

**POLS 375: Campaigns and Political Participation (Section: 001)**  
**Fall 2017: MWF 10-10:53 a.m., MOLN 216**  
**Department of Politics, Philosophy, and Law**  
**University of Wisconsin-Parkside**

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Office Hours: MWF 11 a.m. - noon., MW 4 p.m. - 5 p.m., and by appointment

**Course Description**

A key requirement of democracies, and many autocratic governments, for that matter, is holding elections, which is the process of how people are chosen for various political offices. Perhaps more important than elections itself are campaigns, which is the process of how political candidates compete for voters, acquire resources needed to compete, and the role of outside organizations, such as political parties, interest groups and the media in shaping electoral contests.

This class will provide an overview of elections that include discussion of who can vote, challenges to voting, and potential issues with the election process, itself. We will also discuss the development of the party system in American and how that has shaped modern campaigns.

We will also explore why individuals vote the way they do, and why interest groups and the media matter in campaigns. The course also provides an overview of the similarities and differences in presidential, congressional, and state and local campaigns. Finally, the course discusses the issue of who votes, what affects vote choice, and how the electorate has changed in recent elections.

**Prerequisite/co-requisite:** POLS 100: American Politics and POLS 200: Research Methods and Sources; or concurrent registration.

**Course Objectives**

1. Understand the difference between campaigns and elections, and articulate issues regarding each in the development of American democracy.
2. Identify the influence of political parties, interest groups, and the media in shaping the American political system.
3. Critique political arguments using both supporting and opposing viewpoints, and able to determine what are appropriate sources of information.
4. Develop written and oral communication skills to communicate viewpoints to others, including writing an original research question, literature review, and hypothesis.

## **Required Texts**

Sides, John, Daron Shaw, Matt Grossmann, and Keena Lipsitz. 2015. *Campaigns & Elections*. 2<sup>nd</sup> edition. New York: W. W. Norton. (ISBN: 978-0393938524)

Allen, Jonathan, and Amie Parnes. 2017. *Shattered: Inside Hillary Clinton's Doomed Campaign*. New York: Crown. (ISBN: 978-0553447088)

These texts are available at the University Bookstore as well as online retailers (e.g., amazon.com, barnesandnobles.com, half.com, etc.). They are also available as e-books.

In addition to the books, I will be uploading academic journal, magazine articles, and newspaper articles to D2L that will be required reading for that day's lecture. The articles will be listed in the course schedule at the end of the syllabus.

The university offers a free digital subscription to the New York Times for as long as you are a student. You have to re-register every year, but it is a great way to know what is going on in the world. Visit <http://libguides.uwp.edu/nytimes> and follow the instructions. As a student, you can also receive a discounted subscription to the Wall Street Journal. A 15-week subscription is only \$15 (\$1 per week). Visit <http://r.wsj.net/j8wrn> to sign up.

## **Student Responsibilities**

Please come to class prepared. This means you need to read and take notes on the assigned readings beforehand. Attending class and participating is important, as there will be material discussed only in lectures that will be tested on exams and quizzes. You are also responsible for treating your fellow classmates with respect, especially during class discussions. We each come to this course with diverse backgrounds and different ideas regarding various issues and how government should work. Please respect your classmates by not talking when others have the floor.

If you have an excused absence and need to make up an exam, you must notify me as soon as possible after the absence. You are responsible for providing satisfactory evidence to the instructor the next class session after your absence. Please refer to the student handbook for more information regarding excused absences.

## **Technology Policy**

Cell phone use in class is inappropriate and distracting to both myself and other students. If you use a laptop or tablet to take notes, please do not surf the Internet during class or use social media. If you need to call or text someone in an urgent situation, quietly leave the room. However, do not make calling and texting a habit. I reserve the right to ask students to leave if you are using your cell phone, or a laptop/tablet, if not used for note-taking purposes.

## Attendance

Class attendance is important and affects your final grade as exams cannot be made up unless an absence is excused (e.g. approved university activity, funeral for immediate family, religious observance). Absences related to your academic workload, illness, work schedule, car problems, etc. are not usually excused absences. You are allowed up to three unexcused absences during the course. After four unexcused absences, your grade for the course being lowered by one-third a grade level (e.g. A- to B+, or B to B-), and will be lowered again after four additional unexcused absences. If you miss a class, you are responsible for obtaining the missed material (e.g., notes) from another student, as my notes/PowerPoint slides will not be made available. In-class assignments cannot be made up, but exams may be made-up if you have an approved excuse or an emergency. If you have an emergency that causes you to miss an exam, you must contact me as soon as possible (within 24 hours unless there is a **valid** reason why you could not contact me sooner) to arrange a make-up exam that will be given in an alternative format from the exam taken in class.

