NEWS MEDIA, THE PUBLIC SPHERE, AND INFORMED CITIZENSHIP

Stephen Colbert on Market Failure



Outline

Market Pressures and Audience Demand

Measuring Audience Size

Economics of Local News

Combat Stories: The Rise of Interpretive Journalism

Consequences for Informed Citizenship

Market Pressures

The Rise of Soft and Interpretive News

News producers seek to maximize their audience

By featuring a combination of information and entertainment

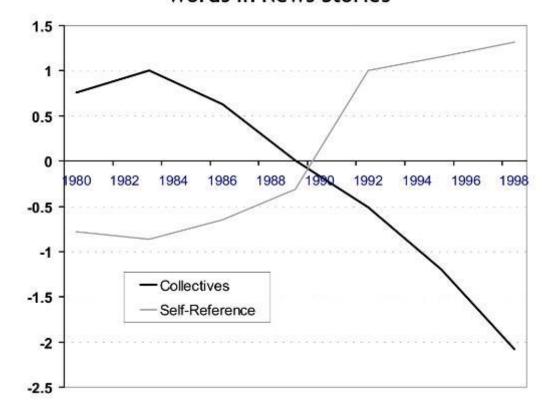
Hard news = News with substantive, public policy content, societal focus

Soft news = News focusing on titillating information -- sex, sleaze, and scandal – unusual but irrelevant events, and the lifestyles of the rich and famous

Personalized News

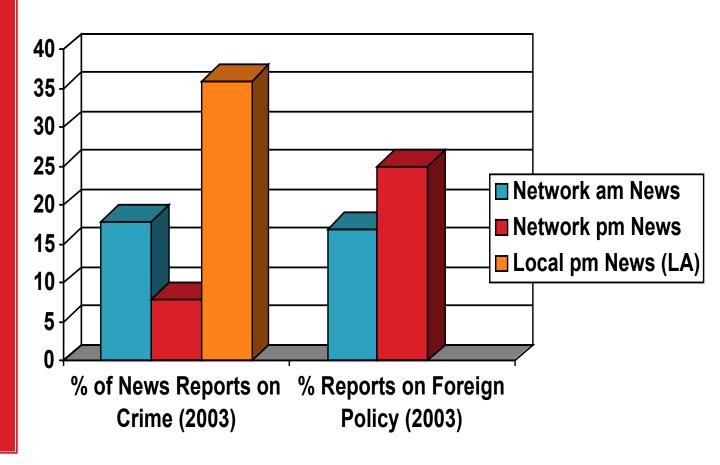
Patterson study diminished focus on societal outcomes, increased emphasis on personalized news

Figure 6: Use of Collectives and Self-Reference Words in News Stories



Frequency of Crime News

Crime
versus
foreign
affairs as
newsworthy
issues

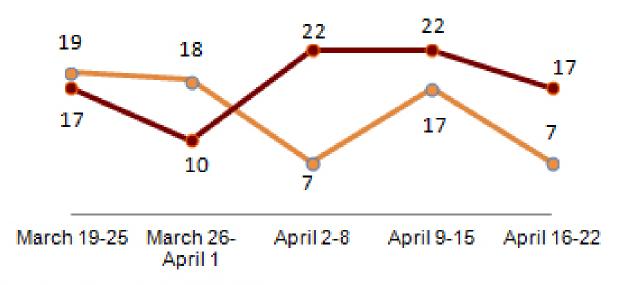


Trayvon Martin Case vs 2012 Election

News Coverage of the Trayvon Martin Case vs. 2012 Presidential Election

Percent of newshole





Date Range: March 19-April 22, 2012

PEW RESEARCH CENTER

"Most followed" News Index (1986-96)

Most Followed Stories

(% Followed Very Closely)

Story:	<u>%</u>
Challenger disaster	80
San Francisco earthquake	73
Rodney King verdict/riots	70
Crash of TWA Flight 800	69
Little girl in well, Texas	69
End of Persian Gulf War	67
Hurricane Andrew	66
Iraq's invasion of Kuwait	66
Floods in Midwest	65
Earthquake in Southern California	63
Iraq's occupation of Kuwait	63
Increase in price of gasoline (10/90)	62
Invasion of Panama	60
Hurricane Hugo	60
Oklahoma City bombing	58
US air strike on Libya	58
Olympic Park bombing	57
Outcome of presidential election	55
United Airlines crash/Sioux City, IA	53
TIC famous and to Consults	50

Contributory Factors

Changes in management culture and accounting

• News divisions no longer subsidized

Cost cutting in the 1990s

"Several of the most basic principles of serious journalism
 -- worldwide news coverage, multiple correspondents
 working the same story, and the commitment to getting the story right all became victims of the new economic logic."

Deregulation

 The ending of the fairness doctrine, easing of ownership rules

"Feeding frenzies" on Candidates' Private Lives

- Reporters ignored details of politicians' personal affairs in the 50s and 60s; considered not newsworthy
- Beginning in the 1980s, a series of reporting waves focusing on extra-marital affairs and womanizing (Hart, Clinton, Edwards, Cain), plagiarism of rhetoric (Joe Biden), and use of ethnic slurs (Jesse Jackson)
- News coverage of personal foibles exceeded coverage of policy proposals and performance by 10:1

The "Character" Issue

Increased focus on the personal lives of politicians; zero attention in the 1960s, but major story in the 1980s



Herman Cain - 2012



Delayed post-mortem: Matt Bai, (2014). All The Truth is Out.



