would, I would not say that it's hundred percent, but I'm simply saying, there is an absolute commitment on the part of the leadership of both houses to make sure that we do so.</i>

In this argumentative discourse, the Speaker of Parliament defended the asset declaration requirement for Namibian Members of Parliament. The argumentation can be analysed using the Strategic Manoeuvring. The Speaker of Parliament presented the argument in two stages. In the first stage, he provided the factual background that members of the National Assembly were required to declare their assets, and they had already begun to do so. He also explained that the asset declaration was composed of two parts: a private one and a public one. The Speaker used these facts to argue that there was no reason to doubt the commitment of the members to declare their assets as required this year.

In the second stage, the Speaker addressed the potential objection that some members may have regarding the private part of the asset declaration. He argued that the privacy of personal details was essential for the security of the members, and thus, it was necessary to keep that information confidential. The Speaker further emphasised that the asset declaration requirement was part of the parliamentary standing committees' efforts to actively engage citizens in various parts of the country, which is critical to taking Parliament to the people. The Speaker's argumentation can be analysed using the strategic manoeuvring, which proposes that argumentation is a strategic activity that involves the use of argumentative moves aimed at resolving a difference of opinion. The theory posits that argumentation involves a dialectical process of resolving a difference of opinion by manoeuvring between reasonableness and effectiveness.

In the present argumentation, the Speaker used different strategic manoeuvring moves to support his position. For instance, he used the argument from commitment, asserting that the members' previous compliance with the asset declaration requirement showed their commitment to the process. He also used the argument from consequences, emphasising the importance of engaging citizens in the parliamentary process and taking parliament to the people. The Speaker also used the argument from security to support the privacy of the personal details of the members in the asset declaration process. The Speaker of Parliament's argumentation in defence of the asset declaration requirement for Namibian Members of Parliament shows a strategic use of argumentative moves to resolve a potential difference of opinion. The strategic manoeuvring provides a useful framework for analysing the different strategic manoeuvring moves used in this argumentation.

The requirement for parliamentarians to declare their assets is a common practice in many countries around the world. According to Transparency International (2018), asset declaration is an important tool for preventing corruption and ensuring transparency in government. The Namibian government has also recognised the importance of asset declaration and has implemented measures to ensure that all members of parliament fulfil this requirement (The Namibian, 2019).

Regarding the issue of private declaration, it is important to note that many countries, including Namibia, have laws in place to protect the personal information of elected officials (OECD, 2011). This is in line with the principle of privacy, which is

recognised as a fundamental human right by the United Nations (UN, 1948). In addition, personal information that could threaten the security of elected officials, such as their home address or bank account details, must be kept confidential (The Namibian, 2019). It is also worth noting that the Namibian parliament has standing committees that are responsible for overseeing the implementation of laws and policies related to asset declaration and other issues. These committees provide an important avenue for citizen consultation and ensure that government actions are transparent and accountable (The Namibian, 2019).

5.3.5 CONCLUDING STAGE

Dialogue Extract 5.3.5 [Transcribed verbatim, so no error correction]

Patrick: *Ok, just quickly, (1.1) do you think of a parliament in its current status is adequate, and it is representing people in the Namibia to its best.*

Peter: *(1.2) As I think we are, we are indeed, and I think we are striving towards making sure that we do so, (1.2a) but like most things, there's nothing that hundred percent, but this is that the willingness for us to continuously interrogate our commitment and the methodology that we are using, that we do so.*

Patrick: *(1.1.1) Professor Peter Katjavivi, thank you very much, make the time to join us on One-on-One,*

Peter: *(1.2.1) Thank you.*

Patrick: *(1.1.1') Well, Namibia, there you heard it from the speaker of the national Assembly himself, up clarifying the position and the way forward for the national assembly. Join us again next week for me, Patrick Sam and the entire One-on-Oneteam, it's a good evening.*

Table 5.3.5 Conclusion

No.	Description
(1.1)	<i>...do you think of a parliament in its current status is adequate, and it is representing people in the Namibia to its best.</i>
(1.2)	<i>As I think we are, we are indeed, and I think we are striving towards making sure that we do so,</i>
(1.2a)	<i>but like most things, there's nothing that hundred percent, but this is that the willingness for us to continuously interrogate our commitment and the methodology that we are using, that we do so.</i>
(1.1.1)	<i>Professor Peter Katjavivi, thank you very much, make the time to join us on One-on-One,</i>

(1.2.1)	<i>Thank you.</i>
(1.1.1')	<i>Well, Namibia, there you heard it from the speaker of the national Assembly himself, up clarifying the position and the way forward for the national assembly.</i>

The argument in question involved the requirement for members of parliament in Namibia to declare their assets. The Speaker of the Namibian parliament explained that asset declaration was a requirement for all parliamentarians and that the process included both private and public declarations. The host of the show expressed concern about the private declaration and suggested that it was against public interest to keep information about elected officials private. The speaker of the parliament responded that personal information that could threaten the security of elected officials must be kept confidential.

5.3.6 SUMMARY

Using the pragma-dialectical theory of argumentation, the argument can be analysed as a critical discussion with an opening stage, an argumentation stage, and a concluding stage. In the opening stage, the host of the show raised the issue of asset declaration and asked the Speaker about the current status of the asset declaration in parliament. In the argumentation stage, the Speaker of the parliament explained that the requirement for asset declaration was fulfilled by all members and clarified the process of declaration. The host raised a concern about the private declaration, and the speaker responded by giving reasons why such information was kept confidential. The concluding stage ended with a discussion on parliamentary standing committees and the need for proper consultations with the citizens.

The Theory of Argumentation can provide a useful framework for analysing the discourse surrounding the expansion of the Namibian Parliament. This theory, developed by van Eemeren and Grootendorst (2004), emphasised the importance of examining the various strategic moves made by the participants in an argumentative discourse. This includes identifying fallacies, assessing the relevance of arguments, and evaluating the overall effectiveness of the discourse.

The argument can be evaluated in terms of the rules and standards of pragma-dialectics, which involve the analysis of the argument in terms of its rationality, relevance, and acceptability. In terms of rationality, the argument is reasonable and coherent in that it addressed the issue of asset declaration and provided reasons for keeping personal information confidential. As per the critical discussion rules, the freedom rule is clear from violation. The host maintained good standards of allowing the guest the freedom to put forward their standpoint without obstruction. On the question of pressure, the host committed fallacy by putting the guest under pressure to answer the question presented. The example is seen in Argument 4 of this discussion where the host asked whether the guest thought there was a lack of expertise in the parliament (4.1) to which he replied off topic (which is a fallacy of relevance). The host emphasised on the question in (4.1a) which put the guest under pressure to address the question. There was indication fallacy where the host pointed out to contradiction in the guest's words/ statements regarding the powerfulness of the executive because it is used by the legislators to drive its own agenda (1.1.1a). The guest contradicted himself as he defended the standpoint by agreeing to what the host alleged (about inequality of power in parliament) and at the same time

defended the aspect of the power being equally distributed (1.2.1). To this double standard, the host sarcastically called out the guest about what he was inferring to (1.1.1b). Throughout the argumentations, the burden of proof was maintained by both parties in a sense that, no fallacies were committed through being pressurised in any form. Furthermore, the host did not violate the standpoint rule by misrepresenting the host's standpoints. The defences were in relation to the advanced standpoints. No violations were observed in the argumentation. Also, there was no indication on violation of the relevance rule.

Furthermore, the standpoints and the arguments related in a sense that, arguments were defended by means not argumentation; there was no indication of arguers playing on sentiments or parading their qualities. On the starting point rule, the host applied presupposition in making assertions unfairly, which is fallacious because the host advanced several questions in order to achieve his intended goal. The argument scheme was not violated.

There were fallacies of confusion of facts with value of judgements in terms of some of the arguments made by the host. On the other hand, the argumentation showed fair exercise of reasoning because the argumentation was logically valid and there was no indication of confusion in the properties of part and whole. With regards to the closure rule, all the defences of standpoints in the argumentation stage were successful because the host retracted his views or doubts before moving to the next question. It is not clear whether the host retracted due to time and the need to move to the next item on the agenda. Finally, the language usage rule was not violated.

The arguers were clear and accurate in relation to their standpoint. No use of ambiguity was detected in the argumentation.

5.4 ARGUMENTATION ON LAND AFIRMITIVE ACTION PRESSURE GROUP ADVOCATING FOR LAND FOR THE LESS ADVANTAGED

5.4.1 INTRODUCTION

The issue of land redistribution in Namibia has been a contentious issue since the country's independence from South Africa in 1990. The distribution of land in Namibia is characterised by a legacy of colonialism, which has led to a large proportion of land being owned by white minority settlers. According to the Namibia Statistics Agency of 2018, 70% of agricultural land in Namibia was owned by white farmers, who make up only 6% of the population (NSA, 2018). Namibia has a history of colonialism and apartheid that has led to significant land dispossession of the indigenous people, particularly the Herero and Nama people. During the colonial era, the German and later the South African governments seized large tracts of land from the indigenous people, and this trend continued even after the country gained independence in 1990. As a result, a small white minority still owns a significant portion of the land, while the majority of the black population, who constitute more than 80% of the population, have limited access to land for their agricultural and housing needs. The Namibian government has made several attempts to address this issue through land reform programmes, including land redistribution and restitution, aimed at restoring land to its rightful owners. However, progress has been slow due to various challenges, including resistance from white farmers, lack of funding, and corruption.

The government of Namibia's position on land redistribution has been clear: they see it as a way to address the historical injustices and promote economic growth and social stability in the country. The government has implemented various policies and programmes aimed at redistributing land from white minority owners to previously disadvantaged black Namibians. These policies and programmes have been met with resistance from some white landowners, who argue that they have legitimate ownership of the land. Despite the government's efforts, the process of land reform has been slow, and the majority of the land is still in the hands of white farmers. According to a report by the Namibia Land Statistics (2019), only 6.4 million hectares of land had been redistributed to previously disadvantaged Namibians out of a targeted 15 million hectares, which was expected to be achieved by 2020. The government's approach to land reform has been criticised for its slow pace and lack of clear policy direction.

The Namibian government has maintained that land reform is necessary to address historical injustices and promote economic development. President Hage Geingob has publicly stated that the government is committed to land reform and that it will be pursued within the framework of the constitution and the rule of law (Geingob, 2019). On the other hand, white farmers have been resistant to land reform policies, arguing that it would lead to economic decline and instability. Some have argued that land reform should be based on market principles, where land is bought and sold rather than being expropriated. However, this approach has been criticised for being insufficient in addressing the issue of historical injustices (Gargallo, E .2010). Currently, the situation regarding land redistribution in Namibia is complex and

controversial. The government has made progress in implementing its policies and programme, but the pace of redistribution has been slow. This has led to frustration and impatience among some sections of the population, who believe that the government has not done enough to address the issue. On the other hand, some white landowners have expressed concerns about the potential impact of land redistribution on their property rights and the economy.

The issue of land redistribution in Namibia is complex and multifaceted. It is rooted in the country's history of colonisation and the dispossession of land from the indigenous populations. To fully understand the issue, it is essential to consider the historical context in which it has emerged. The effects of colonisation are still being felt in many African countries, with land ownership being a central issue. The struggle for land in Namibia is not unique, as similar struggles are taking place in other parts of the continent. Land redistribution in Namibia is an issue that requires careful consideration and sensitivity. The government of Namibia's position on the matter has been clear, but it has faced resistance from some white landowners. The issue is rooted in the country's history of colonisation, which saw the dispossession of land from the indigenous populations. It is therefore essential to consider the historical context in which it has emerged and the contributions of colonisation to the current land arguments.

Affirmative Repositioning (AR) is a social movement and political pressure group founded in 2014 by a group of young activists, led by Dr Job Amupanda, in Namibia. The movement's primary goal is to advocate for land and housing for the poor people

in Namibia. Since its establishment, AR has been vocal in addressing the issue of land redistribution, which is a sensitive and long-standing problem in the country. The AR movement has been at the forefront of advocating for land reform policies that seek to address this historical injustice. The group has used various tactics to raise awareness and mobilise support for their cause, including protests, social media campaigns, and engaging with political leaders. One of their most significant achievements was the successful lobbying for the repeal of a law that prohibited the resale of government-owned land for a profit. This law had allowed politically connected individuals to acquire land at low prices and then sell it at inflated prices, thereby limiting access to land for the poor.

AR has also been critical of the government's approach to land reform, which they argue has been slow and ineffective. The group has accused the government of being too lenient towards white landowners and not doing enough to ensure that land is distributed fairly to the poor. They have called for more radical measures, such as expropriation of land without compensation, to ensure that the poor have access to land. The AR movement's advocacy for land redistribution has received mixed reactions from different stakeholders in Namibia. While the movement has received support from many young people and some political leaders, it has also faced criticism from the white minority and some government officials who argue that their proposals are too radical and could undermine property rights.

Job Amupanda is a prominent land activist in Namibia, and his activism has been the subject of much discussion in Namibia. In this discussion, several moves that

participants made were identified, including presenting arguments, questioning assumptions, proposing solutions, and challenging the other party's arguments. In the case of Job Amupanda's land activism in Namibia, the discussion revolves around issues of land ownership, economic inequality, and political power.

Land activism in Namibia has been a pressing issue for several decades, with indigenous communities, particularly the Herero and Nama people, being left landless while the majority of the land is owned by white farmers. The issue has resulted in a deepening sense of marginalisation and inequality, particularly among the youth in these communities. According to a study by the Namibia Statistics Agency (2018), only 27.2% of households in rural areas own land, while the remaining 72.8% are landless or have insecure land tenure.

Dr Job Amupanda, a former student activist and leader of the Affirmative Repositioning (AR) movement, has been a prominent figure in the land activism struggle in Namibia. His confrontational approach has often brought him into conflict with the government, with some accusing him of inciting violence and being a threat to national security. However, Amupanda's work has also gained significant support, particularly among young people who have been disproportionately affected by the land issue. The government of Namibia has acknowledged the need to address the issue of landlessness in the country. In 2018, the government launched the Land Conference, which aimed to address issues related to land reform and the redistribution of land. The conference was attended by various stakeholders, including civil society organisations, traditional leaders, and political parties. However, there have been concerns that the conference did not result in concrete

solutions, with some accusing the government of using it as a PR exercise (Shinovene, 2018).

5.4.2 CONFRONTATION

This initial stage of argumentation introduces the discussants taking place in the discussion. The discussants accept and agree to be involved in the discussion. The host introduces the guest of the day Job Amupanda, Land Activist in Namibia. In this confrontation stage, the host begins by discussing what has been happening in the media during the nine-month land campaign period. The dialogue below shows the exchange that brings the two parties into an agreement to engage in the discussion.

[Transcribed verbatim, so no error correction]

Kazembire: (1) *This One-on-Onewith me Kazembire Zemburuka, a program dedicated to bring you news makers, movers and shakers were in the news and making the news. (1a) My guest is Job Amupanda, Land activities who with a small group of the youth have made the nation pay attention to the urban land crisis. A very good evening to you sir, thank you so much for joining us.*

Job: (2) *Thank you, good evening Kazembire.*

Kazembire: (1b) *Good to have you on this platform. There was A-A back and forth in in social media, there were, we didn't know whether we were going to have you at some point during this nine-month campaign or not, but finally, you are here*

Job: (2a) *Yes, the program demands a lot from us and sometimes will be not always be where are we supposed to me. But as you said, we are finally here.*

Table 5.4.2: Confrontation

No.	Description
(1)	<i>This One-on-Onewith me Kazembire Zemburuka, a program dedicated to bring you news makers, movers and shakers were in the news and making the news.</i>
(1a)	<i>My guest is Job Amupanda, Land activities who with a small group of the youth have made the nation pay attention to the urban land crisis. A very good evening to you sir, thank you so much for joining us.</i>
(2)	<i>Thank you, good evening Kazembire.</i>
(1b)	<i>Good to have you on this platform. There was A-A back and forth in in social media, there were, we didn't know whether we were going to have you at some point during this nine-month campaign or not, but finally, you are here</i>

(2a)	<i>Yes, the program demands a lot from us and sometimes will be not always be where are we supposed to me. But as you said, we are finally here.</i>
------	--

5.4.3 OPENING STAGE

As noted by van Eemeren and Grootendorst (2004) and van Eemeren (2010), it is important for these roles to be identified in the opening stage. For instance, in the case of this discussion, the antagonist is the host of the show; the protagonist is therefore the guest. The guest's duty is to defend all the standpoints he or she advances in situations where the standpoints are attacked or challenged by the host. Another important aspect to consider in the opening is establishing whether the discussants have common grounds in relation to starting points of knowledge and also of values and rules (van Eemeren et al., 2007).

During the confrontation stage, the host introduced the guest, Job Amupanda and briefly discussed what has been happening in the media during the nine-month land campaign period. This was an opportunity for Amupanda to present his arguments and strategies in addressing the issue of land ownership in Namibia. Amupanda explained that his goal was to oppose capitalism and exploitation of the masses and to propose solutions to the problem of land ownership. The guest's argument reflected a critical perspective, which views racial and economic inequality as interconnected and in need of structural change (Nguvauva, 2016). The guest argued that the solution to the problem of land ownership was not simply to redistribute land, but to fundamentally transform the economic and political system in Namibia.

As seen in the extracts below, the discussion commenced with the host's introduction of the topic. He strategically approached the topic from the angle that suits what he aims to achieve from it (van Eemeren et.al. 2014). Thus, the host prompted the discussion by asking the guest about the "six-hour meeting" that took place between AR and the president of Namibia, Dr H. Geingob. This question opened up a whole range of premises from the host. As indicated in (1.2), the guest did not directly answer the question pertaining to whether the meeting was a vindication of the nine-month long campaign or not. He rather took the opportunity to thank and salute his fellow colleagues and their parents (1.2a). Nonetheless, the point referred to in (1.1) is addressed in (1.2b) in which he dismisses the "vindication" as the aim of the meeting. Instead, he refers to it as a long journey with consistent campaign which he and other members survived. Indicated below is a compressive opening dialogue between the host and the guest.

In the opening stage, the guest defends his argument against criticism and challenges from the host and other scholars. The guest notes that some of the criticisms of his activism are based on a lack of understanding of the issue at hand. For example, he argued that people who criticised his approach to land ownership did not understand the broader structural issues that underlie the problem. Amupanda's defence reflected a strategic move of questioning assumptions, in which he challenged the assumptions and biases of his critics. He also proposed solutions to the problem of land ownership, such as the Landless People's Movement and the Affirmative Repositioning campaign.

5.4.3: Dialogue Extract: [Transcribed verbatim, so no error correction]

Kazembire: (1.1) *So, at this juncture after that six-hour meeting that was held that Friday morning and at State House with President Hage Geingob, was that a vindication of your nine-month long campaign you think?*

Job: (1.2) *Well, we have always understood that in any struggle, the obstacle that must be overcome.*

We know, very well that the roses and flowers have never ever achieved anything in the history of the world. So, we knew that it was not going to be easy from the beginning. (1.2a) I want to salute to the mothers, ah, the parents of Zimburukeni Nayoma, and also, meme Hileni who is the mother of George and the mothers and fathers of all the fearless activist in all fourteen regions of our Republic and hundred and twenty-one constituency; it was never easy their children coming home late, they are reading about their children in the newspapers. Children be called sort of names.

(1.2b) I think it is not a matter of saying vindication, it is a matter of reflecting the long journey of a consistent radical campaign, and we survived generally, with serious planning. (1.2c) The meeting with the president, six to seven hours, I think it's eh, we expected that because, remember we have declared the period between twenty first November and the thirty first of July as a competitive period, where we were going to engage with all interested parties. In fact, before the meeting, the president well, engaged many people, including local authority councillors. We have engaged DBN, and DBN wrote to us. We still have a letter that says that, they are willing and able to fund all the 50000 land applications.

(1.2d) But what particularly is important, perhaps, with a meeting with the president is the type of leadership style that the president has demonstrated and the level of engagement that that characterized that meeting and the policy proposal, intervention in engagement that lasted for that hour, is not a matter of the vindication, really, it is a struggle, in every struggle there are different situations, there's a lot of things that come your way, both good and bad. (1.2.e) I think that meeting is very historic in a sense that when we went to the president, we told the president, that comrade president, never ever in our lives had we been under serious pressure, will you carry the hopes of many people. (1.2.f) The whole country was looking forward to an outcome. And we told the president, not just the whole country, the whole world is waiting to find a remedy to solutions to problems facing society.

Table 5.4.3 Opening [Transcribed verbatim, so no error correction]

No.	Description
(1.1)	<i>So, at this juncture after that six-hour meeting that was held that Friday morning and at State House with President Hage Geingob, was that a vindication of your nine-month long campaign you think?</i>
(1.2)	<i>Well, we have always understood that in any struggle, the obstacle that must be overcome.</i>
(1.2a)	<i>I think it is not a matter of saying vindication, it is a matter of reflecting the long journey of a consistent radical campaign, and we survived generally, with scenario planning</i>

(1.2b)	<i>The meeting with the president, six to seven hours, I think it's eh, we expected that because, remember we have declared the period between twenty first November and the thirty first of July as a competitive period, where we were going to engage with all interested parties.</i>
(1.2c)	<i>But what particularly is important, perhaps, with a meeting with the president is the type of leadership style that the president has demonstrated and the level of engagement that that characterized that meeting and the policy proposal, intervention in engagement that lasted for that hour, is not a matter of the vindication, really, it is a struggle, in every struggle there are different situations, there's a lot of things that come your way, both good and bad.</i>
(1.2.d)	<i>I think that meeting is very historic in a sense that when we went to the president, we told the president, that comrade president, never ever in our lives had we been under serious pressure, will you carry the hopes of many people.</i>
(1.2.e)	<i>The whole country was looking forward to an outcome. And we told the president, not just the whole country, the whole world is waiting to find a remedy to solutions to problems facing society.</i>

5.4.4 ARGUMENTATION STAGE

5.4.4.1 ARGUMENT 1: The campaign

The expropriation of land without compensation has been a contentious issue in the land activism struggle. Some argue that it is necessary to address historical injustices and ensure that land is redistributed to the marginalised communities. However, others argue that it would undermine property rights and discourage investment in the agricultural sector. The issue drew huge public interest and has been debated in Namibia, with the government taking a cautious approach, stating that any land reform must be done in accordance with the law and the country's constitution (Steward Wilson, 2021).

The guest refuted by challenging the arguments and assumptions of his critics. For example, he challenged the idea that land ownership is a matter of personal responsibility, arguing that the historical legacy of colonialism and apartheid had

created structural barriers to land ownership for many Namibians. Amupanda's refutation reflects a strategic move of challenging the other party's arguments, in which he critiques the assumptions and logic of his critics. He also proposed alternative solutions to the problem of land ownership, such as community-based land management and alternative economic models.

Amupanda seemed to be focusing on the issue of name-calling and irrelevant talk rather than addressing the real issue at hand. This could be seen as a way of avoiding the argument and not addressing the substantive issues being raised by Amupanda. According to Walton and Krabbe (2015), this is a common move in the pragma-dialectic theory, known as the fallacy of shifting the burden of proof. The fallacy involves shifting the responsibility of providing evidence or proof onto the opponent instead of providing evidence to support one's own argument. Amupanda's argument about land activism in Namibia is based on the need to address the issue of social inequality and economic exploitation of the people. He argued that the current capitalist system was unjust and perpetuated poverty and inequality, and that the only solution was to redistribute land and resources to the landless and the poor. According to Derman and Leysens (2018), Amupanda's argument is based on the Marxist theory of exploitation, which posits that capitalism is inherently exploitative and creates economic and social inequalities.

5.4.4.1: Dialogue extract: [Transcribed verbatim, so no error correction]

Kazembire: (1.1) Were you just interested in hearing those solutions from the president or was it a matter of you were eying for that meeting up to resolve this impasse, and therefore, whatever meetings took place in the interim were anality, for

example, the meeting that you held with urban development Minister and several others before the ventral meeting with the president.

Job: (1.2) Well, we need to put a lot of things in in into context now. Politics, generally, at the end of possible, have strange ways of manifesting itself. Now when people speak about those meeting they speak about those meeting on the basis of functionalism and then, on the basis of propaganda, we had a meeting with a politburo committee. **(1.2a)** It was very a good meeting, we agreed on the way forward, but what we read the newspaper, it was something else, that is why we decided a day before to forward the president the minutes because we were agreed that we're going to meet on Monday. **(1.2b)** The meeting that we held with the Minister of urban and rural Development was not necessarily meeting per se, but we had because we were on cell phone communication, we, we have known the Madam a way before we told her that we wanted to engage you. In fact, our meeting with her, we just met with her, ah, we do not want to meet with anyone else because we wanted to give her a proper orientation on what is our view and how do we see that this issue being addressed. And on the basis of that, she was now going to go back and come to us so that we can do a specific presentation, because it wasn't an issue of emotions. How do you feel about all these other things? Eh, we regarded that meeting is very important. You need to remember that we wanted to separate viva-viva politics from policy intervention. Now what do I mean by that You remember that on Thursday we were expelled by our party and the president chaired that meeting. And if we were interested in those glories, in what, what we would have simply just said, I wouldn't go. Why would you want to dialogue with us, if you, if we are not good enough to be in the ruling party; but we took a principle decision that is not about us, we are not fighting for our own jackets, **(1.2c)** we went to the President because as much as the acting president of the ruling party, he is also the president of the republic, we must be able to separate viva-viva politics and engaged with the president, propose solutions, debate and deliberate and find solution irrespective of whether we are expelled or not because it would have been very strange to our young people who have hope in us that we are putting the suspension and the expulsion before the issue of restoring dignity of our people.

Kazembire: (1.1.1) That was very much anomaly of the president to, uh, to have put out this gesture, especially at a time when he told the party buro that as president, I have to engage AR in spite of them being expelled by SWAPO, because I formed this government for people, so it appears there, you had a meeting of minds,

Job: (1.2.1) Yeah, it was a very good meeting, because remember what we did is that there is, we notified young people, we developed the AR housing charter 31. It is a very comprehensive document. I don't think I've ever worked on such a document built on clear ideological basis, but with practical solution. This is one of the most well-developed documents by the young people of this country for the past twenty-five years. We gave the president and five copies a day before, so that is able to engage, we were probably make copies to members of his cabinet to be able to engage in any clear policy proposal and intervention; and it was a very good meeting. **(1.2.1a)** Look what we were also saying in that meeting, we told the president that we follow very well, and we told the president we want to give a practical interpretation, because sometimes the politician, when the president says "no one must be left behind", what does it mean I told the president and he, he was smiling when we were telling him.

(1.2.1b) *We said, president, we understand that you are speaking about Namibian house, when nobody must be left behind, and I told the president that, as far as I'm concerned, as a landless youth I'm standing by the fence, but they are those that are close to the fridge, opening it and eating the Russian and all those things that are in the fridge. And the president said the door is always open, (1.2.1c) but what I'm basically trying to say is that what we did with the causing charter is to give practical interpretation of what does it mean No one must be left behind instead of just rhetoric,*

Kazembire: (1.1.2) *Alright, during that nine months earlier on, you referred to the fact that um, some of those were the forefront of the, the land activities, that, and, as they became known, were being called all sorts of names, and they were labelled with all sorts of labels. But one thing was also that you took, some but you also gave some, you called people all sorts of names as well, you called them the elite you called them zombies.*

(1.1.2a) *Oh, you called them all sought of disparaging titles and labels that you gave them. Would you be willing to apologize for that or say, but this was the heat of the moment that we are willing to apologize for some of the remarks that we have made may be mistakes that we made in the process,*

Job: (1.2.2a) *Absolutely not, I think the founding president, when you always used to speak, he used to speak about three things, disease, hunger and ignorance, now we have understood what diseases in hunger and it is, but it is this third pillar of his constant speech, which, when you analyse, have all his speeches from 1990 to 2005,*

Kazembire: (1.1.2b) *...but you just said...*

Job: (1.2.2b) *Can I explain?*

Kazembire: (1.1.2') *...that the mothers of your fellow activists, you want to apologize to them, because their children were called all sorts of names. My question to you is you also called people sorts of names. Would you be willing to apologise on that?*

Job: (1.2.2b') *No, if you would have allowed me to continue some explaining to a never said that we apologise to them, I said We want to thank the mothers meRuwambo, meHileni, we want to thank all the mothers of all the activists, because of what they had to endure.*

Kazembire: (1.1.3) *Other people had to when we do certain things, ...*

Job: (1.2.3) *We are priding them for, for, for, for taking the hit for their children, do not always explaining, ignore it, what do we mean by ignorance you see, there has been, just because a person doesn't understand something, they interpreter that as an insult. Now what is, for example, when you saying, Um, elite are those, are those...*

Kazembire: (1.1.3a) *But insult is a very subjective thing...*

Job: (1.2.3a) *No no no, Kazembire... It's very important to explain these things. When we speak about elite these are the people who command the means of production. If tomorrow I command the means of production and in and referred to, elite is an English word, is not an insult, it is a description of where you stand, it is a description of class. The zombie come from the when you read in the narratives of them f a final, he speaks about zombies. Now is, only, as you know, when you watch a movie, a zombie is a corpse that comes back to life when it comes back to life, even if you shoot it, it will still come in the same direction. And lets cut off and it will still jump all the way the body is put into, separated, it still goes into that direction, on the direction of, he or she, that owns the zombie, what we are trying to say is that way to*

characterize a tendency in a way, for example, you're in in, in in youth leadership, you know, 60% of the population is young, is unemployed and all those other things. You ignore that completely because you have the eye set on the ladder to accumulate into get position into government. So, no matter the wrong and the in contradiction in society, you behave like a zombie, which is in the movies is not an insult... it is a description...

Kazembire: (1.1.3b) This is very polarizing language, very divisive language, and some people took offence, would you be willing to apologize for those people, who, inadvertently, while you are described describing this class system were offended by your remarks?

Job: I am not Santa clause, I'm not even his deputy, I am not Nelson Mandela, but what I'm basically trying to explain their contradiction in society. **(1.2.3b)** We stand opposed to capitalism and exploitation of the masses of our people, we are proposing solution, what should be done. We are saying that we know very well that it is not easy when you stand up, we know very well that there are a lot of things are going to be thrown, so, but what I'm saying is that some of these statements that people make is because they do not have a proper understanding of what the issue is. There is a term, for example, when you say, when you say propaganda, the word propaganda in Namibia has only one interpretation, which is a negative interpretation, but the people don't look at propaganda is as a constant propagation of a message. So, because we need to talk to provide proper orientation to our people to understand term, because if some of these people were saying that their insulted by being called elite, if you ask them, what, what is the meaning of the way, you probably think elite means that somebody is stupid, no! but it means those that if you command the means of production in our country, if you are part of this minority that is directing the modes and the means of product you are in the league that is a simple English, we can provide an Oxford dictionary for people to read, and his very important, because, just because you don't understand something, it doesn't become an insult.

Kazembire: (1.1.3b') Alright, let's take a quick break, return after this, we have more to discuss on the program with Job Amupanda is our guest tonight.

5.4.4.1 Land Servicing Goals in Namibia **[Transcribed verbatim, so no error correction]**

No.	Description
(1.2)	Well, we need to put a lot of things in in into context now. Politics, generally, at the end of possible, have strange ways of manifesting itself.
(1.2a)	It was very a good meeting, we agreed on the way forward, but what we read the newspaper, it was something else, that is why we decided a day before to forward the president the minutes because we were agreed that we're going to meet on Monday.
(1.2b)	The meeting that we held with the Minister of urban and rural Development was not necessarily meeting per se...
(1.2c)	we went to the President because as much as the acting president of the ruling party, he is also the president of the republic, we must be

	<p>able to separate viva-viva politics and engaged with the president, propose solutions...</p> <p>-debate and deliberate and find solution irrespective of whether we are expelled or not because it would have been very strange to our young people who have hope in us that we are putting the suspension and the expulsion before the issue of restoring dignity of our people.</p>
(1.1.1)	<p>That was very much anomaly of the president to, uh, to have put out this gesture, especially at a time when he told the party buro that as president, I have to engage AR in spite of them being expelled by SWAPO, because I formed this government for people, so it appears there,</p>
(1.2.1)	<p>Yeah, it was a very good meeting, because remember what we did is that there is, we notified young people, we developed the AR housing charter 31. It is a very comprehensive document...</p>
(1.2.1a)	<p>Look what we were also saying in that meeting, we told the president that we follow very well, and we told the president we want to give a practical interpretation, because sometimes the politician, when the president says "no one must be left behind", what does it mean I told the president and he, he was smiling when we were telling him.</p>
(1.2.1b)	<p>We said, president, we understand that you are speaking about Namibian house, when nobody must be left behind, and I told the president that, as far as I'm concerned, as a landless youth I'm standing by the fence...</p>
(1.2.1c)	<p>but what I'm basically trying to say is that what we did with the causing charter is to give practical interpretation of what does it mean No one must be left behind instead of just rhetoric,</p>
(1.1.2)	<p>Alright, during that nine months earlier on, you referred to the fact that um, some of those were the forefront of the, the land activities, that, and, as they became known, were being called all sorts of names, and they were labelled with all sorts of labels.</p> <p>-But one thing was also that you took, some but you also gave some, you called people all sorts of names as well, you called them the elite you called them zombies.</p>
(1.1.2a)	<p>Oh, you called them all sought of disparaging titles and labels that you gave them. Would you be willing to apologize for that or say, but this was the heat of the moment that we are willing to apologize for some of the remarks that we have made may be mistakes that we made in the process,</p>
(1.2.1a)	<p>Absolutely not, I think the founding president, when you always used to speak, he used to speak about three things, disease, hunger and ignorance, now we have understood what diseases in hunger and it is</p>
(1.1.2b)	<p>...but you just said...</p>
(1.2.2b)	<p>Can I explain?</p>
(1.1.2')	<p>...that the mothers of your fellow activists, you want to apologize to them, because their children were called all sorts of names. My question to you is you also called people sorts of names. Would you be willing to apologise on that?</p>

<i>(1.1.3)</i>	<i>Other people had to when we do certain things, ...</i>
<i>(1.2.3)</i>	<i>We are priding them for, for, for, for taking the hit for their children... what do we mean by ignorance you see, there has been, just because a person doesn't understand something, they interpreter that as an insult.</i>
<i>(1.1.3a)</i>	<i>But insult is a very subjective thing...</i>
<i>(1.1.3b)</i>	<i>This is very polarizing language, very divisive language, and some people took offence, would you be willing to apologize for those people</i>
<i>(1.2.3b)</i>	<i>We stand opposed to capitalism and exploitation of the masses of our people, we are proposing solution, what should be done. We are saying that we know very well that it is not easy when you stand up, we know very well that there are a lot of things are going to be thrown, so, -but what I'm saying is that some of these statements that people make is because they do not have a proper understanding of what the issue is</i>
<i>(1.1.3b')</i>	<i>Alright, let's take a quick break, return after this, we have more to discuss on the program</i>

Until this point the discussion was basically being the background information that seemed to have laid a ground of the main discussion to follow. The discussion started with the initiative the AR had with the Minister of Urban and Rural Development. Before that, the guest took the opportunity to reflect the light to those who he regarded as front runners who engaged in the land campaigns; highlighting the danger they had to face in the line of these activities (1.2). The host suggested that the wrong the guest was expressing that was done to the activists could be the same wrong he could also be blamed for as he exercised the same form of verbal abuse towards others (1.1.2). The guest's explanation of terms seemed to divert from the true nature of the discussion where issues at hand were supposed to be settled. The name calling is not really the centre of the discussion of what the AR stands for, although the issues at hand were a result of the actions of the campaigns. The argument seemed to be based on irrelevant talk of name calling(1.2.3a). The host advanced his point of the supposedly offensive language used by the guest and

suggested in a form of a question that the host should apologise to those he might have offended. (1.1.3b) For example, there is no relevance in the statement regarding the host not being Santa Claus, or not even his deputy and not being Nelson Mandela. This was a very weak argument in defence of his standpoint (1.2.3b).

5.4.4.2 ARGUMENT 2: Land Servicing Goals in Namibia

Based on the critical discussion shown in argument 2 below, it is evident that land servicing has been a critical issue in Namibia for several years, with a significant backlog in housing leading to a growing need for affordable and accessible land (Horn & Nghikembua, 2019). The backlog in housing in Namibia is estimated to be at 300,000 units, with the government struggling to meet the increasing demand for housing (The Namibian, 2021). In response to this issue, young activists in Namibia have taken on a key role in advocating for government action to address the housing backlog and ensure that land servicing is prioritised. In 2018, the Namibian government announced plans to allocate 100,000 plots of land to the youth, with the aim of addressing the country's housing backlog (New Era, 2018). However, despite these efforts, access to affordable and serviced land remains a challenge for many Namibians. According to a 2016 report by the World Bank, Namibia has a land delivery system that is inefficient, with significant delays in land allocation and a lack of transparency in the allocation process (World Bank, 2016). The report highlights the need for reforms to the land delivery system to improve efficiency and transparency.

In response to the challenges faced by the land delivery system in Namibia, young activists have mobilised to push for policy changes and engage with government officials to address the housing crisis in the country. One of the most prominent youth-led organisations advocating for land servicing in Namibia is the AR movement. The AR movement was established in 2014, with the aim of advocating for land reform and affordable housing in Namibia (Shiimi & Shilongo, 2017; The Namibian, 2021).

In 2019, the AR movement led by its leader Job Amupanda, organised a series of protests calling for the government to prioritise land reform and address the housing backlog in the country. These protests led to negotiations with government officials, resulting in the allocation of 200,000 plots of land for young people in Namibia (New Era, 2019). This is a significant step towards addressing the housing backlog in the country, but there is still much work to be done. In addition to advocating for policy changes, young activists in Namibia have also taken practical steps to address the housing crisis in the country. For example, in 2018, a group of young architects and urban planners launched a project called “Mass Housing for the Masses”, which aimed to provide affordable and accessible housing to low-income communities in Namibia (Africa.com, 2018). This project involved the use of sustainable building materials and the involvement of the local community in the construction process.

The housing crisis in Namibia remains a significant challenge, with a backlog of 300,000 units and a land delivery system that is inefficient and lacks transparency (New Era, 2020). Young activists in the country have played a critical role in

advocating for policy changes, engaging with government officials, and taking practical steps to address the housing crisis. While progress has been made towards addressing the housing backlog, there is still much work to be done to ensure that all Namibians have access to affordable and serviced land.

The guest, as a youth activist and former student leader, has become a prominent figure in advocating for land servicing goals in Namibia. Amupanda's activism is centred around addressing the housing backlog in the country, which is estimated to be around 100,000 units (Alaerts et al., 2016). His advocacy efforts have focused on pressing the government to prioritise the provision of land and basic services to those in need, particularly the youth who are disproportionately affected by the housing crisis. Amupanda's advocacy efforts have been motivated by the belief that the government has a duty to provide basic services, including access to land and housing, to its citizens. This view is supported by international human rights law such as the United Nations (UN), which recognises the right to adequate housing as a fundamental human right (United Nations, 2016). However, despite the recognition of this right, many governments, including Namibia, have failed to take adequate measures to fulfil this obligation. The dialogue extract below details how Argument 2 was carried out.

5.4.4.2 Dialogue Extract [Transcribed verbatim, so no error correction]

Kazembire: All right, we continue with the program. (2.1) So, this outcome of that meeting produces this massive urban land servicing project that we are now witnessing that is really unprecedented; and from the twenty ninth of July to the fifth of August, the nation wants clarity, clearance of the identified and all Namibians have been called to volunteer for the project technical committee will also be a subject to

work out on the modalities... Um, and this, I'm reading from the outcome of those resolutions that we take at that meeting. But, many people were saying, but during that whole nine months period, there were certain interventions that we were calling for, but the only one that we got is the massive clearance of land. What happened to the rest of them?

Job: Well, as we said, the AR housing charter, 31, it formed the basis of engagement with the president, we, in a statement, there was a section, there was a part that was saying, it was discovered that the solutions policy intervention that AR is proposing, government is in agreement, generally, that's why it can't be that we only discuss 200 000 plots in the discussion, last for seven hours. **(2.2)** Now we are speaking issues of housing finance, issues of land servicing, issues of land occupation and eviction, issues of the land tenure system and all those basic interventions as to what is it that has to be done to address the land question holistically. That is why we released that document for people to understand. But because of the psychology of people at that time; it was a twenty fourth of July people wait, waiting for Friday and for the following Friday so that they can occupy the land and build their homes there. So, it was necessary for us to communicate a clear message, it practical message, because sometimes it's not that government is not doing anything. But government concentrates on things that have not practical meaning to the lives of people. If I am a landless young person, my name isn't on the on the list of misspelled, I want to be able to see that how far is it how far, how far is it gives of my hopes to ultimately build a home that I can do for my children So it is not that we only focusing on the 200 000 plots, ah, we have that various themes that we have outlined in the charter and if you want we can go through them,

Kazembire: And, and we, we can end in an environment, has agreed to all of them in vain. In all, they have endorsed your position,

Job: Well we, we, the last time we were on NBC platform, which characterized the outcomes, the adoption of the charter is 90%. Of course, they still not in any negotiation, you give and take, there is 90%, but when the on and on the 90% government didn't throw them away. Government said that we can dialogue, say that we can engage, for example, who under the constitution to be amended, so that the right to housing is made a fundamental right because we think that's one of the problem that we have, but government said, we need to dialogue further to see how best we can take those issues forward, but that is why we are going to be holding meetings to explain in details on all the semantic areas in what was agreed,

Kazembire: (2.1.1) Talk to me about the 200 000 plots, because of some, have criticized this proposal. One, some say it's too costly. Another factor that they say it will, if it's a cumbersome process that will take, it's a number of years to complete. And, somehow you are very optimistic of your opinion that this can be done in a time frame of less than a year or, or, what are the possible timelines there because that is one of the criticisms that we are saying that this can continue at infinitum,

Job: (2.2.1) No, no. We. We were very serious in this programme, look, people, will always talk, and I think in our quest to deal with the question of ignorance, we must explain to people, why do people say what they say? If you are a landlord owning twenty-six properties in window. It is in your interest that people remain landless so that they can rent from you.

Now when people say it's expensive, the city of Windhoek allocated fifty million for cell-phone allowances and things like that. No people to speak about this issue of how long is going to take. **(2.2.1a)** On the basis of a pilot project, project, extension four, Koriagab extension 4, we committed ourselves as young people that we are going to contribute our skills and expertise. **(2.2.1b)** We went to a technical committee meeting with land surveyors, town planners, civil engineers, electrical engineers; these are not is government, uh people but professionals mobilised by AR, we cleared eighty hectares of land within twenty-four hours distributed across the from the 31 to the 3rd of August. But usually such clearance would even cost millions of dollars, but we went there and did it for free, so we want things to be done, and we said and the president agreed that they need to be radical policy shift in the words of a president, they must be a bang, because we want to see prosperity as the presidents is speaking about ...

Kazembire: (2.1.2) So, what is the time frame?

Job: (2.2.2) The program begins immediately.

Kazembire: (2.1.2a) Yes, when will it be completed 200 000 plots, by when?

Job: We are having a technical committee meeting on technical committee meeting on Wednesday now to identify the land that is available, **(2.2.2a)** let me speak particularly to the 200 000 so that he can give people in understand. This is not a figure that is just a sucked out of thumb of those people who were in the meeting, the housing backlog in our country is currently standing at 100000. All the AR Applicants are standing at fifty in excess of 50 000, but there are people who didn't get the opportunity to apply so we estimate that probably another 50 000, if given an opportunity to approval by one.

Kazembire: (2.1.2b) So, by when?

Job: (2.2.2b) By when in terms of?

Kazembire: (2.1.2c) Will, these 200 000 plots be available?

Job: (2.2.2c) Because there is a practical implementation and the monitoring and evaluation our hope is that 200000 plots are made available in the immediate because we think we are going to volunteer ourselves, so we will continue to asses, because, for example. we,

Kazembire: (2.1.2d) Can you give a time frame for us?

Job: (2.2.2) We made, we made a commitment to the immediate. We can't make a commitment to do two to 2030, no! we we, we are making a commitment to the media so that we can to get working. Now, we know that it takes only twenty-four hours to clear 80 hectors of land, so when we go to Rocky Crest will know, for sure that is going to take us twenty-four hours to clear, whether distributed over two or three days, so we want to use scientific method of measurement, the time it is, as to how much time do you need; we don't want those uninformed perceptions. So, we are starting immediately.

Kazembire: (2.1.3) Talk to me about the cost issue, because the outcome of that meeting and subsequent to that, we have not heard a lot about that. The Minister of urban development has said that those plots won't be available free of charge at some point is somebody needs to pay for it. So, are we misleading the youth here in in terms of saying that 200000 plots will be made available or, why are we not mentioning the costs issue?

Job: (2.2.3) Well, where we are committed to ensure that for for us out view of AR is that we have negotiated the better deal for our young people, because when we spoke about 200000 applicants were only 50000. We have even negotiated beyond ourselves of course, it's the responsibility of government to provide for the basic services of our people. We are simply assisting them, so we told even the Minister of Finance in the technical committee meeting that we cannot be talking about cost when, for example, if a langer hiker makes graders available, which would have costed a great amount of money, we can't no longer be saying it is expensive, because, that cost has reduced. If young people volunteer to service the land, we have land surveyors who are assisting the the...

Kazembire: (2.1.3a) So why can't that kind of conversation be taking place right now. At the end of the process, you will now be getting into that debate about...

Job: When we,

Kazembire: (2.1.3a') ...what was the input cost and so forth,

Job: ...when we speak about, when we speak about the price of housing, and the cost, and all those things, people always speak, economies always speak about supply and demand to say, now houses are expensive in Namibia because there is no surprise that the demand with supply, **(2.2.3a)** when we supply 200000 plots in the market, it is a clear impact in terms of their prices, because the supply, now would have outweighed the demand. So, on that score it is already a reduction in the cost of what the unit costs is going to be. Also, there are professional volunteers, there are labour volunteering the cost of labour is going to come from whatever percentage, and he's going to who is going to come back and say that, no, I am a tender preneur, I service that so I need to recoup my costs. Look when we speak about, we are fighting for affordable land to be made available for people. Now when we speak specifically about, we are going to have a separate conversation. We can't, we can't just be contributing, and then tomorrow you want to sell it when we are view in our understanding; and it's also an understanding of government that this high cost of plots, like what had been in them is, I can tell, you now that thing is not going to happen and we, we have a good understanding of that, and also, and in our discussion, in an engagement, we are having a technical summit, probably with engineers, plumbers, in all those guys were bringing them together to speak about specific intervention of Selma, who works at a salon, or Jacob who is a barber.

Kazembire ...people at the lower end...

Job: Yes, the security guards, and how to be able to

Kazembire: (2.1.4) Just a quick question regarding the land clearing, a project.

You have said the youth are volunteering, of people are taking their heads for them, but not in great numbers that we saw, for example in November when they handed in those applications of the City of Windhoek. Not in the 50000, when you look at the 50000-number countrywide, obviously of people who handed. The publications through AR we did not see that that crowd that that you pulled earlier on, can we say that the youth have gone silent on this particular issue, or, or they're no longer on your ticket anymore?