## Instructor Responsibilities

As part of being your instructor, I have responsibilities to you. I will help answer questions regarding the course, and help you understand the material. I will be available during office hours and also available by appointment if you cannot make office hours. I will also try to answer questions via email within 48 hours (does not include weekends). All questions regarding grades must be asked in person, either after class or during office hours.

My responsibility to you is to provide clear guidelines as to what is expected. I will be using D2L to communicate and post grades. Please check your campus email and D2L regularly to make sure you can view course announcements and review your grades as the semester progresses. I am also responsible for ensuring the classroom provides an environment for everyone to learn and to express themselves.

## Grading

Final exam: 25%  
Midterm exam: 20%  
Research paper: 30%  
Quizzes: 10%  
Participation: 10%  
Discussion leader: 5%

**Final grade scale:** A = 94% and above, A- = 90%-93%, B+ = 87%-89%, B = 84%-86%, B- = 80%-83%, C+ = 77%-79%, C = 74%-76%, C- = 70%-73%, D+ = 67%-69%, D = 60%-66%, F = 59% and below (Note: I do not round up final grades if you are just below the cutoff, such as having a 93.8%. I have to define the scale at some point, and some people are always going to fall on the other side of the divide).

*Final exam (25%):* A final exam will be given at the end of the course. This exam is cumulative. The format of the exam will be multiple choice, short answer, and essay. The exam will be given in class and alternative exams are only allowed with an approved excuse.

*Midterm exam (20%):* A midterm exam will be given during the course. The format of the exam will be multiple choice, short answer, and essay. The exam will be given in class and alternative exams are only allowed with an approved excuse.

*Research paper: (30%):* The largest portion of your grade will be a research paper of 13-15 pages that addresses some theme covered in this course, which may include the role of interest groups and the media, campaigns, or voter behavior. The paper will be due on the last day of class (Monday, Dec. 11). The paper must be scholarly in nature, which means it must not just rehash what we already know, but should try to uncover new insights, or strengthen existing arguments. In doing so, you will use quantitative methods taught in POLS 200: Research Methods and Sources with an existing data set (ANES, GSS, CCES, or develop a dataset using institutional data compiled from a variety of sources). A one-page proposal outlining your topic and research question is due by the start of class on Friday, Oct. 6 that is worth 5 percent of the research paper assignment. As part of the assignment, a literature review will be due Friday, Nov. 3, that will be worth 10 percent of the research paper assignment. More details will be provided within the first few weeks. Late papers and literature reviews will be docked a half-letter grade for every late day. No late work will be accepted 72 hours after the due date.

*Quizzes (10%):* Several unannounced quizzes will be given throughout the semester. Quizzes will cover readings for day and will measure how prepared you are for that day's lecture and activities. The lowest two quizzes will be dropped. Quizzes cannot be made up.

*Participation (10%):* As this is an upper-division class, your role changes somewhat from being a passive listener to an active participant. I will grade you on your participation throughout the semester. The grade, if you attend, will range from above-average (full credit), fair (90 percent credit), and poor (75 percent credit). If participation is fair or poor, I will let you know. If you miss a class, you will not be able to make-up participation points, but I will drop the lowest three participation scores.

*Discussion leader (5%):* As this is an upper-division class, your role changes somewhat from being a passive listener to an active participant. As part of this, you will be assigned to help facilitate discussion for two class periods over the course of the semester. Questions must be emailed to me before the class period in which you are assigned. Your responsibility will be to develop at least five in-depth questions from the readings for the class to discuss. You will pick which class periods you would like to lead during the first week of class. If you miss your assigned date, you will have to write a 3-4-page reaction paper to the class readings as a make-up assignment.