October – Cain topped the Republican preference poll (18%) December – announces withdrawal from race

Feeding Frenzy at Nightline (1991)

"The Clintons versus the Media and the Right Wing"

"Battle Lines—Roots of a Scandal," "Battle Lines—How did it get so personal," "Battle Lines—Hunt for truth in new media jungle"

"White House Intern,"
"Who is Ken Starr?"

"Jones v. Clinton"

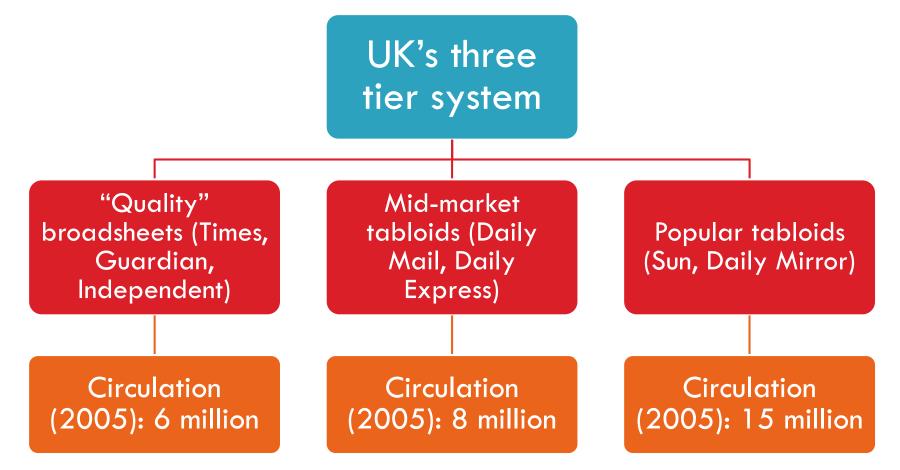
"Dark day at the White House," "Crisis in the White House"

Nightline

"The Developing Saga of Kathleen Willey"

Print Media: Tabloids vs. Broadsheets

 European tradition of tabloid journalism – high circulation, entertainment-oriented newspapers



Tabloid News

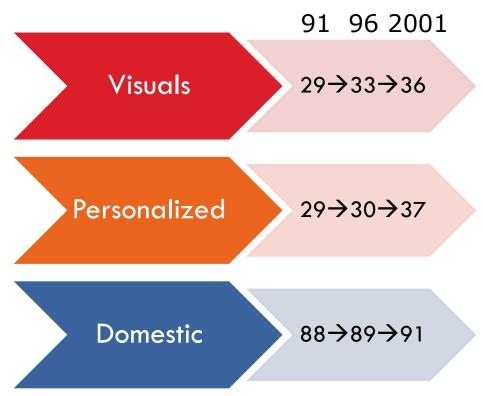
 Content analysis of Sun and Mirror show predominance of soft news (Uribe & Gunter)

Defined in terms of:

RANGE (of subject matter)

FORM (text versus visuals)

STYLE (personalization)



Tabloids Less Prominent in US

NYC Post has a circulation of approximately 700,000.

The combined circulation of the two NYC tabloids (Daily News and Post) exceeds that of NY Times.



Does Soft News Sell?

Patterson

 Argues that softening of news is driving away the "core" audience – people interested in current events

Zaller

 Argues the opposite, providing evidence that periods of soft news (OJ Trial) attract increased numbers of viewers

Hamilton

 Models news content as aimed at the "marginal" or median viewer – with limited interest in politics, and greater interest in entertainment

Five Economic Ws

Who cares about a particular piece of information?

What are people willing to pay to acquire it?

Where can media outlets or advertisers reach those willing to pay?

When is it profitable to provide the information?

Why is this profitable?

The Demand for Political News

Theory of "rational ignorance" predicts low levels of demand

- Consumption needs trump voting needs
- Rational ignorance leads to rational news production soft news

But "duty, diversion, and drama" creates some demand for news about politics

Are there enough political junkies to make hard news profitable?

Most evidence suggests the answer is no

• Programming is aimed at the "median consumer" (spatial logic) who has some interest in hard news, but more interest in soft news

Equilibrium Level of Programming

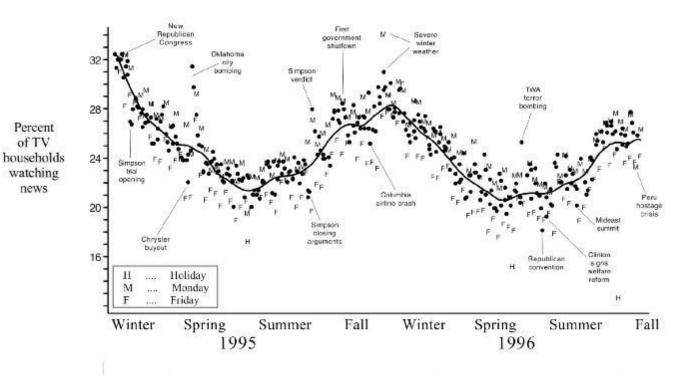
"The news directors will select a mix of stories aimed at capturing the marginal viewers while not alienating the average viewers.

