

## **Persuasive analytical essay**

The purpose of a persuasive analytical essay is to present and argue for a particular position on a topic/issue which is under debate. When a lecturer reads a persuasive analytical essay written by a student, they want to see evidence that the student understands the particular topic/issue, is aware of the main positions in the debate and has selected their own position through a process of critically evaluating the main various perspectives. A successful essay is carefully organised and written to demonstrate to the reader how and why the writer came to hold their particular position. The annotated example below provides useful guidance in how to organise information within your essay and how to select language which helps to make your writing focussed, formal and impersonal.

### **Annotated Example of a persuasive analytical essay**

This is an authentic example of student writing. Therefore you should not view this as a model – while it contains many attributes of a successful essay, it is not a perfect piece of writing. The comments on the right hand-side draw your attention to both strengths and weaknesses in the essay, but these are not comprehensive and as such you should not assume that sections of the article review which do not have comments are without problems. Additionally, you should not assume that the unannotated sections of the essay are without problems. Please note that the language in this essay is not without grammatical errors.

Please note that you are expected to write at a critical level when you are working at a postgraduate level. Critical writing extends and develops the skills used and displayed in persuasive evaluative writing. This essay *is not* an example of critical writing. If you would like to know more about persuasive evaluative and critical writing please contact the Learning Centre.

Functional elements	Essay: Introduction <sup>1</sup>	Language resources
<p><b>Orientation to the topic:</b> introduces the reader to the broad topic that will be explored in the essay ('civil society')</p> <p><b>Purpose statement:</b> tells the reader about the specific aspect of the topic that will be explored in the essay and in this way introduces the specific issue under debate ('the role of civil society in furthering a democratic process')</p> <p><b>Thesis statement:</b> tells the reader what the</p>	<p>Civil society <sup>0</sup><u>is understood</u> these days as a sphere of organised citizens that advocates for specific issues that are relevant to communities. This sphere is different to the realms of governments or international organisations of global governance and its aim is to counterbalance these institutions. The concept of civil society refers to voluntary non-governmental organisations of people that do not seek to profit, but rather to foster a wider debate that leads to fair policies. The framework of these groups can be local or global, depending on the scope of the issue. According to Scholte (2002), THE MODERN IDEAL OF CIVIL SOCIETY is a guarantee for democracy because in such a society, many actors “seek to shape the rules that govern one or the other aspect of social life” (p. 283).</p> <p>Taking this background into account, <u>this essay</u> considers the roles and limitations of civil society, particularly in the form of Non-Governmental Organisations (NGOs), in terms of its functions of shaping policy and reducing democratic deficits at the global level.</p> <p><sup>1</sup><u>This essay argues that NGOs are important to promote a wider</u></p>	<p><u>Passive voice</u> used to focus on a definition of civil society rather than who it is that defines civil society in this way</p> <p>NOUN GROUP used to condense many ideas into a single complex concept</p> <p><u>Strategy to avoid use of personal pronoun ('I')</u></p>

<sup>0</sup>Please note that the use of the passive voice and other language strategies which allow you to focus on the information being reported rather than where/who this information comes from is extremely

<sup>1</sup> The introduction has been broken down into sections to make it easier for you to identify the functional elements. Please note that these breaks do not represent paragraph breaks.

<p>writer's position is within the debate (that civil society – in this case NGOs – has an important role to play in furthering a democratic process)</p> <p><b>Qualification of thesis statement:</b> adds more specific information about the writer's thesis position (in this case the statement reduces the strength of the position)</p> <p><b>Statement of scope:</b> tells the reader the specific way in which the issue under debate will be explored (using NGOs' ability to further a democratic process within the WTO as a case study)</p> <p><b>Outline of essay:</b> tells the reader in broad terms how the essay will unfold</p>	<p>and more democratic debate and to ultimately create more representative policies in global governance.</p> <p><u>Nevertheless</u>, NGOs face some significant issues that constrain their effectiveness in influencing the creation of policies in the public sphere. These issues relate to their ideology, accountability and transparency.</p> <p>To support this thesis, <u>the essay</u> will take as an example the case of those groups that deal with the World Trade Organisation (WTO) to challenge the institution and its policies.</p> <p><u>The paper</u> will first analyse democratic deficits in the WTO, then the role that civil society is playing to reduce such problems and finally the current limitations that overshadow its success.</p>	<p><u>Contrastive conjunction</u> used to introduce information that contrasts with the previous statement, and in this way reduces (qualifies) the strength of the statement</p> <p><u>Strategy to avoid use of personal pronoun ('I')</u></p>
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<sup>1</sup>This thesis position, and the orientating statements which come before it, lead the reader to expect the writer to *argue* for their viewpoint within in the context of other points of view on the topic which contradict or differ from their own. Note that the writer never identifies (and therefore never argues against) any other viewpoint than her own