**Grading notes:** Proper spelling, punctuation, grammar, and sentence structure will be part of your research paper grade. Students need to develop the ability to write clearly and in common political science style that includes a research question, literature review, methodology, and results section, as well as a conclusion. Students are expected to carefully read, edit, and

proofread their written work. If English is not your native language, or even if it is and you would like further assistance, there are on-campus resources that are there to help you. The university offers assistance in various subjects through the Parkside Academic Resource Center (PARC). Assistance is free and is available in Wylie D180. If you need help with this course, please make an appointment. Help with writing assignments is available on a walk-in basis. Visit the PARC in-person or online at <https://www.uwp.edu/learn/academicsupport/parc/> for hours and more information.

All exercises, research proposals, etc. must have the following information displayed at the header: student's first and last name; course number (e.g. POLS 375); and assignment name (e.g. Research Paper).

### **Plagiarism and Academic Dishonesty**

Use of the intellectual property of others without attributing it to them is considered a serious academic offense. An academic misconduct can lead to a disciplinary hearing where sanctions can include a failed grade, or suspension or expulsion from the university. The University of Wisconsin-Parkside's policy on academic misconduct can be found at <https://www.uwp.edu/live/offices/studentaffairs/upload/14.pdf>.

### **Student Accessibility**

Students with disabilities will be provided reasonable accommodations to ensure their equal access to course content. If you have a documented disability and require accommodations, please contact me the beginning of the semester with a copy of your accommodation letter so I can make the needed accommodations. Please note, you must first verify your eligibility and receive an accommodation letter from Disability Services. Please visit <https://www.uwp.edu/live/offices/disabilityservices/> for more information.

### **Registration Requirement**

The official registration deadline to add this course without a permission number is Tuesday, September 12. The deadline to add the course with a permission number is Tuesday, September 19. Course drops must be completed by Tuesday, October 3 to not receive a Grade "W", and the last day to withdraw with a Grade "W" is Tuesday, October 24. Please refer to the university's policies regarding pro-rated tuition refund dates. University policy requires all students to be officially registered in each class they are attending. Students who are not officially registered for a course by published deadlines should not be attending classes and will not receive credit or a grade for the course. Please confirm enrollment in Solar. Registration errors must be corrected prior to the posted deadlines.

### **Class Schedule**

Readings will come from the *Campaigns and Elections* textbook, *Shattered* book, and articles I will upload to D2L. You should be prepared to discuss the assigned reading on the day listed below. I retain the right to make changes to the schedule as needed.

### **Week 1 – Introduction, (Sept. 6, 8)**

**Topics:** Syllabus discussion, understanding elections

**Readings:**

- Sides et al., chapter 1

### **Week 2 – Electoral process (Sept. 11, 13, 15)**

**Topics:** Who can run, redistricting, electoral systems

**Readings:**

- Sides et al., chapter 2
- “Shattered,” chapters 1-2
- Carson, J. L., Crespin, M. H., Finocchiaro, C. J., and Rohde, D. W. 2007. “Redistricting and party polarization in the US House of Representatives.” *American Politics Research*, 35 (6):878-904.
- McCarty, Nolan, Keith T. Poole, and Howard Rosenthal. 2009. “Does Gerrymandering Cause Polarization?” *American Journal of Political Science* 53 (3): 666-680.
- Mebane, Walter R., Jr. 2004. "The Wrong Man Is President! Overvotes in the 2000 Presidential Election in Florida." *Perspectives on Politics* 2 (September): 525-535.

### **Week 3 – Transformation of American campaigns (Sept. 18, 20, 22)**

**Topics:** Overview of campaign eras

**Readings:**

- Sides et al., chapter 3
- “Shattered,” chapters 3-4
- Hirano, Shigeo, and James M. Snyder Jr. 2007. “The Decline of Third-Party Voting in the United States.” *Journal of Politics* 69 (1): 1-16.
- Pernick, Mary S., 1972. “Politics, Parties, and Pestilence: Epidemic Yellow Fever in Philadelphia and the Rise of the First Party System.” *William and Mary Quarterly: A Magazine of Early American History* 29 (4): 559-586.