The result will be a mix of news stories that leave average viewers somewhat frustrated and marginal viewers somewhat placated."

Ratings Trend – Network News

Zaller's study shows strong effects of day of week (Mon > Fri) and for season (winter versus summer)

Figure 1. Trends in network news audience size, 1995-1996



Note: Figure shows combined audience for ABC, CBS, and NBC. Each data symbol represents one weekday news day.

Definition of Hard News

"The coder was given the following instruction: Using a scale that runs from one to five, assign high values to stories providing information useful to viewers for discharging the duties of citizenship; assign low codes to stories having only personal or entertainment value. Information about government, politics, international affairs, and trends in economics, society, and public policy was identified as likely to fall within the concept of civic affairs information."

Effects of OJ Coverage Boosted Ratings

- Expectation: as "excessive" soft news, it will drive away core news viewers and therefore depress audience share."
- Data suggests the opposite; newscasts with more OJ news got a bump in the ratings (especially in the case of NBC, which provided the most coverage)
- "It is notable that ABC, the audience leader at the start of our period, has the highest score on the Civic Affairs measure and the lowest amount of trial coverage. NBC News, which rose to catch ABC, has the lowest Civic Affairs score and the most O.J. coverage. This is a clear though preliminary indication that high tone news might be bad for ratings."

OJ Coverage Boosted Ratings

Anecdotal evidence from Nightline:

Ted Koppel: "I do remember that we tried to avoid doing it too often, and we couldn't avoid doing it almost once a week. It was impossible to ignore. The fascinating thing about it was that... every time we did O.J., the ratings went up ten percent. We could see it in the overnight ratings the next morning."

A Different Indicator of Audience Demand - Journalistic Stardom

Career
trajectorie
of
reporters
who
covered
the OJ
case:

Greta van Susteren - CNN correspondent to FOX anchor

Dan Abrams - Court TV to Nightline

Aaron Brown - ABC correspondent to CNN anchor

Jack Ford - NBC local correspondent to CBS National News Legal Analyst

Harvey Levin, Los Angeles radio station to reality TV shows; eventually founded the celebrity Web site TMZ

A Different Form of Pack Journalism

David Margolick, NYT Correspondent: "The Times reacted to the story in the way that it often does, which is that it gets kind of dragged into covering something like this... the Times tried to maintain a certain distance and decorum and didn't devote that much space to it, put its stories inside the paper, rarely put them on the front page. But as the case came to consume the entire country, all of that changed and the story gradually migrated it's way towards the front of the paper, so that by the end we were all over the story... One of the things for which my coverage is going to be most remembered - for better or for worse - is that I cited the National Enquirer in one of my stories, and for The New York Times to acknowledge the National Enquirer was considered to be a kind of journalistic Rubicon. We had crossed some line, something fundamental had changed."

Measuring Audience Size

Metrics of Audience Size

Newspaper circulation in the US is low as most newspapers operate on a regional or local basis

Broadcast audiences measured through Nielsen ratings and "sweeps" periods

Because of increased number of broadcasters, market share of individual firms has declined substantially since 1980

Newspaper Circulation Figures

Figure	3.2:	Top	10	News	papers
					March March Street

Rank	Newspaper	Daily circ	% chg	Sunday circ	% chg
1	USA Today	2,154,539	0.9	2,616,824	0.3
2	Wall Street Journal	2,091,062	16.1	NA	NA
3	New York Times	1,118,565	0.5	1,676,885	0.3
4	Los Angeles Times	955,211	-1.1	1,379,258	0.2
5	Washington Post	732,872	-1.9	1,029,966	-1.7
6	New York Daily News	729,124	2.1	805,350	0.7
7	New York Post	652,426	10.6	437,117	4.7
8	Chicago Tribune	613,509	0.0	1,002,166	-1.0
9	Newsday	580,069	0.2	678,019	0.2
10	Houston Chronicle	553,018	0.2	747,404	0.3

Source: Editor and publisher yearbook, 2003. New York: Editor & Publisher Co.

Syndicated TV Audience Size

Audience Size, Fall 2010				
Jeopardy	10 million			
Wheel of Fortune	9 million			
Oprah	8 million			