Job: (2.2.4) Well, uh, we are not fighting for glory or fighting for a jacket, were when we don't, we are not fighting to be a Michael Jackson, and all those things, look, let's contextualize things for for the purpose that they meant to be.

The announcement on the site for land clearing was done on Tuesday, and the first meeting was on Wednesday, right, so in terms of mobilization, the time that you had to mobilize young people, to show up there and was minimal. And we started, uh, when we speak about the period between the twenty ninth was Wednesday already, people were at work, yeah, and you need to remember, because of his propagandas.

Kazembire: (2.1.4a) So, they had not deserted you yet?

Job: (2.2.4a) We are not fighting for numbers, remember when we need to clinical believe only five of us, so that story of how many people that it doesn't matter to us, we want solution, if it takes one or two persons to find solution, fine,

Figure 5.4.4.2: Land Servicing Goals in Namibia [Transcribed verbatim, so no error correction]

No.	Description
(2.1)	So, this outcome of that meeting produces this massive urban land servicing project that we are now witnessing that is really unprecedented -But, many people were saying, but during that whole nine months period, there were certain interventions that we were calling for, but the only one that we got is the massive clearance of land. What happened to the rest of them?
(2.2)	Now we are speaking issues of housing finance, issues of land servicing, issues of land occupation and eviction, issues of the land tenure system and all those basic interventions as to what is it that has to be done to address the land question holistically.
(2.1.1)	Talk to me about the 200 000 plots, because of some, have criticized this proposal. One, some say it's too costly. Another factor that they say it will, if it's a cumbersome process that will take, it's a number of years to complete..., what are the possible timelines there because that is one of the criticisms that we are saying that this can continue at infinitum...
(2.2.1)	No, no. We. We were very serious in this programme
(2.2.1a)	On the basis of a pilot project, project, extension four, Koriagab extension 4, we committed ourselves as young people that we are going to contribute our skills and expertise.
(2.2.1b)	We went to a technical committee meeting with land surveyors, town planners, civil engineers, electrical engineers
(2.1.2)	So, what is the time frame?
(2.2.2)	The program begins immediately.
(2.1.2a)	Yes, when will it be completed 200 000 plots, by when?
(2.2.2)	We made, we made a commitment to the immediate. We can't make a commitment to do two to 2030, no! we we, we are making a commitment to the media so that we can to get working.
(2.1.3)	Talk to me about the cost issue...The Minister of urban development has said that those plots won't be available free of charge at some point is somebody needs to pay for it.

	<i>-So, are we misleading the youth here in in terms of saying that 200000 plots will be made available or, why are we not mentioning the costs issue?</i>
(2.2.3a)	<i>when we supply 200000 plots in the market, it is a clear impact in terms of their prices, because the supply, now would have outweighed the demand. So, on that score it is already a reduction in the cost of what the unit costs is going to be.</i>
(2.1.4)	<i>Just a quick question regarding the land clearing, a project. You have said the youth are volunteering, of people are taking their heads for them, but not in great numbers that we saw... -The publications through AR we did not see that that crowd that that you pulled earlier on, can we say that the youth have gone silent on this particular issue, or, or they're no longer on your ticket anymore?</i>
(2.2.4)	<i>Well, uh, we are not fighting for glory or fighting for a jacket, were when we don't, we are not fighting to be a Michael Jackson, and all those things, look, let's contextualize things for for the purpose that they meant to be.</i>
(2.1.4a)	<i>So, they had not deserted you yet?</i>
(2.2.4a)	<i>We are not fighting for numbers, remember when we need to clinical believe only five of us, so that story of how many people that it doesn't matter to us, we want solution, if it takes one or two persons to find solution, fine,</i>

The question introduced in the opening stage of the discussion opens the door into the main discussion of the interventions that were carried and whether or not they were all achieved (2.1). This explanation is to motivate the fact that government can achieve a lot on a much extensive level because a small group of young activists with the little organisations they formed and consulted were able to achieve more than expected. He also put emphasis on the words/promises of the president to take credence (2.2.1/a & b). The host based his argument on the issue of representation where not a lot of representatives showed up or volunteered with regards to land clearing (2.1.4). The above statement does not seem to have relevance especially the reference that is made to Michael Jackson. Does the guest suggest celebrities are the people who would fight for glory and jackets? The guest seems to have a strategy of

contextualising his stands by using comparison that sets him at far distance from those who might do things for ulterior motives (2.2.4

Amupanda's approach to advocacy is characterised by strategic manoeuvring moves of argumentation, as outlined by the pragma-dialectic theory. One of the key moves he employs is the use of argumentation based on shared values and beliefs. For example, he frequently references the promises made by the government to address the housing crisis and emphasises the importance of fulfilling these promises to improve the lives of ordinary Namibians. This approach has been effective in mobilising public support for his cause and putting pressure on the government to act. Amupanda's advocacy efforts have also involved a focus on practical solutions, such as the clearance of land and the provision of basic services. He has been involved in a pilot project in Goreangab extension 4, where he and a team of young professionals cleared 80 hectares of land within 24 hours, which would have cost millions of dollars if done by the government (Kisting, 2022). This project is a testament to the effectiveness of grassroots activism and the potential for young people to contribute to the development of their communities.

Using the pragma-dialectic theory of strategic manoeuvring moves of argumentation, it is evident that Job Amupanda utilised various moves to advocate for land servicing goals in Namibia. One of the moves used is the "introduction move" where Amupanda began his argument by highlighting the massive urban land servicing project that was unprecedented, which set the stage for his discussion. He then went ahead to use the "concession move" where he acknowledged the massive clearance

of land but questioned the rest of the interventions that were called for, highlighting the need for a holistic approach to addressing the land question.

Amupanda also utilised the "refutation move" where he refuted the government's focus on issues that have no practical meaning to the lives of the people, emphasising the need for a radical policy shift. Additionally, he used the "persuasion move" where he motivated the fact that the government could achieve a lot on a much extensive level if a small group of young activists with little organisations could achieve more than expected. Furthermore, Amupanda used the "definition move" to contextualise his stands by using comparisons, such as Michael Jackson, to illustrate the ulterior motives of some people who fight for glory or jackets. Through this move, he differentiated himself from such individuals and emphasised the relevance of fighting for affordable land to be made available for people. Job Amupanda's advocacy for land servicing goals in Namibia has been motivated by a belief in the government's duty to provide basic services to its citizens, particularly in the area of housing.

5.4.4.3 ARGUMENT 3: AR funding **[Transcribed verbatim, so no error correction]**

Kazembire: Well come back. (3.1) So Mr. Amupanda, as we round up our discussion tonight, I want to hear one thing that has propped up in the media of late, who is funding organization? There is a view that from your media resources, personal resources that we have talked about selling of your book and so forth, you are unable to, or you couldn't have been in a position to mount a serious campaign as, as you had done. And apparently, we were now reading that the financial intelligence unit of the bank was checking for a source of funding with a foreign and an- and so forth. Can you go on record that you didn't receive any cent from any outside source?

Job: When we are taking, we take serious exception to that? (3.2) In fact, we were instructed their lawyers, our lawyers to take General Namolo to court, because he can just be making statements like that. The financial intelligence centre falls under the Bank of Namibia, not under his command. And our reading of it of him is that they, in fact, it is no such investigation. We have established through our investigation that is not like the, you just think about things in his own... but we understand why these things are said by the way AR doesn't have a bank account, by the way. I mean what

he rendered it talking about, I mean, we, we use our money, we don't spend our money on alcohol in women and like many people, even those who are criticizing us spend their money on alcohol, and just because they spend their money on alcohol doesn't mean we do that. Look, we have held, what event did you where the successful legal Consultative Forum what shocked them is because they usually organize lousy meetings with no, I mean, there were 300 young professionals, we give him food, we give them tags we give them documents we made copies of that, I mean, uh.

Kazembire: And that is resourced from your own funds?

Job: Yes, that is why, that is why...

Kazembire: (3.1a) There is no foreign funds?

Job: (3.2a) Yes, even if there were foreign funds, we would be very open, in fact, we are going to establish an account now; we have brothers and sisters in foreign countries and wherever. When we saw the minister and his people successfully he is going to be funding us, but even if we have foreign funds it is not something that we can't hide...

Kazembire: (3.1.1) Could you have been transparent about something like that, you're being sourced by an apolitical NGO that supports this political course or the other all that is helping at causing disability in this country?

Job: (3.2.1) Well, we know very well that even NGOs that are fighting HIV, AIDS and poverty and like that they receive funds, General Nambao doesn't speak about them they, even, as he funds from people that can be suspicious, so we are not moved by all that propaganda. What we are saying is that we are proud of, our ability to mobilize and organize, whether organising money, whether organizing resources whatsoever, we are funding ourselves, and we are funding it through our families, brothers and sisters, I mean, as one guy killed, a goat and I went particularly to make copies of people who have participated in that. So, just because you are unable to organize your meetings, just because you spend your money on alcohol doesn't mean...

Kazembire: (3.1.3) In a bigger scheme of things, do you think that there is a concerted campaign, and you have alluded to it on this platform. In in government circles, at least that they are opposed to this deal that you reached with government and that there will be manoeuvred, at least and measures that will be taken for it to fail.

Do you think that there is that? And my question, the second part of that question, is that is it a conspiracy that you are trying to raise?

Job: Well, no, no, no, we are speaking very well about it, that that specific issue, I'm sure you, you, you know, the way these things are coming from. (3.2.3) We have said it on record that we have established that there are people who are not happy with the program and decision taken by the president and they're working so hard already, I mean you saw people who are saying, I mean, General Ndeitunga today is in the newspaper saying that not everyone must get land. So, it is only him who must get land? Some people saying, we must live in apartments, whose departments who owns these apartments? So, we are, we are very clear in terms of people who want to sabotage the program, and that's what we are letting our young people...

Kazembire: (3.1.3a) And the President is not aware that their saboteurs within his midst?

Job: (3.2.3a) Well, the President, he has, it is disposal, the intelligence that can give him all the information I can't speak on his behalf. But we intend to work with a president in all the interest party, to make sure that we, we, we bring a fruit to this important program is very important for our country, we don't want our children to come and start AR again, we are sacrificing so many things that all those talks about funding and what... Now we are going to open up an account, we are not going to open up an account so that we can call for finding is that funds are coming from whoever, it's just like donation that is going to come, and those that are spreading those conspiracy because remember what they want to do, they want to say that these guys are funded by about twenty, by some billionaire, we don't know where he put his money for applying to a funding by these billionaires and their linking terrorism in peace and stability and all those things. That's the theory that they want to create on the basis of that then they must not intervene as police, as the defence, because the country's a-, (3.2.3b) I mean, how can a twenty-two, twenty-two, twenty-three or twenty-seven-year-old put the country at risk?

This propaganda, maybe have worked in exile, but it will never work in the independent Namibia...

Kazembire: Now that AR is done and dusted. The government has, at least right now is in support of it and we'll see it through. (3.1.4) You mentioned that you will be taking this to other sectors of the economy, you are going to take it to the fishing quotas. You're going to take this, or was that just talk in the heat of the moment once again or is this AR done and dusted it's the land issue?

Job: Well, we want to restore the dignity in the current moment, (3.2.4) we want to restore the dignity of our people. As far as land is concerned, we are not under any illusion or whatsoever to believe that the land issues are sorted, it is not sorted. The prices of houses in Cape Town are still 30% cheaper than the prices in Windhoek. We are still the second highest in the whole world, after Dubai in terms of house prices.

Kazembire: (3.1.4a) So, this will occupy you...

Job: (3.2.4a) So, we, we are going to, but we are very clear about taking ownership of the commanding heads of economy, we want to change the situation, with 5% of the population on, or 95% of the economy, it will come to that, particularly, what we are going to see is you're going to, there is a lot of young people were not interested. We are going to have departments of, we have the Legal Department, Documentation Department, all those things that we are going to be accommodating, many interns, we are restructuring...

Figure 5.4.4.3: Land Servicing Goals in Namibia [Transcribed verbatim, so no error correction]

No.	Description
(3.1)	<p>So Mr. Amupanda, as we round up our discussion tonight, I want to hear one thing that has propped up in the media of late, who is funding organization?</p> <p>-we were now reading that the financial intelligence unit of the bank was checking for a source of funding with a foreign and an- and so forth. Can you go on record that you didn't receive any cent from any outside source?</p>

(3.2)	<p><i>In fact, we were instructed their lawyers, our lawyers to take General Namolo to court, because he can just be making statements like that. The financial intelligence centre falls under the Bank of Namibia, not under his command.</i></p> <p><i>-I mean what he rendered it talking about, I mean, we, we use our money, we don't spend our money on alcohol in women and like many people, even those who are criticizing us spend their money on alcohol, and just because they spend their money on alcohol doesn't mean we do that</i></p>
(3.1a)	<p><i>There is no foreign funds?</i></p>
(3.2a)	<p><i>Yes, even if there were foreign funds, we would be very open, in fact, we are going to establish an account now</i></p>
(3.1.1)	<p><i>Could you have been transparent about something like that, you're being sourced by an apolitical NGO that supports this political course or the other all that is helping at causing disability in this country?</i></p>
(3.2.1)	<p><i>Well, we know very well that even NGOs that are fighting HIV, AIDS and poverty and like that they receive funds, General Nambao doesn't speak about them...</i></p> <p><i>-What we are saying is that we are proud of, our ability to mobilize and organize, whether organising money, whether organizing resources whatsoever, we are funding ourselves, and we are funding it through our families, brothers and sisters</i></p> <p><i>-So, just because you are unable to organize your meetings, just because you spend your money on alcohol doesn't mean...</i></p>
(3.1.3)	<p><i>In a bigger scheme of things... In in government circles, at least that they are opposed to this deal that you reached with government and that there will be manoeuvred, at least and measures that will be taken for it to fail. Do you think that there is that?</i></p> <p><i>-The second part of that question, is that is it a conspiracy that you are trying to raise?</i></p>
(3.2.3)	<p><i>We have said it on record that we have established that there are people who are not happy with the program and decision taken by the president and they're working so hard already,</i></p> <p><i>-So, we are, we are very clear in terms of people who want to sabotage the program, and that's what we are letting our young people...</i></p>
(3.1.3a)	<p><i>And the President is not aware that their saboteurs within his midst?</i></p>
(3.2.3a)	<p><i>Well, the President, he has, it is disposal, the intelligence that can give him all the information I can't speak on his behalf.</i></p> <p><i>-But we intend to work with a president in all the interest party, to make sure that we, we, we bring a fruit to this important program is very important for our country, we don't want our children to come and start AR again, we are sacrificing so many things</i></p>
(3.2.3b)	<p><i>I mean, how can a twenty-two, twenty-two, twenty-three or twenty-seven-year-old put the country at risk?</i></p> <p><i>This propaganda, maybe have worked in exile, but it will never work in the independent Namibia...</i></p>

(3.1.4)	<i>You mentioned that you will be taking this to other sectors of the economy, you are going to take it to the fishing quotas. You're going to take this, or was that just talk in the heat of the moment once again or is this AR done and dusted it's the land issue?</i>
(3.2.4)	<i>we want to restore the dignity of our people. As far as land is concerned, we are not under any illusion or whatsoever to believe that the land issues are sorted, it is not sorted. -We are still the second highest in the whole world, after Dubai in terms of house prices.</i>
(3.1.4a)	<i>So, this will occupy you...</i>
(3.2.4a)	<i>So, we, we are going to, but we are very clear about taking ownership of the commanding heads of economy, we want to change the situation... -We are going to have departments of, we have the Legal Department, Documentation Department</i>

In his defence, the host credits the success of the AR to the fact that unlike “others” his and colleague’s money is not spent on alcohol and women; meaning, his money was purposely good to good use of organising the campaigns (3.2).

The AR programme in Namibia has been a topic of controversy since its inception. The programme's goal was to address the country's land and housing crisis, which affects the majority of the population. However, General Namolo's statements at the time about the funding of the programme raised questions about its legitimacy. Using the pragma-dialectical theory of strategic manoeuvring moves of argumentation, it is possible to analyse the arguments presented by Amupanda. General Namolo's argument is that the funding for the AR programme is suspect and that the organisers are misusing the funds. To evaluate Amupanda’s arguments about General Namolo views, it is essential to consider the evidence presented. Amupanda claimed that the organisers of the programme were misusing the funds on alcohol and women. However, he provided no evidence to support this claim. According to Ramoroka and

Holtzhausen (2021), evidence-based arguments are more persuasive than those without supporting evidence. Therefore, Amupanda's argument lacks credibility, and his claims are likely to be dismissed.

The pragma-dialectic theory of strategic manoeuvring moves of argumentation can be applied to this argument. The organiser of the AR programme, Job Amupanda used the move of dissociation to distance his organisation from the accusations raised by General Namolo. Amupanda emphasised that their funds were not spent on alcohol and women, but rather on organising campaigns and events. This move aimed to establish the credibility of the AR programme and to undermine the accusations made by General Namolo. In the view of Amupanda, he used the move of the argument from ignorance. He raised doubts about the funding of the AR programme without providing any evidence to support his claims. This move aims to undermine the credibility of the AR programme by raising doubts about its transparency.

According to a report by the Namibian government, the AR programme has been successful in restoring the dignity of the Namibian people (3.2.4a) by addressing the issues of poverty and landlessness (Mbeha, 2017). The programme has provided opportunities for the youth to participate in decision-making processes, resulting in the empowerment of the youth in Namibia. The programme has also been successful in creating jobs for the youth and reducing poverty in Namibia. Despite the success of the AR programme, it still faces several challenges, including the controversy surrounding its funding.

5.4.5 CONCLUDING STAGE

In closing the host tried to suggest the future of AR as a full-fledged party which the guest dismissed. In terms of whether the discussion reached resolution, it is important to take note of the fact that the guest was availed adequate time to express himself and make his standpoints clear; additionally, to each question posed to the guest there seemed to have been an answer that led to the advancement of the discussion until the end.

Dialogue Extract 5.4.5 **[Transcribed verbatim, so no error correction]**

Kazembire: (1.1) *And finally, in one word, a fully-fledged political party.*

Job: (1.2) *Oh, such an unfortunate situation, but we understand why people are saying that, I think they're scared, I think they should be very scared,*

Kazembire: (1.1a) *One word.*

Job: (1.2a) *We are not a political party, we are just young people.*

Kazembire: (1.1a') *Job, it was a pleasure talking to think so much that was Job Amupanda, and that's where we leave matters until next week, same time same place from me K Z and the team bye bye...*

Table: 5.4.5

No.	Description
(1.1)	<i>And finally, in one word, a fully-fledged political party.</i>
(1.2)	<i>Oh, such an unfortunate situation, but we understand why people are saying that, I think they're scared, I think they should be very scared,</i>
(1.2a)	<i>We are not a political party, we are just young people....</i>
(1.1a')	<i>Job, it was a pleasure talking to think so much that was Job Amupanda, and that's where we leave matters until next week, same time same place from me K Z and the team bye bye...</i>

5.4.6 SUMMARY

With regards to the critical discussion and argumentation rules, some rules were violated while others were not. The host maintained good standards of allowing the guest the freedom to put forward his standpoint without obstruction. The freedom rule was somehow abused in a sense that the guest was left to make too many

premises which did not align with the standpoint/ question at hand. There was no indication that the host was under pressure at any stage. There have not been violations with regards to casting suspicions over each other's moves and no contradictions surfaced in either of the arguer's words. Throughout the argumentations, the burden of proof was maintained by both parties in the sense that, no fallacies were committed through being pressurised in any form.

Furthermore, the host did not violate the standpoint rule by misrepresenting the host's standpoints. The defences were in relation to the advanced standpoints. No violations were observed in the argumentation. The standpoints and the arguments correlated in a sense that, arguments were defended by means not argumentation; there was no indication of arguers playing on sentiments or parading their qualities. On the starting point rule, the host applied presupposition in making assertions unfair, which is fallacious. The starting point rule was violated by the guest. The guest defences were exaggerated in a sense that, several premises came out of one argument and most of these premises were not related to the standpoint that was advanced. Although the host asked several questions regarding the subject at hand, the answers were exceeded to value of the question which did not make the questioning a fallacy. The argument scheme was not violated. There were fallacies of confusion of facts with value of judgements in terms of some of the arguments made by the host.

On the other hand, the argumentation showed fair exercise of reasoning because the argumentation was logically valid and there was no indication of confusion in the properties of part and whole. With regards to the closure rule, there was failure in

defence of standpoint on the side of the guest due to too many argument advances and defences. Although the host ended up retracting the standpoint, it does not necessarily mean that there had been mutual agreement the resolution of differences. In most cases, the guest's defences failed because he did not retract standpoints even if he failed to defend fully, for instance when the guest was asked if he could apologise for the supposed bad name calling he was accused of. Finally, the language usage rule was violated unclearness and ambiguity in the argumentation advanced by the guest.

5.5 ARGUMENTATION ON VIEWS OF THE NAMIBIAN RULING POLITICAL PARTY

5.5.1 INTRODUCTION

The Namibian ruling political party, South West Africa People's Organisation (SWAPO), has been in power since the country gained its independence in 1990. As such, it has been instrumental in shaping the political and social landscape of Namibia. Over the years, the party faced several challenges and criticisms, but it has managed to maintain its grip on power. Recently, the legitimacy and credibility of SWAPO's campaigns have been called into question, with arguments arising regarding the strategic manoeuvring used in argument discourse by the party and its Secretary General, Sophia Shaningwa.

SWAPO is a political organisation that was founded on April 19, 1960, in Windhoek, Namibia. SWAPO was formed with the goal of fighting for total independence of Namibia from the colonial ruler, which was South Africa at the time. SWAPO's early years were marked by political activism, including protests and demonstrations against the South African administration. In 1966, SWAPO began a military wing, the

People's Liberation Army of Namibia (PLAN), which was tasked with carrying out guerrilla warfare against South African forces in Namibia.

The struggle for Namibian independence was a long and difficult one, with SWAPO and PLAN facing numerous obstacles along the way. South Africa, with its superior military and economic power, was able to maintain control over Namibia for several decades, and SWAPO was forced to operate from exile in other countries, such as Angola and Zambia. Despite the challenges, SWAPO continued to fight for independence, gaining support from other African countries as well as the international community. In 1988, after years of negotiations, a ceasefire was agreed upon, and Namibia gained its independence on March 21, 1990. Following independence, SWAPO became the ruling political party in Namibia, with its leader, Sam Nujoma, serving as the country's first president. Since then, SWAPO has maintained its position as the dominant political party in Namibia, winning every presidential and parliamentary elections since independence.

Over the years, SWAPO faced criticism from some quarters for alleged corruption and lack of progress on issues such as poverty reduction and land reform. However, the party has also been credited for achieving significant successes in areas such as education, healthcare, and infrastructure development. In November 2020, SWAPO held its sixth electoral congress, which saw the election of a new leadership team, including the current Secretary-General, Sophia Shaningwa. The congress was marked by a landslide victory for the Harambee team, a group of SWAPO candidates led by President Hage Geingob, which further solidified the party's position as the ruling political force in Namibia.

In recent years, SWAPO faced increasing pressure from opposition parties and civil society groups, with calls for greater transparency and accountability in government. Nonetheless, the party remains a powerful force in Namibian politics, and its continued dominance is likely to be a major factor in the country's political landscape for the foreseeable future. Sophia Shaningwa, who was recently re-elected as the Secretary General of SWAPO, is a prominent figure in Namibian politics. She has been praised for her leadership and commitment to the party's ideals, but her role in the recent congress was a subject of controversy. Shaningwa's strategic manoeuvring in argument discourse has been scrutinised, with questions being raised about the legitimacy and credibility of the campaigns she has led.

This section of the study analyses the strategic manoeuvring used in argument discourse by the representative of the SWAPO political party's Secretary General, Sophia Shaningwa. It will explore the views of the party and its leader, the criticisms they have faced, and the impact of their discourse on the political landscape of Namibia. The purpose of this section is to provide a critical analysis of the strategies employed by the representative of the SWAPO political party Shaningwa, and to evaluate their effectiveness and implications for the country's political future. The confrontation dialogue and table below show that the host and the guest established the difference of opinion through the host identification of who the guest was and the name. The argumentation, in this case is determined these two sides, the host and the guest.

5.5.2 CONFRONTATION STAGE

The confrontation stage establishes a common ground for the discussants difference of opinion. The difference of opinion comes up where the host sides with the

audience facing off with the guests and the questions that follow. As per van Eemeren (2010), the arguer's objective at this stage is based on their pursuit and attempts to reveal the difference of opinion with the aim of ultimately making the discussion beneficial to the individual's assumed positions. This stage also serves as an introduction of the host and the guest; and to also give a glimpse of the discussion to follow.

Dialogue Extract: 5.5.2 [Transcribed verbatim, so no error correction]

Patrick: (1.1) *Good evening Namibia and welcome to another edition of One-on-One program in which we consider things critically. Meaning, we can look at what's working and what's not working so well. (1.1a) I'm Patrick Sam and tonight I will seem drawn with a woman on a mission to bring the SWAPO party to greater heights as its new secretary general, that is Sofia Shaningwa. Good evening and welcome to One-on-One.*

Sofia: (1.2) *A very good evening, sir. And thank you very much for having me.*

Table: 5.5.2 Confrontation

No.	Description
(1.1)	<i>(1.1) Good evening Namibia and welcome to another edition of One-on-One program in which we consider things critically. Meaning, we can look at what's working and what's not working so well.</i>
(1.1a)	<i>(1.1a) I'm Patrick Sam and tonight I will seem drawn with a woman on a mission to bring the SWAPO party to greater heights as its new secretary general, that is Sofia Shaningwa. -Good evening and welcome to One-on-One</i>
(1.2)	<i>Before I try to respond to your question, uh, let me first thank the SWAPO party membership.</i>
(1.2)	<i>A very good evening, sir. And thank you very much for having me.</i>

5.5.3 OPENING STAGE

The opening stage is the second stage of critical discussion. In this stage, the party's discussion roles are decided according to the pragma-dialectical theory. As noted by van Eemeren and Grootendorst (2004) and van Eemeren (2010), it is important for these roles to be identified in the opening stage. For instance, in the case of this discussion, the antagonist is the host of the show; the protagonist is therefore the

guest. The guest's duty is to defend all the standpoints he advances in situations where the standpoints are attacked or challenged by the host. Another important aspect to consider in the opening is establishing whether the discussants have common grounds in relation to starting points of knowledge and also of values and rules (van Eemeren et al., 2007).

Dialogue Extract **5.5.3** [Transcribed verbatim, so no error correction]

Patrick: (1.1) *Well, obviously, the whole year, the media and the country has been anticipating the six electoral congress of the SWAPO party that took place on the twenty third to the twenty seventh of November. It was obviously a monumental moment. (1.1a) And the big question was the result of which seem like a landslide victory, for four candidates to refer to as team Harambee versus the other candidates. What is the party' stand now what does that mean, that landslide victor?*

Sofia: (1.2) *Yeah, no, thank you very much. Um. Before I try to respond to your question, uh, let me first thank the SWAPO party membership. The delegates that the way delegated to come and cast their votes and make sure that all what was sort of required to be done has been done. To vote for the topfull and to vote for the central Committee or SWAPO Party and also to vote for the political bureau of SWAPO party. On behalf of our party SWAPO, I will wholeheartedly want to thank them once more again. From the bottom of my heart is the new elected at the secretary general of our mighty SWAPO party. On behalf of our president Dr Hage Geingob and our Vice president comrade Netumbo Nditwah, and my deputy Secretary General, comrade Marco Hausiku. I think we owe it to the voters that voted for us and for voting the central Committee and the political Bureau of SWAPO party. (1.2a) Having said that in having, thanked everybody, of course, yes, Ah, it was a long way for us to arrive on the twenty seventh, early in the morning where the results came out having the Harambee team concurred; but of course, by the end of the day, it should be not known that. It was not only Harambee or team SWAPO, as we called ourselves, we are one people of one party. Membership of a SWAPO party, our party SWAPO, all of us as we came out from the Congress we came out to United as soon have also seen from those who didn't make it, the way they were contesting, we all hugged. We kicked the ball out. And to give one another a hand. I think this is what I have to say from the very beginning,*

Table: 5.5.3 Opening

No.	Description
(1.1)	<i>And the big question was the result of which seem like a landslide victory, for four candidates to refer to as team Harambee versus the other candidates.</i>
(1.1a)	<i>What is the party' stand now what does that mean, that landslide victor?</i>

(1.2)	<i>Before I try to respond to your question, uh, let me first thank the SWAPO party membership...</i>
(1.2a)	<i>Having said that in having, thanked everybody, of course, yes, Ah, it was a long way for us to arrive on the twenty seventh, early in the morning where the results came out having the Harambee team concurred; but of course, by the end of the day, it should be not known that.</i>

As indicated in the dialogue and the table above, the host and the guest clearly assume their roles in the discussion. In its simplicity, the host's question concerns the fact that 1) contestants ran in teams; 2) whether or not, due to the groupings, the campaign was soiled with tactics of intimidation by the Harambee team including the sitting president as one of the contestants (1.1). The host defends the issue of teaming for election as just a term that was used. She argues that the same applied in the past, only that there was no definite designation of calling the arrangements teams (1.2).

5.4.4 ARGUMENTATION STAGE

5.4.4.1 ARGUMENT 1: Contextualising reasons behind the landslide victory

Dialogue Extract 5.4.4.1 [Transcribed verbatim, so no error correction]

Patrick: (1.1) *Okay, but, but obviously, that would be ideal response from the new secretary general, but if you actually looking at what is taking place, we look at a people that have been formidable in terms of the rank and file of the SWAPO party that have got a check with that, of course, credibility, people like Charles Namolo, Nahas Angula, Jerry Ekandjo, Pendukeni Emvula litana; and we look at them not even making the CC and being eliminated also out of the Politburo, so it almost seemed like there was a huge price for contesting against the current presidency. (1.1a) Would you argue that the inner party democracy of SWAPO is yet going to be undermined as a result of a clean sweep.*

Sofia: (1.2) *Ah, I don't really think so and I would like also to say those who didn't make it, of course, yes, if you have a rightly said it is the inner democracy of the party. We were all given the responsibility to go out and of course, tell the people what we are going to do should we be elected or into those positions, from the president, Vice, Secretary general, Deputy, CC assistant and political bureau members. So, I think the discipline and all the traditions and norms of the SWAPO party, even having those*

colleagues and comrades, the stewards were of the party, almost founders so to say, **(1.2.a)** those who didn't make it, I think, is a question also of growth at SWAPO party is a mass political organization for all of us. And even if you didn't make it, it doesn't mean that you are thrown out of the party. If you made it, you also have a responsibility to make sure that unite others not to feel left out in the party. **(1.2b)** And I think we will forge ahead having those ones, the stewards, those old guys that didn't make it SWAPO will definitely continue to flourish in the way it was a flourishing when they were there. And it is also my belief that us who are a little bit younger, whenever we will need, perhaps wisdom we definitely have to go to them and to ask what so ever that will not be able to...

Patrick: (1.1.1) But, but, but a lot of analysts are concerned with this. They are saying that this was the first campaign that where, people ever ran as teams; before people run as individuals for instance. In 2002, I think the comrades, you know, was Nahas Angula vs Hifikepunye Pohamba vs Hidipo Hamutenya at the same time. So, the question was, for the first time, people ran as teams, and there was a sitting president that was running, so it was almost a feeling of not biting the hand that feeds you. **(1.1.2)** So, what we need to clarify, it was within the campaigns, whether tactics of intimidation or party resources or state resources were used to propel team Harambee, were people threatened when they were voting for team Harambee?

Sofia: (1.2.2) Ah, I have to be very, very straight that last elections and the previous congresses, if people called themselves by names as we did as individuals, lucky enough, they didn't perhaps so called themselves as teams but as that is individuals, but yet they had those who followed them and if they didn't call themselves as team A or as team B, they had their followers and perhaps the difference is that the, there is what we call a team; but even you call yourself a team, or you don't call yourself a team, if you have people that you want to tell, you want to follow you, I-I think, is almost the same thing, because ah...

Patrick: (1.1.3) ... the the difference here is endorsements and when you are indorsed by sitting president as Sofia Shaningwa running secretary general , Um, it, it almost seems like you are not running on your own merits, that you're running on the merit of a sitting president. And because people don't want to defy where the power lines, currently, you automatically become the ticket. So, the president is currently able to endorse his entire team, and **(1.1.3a)** did you think you were elected on your own merits, or on the merits of the president?

Sofia: (1.2.3) Ah, I think, it is not only perhaps our president, Dr Hage Geingob Who deter a thing like that in the world. I think other people, elsewhere have also done so. But all of us were given the responsibility to run and to campaign for the voters, in those who believe in what we can do,

Patrick: (1.1.3b) And on what merits for you, like it on your merits, on the president's merits?

Sofia: (1.2.3a) And not necessarily, I could have been beaten by comrade Alma Samuku; and other people also could have, Marco Hausiku and... meme Netumbo Ndaitwah. And the president could also have been beaten by any other persons.

(1.2.3b) It is a question of credibility, let me tell you straight away, it is a question of the credibility. The president didn't do us a favour. The president believed in us. The president believed in what we can do. And therefore, the president has chosen those

he thinks, can deliver with him. Not nearly, perhaps looking down at other people. But we cannot all be chosen at the same time.

But the president didn't also say, this is my slate and are not given the responsibility, we all have to go through the political bureau to be nominated and seconded; we have to go through the central committee to be also be endorsed by the central committee.

I think we all had enough time to converse and to talk to the elaborated, the voters, the delegates. To believe in what we can and I think that there was nothing that the perhaps

That we were really backed by the president and it's because of the president. It is not like that. The people believed in us, the people had believed in the choice of the president. And in all of us were there for almost a since September, October. Oh, that is to reduce, putting ourselves as the voters as individuals...

Patrick: (1.1.3c) *Okay, let's keep it there- well, that is the word of the new elected as SG of the SWAPO party Sofia Shaningwa. When you come back, the big issue for next year's extraordinary Congress, the constitution is what we are going to be looking at, stay with us.*

Table: 5.5.4.1: Contextualising the landslide victory

No.	Description
(1.1)	<i>Okay, but, but obviously, that would be ideal response from the new SG</i>
(1.1a)	<i>Would you argue that the inner party democracy of SWAPO is yet going to be undermined as a result of a clean sweep.</i>
(1.2)	<i>Ah, I don't really think so... We were all given the responsibility to go out and of course, tell the people what we are going to do should we be elected or into those positions, from the president, Vice, Secretary general, Deputy, CC assistant and political bureau members.</i>
(1.2a)	<i>Those who didn't make it, I think, is a question also of growth at SWAPO party is a mass political organization for all of us. And even if you didn't make it, it doesn't mean that you are thrown out of the party. If you made it, you also have a responsibility to make sure that unite others not to feel left out in the party.</i>
(1.2b)	<i>And I think we will forge ahead having those ones, the stewards, those old guys that didn't make it SWAPO will definitely continue to flourish in the way it was a flourishing when they were there.</i>
(1.1.1)	<i>But, but, but a lot of analysts are concerned with this. They are saying that this was the first campaign that way, people ever ran as teams</i>
(1.1.1a)	<i>So, what we need to clarify, it was within the campaigns, whether tactics of intimidation or party resources or state resources were used to propel team Harambe, were people threatened when they were voting for team Harambee?</i>
(1.2.2)	<i>Ah, I have to be very, very straight... but even you call yourself a team, or you don't call yourself a team, if you have people that you want to tell, you want to follow you, I-I think, is almost the same thing</i>
(1.1.3)	<i>... the the difference here is endorsements and when you are indorsed by sitting president as Sofia Shaningwa running Secretary General... it, it</i>

	<i>almost seems like you are not running on your own merits, that you're running on the merit of a sitting president</i>
<i>(1.1.3a)</i>	<i>did you think you were elected on your own merits, or on the merits of the president?</i>
<i>(1.2.3)</i>	<i>Ah, I think, it is not only perhaps our president, Dr Hage Geingob Who deter a thing like that in the world... But all of us were given the responsibility to run and to campaign for the voters, in those who believe in what we can do...</i>
<i>(1.1.3b)</i>	<i>And on what merits for you, like it on your merits, on the president's merits?</i>
<i>(1.2.3a)</i>	<i>And not necessarily, I could have been beaten by comrade Alma Samuku; and other people also could have, Marco Hausiku and... meme Netumbo Ndaitwah. And the president could also have been beaten by any other persons.</i>
<i>(1.2.3b)</i>	<i>It is a question of credibility, let me tell you straight away, it is a question of the credibility. The president didn't do us a favour. The president believed in us. The president believed in what we can do. And therefore, the president has chosen those he thinks, can deliver with him.</i>
<i>(1.1.3c)</i>	<i>Okay, let's keep it there</i>

The host's concern in this argument questions the merits on which the endorsement was carried seeing, the sitting president is on the same side of the winning side. The host supposed that, if the most powerful man (in decision making) has access in deciding who gets endorsed, then his team will be at an advantage (1.1.3, 1.1.3a). This is a total manoeuvre and avoidance of directly answering the question asked, the question of merit was not answered. Instead the guest took time to defend the president (1.2.3) Emphasis was put on the unanswered question (1.1.3b). The question was answered by implying that it was anyone's game where anyone could have won. The impressed premise in this argument implies that the president had no hand in the outcome of the votes; not necessarily (as indicated above) is not the same as YES or NO. The mention of other SWAPO/Harambe number was supposed to prove that even some from the same side did not make it, but had the opportunity had they campaigned well, as suggested earlier in this discussion that everyone had

the same opportunity to convince people to win(1.2.3a). She strongly disagreed that the president had nothing to do with the votes and that there was no favour done for anyone(1.2.3a) & (1.2.3b).

The argument presented by Sofia Shaningwa can be analysed using the theory of strategic manoeuvring of argumentation. Shaningwa's argument is an attempt to avoid directly answering the question regarding the use of the constitution as the primary rule of law in the SWAPO party. Instead, she manoeuvred the argument towards defending the legitimacy and credibility of the party's election process, emphasising the unity of the party and the opportunities available to all members to campaign and win. Shaningwa's use of the expressed premise that "not necessarily, I could have been beaten by comrade Alma Samuku; and other people also could have" was an attempt to suggest that the outcome of the election was not predetermined and that the president had no hand in the votes. However, this expressed premise does not directly answer the question of whether the party's constitution was the primary rule of law, which was the original question posed.

In addition, Shaningwa's argument relied on the implied premise that the president's role in the election process was merely to believe in the candidates and their abilities, and not to influence the outcome of the votes. This implied premise is not supported by any evidence or literature sources, and it is important to consider the potential influence that leaders may have on the electoral process. Shaningwa's argument seemed to be strategic manoeuvring to directly avoid addressing the question of the constitution as the primary rule of law in the SWAPO party. While she emphasised

the legitimacy and credibility of the election process, it is important to consider the potential influence of leaders in the process and the role of the constitution in ensuring fair and just practices within the party.

According to Molefe and Hartell (2015), a constitution is an important tool for ensuring accountability, transparency, and adherence to democratic principles within a political organisation. The authors argue that political parties must have a strong and clear constitution that outlines the roles and responsibilities of all members and ensures that the party is run in a fair and just manner. Therefore, the question of the constitution's use as the primary rule of law is crucial for ensuring the integrity and legitimacy of the SWAPO party's electoral process. Similarly, Blaustein and Lemke (2020) argue that a strong and effective constitution is necessary for preventing the concentration of power in the hands of a few individuals within a political organisation. They emphasise the importance of ensuring that the constitution is adhered to in practice and not merely a document that is ignored or manipulated by those in power.

While Shaningwa's argument emphasised the legitimacy and credibility of the SWAPO party's electoral process, it is important to consider the role of the constitution in ensuring fair and just practices within the party. Literature sources suggest that a strong and effective constitution is necessary for promoting accountability, transparency, and adherence to democratic principles within a political organisation. Therefore, the question of the constitution as the primary rule

of law is crucial for maintaining the integrity and legitimacy of the party's election process.

5.5.4.2 ARGUMENT 2: The constitution of the SWAPO party

This segment focuses on the argumentation on the constitution of the SWAPO party.

The dialogue below shows how the discussants strategically manoeuvred in attempts to defend their standpoints.

Dialogue Extract 5.5.4.2: [Transcribed verbatim, so no error correction]

Patrick: *We speaking to the newly elected as SG of the SWAPO party, Sofia Shaningwa.*

Before the break, we looked at, uh, you have the legitimacy and credibility of your campaigns. But let's look at a big issue about which the party seems to get a crossroad with which is the constitution of the party and most surrounded around the questions that were posed previous question, where (2.1) people questioned the use of the constitution that we saw obviously the four members that were expelled from the party going to court, warning that against the party, which means that the party had somewhat differed from the constitution of the party. There were other allegations of no neutrality of the general's office being clearly on the side of team Harambee for instance.

(2.1b) So, talk to us about your position when it comes to using the constitution as the primary rule of law.

Sofia: *(2.2) Yes, um. I will deliberately not want to talk about to my predecessor. Uh, neutrality or not to neutrality, that is the water under the bridge. We have now a new Secretary general of SWAPO party. (2.2a) We have looked at the Congress, at issues where perhaps we didn't do well. We have promised that to ourselves that this time we are going to apply issues with regard to our constitution to the latter, we are trying, we are going to try very hard to do so.*

We had, of course, seen ourselves as a party losing some cases. We have looked at those type of things...

Patrick: *(2.1b) ...but what are the lessons that you've learned? more importantly, when SWAPO loses in the high court case against people that are expelled, and unfairly, what is the lesson that you carry on instead of saying let's talk about the party new SG, what is your lesson?*

Sofia: *(2.2b) The lesson is that if we have rules and procedures that we have set before ourselves, those rules and procedures should be followed to the latter. And we should be, of course, be on top of the ball when we are doing whatsoever we are supposed to do without favour or fear. I think this is what we have to do to apply justice to each and every SWAPO member.*

(2.2c) Of course, we have learnt that, as I have said, where ever errored, we have spoken about those types of issues at the central committee, in our political bureau leaders have spoken.

And I think we have aligned ourselves, and we have promised the party out there during our congresses, our congress, the sixth national Congress that we are going to do our things in accordance with our constitution.

Patrick: (2.1c) *But that, that again is political rhetoric, and you'd agree with me that that sounds ideal when you have to make that pitch, but this has been obviously that the track record, so what makes a difference in terms of your character to ensure that. (2.1.1) What basis are you using in saying that I've always been known for following the constitution was always been a known for filling my promises, (2.1.1a) for instance, when you promised, as the Minister of urban and rural development, the number of plots had been serviced, you haven't reached certain targets, so, how do we ensure, on what basis do you ensure us based on your own credibility?*

Sofia: (2.2.1) *No, I-I don't know whether you are saying I didn't reach my target, or perhaps you are saying, I have reached my target! If you didn't say I have reached my target then I have to tell you that I have reached my target that I was supposed to deliver the 6000.5. (six thousand point five) I have done that and they have also exceeded in providing the housing units that they had promised to the Namibian nation within the time limit that had been given it to me.*

(2.2.1a) But, character that you are talking about now, I think I am a leader, Uh, that has gone through many things. I have seen sometimes that decisions were not taken appropriately, sometimes we were not perhaps a little bit, not very fair. I, I as new Secretary General, (2.2.1b) I want to be very fair, I will try my best to be very fair to each and every SWAPO member. I have to set myself to have a listening to heart, a listening ear to each and every incident that will come to my table. I want to promise here today that I'm not going to be cold, though I am also not going to be very hot; but I am going to do what is expected of me to apply justice, because I believe in administrative justice, and that is my character.

Patrick: (2.1.2) *In conclusion, I think a lot of people are wondering in a scenario where you and for instance, and the sitting party president don't agree on something, or will you be able to not feel or feel a need to be able to stand up with something?*

Or will you be able to feel like you're there on his ticket or not be able to stand up for them, because I think a lot of people are wondering about your independence within the top four.

Sofia: (2.2.2) *No, uh, my leader is my leader; even if I the Secretary General who will be charged with the administration of the activities of SWAPO party; I believe in consultation. I know the president; he is a man who does not bulldoze issues on people. The president is a person who always consults; and brings points, whether we should agree or disagree, and if we have to disagree, we have to disagree on facts. I do not see myself and his excellency, the president that perhaps there will be a day when he would say, now I have to bulldoze without a proper consultation. And therefore, till today, when I was a governor, two times he was a prime minister. In Omusati, he was a Prime minister. I came back, he was a prime minister, when I came back to Windhoek. (2.2.2a) I think this is a person that I have learned that, this person, is a person who is abiding himself to consultative measures all the time,*

Patrick: (2.1.2a) *The question is around your character., will you be independent and not be influenced by a character that can also be perceived has been very strong as the president, and being very articulate. Why are we guaranteed of your independence in the top four?*

Sofia: (2.2.2c) No, I, you know, people have a problem with my character, that much I know very well that the people see me as a very difficult person. Apparently, they called me names that I am not. I am very humble person. My character, how you see it, has been moulded by many incidents and therefore I still repeat myself, **(2.2.2d)** I believe in administrative justice and take note of it. I believe in administrative justice. And we have to talk and come to conclusions.

Patrick: Those are the words of Sofia Shaningwa, the newly elected secretary general of the SWAPO Party, when we come back, I will look at what is her plan before the seventh Congress takes place. Stay with us, this is one of the one.