Functional elements	Essay: Body	Language resources
<p><b>Section preview:</b> lets the reader know what the topic of the following section is and outlines the way in which the main topic is broken down into sub-topics (the main topic is 'the democratic deficits of global governance organisations such as the WTO'. This is broken down into types of 'deficit': legitimacy, interests, equity, transparency and</p>	<p>The World Trade Organisation (WTO) is AN IMPORTANT EXAMPLE OF A GLOBAL GOVERNANCE ORGANISATION WITH SIGNIFICANT <sup>2</sup>DEMOCRATIC DEFICITS. The WTO is comprised of SOVEREIGN COUNTRIES WHICH AIM TO REACH AGREEMENTS OVER SPECIFIC SUBJECTS WHICH EXTEND BEYOND NATIONAL FRONTIERS. Since its creation in 1995, the WTO has offered a forum to negotiate trade agreements with</p>	<p>NOUN GROUP used to condense many ideas into a single complex concept</p> <p><i>Semi-technical</i> terminology shows familiarity with important concepts within the discipline</p>

<sup>2</sup>This a key concept in the essay and should therefore be defined by the writer!

<p>accountability)</p>	<p><sup>3</sup>the goal to create benefits for the producers, exporters and consumers of goods and services. <u>However</u>, the effectiveness of this body <u>has been criticised</u> for issues related to legitimacy, interests, equity, transparency and accountability (Conca, 2000; Dommen, 2002; Castell, 2004; Kappor, 2004 and Fraser 2007). These authors have asserted that global governance organisations such as the WTO are failing to make decisions that positively impact the global community.</p>	<p><u>Contrastive conjunction</u> used to signal a logical relationship of contrast between previous and subsequent information</p> <p><u>Passive voice</u> used to shift focus to the criticism itself rather than who made the criticism</p>
<p><b>Topic sentence:</b> tells the reader what the next paragraph/s will focus on (the sub-topic 'legitimacy')</p>	<p>The legitimacy of the WTO is in doubt because the principle of <i>sovereign state representation</i> does not guarantee the representation of citizens' interests and therefore the WTO is generally seen as a niche forum. Kapoor (2004) suggests that the <sup>4</sup>"legitimacy chain" between local communities and the forum is broken because some representatives are unable to "balance diverse national interests (citizens, communities, NGOs, labour, private, sectors, scientists, etc)" (p. 532).</p>	<p><i>Semi-technical terminology</i> shows familiarity with important concepts within the discipline</p>
<p><b>Topic sentence:</b> tells the reader what the next paragraph/s will focus on (the sub-topic 'interests')</p>	<p>The WTO's own interests <u>have also been</u> criticized because they <u>tend</u> to be oriented only toward economic topics and exclude global problems linked to human rights, such as boundaries on power, environmental problems and guarantee of health and food. <sup>5</sup>For example, as Dommen (2002) argues, "the human rights regime protects rights, the WTO protects interests. In the trade arena, governments are supposed</p>	<p><u>Passive voice</u> used to shift focus to the criticism itself - note that in this instance the passive allows the writer to avoid mentioning who made the criticism</p> <p><b>Modal term</b> used to reduce the strength of the assertion being made by the</p>

<sup>3</sup>This claim about the WTO's goals should be substantiated with evidence. Additionally, there are probably other perspectives on the WTO's goals. These other perspectives should be acknowledged and argued against.

<sup>4</sup>Please note that each time you introduce a semi-technical term or phrase whose meaning is not clear, such as terms and phrases coined by other researchers, you need to explain the meaning of the term or phrase, either in-text or in a footnote.

<sup>5</sup>Note how the writer links the quote to her previous comment and her use of 'argues' indicates that she finds Dommen persuasive.