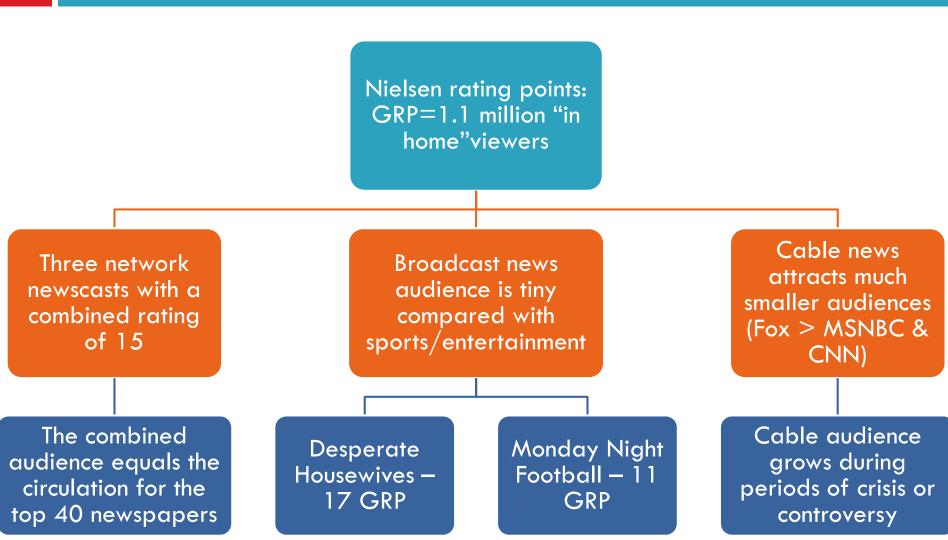
Print vs. TV

Daily circulation for the top ten newspapers is approximately half that of the combined daily audience for "Wheel of Fortune" and "Jeopardy"

Audience for "Wheel of Fortune" and "Jeopardy"

Circulation for the top ten newspapers

Broadcast Audiences



"Sweeps"

Four times a year, audience size is recorded

Size of audience locks in advertising rates for the next quarter

Stations "sell" audiences to advertisers

Advertising revenue shared with network for all non-local programming

35	

2015 ratings For Super bowl set new record -49.7 Rating or 72% share

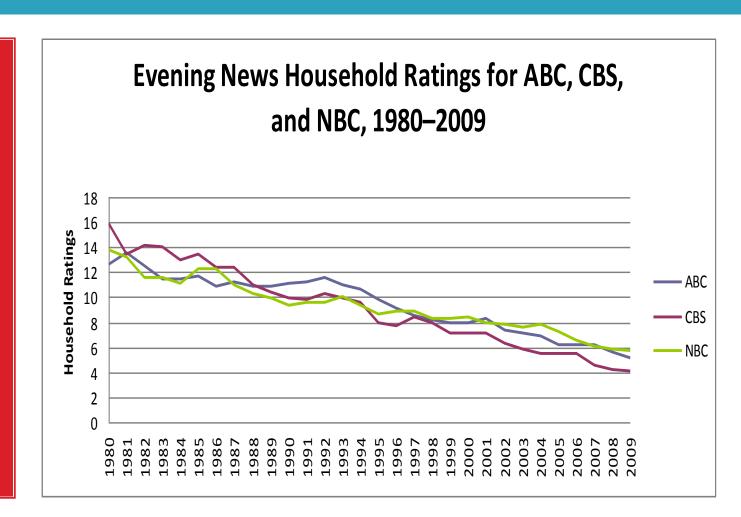
Super Bowl	Giants vs.					
XLVI	Patriots	NBC	2/5/12	47.1	71	53,910,000
Super Bowl	Broncos vs.					
XLVIII	Seahawks	Fox	2/2/14	46.4	69	53,727,000
Super Bowl						
XLIV	Saints vs. Colts	CBS	2/7/10	45	68	53,600,000
				40.0		50.150.000
M*A*S*H	Final episode	CBS	2/28/83	60.2	77	50,150,000
XVII Winter	Women's					
Olympics	Figure Skating	CBS	2/23/94	48.5	64	45,690,000

Bias in Nielsen Ratings

- Under-representation of non-English speakers in Nielsen samples
- "in-home" versus "outside-home" viewing; in case of major events latter could be considerable, e.g. super bowl and "party viewers" (actual audience could be 15 percent higher)
- TV set being on does not necessarily mean anyone is watching

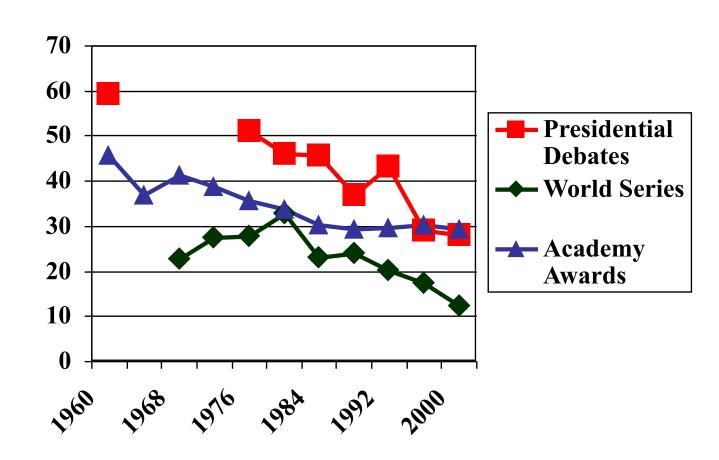
Ratings Trend, Network News

Y axis
shows
Nielsen
GRP
annual
average.