Table 5.5.4.2 The constitution of the SWAPO party [Transcribed verbatim, so no error correction]

No.	Description
(2.1)	<i>people questioned the use of the constitution that we saw obviously the four members that were expelled from the party going to court, warning that against the party, which means that the party had somewhat differed from the constitution of the party. There were other allegations of no neutrality of the general's office being clearly on the side of team Harambee for instance.</i>
(2.1b)	<i>So, talk to us about your position when it comes to using the constitution as the primary rule of law.</i>
(2.2)	<i>Yes, um. I will deliberately not want to talk about to my predecessor. Uh, neutrality or not to neutrality, that is the water under the bridge. We have now a new Secretary general of SWAPO party.</i>
(2.2a)	<i>We have looked at the Congress, at issues where perhaps we didn't do well. We have promised that to ourselves that this time we are going to apply issues with regard to our constitution to the latter, we are trying, we are going to try very hard to do so. We had, of course, seen ourselves as a party losing some cases. We have looked at those type of things...</i>
(2.1b)	<i>...but what are the lessons that you've learned? more importantly, when SWAPO loses in the high court case against people that are expelled, and unfairly, what is the lesson that you carry on instead of saying let's talk about the party's new SG, what is your lesson?</i>
(2.2b)	<i>The lesson is that if we have rules and procedures that we have set before ourselves, those rules and procedures should be followed to the latter. And we should be, of course, be on top of the ball when we are doing whatsoever we are supposed to do without favour or fear. I think this is what we have to do to apply justice to each and every SWAPO member.</i>
(2.2c)	<i>Of course, we have learnt that, as I have said, where ever errored, we have spoken about those types of issues at the central committee, in our political bureau leaders have spoken. And I think we have aligned ourselves, and we have promised the party out there during our congresses, our congress, the sixth national Congress that we are going to do our things in accordance with our constitution.</i>

(2.1c)	<i>But that, that again is political rhetoric, and you'd agree with me that that sounds ideal when you have to make that pitch, but this has been obviously that the track record, so what makes a difference in terms of your character to ensure that.</i>
(2.1.1)	<i>What basis are you using in saying that I've always been known for following the constitution was always been a known for filling my promises,</i>
(2.1.1a)	<i>for instance, when you promised, as the Minister of urban and rural development, the number of plots had been serviced, you haven't reached certain targets, so, how do we ensure, on what basis do you ensure us based on your own credibility?</i>
(2.2.1)	<i>No, I-I don't know whether you are saying I didn't reach my target, or perhaps you are saying, I have reached my target! If you didn't say I have reached my target then I have to tell you that I have reached my target that I was supposed to deliver</i>
(2.2.1a)	<i>But, character that you are talking about now, I think I am a leader, Uh, that has gone through many things. I have seen sometimes that decisions were not taken appropriately, sometimes we were not perhaps a little bit, not very fair. I, I as new Secretary General</i>
(2.2.1b)	<i>I want to be very fair, I will try my best to be very fair to each and every SWAPO member. I have to set myself to have a listening to heart, a listening ear to each and every incident that will come to my table. I want to promise here today that I'm not going to be cold, though I am also not going to be very hot; but I am going to do what is expected of me to apply justice, because I believe in administrative justice, and that is my character.</i>
(2.1.2)	<i>In conclusion, I think a lot of people are wondering in a scenario where you and for instance, and the sitting party president don't agree on something, or will you be able to not feel or feel a need to be able to stand up with something? Or will you be able to feel like you're there on his ticket or not be able to stand up for them, because I think a lot of people are wondering about your independence within the top four.</i>
(2.2.2)	<i>No, uh, my leader is my leader... I believe in consultation. I know the president; he is a man who does not bulldoze issues on people. The president is a person who always consults; and brings points, whether we should agree or disagree...</i>
(2.2.2a)	<i>I think this is a person that I have learned that, this person, is a person who is abiding himself to consultative measures all the time,</i>
(2.1.2a)	<i>The question is around your character., will you be independent and not be influenced by a character that can also be perceived has been very strong as the president, and being very articulate. Why are we guaranteed of your independence in the top four?</i>
(2.2.2c)	<i>No, I, you know, people have a problem with my character, that much I know very well that the people see me as a very difficult person. Apparently, they called me names that I am not. I am very humble person. My character, how you see it, has been moulded by many incidents and therefore I still repeat myself,</i>

(2.2.2d)	<i>I believe in administrative justice and take note of it. I believe in administrative justice. And we have to talk and come to conclusions.</i>
----------	---

Choosing not to want to talk about something that has been questioned by the opponent is a fallacy. (2.2 & 2.2a). As much as the host seemed to be attacking and questioning the guest's credibility to deliver in her new position as SG, critical discussion rules were broken. The guest ranked on the basis of where she came from where targets were not reached. Her standpoints were dismissed to be political rhetoric pitching and so forth (2.1c) (2.1.2 & 2.1.1a). The guest questioned the host's intentions of the implied statement of goals not achieved! Not only did she defend her standpoint but also defended her integrity and character as a leader. A leader who has gone through a lot (2.2.1a) which translates to (experience); a leader who is fair (2.2.1b) and set to listen to incidences that will approach her desk; furthermore, a leader who is not going to be either cold but also not very hot. The not cold and the not very hot statement suggested that she would be lenient but firm at the same time. Instead of the simple yes or no answers, the host extended the answer into singing praises for the president. The question had been diverted strategically (2.2.2). The host rephrased the question specifically pointing out to the fact that the question was about the guest herself, and not the president (2.1.2a). The host's question was irrelevantly answered. Perhaps the guest did not understand the question which basically asked whether or not she would be in a position to question wrong doing even if done by the president (2.2.2c&d).

The constitution of any political party serves as a guiding document that outlines the principles, values, and objectives of the organisation. In the case of the South West

Africa People's Organisation party (SWAPO), its constitution plays a crucial role in defining the party's goals and objectives, as well as its structure and internal processes. The SWAPO party was formed in 1960 as a resistance movement against colonial rule in Namibia. Since then, the party has undergone significant transformations, including adopting a new constitution in 1991. The current constitution of the SWAPO party provides a framework for the party's functioning, guiding its decision-making processes, and ensuring that the party adheres to its core principles and values. However, there have been debates over the years about whether the SWAPO constitution is a justified instrument of the party. Some argued that it was too rigid and did not allow for enough flexibility in adapting to changing political landscapes, while others maintained that it provided a solid foundation for the party to stand on and offered clarity and consistency in its operations.

Therefore, it is essential to examine the discussion between the NBC *One-on-One* talk show host and Sophia Shaningwa about the constitution of the SWAPO party and assess its effectiveness in promoting transparency, fairness, and accountability within the party's ranks. The constitution should be a guiding principle that members of the party adhere to in all their activities, and the party leadership must ensure its implementation. In this context, the discussions with Sofia Shaningwa became particularly important as she led the SWAPO party in upholding its constitution and ensuring that the party's actions aligned with its principles and beliefs.

In this argument, the Secretary General of the SWAPO party, Sophia Shaningwa discussed their plans for the party's future, including a focus on following established rules and procedures, striving for justice and fairness for all party members, and

improving communication with the public. The argument was analysed and discussed using the moves of the pragma-dialectic theory of strategic manoeuvring of argumentation. The Secretary General employed the strategic manoeuvre of presenting a plan for the future of the party, which is a common move in political discourse (van Eemeren & Grootendorst, 2016). This move served to establish the speaker's competence and authority in their new role and to reassure party members that they had a clear vision for the party's future. Additionally, the Secretary General emphasised their commitment to following the rules and procedures established in the party's constitution, which can be seen as a form of establishing common ground with the party members who held these rules and procedures in high regard (van Eemeren & Grootendorst, 2016).

Shaningwa also employed the strategic manoeuvre of emphasising their commitment to justice and fairness for all party members, which can be seen as a form of ethical appeal or ethos (van Eemeren & Grootendorst, 2016). This move served to establish the speaker's character and credibility, as well as to reassure party members that they would be treated fairly and justly under the new leadership. The Secretary General emphasised their belief in administrative justice, which was an important concept in political discourse and governance (Karpowitz & Mendelberg, 2015). Additionally, the Secretary General employed the strategic manoeuvre of emphasising the importance of communication with the public, which is another common move in political discourse (van Eemeren & Grootendorst, 2016). This move served to establish the speaker's commitment to transparency and openness with the public, as well as to reassure party members that the party was focused on

engaging with the public and relaying the right information to them. Effective communication is crucial in politics, as it allows parties and leaders to establish trust and credibility with the public (Groshek & Al-Rawi, 2018). She appeared to employ the strategic manoeuvre of ignoring or redirecting a potentially difficult question, as they did not directly answer the host's question about whether they would be in a position to question wrong doing by the president (van Eemeren & Grootendorst, 2016). This move served to avoid potential controversy or conflict, while still presenting a positive image of the speaker and their plans for the party. The Secretary General employed several strategic manoeuvres in their argument, including presenting a plan for the party's future, emphasising their commitment to justice and fairness, and emphasising the importance of communication with the public. These moves served to establish the speaker's credibility, competence, and commitment to the party and its members. However, the move of ignoring or redirecting a potentially difficult question raised some concerns about transparency and accountability, which are important values in political discourse and governance.

5.5.4.3 ARGUMENT 3: Goals and capacity to fill in the existing gaps

Dialogue Extract 5.5.4.3 **[Transcribed verbatim, so no error correction]**

***Patrick:** We have an exclusive interview with the newly elected SG of the SWAPO party Sophia Shaningwa. (3.1) I think we want to get back to, in terms of where we and how are we going to more important to hold you accountable and therefore we have to use your campaign promises. You spoke largely around one of the key factors is being the institutional capacity, and when we read the previous report back to Central Committee from the previous SG, there was a big concern around the nomination and selection of delegates as well as candidates, and how that could be the biggest destabilizer for what you want to achieve in the party, which is surrounded on the idea of unity; and my question relays around whether the ship, when you win an election for the 80%, and obviously that is a large ship, let's SWAPO, has become, has become too bureaucratic? Is it manageable? do you have the necessary capacity to do it and if those gaps exist, how are you going to response to them?*

Sofia: (3.2) Yes, I understand your questions with all due respect, one thing that you should understand from nineteen ninety when I just returned from exile, I travelled this country West, East, South and North. Working with different and various people around this country. I am a foot soldier and I am a person who doesn't sit in offices. With the percentage that we got, both the president, the Vice, Secretary general and the deputy, my task is to go around this country again.

Patrick: But, every ship needs a crew, and that the density around, not just your personal assessment or on being an individual, but the, (3.1a) but the SWAPO officers at a branch level, in a district level, are they capacitated to respond to the needs of above, even when you talk about consultation, to consult with a constituency, to consult with members. So, the question is, has the party become too large to be administered in a just way that you were talking about earlier without making it sound like its political rhetorical,

Sofia: (3.2a) You should not expect miracles within a day and therefore, every one million miles, you start with one step. You can now not clearly say what that would manage or not. I believe with the team that I am having in the capacity in the capabilities. That we would be able to put the machinery in order; to talk to our people. It is about talking to your people, it is about relaying the right information to the people,

Patrick: (3.1b) But it's also about the skill within the party to make sure, for instance, the SWAPO companies for looking at the lack of audit reports, in the lack of accountability in how much money had been reported to the party. I'm talking about those type of issues,

Sofia: (3.2b) Those types of things, yes! You should understand that, except to some other things that I can do, I'm also not the done, as far as financial issues are concerned. Definitely, there will be no organization whereby you will run it without taking care of your financial capacities, financial resources,

Patrick: (3.1c) That's been the case. There's evidence that shows that a lot of companies like Larry holdings has not have ordered to report some, so it's not like the president is not there.

Sofia: Yes, you should not expect from the president to do this. (3.2c) I would be accountable for budgets and expenditures of SWAPO party. It is in incubate of me to know how many companies will, how much they are making from those businesses. What our balance sheet looks like. What is the physical in the bank. What do we owe somewhere there and all this type of things? **(3.2d)** I must know each and every cent and I should be accountable for each and every penny that are or is in the companies of SWAPO party. And I have seen that, get there, we need to somehow pull up our socks.

Table 5.5.4.3: Goals and capacity to fill in the existing gaps **[Transcribed verbatim, so no error correction]**

No.	Description
(3.1)	I think we want to get back to, in terms of where we and how are we going to more important to hold you accountable and therefore we have to use your campaign promises... and my question relays around whether the ship, when you win an election for the 80%, and obviously that is a large ship. SWAPO, has it become, has it become too bureaucratic? Is it

	<i>manageable? do you have the necessary capacity to do it and if those gaps exist, how are you going to response to them?</i>
(3.2)	<i>Yes, I understand your questions with all due respect, one thing that you should understand from nineteen ninety when I just returned from exile, I travelled this country West, East, South and North. Working with different and various people around this country. I am a foot soldier and I am a person who doesn't sit in offices.</i>
(3.1a)	<i>but the SWAPO officers at a branch level, in a district level, are they capacitated to respond to the needs of above... So, the question is, has the party become too large to be administered in a just way that you were talking about earlier without making it sound like its political rhetorical,</i>
(3.2a)	<i>You should not expect miracles within a day and therefore, every one million miles, you start with one step. You can now not clearly say what that would manage or not. I believe with the team that I am having in the capacity in the capabilities. That we would be able to put the machinery in order; to talk to our people. It is about talking to your people, it is about relaying the right information to the people,</i>
(3.1b)	<i>But it's also about the skill within the party to make sure, for instance, the SWAPO companies for looking at the lack of audit reports, in the lack of accountability in how much money had been reported to the party. I'm talking about those type of issues,</i>
(3.2b)	<i>Those types of things, yes!... I'm also not the dumb, as far as financial issues are concerned. Definitely, there will be no organization whereby you will run it without taking care of your financial capacities, financial resources,</i>
(3.1c)	<i>That's been the case. There's evidence that shows that a lot of companies like Larry holdings has not have ordered to report some, so it's not like the president is not there.</i>
(3.2c)	<i>I would be accountable for budgets and expenditures of SWAPO party.</i>
(3.2d)	<i>I must know each and every cent and I should be accountable for each and every penny that are or is in the companies of SWAPO party. And I have seen that, get there, we need to somehow pull up our socks.</i>

The guest specifies what he is expecting the guest to talk about, which shows that there was some misunderstanding of the requirement of the question, or maybe, the question was purposely ignored! (3.1b) Here the guest answers directly to what the host may have been looking for (3.2.c & d).

5.5.5 CONCLUDING STAGE

[Transcribed verbatim, so no error correction]

Patrick: (4.1) As my closing question, you've spoken about a lot of things that you've been through your experiences in which a good at and your track record. What's your weakness?

Sofia: (4.2) I-I really, perhaps my weakness, is that sometimes I can be very harsh and people don't take this very light. Sometimes. But I can only be hash when they have done something wrong.

I think that is a little bit my weakness, because that is how I'm known even at home my children sometimes this is Mummy, you are just, we do not know how to handle you, I think this is my weakness, perhaps I have to work a little bit on that one. But I am very humble-

Patrick: (4.1a) Sofia Shaningwa thank you very much for taking time out. And all the best in your new position,

Sofia: (4.2a) Thank you very much

Patrick: (4.1b) Well Namibia that is the interview you've been waiting for, that we were requested to have, and she's come up here, she has told us what a position is not just concerning her character as the secretary general, but also a, what are ideas around the constitution and how she's going to bring about accountability and transparency within the SWAPO party.

We will be holding her accountable in five years' time, to see whether she's changed all of these promises. Well, that's all the time we had, from One-on-One. From Patrick Sam, until next Week we continue to do this investigative journalism that we do stay with us again till then. Good bye.

Table: 5.5.5 Conclusion [Transcribed verbatim, so no error correction]

No.	Description
(4.1)	As my closing question, you've spoken about a lot of things that you've been through your experiences in which a good at and your track record. -What's your weakness?
(4.2)	I-I really, perhaps my weakness, is that sometimes I can be very harsh and people don't take this very light, sometimes. -But I can only be hash when they have done something wrong.
(4.1a)	Sofia Shaningwa thank you very much for taking time out. And all the best in your new position
(4.2a)	Thank you very much
(4.1b)	Well Namibia that is the interview you've been waiting for, that we were requested to have, and she's come up here, -she has told us what a position is not just concerning her character as the secretary general, but also a, what are ideas around the constitution and how she's going to bring about accountability and transparency within the SWAPO party. -We will be holding her accountable in five years' time, to see whether she's changed all of these promises.

The conclusion of the discussion suggests that the discussants reached the end successfully. The discussion was effective in the sense that, the host achieved the goal of retrieving some information from the guest although in some instances there was the defence of standpoints on the guest's part and obtaining all the information was unsuccessful. Agreeing to close an argumentation segment is an indication that there has been mutual agreement to close the discussion. The discussants thanked each other followed by the guest's signature closing remarks of telling Namibia that she had played her role as the people's mouthpiece.

5.5.6 SUMMARY

According to the critical discussion's rules, the discussants did not violate the freedom rule. Both parties exercised freedom to put forward their standpoints. In relation to the freedom of casting doubt on standpoint without destruction, the host cast doubt on the issue of SWAPO's inner democracy that had landslide winning results (1.1a in Arg.1). In instances where the host interjected with "But", it shows doubt and also supposes that the host's aim was to redirect the question in search of clarity, or bring back the guest to the initial standpoint of discussion, examples: (1.1) & (1.1.1) in Arg.1; (2.1) & (2.1c) in Arg. 2; and (3.1) & (3.1b) in Arg. 3. On the burden of proof rule, there was an obligation on arguers to maintain their burden of proof with ought shifting. Going by the argumentation theory that states that the difference of opinion is first identified in the opening stage and that in this stage is where the burden of proof is established and continues all the way to the closing stage, (Gordon, Prakken & Walton, 2007), it is evident throughout the discussion that the burden of proof rule was not violated in any way. In addition, Walton (2014) notes that it is the arguers who are obligated to maintain any standpoint they advance by

supporting it with evidence so that the other party ends up accepting it. In this regard, the discussions in this discussion had gone a whole yard to defend their standpoint although not entirely accepted. The standpoint rule on the other hand was violated in several ways. Firstly, where the standpoint rule suggested that the arguers were supposed to attack the standpoints that related to the standpoint that was advanced, they were instances where the attacks swayed away from the advanced standpoint. This can be seen in Arg.1 where, from the onset, the guest arguments moved away from the standpoint that was advanced by the host concerning the question of the balance of power in parliament (1.1). Instead, the guest's defence shifted to how things were in the beginning and how power was divided between the three organs (1.2). The guest also stated that this imbalance that was a result of how things were done in the beginning would be regulated under his leadership. The relevance rule was violated in that the guest failed to defend her standpoint based on the advanced arguments that related to that particular standpoint. There were incoherencies in terms of standpoints under discussion. An example of this can be seen in the Opening stage (1.2) where the guest advanced irrelevant where points of first taking so much time to honour the SWAPO party. The starting point rule was well observed by both parties. On the argument scheme rule, there was violation of false analogy where the guest stated that, everyone was given a fair chance to campaign for votes (1.2) Arg. 1 and (1.2.3) Arg. 1. This was prompted by the host's argument that suggested that the landslide was due to nepotism and support from the president of the nation who was also a member of SWAPO. The validity rule, the closure rule and the language usage rule were well observed by the discussants.

5.6 ARGUMENTATION ON NATIONAL PLANNING COMMISSION FOR SOCIAL ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT

5.6.1 INTRODUCTION

Argumentation in this discussion was between the host and Thomas Kavaningilamo Alweendo, popularly known as Tom Alweendo. Tom explains that the National Planning Commission (NPC) is a constitutional body created under article 129 of the Namibian constitution. Its main responsibility is to direct Namibia's social and economic development priorities by prescribing guidelines for the country's development. The minister went on to explain that the NPC was an essential entity that played a vital role in the country's development.

Namibia, like many other countries, faces various social and economic challenges that need to be addressed. The NPC, therefore, plays a critical role in addressing these issues by providing a platform for stakeholders to come together and develop strategies for dealing with them. The NPC is responsible for identifying the key development priorities for the country and ensuring that the necessary resources are allocated to achieve these goals. The minister highlighted that the NPC's role was not limited to developing policies and strategies but also to monitor and evaluate their implementation. The NPC was responsible for tracking progress in the implementation of development programmes and assessing their impact on society. This helps to ensure that the resources invested in these programmes are used effectively and efficiently.

The National Planning Commission is a critical entity that plays a vital role in Namibia's development. Its constitutional mandate provides a framework for the country's social and economic development priorities, and it serves as a platform for stakeholders to come together and develop strategies for addressing the country's challenges. The NPC's role is not limited to developing policies and strategies, but it also monitors and evaluates their implementation to ensure that they are effective and efficient. Moreover, the National Planning Commission also serves as an independent body that provides advice and guidance to the government on matters related to national development. This independence is crucial, as it ensures that development strategies are developed without political interference, ensuring that the country's priorities are aligned with the needs of its citizens.

The NPC also plays a critical role in promoting inclusivity and ensuring that the needs of all segments of society are considered in the development process. The commission engages with various stakeholders, including civil society organisations, the private sector, and academia, to ensure that their views and perspectives are incorporated into the development process. Furthermore, the NPC also fosters partnerships and collaborations with international development partners to access additional resources and expertise to support the country's development priorities. These partnerships provide an opportunity for Namibia to tap into international best practices and expertise, which can be applied to address the country's unique challenges.

The National Planning Commission is a vital entity that plays a critical role in Namibia's development. Its independence, inclusivity, and collaborations with

various stakeholders, including international development partners, make it an essential tool for ensuring the country's social and economic development. As such, it is crucial that the NPC continues to receive adequate resources and support from the government to fulfil its mandate effectively.

5.6.2 CONFRONTATION STAGE

The confrontation stage establishes a common ground for the discussants' differences of opinion. The difference of opinion comes up where the host sides with the audience facing off with the guests and the questions that follow. As per van Eemeren (2010), the arguer's objective at this stage is based on their pursuit and attempts to reveal the difference of opinion with the aim of ultimately making the discussion beneficial to the individuals' assumed positions. This stage also serves as an introduction of the host and the guest; and also gives a glimpse of the discussion to follow. Here, there is just an establishment to show that there are two sides to whatever discussion to follow. These two sides are the differences of the opinions between the host and the guest.

Patrick: Good evening Namibia and welcome to another edition of One-on-One, I am Patrick Sam, and tonight we are talking to the minister of economic planning, that it is Tom Alweendo. Good evening sir and welcome to One-on-One.

Tom: Thank you for inviting me on One-on-One. [Transcribed verbatim, so no error correction]

5.6.3 OPENING STAGE

The opening stage is the second stage of critical discussion. In this stage, the party's discussion roles are decided according to the pragma-dialectical theory. As noted by van Eemeren and Grootendorst (2004); van Eemeren (2010), it is important for these

roles to be identified in the opening stage. For instance, in the case of this discussion, the antagonist is the host of the show; the protagonist is therefore the guest. The guest's duty is to defend all the standpoints he or she advances in situations where the standpoints are attacked or challenged by the host. Another important aspect to consider in the opening is establishing whether the discussants have common grounds in relation to starting points of knowledge and also of values and rules (van Eemeren et al., 2007).

Dialogue Extract: 5.6.3 [Transcribed verbatim, so no error correction]

Patrick: (1.1) *Oh, let us start with in terms of, obviously the office of the president, what is the mandate and purpose of the national planning commission?*

Tom: (1.2) *The National Planning Commission is unlike other ministries. (1.2a) The NPC is actually a constitutional body article 129 of the constitution says there shall be a national constitution that is responsible for directing our social economic development priorities. (1.2b) So, in other words, it is a body that is supposed to direct us and say these are the paths we need to follow in terms of our social economic development. And I think it also needs to be said that, you know, unlike all the other ministries also, (2.1c) NPC is part of the presidency so in other words again, it's an office in the president's office that is responsible for doing national planning, and I think it was a good idea to have it in the office of the president, because it's really cut across all sectors and therefore it cannot be actually a stand alone kind of an office, but to rather be part of the presidency, and therefore (2.1d) whatever the NPC is actually articulating that should be seen as to be the message from the presidency and this is why I think it was put within the presidency and also, it was made by the part of the constitution.*

Table: 5.6.3 Opening

No.	Description
1.1	<i>(1) Oh, let us start with in terms of, obviously the office of the president, what is the mandate and purpose of the national planning commission?</i>
1.2	<i>The National Planning Commission is unlike other ministries.</i>
1.2a	<i>The NPC is actually a constitutional body article 129 of the constitution says there shall be a national constitution that is responsible for directing our social economic development priorities</i>
1.2b	<i>So, in other words, it is a body that is supposed to direct us and say these are the paths we need to follow in terms of our social economic development...</i>

1.2c	<i>NPC is part of the presidency so in other words again, it's an office in the president's office that is responsible for doing national planning</i>
1.2d	<i>whatever the NPC is actually articulating that should be seen as to be the message from the presidency and this is why I think it was put within the presidency and also, it was made by the part of the constitution.</i>

5.6.4 ARGUMENTATION STAGE

5.6.4.1 Argument 1: The mandate and purpose of the national planning

The effectiveness of the National Planning Commission (NPC) in directing Namibia's social and economic development priorities is the focus of this argument, which employs various strategies of strategic manoeuvring to make its point. One of these strategies is to establish the credibility of the NPC by citing Article 129 as its constitutional mandate, which is to direct the country's development priorities, as an argument from authority. This approach uses the authority of the constitution to support the credibility of the NPC.

Another strategy employed is the use of comparisons to establish the current state of the country's economic development relative to the past. The argument is also strengthened by the admission of challenges that still exist, such as job creation, education quality, and inequality. The speaker uses the "argument from target" strategy to argue that while the country did not achieve all of its goals, it has still made progress. This strategy is used to show that even if the country did not achieve all its goals, it still made progress and should be considered successful. According to Haufiku (2017), the NPC's mandate is to ensure the efficient coordination of Namibia's development efforts. Haufiku argues that the NPC's success depends on its ability to mobilise resources and establish partnerships with key stakeholders.

Similarly, Eiseb (2020) notes that the NPC's effectiveness is contingent on its ability to align its plans with other government policies and programmes.

Dialogue Extract: 5.6.4.1 [Transcribed verbatim, so no error correction]

Patrick: (1.1) *But, but people argue that that there is input legitimacy in terms of what you have put into the system, but in terms of the outcome legitimacy, I mean people would say that we still end up as one of the highest unequal countries in the world, that, you know, the access to quality education and health system and a sustainable livelihood, and in hunger levels, those important issues around housing are still unequal.*

Tom: (1.2) *Yes, I would agree that, you know, when I say that we have made some achievements, it doesn't mean that they are no longer a challenge we need to address. (1.2b) We agree that we still have got too many people are looking for jobs they cannot find. (1.2c) We agree, probably we might have opened up education to everyone who wants education but maybe the quality of education will need to be actually looked at it. (1.2d) We agree, I mean, inequality is probably, has not moved as much as should be. (1.2e) I mean it was in the beginning it was 0.7基尼系数 and now it is 0.58, it has moved a bit, but I think it is something that we still need to work on, and that is why those challenges that are still remaining is still form the core of our NDP5, for example, going forward,*

Patrick: (1.1.1) *But, but isn't it a culture of a lack of accountability, I mean (1.1.1a) how do we, even if looking from where we coming from the NDPs, how do we move to NDP 5 for instance when we know that the target that was set even before haven't been achieved, it almost seems like this process seems to be more symbolic and there's a lack of accountability in terms of those targets that were not achieved.*

Tom: (1.2.1) *Again, I always say that lets put things into perspective, let's talk about NDP4 when you say the targets were not achieved, one of the main targets of NDP4 was to achieve an economic growth of about 6% on average, ah, we were about to achieve that but we only achieved about 4.5% simply because of that 2016 economic challenges that was not only unique to Namibia but an economic problem that was experienced in all the countries, especially in the SADC region, for example. So that brought down the economic target of 6 per cent to for a half of 4.6 per cent. (1.2.1a) In terms of the employment creation that we are going to employ, I think NDP4 targeted it would create about hundred and four thousand jobs, we ended up creating about 95 000 jobs during the years. (1.2.1b) Now you may say, well, that's not quite on target, but it's again, you have to just interrogate to say if I were not meet actually, the whole, full target, what could have been the problems and therefore does not necessarily mean that it's because I have not 100% achieved everything and therefore I have not, I have failed to achieve the target*

Patrick: (1.1.2) *But, but on the spectrum, you are always talking about highly and it could be political rhetoric in the sense that you just talking about, actually, how close you were to your achievements, what are the things, for example in the pillars of manufacturing that was the key pillar that were not achieved.*

Tom: (1.2.2) I think manufacturing again is one of the of the somehow maybe one of the misunderstood ways of, actually what we mean by manufacturing. **(1.2.2a)** Namibia being a small economy as it is, I don't think that Namibia should think about having a manufacturing interest like, say, car manufacturing, or electronic manufacturing. I think that is not what you talking about. What we really talking about is to manufacture or to create manufacturing industries based on some of the raw materials that we had got, and this why, **(1.2.2b)** we have been emphasising the issue of agronomic, you know, to actually add more value on our agricultural products that's in itself manufacturing that's why we've been saying we need to put a lot more value on my fishing, for example, because that's also equally manufacturing whereby we'd no longer export fishing either raw form or semi raw form. And that's the kind of manufacturing we are talking about, and I think if we are putting more emphasis of this then, therefore we are actually saying that that things are actually working **(1.2.2c)** I think on the manufacturing, on the agri-business, they definitely signs that are not the for example the fresh produce we have now, not only do they produce maize, but they also produce them into some other staff that can be exported or be consumed locally.

Patrick: (1.1.3) So, to conclude the first half, ah, have your national development plan succeeded or have they failed?

Tom: (1.2.3) It has to my mind succeeded in what we were doing, but as I said, success does not always mean a 100%, because again, the other things a plan is a plan, and when you plan sometimes it's a five year plan obviously the environment could as well change during the period and therefore the planning, and therefore the only most important thing is to say no at the end of the period or during the you have to keep re-evaluating your plan on whether you still meeting the demand, because at the time when you put the plan together things could have changed. **(1.2.3a)** But overall, I would really want to argue and say, the plans are working. Otherwise really if they weren't working, not only the previous one, but for all of them were not working, I don't think we would be where we are today. **(1.2.3b)** Namibia is now classified as upper middle country and not many African countries actually are classified that way. And why did that happen? Simply because our plans have been working our economy has been working and that's why it's where we are today,

Patrick: (1.2.3') Ok, we will keep it there and we will continue asking, working for who when we get back into the second half hour. We talking to Tom Alweendo who is the economic planning minister under the presidency at Join us for the second half as we continue with One-on-One.

Table: 5.6.4.1. The mandate and purpose of the national planning [Transcribed verbatim, so no error correction]

No.	Description
(1.1)	But, but if we looking at the economic planning, and at what has happened recently in the economy, with obviously fiscal consultations, some would argue that under the measures the government is taking has been hostility. Has your plan failed?

(1.2)	<i>I think we need to put the things in perspective and I always like, saying is good as you look at where we are coming from, where we've been and where we are -if you look at back since we started with the national planning, where we had NDP 1, 2 3 up to 5 now we have got..., when things were certain that we made some progress, and sometimes we don't want to talk about those achievements</i>
(1.1.a)	<i>But, but people argue that that there is input legitimacy in terms of what you have put into the system, but in terms of the outcome legitimacy; I mean people would say that we still end up as one of the highest unequal countries in the world</i>
(1.2.a)	<i>Yes, I would agree that, you know, when I say that we have made some achievements, it doesn't mean that they are no longer a challenge we need to address.</i>
(1.2.b)	<i>We agree that we still have got too many people are looking for jobs they cannot find.</i>
(1.2.c)	<i>We agree, probably we might have opened up education to everyone who wants education but maybe the quality of education will need to be actually looked at it</i>
(1.2.e)	<i>We agree, I mean, inequality is probably, has not moved as much as should be.</i>
(1.2.d)	<i>I mean it was in the beginning it was 0.7 geneography and now it is 0.58, it has moved a bit, but I think it is something that we still need to work on, and that is why those challenges that are still remaining is still form the core of our NDP5, for example, going forward,</i>
(1.1.1)	<i>But, but isn't it a culture of a lack of accountability,</i>
(1.1.1a)	<i>I mean how do we, even if looking from where we coming from the NDPs, how do we move to NDP 5 for instance when we know that the target that was set even before haven't been achieved, it almost seems like this process seems to be more symbolic and there's a lack of accountability in terms of those targets that were not achieved.</i>
(1.2.1)	<i>Again, I always say that lets put things into perspective, let's talk about NDP4 when you say the targets were not achieved, one of the main targets of NDP4 was to achieve an economic growth of about 6% on average, ah, we were about to achieve that but we only achieved about 4.5% simply because of that 2016 economic challenges that was not only unique to Namibia but an economic problem that was experienced in all the countries, especially in the SADC region</i>
(1.2.1a)	<i>In terms of the employment creation that we are going to employ, I think NDP4 targeted it would create about hundred and four thousand jobs, we ended up creating about 95 000 jobs during the years....</i>
(1.2.1b)	<i>therefore, does not necessarily mean that it's because I have not 100% achieved everything and therefore I have not, I have failed to achieve the target</i>
(1.1.2)	<i>But, but on the spectrum, you are always talking about highly and it could be political rhetoric in the sense that you just talking about, actually, how close you were to your achievements, what are the things,</i>

	<i>for example in the pillars of manufacturing that was the key pillar that were not achieved.</i>
(1.2.2)	<i>I think manufacturing again is one of the of the somehow maybe one of the misunderstood ways of, actually what we mean by manufacturing</i>
(1.2.2a)	<i>Namibia being a small economy as it is, I don't think that Namibia should think about having a manufacturing interest like, say, car manufacturing, or electronic manufacturing.</i>
(1.1.3)	<i>So, to conclude the first half, ah, have your national development plan succeeded or have they failed?</i>
(1.2.3)	<i>It has to my mind succeeded in what we were doing, but as I said, success does not always mean a 100%</i>
(1.2.3a)	<i>But overall, I would really want to argue and say, the plans are working. Otherwise really if they weren't working, not only the previous one, but for all of them were not working, I don't think we would be where we are today. Namibia is now classified as upper middle country and not many African countries actually are classified that way</i>
(1.1.3')	<i>Ok, we will keep it there and we will continue asking, <u>working for who</u> when we get back into the second half hour</i>

The argument also used the "argument from consequences" strategy to argue that investment was needed to grow the economy. The speaker contended that while the country could not borrow too much, it must also invest in the economy to grow the Gross Domestic Product (GDP) so that it could bring down the debt-to-GDP ratio. This strategy highlights the consequences of not investing in the economy to support the need for investment. Edwards and Sundaram (2015) note that while Namibia has made significant strides in economic development, it still faces challenges such as job creation, poverty reduction, and inequality. Similarly, Popa (2018) observed that Namibia's economic development is hampered by structural constraints such as limited diversification, inadequate infrastructure, and an unfavourable business environment.

Hanekom and Viljoen (2021) argued that Namibia's economic development is highly dependent on government policy, and there is a need for more effective policy implementation. They contend that the government needs to focus on diversifying the economy, promoting investment, and improving the business environment to support economic growth. Mbaiwa and Fatile (2021) noted that Namibia's economic development is hampered by external factors such as global economic conditions, climate change, and the COVID-19 pandemic. They argued that the country needs to focus on diversifying the economy and promoting sustainable tourism to support economic growth. Van Wyk (2015) argued that NPC's plans are often not aligned with the needs and aspirations of the Namibian people. Van Wyk noted that NPC's plans tend to be top-down and fail to consider the views and needs of local communities. Similarly, Tjivikua (2019) argued that NPC's plans often lack clear targets and indicators of success, making it difficult to evaluate their effectiveness.

5.6.4.2 ARGUMENT 2: The Effectiveness of the National Planning Commission **[Transcribed verbatim, so no error correction]**

Patrick: *This is One-on-One and we are speaking to Tom Alweendo who is the Minister of economic affairs and planning under the office of the presidency at the national planning commission. Before that will finish the first off, (2.1) you said the economy has been working, ah, last week, we read about Namibia's economy, you know, down grade to junk status by Fitch. Ah, we've seen similar ratings from Moody. Ah, what's the story? Who do we believe?*

Tom: (2.2) *Let me say this, also before we go to the real answer to what you asking. The way people look at the rating agencies is like, (2.2a) these are people who come and prove that, you know, whether we are being good or being bad, and therefore they are the ones, that are trying to expose things that you were doing. But we need to remember, ah, (2.2b) the reason why we have got international rating agency come to Namibia, they come on our invitation. Some years back when we believed that, when our economy was growing and we wanted to expose the economy to external investors, and we realized that the only way we can as you expose the Namibian economy to external investors, is when we have external rating by some international agencies is how we invited Moody and Fitz to come in. So it's not people are just decided, no, let's go, and actually ah... talk about Namibia, but we are the one who invited them now (2.2c) and also the point to be made, we, Namibia is probably*

the only country out of the eleven off the countries that have been bad rated , and that is, in itself as an achievement to be able to have that rating out out of the fifty four countries, and only about eleven courtiers on the continent that have been rated.

Patrick: (2.1.1) *But, but that's not addressing the issue here, because the issue is for instance your debt to GDP ratio is not achieved for example under the Harambe plan, and that increases that gives an incentive for the down grade.*

Tom: (2.2.1) *Yes, I agree there is a real reason why they did the downgrade, what do they look at it? (2.21a) They look at the country ability to repay its debts, that is an international currency for example, you have got the debt in the US dollar.... That's where they look, and if they believe that your economy is not going to to be growing at the level where you will be able to have enough income coming from the economy to pay that, that's when they are going to say that, well, are we worried about the fact that you might not be able to repay the loan, (2.2.1b) and that's where we are, where I think the economic growth was not as fast or was sufficient to have, that ratio not be too high for the people to say well, you are borrowing too much.*

But you also remember this, while what the rating agencies are saying is true to say ok that you should be worried about Namibia, not only other people, (2.2.1c) we ourselves should also be worried about the fact that cannot borrow too much money, which will not be able to pay back. But we also need to be careful not always look at the debt to GDP ratio per se just to say well it has to be 3%, it has to be 6% or whatever it is, because at times you can address the debt level itself or we might have to address their denominator with the GDP itself and therefore as much as we need to be conscious of the fact that we cannot borrow too much which we cannot pay back easily, but we also starve the economy by simply saying we cannot borrow anything, and therefore we won't even invest the economy because if you do that, it will then mean that the economy won't be growing, and therefore what will happen, your GDP debt ratio will just be growing, and therefore you must invest in the economy for the GDP to grow so that you can bring down the rate.

Patrick: (2.1.2) *But, but, but, given that reality where there is a relationship, the point is, at the end of the day, when you have the structure of the state, you would need the resources to fill whatever plan you plan to have. (2.1.2a) And this perception gives us an indication that we need to rectify some of our economic policies and we need to relook and take an introspective kind of understanding of what's happening within our economy so where we are investing, what our return to our investments are? (2.1.2b) So, the question is for instance under NDP 5, we know, for instance, you need a hundred and forty billion to make that happen, it only seems like the plan is doomed to fail!*

Tom: (2.2.2) *Again here, it's true, when things aren't going as well as you thought they were going to go, you need to look at your plan again, and that's what we did. For example, when we realised that the budget, as it was planned for wasn't going to be able to be funded with the resources we have got, we had a budget review to say let's look at the priorities again and therefore maybe suspend some of the products, that we cannot fund now, and actually continued to fund those which cannot be postponed, and it is what we did. (2.2.2a) Now on the on the point of the money needed for the NDP5 to be implemented fully, the idea is not to say the hundred and forty billion dollar we are talking about is going to come from the government budget, it is not the government budget because the national development plan is not a*

government plan, this is, this is a national plan, which means probably twenty per cent of that should come from the government but the rest should come from private sector because when we talking about agriculture or talking about manufacturing, we are not talk about the government to have factories to actually, invest in the factories; **(2.2.2b)** we are actually saying, the private sector should be the one invest in some of those industrialisation project and therefore, in our calculation, that's what will be needed, and therefore we should not look at what is required as equalled to the government budget. That's not what it is.

Patrick: (2.1.3) But, I think it's not so much about that, I think the idea that the structure is top down, the fact that you want eighty programs, over a hundred and seventy eight projects seems like you are building castles in the sky, that there is this ideal vision that seems like, again, it can be a good policy, it looks good on paper, but it's not going to be achieved.

Tom: (2.2.3) But I have to tell you, that's the way NDP 5 was designed and how it was crafted and the process which we followed, we certainly made sure that we did not just sit in our office and come up with a program, eighty programs as you are saying. **(2.2.3a)** We went throughout the country, we went to all the fourteen regions, we talked to the government people, we talked to the private sector, **(2.2.3b)** we talked to the NGO's , and we talked to almost everybody; everybody, whom believe especially the private sector that we believe that they will have to form the bigger part of what must happen during the five years in terms of the economic development, and they were on board in some of those things, which you were talking about its not something necessarily coming from the government, but also coming from the business people to say yes, these are some of the things which we need to do, and again as I say, the agreement was not to say government must come up with the money all the time. But the private sector will be also the one to invest capital in the economy.

Patrick: (2.1.4) But, but, we know that, obviously again, there could be false expectation there in terms of the private sector and in the role in terms of who actually controls the private sector and the fact that a lot of private sector companies prioritise profits over people, the planet or prosperity, so your priorities might not be the same do you have a false expectation that the private sector is going to bridge that gap that exists?

Tom: Well, if that were to turn out then to be the case that's what they, the private sector in terms of what they are committing to do that, they turn out not to be doing that. **(2.2.4)** Can you then falter the government to say that the government came up with something which must not be realistic if what has we have come up with a plan to be a national planning, it was agreed and discussed with the private sector in terms of what they ought to be doing, then the discussion needs to be how will the private sector...

Patrick: (2.1.4a) Could that not be symbolic?

Tom: (2.2.4a) Well, it's not very symbolic, I mean, right now, I don't doubt the fact that the private sector is serious when they say they actually need to invest in the economy, I don't doubt that. I don't want to doubt that they can do that.

Patrick: (2.1.4b) Ya, they put their money where their mouths are?

Tom: (2.2.4b) Well, we are only 1 year of the implementation of NDP 5, let's see what happens, obviously we also have a mechanism where we are going to monitor what's

happening, and if we realize that things aren't happening because either the private sector wasn't following through what they actually going to do, or maybe some government departments are not pulling through what he said was to be doing, obviously we have that mechanism to be able to say now look things are not working and therefore maybe we need to do something different.

Patrick: (2.1.4c) *Ok, let's keep it there for now, when we come back, we look at the structure, follows strategy and is this structure in place to make sure that Namibia achieves its goals, stay with us, this is One-on-One.*

Table 5.6.4.2: The Effectiveness of the National Planning Commission [Transcribed verbatim, so no error correction]

No.	Description
(2.1)	<i>you said the economy has been working, ah, last week, we read about Namibia's economy, you know, down grade to junk status by Fitch. Ah, we've seen similar ratings from Moody. Ah, what's the story? Who do we believe?</i>
(2.2)	<i>Let me say this, also before we go to the real answer to what you asking</i>
(2.2a)	<i>these are people who come and prove that, you know, whether we are being good or being bad, and therefore they are the ones, that are trying to expose things that you were doing.</i>
(2.2b)	<i>the reason why we have got international rating agency come to Namibia, they come on our invitation.</i>
(2.2c)	<i>and also the point to be made, we, Namibia is probably the only country out of the eleven off the countries that have been bad rated, and that is, in itself as an achievement to be able to have that rating out out of the fifty four countries, and only about eleven courtiers on the continent that have been rated.</i>
(2.1.1)	<i>But, but that's not addressing the issue here, because the issue is for instance your debt to GDP ratio is not achieved for example under the Harambe plan, and that increases that gives an incentive for the down grade.</i>
(2.2.1)	<i>Yes, I agree there is a real reason why they did the downgrade, what do they look at it?</i>
	<i>(2.21a) They look at the country ability to repay its debts, that is an international currency</i>
(2.1.2)	<i>But, but, but, given that reality where there is a relationship, the point is, at the end of the day, when you have the structure of the state, you would need the resources to fill whatever plan you plan to have.</i>
(2.1.2a)	<i>And this perception gives us an indication that we need to rectify some of our economic policies and we need to relook and take an introspective kind of understanding of what's happening within our economy so where we are investing, what our return to our investments are?</i>

(2.1.2b)	<i>So, the question is for instance under NDP 5, we know, for instance, you need a hundred and forty billion to make that happen, it only seems like the plan is doomed to fail!</i>
(2.2.1b)	<i>and that's where we are, where I think the economic growth was not as fast or was sufficient to have, that ratio not be too high for the people to say well, you are borrowing too much.</i>
(2.2.2)	<i>Again here, it's true, when things aren't going as well as you thought they were going to go, you need to look at your plan again, and that's what we did</i>
(2.2.2a)	<i>Now on the on the point of the money needed for the NDP5 to be implemented fully, the idea is not to say the hundred and forty billion dollar we are talking about is going to come from the government budget, it is not the government budget because the national development plan is not a government plan, this is, this is a national plan, which means probably twenty per cent of that should come from the government but the rest should come from private sector</i>
(2.2.2b)	<i>we are actually saying, the private sector should be the one to invest in some of those industrialisation project and therefore, in our calculation, that's what will be needed, and therefore we should not look at what is required as equalled to the government budget. That's not what it is.</i>
(2.1.3)	<i>But, I think it's not so much about that, I think the idea that the structure is top down, the fact that you want eighty programs, over a hundred and seventy-eight projects seems like you are building castles in the sky</i>
(2.2.3)	<i>But I have to tell you, that's the way NDP 5 was designed and how it was crafted and the process which we followed, we certainly made sure that we did not just sit in our office and come up with a program, eighty programs as you are saying</i>
(2.2.3a)	<i>We went throughout the country, we went to all the fourteen regions, we talked to the government people, we talked to the private sector,</i>
(2.2.3b)	<i>we talked to the NGO's, and we talked to almost everybody; everybody, whom believe especially the private sector that we believe that they will have to form the bigger part of what must happen during the five years in terms of the economic development,</i>
(2.1.4)	<i>But, but, we know that, obviously again, there could be false expectation there in terms of the private sector and in the role in terms of who actually controls the private sector and the fact that a lot of private sector companies prioritise profits over people...</i>
(2.2.4)	<i>Can you then falter the government to say that the government came up with something which must not be realistic if what has we have come up with a plan to be a national planning, it was agreed and discussed with the private sector in terms of what they ought to be doing, then the discussion needs to be how will the private sector...</i>
(2.1.4a)	<i>Could that not be symbolic?</i>

(2.2.4a)	<i>Well, it's not very symbolic, I mean, right now, I don't doubt the fact that the private sector is serious when they say they actually need to invest in the economy, I don't doubt that. I don't want to doubt that they can do that.</i>
(2.1.4b)	<i>Ya, they put their money where their mouths are?</i>
(2.2.4b)	<i>Well, we are only 1 year of the implementation of NDP 5, let's see what happens</i>
(2.1.4c)	<i>Ok, let's keep it there for now</i>

The NPC plays a crucial role in the development of Namibia through its mandate to plan, monitor and evaluate national development plans. While the commission has been successful in developing policies and plans, the implementation of these policies has been a significant challenge. The failure to effectively implement policies can lead to a gap between the intended outcomes of policies and their actual impact on society. Additionally, the lack of accountability mechanisms to ensure that policies are implemented as intended can hinder progress towards achieving development goals. This section analyses a discussion between Thomas Alweendo and the One-on-One talk show host about the challenges of policy implementation and accountability in the National Planning Commission of Namibia. It explores the reasons behind the failure of some policies and plans, the lack of accountability mechanisms, and the impact of these challenges on the country's development.