<p><b>Topic sentence:</b> tells the reader what the next paragraph/s will focus on (the sub-topic 'equity')</p>	<p>to act for the good of the people” (p. 14).</p> <p>The third issue is the equity at the WTO, which is related to the policy-making procedures in the organisation. Some countries have more power than others in terms of political and economic bargaining capacity, which means that the core business of practice <b>usually</b> works to privilege the western frame. Fraser (2007) is one of the authors who has analysed how this “westphalian” angle creates differences in the global governance arena and firmly recommends social equality as a “necessary condition for political democracy” (p.12).</p>	<p>author</p> <p><b>Modal term</b> used to reduce the strength of the assertion being made by the author</p>
<p><b>Topic sentence:</b> tells the reader what the next paragraph/s will focus on (the sub-topic 'transparency and accountability')</p>	<p>Finally, the lack of transparency and accountability in this forum is evident in its communication approach and in decision-making strategies. <u>For example</u>, the unclear rules of the Green Room and the obstacles that some countries face in their attempts to participate in an open dialogue.</p> <p>Dommen (2002) explains that there is also a lack of external transparency, not only in the way that the WTO releases its information, but also in the rules regarding the participation of external stakeholders like NGOs:</p> <p>Different elements of the transparency and civil society participation question have been on the WTO agenda for several years. The issue has taken</p>	<p><u>Conjunction of exemplification</u> used to signal to the reader that what follows is an illustration of the previous generalised statement</p>

<p><b>Summary of section:</b> summarises for the reader the main points that were raised in this section.</p> <p><b>Section preview:</b> lets the reader know what the topic of the following section is (the role of civil societies, with NGOs as the specific focus of the discussion)</p> <p>... and so on</p>	<p>on a new dimension since being increasingly in the limelight in the last couple of years, when a variety of groups unhappy with the effects of globalization turned their attention to the WTO, increasing pressure on the WTO to make documents and processes public, and to improve its public image (p. 42).</p> <p>These abovementioned democratic deficits at the WTO illustrate some of the flaws of a public sphere conceived as a forum of sovereign states with similar interests, a national communication system and a single language. <sup>6</sup>These assumptions were conceptualized by Habermas (1989), who envisaged a liberal cosmopolitan realm of discussion.</p> <p>The absence of conditions to guarantee equity in global institutions and an idealised public sphere suggest that the structure of these bodies needs to be altered. One possible solution to this problem is the greater participation of all affected parties and the role of civil society in thus addressing this democratic deficit. NGOs have been seen as key actors in resolving the democratic deficit issues of the global public sphere because they can guarantee a wider debate to formulate policies linked to peoples actual necessities.</p> <p>The specific role of NGOs in the international arena has been related to the following functions (Scholte, 2002, He and Murphy, 2007, Price, 2003, Van den Bossche, 2010):</p>	
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<sup>6</sup>Please note that when a writer introduces a key concept such as this, they must define the concept adequately and tell the reader how this concept relates to their argument.