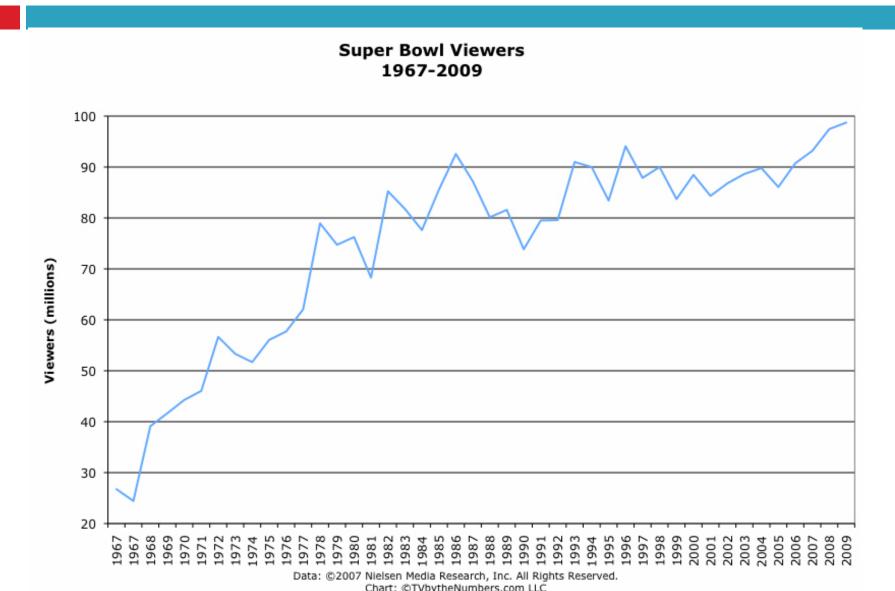


The End of the National Audience?

Nielsen
Ratings
converted
in millions
of viewers.



One Case of Increasing Exposure



Cost Cutting: the Vanishing International Bureaus

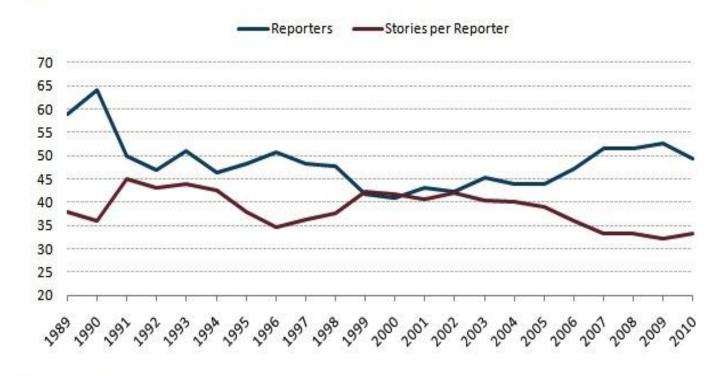
ABC (13)	CBS(14)	NBC (15)
Latin American	Latin American	Latin America
Havana	Havana	Havana
Mexico City	1 700 7 501 700	
Europe	Europe	Europe
London	London	London
Moscow	Moscow	Moscow
Rome	Bonn	Frankfurt (new
	Paris	
Middle East	Middle East	Middle East
Baghdad	Baghdad	Baghdad
Jerusalem	Amman	Cairo
Islamabad (new)	Islamabad	Islamabad
Kabul (new)	Kabul	Kabul
	Tel Aviv	Tel Aviv
		Beirut (new)
		Tehran (new)
Asia	Asia	Asia
Beijing	Beijing	Beijing
Hong Kong	Hong Kong	Hong Kong
Tokyo	Tokyo	Tokyo Bangkok
Africa	Africa	
Nairobi (new)	Johannesburg	