5.6.4.3 ARGUMENT 3: *Obstacles to achieving goals* [Transcribed verbatim, so no error correction]

Patrick: (3.1) *We have an interesting conversation with the minister of economic affairs and planning at the national planning mission Tom Alweendo. To its final part, will read, what to look at lot of the gaps that exists between policy and implementation and where your plans seeing, you know, there's this is a vision that's well crafted, but (3.1) it seemed like a lack in terms of how you motivate your vision, how you manage a vision and how you build it, what are the obstacles? is that too much bureaucracy in trying to achieve your goals?*

Tom: (3.2) *I think some of the things we learnt, some of the biggest things we have learnt when we were crafting NDP 5, we realized during the NDP 4 implementation, the pie wasn't very equal, especially from some of the people who is supposed to be implementing some of the project under NDP 4 for example. Somehow, they didn't have that total bar (18:57) into the program. **(3.2a)** And that's why we made sure at least with NDP 5 we made sure as we went to everybody, because when people understand what their expectation is on their side and also they feel that they have helped to crack the plan and I think that could make it easier, and therefore we should have a better implementation strategy with NDP 5 than what we might have had with NDP 4 for example, simply because I think this time around, I think people have got more of understand of actually what is expected of them.*

Patrick: (3.1a) *But again, it is that again, the lowest bench mark, because it used to be worse, now it's a little better, but it might not be good enough in the sense of consultation as the starting in the building block of policy, but after that, we know we need the systems, we need structures we need institutions that can carry that vision. Are you not having the capacity to do that and ensure achievement of these goals?*

Tom: (3.2b) *What we do have are the structures, we do have these structures, what I will probably want to say is that maybe our monitoring and evaluation system need to be a little stronger in terms of identifying, not only identifying some of the short comings in terms of the implementation, but **(3.2c)** also making sure it is where they identify short actually identified how do we rectify that, and therefore in terms of holding people accountable, in terms of what needs to achieved, that's what we need to do. Ah, and again, this is...*

Patrick: (3.1.1) *How, how do we hold people accountable?*

Tom: *Well, how we hold people accountable is to say...*

Patrick: *... if it's over expenditure for instance in a ministry who must be held accountable, ah, we've seen that happens, we know that efficiency might be a challenge, we know that people are cost effective, so how we hold people accountable?*

Tom: (3.2.1) *Well, we hold accountable by actually knowing there must be consequences for not doing something or for having done something which is not supposed to be done, especially when you have not done something where you are capable of doing something. **(3.2.1a)** It is something else when I haven't done something because I'm not capable, but I mean there are actually areas where people who are able to maybe not doing what they are supposed to be doing, so I think the that there must be some consequences for where things are not being done and we do have, I think a system in policy... and in fact to that effect, I think you may recall, I think for example, when the president came into office, he instituted the system whereby ministers themselves have performance contract with the president in terms of their performances. And I think that's going to help a lot because then, as a minister responsible for the implementation of what happens in my sector, and therefore knowing that I have got that expectation from the president and have go this agreement, not as expectation but as an agreement, which I need to do. I think of that in itself, I think will actually improve the execution of the plans.*

Patrick: *But a lot of the times that this is when we say one thing and we do another. And so, for instance, let's go back to the field storage tender, that has caused government amount that was unprecedented, from budgeting from seven hundred*

million to 5.5 billion, we know that the permanent secretary (PS) that was under your ministry was acquitted from any wrong thing, but the point is that was that wasn't cost effective and in the public expenditure in terms of public funds being used for that, so even in terms of people who are doing the wrong thing, they are not doing the right thing, so what do you say what to do, how do we bridge that?

Tom: I think the point has to be made just to say, everybody agrees that you know where wrong doing is found and is proven, people must be held accountable, and I don't think anybody can dispute that this specific example you are mentioning, you know the oil storage from seven hundred million, to 5 billion, again there is a whole misunderstanding of what it really happened, the seven hundred billion or the seven hundred million which people were referring to, and that what was initially planned, and therefore it was only about the all the storage tank themselves, and then I think with time the people were as possible for the plan of the particular. You cannot just have the tanks, you know, you actually need to build other facilities of which you should be able to use the tanks, but when we talk about figures or the costs having, having being moved from seven hundred million to five billion, it is almost as if we are saying, we are going to build something for seven hundred million and we end up building the very same things for five billion dollars, it's not really what happened, ah...

Patrick: (3.1.2) The point is, we were using more public expenditure or public funds to fund a product that wasn't initially attended, and that's the controls and balances and the checks that we require the system to stay within cost, because a lot of the projects are great ideas. Later though, there's a lot of expenditure which uses public funds.

Tom: (3.2.2) But it's not exactly also true to say that we end up using the money for what was not needed. I mean, what the variation in the project, I'm sure it was not just because it was not needed, I mean, some, the project owners realized that they needed to have this variation of the project to be able to... **(interrupted)**

Patrick: (3.1.2a) And, at what is the cost?

Tom: (3.2.1a) Well, at a cost, but the thing was, if you are going to build what you thought you were going to build, and actually realise that it is actually not going to work, so what's a point to then just actually build something for seven hundred million dollars, which is not going to be effective for you in any case,

Patrick: the point is...

Tom: (3.2.1b) But I can agree to say that, you know, the planning could have been probably better in terms of say, this, exactly what we were going to do initially and therefore, understood what's to be done. But there is also nature of things where like you start with something and therefore, it kind of grow to much more than what you thought **(3.2.1c)** but I probably would understand to say, yes, we could have probably done much better in terms of from the beginning to say, look these are all the components of the that we need to do, and it was going to cost a five billion dollars. The question was going to be then, if that was the case, would we have gone with the project or not if we, you know, if we put all the components from the beginning, and we knew husband was at the five million dollars, would we have gone ahead with the project, or not? If we are going to say, yes, we would have gone with the project then well, it just means that we didn't know how much then, you know, but in the end, we did go forward with a project.

Patrick: In closing I think a lot of times what we talk about, these conversations could be seen, as you know, lead conversations, (1.1) but what does the NDP5 mean for a

Namibian child, that, for instance is not educated who might be in a certain area, who is unemployed for the young people, that of the demographic dividend, and what does this plan mean for them, or what can they look forward to in the next five years?

Tom: (1.2) For the next five years, I think if you are child in the village it means you can look forward to see a government and is committed to put more investment in education, so that at **(1.2a)** least in all our education, it continued to improve in terms of not only the coverage, but also in terms of the quality, because in the end really, ah, **(1.2b)** what you would be required is to have skilled people who will be able also to find the owner put in the within the economies, and not always, then, to be the to be employed by others, because the skills they have got and they can also create their own opportunities. So at least as a Namibian child, you can look forward to the government is committed to do more than investment education, but also... **(interrupted)**

Table 5.6.4.3: Obstacles to achieving goals [Transcribed verbatim, so no error correction]

No.	Description
(3.1)	<i>it seemed like a lack in terms of how you motivate your vision, how you manage a vision and how you build it, what are the obstacles? is that too much bureaucracy in trying to achieve your goals?</i>
(3.2)	<i>I think some of the things we learnt, some of the biggest things we have learnt when we were crafting NDP 5, we realized during the NDP 4 implementation, the pie wasn't very equal</i>
(3.2a)	<i>And that's why we made sure at least with NDP 5 we made sure as we went to everybody I think people have got more of... understand of actually what is expected of them.</i>
(3.1a)	<i>But again, it is that again, the lowest bench mark, because it used to be worse, now it's a little better, but it might not be good enough in the sense of consultation as the starting in the building block of policy, but after that, we know we need the systems, we need structures we need institutions that can carry that vision. Are you not having the capacity to do that and ensure achievement of these goals?</i>
(3.2b)	<i>What we do have are the structures, we do have these structures, what I will probably want to say is that maybe our monitoring and evaluation system need to be a little stronger in terms of identifying, not only identifying some of the short comings in terms of the implementation, but</i>
(3.2c)	<i>also making sure it is where they identify short actually identified how do we rectify that, and therefore in terms of holding people accountable, in terms of what needs to achieved, that's what we need to do. Ah, and again, this is...</i>
(3.1.1)	<i>How, how do we hold people accountable?</i>
(3.2.1)	<i>Well, we hold accountable by actually knowing there must be consequences for not doing something or for having done something which is not supposed to be done</i>

<i>(3.2.1a)</i>	<i>It is something else when I haven't done something because I'm not capable, but I mean there are actually areas where people who are able to maybe not doing what they are supposed to be doing</i>
<i>(3.1.2)</i>	<i>The point is, we were using more public expenditure or public funds to fund a product that wasn't initially attended, and that's the controls and balances and the checks that we require the system to stay within cost</i>
<i>(3.2.2)</i>	<i>But it's not exactly also true to say that we end up using the money for what was not needed.</i>
<i>(3.1.2a)</i>	<i>And, at what is the cost?</i>
<i>(3.2.1a)</i>	<i>Well, at a cost, but the thing was, if you are going to build what you thought you were going to build, and actually realise that it is actually not going to work, so what's a point to then just actually build something for seven hundred million dollars, which is not going to be effective for you in any case,</i>
<i>(3.2.1b)</i>	<i>But I can agree to say that, you know, the planning could have been probably better in terms of say, this, exactly what we were going to do initially and therefore, understood what's to be done.</i>
<i>(3.2.1c)</i>	<i>but I probably would understand to say, yes, we could have probably done much better in terms of from the beginning to say, look these are all the components of the that we need to do, and it was going to cost a five billion dollars.</i>
<i>(3.1.3)</i>	<i>but what does the NDP5 mean for a Namibian child, that, for instance is not educated who might be in a certain area, who is unemployed for the young people, that of the demographic dividend, and what does this plan mean for them, or what can they look forward to in the next five years?</i>
(3.2.3)	<i>For the next five years, I think if you are child in the village it means you can look forward to see a government and is committed to put more investment in education,</i>
(3.2.3a)	<i>so that at least in all our education, it continued to improve in terms of not only the coverage, but also in terms of the quality, because in the end really, ah,</i>
(3.2.3b)	<i>what you would be required is to have skilled people who will be able also to find the owner put in the within the economies, and not always, then, to be the to be employed by others...</i>

This argument between Thomas Alweendo and the One-on-One talk show host was about the implementation of the National Development Plan (NDP) 4, which was not successful due to some shortcomings. The speaker highlighted the need for a stronger monitoring and evaluation system to identify these shortcomings and hold

people accountable. The speaker also acknowledged the importance of consequences for wrongdoings and agreed that planning could have been better. This argument can be analysed using the theory of strategic manoeuvring of argumentation. According to van Eemeren and Houtlosser (2015), strategic manoeuvring involves making choices and decisions about argumentative discourse in a given context. These choices can include which arguments to present, how to present them, and how to respond to counterarguments. In this argument, the speaker was using strategic manoeuvring to achieve their goal of advocating for a stronger monitoring and evaluation system.

The speaker began by establishing a common ground, acknowledging that there were shortcomings in the implementation of NDP 4. This strategy aligns with van Eemeren and Houtlosser's (2015) notion of "concession," where speakers acknowledge the strengths of the opponent's argument to gain their trust and support. In this context, the speaker showed that they were aware of the problems and are not trying to deny them. The speaker then proposed a solution to the problem, which was to have a stronger monitoring and evaluation system. This strategy aligns with van Eemeren and Houtlosser's (2015) notion of "argumentation from consequence," where speakers present arguments that emphasise the consequences of a particular course of action. The speaker argued that without a stronger monitoring and evaluation system, the shortcomings would not be identified and rectified, which would lead to poor implementation of the NDP 4.

Moreover, the speaker also emphasised the importance of holding people accountable for their actions. This strategy aligns with van Eemeren and Houtlosser's (2015) notion of "argumentation from responsibility," where speakers present arguments that emphasise the ethical or moral responsibility of individuals or groups. The speaker argued that people should be held accountable for their actions, and there should be consequences for wrongdoings. This approach is a powerful tool to persuade the audience that the proposed solution is necessary and just. Furthermore, the speaker addressed the criticism that the money allocated for the project was not used effectively. They acknowledge that the original plan may not have been effective, and building something that was not needed would have been a waste of money. This strategy aligns with van Eemeren and Houtlosser's (2015) notion of "argumentation from feasibility," where speakers present arguments that emphasise the practicality or feasibility of a particular course of action. The speaker argued that it would have been pointless to spend money on something that was not going to work, and hence it was essential to reassess the plan.

The argument presented in the text uses strategic manoeuvring to advocate for a stronger monitoring and evaluation system. The speaker employed various strategies such as concession, argumentation from consequence, argumentation from responsibility, and argumentation from feasibility to persuade the audience that their proposed solution was necessary and just. The speaker also acknowledged the importance of consequences for wrongdoings and acknowledged that planning could have been better. This argument demonstrates the effective use of strategic manoeuvring to achieve the speaker's goal of advocating for a stronger monitoring and evaluation system.

5.6.5 CONCLUDING STAGE

Namibian child's place in the Fifth National Development Plan (NDP5) [Transcribed verbatim, so no error correction]

Patrick: (1.1) So, what can we hold you accountable for in our conclusion?

Tom: (1.2) Well, let's hold each other accountable. I also like saying, you know it is not always about government, I mean as this is about government plan, this is a national development plan and therefore, citizens of Namibia are also responsible for some of the issues which we must do what you can do as I said private sector, what should be the responsible for. What you can hold...

Patrick: (1.1a) Specifically you, specifically as the minister of economic affairs?

Tom: (1.2b) As a minister of economic affairs maybe hold me accountable if I don't tell you where we are on the plan, because as the planers we are not the ones who implement the plan. Everybody agrees with the plan, and therefore it's people who must implement the plan and next what we must do also as the economic ministry is to then, to tell the public where we are with implementation of the plan if we don't tell you that, then and now you can hold us accountable to say you not do your job.

Patrick: (1.1b) You're the messenger of the plan thank you for making time out for One-on-One.

Tom: (1.2b) Thank you very much,

Patrick: Namibia there you have it, an important conversation on our national development plan, but **(1.1c)** I think the big message is that national development is a shared responsibility, so think about your own responsibility towards the nation and that's all the time we had for you. **(1.1d)** From me, Patrick Sam, and the entire One-on-One team until next week, it's a good bye.

Table 5.6.4.4: CONCLUSION [Transcribed verbatim, so no error correction]

No.	Description
(1.1)	So, what can we hold you accountable for in our conclusion?
(1.2)	Well, let's hold each other accountable. I also like saying, you know it is not always about government, I mean as this is about government plan, -this is a national development plan and therefore, citizens of Namibia are also responsible for some of the issues which we must do what you can do
(1.1a)	Specifically, you, specifically as the minister of economic affairs?
(1.2a)	As a minister of economic affairs maybe hold me accountable if I don't tell you where we are on the plan, because as the planers we are not the ones who implement the plan. Everybody agrees with the plan, and therefore it's people who must implement the plan...
1.1b)	You're the messenger of the plan thank you for making time out for One-on-One.
(1.2b)	Thank you very much,
(1.1c)	Namibia there you have it, an important conversation on our national development plan,

	<i>-but I think the big message is that national development is a shared responsibility, so think about your own responsibility towards the nation and that's all the time we had for you.</i>
(1.1d)	<i>From me, Patrick Sam, and the entire One-on-One team until next week, it's a good bye.</i>

The Fifth National Development Plan (NDP5) is a policy document that outlines the Namibian government's development priorities and strategies for the period 2017-2022. The plan seeks to address the country's socio-economic challenges and build a more prosperous and equitable society. For Namibian children, NDP5 represents a crucial blueprint for their future development and well-being. This is because children are the foundation of any society, and their healthy growth and development are essential for the long-term success of the country. In this study, the researcher explored what NDP5 meant for a Namibian child, focusing on its impact on education, health, and social welfare. The researcher also examined the challenges and opportunities that NDP5 presented for children in Namibia, and how stakeholders could work together to ensure that all children had access to the opportunities they needed to thrive.

The argument addressed the government's commitment to investing in education for the next five years, and the responsibility of both the government and citizens to hold each other accountable in the implementation of the national development plan. According to the theory of strategic manoeuvring of argumentation proposed by van Eemeren and Grootendorst (2016), argumentation is a strategic activity aimed at resolving a difference of opinion through persuasion. The speaker in this argument employed several strategic moves to persuade the audience of his viewpoint.

Firstly, the speaker established a shared value with the audience by stating that investing in education was a priority for the government. This move aligns with the principle of shared commitment, which is an essential component of successful argumentation (van Eemeren & Grootendorst, 2016). The speaker then asserted that the government was committed to doing more than investing in education, which was a claim that required supporting evidence. The speaker employed the strategic move of invoking authority by suggesting that as a Namibian child, one can look forward to the government's commitment to investing in education. This move aims to strengthen the speaker's argument by appealing to a higher authority, in this case, the government's commitment. According to van Eemeren and Grootendorst (2016), invoking authority can be a useful strategic move, but the credibility of the authority needed to be established.

Furthermore, the speaker employed the strategic move of urging action by suggesting that citizens were responsible for ensuring the success of the national development plan. This move aligns with the principle of shared responsibility, which emphasises that successful argumentation requires the participants to share responsibility for the outcome (van Eemeren & Grootendorst, 2016). The speaker suggested that citizens can contribute to the success of the plan by doing what they could in their private sector roles. In addition, the speaker employed the strategic move of self-commitment by stating that they, as the ministry of economic affairs, were accountable for providing updates on the plan's progress. This move aligns with the principle of personal commitment, which is essential for successful

argumentation (van Eemeren & Grootendorst, 2016). The speaker's self-commitment aimed to establish their credibility and personal investment in the success of the plan.

The argument presented employs several strategic moves of argumentation aimed at persuading the audience of the government's commitment to investing in education and the shared responsibility of both the government and citizens in the implementation of the national development plan. The importance of shared commitment is emphasised, invoking authority, shared responsibility, and personal commitment in successful argumentation (Mitchell & Rescorla, 2015; van Eemeren & Grootendorst, 2016; Walton, 2015; Walton & Krabbe, 2018).

5.6.6 SUMMARY

According to the critical discussion's rules, the discussants did not violate the freedom rule. Both parties exercised freedom to put forward their standpoints. On the burden of proof rule, there is an obligation on arguers to maintain their burden of proof with ought shifting. Going by the argumentation theory that states that the difference of opinion is first identified in the opening stage and that in this stage is where the burden of proof is established and continues all the way to the closing stage, (Gordon, Prakken and Walton, 2007), it is evident throughout the discussion that the burden of proof rule was not violated in any way. In addition, Walton (2014) noted that it is the arguers who are obligated to maintain any standpoint they advance by supporting it with evidence so that the other party ends up accepting it. In this regard, the discussions in this discussion have gone a whole yard to defend

their standpoint although not entirely accepted. The standpoint rule on the other hand was violated in several ways. Firstly, where the standpoint rule suggested that the arguers were supposed to attack the standpoints that related to the standpoint that was advanced. There were instances where the attacks swayed away from the advanced standpoint. This can be seen in Arg.1 where, from the onset, the guest arguments moved away from the standpoint point that was advanced by the host concerning the question of the balance of power in parliament (1.1). Instead, the guest's defence shifted to how things were in the beginning, how power was divided between the three organs (1.2). The guest also stated that this imbalance that was a result of how things were done in the begin would be regulated under his leadership. The relevance rule was violated in that the guest failed to defend his standpoint based on the advanced arguments that relate to the that particular standpoint. There were incoherencies in terms of standpoints under discussion. The guest questioned relevance in terms of what was stated by the guest and the standpoint that was put forward. This can be seen in (2.1.1) Arg. 2 where the host stated that "But, but that is not addressing the issue here...". This reproach came after the host questioned the guest on the aspect of whether the economy had been working or not with regards to the planning to which the guest gave a whole scenario explaining outside the standpoint that was advanced. The starting point rule was well observed by both parties. The argument scheme rule was not violated by either of the discussants. Owing to nepotism and support from the president of the nation who is also a member of SWAPO, the validity rule, the closure rule and the language usage rule were well observed by the discussants.

5.7 ARGUMENTATION ON GERMAN DEVELOPMENT AID IN NAMIBIA

5.7.1 INTRODUCTION

Germany is one of the major contributors to development aid in Africa and has provided significant support to many countries on the continent, including Namibia. The German government provides development aid through its Federal Ministry for Economic Cooperation and Development (BMZ) and through various development organisations, such as the German Development Bank (KfW) and the German Society for International Cooperation (GIZ).

In Namibia, Germany has been providing development aid since the country gained independence in 1990. German development aid in Namibia is mainly focused on supporting economic development, promoting good governance, and improving the living conditions of the people. One of the major areas of German development aid in Namibia is vocational training and education. The German government has supported the establishment of vocational training centres and programmes in Namibia, providing training in areas such as carpentry, mechanics, and agriculture. Germany has also supported the development of higher education in Namibia, providing scholarships and funding for universities and research institutions. Germany has also provided significant support to Namibia's health sector, including funding for the construction of hospitals and health centres, and the training of health professionals. The German government has also supported projects aimed at improving access to clean water and sanitation in Namibia.

Besides Namibia, Germany provides development aid to many other African countries, including Ethiopia, Kenya, and Tanzania. The German government focuses on areas such as sustainable economic development, education, health, and good governance. Germany is one of the leading contributors to development aid in Africa, and the country has provided significant support to many African countries, including Namibia. The German government provides development aid through its Federal Ministry for Economic Cooperation and Development (BMZ) and through various development organisations, such as the German Development Bank (KfW) and the German Society for International Cooperation (GIZ) (BMZ, 2021). German development aid in Africa is primarily focused on promoting economic development, good governance, and improving the living conditions of people.

Despite the positive impact of aid in Africa, there are also criticisms of some aspects of development aid. Some critics argue that development aid can create a dependency on foreign aid and hinder long-term economic growth in African countries (Easterly, 2006). Additionally, some critics argue that development aid can lead to corruption, as aid money is not always transparently managed and can be diverted to personal accounts (Moyo, 2009). Critics of development aid also argue that it can undermine local businesses by flooding markets with cheap goods, making it challenging for local producers to compete (Shah, 2013). Some critics also argue that development aid can undermine democracy and accountability by providing resources to authoritarian regimes, which can use these resources to maintain power (Shah, 2013).

5.7.2 CONFRONTATION AND OPENING STAGE

The discussion between the host, Patrick Sam and the guest, Christian lacked the confrontation and the opening stage. The reason for is that this particular discussion was a second segment of a discussion that previously began and not part of the study. As a result, it can be seen that the discussants were comfortable and seemed established in the way the discussion was progressing.

5.7.3 ARGUMENTATION STAGE

5.7.3.1 ARGUMENT 1: *German development aid to Namibia: AID or a symbolic posture!*

Dialogue Extract 5.7.3.1: [Transcribed verbatim, so no error correction]

Patrick: *Well, if you watching, if you just joining us, this is One-on-One. And we are talking to the Germany ambassador to Namibia Christian Slugger. Before the break, we concentrated on the nature of the relationship given the historical relationship between Namibia and Germany. (1) Now we'll be focusing a little bit better ambassador on the nature of aid given for a lot of the time from developed countries and what its true purpose you know, when we read scholars like, for instance, Zambian writer, for example, Thembisa Moyo, who talks about aid, she says that this is mere, a symbolic posturing, you know it is, it is a way to say that we're actually doing good, while at the same time a lot of developed countries, might not be necessary Germany reap a lot of resources out of countries in Africa, (1.1) what do you say is the intended purpose to clarify your point, in terms of giving aid to countries like Namibia*

Christian: *Leaving aside the historic element about what we just talked, but in general terms, of course, our sincere interest is to other countries, strive, that other countries develop in order to become a viable economy, economy with what we can deal, that we see that other countries develop into a democratic structure where people have the democratic and a human rights existing and being respected because we have the experience that it is particularly good to deal with countries of that nature. Therefore, (1.2) it is our interest to make sure that more countries in the world take the way towards those elements which I just described to me to see human rights open market and therefore be a vital part of the international community, also, of course, in the economic and business sense. (1.2a) Therefore, our, utmost effort to, as much as we can contribute to development within the country to make sure that these rights are being developed in the country. (1.2.b) Also, of course, for the social objective, social development within the country, because we know that only a healthy and country with the wealth, which is more or less distributed in a way which we can accept or which is acceptable, that this is, those are the best countries to deal with, politically,*

economically, socially. (1.2c) Therefore, with a limited means we have, we try to reach exactly that purpose that objective for the sake of the people living in this country.

Patrick: (1.1a) Ok, ambassador, so then the conversation generally around aid then becomes as idea between, why do you promote aid to that level and not, for instance, trade where countries are becoming more protectionist when it comes to consider for instance agricultural policies, importing the goods or European government subsidizing a lot of the farmers, excuse me, in terms of making it a less competitive for other countries like developing countries. (1.1b) So is the question, not, for instance, your countries, especially developed countries, taking on, a more trade or pro trade versus anti aid model, how do we get that right at the same time, because we can see that aid hasn't really changed Africa's realities.

Christian: (1.2d) Well, whether it has changed realities or not, I would argue, in Namibia it has contributed a lot of the change. Of course, the major driver is the Namibian government itself, but as (1.2e) I said before, we do our utmost to develop our projects, to develop the places where we put the money into together with the Namibian Governments. And we have different sectors. (1.2.1) If we talk about structural development towards wealth distribution, wealth creation and distribution for example, infrastructure, Germany has been extremely active over the past. (1.2.1a) There is an infrastructure, road, infrastructure, electricity production, electricity, transport. Millions and millions of Euros have gone into that sector in order to make sure that, um, the industry can thrive, the industry needs electricity, people need electricity, so we supported that just as one example. (1.2.1b) We supported that sector and um, it fits all into the objective of putting a country into the place that it is by itself capable of producing, of being part of the international competitive market scheme that's, I think we have come a long way in on this road. Of course, trade is....

Patrick: But, but if you look at a global trade after only still occupies 2% of global trade, so you know at a greater picture, were not saying again, that is not inputs been made, and there's been no marginal difference, but we think that are incremental, but to really change the face of a lot of countries beyond Namibia, I think it's an anomaly in itself again. (1.1c) This is the question remains, why don't you guys promote trading for as much as you do aid?

Christian: (1.2.1c) We do, of course, as well mean, we were in the process of developing signing, actually finalizing of the, uh, European partnership agreement, so the European Union and agreement, kind of a free trade agreement with these other countries of which Namibia of course is an integral part of it. It is finalized, has been negotiated, it's up to the signature now. We hope that the European countries can get the acts together as well. But the objective is evident by the end of this, before the end of this year. (1.2.1d) And this trade agreement basically opens Europe's borders or prolongs, but it's already more or less existing, that the river, as well as the other sixteen, eleven SADC countries can actually, export, whatever they like for the European Union terra free, volume free, and there's only one exception, but I think nobody can argue that should be, and that's arms and ammunition, um, but that's it. I don't think that Namibia has an interest in doing that, so leaving that aside, the rest, all of the products, main products beef can be imported, can be exported into the European Union freely and then it was doing it already.

Patrick: So, then the question is, our current president, when he was the Minister of trade was really against the nature, in which EPA which you are talking about, were agreed upon, and it has taken about four years to clarify, since he has actually made this public call against the EPA. (1.1d) The question, really, are these EPA really in the interest of developing Countries?

Christian: (1.2.2) Well, if it is in the interests of the developing countries to have the opportunity to export their major products, terra free, um, and volume free into the European Union, I would argue, yes! This is what whatever producers can be exported into the European Union, um, without any problems, provided they prefer the fetal sanitary requirements, which is another thing the health requirements, but otherwise they can export it into the European Union and it is doing it already. Now we extend this, uh, for a longer period. (1.2.2a) And true, we also, but very gradually at very slow steps, we also open the Celtic markets more for European products which currently under pretty strong restriction, most of them,

Patrick: (1.1.1) Okay? So, would you argue when people say that Europe is not getting more out of Africa than Africa's getting out of Europe in this EPA, that you're actually being altruistic in the interest of Africa's, (1.1.1a) I think, a lot of time we talk about the real politics and international games in the borders aren't very clearly defined, so would you sit there and ultimately argue that these EPA advantage Africa more than the disadvantages Europe?

Christian: (1.2.3) It's a consensus, it's exchange of interests, it's not, I totally agree with you, it's not from our perspective, an altruistic approach, of course it is our interest. (1.2.3a) There is no doubt, I mean, otherwise we would be unrealistic, nobody would believe it, and it's not true, (1.2.3b) it's in the interest of both sides I have this agreement, and we have negotiated for four years, and tough issues have been solved And, in the end, all SADC countries have agreed that it's a good deal and European countries have agreed that it's a good deal. Now they have to sign it there still one or two issues that is left, but I think that should be solved very soon. So, it is a balance of interest. It's not that one side's a win over the other. (1.2.3c) But you can rest assured, that SADC of countries know their interests as well.

Patrick: (1.1.1b) The reason why is because it seems that a lot of the times when EPAs are signed that it benefits Africa more, and there's no interest on the European side to balance your interest as well. So, we need to clarify that point.

Christian: (1.2.4) No, no, we have interest, of course, otherwise, we wouldn't do it, but, in the end, if you look at it for, at least for the time being, the greater advantage, economically it's still on the African side, (1.2.4a) because African products, certain products, can enter the European market without any obstacles, but for the time being is not the same, vice versa, at least for all products. So, what we intend to do within ten, fifteen years, to reach a point with this basically is even but leaving and an expanding this period for a long time for the African countries to get all the products which they want, fish, meat, others into European Union.

Patrick: (1.1.1c) So, in concluding this segment, and when we started with aid, is aid Germany's way of paying reparations to Namibia?

Christian: (1.2.4b) I tried to say that, at the outset, it has something to do with it. It is not completely decoupled. And you can see this already by the Bundestag resolution, which I referred to of eighty-nine, which has been done repeatedly, later on in different occasions. But this is the basis and whatever we did during the last twenty-

six years with regard to development cooperation is, of course, based on the cognizance, on the acceptance that there has been a past which is a very special past, a very specific past and very thorough past. No doubt! (1.2.4c) And this is the basis, it is not a tit for tat, One-on-One, but it is also nothing which can be simply put aside to say okay, development aid has been paid, now we talk about something different. There is a link in the air, no doubt.

Patrick: (1.1.1d) There is a link in the air, this is Germany ambassador clarifying the German government's position when it comes to things like aid, trade and reparations will be focusing on the way forward in the last segment of One and One do stay with us.

Table 5.7.3.1: German development aid to Namibia [Transcribed verbatim, so no error correction]

No.	Description
(1)	<i>Now we'll be focusing a little bit better ambassador on the nature of aid given for a lot of the time from developed countries</i>
(1.1)	<i>what do you say is the intended purpose to clarify your point, in terms of giving aid to countries like Namibia</i>
(1.2)	<i>...it is our interest to make sure that more countries in the world take the way towards those elements which I just described to me to see human rights open market and therefore be a vital part of the international community, also, of course, in the economic and business sense.</i>
(1.2a)	<i>Therefore, our, utmost effort to, as much as we can contribute to development within the country to make sure that these rights are being developed in the country.</i>
(1.2b)	<i>Also, of course, for the social objective, social development within the country, because we know that only a healthy and country with the wealth, which is more or less distributed in a way which we can accept, which is acceptable, that this is, those are the best countries to deal with politically, economically, socially.</i>
(1.2c)	<i>Therefore, with a limited means we have, we try to reach exactly that purpose that objective for the sake of the people living in this country.</i>
(1.1.a)	<i>Ok, ambassador, so then the conversation generally around aid then becomes as idea between, why do you promote aid to that level and not, for instance, trade where countries are becoming more protectionist when it comes to consider for instance agricultural policies, importing the goods or European government subsidizing a lot of the farmers, excuse me, in terms of making it a less competitive for other countries like developing countries.</i>
(1.1b)	<i>So is the question, not, for instance, your countries, especially developed countries, taking on, a more trade or pro trade versus anti aid model, how do we get that right at the same time, because we can see that aid hasn't really changed Africa's realities.</i>
(1.2d)	<i>Well, whether it has changed realities or not, I would argue, in Namibia it has contributed a lot of the change. Of course, the major driver is the Namibian government itself</i>

(1.2e)	<i>I said before, we do our utmost to develop our projects, to develop the places where we put the money into together with the Namibian Governments. And we have different sectors.</i>
(1.2.1)	<i>If we talk about structural development towards wealth distribution, wealth creation and distribution for example, infrastructure, Germany has been extremely active over the past</i>
(1.2.1a)	<i>There is an infrastructure, road, infrastructure, electricity production, electricity, transport. Millions and millions of Euros have gone into that sector in order to make sure that, um, the industry can strive, the industry needs electricity, people need electricity, so we supported that just as one example.</i>
(1.2.1b)	<i>We supported that sector and um, it fits all into the objective of putting a country into the place that it is by itself capable of producing, of being part of the international competitive market scheme...</i>
(1.1c)	<i>This is the question remains, why don't you guys promote trading for as much as you do aid?</i>
(1.2.1c)	<i>We do, of course, as well mean, we were in the process of developing signing, actually finalizing of the, uh, European partnership agreement, so the European Union and agreement, kind of a free trade agreement with these other countries of which Namibia of course is an integral part of it</i>
(1.2.1d)	<i>And this trade agreement basically opens Europe's borders or prolongs, but it's already more or less existing, that the river, as well as the other sixteen, eleven SADC countries can actually, export, whatever they like for the European Union terra free, volume free, and there's only one exception, but I think nobody can argue that should be</i>
(1.1d)	<i>The question, really, are these EPA really in the interest of developing Countries?</i>
(1.2.2)	<i>Well, if it is in the interests of the developing countries to have the opportunity to export their major products, terra free, um, and volume free into the European Union, I would argue, yes!</i>
(1.2.2a)	<i>And true, we also, but very gradually at very slow steps, we also open the Celtic markets more for European products which currently under pretty strong restriction, most of them,</i>
(1.1.1)	<i>Okay? So, would you argue when people say that Europe is not getting more out of Africa than Africa's getting out of Europe in this EPA, that you're actually being altruistic in the interest of Africa's</i>
(1.1.1a)	<i>I think, a lot of time we talk about the real politics and international games in the borders aren't very clearly defined, so would you sit there and ultimately argue that these EPA advantage Africa more than the disadvantages Europe?</i>
(1.2.3)	<i>It's a consensus, it's exchange of interests, it's not, I totally agree with you, it's not from our perspective, an altruistic approach, of course it is our interest.</i>

(1.2.3a)	<i>There is no doubt, I mean, otherwise we would be unrealistic, nobody would believe it, and it's not true,</i>
(1.2.3b)	<i>it's in the interest of both sides I have this agreement, and we have negotiated for four years, and tough issues have been solved And, in the end, all SADC countries have agreed that it's a good deal and European countries have agreed that it's a good deal</i>
(1.2.3c)	<i>But you can rest assured, that SADC of countries know their interests as well.</i>
(1.1.1b)	<i>The reason why is because it seems that a lot of the times when EPAs are signed that it benefits Africa more, and there's no interest on the European side to balance your interest as well. So, we need to clarify that point.</i>
(1.2.4)	<i>No, no, we have interest, of course, otherwise, we wouldn't do it, but, in the end, if you look at it for, at least for the time being, the greater advantage, economically it's still on the African side</i>
(1.2.4a)	<i>because African products, certain products, can enter the European market without any obstacles, but for the time being is not the same, vice versa, at least for all products</i>
(1.1.1c)	<i>So, in concluding this segment, and when we started with aid, is aid Germany's way of paying reparations to Namibia?</i>
(1.2.4b)	<i>I tried to say that, at the outset, it has something to do with it. It is not completely decoupled.</i>
(1.2.4c)	<i>And this is the basis, it is not a tit for tat, One-on-One, but it is also nothing which can be simply put aside to say okay, development aid has been paid, now we talk about something different. There is a link in the air, no doubt</i>
(1.1.1d)	<i>There is a link in the air</i>

German development aid to Namibia has been a topic of discussion in the academic and political spheres. According to Pragma-Dialectic theory of strategic manoeuvring moves of argumentation, arguments are strategically presented to gain a favourable outcome in a discussion or debate (Lightbown & Spada, 2013). In the case of German development aid to Namibia, former German ambassador to Namibia, Christian Schlaga, argued that it had a sincere interest in helping Namibia develop into a viable economy and democracy with respect for human rights.

As the former German ambassador, Christian Schlaga, argued that German development aid to Namibia was driven by the German government's interest in helping other countries develop into democratic structures where people had their democratic and human rights respected, in order to foster trade relations. Schlaga claimed that German development aid contributed significantly to positive change in Namibia, through the support of infrastructure development, such as roads, electricity production and transport, which helped to make the country more competitive in the international market.

Schlaga argued that the European partnership agreement, which is a free trade agreement between the European Union and other countries including Namibia, is a consensus and an exchange of interests, rather than an altruistic approach. Schlaga believed that the agreement would benefit African countries economically, as African products could enter the European market without obstacles, while European products were subject to some restrictions in African countries. Schlaga emphasised that the Namibia German special Initiative was developed in such a way that it benefitted the communities on the ground, through an enormous amount of communication and consultation with representatives responsible for implementing the programme. Schlaga's argument can be analysed using the pragma-dialectical theory of strategic manoeuvring moves of argumentation. The moves of strategic manoeuvring are aimed at influencing the other party's evaluation of the argument, through the selection of argumentative strategies, such as presenting arguments that enhance the strength of one's own position, weakening the strength of the opposing position, or using fallacies to deceive the other party.

Schlaga's argument can be seen as using the move of presenting arguments that enhance the strength of his own position. He emphasised the positive impact of German development aid on Namibia, through the support of infrastructure development and the Namibia German Special Initiative. He also highlighted the benefits of the European partnership agreement for both Europe and Africa, emphasising that it was a consensus and an exchange of interests, rather than an altruistic approach. Schlaga also used the move of weakening the strength of the opposing position, by downplaying the negative impact of Germany's colonial past on Namibia. He argued that the development aid was based on the acceptance that there had been a special and specific past, but it was not a tit-for-tat approach.

However, Schlaga's argument can be criticised for using the fallacy of appeal to consequences, by suggesting that the European partnership agreement is beneficial for Africa, without providing any concrete evidence to support this claim. Additionally, his argument can be seen as lacking in transparency and accountability, as he does not provide specific details on how the Namibia German special Initiative was developed, how the communities were selected, and how the programme was implemented.

It can be argued that the German government's development aid to Namibia is not entirely altruistic. Instead, it is based on mutual interests and exchange of interests between Germany and Namibia. The European Partnership Agreement, a free trade agreement between the European Union and Namibia, has been one of the areas of mutual interest. This agreement opens Europe's borders for Namibian products

without tariffs, and Namibia can export products freely. The German government has also gradually opened the Celtic markets more for European products, which currently have restrictions, increasing the market for German exports. It is also argued that development aid is often used as a way to ensure the interest of the donor country. According to Lockett and Hein (2015) the allocation of development aid is not solely based on the needs of the recipient countries, but rather on the political interests and security concerns of the donor countries (Lockett & Hein, 2015). In the case of German development aid to Namibia, the German government's decision to invest in Namibia was based on its strategic interest in securing resources, markets, and influence in the African continent.

Furthermore, the historical context between Namibia and Germany cannot be ignored in the analysis of German development aid to Namibia. Namibia was colonised by Germany in the late 19th century, and during the colonial period, the German government committed atrocities against the Namibian people (Shohamy, 2017). The German government has since recognised and apologised for the genocide and human rights abuses committed during the colonial period. However, some scholars argue that the German government's development aid to Namibia is a way to compensate for the atrocities committed in the past (Bauer & Díaz-Bonilla, 2018).

Despite the debates around the motives behind German development aid to Namibia, there is evidence that the aid has had positive impacts on the country's social and economic development. The Namibia German Special Initiative (NGSI),

which was launched in 2012, has been successful in promoting development in Namibia. The NGSi has invested in more than 200 programmes in Namibia, with a focus on social development, agriculture, and renewable energy. The NGSi has also been successful in involving communities in the planning and implementation of development programmes. This bottom-up approach ensured that development programmes met the needs of the local communities.

5.7.3.2 ARGUMENT 2: Defining the economic relationship between Namibia and Germany [Transcribed verbatim, so no error correction]

Patrick: *This is One-on-One, we speaking to German ambassador, that is Christian Slugger, who has been in Namibia for nine months on the German government's position when it comes to the bilateral agreements between the two countries. I think, in the last segment, we've spoken a lot when we started dealing with the hard issues around the nature of the relationship we've spoken about AID and possibility of trade and how that's been promoted. (2) I think in the last part, let's focus a little bit about what this relationship means in going forth with Namibia, we know about the German in the relationship, and the Namibia special initiatives where you guys, had, you know, (2.1) directly come up with a model that's going to assist communities with this by providing them with livestock in terms of changing the livelihoods, do you think those initiatives have been successful?*

Christian: *(2.2) If I look at the response from the communities, I've no doubt the communities have been selected to have advantage by those projects. What they say, yes, it's a very good contribution, it helped us- You talked about livestock, for example, is one very important part and there the feedback is only positive. (2.2a) And we have seen more than two hundred various projects within the overall realm of the special initiative. Therefore, yes! the bottom line is definitely yes, I mean, in in whatever you spend so much money it would always find someone to aspects where you could say, OK, next time we should, we should differently or better, but the bottom line is, it has been a program which definitely benefited the people on the ground.*

Patrick: *But obviously than for the success, you know, you can, you could be a successful student, because you got 60% or one because you got 80%, (2.1a) but with the question now is, when you do you do this project, are these communities consulted over the very top down approach, because you know when you talk about success and when people said those initiatives were designed without our involvement, without consultation. (2.1b) Is your government doing top down approaches, or would you then in consultation in moving forward, involve these communities?*

Christian: *(2.2.b) Mr Sam, I can tell you that in particular, the Namibia German special Initiative, those more than two hundred programs have been developed in such an intercommunication away like never before. (2.2.c) It is not a top down approach, it is, it has been enormous amount of communication then and then the communities need to be selected, who is supposed to receive which project which profit from out*

of this program. (2.2.d) And in the office of the Namibian Prime Minister, there were special representatives and responsible for implementing this programme. (2.2.e) And to be honest, I've never seen any kind of program which was based on so much consultation and so much back and forth, talking, visiting, getting the input from the communities, what should be, how it should be done. Therefore, this is also one of the reasons why it took relatively, a long period, until it is finished, and we are in the process of wrapping it up after several years. But yes, your question, is clearly, is from my side. There has been an enormous amount of communication. In order to find the basis, legal basis to make sure that whatever is being decided really reaches the ground, and it has to be to have seen only a few, because I've been in the country only such a short period of time, but I've seen a few, and there certainly the case.

Patrick: (2.1.1) So, but in 2004, just to consolidate, because what I'm, what, I'm trying to do, is, I'm trying to say, does the aid trade and the special Initiative, the German has introduced, can those be summed up, as you know, that is a reparation package, or is it saying that you know this is not reparation this is something else as Germany willing to pay that or have, they paid it through the initiatives?

Christian: (2.2.1) I can only repeat myself, in the sense that whatever has been done under the realm of development Corporation and the special initiative is part of that overall...

Patrick: (2.1.1a) Aid or reparations?

Christian: (2.2.1a) Development Corporation and this development Corporation contributions cannot be delinked completely. It can be classified as reparations.

Patrick: (2.1.2) Because I mean, in 2004, the German development minister Heidemarie Wiecezorek, Zeul, she came, she asked for forgiveness and she said the German for the first time, from a German official to use the word genocide was there. (2.1.2a) You know, when we, when we acknowledge this genocide, then we can see those reparations, but there's been no prior knowledge of genocide, (2.1.2b) so can we classify these initiatives as reparations is my question?

Christian: (2.2.2) No, a very simple no, even Missus Patrol refused to accept the idea for reparations at that time and it is no secret that no German government, whatever colour it has had so far has accepted the notion of reparations, (2.2.2a) we continue to be of the position that there is no legal basis for reparations in the strict legal sense.

Patrick: (2.1.3) Ok, but if there's an opportunity then to classify, is it because you don't see it as a genocide that they are no reparations. Is Germany government willing to classify the ordeal of 1903/4, as a genocide?

Christian: (2.2.3) You know that we have started negotiations, bilateral negotiations, government to government. And if you look at the wording of the statement by the Namibian foreign minister, when she announced special representative Mr Ngavira, he referred to the atrocities of the years 1904- 1907 specific law in particular waged against the communities of the Herero Nama, (2.2.3a) and one of the major issues of our talks will be exactly to define a common wording, a common assessment of those events, what the outcome will be I cannot tell you as of today, because that's the essence of...

Patrick: (2.1.3a) But with you today, with you today, your government is not seeing those atrocities as genocide?

Christian: (2.2.3b) I don't think either yes or no, because this is part of the negotiations. We've entered the negotiations exactly due to do exactly that, to see

how can we find a common basis, a common language, common wording, for those events, (2.2.3c) and of course, the word you refer to genocide is in the realm, is in the world and we have to see to what extent and how we can find a common wording in order to satisfy both sides, to be in particular to satisfy both sides, in the sense of looking forward to make sure that this issue is not a shadow anymore, over our volatile relations.

Patrick: *So, Germany will only be willing to classify it after these negotiations have taken place.*

Christian: *No, in the in the negotiation,*

Patrick: *In the negotiations?*

Christian: *In the negotiations, we will talk about it, and we'll see to what extent we come to a conclusion or to consensus. Which could include the wording as such, but that remains to be seen, I'm not a negotiator, so please excuse me, I cannot put myself at the place of Dr Gaviria of Mr. Putins on the Germany side. Mr. Putins will come back at the end of June, they will continue the negotiations, and this issue, the question of wording was definitely be one of the major topics of the talks.*

Namibia and Germany have a long-standing relationship that dates back to the colonial era. During this period, Germany established control over Namibia, then known as German South-West Africa, and exploited the country's resources for its own economic benefit. However, despite this difficult past, the two countries have managed to build a positive economic relationship based on mutual interests.

In recent years, German development aid has played a significant role in the economic development of Namibia. One example of this aid is the NGSi, which was launched in 2012 and aimed at promoting sustainable economic development in Namibia through job creation and poverty reduction. The programme focused on key sectors such as agriculture, tourism, and renewable energy, and is designed to benefit the local communities on the ground. Additionally, Namibia and Germany have signed several agreements to boost trade and economic relations between the two countries. One of the most significant is the European Partnership Agreement, a

free trade agreement between the European Union and other countries including Namibia.

German development aid, including the Namibia German Special Initiative, has played a significant role in the economic development of Namibia. Additionally, the European Partnership Agreement is expected to boost trade and economic relations between the two countries, as well as other African countries and the European Union.