	<ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>- To guarantee more participation of people in the public debate</li><li>- To discuss issues traditionally excluded in the global agenda</li><li>- To raise awareness about regulations of global forums</li><li>- To increase the public transparency and accountability of such bodies</li><li>- To promote well-informed citizens, who are aware of their rights and duties</li><li>- To play an active role in the construction of a new global social contract that incorporates other voices in the debate and counterbalances the power of international organisations</li><li>- To influence the agenda setting by encouraging the framing of issues with different angles besides the western approach</li><li>- To develop solutions based on fair rules and a change of policies</li><li>- To implement solutions through tactics of persuasion that mobilise people and build a new network of actors in the public sphere</li><li>- To enrich public debate with resources, available expertise and knowledge</li></ul>	
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	<p>In the case of the WTO, civil society has played an important role in addressing specific problems of this forum related to legitimacy, interests, equity, transparency and accountability through challenging the institution from the inside and the outside:</p> <p style="padding-left: 40px;">The overwhelming argument in favour of NGO participation is that the WTO will continue to have a legitimacy crisis until it becomes a transparent organisation. In addition, NGOs will bring a wider range of perspectives to the table than those which are salient to trade ministries (Willet, 2004, p.133).</p> <p>Since 1996, the WTO has recognised the role of civil society in two specific areas: the creation of awareness of the public regarding the activities of this forum and the improvement of transparency. According to Van den Bossche (2010) the main official activities of engagement between the WTO and NGOs are the attendance to meetings of the Ministerial Conference, public symposia and forums, access to WTO information, meetings with the NGO Advisory Body and involvement in dispute settlement.</p> <p>Some successful NGOs linked to the WTO have been advocacy groups, which have addressed particular issues of this organisation according to their specific aims. Willets (2004)</p>	
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	<p>established two kinds of groups involved in WTO policies: abolitionists and reformers. “The abolitionists are mainly from the radical anti-globalisation movement and wish to close down the WTO (...). The reformers describe themselves as the trade justice movement and wish to maintain the WTO” (p. 133).</p> <p>A clear example of an abolitionist NGO that challenges the legitimacy of the WTO is the Third World Network, which has tried to introduce more voices than simply those of trade ministers into the debate. This organisation articulates the needs and rights of people in the third world. The purpose of this particular abolitionist NGO is to present plural proposals in symposiums of the WTO or organise radical protests that mobilise people for global justice.</p> <p>The Third World Network also advocates for more participation and democracy in the existing forum, or the creation of a new forum that embodies democratic principles. This NGO believes that any draft proposal at the WTO should be made known to the public at least six months in advance to allow the civil society of each country to discuss it and then influence their governments to take a plural stand.</p> <p>As Pauwelyn (2005) states, these grass roots groups add social and expert legitimacy to the WTO because they are a “mechanism through which citizens and consumers can transmit concerns and obtain information about</p>	
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	<p>WTO activities and decisions” (p. 225).</p> <p>Other NGOs are ‘reformist’ rather than ‘abolitionist’, and seek to challenge the WTO from the inside. The main focus of these NGOs is to address the democratic deficits related to lack of equity, transparency and accountability by providing legal and technical support for those member countries which are less developed in order to counterbalance the strong Western influence.</p> <p>The International Conference for Trade and Sustainable Development (ICTSD) is an example of a reformist NGO. The ICTSD is identified as a “knowledge broker” and its role is to “empower stakeholders in trade policy through information, networking, dialogue, well targeted research, and capacity building to influence the international trade system” (p10). Another example is the World Health Organisation (WHO) because it has offered its expertise in public health to improve the TRIPs agreements. Its advice can foster agreements based on research and the real needs of people.</p> <p>These illustrate the way in which the WTO is more reliant on NGOs than NGOs are on the WTO because the NGOs legitimize the role of the WTO in global governance. <sup>7</sup>I have considered the role that an organised civil society can play in influencing forums of global governance such as the WTO, despite the fact that civil society possesses no voting rights. The key to success in this manner is</p>	
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<sup>7</sup> Please note that unless it is specifically indicated otherwise you should avoid use of the personal pronoun 'I' in your academic writing.