Declining Personnel

Significant decline in journalists post-2000

Number of Reporters Declines While Workload Increases

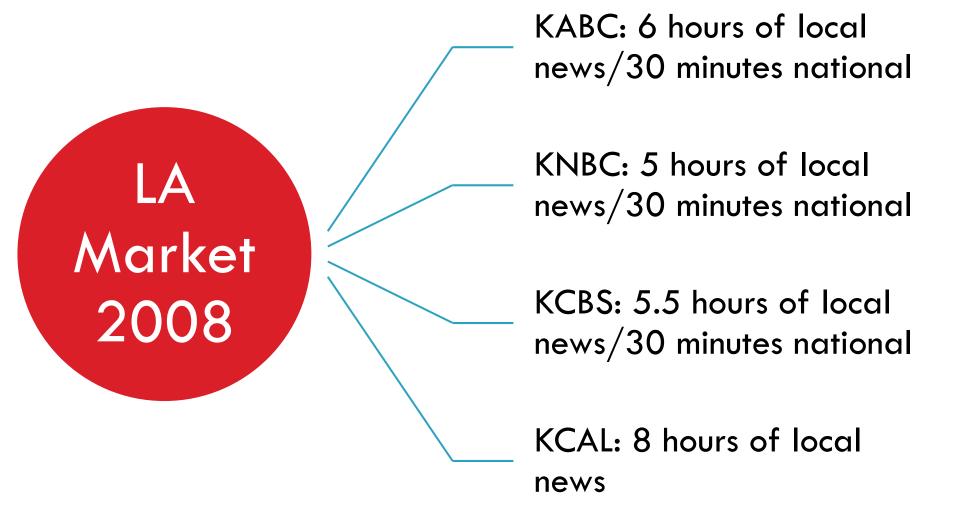
Year-to-Year Averages



Source: ADT Research

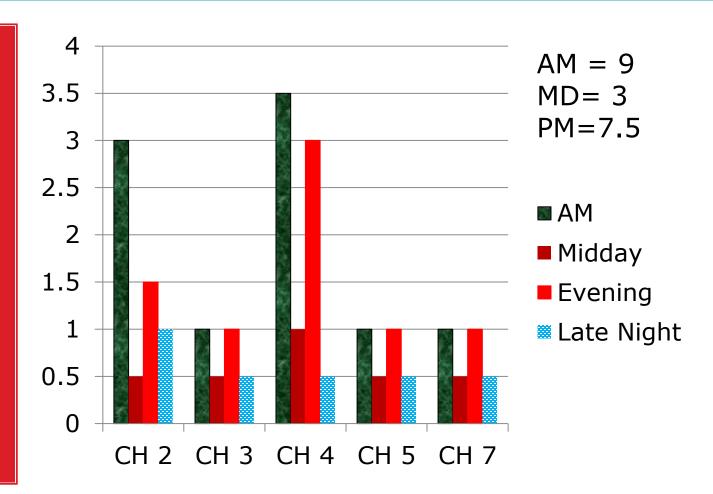
Economics of Local News

The Rise of Local News



Weekday Local News: SF Market

Same
pattern in SF
market — 20
hours of local
news
programming
per day



Local News: NYC & LA Markets

FIGURE 3.2 TV LISTINGS FOR NETWORK-AFFILIATED CHANNELS IN NEW YORK AND LOS ANGELES (JUNE 30, 2010)

	4:00 PM	4:30 PM	5:00 PM	5:30 PM	6:00 PM	6:30 PM
KCBSHD	Dr. Phil		CBS 2 News at 5:00 PM		CBS 2 News at 6:00 PM	CBS Evening New with Katle Couric
KNBCHD	Ellen DeGeneres Show		Channel 4 News at 5:00 PM		Channel 4 News at 6:00 PM	NBC Nightly News with Brian Williams
KABCHD	Eyewitness News	s at 4:00 PM	Eyewitness News at 5:00 PM		Eyewitness News at 6:00 PM	ABC World News with Diane Sawyer
KTTVHD	Wendy Williams S	how	Dr. Oz Show		TMZ	The Kilborn File
York - New Y	ork City Area Broa	adcast				
	4:00 PM	4:30 PM	5:00 PM	5:30 PM	6:00 PM	6:30 PM
WCBSDT	Judge Judy	Judge Judy	CBS 2 News at 5:00 PM		CBS 2 News at 6:00 PM	CBS Evening New with Katie Couric
WNBC-DT	Ellen DeGeneres	Show	LX New York		4 NY News at 6:00 PM	NBC Nightly News with Brian Williams
WNYW	Judge Jeanine Pin	ro	FOX 5 News at 5:00 PM		FOX 5 News at 6:00 PM	TMZ
WABCH	Oprah Winfrey		Eyewitness News		Eyewitness News	ABC World News with Diane Sawyer

The "Crime Script" in Local News

"If it bleeds it leads"

Constant focus on crime, overrepresentation of violent crime

LA study (Gilliam & Iyengar) found 3-4 crime stories in each local newscast

Crime news invariably "episodic" with focus on individual perpetrator

Episodic framing emphasizes visual cues

• i.e. race-ethnicity of suspect

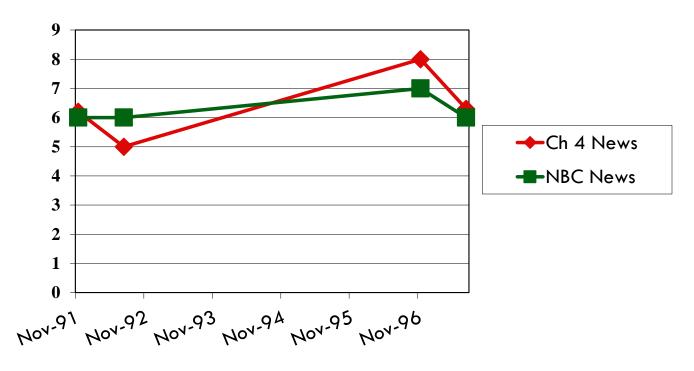
Why is Local News Profitable?

- Content is personally relevant (weather forecast, traffic reports)
- High level of soft news (crime script)
- Low salaries and production costs
- Strong ratings and no profit sharing with national networks (local news produced by the local station, station owners get to keep the revenue)

Bigger Audience for Local than National News

Y axis shows Nielsen ratings for LA market

Local vs National News: LA Market



Rise of Interpretive Journalism

The Rise of Interpretive Journalism — a Different Kind of Market Failure

Journalists value autonomy, resist efforts at spin and manipulation

Aftermath of 1988 campaign, recognition of need to resist candidates

– from description to interpretation

Ad watches

Shrinking sound bite – journalists' voices replace those of the candidates

Whose Voice?