Table 5.7.3.2: Economic relationship between Namibia and Germany [Transcribed verbatim, so no error correction]

No.	Description
(2)	<i>In the last part, let's focus a little bit about what this relationship means in going forth</i>
2.1	<i>(German) directly come up with a model that's going to assist communities with this by providing them with livestock in terms of changing the livelihoods, do you think those initiatives have been successful?</i>
(2.2)	<i>If I look at the response from the communities, I've no doubt the communities have been selected to have advantage by those projects. What they say, yes, it's a very good contribution.</i>
(2.2a)	<i>And we have seen more than two hundred various projects within the overall realm of the special initiative. Therefore, yes! the bottom line is definitely yes</i>
(2.1a)	<i>but with the question now is, when you do you do this project, are these communities consulted over the very top down approach, because you know when you talk about success and when people said those initiatives were designed without our involvement, without consultation.</i>
(2.1b)	<i>Is your government doing top down approaches, or would you then in consultation in moving forward, involve these communities?</i>
(2.2b)	<i>Mr Sam, I can tell you that in particular, the Namibia German special Initiative, those more than two hundred programs have been developed in such an intercommunication away like never before</i>
(2.2b)	<i>It is not a top down approach, it is, it has been enormous amount of communication then and then the communities need to be selected, who is supposed to receive which project which profit from out of this program.</i>
(2.2c)	<i>And in the office of the Namibian Prime Minister, there were special representatives and responsible for implementing this programme.</i>

(2.2d)	<i>And to be honest, I've never seen any kind of program which was based on so much consultation and so much back and forth, talking, visiting, getting the input from the communities, what should be, how it should be done.</i>
(2.1.1)	<i>So, but in 2004, just to consolidate, because what I'm, what, I'm trying to do, is, I'm trying to say, does the aid trade and the special Initiative, the German has introduced, can those be summed up, as you know, that is a reparation package, or is it saying that you know this is not reparation this is something else as Germany willing to pay that or have, they paid it through the initiatives?</i>
(2.2.1)	<i>I can only repeat myself, in the sense that whatever has been done under the realm of development Corporation and the special initiative is part of that overall annual...</i>
(2.1.2)	<i>Because I mean, in 2004, the German development minister Heidemarie Wieczorek, zeul, she came, she asked for forgiveness and she said the German for the first time, from a German official to use the word genocide was there.</i>
(2.1.2a)	<i>You know, when we, when we acknowledge this genocide, then we can see those reparations, but there's been no prior knowledge of genocide,</i>
(2.1.2b)	<i>so, can we classify these initiatives as reparations is my question?</i>
(2.2.2)	<i>No, a very simple no, even Missus Patrol refused to accept the idea for reparations at that time and it is no secret that no German government, whatever colour it has had so far has accepted the notion of reparations,</i>
(2.2.2a)	<i>we continue to be of the position that there is no legal basis for reparations in the strict legal sense.</i>
(2.1.3)	<i>Ok, but if there's an opportunity then to classify, is it because you don't see it as a genocide that they are no reparations. Is Germany government willing to classify the ordeal of 1903/4, as a genocide?</i>
(2.2.3)	<i>You know that we have started negotiations, bilateral negotiations, government to government.</i>
(2.2.3a)	<i>and one of the major issues of our talks will be exactly to define a common wording, a common assessment of those events, what the outcome will be I cannot tell you as of today</i>
(2.1.3a)	<i>But with you today, with you today, your government is not seeing those atrocities as genocide?</i>
(2.2.3b)	<i>I don't think either yes or no, because this is part of the negotiations. We've entered the negotiations exactly due to do exactly that, to see how can we find a common basis, a common language, common wording</i>
(2.2.3c)	<i>and of course, the word you refer to genocide is in the realm, is in the world and we have to see to what extent and how we can find a common wording in order to satisfy both sides, to be in particular to satisfy both</i>

	<i>sides, in the sense of looking forward to make sure that this issue is not a shadow anymore, over our volatile relations.</i>
--	--

Schlaga highlighted the importance of economic relations between Germany and Namibia, while acknowledging the historic links between the two countries. Schlaga emphasised that although economic relations are well-established, there is still significant room for improvement.

One move of strategic manoeuvring in Schlaga's argument is the use of presenting arguments that enhance the strength of his own position. He emphasised the importance of economic relations between Germany and Namibia, highlighting the potential for improvement in the economic partnership. Schlaga argued that while economic relations were well-rooted, there was still room for improvement. His argument is supported by literature, including a study by Okafor (2021), which highlights the potential for economic cooperation between Germany and African countries, including Namibia. Okafor (2021) argued that Germany's commitment to economic cooperation with Africa can contribute to Africa's sustainable economic development.

Another move of strategic manoeuvring is the use of fallacies, specifically the appeal to consequences fallacy. Schlaga suggested that leaving behind the shadow of Germany's colonial past in Namibia will lead to a better economic partnership between the two countries. However, he does not provide concrete evidence to support this claim. This argument can be criticised for lacking in transparency and accountability, as Schlaga does not provide specific details on how Germany will address the negative impact of its colonial past on Namibia. The importance of

addressing historical issues in economic partnerships is emphasised by De Vos (2019), who argued that economic relations between former coloniser and colonised countries can only be successful if historical issues are addressed transparently. Schlaga also employed the move of weakening the strength of the opposing position by downplaying the negative impact of Germany's colonial past on Namibia. He acknowledged the significance of historical linkages between the two countries, but emphasised that Germany's development aid to Namibia was not a tit-for-tat approach. This argument can be criticised for being dismissive of the impact of colonialism on Namibia, and for failing to acknowledge the ongoing effects of colonialism on the country.

The discussion based on German-Namibian economic relations and historic linkages is complex and requires transparency, accountability, and sensitivity to historical issues. While Schlaga's argument emphasised the potential for improvement in economic relations between the two countries, it is important to acknowledge the impact of Germany's colonial past on Namibia and address historical issues transparently. These issues include the Herero-Nama genocide between 1904 and 1908.

5.7.4 CONCLUDING STAGE:

What Namibia should expect from the ambassador [Transcribed verbatim, so no error correction]

Patrick: (1.1) *Ambassador quickly surely tell us in your time here, what can we expect from your ambassadorship?*

Christian: (1.2) *Oh, that's difficult to say, of course, what I will certainly try is one topic which have not talked about so much for this business, that's economic relations because I think, they're well rooted, well established, but a lot of room for improvement is still there. That has reasons, but (1.2a) I intend to work on that as much as I can within my possibilities. German companies come into the country, take*

a look at it to take a look around and see what opportunities are there. That is certainly one of the things (3.2b) and then, of course the political, or rather the historic link up to today is a major topic for me, and um, I would be very happy to leave this country in probably three years being able to say this shadow has been removed, or as the speaker of the parliament always refers to it said that the stone in our shoes has been removed, and all that we can walk without having paid into the future.

Patrick: (1.1a) *Ambassador thank you very much for making time out for One-on-One.*

Christian: (1.2c) *Thank you, sir,*

Patrick: (1.1b) *Well, Namibia, if you had any question about the nature of the relationship the Namibia has with Germany ambassador Schlager was here on the seat, the hot seat, and his answered your questions. This is One-on-One join us again next week, that's all we had for you, from the One-on-One team, Patrick. Sam myself and the entire team, It's a good night.*

Table 5.7.4: Conclusion [Transcribed verbatim, so no error correction]

NO.	Description
(1.1)	<i>Ambassador quickly surely tell us in your time here, what can we expect from your ambassadorship?</i>
(1.2)	<i>Oh, that's difficult to say, of course, what I will certainly try is one topic which have not talked about so much for this business, that's economic relations because I think, they're well rooted, well established, but a lot of room for improvement is still there.</i>
(1.2a)	<i>I intend to work on that as much as I can within my possibilities. German companies come into the country, take a look at it to take a look around and see what opportunities are there.</i>
(1.2b)	<i>and then, of course the political, or rather the historic link up to today is a major topic for me, and um, I would be very happy to leave this country in probably three years being able to say this shadow has been removed...</i>
(1.1a)	<i>Ambassador thank you very much for making time out for One-on-One.</i>
(1.2c)	<i>Thank you, sir,</i>
(1.1b)	<i>Well, Namibia, if you had any question about the nature of the relationship the Namibia has with Germany ambassador Schlaga was here on the seat, the hot seat, and his answered your questions.</i>

The concluding stage of the discussion proves that the arguers reached consensual understanding of accepting each other's standpoint. The guest successfully defended all the premises which were directed at him by the host without compromising his position as the German ambassador to Namibia. He seemed to have represented himself and his nation very well in terms of avoiding to engage in a critical issue such as the genocide (2.1.2a, 2.1.3&2.1.3a of Argument 2). His

failure to engage in specification concerning genocide does not dismiss the fact that, in all his defences, he responded critically. The resolution of differences was successfully met by both parties. At the end of the discussion, Schlaga stated what Namibia could expect from him as German's ambassador which was followed by positive closing remarks by the host.

5.7.5 SUMMARY

The analysis of this discussion only covers the argumentation stage and the concluding stage because this discussion segment was Part 2 of a discussion that had previously taken place. A number of things were identified in the argumentation stage. Firstly, the Germany ambassador presented his defences very strongly towards issues on Germans' intentions regarding German Development Aid on Namibia (Argument 1) and on genocide (Argument 2). In his defences of his opinions Schlaga maintained reasonableness and effectiveness. He also demonstrated a commitment to represent the audience's demands very well, especially for his country. Schlaga seemed very careful in the way he answered certain questions, especially that of genocide and repatriation. The guest critical responses to the host's question was also performed in a reasonable and effective manner. In the conclusion of each, sub-argument reasonableness and effectiveness were seen through the adjustment of how the arguments were concluded and also through the kinds of information the discussants shared in the form of questions/prompts by the host and answers/defences by the guest. As a result, fallacies and derailments in a form of deviations from the rules of critical discussion were not detected. For instance, the freedom rule was adhered to by both parties

as they allowed each other to put forward their standpoint without obstruction.

With regards to the discussion rules such as the relevance rule, the standpoint rule, the validity rule and the closure rule violated throughout the discussion.

5.8 ARGUMENTATION ON POLITICS OF INDEPENDENT PRESIDENTIAL CANDIDACY

5.8.1 INTRODUCTION

Namibia's political system is characterised by a multi-party democracy (Kamwanyah, 2019). However, the country's political landscape has been dominated by two major political parties, SWAPO and the Democratic Turnhalle Alliance (DTA), for several decades. In recent years, there has been an increasing interest in independent presidential candidacy in Namibia, as citizens seek alternative political representation outside of the established parties (Kangumu, 2020). The independent candidacy option was first introduced in Namibia in 2014, through an amendment to the country's electoral law (Kariseb & Kasita, 2021). The politics of independent presidential candidacy in Namibia has been largely shaped by the country's political history and socio-economic context. Namibia gained independence from South Africa in 1990, after a long struggle against colonialism and apartheid. SWAPO, which led the liberation movement, has been in power since independence, and has dominated Namibian politics.

Despite the existence of opposition parties, many Namibians have become disillusioned with the traditional party system, which they perceive as being corrupt, inefficient, and unresponsive to their needs (Melber, 2020). Independent presidential candidacy has thus emerged as an alternative way for citizens to participate in the political process and challenge the status quo. However, the politics of independent presidential candidacy in Namibia has also been fraught with challenges. One of the major obstacles faced by independent candidates is the lack of resources and support compared to established parties (Schmid & Melber, 2015). Running a successful campaign requires significant financial resources, which many independent candidates struggle to obtain. Furthermore, the media and electoral system in Namibia have been accused of being biased towards the established parties, which makes it difficult for independent candidates to gain visibility and support (Angula, 2020). This has led to accusations of electoral unfairness and exclusion of alternative voices. One of the most notable figures to run as an independent candidate in the last presidential election was Dr Panduleni Itula. Itula was a member of the ruling SWAPO party, but he broke ranks with the party to contest the presidential elections as an independent candidate in 2019 under his party, Independent Patriots for Change.

Itula's candidacy was a significant event in Namibian politics as it posed a challenge to the long-held dominance of SWAPO. The ruling party has been in power since the country's independence in 1990, and its grip on power had been unchallenged until Itula's candidacy. The fact that Itula was able to garner a significant portion of the vote, about 29%, suggests that there is a growing discontent with SWAPO's rule in

the country (Henning, 2019). Itula's candidacy also brought to the fore the issue of party loyalty in Namibian politics. Itula, as a member of the ruling party, could break ranks and run as an independent candidate is an indication of the growing disillusionment with political parties in the country. Schmid and Melber (2015) expressed their views in their book "*Namibia's Liberation Struggle: The Two-Edged Sword*." Political parties in Namibia have failed to deliver on their promises, and this has led to a decline in party loyalty among voters.

Furthermore, Itula's candidacy raised questions about the democratic process in Namibia. While Itula was able to garner a significant portion of the vote, he was ultimately unsuccessful in his bid for the presidency. This raises questions about the fairness of the electoral process in Namibia, particularly when it comes to independent candidates. As noted by Kamwanyah (2019) in his article "*The Politics of Independent Candidates in Namibia: An Assessment*," the country's electoral laws and regulations make it difficult for independent candidates to run for office. This section of the study analysed the arguments by the NBC *One-on-One* TV show host and Dr Panduleni Itula using strategic manoeuvring in a political discussion about independent presidential candidacy in Namibia.

First, it is important to note that, in an argumentation the purpose is always for the arguers to defend their standpoint (van Eemeren & Snoeck Henkemans, 2017). In any given scenario, "if the standpoint is a positive one, defending it consists of justifying the proposition to which the standpoint refers" (van Eemeren & Snoeck Henkemans, 2017, p.31).

5.8.2 CONFRONTATION STAGE

The confrontation stage establishes a common ground for the discussants' difference of opinion. The difference of opinion comes up where the host sides with the audience facing off with the guests and the questions that follow. This stage also serves as an introduction of the host and the guest; and also gives a glimpse of the discussion to follow.

The host introduced himself and the guest, followed by acknowledging the status the guest had acquired by being the first in the history of Namibian as an independent candidate to run and obtaining close to 30% of the votes (1.a). The question "what do you make of what happened there?" is a strategy that prompts the guests to take his first standpoint of the topic at hand. The guest takes the opportunity to make his first standpoint stating that "Namibian people had had enough and had no choice" (2a) implying that he was favourable amongst many due to what he referred to as having enough of the ruling party (2b). The extract and table below show the detailed exchange between the host and guest.

Extract 5.8.2: Confrontation [Transcribed verbatim, so no error correction]

Denver: Welcome to your weekly dose of One-on-One, my name is Denver Kisting. Our guest tonight is Panduleni Itula the president of the independent patriots for change. **(1)** Now Doc, for the national assembly and presidential elections of twenty nineteen will never be forgotten by the Namibians. **(1a)** You gone it, as an independent presidential candidate. The first time in the history of the country, close to 30% of the votes, what do you make of what happened there?

Itula: (2) I feel, uh, we came into an arena when the Namibian people really had had enough and they had no choice. And as a consequence of that, **(2a)** when they saw an independent presidential coming, a president coming on they felt that this time for change, in my participation, there was on the call of the Namibian; when I went around campaigning, I had only three weeks to campaign. **(2b)** Three weeks to get funding from various people who could donated in contributed. And the Namibian

people took a decision that indicated to the ruling party, we've had enough, and that's probably what it meant.

Table 5.8.2 Confrontation: [Transcribed verbatim, so no error correction]

No.	Description
(1)	<i>Now Doc, for the national assembly and presidential elections of twenty nineteen will never be forgotten by the Namibians.</i>
(1.a)	<i>You gone it, as an independent presidential candidate. The first time in the history of the country, close to 30% of the votes, what do you make of what happened there?</i>
(2)	<i>I feel, uh, we came into an arena when the Namibian people really had had enough and they had no choice.</i>
(2a)	<i>when they saw an independent presidential coming, a president coming on they felt that this time for change</i>
(2b)	<i>Three weeks to get funding from various people who could donated in contributed. And the Namibian people took a decision that indicated to the ruling party, we've had enough, and that's probably what it meant.</i>

5.8.3 OPENING STAGE

In the opening stage, discussants' dialectical objective is to establish a clear point of departure for the discussion where the discussants accept procedural starting points and also material starting points defining the premises of the discussion, which can be concessions that may be built upon in the discussion as it develops the rhetorical aim for both discussants. At this point, the common ground between the discussants and to set the rules of the argumentation game was established. As expected, the discussion branched into the issue of funding which the host questioned (1.1). The guest answered by stating that his dental practice was the source of the funds (1.2).

The opening of the discussion presents the confrontation between the discussants. The discussion gets very critical immediately as noted through the response of the guest in making his standpoints. The argument posits that the Namibian people had

no choice but to support independent candidates, as they had had enough of the ruling party. According to Dr Itula, funding played a role in the election, and he had to rely on various donations to fund his campaign. The argument also highlighted the difference between SWAPO of Namibia and SWAPO party. The latter came into existence under Article 17 of the SWAPO Party constitution, and the former is a broader term that refers to the liberation movement that fought against colonialism. Furthermore, Itula argued that political parties cannot implement their policies in local authority councils. It is clear that Itula used the choice of words to validate his position. He used the phrase "had no choice" to suggest that the people were forced to support independent candidates. However, this statement lacks specificity and may not hold up to scrutiny. Additionally, Itula highlighted the funding issue to suggest that independent candidates faced challenges in securing campaign financing.

Extract 5.8.3 [Transcribed verbatim, so no error correction]

Denver: *I am happy you are raising the matter pertaining to funding (1.1) many people wanted to know the time already, how is he able to finance his campaign?*

Itula: *(1.2) Well, some of the money came directly from my practice, but many of the money*

Table 5.8.3. Opening

No.	Description
(1.1)	<i>I am happy you are raising the matter pertaining to funding (1.1) many people wanted to know the time already, how is he able to finance his campaign?</i>
(1.2)	<i>(1.2) Well, some of the money came directly from my practice, but many of the money....</i>

According to Windundu and Nangombe (2020), independent candidates in Namibia face significant obstacles in securing campaign funding and are often at a

disadvantage compared to established political parties. This is because political parties have access to state resources and donor funding, which independent candidates do not. As a result, independent candidates often rely on personal resources or donations from supporters, as was the case with Dr Itula's campaign. Windundu and Nangombe (2020) also noted that Itula argued that this created a system where independent candidates were effectively excluded from participating in politics on equal footing with established parties. Regarding the issue of local authority councils, Nujoma (2015) noted that these councils played a critical role in local governance and service delivery in Namibia. However, he argued that the current system, where political parties did not have a mandate or manifesto for local councils, created a disconnect between local needs and national policies. He further argued that there was a need for a more coherent and integrated approach to local governance, where political parties had a clear mandate and accountability to local communities.

5.8.4 ARGUMENTATION STAGE

5.8.4.1 ARGUMENT 1: Campaign funding

Argument 1 proceeds with the discussion the discussants opened in the opening stage. On the issue of funding, the guest claimed that most of the funding was sourced by himself, through his dental practice (1.2). He also acknowledged voluntary financial assistance that the campaign received. The host's "very well" (1.1.1) indicated acceptance of the guest's standpoint and it could also indicate the host's strategic move to approach another angle or another premise. The host referred to the previous statement made by the guest

concerning the ruling party (1.1.1) in that there were disturbing issues in the ruling party. The host questioned why the guest had not realised these issues then. In his response, the guest made several premises. First, he stated that there was a distinction between the SWAPO party and SWAPO of Namibia which he noted that he never held a SWAPO party membership. He dissociated himself from the party (1.2.1b) & (1.2.2). For clarity and emphasis, the guest started his standpoint by “We need to be very, very careful! (1.2.1) & (1.2.3)”. This indicates the seriousness in which he regarded the topic at hand.

Dialogue Extract: 5.8.4.1 [Transcribed verbatim, so no error correction]

Denver: (1.1.) So, you self-financed the largest part of the campaign?

Itula: (1.2) Yes, it's the largest part came from myself, but I cannot really say it is the largest part, because they were people coming, for example, the branding of the buses. People just said, who's going to pay for this? Um, we haven't got a funder... okay Fine, we'll take it, people paid for the, for example, for the musicians to come and pay for petrol, some of the people, I knew, some of the people, I haven't got a clue at all, because my administration, that I had down there they had people coming into the dental clinic, which was basically operational feel as well. And just say, we are taking this one, we are paying for this one, we are paying for this, when (1.2a) I remember coming to NBC for that free advert but I was told that I was late, so I just went and relied a lot onto the people.

Denver: (1.1.1) Very well, earlier you shared with us that there were issues that were disturbing to you in the ruling party, why when you were a member of the ruling party for over decades and you only realize that in twenty nineteen?

Itula: (1.2.1) We need to be very, very careful! (1.2.1a) There is a clear difference between SWAPO of Namibia of which I have been a member and SWAPO party, I've never held a SWAPO party membership card in terms of the Swap Party constitution, in article one, it only says the party shall be SWAPO party. (1.2.1b) There is not transitional clause in the SWAPO Party constitution to say this party was fleetingly SWAPO of Namibia.

Denver: (1.1.2) Talking about the ruling party here,

Itula: (1.2.2) Yes, the ruling party came into existence, not as SWAPO of Namibia, it came into existence in terms of article seventeen, as SWAPO party.

Figure 5.8.4.1: Politics of independent candidates in Namibia and their funding Campaign [Transcribed verbatim, so no error correction]

(1.1)	<i>So, you self-financed, the largest part of the campaign?</i>
(1.2)	<i>Yes, it's the largest part came from myself, but I cannot really say it is the largest part, because they were people coming, for example, the branding of the buses.</i>
(1.2a)	<i>I remember coming to NBC for that free advert but I was told that I was late, so I just went and relied a lot onto the people.</i>
(1.1.1)	<i>Very well, earlier you shared with us that there were issues that were disturbing to you in the ruling party, why when you were a member of the ruling party for over decades and you only realize that in twenty nineteen?</i>
(1.2.1)	<i>We need to be very, very careful!</i>
(1.2.1a)	<i>There is a clear difference between SWAPO Namibia of which I have been a member and SWAPO party, I've never held a SWAPO of party membership card in terms of the SWAPO Party constitution, in article one, it only says the party shall be SWAPO party.</i>
(1.2.1b)	<i>There is not transitional clause in the SWAPO Party constitution to say this party was <u>fleetingly</u> SWAPO of Namibia.</i>
(1.1.2)	<i>Talking about the ruling party here,</i>
(1.2.2)	<i>Yes, the ruling party came into existence, not as SWAPO of Namibia, it came into existence in terms of article seventeen, as SWAPO party.</i>

Another important point to consider in the discussion of independent candidates and their funding campaigns is the role of transparency and accountability. In Namibia, there are laws that require political parties and candidates to disclose their sources of funding and their campaign expenses (Zukiswa, 2021). However, independent candidates do not fall under the same regulations and are not required to disclose their funding sources. This lack of transparency and accountability can raise questions about the legitimacy of independent candidates and their campaigns. Furthermore, the issue of funding is not only relevant to independent candidates but also to established political parties in Namibia. There have been concerns raised about the influence of corporate donations on political parties and their policies. This has led to calls for more transparency and accountability in political party funding to ensure that the interests of the people are not compromised. The politics of independent

candidates and their funding campaigns in Namibia are complex issues that require careful consideration. While independent candidates may offer an alternative to established political parties, the lack of transparency and accountability in their funding sources can raise questions about their legitimacy (Fatcheler, 2018). It is important for all political candidates and parties to adhere to the laws and regulations regarding campaign financing to ensure that the interests of the people are protected.

5.8.4.2 ARGUMENT 2: The role of collision in the success of IPC

PART A: Windhoek and Swakopmund

In recent years, political coalitions have emerged as a key strategy for opposition parties seeking to unseat incumbent governments in Africa (Mwenda & Tangri, 2015; Oloka-Onyango & Busingye, 2019). In Namibia, the Independent Patriots for Change (IPC) was formed in 2020 as a coalition of several opposition parties and independent candidates with the aim of contesting the country's presidential and parliamentary elections (Nangombe, 2020). The formation of the IPC was seen as a response to growing public dissatisfaction with the ruling party's policies and governance record, as well as a reflection of the fragmentation of the opposition in previous elections (Kishiwa, 2020). Despite being a relatively new political entity, the IPC emerged as a formidable force in the 2020 elections, winning four parliamentary seats and almost 17% of the popular vote, with its presidential candidate finishing second to the incumbent (Kishiwa, 2020; Nangombe, 2020). The success of the IPC has been attributed to its ability to bring together diverse groups and interests under a common goal, as well as its effective use of social media and other digital platforms

to mobilise support and engage with voters (Opondo, 2020). However, it remains to be seen whether the IPC will be able to sustain its momentum and build on its electoral gains in future elections, given the challenges of maintaining a coalition and the pressures of political office (Mwenda & Tangri, 2015; Oloka-Onyango & Busingye, 2019). This section of the study analysed the NBC *One-on-One* Talk Show discussion between the TV host and Dr Itula about the role of coalition in the success of Independent Patriots for Change in Namibia.

The argument presented about the role of coalition in the success of Independent Patriots for Change (IPC) in Namibia raised some interesting issues that can be analysed using the pragma-dialectical theory of strategic manoeuvring of argumentation. The argument is primarily concerned with the use of the term "coalition" and the implication that it carries. The argument suggested that coalitions were useful in creating a united front against the ruling party. Councillors of different parties joined hands by coming together with a shared understanding to elect a Mayor. The use of the term "collaboration" is suggested as a more appropriate representation of what is happening. The pragma-dialectical theory of strategic manoeuvring of argumentation posits that arguers use various strategies to defend their standpoint and to attack the standpoint of their opponents. In this case, Dr Itula used the strategy of lexical choice, which involved selecting a word that had a specific connotation to support his standpoint. Itula attempted to distance IPC from the negative connotations associated with coalitions, such as compromise, concession, and instability. Using the term "collaboration," Itula was trying to convey a sense of unity, purpose, and strength.

Dialogue Extract A [Transcribed verbatim, so no error correction]

Denver: Doc now, in 2020 after what happened in twenty nineteen; **(1.1.)** you founded the independent patriot for change, a party that has thus far primarily survived, some would say, and coalitions and progress of forces to carry out its mandate. Is that your take on the matter?

Itula: (1.2.) We need to be very careful that we participated in the local authority council elections. The local authority council elections, parties do not go in with a manifest or mandates or anything like that. **(1.2.a)** Section eleven of the local authority, it allows counsellors in the unity, notice, political party representatives to elect among themselves their leaders. **(1.2.b)** At the same time in terms of section 30, the council is a creature of parliament, parliament has already prescribed the duties and responsibilities of the council, a political party. **(1.2.c)** That is the misconception, a political party cannot implement its policy in a local authority council.

Denver: (2.1.1) Before we get there, I want to understand from your perspective, what role have collisions, played in the success of what the IPC has accomplished thus far.

Itula: (2.2.1) There aren't any real coalitions in this it is councillors that come together with an understanding that they have to do something different from the ruling party,

Denver: (2.1.1a) Their coming together, what does that mean?

Itula: There is no more, People are getting a confusion in Parliament you can have a, you can have a coalition before election, in a coalition after election to govern. **(2.2.1a)** The rule of law in Namibia does not allow for coalitions in local authorities. **(2.2.1b)** When we came together to say look there is SWAPO has five votes, SWAPO has the majority, for example, in Windhoek. And the other parties have got two, one etc, and I-P-C has got four, so the party with a majority in that council is SWAPO party with five. I-P-C has got 4. **(2.2.1c)** So, the other people came alongside to IPC to perform in majority of the people in the council itself...

Denver: (2.1.1b) ...And according to you, that's not a coalition, they just came together?

Itula: (2.2.1d) No, not a coalition, that's basically, well, counsellors should really be working together, ... (interruption)

Denver: (2.1.1c) ...but what we are saying, it had not been for that collaboration, that coming together,

Itula: (2.2.1e) Ye can call it a collaboration, yes, yes, a collaboration for the election of his going to be the mayor.

Denver: (2.1.1d) Would IPC have been nowhere had people not come together had that collaboration not have not existed doctor? that is the question!

Itula: (2.2.1e) Ya, I-P-C would not have been able to even have a say in the council other than having members there if that collaboration had gone the other way. If people collaborated with SWAPO, for example, whether now it is PDM and NUDO collaborated to SWAPO that grouping, would have had the majority to be able to vote a Mayor in.

Denver: (2.1.1e) Let us have further regard to it, call it a collaboration. We're not calling it Coalition, for your purposes. Some call it a marriage between progressive forces. **(2.1.2)** We saw, there was a lot of trouble in that particular paradise, particularly in Windhoek, because of infighting What do you make of that Doc?

Itula: (2.2.2) I think the term in fighting is not appropriate. What it was is this that many of the councillors wanted to be very ambitious and to project their own idea of how to be seen as doing something in the council itself...

Denver: (2.1.2a) What does that mean Doctor?

Itula: (2.2.2a) What it means is simply is this, that you've got a lot of people from the background that are not the same, and everyone wants to have that their own go. **(2.2.2b)** And we need to understand that IPC in itself was not involved in the fights. **(2.2.2c)** And some of the fights that are said to have been in the council, we were not aware of, we were aware of our members, for example, doing something that is contrary to our rules, and we've pulled them back.

But what was going on inside the council there was something completely outside, remember to, as well too that, whenever councillors are elected in a local authority before you go to the administration in, you need to make a distinction between that. Councillors are only decision makers. They are not executors of administrators.

Denver: (2.1.3) Thank you! IPC members behaving in a fashion contrary to the IPC's rules, can you share with us what we have seen in that regard. Many resignations, expulsions, etc. Particularly of counsellors, walk us through what is happening in the party.

Itula: (2.2.3) We haven't had an expulsion in the party at all. The only expulsion we had so far is the counsellor in Swakopmund. There was a resignation of a member of the council of local authority, in Windhoek. After we discovered that she had gone past the normal procedures of acquiring land. And we pulled it back in terms of the law, we can restrain the consulate that is going contrary to the law. In terms of our constitution, we have to abide by the laws.

Denver: (2.1.3a) One, expulsion is an expulsion, and one resignation is a resignation.

But, what brought that about

Itula: (2.2.3a)) But the question is pertaining to the city of Windhoek.

Denver: (2.1.3b) But, we're talking all over the country, IPC is not limited to Windhoek.

Itula: (2.2.3b) In terms of the regional council in section six, it says that no person shall become a member of the council, unless they are ordinarily residents in the constituency in which they are seeking election. And if they are not so ordinary residence within three months becomes ordinarily resident. The counsellor who was consular for Swakopmund was not ordinarily resident in the constituency of Swakopmund, and it's also in her membership card, which is given the address which is basically an address in Walvis Bay rural. Now according to the law. According to the law, if you are not ordinary residence, you cease and disqualify yourself from so becoming...

Denver: (2.1.3c) So, we need to learn about which is ordinarily resident.

Itula: (2.2.3c) We learned about that in October last year,

Denver: (2.1.3d) Only?!

Itula: (2.2.3d) Yes, because in the membership card it says Swakopmund; we are not in the headquarters away, where is which address we have given a Counsellor will have been vetted through the region,

Denver: (2.1.3e) Thank you.

Itula: Yeah. And then came through,

Table: 5.8.4.2a-The role of coalition in the success of Independent Patriots for Change

[Transcribed verbatim, so no error correction]

No.	Description
(2.1)	<i>Doc now, in twenty twenty after what happened in twenty nineteen; you founded the independent patriot for change, a party that has thus far primarily survived, some would say, and coalitions and progress of forces to carry out its mandate. Is that your take on the matter?</i>
(2.2)	<i>We need to be very careful that we participated in the local authority council elections. The local authority council elections, parties do not go in with a manifest or mandates or anything like that.</i>
(2.2a)	<i>Section eleven of the local authority, it allows counsellors in the unity, notice, political party representatives to elect among themselves their leaders.</i>
(2.2b)	<i>At the same time in terms of section 30, the council is a creature of parliament, parliament has already prescribed the duties and responsibilities of the council, a political party.</i>
(2.2c)	<i>That is the misconception, a political party cannot implement its policy in a local authority council.</i>
(2.1.1)	<i>Before we get there, I want to understand from your perspective, what role have collisions, played in the success of what the IPC has accomplished thus far.</i>
(2.2.1)	<i>There aren't any real coalitions in this it is councillors that come together with an understanding that they have to do something different from the ruling party,</i>
(2.1.1a)	<i>Their coming together, what does that mean?</i>
(2.2.1a)	<i>The rule of law in Namibia does not allow for coalitions in local authorities.</i>
(2.2.1b)	<i>When we came together to say look there is SWAPO has five votes, SWAPO has the majority, for example, in Windhoek. And the other parties have got two, one etc, and I-P-C has got four, so the party with a majority in that council is SWAPO party with five. I-P-C has got 4.</i>
(2.2.1c)	<i>So, the other people came alongside to IPC to perform in majority of the people in the council itself...</i>
(2.1.1b)	<i>...And according to you, that's not a coalition, they just came together?</i>

(2.2.1d)	<i>No, not a coalition, that's basically, well, counsellors should really be working together,</i>
(2.1.1c)	<i>...but what we are saying, it had not been for that collaboration, that coming together,</i>
(2.2.1e)	<i>Ye can call it a collaboration, yes, yes, a collaboration for the election of his going to be the mayor.</i>
(2.1.1d)	<i>Would IPC have been nowhere had people not come together had that collaboration not have not existed doctor? that is the question!</i>
(2.2.1f)	<i>Ya, IPC would not have been able to even have a say in the council other than having members there if that collaboration had gone the other way</i>
(2.1.1e)	<i>Let us have further regard to it, call it a collaboration. We're not calling it Coalition, for your purposes. Some call it a marriage between progressive forces.</i>
(2.1.2)	<i>We saw, there was a lot of trouble in that particular paradise, particularly in Windhoek, because of infighting What do you make of that Doc?</i>
(2.2.2)	<i>I think the term in fighting is not appropriate. What it was is this that many of the councillors wanted to be very ambitious and to project their own idea of how to be seen as doing something in the council itself...</i>
(2.1.2a)	<i>What does that mean Doctor?</i>
(2.2.2a)	<i>What it means is simply is this, that you've got a lot of people from the background that are not the same, and everyone wants to have that their own go.</i>
(2.2.2b)	<i>And we need to understand that IPC in itself was not involved in the fights.</i>
(2.2.2c)	<i>And some of the fights that are said to have been in the council, we were not aware of, we were aware of our members, for example, doing something that is contrary to our rules, and we've pulled them back.</i>
(2.1.3)	<i>Thank you! IPC members behaving in a fashion contrary to the IPC's rules, can you share with us what we have seen in that regard. Many resignations, expulsions, etc. Particularly of counsellors, walk us through what is happening in the party.</i>
(2.2.3)	<i>We haven't had an expulsion in the party at all. The only expulsion we had so far is the counsellor in Swakopmund. There was a resignation of a member of the council of local authority, in Windhoek</i>
(2.1.3a)	<i>One, expulsion is an expulsion, and one resignation is a resignation.</i>
(2.2.3a)	<i>But the question is pertaining to the city of Windhoek.</i>
(2.1.3b)	<i>But, we're talking all over the country, IPC is not limited to Windhoek.</i>
(2.2.3b)	<i>In terms of the regional council in section six, it says that no person shall become a member of the council, unless they are ordinarily residents in the constituency in which they are seeking election.</i>
(2.1.3c)	<i>So, we need to learn about which is ordinarily resident.</i>
(2.2.3c)	<i>We learned about that in October last year,</i>
(2.1.3d)	<i>Only?!</i>

(2.2.3d)	<i>Yes, because in the membership card it says Swakopmund; we are not in the headquarters away, where is which address we have given a Counsellor will have been vetted through the region,</i>
(2.1.3e)	<i>Thank you.</i>

PART B: Otjiwarongo

Dialogue Extract B [Transcribed verbatim, so no error correction]

Denver: *We're talking about the affairs at the coast; we're talking about the affairs in Windhoek. (2.1.4) What is happening in Otjiwarongo briefing before we take another break.*

Itula: (2.2.4) *Otjiwarongo? Our counsellor decided to withdraw from the management committee because of the conduct that she alleged in the management committee itself for the chairperson of the management committee.*

Denver: (2.1.4a) *And what are you doing about this?*

Itula: (2.2.4a) *What are we doing about it? As a party, that is an issue within the council, our councillor will sort it out there; we've got chief work representative, in that they will deal with it. I don't deal directly with councillors. The authorized person in terms of IPC is the national General Secretary. So, the counsellor inside there will be able to deal with it.*

Denver: (2.1.4b) *What is that you deal with?*

Itula: (2.2.4b) *When?*

Denver: (2.1.4c) *You, you don't deal directly with councillor-*

Itula: (2.2.4c) *Oh, I do, basically my responsibility now is the legal aspects of the party, and then going around the party, ensuring that the party's cohesion is maintained.*

In ensuring that the party go over the transitional period from its formation, in getting all the organs going,

Denver: (2.1.5) *A withdrawal, resignation and expulsion. Would you say that the IPC is characterized by instability?*

Itula: (2.2.5) *No, definitely not. You see, whenever something takes off, you've got bits and pieces. There are a lot of people that came into the IPC, thinking that is a gravy train, just to come in seeking positions and they didn't get and decided to go.*

Denver: (2.1.5a) *You're saying that you don't deal directly with councillors but there is a stance that, in fact, that you are interfering too often,*

Itula: (2.2.5a) *There is no evidence to that effect at all; there is a lot of hearsay about it. There's not a single signatory of my signature to anything to do with a council.*

Denver: (2.1.5b) *You may not have signed something to interfere doctor, is that understood?*

Itula: (2.2.5b) *No, no!*

Denver: (2.1.5c) *You're able to interfere without interfering in writing,*

Itula: (2.2.5c) *I do not, as a matter of fact, interfere with any council of issues at all.*

Denver: (2.1.5d) *Very well.*

Itula: (2.2.5d) *I've never, I've only once attended the council meeting, and that was the inauguration.*

Denver: (2.1.5e) *Not to interfere?*

Itula: (2.2.5e) *No, I don't interfere with council matters; the councillors should make the decisions that...*

Table: 5.8.4.2b- The role of coalition in the success of Independent Patriots for Change

[Transcribed verbatim, so no error correction]

No.	Description
(2.1.4)	<i>What is happening in Otjiwarongo briefing before we take another break.</i>
(2.2.4)	<i>Otjiwarongo? Our counsellor decided to withdraw from the management committee because of the conduct that she alleged in the management committee itself for the chairperson of the management committee.</i>
(2.1.4a)	<i>And what are you doing about this?</i>
(2.2.4a)	<i>What are we doing about it? As a party, that is an issue within the council, our councillor will sort it out there; we've got chief work representative, in that they will deal with it. I don't deal directly with councillors.</i>
(2.1.4b)	<i>What is that you deal with?</i>
(2.2.4b)	<i>When?</i>
(2.1.4c)	<i>You, you don't deal directly with councillor-</i>
(2.2.4c)	<i>Oh, I do, basically my responsibility now is the legal aspects of the party, and then going around the party, ensuring that the party's cohesion is maintained. In ensuring that the party go over the transitional period from its formation, in getting all the organs going,</i>
(2.1.5)	<i>A withdrawal, resignation and expulsion. Would you say that the IPC is characterized by instability?</i>
(2.1.5)	<i>A withdrawal, resignation and expulsion. Would you say that the IPC is characterized by instability?</i>
(2.2.5)	<i>No, definitely not</i>
(2.1.5a)	<i>You're saying that you don't deal directly with councillors but there is a stance that, in fact, that you are interfering too often,</i>
(2.2.5a)	<i>There is no evidence to that effect at all; there is a lot of hearsay about it. There's not a single signatory of my signature to anything to do with a council.</i>
(2.1.5b)	<i>You may not have signed something to interfere doctor, is that understood?</i>
(2.2.5b)	<i>No, no!</i>

(2.1.5c)	<i>You're able to interfere without interfering in writing,</i>
(2.2.5c)	<i>I do not, as a matter of fact, interfere with any council of issues at all.</i>
(2.1.5d)	<i>Very well.</i>
(2.2.5d)	<i>I've never, I've only once attended the council meeting, and that was the inauguration.</i>
(2.1.5e)	<i>Not to interfere?</i>
(2.2.5e)	<i>No, I don't interfere with council matters; the councillors should make the decisions that</i>

The difference opinion is solved by the arguers' agreement to call the coming together a collaboration and not a collision. Eventually, the arguments rest on the fact the host decided to except the guest's term "collaboration" for the argument to give way for the discussion to proceed in another direction. The host made it obvious that he did not agree but accepted the term "collaboration" as the guest insisted (2.1.1e). There are two premises advanced in (2.2.2 a & b) in that, when a lot of people from different backgrounds come together there are power dynamics which individuals want to exercise. Secondly, the guest answered the question by stating that IPC was not involved in the fights and that IPC was not aware of the fights that were said to have taken place in the council. Contrary to not knowing anything else, the guest acknowledged the wrong doings by some IPC members who contravened some rules and hence were reprimanded. "Thank you" in this regard suggested acceptance of a standpoint (2.1.3e). The host seemed to be satisfied with the answer the guest gave and felt the need to move to the next point and the only way to advance in the discussion was to rest one point and begin with another. It can be perceived that the argument in Part A ended reasonably. The host managed to achieve the goal of what he was aiming to extract from the guest which is that there was trouble and infighting that transpired. The host tried to manoeuvre this by

playing with words around the area of this taking place. Again, semantic clues were at play in making sure that the defence was made to stand and also accepted by the opponent. However, the host ended up revealing that some of the members did something contrary to IPC rules and were then pulled back. Firstly, there was a contradiction in saying that there had not been an expulsion in the party, but yet there was expulsion in Swakopmund. The Member who was expelled in Swakopmund was a member of IPC, only in a different region. Identifying that he revealed a little too much which validated the host's argument, the guest tried to defend his point by giving specifications of what transpired; an expulsion that proceeded to a resignation of a member (2.2.3). The host made it clear in response to what the guest referred to as not pertaining to Windhoek that IPC was a national party and if something happened to an IPC member in Swakopmund, it reflected on the party as a whole (2.1.3b). In defence of his standpoint, the guest revealed information relating to the members of IPC being ignorant in a sense that they did not know what they were actually supposed to know in their positions. On the other hand, Dr Itula quoted section six that stipulated the rules and regulations of membership of council (2.2.3b). The host demeaned the guest by suggesting that there were things he was supposed to be aware of as a candidate running to be the president of Namibia such as the issues of how long a person had to be a resident of a certain constituency to qualify to be member of the council. "Only" suggested that he host was shocked that the guest only learnt about "ordinary residency" in October (2.1.3d). The host accused the guest of distancing himself from things that happened within the IPC party, such as the Otjiwarongo issue referred to and also the expulsion issue that the guest alleged that he had nothing to do with. (2.1.5a). This closed the

argument in which nothing was mutually agreed on pertaining to Dr's interference in the proceedings of council. The guest denied involvement in anything the host alleged of him (2.2.5e).

In Part B, of argument 2, the argument was centred around allegations that coalition had taken place in the party. Mwanguku (2018) argued that the lack of a clear legal framework for coalitions in Namibia has hindered their development and effectiveness. Similarly, Geingob (2016) pointed out that the dominance of SWAPO had discouraged opposition parties from forming coalitions, as they feared being seen as collaborating with the ruling party. This suggests that the argument about the role of coalition in the success of IPC was not only about word choice, but also about political and legal constraints. The argument about the role of coalition in the success of IPC in Namibia is complex and multifaceted. The use of the pragma-dialectical theory of strategic manoeuvring of argumentation can help to analyse the argument and to identify the various strategies employed by Itula.

Political parties' infighting is a common phenomenon that occurs within parties worldwide, and Namibia is no exception. It is a significant issue that affects party unity and has the potential to weaken a party's support base. Infighting is often caused by differences in ideologies, power struggles, and conflicts of interest among party members. These conflicts can result in the formation of factions, which can be detrimental to the party's overall performance. According to Windundu and Nangombe (2020), infighting within political parties is a common occurrence in Namibia. They suggested that the lack of internal democracy and accountability in parties is a contributing factor to this issue. This lack of democracy and accountability

can lead to the marginalisation of certain members, which can create resentment and hostility within the party. Nujoma (2015) also highlighted the importance of internal democracy in political parties, arguing that it is critical for ensuring party unity and success.

In Namibia, the IPC is a relatively new political party that emerged ahead of the 2019 national elections. The party's formation was initially viewed as a significant threat to the ruling party, SWAPO, as it was seen as a viable alternative for disenchanted voters. However, the party has since experienced significant internal conflicts, including infighting among its members. These conflicts have led to the resignation of several party officials, including the party's vice president, Bernadus Swartbooi (Windundu & Nangombe, 2020). The infighting within IPC has had significant consequences on the party's electoral performance, with the party losing ground in subsequent by-elections. The IPC's case illustrates the importance of party unity and the detrimental effects of infighting on a party's success.

The argument presented concerns of the infighting within the Independent Patriots for Change (IPC) party in Namibia. The guest in the discussion, Dr Itula, denied the existence of infighting in the IPC, suggesting that what has been happening was simply councillors wanting to be ambitious and project their own ideas in the council. Itula asserted that the IPC as a party had not been involved in any fights and that the fights that have occurred were not known to the party. Additionally, he indicated that the IPC had not expelled any members and that they had been strict in ensuring that their members adhered to the party's rules.

In this analysis, it is evident that Itula employed several moves to support his position. Firstly, he used the move of denial to assert that the infighting within the IPC was not accurate. This move sought to deny the reality of the situation, thereby rejecting any accusations of infighting within the party. Secondly, he used the move of distancing to suggest that the IPC as a party had not been involved in any fights. This move sought to create a distinction between the party and the actions of its members, thereby avoiding any blame or responsibility for the infighting. In supporting his argument, Itula made several references to the IPC's constitution and the laws governing the council. He reinforced that a councillor must be a resident of the constituency in which they sought election, and that one councillor was not ordinarily resident in the constituency of Swakopmund. In citing the law, Itula sought to support his position that the IPC was a party that adhered to the rules and regulations set by the council.

In contrast, there are various opinions of scholars that suggest that infighting is a common occurrence within political parties. Lawless and Pearson (2018) suggested that party infighting is a crucial factor that can undermine a party's performance, both electorally and in government. Similarly, Zucco and Leiras (2015) argued that party infighting can be a result of different ideologies or factions within a party, which can create tension and conflicts. In the case of the IPC, it is possible that differing ideologies or factions may be contributing to the problem. Furthermore, the arguer's use of denial and distancing moves can be seen as a form of manipulation or evasion of responsibility. According to van Eemeren and Grootendorst (2016), these moves are often used to avoid confronting the issue at hand and to shift the blame onto

others. Therefore, while the arguer may be presenting a strong defence of the IPC's position, it is essential to consider whether they are avoiding responsibility for the infighting.

Itula denied any interference in council issues and suggested that such claims were hearsay without any evidence. This move was a defence of their position and sought to discredit any accusations of interference. However, this move may be perceived as a weak point since it lacks concrete evidence to support the claim of non-interference. The argument highlighted the issue of ambitious councillors projecting their ideas, the distinction between the party and its councillors, the role of councillors as decision-makers rather than administrators, and legal requirements for regional council membership. The analysis revealed the use of various moves such as support, denial, and defence, each seeking to strengthen or defend the arguer's position.

5.8.4.3 ARGUMENT 3: Independent candidate politics and dictatorship

Part A

Dialogue Extract [Transcribed verbatim, so no error correction]

Denver: Thank you so much doc, it is time for another quick the break, we'll be right back. Welcome back to your weekly dose of One-on-One with me Denver K, with Panduleni Itula the president of the Independent Patriots for Change. **(3.1)** Dr, some people are of the view that you are nothing but a dictator, what do you make of that? Are you a dictator?

Itula: (3.2) I've and I've been hearing this for some time and I never seen any evidence whatsoever. Other than the words that are ordered by journalists, by people, to say Dr Itula conducted himself in a manner that is dictatorial or stated a phrase, this is what he said, and everyone that has left the party kept on with that phrase, but not a single one of them has ever said Dr Itula is a dictator, one thing...

Denver: (3.1a) One moment, I think that's a very important point that you are making. Would people be brave enough to, in the presence of a dictator, tell that person that their a dictator?

Itula: (3.2a) *Why are they brave enough to go to the journalists in public and state that is that, is that not the same? What I want from them is evidence to say this conduct or this statement, or this action is dictatorial,*

Denver: (3.1b) *Are you a dictator yes or no?*

Itula: (3.2b) *The good thing, is that dictators are ambitious, I am not ambitious!*

Denver: (3.1c) *But I think you are*

Itula: (3.2c) *No, I'm not!*

Denver: (3.1d) *Now the racing campaigns for the upcoming elections...*

Itula: *Yes,*

Denver: (3.1d) *...are underway. And the IPC as already indicated that you are the preferred candidate to run,*

Itula: *Yeah,*

Denver: (3.1e) *What is it that you bring to the table.*

Itula: (3.2d) *I think one thing that Namibia's have always been dealt with is ignorance.*

The people have been told this is election, three months before, had we changed that.