	<p>that these organs of civil society meet general conditions: having relationships with government; having the ability to build strategic partnerships ; and, framing issues clearly and in ways which mobilise public opinion.</p> <p>Nevertheless, NGOs are also powerful organisations and should deal with their own issues in order to be more transparent and accountable in the global governance sphere.</p> <p>Civil society has significant limitations as an advocate for democracy. Despite the constraints imposed by the WTO, such as the lack of vote and few opportunities to participate in negotiations, different authors (Bates, 1999; Woods, 2001; Scholte, 2002; Ramia, 2003; Grigorescu, 2007 and Van den Bossche, 2010) have identified weaknesses inside the NGOs themselves.</p> <p>Some specific issues of concern within NGOs are the power of some non-profit organisations, their at times questionable values and their effectiveness, transparency and accountability. The influence of some NGOs in the global arena can lead them to act like corporations whose alliances compromise their legitimate issues.</p> <p>For example, most of the NGOs linked to the WTO are based in developed countries and only few of them in developing areas. This situation creates problems because sometimes NGOs do not offer equal opportunities to different stakeholders. They fail to empower excluded people</p>	
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	<p>because they have stronger affiliation with global managers than with local communities, and their position as critics are affected by their donors (Scholte, 2002).</p> <p>One of the cases that illustrates this situation was identified in Zimbabwe. According to Ruthenford (2004) people do not trust NGOs because they think that these groups only have economic interests in mind. “They make great promises, but after they show up, train the committees, they never return, leaving these committees to die a natural death. They are there to get money for themselves, from England and America” ) p. 123).</p> <p>As well as these concerns about power and the questionable values of some NGOs, the transparency and accountability of some NGOs have also been criticized. Grigorescu (2007, p. 641) has asserted that some NGOs avoid being “too transparent” in order to avoid losing their power as mediators in the global arena. For instance, some of them do not publish the source of their incomes, have unclear goals, lack official procedures for receiving donations, elect their own members, and do not prepare annual reports.</p> <p>This particular issue may, in part at least, stem from the lack of procedures of some global governance institutions such as the WTO in regard to organisations such as NGOs. Clear rules can guarantee mutual legitimacy, responsibility, transparency and accountability. For example, Bates (1999)</p>	
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	<p>recommends The United Nations model, which requires that NGOs meet certain criteria to participate in the various global debates and publish a report of their activities every four years:</p> <p>The WTO has adopted a limited version of this approach (...) the WTO application process requires little mutual responsibility or transparency on the part of the NGOs . That is, once an NGO has applied, it will in all likelihood be approved for “status”. If civil society groups are to be given a permanent voice in the WTO, they should be required to provide their share of transparency and information, (p22).</p> <p>The NGO, the Third World Network, is an example of this situation. It advocates for transparent consultations, negotiation and decision-making in the WTO, but it does not produce any reports about its activities or provide financial statements for public scrutiny on its website.</p> <p>In summary, the limitations of the civil society are a consequence of how the global public sphere is designed and the challenges of including a wide variety of people in the international debate. This situation shows how power, wealth and interest can change roles and influence behaviour for the worse. When requesting</p>	
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	transparency and accountability, NGOs need to consider their own (often compromised) responsibilities toward the public, governments and international organisations.	
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Functional elements	Essay: Conclusion	Language resources
<p><b>Restatement of thesis:</b> reasserts the thesis position of the essay</p> <p><b>Summary of the main arguments in support of thesis:</b> recaps for the reader the main points raised in the body</p> <p><b>Qualification of thesis and summary of the main arguments</b></p>	<p>Civil society plays an important role in reducing democratic deficits in global governance organisations <u>because</u> it can guarantee a wider debate to formulate policies and introduce other perspectives to the debate. In the case of the WTO, a number of NGOs have contributed towards addressing some issues inherent to this forum such as the lack of legitimacy, interests, equity, transparency and accountability. They have achieved this by challenging the organisation from both inside and outside, focusing public opinion on global topics, improving the technical expertise of developing countries and fostering more accountable procedures in the WTO.</p> <p><u>However</u>, the effectiveness of these NGOs has been criticised on the basis of the power of some non-profit organisations, their values, effectiveness, transparency and accountability. For instance, some NGOs <sup>8</sup>tend to support the western frame, exercise more power than</p>	<p><u>Causative conjunction</u> used to indicate the causal relationship between the two parts of the sentence</p> <p><u>Concessive conjunction</u> used to introduce qualification</p> <p><b>Modal term</b> used to reduce the strength of the assertion being made by the</p>

<sup>8</sup> Please note that the use of modal terms and tempering vocabulary is important as by reducing the strength of your claims and evaluations you leave less room for your reader to dispute your claims and evaluations.

<p><b>Rounding-off statement:</b> ties up the essay with some final remarks and points towards any further research that may be undertaken in relation to the topic under debate</p>	<p>developing countries, and are not transparent in their procedures.</p> <p><sup>9</sup>In conclusion, the current public sphere is far from perfect and the ideal speech situation envisaged by Habermas (1989) is not a reality. It is clear that the public sphere should not be considered as a tool for domination and should be open to the different <sup>10</sup>members of public opinion: governments, civil society, international organisations and media. This is a part of a new social contract that should regulate a different global democracy.</p> <p>Public opinion has a legitimate role in shaping global policy but the system still privileges some specific members. There are efforts to enrich the debate despite the flaws related to frame, power and interests.</p>	<p>author</p>
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<sup>9</sup>Please note that the conclusion should simply remind the reader in brief of the main arguments that were raised in the body. The conclusion is NOT the place to develop arguments or introduce new concepts.

<sup>10</sup> Make sure that your writing is clear! Your reader needs to be able to understand what you are trying to say. Get someone else to read your work and indicate where your meaning is unclear.