Commentators' voices drown out the candidates by 6:1

Figure 19: Percent of Air Time, 2000 General Election Labor Day to Election Day

	1009
All Others	14
Candidates	12
Journalists	74%

Source: Center for Media and Public Affairs for Shorenstein Center Smith Richardson Soft News Study

The Shrinking Sound Bite

October 1968 – daily newscast presented 5 sound bites from the two presidential candidates for a total of 5 minutes)

October 1988 – 10 sound bites averaging 8 seconds (total = 80 seconds)

October 2004 –
sound bites
averaging 5 seconds
(total = 20 seconds)

Major explanations are the threat of media manipulation (campaign aides called "handlers"), and "fast paced" news as more likely to entertain

Unmediated Coverage - 1968

Campaign coverage from CBS News; note the length of the Humphrey sound bites



1988 – the Shrinking Sound Bite

The shrinking sound bite



Consequences for Informed Citizenship

Informed or Misinformed Citizens? The US Case

Barack Obama was born in the United States.			
True	58%		
False	24%		
Not sure	18%		

What is Barack Obama's Religion?			
	2008	2012	
Christian	55	49	
Muslim	12	1 <i>7</i>	
Other	2	3	
Don't Know	31	31	

Spending on Foreign Aid

How much of the federal budget goes to foreign aid?





Politics versus Entertainment

Percent of Americans Able to Identify:			
Two non-US members of the military coalition in Iraq	20		
PM of Canada	3		
Tom Cruise's religious affiliation	78		
Subject of Michael Jackson trial	77		

Broadcasting as a Public Good (from Week 1)

 Overall, European governments continue to treat broadcasting,

"not simply as a private commercial enterprise but as a social institution for which the state has an important responsibility"

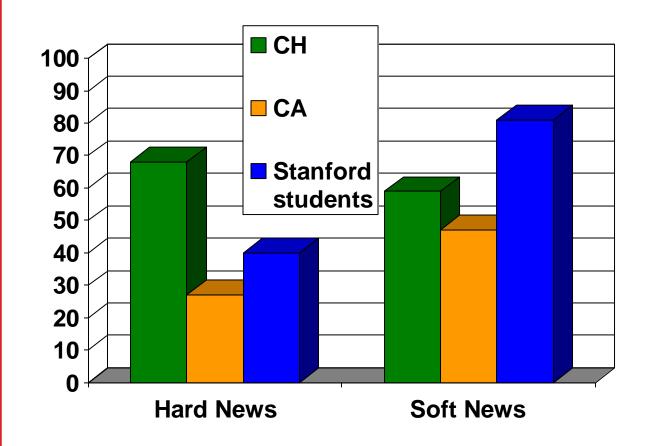
 Later, we'll present evidence on the sharp content differences in programming provided by public service and commercial broadcasters

Level of Political Knowledge; Switzerland vs. US

Note

substantial
advantage of
Swiss over
Stanford
students for
hard news, but
tables are
turned for
soft news

(Note – soft news questions were about US events-celebrities)



Foreign Affairs as "Dark Areas of Ignorance"

Percentage of Citizens Aware of Each Term				
	U.S.	U.K.	Finland	Denmark
Tamil Tigers	24	61	46	42
Kyoto Accords	37	60	84	81
Darfur	46	57	41	68
Taliban	58	75	76	68
Britney Spears	93	90	88	87

Explaining Levels of Information

Differences in media systems (supply-side explanation)

- lead to differences in the production and supply of "civic" information
- existence of "inadvertent audience" for news

Market-oriented, unregulated media systems

• systematically under-produce "serious" news

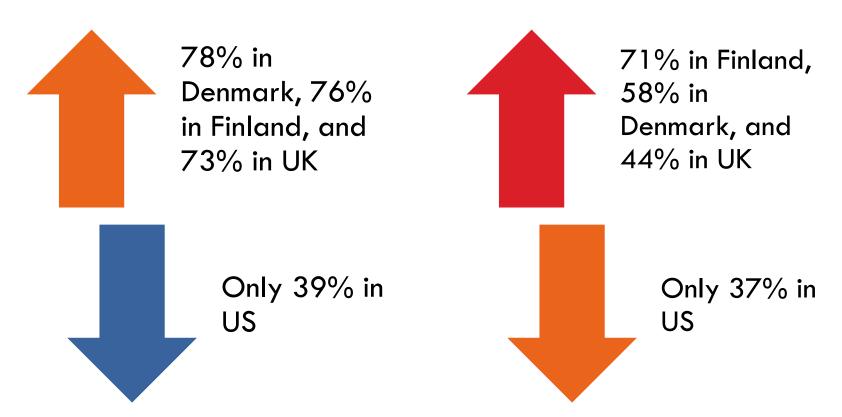
Differences in political culture and civic norms (demand-side explanations)

lead to differences in consumer demand for information

Differences in Demand for News

Percentage of respondents who watch national TV news more than 4 days a week:

Percentage of respondents who read a newspaper more than 4 days a week:



Supply Side Explanations

- Media systems as information environments making it more or less easy to avoid public affairs information
- Public broadcasters and commercial broadcasters required to deliver minimum level of news programming on daily basis and at multiple times during peak viewing hours
- US broadcasters essentially unregulated
- Significant content differences between public and commercial newscasts – more hard and international news in former

Public Broadcasters as Market Leaders

Ratings

- In most European systems, prime-time ratings substantial for public broadcaster
- Their entertainment fare is highly popular

Exclusive rights

 Public broadcasters are given exclusive rights to cover major national sporting events