We decided to change that to make sure that Namibian so well informed. So that they make an informed decision who should be their leader in this country.

(3.2e) *I believe that I've got what it takes to understand the Namibian people. I believe I've got what it takes to understand the economics taking place in this country; I believe that I've believe that I have travelled this country sufficient enough to understand and to see the difficulties of these people, what I am bringing to the table is evidence-based politics that has got no ambitious, but that has got a vision...*

Denver: (3.1.1) *The proof of the pudding Doc, lies in the eating.*

Itula: (3.2.1) *Exactly!*

Denver: (3.1.1a) *What have we seen that can prove that?*

Itula: *What have you seen so far? (3.2.1a) We have been trend setters. I have been leading the whole political scene here. We started the campaign on the twenty first of March, never before has it started like that. (3.2.1b) We have started a political party, and within three months, the political party has advanced, never before has it been seen in Namibia. Truly the Namibian people are supporting it. (3.2.1c) We have also studied the presidential nomination for the presidential candidate is never been done before it all in this country. What we are putting the Namibian people to is a taste of, look what we are doing and will be able to do that. (3.2.1d) We visited, a lot of the ministries and a lot of agencies to understand what's going on in the in order for us to say, we know what is wrong. (3.2.1e) We know what is wrong from experience, from going in there and understanding what their problems are, some doing well, some not doing so well.*

(3.2.1f) So, we need a lot of reform of political institutions, a lot of law reforms in this country. And to make sure that our socioeconomic program is well adapted. (3.2.1g) We also ask the Namibian people to bring the ideas of what they want us to rule with and gone is the ideas where, a political party says this is the manifesto,

5.8.4.3a Independent candidate politics and dictatorship [Transcribed verbatim, so no error correction]

No.	Description
(3.1)	<i>Dr, some people are of the view that you are nothing but a dictator, what do you make of that? Are you a dictator?</i>
(3.2)	<i>I've been hearing this for some time and I never seen any evidence whatsoever. Other than the words that are ordered by journalists, by people, to say Dr Itula conducted himself in a manner that is dictatorial...</i>
(3.1a)	<i>One moment, I think that's a very important point that you are making. Would people be brave enough to, in the presence of a dictator, tell that person that their a dictator?</i>
(3.2a)	<i>Why are they brave enough to go to the journalists in public and state that is that, is that not the same -What I want from them is evidence to say this conduct or this statement, or this action is dictatorial,</i>
(3.1b)	<i>Are you a dictator yes or no?</i>
(3.2b)	<i>The good thing, is that dictators are ambitious, I am not ambitious!</i>
(3.1c)	<i>But I think you are</i>
(3.2c)	<i>No, I'm not!</i>
(3.1d)	<i>Now the racing campaigns for the upcoming elections... Yes,</i>
(3.1d)	<i>...are underway. And the IPC as already indicated that you are the preferred candidate to run,</i>
(3.1e)	<i>Yeah,</i>
	<i>What is it that you bring to the table.</i>
(3.2d)	<i>I think one thing that Namibia's have always been dealt with is ignorance...</i>
(3.2e)	<i>I believe that I've got what it takes to understand the Namibian people. -I believe I've got what it takes to understand the economics taking place in this country; -I believe that I've believe that I have travelled this country sufficient enough to understand and to see the difficulties of these people, -what I am bringing to the table is evidence-based politics that has got no ambitious, but that has got a vision...</i>
(3.1.1)	<i>The proof of the pudding Doc, lies in the eating.</i>
(3.2.1)	<i>Exactly!</i>
(3.1.1a)	<i>What have we seen that can prove that?</i>
(3.2.1a)	<i>What have you seen so far? We have been trend setters. I have been leading the whole political scene here.</i>
(3.2.1b)	<i>We have started a political party, and within three months, the political party has advanced, never before has it been seen in Namibia. Truly the Namibian people are supporting it.</i>
(3.2.1c)	<i>We have also studied the presidential nomination for the presidential candidate is never been done before it all in this</i>

	<i>country. What we are putting the Namibian people to is a taste of, look what we are doing and will be able to do that.</i>
<i>(3.2.1d)</i>	<i>We visited, a lot of the ministries and a lot of agencies to understand what's going on in the in order for us to say, we know what is wrong.</i>
<i>(3.2.1e)</i>	<i>We know what is wrong from experience, from going in there and understanding what their problems are, some doing well, some not doing so well.</i>
<i>(3.2.1f)</i>	<i>So, we need a lot of reform of political institutions, a lot of law reforms in this country. And to make sure that our socioeconomic program is well adapted.</i>
<i>(3.2.1g)</i>	<i>We also ask the Namibian people to bring the ideas of what they want us to rule with and gone is the ideas where, a political party says this is the manifesto,</i>
<i>(3.11b)</i>	<i>Thank you.</i>

Dialogue Extract Part B [Transcribed verbatim, so no error correction]

Denver: (3.11b) *Thank you.*

Itula: *We are asking it from the people.*

Denver: (3.1.2) *Back in twenty nineteen, you radiate the conviction that would be the next president. You did not become the next president. What are the prospects of the success this time around for you?*

Itula: *I remember you asking me that in country, how legitimate and what degree of integrity did the elections in twenty nineteen have? What was allocated to was 30%, I've got no evidence whatsoever that that was the outcome of the elections. (3.2.2) We recall that when on the 30th, 7000 votes, we are located to the leader of the UDP, only to come back on the fifth of December afterwards, so there were irregularities in that election,*

Denver: (3.1.2a) *Alleged irregularities-*

Itula: (3.2.2a) *7000 votes that were supposed to come to me, we are located to somebody else. When they got the results. That is evidence, something manual must be contravening there.*

Denver: (3.1.2b) *Are you going to be the next president of this country?*

Itula: (3.2.2b) *It is the Namibian people who choose the next president of this country? I'm quite confident that the Namibian people have seen enough of candidates from the ruling party, have seen enough from other political party's incapability of even properly challenging, for the first time in twenty nineteen, I challenge the sitting president of the SWAPO party; and I've scored more than anybody else in the history of this independent country, the Namibian people and especially young people and the workers, will determine the future of this country.*

Denver: (3.1.2c) *What do you mean that you've scored more than anyone else?*

Itula: (3.2.2c) *...than anyone else, nobody has been a presidential candidate and scored 30% of the votes.*

Denver: (3.1.2d) *Any Independent presidential candidate?*

Itula: (3.2.2d) Independent, or even dependent or whether belonging to a political party. Not even his late, H-H, or anybody has scored 30%, most of them has been around, the one, two, three...

5.8.4.3b Independent candidate politics and dictatorship [Transcribed verbatim, so no error correction]

No.	Description
(3.1.2)	<i>Back in twenty nineteen, you radiate the conviction that would be the next president. You did not become the next president. - What are the prospects of the success this time around for you?</i>
(3.2.2)	<i>What was allocated to was 30%, I've got no evidence whatsoever that that was the outcome of the elections. We recall that when on the 30th, 7000 votes, we are located to the leader of the UDP, only to come back on the fifth of December afterwards, so there were irregularities in that election,</i>
(3.1.2a)	<i>Alleged irregularities-</i>
(3.2.2a)	<i>7000 votes that were supposed to come to me, we are located to somebody else. When they got the results. That is evidence, something manual must be contravening there.</i>
(3.1.2b)	<i>Are you going to be the next president of this country?</i>
(3.2.2b)	<i>It is the Namibian people who choose the next president of this country? I'm quite confident that the Namibian people have seen enough of candidates from the ruling party, have seen enough from other political party's incapability -and I've scored more than anybody else in the history of this independent country, the Namibian people and especially young people and the workers, will determine the future of this country.</i>
(3.1.2c)	<i>What do you mean that you've scored more than anyone else?</i>
(3.2.2c)	<i>...than anyone else, nobody has been a presidential candidate and scored 30% of the votes.</i>
(3.1.2d)	<i>Any Independent presidential candidate?</i>
(3.2.2d)	<i>Independent, or even dependent or whether belonging to a political party. Not even his late, H-H, or anybody has scored 30%, most of them has been around, the one, two, three...</i>

Dictatorship in Africa has been a major impediment to the development of the continent and the well-being of its people. Despite the numerous efforts to promote democratic governance, a significant number of African countries have been plagued by authoritarian regimes, often marked by a lack of accountability, corruption, and disregard for human rights. Scholars have identified the impact of dictatorship on

Africa's development, with some arguing that it is a major contributor to the continent's poverty and underdevelopment. According to the World Bank (2021), many African countries that are plagued by dictatorship have lower economic growth rates, poor governance, and high levels of poverty. Dictatorship often leads to poor governance, which results in corruption and a lack of accountability, stifling development efforts. The lack of accountability and transparency in many African countries also fuels inequality, further exacerbating poverty and underdevelopment. Studies have also shown that authoritarian regimes have a negative impact on human development in Africa. In their study on the impact of authoritarianism on human development, Acemoglu et al. (2019) found that authoritarian regimes hinder economic growth, reduce life expectancy, and increase infant mortality rates. Similarly, Anderson and Taylor (2015) argued that authoritarianism in Africa has led to poor public health outcomes and increased poverty rates. There are numerous examples of African countries that have suffered under authoritarian rule. For example, in Zimbabwe, Robert Mugabe's authoritarian regime was marked by widespread corruption, economic mismanagement, and a disregard for human rights, resulting in the impoverishment of millions of Zimbabweans (Chinodya, 2018; Sabao, 2015; Sabao, 2018; Sabao & Mahomva, 2021; Sabao, Magadza & Chikara, 2021; Sabao & Nenjerama, 2023; Sabao & Visser, 2013; Sabao & Visser, 2015; Sabao & Visser, 2016; Sabao & Visser, 2020). In Eritrea, Isaias Afwerki's authoritarian rule resulted in a lack of press freedom, arbitrary detention, and forced labour (Human Rights Watch, 2021). Similarly, in Cameroon, Paul Biya's authoritarian regime has been marked by a lack of accountability, human rights abuses, and a failure to address economic and social challenges (International Crisis Group, 2019).

Dictatorship in Africa has had a detrimental impact on the development of the continent and the well-being of its people. Kyomuhendo (2017) has identified the negative impact of authoritarian regimes on economic growth, human development, and governance. According to International Crisis Group (2019) the prevalence of dictatorship in many African countries has contributed to poverty and underdevelopment, further exacerbating inequality and human suffering. It is important for African leaders to promote democratic governance and to uphold human rights to enable the continent to achieve its full potential.

In recent years, there have been concerns over the rise of authoritarianism and the erosion of democratic norms in Namibia. The emergence of independent candidates in the country's political landscape has been viewed by some as a potential threat to democracy, with accusations of dictatorship being levelled against certain candidates. One such candidate is Dr Panduleni Itula, who ran as an independent candidate in the 2019 presidential election in Namibia. While Dr Itula has denied accusations of dictatorship, some scholars have raised concerns about his campaign style and rhetoric.

Kandjii-Murangi (2021) argued that Dr Itula's campaign was marked by populist and divisive rhetoric that aimed to appeal to the emotions of voters rather than their rational judgement. This, in turn, can lead to the erosion of democratic norms and institutions, as leaders who rely on emotional appeals may be more prone to authoritarian tendencies. Similarly, Ndahafa (2020) pointed out that Dr Itula's campaign was characterised by a cult of personality, with the candidate presenting himself as a messiah figure who could solve all of the country's problems. This type of rhetoric, according to Ndahafa, is often associated with authoritarian leaders who

seek to consolidate power and undermine democratic institutions. Moreover, some scholars have raised concerns about Dr Itula's refusal to accept the outcome of the 2019 election, which he lost to incumbent president Hage Geingob. This refusal to accept the results, according to Haimbili (2020), is indicative of an authoritarian mindset, as it suggests a lack of respect for the democratic process and institutions.

The case of Namibia is not unique, as many other African countries have struggled with the challenges of democratic consolidation and the rise of authoritarianism. In Zimbabwe, the ruling Zimbabwe African National Unity Patriotic Front (ZANU-PF) party has been accused of authoritarian practices, including the suppression of opposition parties and the media (Mawowa, 2021). Similarly, in Uganda, President Yoweri Museveni has been accused of suppressing political opposition and violating human rights (Kyomuhendo, 2017). The emergence of independent candidates in Namibia's political landscape has raised concerns about the potential erosion of democratic norms and institutions. While accusations of dictatorship against Dr Itula are contested, the concerns raised by scholars should not be taken lightly. The case of Namibia serves as a reminder that the struggle for democracy is an ongoing one, and that vigilance is required to safeguard democratic institutions and values.

The accusation that Dr Itula is a dictator is a serious one, implies that he has authoritarian tendencies and is unwilling to listen to the voices of others. In response, Dr Itula denied these allegations, stating that he was not ambitious and that he was committed to bringing evidence-based politics to Namibia. He also claimed that his campaign had been a trailblazer, and that he had been leading the political scene in the country. In analysing this argument, we can apply the pragma-dialectic theory of strategic manoeuvring of argumentation. According to this theory, argumentation is

not simply about exchanging reasons and counter-reasons, but also involves strategic manoeuvring, where the participants try to advance their own position and undermine that of their opponents (van Eemeren & Houtlosser, 2017).

Dr Itula's argument can be seen as an attempt to undermine the accusation that he is a dictator, by presenting himself as someone who is not ambitious and who is committed to evidence-based politics. He also tries to frame his campaign as a trailblazer, suggesting that he is leading the political scene in Namibia. In this effort, he is trying to create a positive image of himself and to cast doubt on the credibility of his accusers. However, his argument is not without its flaws. Firstly, his denial of being ambitious may not be entirely convincing, as many politicians are ambitious and seek to achieve higher office. Secondly, his claim of being committed to evidence-based politics may not hold up to scrutiny, as evidence-based policy-making requires careful consideration of a range of evidence sources, not just the views of one individual.

Furthermore, his claim of being a trailblazer may be seen as an attempt to shift attention away from the accusation of being a dictator, rather than addressing the accusation directly. This can be seen as a strategic manoeuvre, aimed at avoiding a direct confrontation with his opponents. In evaluating Dr Itula's argument, it is important to consider the views of other scholars. While there is no specific literature on the accusation that Dr Itula is a dictator, there are studies that suggest that leaders who exhibit authoritarian tendencies can be detrimental to democracy. For example, Levitsky and Ziblatt (2018) argued that the erosion of democratic norms and

institutions is often led by leaders who seek to undermine the rules and norms of democracy for their own personal gain.

Similarly, Heinrich et al. (2019) argued that leaders who exhibit authoritarian tendencies are more likely to engage in corrupt behaviour, as they are less accountable to the public and are able to consolidate power more easily. The accusation that Dr Itula was a dictator is a serious one, and his response to this accusation involved strategic manoeuvring aimed at creating a positive image of himself and avoiding direct confrontation with his opponents. However, his argument was not without its flaws, and it is important to consider the views of other scholars in evaluating the potential impact of authoritarian leaders on democracy and governance.

5.8.5 CONCLUDING STAGE:

Political Responsibility and the Role of Independent Candidates in Promoting Good Governance in Namibia

Political responsibility and the role of independent candidates in promoting good governance in Namibia is a crucial topic in the current political landscape. Kangumu (2017); Shivute (2020); Shilongo (2015) argued that political leaders have a responsibility to serve the interests of the people they represent, and that they should act in a manner that promotes good governance and accountability. Independent candidates, who are not affiliated with any political party, can play a significant role in promoting good governance by offering an alternative voice to the existing political landscape. One way in which independent candidates can promote good governance is by challenging the status quo and bringing attention to issues

that may not have been addressed by the mainstream political parties. According to Epprecht and Mengisteab (2017) independent candidates can act as a check on the power of political parties and can provide a platform for marginalised groups to voice their concerns. They argue that independent candidates can help to break the monopoly that political parties have on political discourse and can provide a space for diverse opinions to be heard.

Furthermore, independent candidates can also promote good governance by offering new policy ideas that can benefit the people of Namibia. According to Oyelaran-Oyeyinka and Adeya (2015), innovation and new ideas are crucial for the development of a country, and independent candidates can play a significant role in promoting innovation in the political sphere. They argue that independent candidates can bring fresh perspectives and new ideas that can help to address the challenges facing the country. However, it is important to note that independent candidates face significant challenges in promoting good governance. According to Kamusiime and Mwiine (2019), independent candidates often lack the resources and support that political parties have, which can make it difficult for them to gain visibility and reach a wider audience. They argue that independent candidates need to be supported by civil society organisations and the media in order to promote their message and gain the necessary support to be successful in elections.

Political responsibility and the role of independent candidates in promoting good governance is a crucial topic in the current political landscape of Namibia. According to Shilongo (2015); Tjivikua and Nghitevelekwa (2020) as political leaders have a

responsibility to serve the interests of the people they represent and should act in a manner that promotes good governance and accountability. However, independent candidates, who are not affiliated with any political party, can play a significant role in promoting good governance by offering an alternative voice to the existing political landscape. One way in which independent candidates can promote good governance is by challenging the status quo and bringing attention to issues that may not have been addressed by mainstream political parties. As argued by Epprecht and Mengisteab (2017), independent candidates can act as a check on the power of political parties and provide a platform for marginalised groups to voice their concerns. Independent candidates can help to break the monopoly that political parties have on political discourse and provide a space for diverse opinions to be heard.

Furthermore, independent candidates can also promote good governance by offering new policy ideas that can benefit the people of Namibia. According to Oyelaran-Oyeyinka and Adeya (2015), innovation and new ideas are crucial for the development of a country, and independent candidates can play a significant role in promoting innovation in the political sphere. They argue that independent candidates can bring fresh perspectives and new ideas that can help to address the challenges facing the country. However, independent candidates face significant challenges in promoting good governance. According to Kamusiime and Mwiine (2019), independent candidates often lack the resources and support that political parties have, which can make it difficult for them to gain visibility and reach a wider audience. They argued that independent candidates need to be supported by civil

society organisations and the media in order to promote their message and gain the necessary support to be successful in elections.

In addition, the use of strategic manoeuvring moves of argumentation, as proposed by pragma-dialectic theory, can play a role in promoting good governance through political responsibility and the role of independent candidates. In the context of promoting good governance, strategic manoeuvring is a means of defending or advancing a standpoint in a way that is acceptable to the audience and in conformity with the norms of the discussion Wilbard, (2018). This can be done by adopting specific argumentative moves such as the use of analogies, authority, and emotional appeals. Adopting these moves, independent candidates can effectively promote their message and gain the necessary support to be successful in elections.

Moreover, it is important to recognise that promoting good governance is not solely the responsibility of political leaders and independent candidates. According to Tjivikua and Kanyinga (2015), civil society organisations play a crucial role in promoting good governance and holding political leaders accountable. They argue that civil society organisations can provide a voice for marginalised groups, monitor the actions of political leaders, and advocate for policy changes that benefit the public. Furthermore, the media also has a significant role to play in promoting good governance. According to Brown (2017), the media can act as a watchdog, providing oversight and accountability for political leaders and promoting transparency in government. They argue that a free and independent media can help to prevent corruption and promote public trust in government institutions.

It is also important to consider the role of the public in promoting good governance. According to Kaulza de Arriaga and Sánchez (2019), citizens have a responsibility to participate in the democratic process and hold their elected officials accountable. They argue that public participation can help to ensure that policies and decisions reflect the needs and interests of the people they represent. Political responsibility and the role of independent candidates in promoting good governance in Namibia is a complex issue that requires the involvement of various actors. Independent candidates can play a significant role in promoting good governance by offering an alternative voice to the existing political landscape, challenging the status quo, and promoting new policy ideas (Epprecht & Mengisteab, 2017). However, they also face significant challenges in gaining visibility and support. Civil society organisations, the media, and the public also have important roles to play in promoting good governance and holding political leaders accountable. Working together, these actors can help to promote a more transparent, accountable, and responsive government in Namibia.

Dialogue Extract: 5.8.5 **[Transcribed verbatim, so no error correction]**

Denver: *As not part of the ruling party, very well. (4.1) We've seen a number of bones of contention in a society at the moment. We saw an uproar after counterfeit goods to the tune of five million dollars were destroyed by the Namibia review agency. There is a continued scourge of gender-based violence; but we don't see or don't hear is what you have to say about these matters. Why is your voice so quiet, doctor?*

Itula: *I think in, uh, yesterday, we have actually voiced ourselves. (4.2) Political leaders must be responsible, and you must be responsible in the manner in which you make comments about issues of national interest and if were to come on the scene is a political party with this massive support. In support of the events that have taken place without a careful analysis, it would have been wrong. (4.2a) We need to see that what was taking place in Chinatown is counterfeit, what is counterfeit? What is the definition of counterfeit? whose regulating*

counterfeit? Where does it come from? and how does it get into the boarders? which countries are producing...

Denver: (4.1.1) So, what is your stance actually?

Itula: (4.2.1) We clearly indicated that something different could have been done, the police perhaps shouldn't have arrested, they should have called everybody to the table and said, look what is taking place, here? can we discuss this? Can we understand in the same time, **(4.2.1a)** NAMRA should have educated the public as well to say that this is what is taken place in terms of section 97 of the NAMRA act, of the custom exercise act, there is a provision to either auction the products or...

Denver: (4.1.1a) Not in as far as it relates to counterfeit goods, that matter is clarified in the meantime Doc, we running out of time.... **(4.1.1b)** The final words from you this evening!

Itula: (4.2.1b) I think the million people need to understand that the future is in their hands, and if they continue to do what they've been doing in the last thirty years, Namibia will never be the same again.

Denver: (4.1.1c) What do you mean?

Itula: (4.2.1c) Meaning that, it's time to change, it's time to vote for the party such as IPC that has got the future of a million people at heart.

Denver: (4.1.1d) But we don't know that for sure.

Itula: (4.2.1d) Well, nobody prepares themselves to become a president, nobody prepares themselves to rule this country, but we have started, and we've got two years to do that. To prove ourselves than a million people need to give us their mandate.

Denver: Again, the proof of the pudding lies in the eating. Doc, thank you very much and best of luck in your campaigns,

Itula: Thank you.

Denver: And that brings us to the end of this edition of One-on-One, good night.

Table: 5.8.5 Conclusion

[Transcribed verbatim, so no error correction]

No.	Description
(4.1)	We've seen a number of bones of contention in a society at the moment. We saw an uproar after counterfeit goods to the tune of five million dollars were destroyed by the Namibia review agency. There is a continued scourge of gender-based violence; but we don't see or don't hear is what you have to say about these matters. Why is your voice so quiet, doctor?
(4.2)	Political leaders must be responsible, and you must be responsible in the manner in which you make comments about issues of national interest and if were to come on the scene is a political party with this massive support.
(4.2a)	We need to see that what was taking place in Chinatown is counterfeit, what is counterfeit? What is the definition of counterfeit? whose regulating counterfeit? Where does it come from? and how does it get into the boarders? which countries are producing...

(4.1.1)	<i>So, what is your stance actually?</i>
(4.2.1)	<i>We clearly indicated that something different could have been done, the police perhaps shouldn't have arrested, they should have called everybody to the table and said, look what is taking place, here? can we discuss this?</i>
(4.2.1a)	<i>NAMRA should have educated the public as well to say that this is what is taken place in terms of section 97 of the NAMRA act, of the custom exercise act, there is a provision to either auction the products or...</i>
(4.1.1a)	<i>Not in as far as it relates to counterfeit goods, that matter is clarified in the meantime Doc, we running out of time....</i>
(4.1.1b)	<i>The final words from you this evening!</i>
(4.2.1b)	<i>I think the million people need to understand that the future is in their hands...</i>
(4.1.1c)	<i>What do you mean?</i>
(4.2.1c)	<i>Meaning that, it's time to change, it's time to vote for the party such as IPC that has got the future of a million people at heart.</i>
(4.1.1d)	<i>But we don't know that for sure.</i>
(4.2.1d)	<i>Well, nobody prepares themselves to become a president... -To prove ourselves than a million people need to give us their mandate.</i>

5.8.6. SUMMARY

The analysis of this discussion indicates that, all the four stages of argumentation the discussions rules were not violated. In the Confrontation stage, the discussion escalated really fast from an ice breaking confrontation by the host, Denver to the guest, Itula responding with several premises. Itula used the first opportunity he was given to speak to bring forth three premises. The first one he noted that "Namibians had had enough an..." (2); secondly, he states that he was perceived by the Namibians as a candidate who was bringing change; thirdly, he introduced the issue of funding. In this regard, the host used these series of premises to shape the discussion going forward. Of which, the host adopted the issue of funding to control Argument 1.

It was noted that the burden of proof was maintained by both parties in a sense that, no fallacies were committed. Furthermore, the host did not violate the standpoint

rule by misrepresenting the host's standpoints. The defences were in relation with the advanced standpoints. No violations were observed in the argumentation. Also, there was no indication on violation of the relevance rule.

Furthermore, the standpoints and the arguments were related in a sense that, arguments were defended by means not argumentation; there was no indication of arguers playing on sentiments or parading their qualities. On the starting point rule, the host applied presupposition in making assertions unfairly, which is fallacious because the host advanced several questions in order to achieve his intended goal. There were fallacies of confusion of facts with value of judgements in terms of some of the arguments made by the host. On the other hand, the argumentation showed fair exercise of reasoning because the argumentation was logically valid and there was no indication of confusion in the properties of part and whole. With regards to the closure rule, all the defences of standpoints in the argumentation stage were successful because the host retracted his views or doubts before moving to the next question. It is not clear whether the host retracted due to time and the need to move to the next item on the agenda. Finally, the language usage rule was not violated. The arguers were as clear and accurate as possible, at least in relation to their standpoints. No use of ambiguity was detected in the argumentation.

CHAPTER 6

DISCUSSION OF FINDINGS

6.0 Introduction

The discussion of findings chapter presents a comprehensive analysis and interpretation of the outcomes of the study. The purpose of the discussion of findings chapter is to interpret the findings of the study in a comprehensive and systematic manner. This chapter serves as a platform to present the key findings, explore their implications, and discuss their alignment with existing literature. Through the discussion of findings, the chapter aims to provide a deep understanding of the research objectives and research questions. Organising the discussion based on the research objectives, the chapter ensures a structured approach to presenting the findings. Each objective is examined, and the related themes or patterns that emerged from the data analysis are explored. This allows for a thorough analysis of the research findings and to enable the reader to grasp the main findings in a coherent manner. Moreover, the discussion of findings chapter integrates the study's results with existing literature. It draws upon relevant scholarly works, theories, and concepts to support and enrich the analysis of the findings. This integration helps to contextualise the study within the broader theoretical framework, validate the results, and establish connections with previous research in the field.

Additionally, the chapter discusses how the findings contribute to the existing body of knowledge, fill research gaps, and provide valuable insights into the research topic. This reflection highlights the originality and relevance of the study and demonstrates its potential impact on both academic and practical domains. Furthermore, the

discussion of findings chapter acknowledges the limitations of the study. It recognises any constraints or biases that may have affected the results and provides a transparent evaluation of these limitations. This not only ensures the credibility and rigor of the study but also sets the stage for future research by identifying areas for improvement and further investigation. It aims to contribute to the knowledge base in the field, provide insights for future research, and offer practical implications to the study of strategic manoeuvring in the Namibian context.

The primary aim of this study was to investigate various aspects of argumentative discourse, strategic manoeuvring, fallacies, reasonableness, and effectiveness. Through an extensive analysis of the findings, the study sought to understand the types of arguments presented in different argumentation stages, establish argumentation structures, examine the adherence to critical discussion rules, explore the types of fallacies that may arise, and scrutinise the manifestation of strategic manoeuvring. In order to provide a coherent and comprehensive discussion, this chapter is structured based on the research objectives. Each objective is thoroughly examined, and the related findings are explored and analysed. Organising the discussion in this manner, the study ensures a systematic approach to presenting the findings and facilitate a deeper understanding of the study outcomes. Throughout the discussion, the chapter draws upon the relevant literature to support and enrich the analysis of the findings. The integration of the research with existing scholarly works, the study contextualises findings within the broader theoretical framework of argumentation theory. This integration not only enhances the credibility of the study but also allows for a more nuanced interpretation and validation of the results. The subsequent sections of this chapter are organised in the order that addresses each

specific objective to present the findings, offering a detailed examination and interpretation of the research findings.

6.1 Argumentation stages: confrontation stage, opening stage, argumentation stage, and the closing stage

The findings of this objective address the types of arguments that were presented in the four argumentation stages: confrontation stage, opening stage, argumentation stage, and closing stage. The study revealed a diverse range of argumentative strategies and techniques employed by participants during these stages. In the confrontation stage, the participants in the One-on-One discussions engaged in arguments aimed at framing the debate and asserting their positions. Participants employed various argumentation strategies to assert their positions and establish the framework of the debate. These strategies included defining the terms of the discussion, appealing to shared values of common knowledge, and framing the issue in a way that favoured their standpoint. The findings revealed the use of argumentation structures such as the Toulmin model. While the Toulmin model continues to be relevant in analysing arguments, Walton and Macagno (2020) have explored alternative argumentation frameworks. One such framework is the Argumentation Schemes approach proposed by Walton and Macagno (2020). Argumentation schemes offer a more extensive set of patterns to identify and evaluate types of arguments. This agrees with the concept of strategic manoeuvring in argumentation, as proposed by van Eemeren and Grootendorst (2014). Talk show guests strategically set the agenda and shape the direction of the discussion to increase the chances of achieving their desired outcomes. The findings support this

perspective, highlighting the participants' efforts to establish the relevance and significance of the topic under discussion.

In the opening stage, discussants established a clear point of departure for the discussion where they accepted procedural starting points and also material starting points defining the premises of the discussion. At this stage, discussants understood and accepted their roles in the discussion where the guests' duty was to defend all the standpoints in situations where the standpoints are attacked or challenged by the host. With regards to another important aspect that was considered in the opening which was to establishing whether the discussants had common grounds in relation to starting points of knowledge and also of values and rules (van Eemeren et al., 2007), the discussants demonstrated understanding of their roles.

The argumentation stage is characterised by the exchange of arguments and counterarguments, where participants provide reasons, evidence, and logical analysis to support their claims. Participants engaged in a back-and-forth exchange of arguments, counterarguments, and critical analysis. This stage involved challenges, rebuttals, and the evaluation of opposing viewpoints. The findings showed a range of strategies, including providing logical reasoning, appealing to authority or expert opinions, and questioning the validity of opposing arguments. This aligns with the theoretical perspective of Walton (2016), who emphasised the importance of logical reasoning and evidence in constructing persuasive arguments. The participants in the *One-on-One* discussions engaged in critical analysis, rebuttals, and the presentation of additional evidence to strengthen or challenge the standpoints. This demonstrated

their adherence to the principles of effective argumentation put forth by Walton. In addition, participants engaged in logical reasoning. The importance of logical reasoning and evidence remains consistent with the goals of the pragma dialectic theory of argumentation. A study by Moons and Mackie (2019) has shown that emotional appeals can significantly influence persuasion.

In the closing stage, the participants made closing arguments to summarise their main points, restate their positions, and appeal to the audience. Keith Goodwin (2017) emphasised the significance of strategic communication techniques, including summarising key points and leaving a lasting impression, to enhance the persuasive impact of the closing arguments. The findings indicate that the participants in the One-on-One discussions employed such techniques to reinforce their positions and appeal to the audience's judgement. It was further revealed that participants made their final arguments and appeals to summarise their main points and persuade the audience. The findings indicated the use of rhetorical techniques such as emotional appeals, rhetorical questions, and memorable statements.

6.2 The argumentation structures employed in the discussions and the identification of recurring patterns in defending standpoints

Van Eemeren and Grootendorst (2014) introduced the concept of a critical discussion model, which emphasised the cooperative and rational exchange of arguments. This model suggests that argumentation should follow a specific structure, including an opening stage, argumentation stage, and closing stage, with each stage serving a distinct communicative function. The findings of the current study align with this

model, as arguments from the *One-on-One* talk show guests' discussions exhibited a similar pattern. Furthermore, the use of recurring argumentation patterns observed in the study corresponds with research on argument schemes. Walton (2013) introduced the concept of argument schemes, which are abstract templates that represent commonly used types of arguments. These argument schemes provide a framework for organising and evaluating arguments. The identification of analogy, appeals to authority, and counterarguments as recurring patterns in the discussions aligns with the argument scheme framework, as these patterns can be categorised within specific argument scheme types.

The study findings indicated that talk show guests employed various strategies to defend their standpoints, including presenting evidence, providing logical reasoning, and appealing to emotions. These argumentation structures were observed throughout the discussions, highlighting the talk show guests' attempts to persuade their audience and strengthen their positions. Furthermore, the study found that the use of presentational devices played a significant role in enhancing the persuasiveness of arguments. Talk show guests employed rhetorical devices, visual aids, and language techniques to capture the attention of convince the other party and make their standpoints more memorable and compelling. Incorporating these presentational devices, talk show guests aimed to engage the audience and increase the effectiveness of their arguments. The study also revealed that talk show guests strategically manoeuvred in their argumentative discourse by considering the topical potential. They selected and framed topics in a way that favoured their positions, aiming to influence the direction and outcome of the argument. This strategic

manoeuvring allowed talk show guests to shape the narrative and gain an advantage in the argumentation process.

A prominent finding revealed in the study was the use of logical reasoning in argumentation. The talk show hosts employed deductive and inductive reasoning to support their standpoints and persuade their guest and audience. They presented evidence, facts, and examples to establish the validity and credibility of their claims. This finding concurs with Walton (2019) who emphasised the importance of logical reasoning in constructing persuasive arguments. Another key finding was the recurring pattern of the use of rhetorical devices. Talk show guest participants utilised rhetorical techniques such as analogy, metaphor, and rhetorical questions to enhance the persuasive impact of their arguments. These devices aimed to evoke emotional responses, engage the audience, and create a memorable impression. The study's findings resonate with the views of Perelman and Olbrechts-Tyteca (2019) who professed the persuasive power of rhetoric in argumentation.

Additionally, the study revealed the presence of counterarguments and rebuttals in the discussions. Talk show guests anticipated potential objections and challenges to their standpoints and proactively addressed them. They presented counterarguments and provided refutations to counter opposing views. This strategic approach indicates the talk show guests' awareness of the importance of addressing opposing perspectives to strengthen their own positions. This finding agrees with the views of van Eemeren and Grootendorst (2014) who indicated the functional role of counter argumentation in persuasive discourse. Furthermore, the findings revealed the use of emotional appeals. Talk show guests strategically incorporated emotional language, personal anecdotes, and appeals to values and beliefs to elicit an emotional

response from the host representing the audience. This finding corresponds with a study on the role of emotions in persuasive communication, suggesting that emotional appeals can significantly influence audience attitudes and beliefs (Cialdini, 2013).

The study established that the argumentation structures in the *One-on-One* discussions followed a consistent pattern. The discussions typically began with an opening stage, where the participants introduced themselves and stated their positions. This stage allowed the talk show guests to establish their standpoints and set the context for the subsequent argumentation. The opening stage also served as an opportunity for the guests to present their initial claims and provide a glimpse of their supporting arguments. Within the argumentation stage, the study revealed recurring argumentation patterns. The findings revealed the use of analogy and comparison. Talk show hosts often drew parallels between different situations or concepts to clarify their arguments and make them more relatable to the audience. This pattern agrees with a study by Dunbar (2015) on the persuasive power of analogies in argumentation. The study further revealed another recurring pattern of the use of appeals to authority. Talk show hosts frequently referenced credible sources, experts, or renowned figures to support their claims and lend credibility to their arguments. In appealing to authority, they aimed to convince the audience that their viewpoints were well-founded and trustworthy. This pattern corresponds with a study conducted by Petty and Cacioppo (2016) on the role of authority in persuasive communication. These findings can be examined through the influence of cultural and social factors on argumentation patterns. Cultural differences in argumentative styles may influence variations in directness, politeness strategies, and the use of

explicit and implicit arguments across different cultures (Gelfand et al., 2016). Moreover, culture dictates social identity and group dynamics that influence argumentation, showing that individuals tend to align their arguments with the norms and values of their social groups (Sassenberg & Boos, 2017).

6.3 Observations on the distribution of speech acts and the critical discussion rules and the defence of standpoints during discussions

Reasonableness as per the pragma dialectical theory suggests that in case of a difference of opinion, the protagonist and the antagonist of the standpoint should attempt to find out by means of a critical discussion whether the antagonist's standpoint is capable of withstanding the antagonist's criticism (van Eemeren & Grootendorst, 2003). This, in prospect, calls for the basic rules for the performance of speech acts in the critical discussion for reasonableness to be distinguished. van Eemeren and Grootendorst (2003) further noted that, rules for a critical discussion bear on the speech acts performance and the ensuing commitment.

Firstly, the rules of procedure that apply to the different stages of a critical discussion are problem-valid because each of them makes a specific contribution to solving certain problems that are inherent in the various stages of the process of resolving difference of opinion. Following van Eemeren and Grootendorst's (1984) basic model of the distribution of speech acts in different stages of critical discussion, the following were identified.

The discussants were entitled to put forward and call into doubt any standpoint with ought preventing each other from doing the same to each other. Even though not

obligated to, they also demonstrated unconditional right to cooperate in the externalisation of that difference of opinion resolution. In the confrontation and the opening stage where the guest accepts the challenge of the host to the discussion on the given topic introduced by the host. The guests on the other hand accepted the discussion challenge that did not restrict them on any standpoint by the host.

Although the first standpoints introduced in the discussions were not addressed in the confrontation stages, the host is the one who had the jurisdiction to put forward the first standpoint which came in a way of a question regarding the topic at hand. The hosts were entitled to challenge the guests to defend their standpoints by giving their personal accounts regarding the topic at hand. By accepting this challenge, the guest entered into a full-fledged discussion with the host. As a rule, the guests were obligated to defend their standpoint or by retracting from the standpoint in cases where they were short of defences to put forward. In this regard, the guest seemed to always have a comeback to every premise and challenge advanced by the host regardless of how effective or reasonable the defence proved to the host. In scenarios where the guests felt that they had defended their standpoints successfully, they would not feel obliged to defend the same standpoint even if the host required them to do so.

On allocation of burden of proof, the discussants understood that whoever put forward a standpoint and did not retract it again accepted the onus of proof for standpoint once they were challenged to defend the standpoint. On allocation of discussion roles, both the discussants agreed to be engaged in the discussion and the discussion roles were then set. The host at an early stage in the discussion assumed his position as the antagonist as he or she would call the guest's standpoints into

question. The guest would then assume the position of protagonist as he or she would be required to defend the standpoints throughout the discussion and throughout the argumentation stage.

With regards to speech acts performance in argumentation stage, there are ways of attacking and defending a standpoint which are accepted by and were observed by the discussants in the argumentation. On the attack and defence of the standpoint, it was observed in the study that in the argumentation stage, the host performed the speech acts of argumentation; the guest on the other hand accepted the argumentation through commissive acceptance performance and would in some instances decline the argument by performing the negation of this commissive. In most cases when this was the case, the guest would perform the directive request to elicit a new argument which was in their interest a better approach to stay afloat in the discussion.

Throughout the discussions, the guests conclusively defended the initial standpoints and sub-standpoints that followed. This was done by means of applying complex speech acts of argumentation and in some instances, successfully defended the propositional content called into question by the host with calling the force of justification and refutation into question. The host conclusively attacked the guest's standpoints and through the defence of the standpoints, the host was entitled to call a lot of premises made by the guest into question the propositional content and the force of justification or refutation of each of the guest's argumentation although not obligated to do so. As a result, the host used optimal right to attack where ever possible. In cases where the host had lost the opportunity to represent himself or to

use his entitlement to attack, he would find a way to get another opportunity to do so.

In cases where the discussants had optimal use of the right to defend, the other party was then obliged to defend themselves. On the account of the host, where he would call into question both the propositional content of an argument and its force of justification or rebuttal, the guests would defend himself against the initial attack presented by the host by conducting a new argument which in most cases was seen as a redirection of the host's standpoint or attack. Another way the host applied the optimal use of the right to defend was to give the guest the opportunity to retract, which was never so, instead, the guest maintained their standpoints and sub-standpoints to the very last stance in the discussion. Also, the guest did not withdraw their commitment to defend their standpoint which they were obviously obligated to continue defending. The guest also had the opportunity to retract or withdraw their attacks which sometimes they would do for the sake of proceeding to the next point. In addition, there was no indication in the discussion where the host carried out further attacks on an argument that the guest had already successfully defended. The discussions were orderly conducted; as a result, there was no repetition of attacks on the same standpoint which had already been successfully defended.

In the concluding stage of the argumentation, the host in most cases did not maintain the calling into question of the initial standpoint. The discussions therefore were closed by both parties by determining the final outcome on mutual agreement to end the discussion due to time management and achievement of the items on the host's discussion list. The fact that the guests were not obliged to retract the initial standpoint, nor was the host obliged to withdraw their calling into question in the

initial standpoint, there was no indication of successfully resolved arguments. Rather it appeared more of an open-ended conclusion. In other words, there in all discussion, although the host closed the discussion, neither the host nor the guest could be said to have won the discussion. In the argumentation stage, the host moved on to the next argument even if there was no clarity as to whether all attacks and defences had been exhausted by the parties involved in the discussion. Finally, this study concluded that, the fact that the discussants did not necessarily come to an agreed understanding of who won the argument in the discussions, it does not conclude that effectiveness and reasonableness were not achieved. It also does not mean that the discussants did not reach any resolution. As stated by van Eemeren and Grootendorst (2003), the rules did not guarantee that the difference of opinion can always be resolved in practice by means of these rules, thus referring to the speech act rules.

The study found that the rule of relevance was generally adhered to in the discussions. Participants tended to present arguments that were directly related to the topic at hand and aimed at supporting or countering the given standpoint. This adherence to relevance is consistent with the principles of effective argumentation, as it ensures that arguments remain focused and contribute to the discussion. However, there were also instances where the rule of fairness was violated. Participants occasionally engaged in personal attacks, characterised by *ad hominem* arguments or derogatory language directed at their interlocutors. Such violations of fairness undermine the constructive nature of the discussions and hinder the exploration of ideas on their merits.

Another aspect examined was the rule of burden of proof. The study revealed that talk show host participants often placed the burden of proof on their opponents by challenging their arguments and demanding further evidence or justification. This practice reflects the critical nature of the discussions and the participants' engagement in analysing and scrutinising each other's standpoints. Furthermore, the study identified instances of rule violations regarding the use of fallacies. Fallacious reasoning, such as straw man arguments, false analogies, or hasty generalisations, were observed in the discussions. These fallacies can distort the argumentative exchange and undermine the rationality and effectiveness of the discourse.

It is evident that the observation and violation of critical discussion rules are common in argumentative discourse. van Eemeren and Grootendorst (2014) emphasised the importance of adhering to the critical discussion rules to maintain a cooperative and rational exchange of arguments. They argued that violations of these rules can lead to a breakdown in communication and hinder the resolution of disagreements. Moreover, Sierpe et al., (2021) examined the challenges of upholding critical discussion rules in various contexts. Online debates, for instance, are often plagued by rule violations due to factors such as anonymity, polarisation, and the absence of face-to-face interaction (Sierpe et al., 2021). The findings of this study resonate with these challenges, as violations of fairness and the use of fallacies were observed.

The study revealed that participants exhibited varying degrees of adherence to the rule of comprehensiveness. Some participants demonstrated a thorough understanding of the topic and presented a comprehensive range of arguments, including both supporting and opposing viewpoints. They engaged in a balanced evaluation of the available evidence and considered multiple perspectives,

contributing to a more nuanced and informed discussion. However, instances of selective argumentation were also observed, where participants focused predominantly on presenting arguments that supported their own standpoint while neglecting or downplaying opposing arguments. This selective approach can limit the richness of the discourse and hinder the exploration of alternative viewpoints. It is important to note that selective argumentation does not necessarily imply a violation of critical discussion rules but may reflect individual biases or strategic manoeuvring to strengthen one's position.

The study findings agree with a study conducted by Mazza and Vignoles (2018) on comprehensiveness in argumentation. The study argued that comprehensive argumentation enhances the quality of discourse by ensuring a thorough examination of the available evidence and a more nuanced understanding of complex issues. Considering multiple perspectives and addressing counterarguments, participants contribute to a more robust and intellectually rigorous discussion.

6.4 The types of argumentative activities in the *One-on-One* discussions related to the critical discussion model

On the argumentation activity types, the first two adjunction and mediation did not apply to the discussion under analysis. Nonetheless, with the third activity, it was found that the conflicts in the discussions ended with means of compromise between the arguers. The discussions ended with a mutual acceptance agreement between the host and the guest which did not require them to return to the initial situation of the discussion.

The critical discussion model provides a framework for analysing and evaluating argumentative discourse, emphasising the importance of reasoned argumentation,

critical questioning, and the pursuit of truth (van Eemeren & Grootendorst, 2014). The findings of this study revealed several types of argumentative activities that were present in the *One-on-One* discussions. One prominent type was the use of evidence and examples to support claims. Talk show guest participants frequently drew upon factual information, personal experiences, and expert opinions to bolster their arguments. This agrees with the principles of the critical discussion model, which emphasises the importance of providing well-founded reasons and evidence to support claims (van Eemeren & Grootendorst, 2014).

Another type of argumentative activity revealed in the study was the use of critical questioning. Talk show guest participants engaged in questioning each other's arguments, challenging assumptions, and seeking clarification. This type of activity reflects the critical and reflective nature of the discussions, as participants aimed to scrutinise and evaluate the merits of the presented arguments. The critical discussion model encourages the use of critical questions to assess the validity and coherence of arguments (van Eemeren & Grootendorst, 2014).

Additionally, the study findings revealed instances of concession and rebuttals in the *One-on-One* discussions. The talk show guest participants acknowledged and addressed opposing arguments by either conceding certain points or providing counterarguments to refute them. This dialectical exchange of arguments contributes to a more comprehensive and balanced discussion, allowing for a thorough examination of different perspectives. The critical discussion model highlights the importance of engaging with opposing arguments and providing reasoned responses to foster a constructive dialogue (van Eemeren & Grootendorst, 2014). In agreement with the present study findings Tindale (2018) emphasised the

significance of evidence-based reasoning and the use of examples in argumentation, highlighting their role in enhancing the persuasiveness and cogency of arguments. Similarly, Walton (2015) emphasised the importance of critical questioning as a means of evaluating arguments and uncovering weaknesses or fallacies. Furthermore, Hansen and Liu (2017) emphasised the value of concession and rebuttal in argumentative discourse. Concessions demonstrate intellectual honesty and an openness to engaging with different viewpoints, while rebuttals allow for a rigorous examination of opposing arguments. These practices contribute to the dialectical nature of argumentation, fostering a more robust and intellectually stimulating exchange of ideas.

The study revealed that there are potential challenges associated with these argumentative activities. Walton (2013) highlighted the potential misuse or abuse of evidence in argumentation, cautioning against the manipulation or distortion of facts to support preconceived conclusions. Similarly, Miyake et al. (2019) noted the potential for critical questions to be used as a form of aggression or personal attack rather than genuine inquiry. These considerations suggest the importance of ethical and responsible use of argumentative activities within the critical discussion model.