### **Week 4 – Campaign finance (Sept. 25, 27, 29)**

**Topics:** Campaign finance rules, McCain-Feingold Act, Citizen’s United

**Readings:**

- Sides et al., chapter 4
- “Shattered,” chapters 5-6
- Gordon, Sanford C., Catherine Hafer, and Dimitri Land. 2004. “Consumption or Investment? On Motivations for Political Giving.” *Journal of Politics* 69 (4): 1057-1072.
- Masket, Seth E., and Michael G. Miller. 2015. “Does Public Funding Create More Extreme Legislators? Evidence from Arizona and Maine.” *State Politics and Policy Quarterly* 15 (1): 24-40.
- *McConnell v. FEC* Supreme Court opinion.
- La Raja, Raymond J., and Brian F. Schaffner. 2014. “The Effects of Campaign Finance Spending Bans on Electoral Outcomes: Evidence from the States about the Potential Impact of *Citizens United v. FEC*.” *Electoral Studies* 33 (March): 102-114.

### **Week 5 – Campaign strategies (Oct. 2, 4, 6)**

**Topics:** How are campaigns constructed?, modern strategies, campaign organization

**Readings:**

- Sides et al., chapter 5
- “Shattered,” chapters 7-8
- Fox, Richard, and Lawless, Jennifer. 2004. “Entering the Arena? Gender and the Decision to Run for Office.” *American Journal of Political Science*, 48 (2): 264-28
- Jacobs, Ben. 2016. “Orca Failed; but So Did Obama's 2008 Version of the Same.” *The Atlantic*. November 9.
- Madrigal, Alexis C. 2016. “When the Nerds Go Marching In.” *The Atlantic*. November 16.
- Masket, Seth E. 2009. “Did Obama’s Ground Game Matter? The Influence of Local Field Offices during the 2008 Presidential Election.” *Public Opinion Quarterly*, 73 (5): 1023-1039.

**Important dates:**

- Paper topic due (Oct. 6)

**Week 6 – Political parties (Oct. 9, 11, 13)**

**Topics:** Why parties? GOP and Democratic parties, third parties, decline of parties, political polarization and party realignment

**Readings:**

- Sides et al., chapter 6
- Federalist No. 10
- “Shattered,” chapters 9-10
- Abramowitz, Alan I., and Saunders, Kyle. L. (2008). “Is Polarization a Myth?” *Journal of Politics* 70 (2), 542-555.
- Carson, Jamie L., Gregory Koger, Matthew J. Lebo, and Everett Young. 2010. “The Electoral Costs of Party Loyalty in Congress.” *American Journal of Political Science* 54 (3): 598-616.
- Fiorina, Morris P., Samuel A. Abrams, and Jeremy C. Pope. 2008. “Polarization in the American Public: Misconceptions and Misreadings.” *Journal of Politics* 70 (2): 556-560.
- Jacobson, Gary. 1985. “Party Organization and Distribution of Campaign Resources: Republicans and Democrats in 1982.” *Political Science Quarterly* 100 (4): 603-625.
- Murakami, M. 2008. “Divisive Primaries: Party Organizations, Ideological Groups, and the Battle over Party Purity.” *PS: Political Science and Politics*, 41(4), 918-923.

**Week 7 – Interest groups, Midterm review (Oct. 16, 18, 20)**

**Topics:** Types of interest groups, why does the U.S. have so many interest groups?, interest group strategies, campaign influence

**Readings:**

- Sides et al., chapter 7
- “Shattered,” chapters 11-12
- Campbell, David E., and J. Quin Monson. 2003. “Following the Leader? Mormon Voting on Ballot Propositions.” *Journal for the Scientific Study of Religion* 42 (4): 605-619.
- Conger, Kimberly H., and Paul A. Djupe. 2016. “Culture War Counter-Mobilization: Gay rights and Religious Right Groups in the States.” *Interest Groups & Advocacy* 5 (3): 278-300.

- Gilens, Martin, and Benjamin I. Page. 2014. "Testing Theories of American Politics: Elites, Interest Groups, and Average Citizens." *Perspectives on Politics* 12 (3): 564-581.
- Karpowitz, Christopher F., J. Quin Monson, Kelly D. Patterson, and Jeremy C. Pope. 2011. "Tea Time in America? The Impact of the Tea Party Movement on the 2010 Midterm Elections." *PS: Political Science and Politics* 44 (2):303-309.
- Olson, Mancur. 1965. *The Logic of Collective Action*. Cambridge, Ma.: Harvard University Press.
- Yackee, Jason Webb, and Susan Webb Yackee. 2006. "A Bias Towards Business? Assessing Interest Group Influence on the US bureaucracy." *Journal of Politics* 68 (1): 128-139.