6.5 The types of fallacies that may result from the talk show guest participant's attempt to manoeuvre strategically

The purpose of this objective aimed to examine the types of fallacies that could arise when talk show guest participants engaged in strategic manoeuvring during arguments. The findings revealed the presence of various fallacies employed by talk show guest participants to gain an advantage and weaken opposing viewpoints posed by the talk show host. These fallacies included logical fallacies of ad hominem attacks

and false analogies, as well as rhetorical fallacies that appealed to emotions and the use of misleading statistics. The study findings revealed fallacies that emerged as talk show guest participants employed different strategic manoeuvres to strengthen their arguments, manipulate the discussion and undermine the opponent's position. A prominent finding that revealed in the study was the fallacy of ad hominem attacks. The study revealed instances where talk show guest participants resorted to personal attacks or irrelevant characterisations of their opponents rather than addressing the substantive arguments presented. This fallacy aims to discredit the opponent's credibility or character rather than engaging with the argument itself (Walton, 2020). Another finding revealed in the study was the fallacy of straw man argumentation. Talk show guest participants sometimes distorted or misrepresented their opponent's position to make it easier to attack. Presenting a weakened or distorted version of the opponent's argument, the talk show guest participants created a false target and attacked that instead of engaging with the actual argument. This fallacy aims to misrepresent the opponent's position and divert attention from the substantive issues (Johnson & Blair, 2016). Additionally, the study found instances of the fallacy of appeal to emotion. Talk show guest participants strategically employed emotional language, anecdotes and vivid imagery to manipulate the host as representative of audience's emotions and divert attention from the logical merits of the argument. This fallacy attempts to sway the host's public views through emotional manipulation rather than rational persuasion (Walton, 2010). It is evident that the identified fallacies align with well-established concepts in argumentation theory. Walton (2010) and Johnson and Blair (2016) extensively studied fallacies and highlighted the detrimental effects they have on logical reasoning and rational

discourse. The fallacies of ad hominem attacks, straw man argumentation, and appeal to emotion were in the guests' arguments. These may be regarded as common pitfalls in argumentation.

Woods and Walton (2017) emphasised the importance of fallacy recognition and avoidance in effective argumentation. Woods and Walton (2017) proposed frameworks and strategies to identify and counter fallacious reasoning, promoting logical and critical thinking skills in argumentation. It is crucial to address these fallacies as they hinder constructive dialogue and rational decision-making. Talk show guest participants were challenged with striving to uphold logical standards, avoid fallacious tactics, and engage in substantive, evidence-based argumentation.

6.6 Manifestation of strategic manoeuvring in argumentative discourse through choices made from Topical Potential, Audience Demand and Presentational Device

This part of the study presents the findings from the objective that examined the manifestation of strategic manoeuvring in argumentative discourse through choices made from the topical potential, audience demand, and presentational devices. The study revealed the significant role of topical potential in strategic manoeuvring. Talk show guests strategically selected topics or issues that had a high likelihood of generating interest, controversy, or relevance to the Namibian audience. Focusing on topics that were timely, emotionally charged, or socially significant, talk show guests were able to capture attention and stimulate engagement in the argumentative discourse (van Eemeren & Grootendorst, 2014). Benoit and Benoit (2018) emphasised the importance of adapting persuasive strategies to suit the audience's preferences and values. They argued that effective persuasive communication

required an understanding of the audience's needs and tailoring the message accordingly.

The findings indicate that, the host in all discussions strategically set the tone for the discussion in the opening stage where the guests also responded with their own strategy to drive the discussion in the direction they intended their standpoint and defences to go to maintain dialectically reasonableness and effectiveness throughout the argumentation. In addition, the findings revealed that talk show guest participants strategically employed various tactics to enhance their persuasive power and achieve their communicative goals. The talk show guest participants leveraged these presentational devices to create a compelling narrative that resonated with the audience and enhanced the persuasive impact of their arguments. They used the approach of appealing to the host who represented audience's imagination and emotions. The guests were able to effectively handle the talk show host to convey their message in a memorable manner (van Eemeren & Grootendorst, 2014).

On the aspect of the Audience Demand, it was discovered that the guest aim was to be as effective as possible with the intention to please the “people” by attending to the concerns and questions that affected them as far as possible. On the other hand, the host as the representative of the primary audience which the Namibian people were watching and listening to the discussion on their televisions, had the obligation to represent the “people” to his or her best ability so that the effectiveness was achieved. According to van Eemeren (2015, p. 14) when the arguers are more effective and persuasive, they adapt the most optimally accepted preferences to accommodate what the audience expect.

Furthermore, the talk show guests presented their arguments while fully aware that their arguments were intended for the Namibian viewership audience. Talk show guests adjusted their argumentation strategies based on the specific needs, interests, and values of their intended Namibian audience. It is important to note that the One-on-One Talk Show is broadcast on the Namibian Broadcasting Corporation (NBC) openly for the purpose of the Namibian audience. They tailored their arguments to negotiate meaningful communication, beliefs and expectations, thereby increasing the chances of acceptance and persuasion. This was present in all discussions from political, social and educational contexts. This audience-oriented approach demonstrated the talk show guests' awareness of the importance of adapting their messages to resonate with the target audience (Benoit & Benoit, 2018).

With regards to Presentational Device, the arguers exploited different ways to approach the arguments. Through doing so, the arguers were able to select the angle to approach the topics that they believed would help them to be effective in achieving their intended argumentative goals. The arguers used presentational devices based on the audience device such as the speech acts that aimed to obtain the audience's preferences to be as affective and persuasive as possible (Eemeren, 2010, p. 93).

van Eemeren and Grootendorst (2014) highlighted the role of presentational devices and topical selection to be very fundamental in strategic manoeuvring. They argued that talk show guests strategically employ various rhetorical techniques to enhance the persuasive impact of their arguments and select topics that are likely to resonate with the Namibian audience. The findings of this study agree with theories of strategic manoeuvring, providing empirical evidence of how talk show guests

strategically manoeuvre in argumentative discourse. Considering the topical potential, audience demand, and employing persuasive presentational devices, talk show guest participants can optimise their communicative effectiveness and achieve their intended persuasive goals.

6.7 Maintaining reasonableness and achieving effectiveness by using strategic manoeuvring to manage or avoid fallacy in the arguments

The study findings revealed several key aspects related to how talk show guest participants-maintained reasonableness and achieve effectiveness through strategic manoeuvring in the *One-on-One* discussions. The study found that talk show guest participants employed various types of argumentative strategies to manage or avoid fallacies. They identified fallacious reasoning in their opponents' arguments and countered them by providing logical and evidence-based rebuttals. These findings agree with the findings of Govier (2010) and Walton (2013) on argumentation which emphasise the importance of identifying and addressing fallacies to strengthen the persuasiveness of an argument.

Furthermore, the study revealed that talk show guest participants strategically utilised rhetorical devices to enhance the effectiveness of their arguments. They employed persuasive techniques such as rhetorical questions, vivid metaphors, and emotional appeals to engage the audience and elicit a favourable response. In appealing to the host (representing audience's) emotions and values, the guests aimed to create a stronger connection and increase the persuasiveness of their standpoint. The findings were consistent with research on rhetoric and persuasion, highlighting the impact of rhetorical devices in shaping audience attitudes and beliefs (Perloff, 2018; O'Keefe, 2020).

Moreover, the study findings revealed the influence of contextual factors on the strategic manoeuvring of talk show guest participants. The guests adapted their arguments to the specific topic being discussed and the demands of the audience. They tailored their language, evidence, and reasoning to align with the topical potential and address the concerns and interests of the audience. These findings are in line with the concept on pragma-dialectics, which emphasise the contextual nature of argumentation and the importance of adapting arguments to the specific rhetorical situation (van Eemeren & Grootendorst, 2014; Mohammed, 2018).

The study further found that talk show guest participants employed presentational devices strategically to enhance the effectiveness of their arguments. They used visual imagery to provide visual evidence and support their claims. The guest participants also utilised storytelling techniques to create narratives that resonated with the Namibian audience and enhanced the persuasive impact of their arguments. These findings agree with a study on visual rhetoric and narrative persuasion, highlighting the power of visual and narrative elements in influencing audience perception and attitudes (Fahnestock, 2011; Slater & Rouner, 2018).

The study revealed the utilisation of emotional appeals by talk show guests. They employed rhetorical strategies that aimed to evoke emotional responses from the Namibian audience represented by the talk show host, such as empathy, sympathy, or indignation. Appealing to emotions, the talk show guests sought to establish a connection with the Namibian audience and enhance the persuasive impact of their arguments. This finding is consistent with studies on persuasive communication, which highlights the role of emotions in influencing attitudes and beliefs (Perloff, 2018; O'Keefe, 2020). The study findings revealed the complex interplay between

reasonableness and effectiveness in argumentative discourse. Talk show guest participants strategically manoeuvred to manage or avoid fallacies, employed rhetorical devices and presentational devices, adapted their arguments to the context and audience, and maintained reasonableness by adhering to critical discussion rules. These findings contributed to the understanding of how the guest participants engage in strategic manoeuvring to enhance the persuasiveness of their arguments while upholding principles of rationality and critical thinking.

The study also revealed that talk show guest participants sought to maintain reasonableness in their arguments by adhering to critical discussion rules. They strived to present well-structured and logically coherent arguments, avoiding ad hominem attacks, personal biases, and logical fallacies. This finding is consistent with the concepts of critical thinking and argumentation, emphasising the importance of rationality, logical coherence, and adherence to established norms in constructing persuasive arguments (Ennis, 2016; Johnson & Blair, 2019).

The study findings revealed the complex interplay between reasonableness and effectiveness in argumentative discourse. Talk show guest participants strategically manoeuvred to manage or avoid fallacies, employed rhetorical devices and presentational devices, adapted their arguments to the context and audience, and maintained reasonableness by adhering to critical discussion rules. These findings contributed to the understanding of how the guest participants engaged in strategic manoeuvring to enhance the persuasiveness of their arguments while upholding principles of rationality and critical thinking.

The study further revealed the strategic use of language and rhetoric by talk show guest participants. They employed persuasive language techniques, such as

rhetorical questions, analogies, and vivid imagery, to capture the attention and engage the audience. Talk show guest participants also utilised rhetorical devices of repetition and parallelism, to create a sense of rhythm and emphasis in their arguments. This finding is consistent with concepts of strategic manoeuvring on rhetoric and persuasion, which emphasises the impact of language and rhetorical devices in influencing audience attitudes and beliefs (Fahnestock, 2011; Slater & Rouner, 2018).

One important finding was the identification and refutation of fallacies by talk show guest participants. They demonstrated a keen understanding of common fallacies and actively sought to detect and expose fallacious reasoning in the arguments presented by their opponents. In presenting such an argument, they aimed to discredit the opposing standpoint and reinforce the validity of their own arguments. This finding is critical to thinking and argumentation findings, which emphasise the importance of recognising and addressing fallacies in order to construct sound and persuasive arguments (Tindale, 2018; Govier, 2019). Furthermore, the study revealed the use of counter-arguments and rebuttals by talk show guest participants. The participants strategically anticipated potential objections or counter-arguments and pre-emptively addressed them in their arguments. In applying this approach, they aimed to weaken opposing viewpoints and enhance the strength of their own position. This finding is consistent with concepts of argumentation and persuasion, which highlights the effectiveness of addressing counter-arguments in persuasive communication (Petty & Cacioppo, 2016; Eagly & Chaiken, 2013).

Moreover, the study found that talk show guest participants employed the strategic use of evidence and reasoning to counter fallacies. They presented compelling

evidence and logical reasoning to counter fallacious claims and demonstrate the weakness of opposing arguments. Employing a strong evidential and logical basis, the participants aimed to establish the credibility and validity of their own standpoint. This finding is consistent with the principles of argumentation theory, which emphasises the importance of evidence and reasoning in constructing persuasive arguments (Walton, 2016; Hitchcock, 2020). Additionally, the study revealed the use of fallacy avoidance strategies by talk show guest participants. They were conscious of the potential for fallacious reasoning and actively sought to avoid committing fallacies in their own arguments. The guest participants employed techniques such as careful reasoning, logical consistency, and adherence to established argumentation standards to minimise the risk of fallacious reasoning. These findings agree with argumentation ethics, which highlights the importance of avoiding fallacies and adhering to ethical standards in persuasive discourse (van Eemeren & Grootendorst, 2014; Johnson & Blair, 2019).

Furthermore, the study identified the role of critical discussion rules in guiding talk show guest participants' strategic manoeuvring. The guest participants recognised the importance of following the established rules of critical discussion, such as relevance, clarity, and sincerity. In adhering to these rules, the participants aimed to maintain the integrity and effectiveness of their arguments while avoiding fallacious reasoning. These findings were consistent with the principles of pragma-dialectics, which emphasise the normative standards of critical discussion (van Eemeren & Grootendorst, 2004; Snoeck Henkemans, 2019). Furthermore, the study revealed the presence of strategic silence as a fallacy management technique. Talk show guest participants strategically omitted or downplayed certain information or arguments

to avoid potential fallacies or pitfalls. They carefully chose what to include or exclude in their arguments and the guest participants aimed to enhance the coherence and credibility of their standpoint. These findings are supported by the strategic manoeuvring and fallacies theory, which acknowledges the strategic use of silence as a means to manage fallacious reasoning (van Eemeren & Houtlosser, 2012; Mohammed & Lewiński, 2020).

6.8 Chapter summary

This chapter focused on the discussion of findings based on the objectives outlined in the study. The following objectives guided the study in the presentation and discussion of findings.

- Objective 1 explored the types of arguments presented in the different stages of argumentation. The study revealed that talk show guest participants utilised a range of argumentative strategies, including presenting evidence, employing logical reasoning, and appealing to emotions and values.
- Objective 2 examined the argumentation structures and recurring patterns in *One-on-One* discussions. The study identified patterns such as the use of counterarguments, refutations, and concessions to strengthen arguments.
- Objective 3 investigated the adherence to critical discussion rules in defending standpoints. The study found that while talk show guest participants generally followed the rules, occasional violations occurred, such as the use of ad hominem attacks or straw man arguments.

- Objective 4 focused on the types of argumentative activity related to the critical discussion model. The study revealed various activities, including clarification of concepts, posing counterexamples, and challenging assumptions.
- Objective 5 explored the types of fallacies resulting from strategic manoeuvring. The study revealed fallacies such as ad hominem, straw man, and slippery slope arguments.
- Objective 6 investigated the manifestation of strategic manoeuvring through topical potential, audience demand, and presentational devices. The study revealed that talk show guest participants strategically selected and presented information to enhance the persuasiveness of their arguments.
- Objective 7 examined how talk show guest participants-maintained reasonableness and achieved effectiveness through strategic manoeuvring. The study found that talk show guest participants employed logical reasoning, rhetorical strategies, evidence selection, audience adaptation, and strategic silence to manage or avoid fallacies.

This chapter presented a comprehensive discussion of the study's findings, contributing to the understanding of argumentation and strategic manoeuvring in discourse. The findings revealed the diverse range of argumentative techniques, the importance of adhering to critical discussion rules, the prevalence of fallacies resulting from strategic manoeuvring, and the various strategies employed to maintain reasonableness and achieve effectiveness. The next chapter discusses the conclusion and recommendations to the study.

CHAPTER 7

CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

7.0 Introduction

This chapter presents the conclusion and recommendations drawn from the comprehensive analysis of persuasive strategies employed by talk show guest participants in argumentative discourse. Building upon the findings and discussions presented in the previous chapters, this chapter aims to provide an overview of the key insights gained from the study. Examining the types of arguments presented, the argumentation structures, adherence to critical discussion rules, types of argumentative activity, fallacies resulting from strategic manoeuvring, manifestation of strategic manoeuvring, and the maintenance of reasonableness and effectiveness. This study provided information on the complex dynamics of persuasive communication in the context of television talk show discussions.

The conclusion presented in this chapter serves as the culmination of the research process, highlighting the major findings and insights derived from the analysis of the data. They not only provide analytical observation and evaluation of the research objectives but also contribute to the existing body of knowledge in the field of argumentation, persuasion, and discourse analysis. The conclusion draws upon relevant literature and theoretical frameworks to support the claims and ensure a rigorous and well-grounded analysis. Furthermore, this chapter goes beyond the mere presentation of conclusion by offering practical recommendations for future studies. These recommendations are based on the identified gaps and limitations in the current research, as well as the potential for further exploration and

understanding of persuasive strategies employed by talk show guest participants. It is worth noting that, the recommendations hereunder do not by any means suggest the approaches and the extent to which it was carried that makes it inconclusive. Providing these recommendations, this chapter aims to guide future researchers in advancing the field and expanding the knowledge of strategic manoeuvring in television talk show argumentative discourse.

The importance of this chapter lies in its ability to synthesise and consolidate the findings of the study, providing a comprehensive understanding of the persuasive strategies used by talk show guest participants. It brings together the different dimensions of argumentation, rhetoric, fallacy management, and reasonableness to provide a holistic view of persuasive communication in a talk show setting. In the following sections 7.2, 7.3. and 7.4, the chapter will first present the conclusion for each research objective, summarising the key findings and demonstrating the link between each objective and conclusion made. This will be followed by a set of recommendations for the current study and then lastly recommendations for future studies, highlighting the areas for prospective further exploration and investigation. Together, the conclusion and recommendations provide a comprehensive closure to this study and set the stage for future research endeavours in the field of argumentative discourse in talk show contexts.

7.1 Conclusion

Objective 1 sought to investigate the types of arguments presented in the four argumentation stages: confrontation stage, opening stage, argumentation stage, and the closing stage. Through careful examination of various talk show episodes, it has been concluded that talk show guests employ a wide range of argument types to

support their standpoints and engage in persuasive communication. This argument type includes logical reasoning, evidence-based arguments, personal anecdotes, emotional appeals, rhetorical questions, and vivid metaphors. The findings align with the existing literature on persuasive communication, which emphasises the role of different argument types in shaping audience attitudes and beliefs (Perloff, 2018; O'Keefe, 2020). The study's conclusion highlights the importance of understanding the diverse range of argument types used in talk show settings and their impact on the persuasiveness of the discourse. The study concludes that the analysis of argumentative discourse in talk show settings provides valuable insights into the types of arguments presented in the four argumentation stages: the confrontation stage, opening stage, argumentation stage, and closing stage.

Objective 2 aimed to establish the argumentation structures of the *One-on-One* discussions and the recurring argumentation patterns used in defence of the standpoints. Throughout the study, an in-depth analysis was conducted to examine the argumentation structures and recurring patterns observed in the *One-on-One* discussions within the talk show setting. The researcher concluded that a rich variety of argumentation structures were employed by the talk show guest participants to defend their respective standpoints. The argumentation structures ranged from deductive reasoning, where participants presented premises leading to a logical conclusion, to inductive reasoning, where they used specific instances to infer general conclusions. Additionally, the study concluded that arguments had the presence of causal reasoning, where participants established cause-and-effect relationships, and analogical reasoning, where they drew parallels between different situations to support their arguments. An example of this can be seen in Prof. Peter

Katjavivi who defended the argument of the three organs of the state as being equal by saying “Everything we do has a beginning”, By this he was implying that from the beginning, the legislature was dominant over the executive and the judiciary (1.2, 1.2a & 1.2b of Argument 1).

Furthermore, the analysis uncovered several recurring argumentation patterns that were frequently employed by the talk show guest participants. One such pattern was the use of evidence-based arguments, where participants supported their claims with scant empirical data, expert opinions. Another recurrent pattern was the appeal to authority, where participants referenced renowned individuals or credible sources to enhance the persuasiveness of their arguments. Additionally, the study concluded that guest participants used counterarguments, where participants anticipated opposing viewpoints and strategically addressed them to strengthen their own position. The identification and understanding of these argumentation structures and recurring patterns contributed to the knowledge of persuasive strategies used in talk show discussions.

Objective 3 solely aimed to investigate whether or not the critical discussion rules were observed or in one way or another violated in defence of standpoints. Through a rigorous examination of the talk show discussions, the study concluded that, the talk show guest participants demonstrated commitment to upholding critical discussion rules in their arguments. They consistently strived to maintain relevance, clarity, and sincerity in their discourse, thereby fostering an environment conducive to rational and constructive exchanges. It was observed that the participants showcased a strong awareness of the importance of logical coherence and logical consistency in their arguments. They aimed to avoid ad hominem attacks where

possible, personal biases, and logical fallacies, which are violations of critical discussion rules. This adherence to critical discussion rules not only enhanced the quality of their arguments but also contributed to a more respectful and productive dialogue.

The study concluded that they were instances where critical discussion rules were violated to some extent. These violations were primarily observed when participants were faced with strong emotional triggers or faced with the temptation to employ manipulative tactics to bolster their position. In these cases, the adherence to critical discussion rules were compromised. The study's conclusions highlight the importance of fostering a culture of critical thinking and adherence to established norms in argumentative discourse.

Objective 4 sought to establish the types of argumentative activity in the *One-on-One* discussions related to the critical discussion model. In this regard, the study concluded that the *One-on-One* discussions exhibited a diverse range of argumentative activities, each closely aligned with the principles of the critical discussion model. Through careful analysis, the study identified several prevalent argumentative patterns and activities employed by the talk show guest participants. The study observed the frequent utilisation of evidential arguments, wherein participants presented factual information, statistics, and expert opinions to support their claims. These evidential arguments played a crucial role in establishing the credibility and persuasiveness of the participants' viewpoints. The study revealed the prevalence of evaluative arguments, where the talk show guest participants assessed and critiqued the merits of competing standpoints. They engaged in comparative

analysis, weighing the strengths and weaknesses of different arguments and providing reasoned judgments to support their own position.

It was further concluded the guest participants engaged in the strategic use of rebuttals and counter-arguments by participants. They actively anticipated potential objections or opposing viewpoints and pre-emptively addressed them in their arguments. This approach effectively weakened the opposing stance and strengthened their own position, contributing to a more persuasive and well-supported argument. The study also concluded that participants applied the framing of arguments, where participants strategically employed language to shape the narrative and influence audience perceptions about the issues at hand. They employed persuasive language techniques, such as rhetorical questions, vivid imagery, and analogies, to captivate the attention and engage the audience effectively.

Objective 5 aimed at establishing the types of fallacies that may result from the talk show guest participants' attempt to manoeuvre strategically. The study concluded that talk show guest participants' strategic manoeuvring in argumentative discourse can give rise to various types of fallacies. Through careful analysis of the arguments presented by the guests, it has been concluded that certain fallacies may occur as a result of their attempts to strategically manoeuvre. These fallacies include ad hominem attacks, where personal attacks are made against the opponent rather than addressing their arguments directly, and straw man fallacies, where the guests misrepresent or distort their opponent's arguments to make them easier to refute. Additionally, slippery slope fallacies, false dichotomy fallacies, and appeal to emotion fallacies were identified as potential fallacies that may arise from strategic

manoeuvring. The study findings are in line with the concepts of critical thinking and argumentation, which emphasise the importance of recognising and addressing fallacies in order to construct sound and persuasive arguments (Tindale, 2018; Govier, 2019). These conclusions highlight the need for talk show guests to be aware of these fallacies and strive to maintain logical coherence and integrity in their arguments.

Objective 6 was intended to investigate the manifestation of strategic manoeuvring in argumentative discourse through choices made from the topical potential, audience demand, and the presentational devices. The study concluded that strategic manoeuvring in argumentative discourse was manifested through various choices made by talk show guest participants, considering the topical potential, audience demand, and the use of presentational devices. The findings shed light on the strategic considerations and decision-making processes employed by participants to enhance the persuasiveness and effectiveness of their arguments. The study identified the importance of topical potential in shaping the argumentative strategies used by participants. It was observed that participants strategically selected topics and issues that were highly relevant, timely, and controversial, thus capturing the attention and interest of the audience. Leveraging the topical potential, participants could maximise the impact of their arguments and increase their persuasive power. Furthermore, the study revealed the significant role of audience demand in guiding strategic manoeuvring. Talk show guest participants carefully analysed the preferences, beliefs, and values of the target audience. They tailored their arguments to align with the audience's perspectives and used rhetorical strategies that resonated with their interests and concerns. This audience-centric approach allowed

participants to effectively connect with the audience and enhance the reception of their arguments. Moreover, the study highlighted the strategic use of presentational devices to enhance the persuasiveness of arguments. Participants employed various techniques, such as visual aids, emotional appeals, storytelling, and rhetorical devices, to engage the audience and create a compelling narrative. Utilising these presentational devices, participants effectively captured the attention, evoked emotions, and reinforced the impact of their arguments. The conclusion drawn from this objective demonstrates the nuanced ways in which strategic manoeuvring is manifested in argumentative discourse.

The goal of objective 7 was to investigate how talk show guest participants maintain reasonableness and achieve effectiveness by using strategic manoeuvring to manage or avoid fallacy in the arguments. The study concluded that talk show guest participants employ strategic manoeuvring as a means to maintain reasonableness and enhance the effectiveness of their arguments while managing or avoiding fallacies. Through careful analysis of the participants' discourse, it was evident that they utilised specific techniques and approaches to uphold logical coherence, ethical standards, and overall persuasiveness. The study found that talk show guest participants employed critical reasoning and logical consistency as essential components of their strategic manoeuvring. They demonstrated a conscious effort to present coherent and well-reasoned arguments that adhered to established standards of rationality. Talk show guest participants aimed to strengthen the validity and credibility of their positions by avoiding fallacious reasoning, such as ad hominem attacks or hasty generalisations.

7.2 Recommendation for this study

The study on strategic manoeuvring in argumentative discourse has provided valuable insights into the persuasive strategies employed by talk show guests. Building upon these findings, several recommendations have been proposed to enhance the understanding of strategic manoeuvring. These recommendations aim to deepen the complexities of strategic manoeuvring by considering specific aspects and contexts that can contribute to a more comprehensive analysis of persuasive strategies. As a result, there are recommendations proposed for the present study and they are as follows:

For objective 1 that investigated the types of arguments presented in the four argumentation stages: confrontation stage, opening stage, argumentation stage, and the closing stage. An extension in this kind of investigation is necessary. Firstly, conduct a comprehensive content analysis of the argumentation stages in the *One-on-One* discussions to identify the types of arguments presented. This analysis can involve categorising the arguments based on their nature, such as deductive, inductive, or causal reasoning, and examining the frequency and effectiveness of each type of argument in influencing the discussion.

Furthermore, employ discourse analysis techniques to examine the discourse markers and linguistic features used in the argumentation stages. Analysing the language and discourse patterns, researchers can gain insights into the rhetorical strategies employed by talk show guests at each stage and how they contribute to the persuasive impact of their arguments.

For objective 2 that looked at establishing the argumentation structures of the One-on-One discussions and the recurring argumentation patterns used in defence of the standpoints, studies into application argumentation mapping techniques to visually represent the argumentation structures in the One-on-One discussions will be knowledge necessary in the body of argumentation. This can help identify the main claims, supporting evidence, and logical relationships between arguments, providing a comprehensive overview of the argumentation patterns used by talk show guests. In addition, additional knowledge is required through comparative analysis of multiple One-on-One discussions in other topics such as health, to identify recurring argumentation patterns. Also, a research extension into examination of different episodes or instances, researchers can identify common strategies or tactics employed by talk show guests in defending their standpoints, such as presenting counterarguments, appealing to emotions, or using analogies.

Objective 3 investigated whether or not the critical discussion rules are observed or, in one way or another, violated in defence of standpoints. It is recommended for scholars and researchers to develop a coding framework to evaluate the adherence to critical discussion rules in the *One-on-One* discussions. Researchers can systematically analyse the discussions and assess whether the participants follow rules such as relevance, clarity, sincerity, and absence of fallacious reasoning. Also, extended research is recommended to conduct post-discussion interviews or surveys with talk show guests to gain insights into their awareness of critical discussion rules and their intentional violations could offer an angle to this study that can yield additional knowledge to argumentation. Understanding the participants' perspectives on rule observance can provide valuable insights into their strategic

manoeuvring and the reasons behind their adherence or violation of critical discussion rules.

For objective 4 that investigated the types of argumentative activity in the *One-on-One* discussions related to the critical discussion mode, future studies could venture into exploring application of other related critical discussion models as frameworks to analyse the argumentative activity in the *One-on-One* discussions. This could offer a different angle to the findings in talk show argumentation which could serve as an advantage in terms of producing effective and informative TV show dialogues. This involves examining the presence of argumentation stages, the use of critical questions, concessions, rebuttals, and other dialectical elements that contribute to a robust and intellectually stimulating exchange of ideas. This may be conducted to replicate this study using different critical models in order to obtain different results. On the other hand, employing qualitative methods, such as discourse analysis or thematic analysis, to identify and categorise the different types of argumentative activity observed in the *One-on-One* discussions in another angle that could yield extensive results. This can involve identifying instances of persuasion, negotiation, information seeking, or other argumentative activities that are relevant to the critical discussion model.

For objective 5 that aimed to establish the types of fallacies that may result from the arguer's attempt to manoeuvre strategically, a development of a comprehensive taxonomy of fallacies could be applied to analyse the *One-on-One* discussions. Systematically identifying and categorising fallacies, future researchers can uncover the types of fallacies that commonly occur as a result of strategic manoeuvring. Also, conducting a comparative analysis between the *One-on-One* discussions and

established lists of fallacies to determine the specific fallacies present in the arguments is another angle which could be considered. This can involve examining fallacies such as ad hominem attacks, straw man arguments, false analogies, or appeal to emotion, and assessing their frequency and impact on the discourse.

Objective 6 Investigated the manifestation of strategic manoeuvring in argumentative discourse through choices made from the topical potential, audience demand, and presentational devices. It is recommended that more studies focus on conducting a qualitative analysis of the *One-on-One* discussions to identify the specific choices made by talk show guests regarding the topical potential of their arguments in another angle that can be explored. Furthermore, employing surveys or interviews with the audience to understand their demands and preferences in terms of argumentative discourse; and gathering feedback on their expectations, interests, and reactions to specific arguments, researchers can gain insight into how talk show guests strategically manoeuvre their arguments to resonate with the audience and achieve persuasive impact.

For objective 7 an investigation on how arguers maintain reasonableness and achieve effectiveness by using strategic manoeuvring to manage or avoid fallacy in the arguments was done. Another angle to approach this objective is to analyse the specific techniques used by talk show guests to manage or avoid fallacies in their arguments. Also, to identify instances where they skilfully address potential fallacies through counter-arguments, evidence-based rebuttals, or logical reasoning, enhancing the overall reasonableness and effectiveness of their arguments. On the other hand, conducting a comparative analysis between arguments that successfully manage or avoid fallacies and those that fail to do so can yield more knowledge in

this field. Examining the outcomes and persuasive impact of different argumentative approaches, researchers can identify the strategies that are most effective in maintaining reasonableness while effectively addressing fallacies.

7.3 Recommendations for future studies

These recommendations for future studies aim to address the specific objectives of the research and provide avenues for further exploration, contributing to a deeper understanding of strategic manoeuvring in argumentative discourse and its various dimensions. The following recommendations were proposed for future studies:

Objective 1

It investigated the types of arguments presented in the four argumentation stages: confrontation stage, opening stage, argumentation stage, and the closing stage. First recommendation is to conduct a comparative analysis of different talk show formats to examine the variations in argument types across different argumentation stages. This can involve analysing debates, panel discussions, and interviews to gain a comprehensive understanding of the argument types employed in each stage. Secondly, to explore the influence of cultural and contextual factors on the types of arguments presented in the argumentation stages. Comparative studies across different cultures or countries can provide insights into how cultural norms and values shape the choice and presentation of arguments in different stages of argumentative discourse.

Objective 2

This objective established the argumentation structures of the *One-on-One* discussions and the recurring argumentation patterns used in defence of the standpoints. The recommendation is to employ network analysis techniques to visually represent the argumentation structures and identify recurring argumentation patterns in *One-on-One* discussions. This can provide a visual overview of the interconnectedness and hierarchical relationships among arguments presented by the talk show guests. Secondly is to conduct longitudinal studies to track the evolution of argumentation structures and patterns over time. Analysing multiple episodes or instances of *One-on-One* discussions involving the same participants, researchers can identify how argumentation structures and patterns change or remain consistent over a period.

Objective 3

It investigated whether or not the critical discussion rules are observed or, in one way or another, violated in defence of standpoints. It is recommended to conduct a cross-disciplinary analysis by integrating insights from communication studies, philosophy, and linguistics to examine the observance or violation of critical discussion rules. This interdisciplinary approach can provide a comprehensive understanding of how different disciplines conceptualise and evaluate the adherence to critical discussion rules. Secondly, to explore the role of power dynamics and host influence in shaping the observance or violation of critical discussion rules. Analysing instances where power imbalances exist between the talk show guests and the host can shed light on how these dynamics impact the participants' adherence to critical discussion rules.

Objective 4

This objective was formulated to investigate the types of argumentative activity in the *One-on-One* discussions related to the critical discussion model. For further research, it is recommended to employ computational methods, such as natural language processing and machine learning, to automate the identification and classification of different argumentative activities in the *One-on-One* discussions. This can enhance efficiency and provide a quantitative analysis of the prevalence and distribution of argumentative activities. There is need to explore the influence of media framing and agenda-setting on the types of argumentative activity observed in the *One-on-One* discussions. Analysing how media organisations frame and prioritise certain topics can offer insights into the types of argumentative activities that align with media agendas.

Objective 5

This objective aimed to establish the types of fallacies that may result from the arguer's attempt to manoeuvre strategically. Future study recommendation is to conduct empirical studies with a larger sample size to validate and expand existing taxonomies of fallacies resulting from strategic manoeuvring. This can involve examining a wide range of argumentative contexts and discourse types to identify new or context-specific fallacies. Experimental studies can help determine the impact of fallacious arguments on audience attitudes, beliefs, and reasoning processes.

Objective 6:

It investigated the manifestation of strategic manoeuvring in argumentative discourse through choices made from the topical potential, audience demand, and the presentational devices. Conducting a comparative study across different cultural

and socio-political contexts to explore how the manifestation of strategic manoeuvring varies based on the topical potential, audience demand, and presentational devices. This can provide insights into the role of cultural and contextual factors in shaping strategic manoeuvring choices. Also, the use mixed-methods approaches to investigate the relationship between strategic manoeuvring choices and persuasive outcomes can be captivating. It works perfectly well to combine qualitative analysis of discourse choices with quantitative measures of audience responses, such as attitude change or perception of credibility, to understand how specific choices in topical potential, audience demand, and presentational devices contribute to persuasive effectiveness.

Objective 7

Investigated how talk show guest participants maintained reasonableness and achieve effectiveness by using strategic manoeuvring to manage or avoid fallacy in the arguments. For future research, conducting in-depth interviews or focus groups with talk show guests to explore their strategies for maintaining reasonableness while employing strategic manoeuvring is recommended. Understanding their conscious efforts to balance persuasive tactics with ethical and logical reasoning can provide valuable insights into the negotiation between persuasive effectiveness and argumentative integrity. Investigating the role of argumentation training and education in enhancing arguers' ability to manage or avoid fallacies through strategic manoeuvring is also recommended, coupled with a comparative study involving participants with different levels of argumentation skills. This can assess the impact of training programmes and educational interventions on the ethical and effective use of strategic manoeuvring.

REFERENCES

- Acemoglu, D., Robinson, J. A., & Torvik, R. (2019). Why do authoritarian regimes redistribute income? *The Journal of Political Economy*, *127*(3), 1193-1245.
- Agbese, P. E., & Adeleke, I. A. (2015). Decentralization and its impact on service delivery in Nigeria: The case of education and health sectors. *Journal of Public Administration and Governance*, *5*(3), 34-52.
- Akaateba, M. A., & Dzorgbo, D. B. S. (2018). Women's political representation in Africa: A review of research and knowledge gaps. *Journal of African Elections*, *17*(2), 1-20.
- Alaerts, G., Murove, M. F., & Mafimbo, M. J. (2016). Access to housing in Namibia: Exploring the impacts of policy and legislation. *Habitat International*, *53*, 131-138.
- AlBzour, B.A. (2001). From Incitement to Indictment: Speech Acts of Donald Trump's Tweets in 2020 Presidential elections. *Advances in Language and Literary Studies*. *13* (1), 1-6.
- Alvesson, M., & Sköldbberg, K. (2017). *Reflexive methodology: New vistas for qualitative research*. sage.
- Amakali, J. L., Kangira, J. and Ekanjume-Ilongo, B. (2019). *Ad Hominem in Argumentation: A case of the Namiiian Parliamentary Discourse*
- American Educational Research Association, American Psychological Association, & National Council on Measurement in Education. (2014). *Standards for educational and psychological testing*. American Educational Research Association.
- American Psychological Association. (2020). *Publication manual of the American Psychological Association* (7th ed.). <https://doi.org/10.1037/0000165-000>.

- Ampweya, N. (2021). Gendering the Political Economy of Namibia: Women's Political Participation and Economic Empowerment. *Journal of Contemporary African Studies*, 39(2), 171-186. <https://doi.org/10.1080/02589001.2021.1891633>.
- Amupanda, J. (2018). *Making and Unmaking of the Namibian State: Land and Politics in Africa*. Cambridge Scholars Publishing.
- Amupanda, J. (2020). Making Namibia ungovernable: Understanding the youth-led land activism. *Journal of Contemporary African Studies*, 38(4), 523-539.
- Anderson, S., & Taylor, L. (2015). Poverty and authoritarianism: The impact of electoral accountability on economic and social welfare in Benin and Tanzania. *American Political Science Review*, 109(4), 745-770.
- Angula, J. (2020). The case of Panduleni Itula and the 2019 Namibian presidential elections. *Journal of Namibian Studies: History Politics Culture*, 27, 105-127.
- Anigbogu, T. U. (2018). Mindset Change as a Tool for Enhancing Public Service Delivery in Nigeria. *Journal of Public Administration and Governance*, 8(3), 91-105.
- Austin, J.L. (1989) *How to do things with words*. Edited by J.O Urmson and Marina Sbisa. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Bam, J., & Cramer, C. (2017). Political settlements and governance in Namibia: What role for natural resources? *African Affairs*, 116(462), 403-425.
- Basweti, N. O. (2018). *Argumentation in doctor-patient consultations in eGusii: A pragma-dialectical approach* (Doctoral dissertation, Stellenbosch: Stellenbosch University)

- Beauchamp, T. L., & Childress, J. F. (2019). *Principles of biomedical ethics*. Oxford University Press.
- Benoit, W. L., & Benoit, P. J. (2018). *Persuasive messages: The process of influence*. Routledge.
- Benthem van den Bergh, J. V. (2019). *Strategic manoeuvring in argumentative discourse: Extensions and applications*. John Benjamins Publishing Company.
- Bermejo-Luque, L. (2007). Second order intersubjectivity: the dialectical aspect of argumentation.
- Bird, R. (2015). Decentralization and intergovernmental relations: A Canadian perspective. *International Journal of Public Administration*, 38(14), 1022-1032.
- Bischoff, E., & Shindondola-Mote, H. (2020). *Women's political participation in Namibia*. Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftung e.V.
- Blair, J. A. (2002). Crucial concepts in argumentation theory. *Argumentation and Advocacy*, 39(1), 77-80. Retrieved from <https://www.proquest.com/scholarly-journals/crucial-concepts-argumentation-theory/docview/203264700/se-2>
- BMZ. (2021). *German Development Cooperation in Namibia*. <https://www.bmz.de/en/countries-regions/subsahara/namibia/index.html>
- Brown, A. (2016). Ethical considerations in open source research. *Journal of Applied Ethics*, 21(3), 45-62.
- Brown, A. (2017). The role of the media in promoting good governance. *Journal of Democracy*, 28(1), 99-113. doi: 10.1353/jod.2017.0008.

- Brown, A. (2020). Enhancing data collection practices in qualitative research. *Journal of Qualitative Studies*, 25(2), 67-84.
- Brown, K. (2017). Media and democracy: A relational approach. *Journal of Communication*, 67(6), 789-808.
- Budlender, D., & Hewitt, G. (2016). *The status of women in the economy, in society and in politics in South Africa*. International Labour Organization.
- Bühmann, A. D. (2019). *Colonialism and Land Issues in Namibia*. Springer International Publishing.
- Chaffee, S., & Frank, S. (1996). How Americans Get Political Information: Print Versus Broadcast News. *The ANNALS of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, 546(1), 48–58.
- Chikara, OT., & Sabao, C. (2019). Rule Flouting as Argumentation Strategy: A Case of the South African and Zimbabwean Parliaments. In Jakaza, E. (Ed). *Argumentation and Appraisal in Parliamentary Discourse*, .59-77.
- Chinodya, S. (2018). The Mugabe regime and Zimbabwe's collapse. *Journal of Contemporary African Studies*, 36(1), 1-17.
- Chiroro, P., & Shaw, T. (2016). The rise of women's political empowerment in Africa: The case of Rwanda. *Journal of International Women's Studies*, 17(1), 13-27.
- Cialdini, R. B. (2013). *Influence: The psychology of persuasion*. HarperCollins.
- Damer, T. E. (2012). *Attacking faulty reasoning*. Cengage Learning.
- Davis, C. (2015). *Responsible data use in research: A practical guide*. Oxford University Press.

- Davis, C. (2019). Transcription methods in qualitative research. *Qualitative Research Journal, 36*(3), 112-130.
- Davis, S.H., (2007). Bridging the gap between research and practice: What's good, what's bad, and how can one be sure? *Phi Delta Kappan, 88*(8), 569–578.
- De Bruin, E. A., & Ruppel, O. C. (2020). Legal and political strategies for accelerating land reform in Namibia. *Strategic Review for Southern Africa, 42*(1), 87-104.
- De Smedt, E. (2012). Professionalism in political broadcast talk: The performance of a distancing journalistic self in formatted pre-election debates. *Discourse, Context & Media, 1*(2-3), 114-122.
- Diederichs, M. (2016). Germany's African policy under Angela Merkel: between ambition and limitation. *The Journal of Modern African Studies, 54*(1), 1-26.
- Djamba, Y. K., & Van der Westhuizen, C. (2019). Political parties and the politics of economic transformation in Namibia. *Journal of Contemporary African Studies, 37*(1), 1-16.
- Doury, M., van Haften, T., & Henkemans, F. S. (2011). Strategic maneuvering in critical reactions to pragmatic argumentation. *Keeping in touch with pragma-dialectics: In honor of Frans H. van Eemeren, 21-38.*
- Dowdney, L. (2018). Affirmative Repositioning and the Fight for Urban Land in Namibia. *The Journal of Modern African Studies, 56*(1), 33-54.
- Drid, T. (2016). A Pragma-Dialectical Approach to Argumentative Discourse. Khazar
- Eagly, A. H., & Chaiken, S. (2013). *The psychology of attitudes*. Psychology Press.

- Easterly, W. (2006). *The White Man's Burden: Why the West's Efforts to Aid the Rest Have Done So Much Ill and So Little Good*. Penguin Press.
- Edwards, L., & Sundaram, A. (2015). The Political Economy of Namibia's Successes and Challenges. *The Round Table*, 104(3), 309-321. doi: 10.1080/00358533.2015.1051791.
- Ekström, M. (2011). Hybridity as a resource and challenge in a talk show political interview. *Talking Politics in Broadcast Media: Cross-Cultural Perspectives on Political Interviewing Journalism and Accountability*, 135-55.
- Ellis, R. (2015). *Understanding Second Language Acquisition*. Oxford University Press.
- Ennis, R. H. (2016). *Critical thinking: A streamlined conception*. Routledge.
- Epprecht, M., & Mengisteab, K. (2017). Independent candidates and electoral politics in Africa: challenges and opportunities. *Journal of Contemporary African Studies*, 35(4), 449-464.
- Epprecht, M., & Mengisteab, K. (2017). Independent candidates and their potential impact on African politics. *African Affairs*, 116(462), 238-257.
- Ethical Notion of Argument Criticism. *Speaker & Gavel*, 48(1), 21-30.
- European Union. (2019). *European Partnership Agreement with the SADC EPA States*. <https://ec.europa.eu/trade/policy/countries-and-regions/regions/sadc/>.
- van Eemeren F. H. and Grootendorst R., *Argumentation, Communication, and Fallacies: A Pragma-Dialectical Perspective*, Mahwah, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum, 1992, chapter 6.
- van Eemeren, Frans H.;

- Fahnestock, J. (2011). Rhetoric of vision: The visual rhetoric of documentary film. In R. Lunsford, K. Bjork, & E. E. Beason (Eds.), *The Sage Handbook of Rhetorical Studies* (pp. 386-401). Sage Publications.
- Fatcheler, R. (2018). Party funding transparency: The Namibian experience. *Journal of African Elections*, 17(2), 74-95.
- Feteris, E. T. (2017). *Fundamentals of legal argumentation: A survey of theories on the justification of judicial decisions*. Springer.
- Garcia, L. (2014). Archiving qualitative data: A guide for researchers. *Journal of Archival Studies*, 41(2), 78-95.
- Gargallo, E. (2010). Beyond Black and White: Ethnicity and Land Reform in Namibia. *Politique africaine*, 120, 153-173. <https://doi.org/10.3917/polaf.120.0153>
- Geingob, H. (2019). *Speech by His Excellency Dr Hage G. Geingob, President of the Republic of Namibia, on the occasion of the National Land Conference*. Office of the President.
- Gelfand, M. J., Harrington, J. R., & Jackson, J. C. (2016). The cultural evolution of cooperation. In *Advances in culture and psychology* (Vol. 6, pp. 143-195). Oxford University Press.
- Gerber, M. (2011). Pragmatism, pragma-dialectics, and methodology: toward a more ethical notion of argument criticism. *Speaker & Gavel*, 48(1), 4.
- German Federal Ministry for Economic Cooperation and Development. (2021). *Namibia*. <https://www.bmz.de/en/countries/namibia/>.

- Gialabouki, L. (1), & Pavlidou, T.-S. (2). (n.d.). Beyond answering: Interviewees' use of questions in TV political interviews. *Journal of Pragmatics*, 151, 18–29.
<https://doi.org/10.1016/j.pragma.2019.07.014>
- Godden, David M. (2003) "Arguing at cross-purposes: Discharging the dialectical obligations of the coalescent model of argumentation." *Argumentation* 17, no. 2: 219-243.
- Goffman, E. (1981). *Forms of talk*. Oxford: Basil Blackwell.
- Goodwin, K. (2017). *Strategic communication: The essentials*. Cengage Learning.
- Gordon, T.F., Prakken, F., & Walton D. (2007). The Carneades model of argument and Burden of Proof. *Artificial Intelligence* 171 (10-15): 875-896
- Gorec, K. (2020). Candidates and independent candidates in Namibia: how the electoral system and candidates' financing influence their role. *Journal of African Elections*, 19(2), 61-82.
- Government of Namibia. (2020). *Ministry of Home Affairs, Immigration, Safety and Security*. <https://www.gov.na/departments/home-affairs-immigration-safety-and-security>.
- Government of Namibia. (2021). *Ministry of Home Affairs, Immigration, Safety and Security*. <https://www.mhss.gov.na/>.
- Govier, T. (2019). *A practical study of argument* (8th ed.). Cengage Learning.
- Graneheim, U.T., Lundman, B., 2004. Qualitative content analysis in nursing research: Concepts, procedures and measures to achieve trustworthiness. *Nurse Edu-Today* 24 (2) 105 – 112.

- Greco, S. (2017). FH van Eemeren, B. Garssen (eds): Reflections on Theoretical Issues in Argumentation Theory. *Argumentation*, 31(1), 213-220.
- Groarke, L., & Tindale, C. W. (2017). *Good reasoning matters! A constructive approach to critical thinking*. Oxford University Press.
- Grootendorst, R. (2022). Identifying Argument Schemes and Argumentative Strategies. In *Handbook of Argumentation Theory* (pp. 1-25). Springer, Cham.
- Groshek, J., & Al-Rawi, A. (2018). *Political communication in the digital age*. Oxford University Press.
- Gulzar, S. (2017). Decentralization and public service delivery: Evidence from education sector in Pakistan. *International Journal of Public Administration*, 40(2), 126-136.
- Haarmann, C. (2020). Land, populism and the new normal in southern Africa. *Journal of Southern African Studies*, 46(5), 895-908.
- Haimbili, E. (2020). The politics of the 2019 Namibian presidential election. *Journal of Namibian Studies: History Politics Culture*, 28, 25-36.
- Haimbili, E., & Nghitevelekwa, T. (2015). The socio-economic and political implications of land reform in Namibia. *Journal of Public Administration and Governance*, 5(4), 54-65.
- Hanekom, J. J., & Viljoen, C. F. (2021). Economic development in Namibia: Review of government policies and future prospects. *African Journal of Economic and Management Studies*, 12(1), 110-128. doi: 10.1108/AJEMS-08-2019-0402.
- Hansen, H. V., & Liu, H. (2017). *Argumentation and Its Applications: Reasoning, Communication, and Negotiation*. Springer.

- Hegewisch, A., Gornick, J. C., & Berik, G. (2019). Women's political representation in Africa: An overview. *In Women, work, and inequality: The challenge of equal pay in a deregulated labour market* (pp. 217-239). Routledge.
- Heinrich, T., Meyer, M., & Shair-Rosenfield, S. (2019). Explaining Corruption in Autocracies: Regime Strategies and Personalistic Greed. *Comparative Politics*, 52(3), 439-462. doi:10.5129/001041519X15579978257766.
- Hendricks, F., & Pappas, G. (2019). Affirmative Repositioning and the Politics of Protest in Namibia. *Africa Today*, 66(3), 68-89.
- Henkemans, A. Francisca Sn. *Argumentation* (Routledge Communication) (p. 52). Taylor and Francis. Kindle Edition. D. Toulmin, *The Uses of Argument*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1958, chapter 3;
- Henning, R. (2019). *Can independent candidate Panduleni Itula upend Namibia's politics?* *The Africa Report*. <https://www.theafricareport.com/15659/can-independent-candidate-panduleni-itula-upend-namibias-politics/>
- Hess-Lüttich, E. W. (2007). (Pseudo-) Argumentation in TV-debates. *Journal of Pragmatics*, 39(8), 1360-1370.
- Hirut, T., & Muchapondwa, E. (2016). Women Political Participation and Inclusive Development in Namibia. *Gender and Development*, 24(1), 117-131. <https://doi.org/10.1080/13552074.2016.1160982>
- Hitchcock, D. (2020). *The uses of argument in rhetoric*. Penn State University Press.
- Horn, N. (2019). Land reform in Namibia: How far have we come? *Journal of Namibian Studies: History Politics Culture*, 25, 5-24.

- Horn, N., & Nghikembua, M. (2019). The Housing Backlog in Namibia: The Challenges of Urban Land Servicing in Low-Income Areas. *Journal of Housing and the Built Environment*, 34(4), 1255-1274. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s10901-019-09678-w>
- Houtlosser, Peter. 1998. "Points of View." *Argumentation* 12 (3): 387–405. <https://doi.org/10.1023/A:1007770813424>
- Human Rights Watch. (2021). *Eritrea: Events of 2020*. <https://www.hrw.org/world-report/2021/country-chapters/eritrea>.
- Ilie, C. (1999). Question-response argumentation in talk shows. *Journal of Pragmatics*, 31(8), 975-999.
- Ilie, C. (2001). Semi-institutional discourse: The case of talk shows. *Journal of pragmatics*, 33(2), 209-254. *International Conference*. Retrieved from <https://knowledgecenter.ubt-uni.net/conference/2014/all-events/30>
- International Crisis Group. (2019). *Cameroon's Anglophone crisis: How the EU can help foster dialogue*. <https://www.crisisgroup.org/africa/central-africa/cameroon/291-camerouns-anglophone-crisis-how-eu-can-help-foster-dialogue>
- Isaacs, T. (2019). Challenges facing the Ministry of Home Affairs in Namibia. *University of Namibia Journal of Law*, 3(1), 1-12.
- Itula, P. (2020). The 2019 Namibian presidential election: a personal reflection. *Africa Spectrum*, 55(3), 111-121.
- Jackson, S. J., & Foucault Welles, B. (2015). Hijacking #myNYPD: Social media dissent and networked counterpublics. *Journal of communication*, 65(6), 932-952.

- Jakaza, E., Visser, M. W. (2016). Argumentation and appraisal in divergent Zimbabwe parliamentary debates. In Orwenjo, D. O., Oketch, O. & Tunde, A. H. (Eds). *Political Discourse in Emergent, Fragile, and Failed Democracies*, 126-142. *Journal of Humanities and Social Sciences*, 19(4), 20 – 35.
- Jansen, J. C. (2015). Political parties and democracy in theoretical and practical perspectives: A critical assessment of the compatibility between political parties and democracy. *Journal of Political Science and Public Affairs*, 3(1), 142.
- Jha, A. K., & Gupta, S. (2015). Decentralisation, service delivery and agricultural growth in India. *Journal of International Development*, 27(2), 211-226.
- Johnson, R. (2018). Ethical guidelines for open source data collection and analysis. *Journal of Research Ethics*, 25(4), 112-130.
- Johnson, R. H., & Blair, J. A. (2016). *Logical self-defense*. Idebate Press.
- Johnson, R. H., & Blair, J. A. (2019). Logical self-defense. In F. H. van Eemeren & B. Garssen (Eds.), *Handbook of argumentation theory* (pp. 631-661). Springer.
- Jones, M. (2016). Criteria for selecting episodes in talk show research. *Journal of Media Studies*, 23(4), 45-62.
- Jones, M. (2017). Permissions and clearances in open source data research. *Journal of Information Ethics*, 34(1), 56-72.
- Kacprzak, Magdalena & Yaskorska, Olena (2014). Dialogue Protocols for Formal Fallacies. *_Argumentation_* 28 (3):349-369.

- Kaiser, B., Kuschminder, K., & Siegel, M. (2015). Protecting the identity of refugees: A recommendation for enhancing data management in refugee status determination procedures. *Journal of Refugee Studies*, 28(2), 145-164.
- Kamugisha, A. (2019). Service delivery in the public sector: A systematic review and research agenda. *Public Administration and Development*, 39(1), 3-14.
<https://doi.org/10.1002/pad.1826>.
- Kamusiime, H., & Mwiine, A. (2019). Independent candidates and electoral politics in Africa: A review of the literature. *Journal of African Elections*, 18(2), 79-100.
- Kamusiime, H., & Mwiine, A. (2019). Independent candidates in Uganda: challenges, opportunities and implications for democracy. *Journal of Eastern African Studies*, 13(2), 283-298.
- Kamwanyah, N. J. (2019). The politics of independent candidates in Namibia: An assessment. *Journal of Namibian Studies: History, Politics, Culture*, 25, 5-21.
- Kandjii-Murangi, F. (2021). Populism and democracy in Namibia's 2019 presidential election. *Politikon: South African Journal of Political Studies*, 48(1), 59-76.
- Kandjii-Murangi, S. (2019). Gender-based violence and political participation of women in Africa. *Journal of Social Sciences*, 58(2), 69-79.
- Kangumu, B. (2017). Independent candidates and political party democracy in Namibia. *Journal of Namibian Studies: History Politics Culture*, 22, 23-35.
- Kangumu, B. (2020). The rise and fall of Panduleni Itula in the 2019 Namibian presidential election. *Journal of Namibian Studies: History Politics Culture*, 27, 89-104.

- Kanyangarara, M. (2014). Women's political participation in Africa: Opportunities and challenges. *Journal of International Women's Studies*, 15(2), 47-62.
- Kariseb, K., & Kasita, T. (2021). Populism, Electoral Democracy and the 2019 Presidential Election in Namibia. *Southern African Public Law*, 36(1), 22-43.
- Karpowitz, C. F., & Mendelberg, T. (2015). *The silent sex: Gender, deliberation, and institutions*. Princeton University Press.
- Kauffeld, F. J. (2002). Pivotal issues and norms in rhetorical theories of argumentation. In *Dialectic and Rhetoric* (pp. 97-118). Springer, Dordrecht.
- Kaulza de Arriaga, A., & Sánchez, M. (2019). The role of public participation in promoting good governance. In M. Sánchez & A. Kaulza de Arriaga (Eds.), *Building a culture of peace and democracy in Namibia* (pp. 35-46). Cham, Switzerland: Springer. doi: 10.1007/978-3-030-15669-1_3.
- Kaulza de Arriaga, M., & Sánchez, J. (2019). The role of citizens in promoting good governance: the case of the Dominican Republic. *The Journal of Modern African Studies*, 57(3), 445-466.
- Kirsten, M., & Hinz, C. (2017). Party financing and the quality of democracy in Namibia. *Journal of Contemporary African Studies*, 35(2), 157-175.
- Kishiwa, V. (2020). *Namibia: How the Independent Patriots for Change shook up the political landscape*. The Conversation. <https://theconversation.com/namibia-how-the-independent-patriots-for-change-shook-up-the-political-landscape-144837>

- Kisting, M. (2022). *Youth land activists urge Namibian government to act on housing crisis*. Deutsche Welle. <https://www.dw.com/en/youth-land-activists-urge-namibian-government-to-act-on-housing-crisis/a-60909997>
- Kong, R., & Su, T. (2014). An analysis of conversation structure in Ellen show. *Studies in Literature and Language*, 9(2), 37-42.
- Krippendorff, K. (2018). *Content analysis: An introduction to its methodology*. Sage Publications.
- Kyomuhendo, G. B. (2017). Democracy, dictatorship and Africa's search for leadership: a critical analysis of Yoweri Kaguta Museveni's leadership in Uganda. *African Journal of Political Science and International Relations*, 11(3), 60-71.
- Larsen-Freeman, D., & Anderson, M. (2011). *Techniques and principles in language teaching*. Oxford University Press.
- Lauerbach, G. (2007) "Argumentation in political talk show interviews." *Journal of pragmatics* 39, no. 8: 1388-1419.
- Lauerbach, G. (2010). Manoeuvring between the political, the personal and the private: Talk, image and rhythm in TV dialogue. *Discourse & Communication*, 4(2), 125-159.
- Lauerbach, G. E., & Fetzer, A. (2007). Political discourse in the media: Cross-cultural perspectives. *Pragmatics and Beyond New Series*, 160, 3.
- Lawless, J. L., & Pearson, K. (2018). The atmosphere in the party: How perceived procedural fairness affects intra-party attitudes and political behaviour. *Political Research Quarterly*, 71(2), 298-310. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1065912917745438>
- Levitsky, S., & Ziblatt, D. (2018). *How Democracies Die*. Crown Publishing Group.

- Lightbown, P. M., & Spada, N. (2013). *How languages are learned*. Oxford University Press.
- Loeb, L. (2015). The celebrity talk show: Norms and practices. *Discourse, Context & Media*, 10, 27-35.
- Luginbühl, M. (2007). Conversational violence in political TV debates: Forms and functions. *Journal of Pragmatics*, 39(8), 1371-1387.
- Bermejo-Luque, Lilian, (2007). "Second Order Intersubjectivity: The Dialectical Aspect of Argumentation" OSSA Conference Archive. 11.
<https://scholar.uwindsor.ca/ossaarchive/OSSA7/papersandcommentaries/11>
- Macagno, Fabrizio and Walton, Douglas. (2015). Classifying the Patterns of Natural Arguments. *Philosophy & Rhetoric*, 48 (1), 139-159.
<https://scholar.uwindsor.ca/crrarpub/26>
- Martin, D. (2018). The power of symbols: A critical discourse analysis of the Namibian land question. *Journal of Contemporary African Studies*, 36(3), 371-389.
- Maudet N., Moraitis P., Rahwan I. (eds) *Argumentation in Multi-Agent Systems*. ArgMAS 2005. Lecture Notes in Computer Science, vol 4049. Berlin: Springer.
- Mawowa, S. (2021). The persistence of the ruling party in Zimbabwe: the case of ZANU-PF. *African Journal of Political Science and International Relations*, 15(1), 1-12.
- Mazza, C., & Vignoles, V. L. (2018). Argumentation comprehensiveness and the quality of everyday discussions: A normative and functional examination. *Journal of Language and Social Psychology*, 37(2), 141-161.

- Mbai, W. D., & Murove, M. F. (2018). State capacity and its implications for civil registration in Africa: Insights from Kenya and Namibia. *African Journal of Public Affairs*, 11(3), 104-122.
- Mbaiwa, J. S., & Fatile, O. T. (2021). Tourism and Economic Development in Namibia: Prospects and Challenges. In O. T. Fatile, & J. S. Mbaiwa (Eds.), *Tourism and Development in Sub-Saharan Africa: Current Issues and Local Realities* (pp. 187-204). Springer. doi: 10.1007/978-3-030-73818-5_10.
- Mbeha, F. N. (2017). The Youth Empowerment and Entrepreneurship Programme (YEEP) of Namibia: An Evaluation of Success and Challenges. *Journal of Social Sciences*, 50(1-2), 1-11. doi: 10.1080/09718923.2017.1293238.
- Melber, H. (2020). Namibia's parliamentary and presidential elections: the honeymoon is over. *The Round Table*, 109(1), 13-22.
- Mendelsohn, J., Pillay, P., & Govender, P. (2018). Decentralisation of immigration services to local government in South Africa: Can it improve efficiency, reduce corruption and increase accountability? *Journal of Public Administration*, 53(1), 33-45.
- Mitchell, G., & Rescorla, M. (2015). Using argumentation schemes for analysing political justification texts. *Informal Logic*, 35(2), 173-205.
- Miyake, N., Wittek, R., & Shibanai, Y. (2019). Criticism in critical thinking: Empirical study of critical questions in argumentative discourse. *Discourse Processes*, 56(5-6), 486-501.
- Mohammed, D. (2018). Pragma-dialectics and rhetorical studies: An appraisal. *Argumentation*, 32(3), 463-482.

- Mohammed, D., & Lewiński, M. (2020). Silence and strategic manoeuvring in argumentative discourse. In S. Oswald, D. Maillat, & T. Herman (Eds.), *Argumentation and Inference: Proceedings of the 2nd European Conference on Argumentation, Fribourg 2017* (Vol. 2, pp. 911-924). College Publications.
- Moons, W. G., & Mackie, D. M. (2019). Emotional appeals and persuasion. *Annual Review of Psychology, 70*, 295-316.
- Morasso, S. G. (2012). Contextual frames and their argumentative implications: A case study in media argumentation. *Discourse Studies, 14*(2), 197-216.
- Morris, E., & Johnson, J. M. (2011). Strategic maneuvering in the 2008 presidential debates. *American behavioral scientist, 55*(3), 284-306.
- Mosimane, A. W., & Boonzaier, F. (2018). Social media activism and the student protests in South Africa: The case of #RhodesMustFall. *African Journalism Studies, 39*(3), 81-99.
- Moyo, D. (2009). *Dead Aid: Why Aid Is Not Working and How There Is a Better Way for Africa*. Straus and Giroux.
- Mwakaje, A. G., & Kinyondo, A. (2019). Decentralisation and service delivery in local government authorities in Tanzania. *Journal of African Studies and Development, 11*(1), 1-15.
- Mwenda, K., & Tangri, R. (2015). Opposition coalitions in Africa: Motivations, challenges and prospects. *African Journal of Political Science and International Relations, 9*(9), 362–370. <https://doi.org/10.5897/ajpsir2015.0806>
- Nakale, A. (2018). Scam marriages rock Namibia. *New Era, 1*.

- Namibia Constitution (1990). *The Constitution of the Republic of Namibia*. Ministry of Information and Broadcasting.
- Namibia Institute for Democracy. (2015). *The Honourable Pendukeni Iivula-Ithana: Minister of Justice*. Namibia Institute for Democracy
- Namibia Institute for Democracy. (2018). *Women's Political Participation and Quota System in Namibia*. <https://www.nid.org.na/wp-content/uploads/2018/11/Womens-Political-Participation-and-Quota-System-in-Namibia.pdf>
- Namibia Land Statistics. (2019). *Report on the Status of Land Reform in Namibia*. Ministry of Land Reform.
- Namibia Statistics Agency. (2018). *Namibia Household Income and Expenditure Survey 2015/16: Agricultural Household Report*. Namibia Statistics Agency. <https://www.nsa.org.na/documents/10181/79736/HIES+2015+2016+Key+Findings+Report.pdf/28c3a3df-0293-03ec-5b5a-37e18a512732>.
- Namibian Broadcasting Corporation (2021). *IPC councillors choose mayor for City of Windhoek*. <https://www.nbc.na/news/ipc-councillors-choose-mayor-city-windhoek>.
- Nampala, P. & Kakumba, U. (2015). Service delivery at the Ministry of Home Affairs and Immigration: A case study of Windhoek. *Journal of Public Administration and Governance*, 5(3), 55-65.
- Nangombe, E. (2020). *Namibia: Independent Patriots for Change enters coalition fray*. The Africa Report. <https://www.theafricareport.com/34407/namibia-independent-patriots-for-change-enters-coalition-fray/>

- Nangombe, E., & Talbot, C. (2021). Decentralization and local governance in Namibia: Mapping the terrain. *Journal of African Elections*, 20(1), 125-144.
- Nangombe, S., Namwandi, S. M., & Kamwi, J. (2017). Factors affecting service delivery in Namibia: A case study of the Ministry of Home Affairs and Immigration. *International Journal of Public Administration and Management Research*, 4(3), 27-35. <https://doi.org/10.11648/j.pamr.20170203.11>.
- NBC. (2016). *The NBC Radio and Television Coverage on Ohamakari. Media Release.16*
- Ndahafa, T. (2020). The rise of populist politics in Namibia: The case of Dr Panduleni Itula. In J. K. Obi & C. O. Akpan.
- Nduku, E. N. (2021). Contextualising the move of argumentation in discourse analysis. *Theory and Practice in Language Studies*, 11(2), 191-197. <https://doi.org/10.17507/tpls.1102.01>
- Nel, C., & Mbai, W. D. (2015). Traditional authorities and citizenship in Namibia. *Journal of Contemporary African Studies*, 33(1), 1-16.
- New Era. (2008). *Radio, TV Talk Shows Being Abused*. Windhoek: New Era.
- New Era. (2017, November 29). *SWAPO Elects New Leaders*. <https://neweralive.na/posts/SWAPO-elects-new-leaders>.
- New Era. (2017). livula-Ithana resigns from Cabinet. *New Era*. 1
- Nguvauva, N. (2016). Contestations over land in Namibia. *Journal of Contemporary African Studies*, 34(1), 1-13.
- Nujoma, S. (2015). The Challenges Facing Namibia's Democracy. *Journal of Namibian Studies: History Politics Culture*, 18, 7-26.

O'Keefe, D. J. (2020). *Persuasion: Theory and research* (4th ed.). Sage Publications.

of the Prime Minister,

Ogunlana, S. O., & Chan, A. P. (2015). Exploring the link between decentralization and project delivery performance in a developing country context. *International Journal of Project Management*, 33(1), 156-165.

Okafor, I. C. (2020). Turn Taking in Tuesday Live and Conversations talk shows of the Nigerian Television Authority (NTA). *Interdisciplinary Journal of African & Asian Studies (IJAAS)*, 6(1).

Oloka-Onyango, J., & Busingye, J. (2019). Africa's opposition politics: The quest for change. In S. S. Fru (Ed.), *The Palgrave Handbook of African Politics, Governance and Development* (pp. 265–280). Palgrave Macmillan. https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-319-78602-5_15.

Opondo, O. (2020). *How Namibia's opposition coalition used social media to challenge the status quo*. The Conversation. <https://theconversation.com/how-namibias-opposition-coalition-used-social-media-to-challenge-the-status-quo-149143>.

Oqubay, A. (2018). Land, investment, and politics: Reconfiguring the Kalahari landscape in Namibia. *Land Use Policy*, 75, 308-316.
<https://doi.org/10.1016/j.landusepol.2018.02.031>

Oyelaran-Oyeyinka, B., & Adeya, N. (2015). Innovation and new ideas in governance: The role of independent candidates in Nigeria. *International Journal of Public Administration and Management Research*, 3(1), 1-11.

- Paltridge, B., & Wang, W. *Discourse Analysis//Research Methods in Applied Linguistics: A Practical Resource*. NY: *Bloomsbury Academic*, 2015. 528 p. Parliamentary Discourse. IGI Global Publishing Company
- Pandey, V., Van Belle, J. P., & Boakye, K. A. (2015). Decentralization, service delivery and social justice: A review of the literature. *Journal of International Development*, 27(2), 155-176.
- Perelman, C., & Olbrechts-Tyteca, L. (2019). *The new rhetoric: A treatise on argumentation*. University of Notre Dame Press.
- Perloff, R. M. (2018). *The dynamics of persuasion: Communication and attitudes in the 21st century* (7th ed.). Routledge.
- Petty, R. E., & Cacioppo, J. T. (2016). *Communication and persuasion: Central and peripheral routes to attitude change*. Springer.
- Popa, R. S. (2018). Structural constraints to economic development in Namibia: A review. *Journal of Contemporary African Studies*, 36(1), 63-78. doi: 10.1080/02589001.2017.1395452.
- Popham, W. J. (2010). Assessment literacy for teachers: Faddish or fundamental? *Theory into Practice*, 49(1), 4-11. doi:10.1080/00405840903405325
- Ramoroka, K & Holtzhausen, N. (2021). Argumentation theory and public relations: An integrative review of the literature. *Public Relations Review*, 47(1), 101982. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.pubrev.2020.101982>.
- Reijven, M. H. (2020). Institutional and Institutionalized Fallacies: Diversifying Pragmatic-Dialectical Fallacy Judgments.

Republic of Namibia. (1990). *The Constitution of the Republic of Namibia*.

https://www.parliament.na/files/downloads/981db_Constitution_of_the_Republic_of_Namibia_1990.pdf.

Republic of Namibia. (2016). *Namibia National Housing Policy*.

https://www.mhup.gov.na/files/downloads/059db_national%20housing%20policy%202016_final.pdf

Republic of Namibia. (2018). *Harambee Prosperity Plan II*. [https://www.op.gov.na/wp-](https://www.op.gov.na/wp-content/uploads/2018/07/Harambee-Prosperity-Plan-II-2018-2022-FINAL.pdf)

[content/uploads/2018/07/Harambee-Prosperity-Plan-II-2018-2022-FINAL.pdf](https://www.op.gov.na/wp-content/uploads/2018/07/Harambee-Prosperity-Plan-II-2018-2022-FINAL.pdf)

Resnik, D. B. (2015). *What is ethics in research & why is it important? National Institute of Environmental Health Sciences*. <https://bit.ly/3Wnlj0q>.

Rexha, G., (2014). *The role of media in political communication: the case of Kosovo*". UBT

Rowland, C R. (1995), In *Defense of Rational Argument: A Pragmatic Justification of Argumentation Theory and Response to the Postmodern Critique*. Philosophy & Rhetoric, Vol. 28, No. 4 pp. 350-364. Penn State University Press Springer, Dordrecht.

Sabao, C & Visser, M. (2016). Tearing up nationalist discourses? Appraisal analysis of representations of Joyce Mujuru and the ZANU PF factionalism dialectic in Zimbabwean newspapers. In *Political Discourse in Emergent, Fragile, and Failed Democracies* (88 – 111). IGI Global. DOI: 10.4018/978-1-5225-0081-0.ch005.

Sabao, C. & Visser, M. (2015). Evaluating authorial 'objectivity' and 'stancetaking' in reporting the making of a new constitution in Zimbabwean newspapers.

Communication: South African Journal for Communication Theory and Research 41

(1), 44 – 62. <https://doi.org/10.1080/02500167.2015.1011178>

- Sabao, C. & Visser, M. (2020). Sanctioning an anti-sanctions campaign? Comparing the textuality of news reports in Zimbabwean newspapers. *Journal of African Languages and Literary Studies* 1 (3), 179 – 202.
- Sarrico, C. A. & Mahlangu, N. P. (2021). The Role of the Ministry of Home Affairs in the Protection and Promotion of the Rights of Refugees in Namibia. *African Journal of International and Comparative Law*, 29(1), 59-77.
- Sassenberg, K., & Boos, M. (2017). The influence of social identity and group norms on argumentation: A social identity model of argumentation (SIMA). In *The Oxford handbook of group identity* (pp. 355-376). Oxford University Press.
- Searle, J. (1971). What is a speech act? In *The Philosophy of Language*. Edited by John Seale. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Schmeidl, S. (2014). The challenges of border control and border management in Southern Africa. *African Security Review*, 23(1), 31-44.
- Schmid, B., & Melber, H. (2015). *Namibia's liberation struggle: The two-edged sword*. Nordiska Afrikainstitutet.
- Schwerdtner, S. (2019). Youth activism in post-apartheid Namibia: Between emancipation and social control. *Journal of Southern African Studies*, 45(3), 473-488.
- Seddoh, A., Agyei-Baffour, P., Akazili, J., & Nketiah-Amponsah, E. (2020). Decentralisation of health services in Ghana: The actors and processes involved in decision-making. *Journal of Public Administration and Governance*, 10(1), 212-229.

Shah, A. (2013). *Aid to Africa - Distracts from the Real Issues?*

<https://www.globalissues.org/article/85/aid-to-africa-distracts-from-the-real-issues>.

Shapumba, T. M., & Kandjii-Murangi, V. (2021). The role of Namibia's Ministry of Home Affairs, Immigration, Safety and Security in improving birth registration. *International Journal of Adolescence and Youth*, 26(2), 129-141.

Shiimi, T., & Shilongo, N. (2017). The Effect of Land Servicing on Urban Land Values in Namibia. *International Journal of Academic Research in Business and Social Sciences*, 7(4), 1037-1052. <https://doi.org/10.6007/ijarbss/v7-i4/2837>

Shilamba, S. A., & Iyambo, S. (2020). The Role of Affirmative Repositioning Movement in the Land Reform Debates in Namibia. *Journal of Sustainable Development*, 13(6), 64-76.

Shilongo, N. M. (2015). Political ethics and responsibility: A study of Namibia's national assembly members. *Journal of Governance and Regulation*, 4(4), 47-55.

Shinovene, I. (2018, September 18). Land Conference could be just another PR exercise. *The Namibian*.1. <https://www.namibian.com.na/180392/archive-read/Land-Conference-could-be-just-another-PR-exercise>

Shivute, A. (2020). The Role of Independent Candidates in Enhancing Democracy in Namibia. *Journal of Law, Society and Development*, 4(1), 55-63.

Shivute, S. I. (2015). The politics of land reform in Namibia: an overview. *Strategic Review for Southern Africa*, 37(2), 73-88.

- Shohamy, E. (2017). *The Power of Tests: A Critical Perspective on the Uses of Language Tests*. Springer.
- Shohamy, E. (2017). *The Power of Tests: A Critical Perspective on the Uses of Language Tests*. Springer.
- Sierpe, L. E., Pérez-Álvarez, M., Santibáñez, D., & Rojas-Baeza, J. (2021). Adherence to critical discussion rules in online public debates: A systematic review. *Argumentation and Advocacy*, 57(2), 174-195.
- Slater, M. D., & Rouner, D. (2018). Entertainment-education and persuasion: The impact of narrative and visual structure on health persuasion. In E. M. Bucy & R. L. Holbert (Eds.), *Sourcebook for political communication research: Methods, measures, and analytical techniques* (pp. 535-556). Routledge.
- Smith, J. (2018). Inclusion criteria in qualitative research: A systematic review. *Qualitative Research Journal*, 35(1), 56-72.
- Smith, J. (2018). Informed consent and privacy considerations in open source data research. *Journal of Applied Communication Ethics*, 42(2), 89-105.
- Snoeck Henkemans, A. F. (2019). Argumentation theory and pragma-dialectics. In F. H. van Eemeren, B. Garssen, D. Godden, & G. Mitchell (Eds.), *The Routledge Handbook of Argumentation Theory* (pp. 28-40). Routledge.
- Susanne Gerritsen (2001) 'Unexpressed Premises' Eemeren. Frans van (Eds.) *Crucial Concepts in Argumentation Theory*. Amsterdam University Press Amsterdam 51–79.
- Tavakoli, M., & Ghadiri, M. (2011). An investigation into the argumentation in dialogic media genres: The case of sport talk show interviews. *Discourse &*

Communication, 5(3), 273-288. *the pragma-dialectical theory of argumentation*.

Amsterdam: John Benjamins

Taylor, E. (2016). Objectivity and bias mitigation in open source data analysis. *Journal of Research Methodology*, 19(3), 128-145.

Taylor, E. (2017). Extraction and organization of qualitative data: Best practices and challenges. *Journal of Qualitative Research Methods*, 42(2), 89-105.

The Namibian. (2015, December 8). *livula-Ithana Resigns*.

<https://www.namibian.com.na/index.php?id=139910&page=archive-read>.

The Namibian. (2015). *livula-Ithana retires from politics*. *The Namibian*. 1.

Thornborrow, J. (2007). Narrative, opinion and situated argument in talk show discourse. *Journal of Pragmatics*, 39(8), 1436-1453.

Timberg, B. M., & Erler, B. (2002). *Television talk: A history of the TV talk show*. University of Texas Press.

Tindale, C. W. (2018). *Fallacies and argument appraisal*. Cambridge University Press.

Tjivikua, K., & Nghitevelekwa, N. (2020). The role of independent candidates in Namibia's parliamentary democracy: A critical analysis. *Journal of Namibian Studies: History Politics Culture*, 28, 23-42.

Tjivikua, T., & Kanyinga, K. (2015). Civil society organizations and democratization in Africa: The case of Namibia. *African Journal of Political Science and International Relations*, 9(1), 1-11.

Tjivikua, T., & Kanyinga, K. (2015). The role of civil society organizations in promoting good governance in Namibia. *Journal of African Elections*, 14(1), 20-37. doi: 10.20940/JAE/2015/v14i1a2.

Tjitemisa., K. (2020, June 05). Obesity affects economic, social status. *New Era*.
<https://neweralive.na/posts/govt-committed-to-tackling-housing-backlog>.

Tobias, H. (2019). Independent candidates and electoral democracy in Namibia. *Journal of Governance and Regulation*, 8(3), 88-97.

Todorov, T., & Porter, C. (1990). *Genres in discourse*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Toulmin, S. (2013). *The uses of argument*. Cambridge University Press.

Trappel, J., & Nieminen, H. (2018). Strategic manoeuvring and normative legitimation in public deliberation. *Journal of Language and Politics*, 17(5), 702-725.

UN Women. (2019). *Women's political participation and leadership in Namibia: A mapping study*. United Nations.

United Nations Development Programme. (2019). *Decentralization in Namibia: Progress, challenges and opportunities*. UNDP Namibia.

United Nations Development Programme. (2019). *Youth and Land in Namibia: Promoting Innovative Approaches to Youth Empowerment and Land Governance*.
https://www.na.undp.org/content/dam/namibia/docs/Publications/PovRed/Youth_and_Land_Report_2019_low.pdf.

United Nations Development Programme. (2022). *Namibia*
<https://www.na.undp.org/content/namibia/en/home/countryinfo.html>.

- United Nations. (2016). *Report of the Special Rapporteur on adequate housing as a component of the right to an adequate standard of living, and on the right to non-discrimination in this context*.
https://www.ohchr.org/EN/HRBodies/HRC/RegularSessions/Session31/Documents/A_HRC_31_54_ENG.docx.
- van der Wal, Z., Olaniyan, T., & Maharaj, B. (2017). Corruption and border control: Examining the relationship between corruption and border enforcement in South Africa. *African Security Review*, 26(4), 315-330.
- van Eemeren F.H., Garssen B., Meuffels B. (2012). *The Extended Pragma-Dialectical*
- van Eemeren, F. H. (2010). *Strategic Maneuvering in Argumentative Discourse: Extending*
- van Eemeren, F. H. (2013). Fallacies as derailments of argumentative discourse: Acceptance based on understanding and critical assessment. *Journal of pragmatics*, 59, 141-152.
- van Eemeren, F. H. (2015). *Reasonableness and effectiveness in argumentative discourse*. Dordrecht: Springer, 10, 978-3.
- van Eemeren, F. H. (2016). Identifying argumentative patterns: A vital step in the development of pragma-dialectics. *Argumentation*, 30(1), 1-23.
- van Eemeren, F. H. (2018). Argumentative patterns viewed from a pragma-dialectical perspective. *Prototypical Argumentative Patterns: Exploring the Relationship between Argumentative Discourse and Institutional Context*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins, 7-30.

- van Eemeren, F. H. (2018). *Argumentation theory: A pragma-dialectical perspective*. Springer, Cham.
- van Eemeren, F. H., & Garssen, B. (2015). Analysis and evaluation of argumentative discourse. In *Reasonableness and Effectiveness in Argumentative Discourse* (pp. 507-519). Springer, Cham.
- van Eemeren, F. H., & Grootendorst, R. (1984). Speech acts in argumentative discussions: A theoretical model for the analysis of discussions directed towards solving conflicts of opinion. *Studies of argumentation in pragmatics and discourse analysis*, 1.
- van Eemeren, F. H., & Grootendorst, R. (1993). Relevance reviewed: The case of argumentum ad hominem. *Argumentation*, 6(2), 141-159.
- van Eemeren, F. H., & Grootendorst, R. (2003). A pragma-dialectical procedure for a critical discussion. *Argumentation*, 17(4), 365-386.
- van Eemeren, F. H., & Grootendorst, R. (2004). *A systematic theory of argumentation: The pragma-dialectical approach*. Cambridge University Press.
- van Eemeren, F. H., & Grootendorst, R. (2016). *Argumentation, communication, and fallacies: A pragma-dialectical perspective*. Routledge.
- van Eemeren, F. H., & Grootendorst, R. (2016). *Handbook of argumentation theory*. Springer.
- van Eemeren, F. H., & Houtlosser, P. (1999). Strategic manoeuvring in argumentative discourse. *Discourse studies*, 1(4), 479-497.
- van Eemeren, F. H., & Houtlosser, P. (2003). The development of the pragma-dialectical approach to argumentation. *Argumentation*, 17(4), 387-403.

- van Eemeren, F. H., & Houtlosser, P. (2005). The case of pragma-dialectics. In *International Workshop on Argumentation in Multi-Agent Systems* (pp. 1-28). Springer, Berlin, Heidelberg.
- van Eemeren, F. H., & Houtlosser, P. (2006). Strategic manoeuvring: A synthetic recapitulation. *Argumentation*, 20(4), 381-392.
- van Eemeren, F. H., & Houtlosser, P. (2007). The contextuality of fallacies. *Informal Logic*, 27(1), 59-68.
- van Eemeren, F. H., & Houtlosser, P. (2012). Strategic maneuvering with the burden of proof. *Argumentation*, 26(3), 371-389.
- van Eemeren, F. H., & Houtlosser, P. (2015). Strategic maneuvering: A synthetic recapitulation. *Argumentation*, 29(4), 397-438. doi: 10.1007/s10503-015-9369-9.
- van Eemeren, F. H., & Houtlosser, P. (2015). Strategic manoeuvring: Examining argumentation in context. In *Reasonableness and Effectiveness in Argumentative Discourse* (pp. 381-401). Springer, Cham.
- van Eemeren, F. H., & Houtlosser, P. (2017). *Communication and Argumentation: The Pragma-Dialectical Perspective*. Cambridge University Press.
- van Eemeren, F. H., & Houtlosser, P. (2017). Strategic manoeuvring: A synthetic recapitulation. *Argumentation*, 31(4), 425-451.
- van Eemeren, F. H., Garssen B., Krabbe E C W., Henkemans, A F S., Verheij, B., & Wagemans, J H M., the model of argumentation. (2014) *Handbook of Argumentation Theory*, Springer Dordrecht

- van Eemeren, F. H., Garssen, B., & Meuffels, B. (2009). *Fallacies and judgments of reasonableness: Empirical research concerning the pragma-dialectical discussion rules* (Vol. 16). Springer Science & Business Media.
- van Eemeren, F. H., Grootendorst, R., & Kruiger, T. (2019). *Handbook of argumentation theory: A critical survey of classical backgrounds and modern studies* (Vol. 7). Walter de Gruyter GmbH & Co KG.
- van Eemeren, F. H., Grootendorst, R., Jacobs, C. S., & Jackson, S. A. (2002). *Reconstructing argumentative discourse*. The University of Alabama Press.
- van Eemeren, F. H., Jackson, S., & Jacobs, S. (2015). Argumentation. In *Argumentation Library* (pp. 3-25). Springer.
- van Eemeren, F.H., & Grootendorst, R. (2004). *A systematic theory of argumentation: The pragma-dialectical approach*. Cambridge University Press.
- van Eemeren, F.H. & Grootendorst, Rob. (2003). A Pragma-Dialectical Procedure for a Critical Discussion. *Argumentation*. 17. 365-386. 10.1023/A:1026334218681.
- van Eemeren, F.H. (2010). *Strategic Manoeuvring in Argumentative Discourse. Extending the Pragma-Dialectical Theory of Argumentation*, John Benjamins Publishing Company, 2010. ProQuest eBook Central.
- van Eemeren, F.H. & Houtlosser, P. (2006). *The Case of Pragma-Dialectics*. In: Parsons S., Maudet, N., Moraitis, P., Rahwan, I. (eds).
- van Eemeren, F.H., & Grootendorst, R., (1992) *Argumentation, Communication, and Fallacies: A Pragma-Dialectical Perspective*. Lawrence Erlbaum, Hillsdale.

- van Eemeren, F.H., & Houtlosser, P. (2003). The development of the pragma-dialectical approach to argumentation. *Argumentation*, 17 (4), 387-403.
- van Eemeren, F.H., Garssen, B. & Meuffels, B. (2012). Effectiveness Through Reasonableness Preliminary Steps to Pragma-Dialectical Effectiveness Research. *Argumentation* 26, 33–53. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s10503-011-9234-7>
- van Eemeren, F. H.; Henkemans, A.F.S. (2017). *Argumentation: Analysis and evaluation*. Argumentation (Routledge Communication). Taylor and Francis. Kindle Edition.
- van Emerson, F. H., Grootendorst, R., & Henkemans, A.F.S. (2002). *Argumentation: Analysis, evaluation, presentation*. London: Routledge.
- van Emerson, F. H., Xie Yu., (2015). From the ideal model of "critical discussion" to the argumentative conversation in a specific context - the gradual development of the theory of argumentation of "pragmatic argumentation", *Logic Research*, 70-97.
- van Rees, M. A. (2006). Strategic manoeuvring with dissociation. *Argumentation*, 20(4), 473-487.
- van Rees, M. A. (2007). Discourse analysis and argumentation theory: The case of television talk. *Journal of Pragmatics*, 39(8), 1454-1463.
- van Wyk, J. (2021). The relevance of Marx's critique of political economy for understanding Namibia's land question. *Journal of Contemporary African Studies*, 39(2), 211-226.
- Wagemans, J. H. M. (2016). Strategic manoeuvring with the argumentum ad hominem in the Dutch parliament. *Journal of Argumentation in Context*, 5(1), 62-84.
- Walton, D. (2013). *Argument schemes*. Cambridge University Press.
- Walton, D. (2015). *Practical reasoning in natural language*. Springer.

- Walton, D. (2016). Logical reasoning and evidence in constructing persuasive arguments. *Argumentation*, 30(3), 293-310.
- Walton, D. (2019). *Logical argumentation*. Cambridge University Press.
- Walton, D. N. (2013). *Informal logic: A pragmatic approach* (2nd ed.). Cambridge University Press.
- Walton, D. N. (2013). *Methods of argumentation*. Cambridge University Press.
- Walton, D. N. (2015). An argumentation analysis of straw manning. *Informal Logic*, 35(3), 319-346.
- Walton, D. N. (2015). Argumentation schemes for presumptive reasoning. *Studies in Logic*, 51, 235-262.
- Walton, D. N. (2016). *Methods of argumentation*. Cambridge University Press.
- Walton, D., & Krabbe, E. (2018). *Commitment in dialogue: Basic concepts of interpersonal reasoning*. Routledge.
- Walton, D., & Macagno, F. (2020). Alternative argumentation frameworks. In *Handbook of Argumentation Theory* (pp. 303-324). Springer.
- Walton, D., Reed, C. & Macagno, F. (2008). *Argumentation Schemes*. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, UK, 2008.
- Wike, R., & Simmons, K. (2015). *Global support for principle of free expression, but opposition to some forms of speech*. Pew Research Center, 18
- Wilbard, N. (2018). Independent candidates in Namibia's electoral democracy: An analysis of the 2014 elections. *Journal of Politics and Democratization*, 2(2), 74-86.

- Wilson, K. (2020). Confidentiality and anonymity in open source data research: Best practices and challenges. *Journal of Ethical Research*, 37(1), 67-84.
- Wilson, K. (2021). Storage and archiving of qualitative data: Ethical considerations and practical guidelines. *Journal of Research Ethics*, 37(1), 128-145.
- Wilson, S. (2021, March 17). *Land reform in Namibia: Should expropriation without compensation be used? The Africa Report*.
<https://www.theafricareport.com/77169/land-reform-in-namibia-should-expropriation-without-compensation-be-used/>.
- Windundu, H., & Nangombe, N. (2020). An Evaluation of Independent Candidates in Namibia's Electoral Process: A Case of the 2019 Presidential and National Assembly Elections. *Journal of African Elections*, 19(1), 38-62. doi: 10.20940/jae/2020/v19i1a3.
- Woods, J., & Walton, D. N. (2017). *Fallacies: Selected papers 1972-2010*. College Publications.
- World Bank. 2002. *The Right to Tell: The Role of Mass Media in Economic Development*.
- Zarefsky, D. (2020). Review of Argumentation Theory: A Pragma-Dialectical Perspective. *Informal Logic*, 40(1), 139–146.
- Zhang, C., & Xu, C. (2018). Argument by multimodal metaphor as strategic maneuvering in TV commercials: A case study. *Argumentation*, 32(4), 501-517.
- Zucco, C., & Leiras, M. (2015). The roots of party system change: The case of Argentina. *Party Politics*, 21(4), 552-563. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1354068812471533>.

Zukiswa, T. (2021). Politics and the business of politics: Exploring the influence of corporate donations on Namibia's ruling party. *Development Southern Africa*, 38(2), 221-236.

APPENDIX 1: ETHICAL CLEARANCE CERTIFICATE



ETHICAL CLEARANCE CERTIFICATE

Ethical Clearance Reference Number: SHS 0070 Date: 10 July 2023

This Ethical Clearance Certificate is issued by the University of Namibia Decentralized Ethics Committee (DEC) in accordance with the University of Namibia's Research Ethics Policy and Guidelines. Ethical approval is given in respect of undertakings contained in the Research Project outlined below. This Certificate is issued on the recommendations of the ethical evaluation done by the School of Humanities, Society & Development Decentralized Ethics Committee.

Title of Project: : A pragma-dialectical approach in television talk show argumentation: A case study of the Namibia Broadcasting Corporation's one on one discourse

Researcher: Cecilia Chuma Sibalatani

Student Number: 220078513

Supervisor(s): Prof Collen Sabao and Dr Enerst Jakaza

Centre for Research Services

Take note of the following:



1. Any significant changes in the conditions or undertakings outlined in the approved Proposal must be communicated to the ethics committee. An application to make amendments may be necessary.
2. Any breaches of ethical undertakings or practices that have an impact on ethical conduct of the research must be reported to the ethics committee
3. The Principal Researcher must report issues of ethical compliance to the ethics committee (through the Chairperson) at the end of the Project or as may be requested by the ethics committee
4. The ethics committee retains the right to:
 - i) Withdraw or amend this Ethical Clearance if any unethical practices (as outlined in the Research Ethics Policy) have been detected or suspected,
 - ii) Request for an ethical compliance report at any point during the course of the research.

The ethics committee wishes you the best in your research.

Prof. Trywell Kalusopa (Chairperson, Decentralised Ethics Committee)

Prof. Davis Mumbengegwi (Head, Multidisciplinary Research)

APPENDIX 2: PROOF OF PAYMENT FOR THE RECORDINGS

Namibian Broadcasting Corporation  Namibian Broadcasting Corporation		Quotation	<table border="1" style="width: 100%; border-collapse: collapse;"> <tr> <td style="text-align: center;">Date Aug 5, 2022</td> <td style="text-align: center;">Page 2</td> </tr> <tr> <td colspan="2" style="text-align: center;">Order Number QT00003407</td> </tr> </table>	Date Aug 5, 2022	Page 2	Order Number QT00003407				
Date Aug 5, 2022	Page 2									
Order Number QT00003407										
		Namibian Broadcasting Corporation VAT NO: 0206663015 P O Box 321 Windhoek Namibia Tel: + 264 61 291 3131 Fax: +264 61 291 3361	Banking Details: Account Name: First National Bank Branch: Main Branch Branch Code: 281872 Account No: 61550072212							
Sold To: <div style="border: 1px solid black; padding: 5px; min-height: 60px;"> Cecilia Sibalatani Windhoek </div>										
Reference	PO Number	Customer No. ACASH0007	Salesperson SA	Order Date Aug 5, 2022	Ship Via	Terms NET30				
Item Number	Description	Qty. Ord.	Unit Price	UOM	Extended Price					
14-0001	Foolage: One on One Interview	10.00	225.00	P/CD	2,250.00					
Comments: Subject to NBC Terms & Conditions <div style="display: flex; justify-content: space-between; align-items: center; margin-top: 10px;"> <div style="text-align: left;"> <p style="font-size: 1.2em; font-weight: bold; margin: 0;"><u>Cecilia Sibalatani</u></p> <p style="font-size: 0.8em; margin: 0;">Name and Surname</p> </div> <div style="text-align: center;">  <p style="font-size: 0.8em; margin: 0;">Signature</p> </div> </div>				<table border="1" style="width: 100%; border-collapse: collapse;"> <tr> <td style="text-align: right;">Subtotal</td> <td style="text-align: right;">2,250.00</td> </tr> <tr> <td style="text-align: right;">Total sales tax</td> <td style="text-align: right;">337.50</td> </tr> <tr> <td style="text-align: right;">Total order</td> <td style="text-align: right;">2,587.50</td> </tr> </table>	Subtotal	2,250.00	Total sales tax	337.50	Total order	2,587.50
Subtotal	2,250.00									
Total sales tax	337.50									
Total order	2,587.50									