**Important dates:**

- Midterm review (Oct. 20)

**Week 8 – Midterm exam, Media (Oct. 23, 25, 27)**

**Topics:** Midterm exam, who are the media, government oversight, business of news, media objectivity, campaigns and media, citizens and media

**Readings:**

- Sides et al., chapter 8
- "Shattered," chapters 13-14
- Brader, Ted. 2005. "Striking a Responsive Chord: How Political Ads Motivate and Persuade Voters by Appealing to Emotions." *American Journal of Political Science* 49 (2): 388-405.
- Dowling, Conor M., and Amber Wichowsky. 2015. "Attacks Without Consequence? Candidates, Parties, Groups, and the Changing Face of Negative Advertising." *American Journal of Political Science* 59 (1): 19-36.
- Evans, Heather K., Victoria Cordova, and Savannah Sipole. 2014. "Twitter Style: An Analysis of How House Candidates Used Twitter in Their 2012 Campaigns." *PS: Political Science and Politics* 47(2): 454-462.
- Peters, Jeremy W. 2012. "For G.O.P. Ads, 'CSI' but Not Letterman," *New York Times*, January 29.

**Important dates:**

- Midterm exam (Oct. 23)

**Week 9 – Presidential campaigns (Oct. 30, Nov. 1, 3)**

**Topics:** Goals of presidential campaigns, winning the nomination, conventions, general election campaign

**Readings:**

- Sides et al., chapter 9
- "Shattered," chapters 15-16
- Lacy, Dean, and Barry C. Burden. 1999. "The Vote-Stealing and Turnout Effects of Ross Perot in the 1992 U.S. Presidential Election." *American Journal of Political Science* 43 (1): 233-55.
- Fon, Vincy. 2004. "Electoral College Alternatives and US Presidential Elections." *Supreme Court Economic Review* 12: 41-73.
- Mayer, William G., Emmett H. Buell, Jr., James E. Campbell, and Mark Joslyn. 2002. "The Electoral College and Campaign Strategy." In *Choosing A President: The Electoral*

*College and Beyond*, eds. P. Schumaker and B. A. Loomis, 102-12. New York: Chatham House.

**Important dates:**

- Literature review due (Nov. 3)

**Week 10 – Congressional campaigns Nov. 6, 8, 10**

**Topics:** Who runs?, organization and funding, primary and general election campaign, incumbency, decline in competitiveness

**Readings:**

- Sides et al., chapter 10
- “Shattered,” chapters 17-18
- Jacobson, Gary C. 1990. “The Effects of Campaign Spending in House Elections: New Evidence for Old Arguments.” *American Journal of Political Science* 34 (2): 334-62.
- Stein, Robert M., and Kenneth N. Bickers. 1994. “Congressional Elections and the Pork Barrel.” *Journal of Politics* 56 (2): 377-399.
- Welch, Susan, and John R. Hibbing. 1997. “The Effects of Charges of Corruption on Voting Behavior in Congressional Elections, 1982-1990.” *Journal of Politics* 59 (1): 226-239.

**Week 11 – State and local campaigns (Nov. 13, 15, 17)**

**Topics:** Election rules, campaign strategies, increased professionalization, role of activists in state and local campaigns, paradox of state and local campaigns

**Readings:**

- Sides et al., chapter 11
- “Shattered,” chapters 19-21
- Ansolabehere Stephen, and James M. Snyder Jr. 2004. “The Incumbency Advantage in U.S. Elections: An Analysis of State and Federal Offices, 1942–2000.” *Election Law Journal: Rules, Politics, and Policy* 1(3): 315-338.
- Carey, John M., Richard G. Niemi, and Lynda W. Powell. 2000. “Incumbency and the Probability of Reelection in State Legislative Elections.” *Journal of Politics* 62 (3): 671-700.
- Carsey, Thomas M., and Gerald C. Wright. "State and National Factors in Gubernatorial and Senatorial Elections." *American Journal of Political Science* 42 (3): 994-1002.
- Maestas, Cherie D., L. Sandy Maisel, and Walter J. Stone. 2005. “National Party Efforts to Recruit State Legislators to Run for the U.S. House” *Legislative Studies Quarterly* 30 (2): 277- 300.

**Week 12 – Voter participation (Nov. 20, 22)**

**Topics:** Voter trends, comparing turnout in U.S. and other countries, group differences in participation,

**Readings:**

- Sides et al., chapter 12
- Cancela, Joao, and Benny Geys. 2016. “Explaining Voter Turnout: A Meta-analysis of National and Subnational Elections.” *Electoral Studies* 42 (June): 264-275.

- Gerber, Alan S., and Green, Donald P. 2000. “The Effects of Canvassing, Telephone Calls, and Direct Mail on Voter Turnout: A Field Experiment.” *American Political Science Review*, 94 (3) 653-663.
- Gronke, Paul, Eva Galanes- Rosenbaum and Peter Miller. 2008. “Convenience Voting.” *Annual Review of Political Science*, 11: 437-455.
- McDonald, Michael P., and Samuel L. Popkin. 2001. “The Myth of the Vanishing Voter.” *American Political Science Review* 95 (4): 963-974.

**Important dates:**

- No class Nov. 24 (Thanksgiving break)

**Week 13 – Voter participation, Voter choice (Nov. 27, 29, Dec. 1)**

**Topics:** Voter/non-voter representation, influences on vote choice, when and do campaigns matter

**Readings:**

- Sides et al., chapter 12-13
- Hajnal, Zoltan, Nazita Lajevardi, and Lindsay Nielson. 2017. “Voter Identification Laws and the Suppression of Minority Votes.” *Journal of Politics* 79 (2): 363-379.
- Hicks, William D., Seth C. McKee, Mitchell D. Sellers, and Daniel A. Smith. 2015. “A Principle or a Strategy? Voter Identification Laws and Partisan Competition in the American States.” *Political Research Quarterly* 68 (1): 18-33.
- Valentino, Nicholas A., and Fabian G. Neuner. 2017. “Why the Sky Didn't Fall: Mobilizing Anger in Reaction to Voter ID Laws.” *Political Psychology* 38 (2) 331-350.

**Week 14 – Democracy in Action (Dec. 4, 6, 8)**

**Topics:** Campaigns and democratic values, reality of campaigns, reforming campaigns

**Readings:**

- Sides et al., chapter 14
- Bergan, Daniel E., and Richard T. Cole. 2015. “Call Your Legislator: A Field Experimental Study of the Impact of a Constituency Mobilization Campaign on Legislative Voting.” *Political Behavior* 37 (1): 27-42.
- Burnett, Craig M., and Vladimir Kogan. 2015. “When Does Ballot Language Influence Voter Choices? Evidence from a survey experiment.” *Political Communication* 32 (1): 109-126.
- Stratmann, Thomas, 2006. “Is Spending More Potent For or Against a Proposition? Evidence from Ballot Measures.” *American Journal of Political Science* 50 (3): 88-801.
- Wells, Dominic D. 2016. “Dynamics of Direct Democracy and Voter Turnout.” In *Why Don't Americans Vote? Causes and Consequences*, eds. Bridgett A. King and Kathleen Hale. Santa Barbara, CA: ABC-CLIO, 136-45.

**Important dates:**

- Work on papers (Dec. 8)

**Week 15 – Final review and exam (Dec. 11, 13)**

**Topics:** Final review and exam

**Important dates:**

- Paper due (Dec. 11)
- Final review (Dec. 11)

- Final exam (8 a.m. - 10 a.m., Dec. 13)

### **Grading Standards for Written Assignments**

**A – OUTSTANDING.** An "A" essay or test is clearly written and contains no grammatical errors. It demonstrates mastery of the relevant material and offers significant insight into the topic at hand.

**B – GOOD.** A "B" essay or test is clearly written but may contain a very few grammatical errors. It clearly relates the facts, gives sound analysis, and provides some interesting insight.

**C – MEDIOCRE.** A "C" essay or test is clearly written but may contain some grammatical mistakes. It adequately relates the facts and offers some analysis, although it probably does not offer much insight.

**D – POOR.** A "D" essay or test is intelligible but probably contains some serious grammatical errors. It often relates the facts poorly, offers little analysis, and provides no real insight.

**F – UNACCEPTABLE.** An "F" essay or test is poorly written and makes no coherent argument. It struggles to relate the facts and offers little or no analysis. It often creates confusion instead of providing insight.