Loyal audience

 Over time public broadcasters in Europe have developed loyal audiences

Market Leaders

BBC vs. American Networks

BBC1 (the flagship public station in the UK) devoted 22.1% of its 2002 peak hour broadcasts to current affairs

Compared to only 9% by the commercial channels

BBC1 airs an average of 2.2 hours of news and public affairs programming during primetime on weekdays

NBC, CBS, and ABC average only one hour each

Challenges Ahead for Public Broadcasters

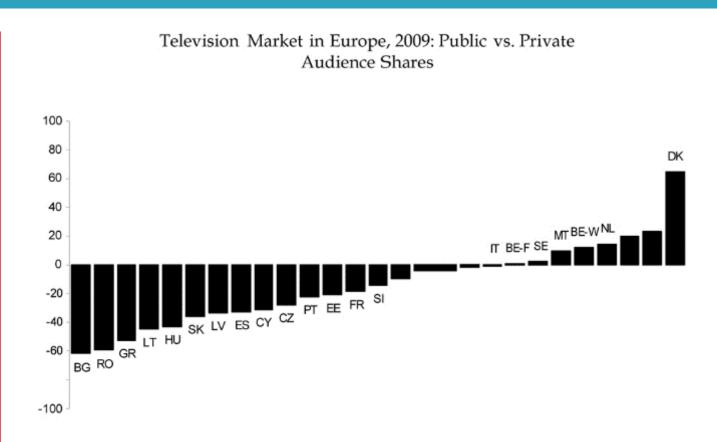
- Deregulation, decline in public funding, and loss of monopoly access to sporting events
 - BBC lost rights in open bidding to cricket, Formula 1 and "Match of the Day"
- Italian case from party control to Berlusconi control (Mediaset)
 - Public broadcaster reduced to importing Law and Order and Zorro
- Tension between public service obligations and market competition

Supply Side Explanations

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Market Share for Public Broadcasters

Declining market share (over time) due to deregulation and competition with commercial broadcasters



Notes:

- 1. Source: EAO (2010). Calculations made by the author.
- 2. The scale varies between -100 (commercial channels have 100% of audience share in the country) and 100 (PBS channels have 100% of audience share in the country).

Inadvertent Audiences & Knowledge Gaps

- Onset of newscasts during prime time means that people seeking entertainment are exposed to news
- Counter-factual: what might occur if network televising the Super Bowl was required to air news at halftime?
- In countries dominated by commercial news
 providers (US) exposure to news driven by demand
 political junkies watch, everyone else avoids news
- The interested are well informed, the uninterested know nothing

Inadvertent Audiences (cont.)

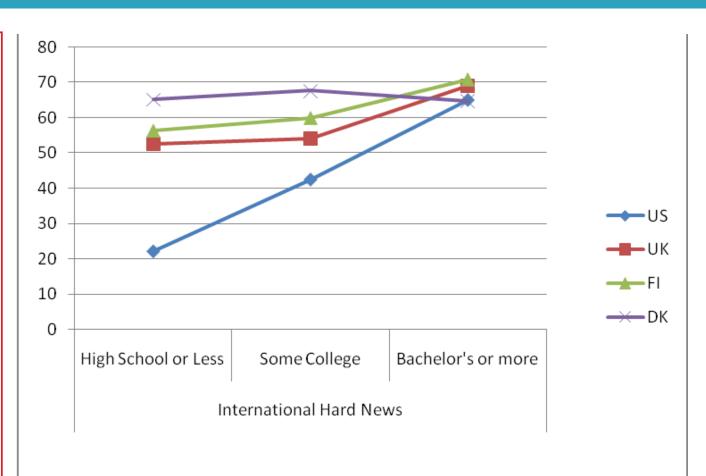
In countries with traditions of strong public broadcasting, the uninterested find to difficult to avoid newscasts since they air before the most popular entertainment programs

Exposure to the news is driven less by demand and more by supply

As a result the differences in knowledge between the more and less attentive are relatively small

The "Knowledge Gap"

The less
educated in
Europe are
much more
informed
than their
American
counterparts.



Source: May 2007, four-nation survey of political knowledge (Curran et al., 2008)

Market Competition and Niche News

With multiple news providers and smaller market shares, news organizations may be able to brand themselves as providers of partisan slant

FOX has surpassed CNN as the top-rated cable outlet

MSNBC has also positioned itself politically (Olbermann, Maddow)



Availability of news with partisan slant can produce parallel slants in political beliefs and opinions

Partisan News: Fox as Cable News Leader

Ratings for August 24, 2011				
6:00pm		7:00pm		
FOX Spec Report w/Bret Baier	1,932	Fox Report (Shep Smith)	1,999	
MSNBC Live	656	MSNBC – Hardball	733	
CNN Situation Room	600	CNN – John King	420	

Media Bias and Biased Beliefs

Significant misperceptions about Iraq War among Fox viewers

Iraq – Al Qaeda connection (45-50% said there was a strong connection)

WMD – 20-25% responded US <u>did</u> find WMD

Global support - 31% responded majority of nations favored US invasion

Media Bias and Biased Beliefs

Strong association
between
misinformation
and support for
Bush
Administration
policies

Among those who said there was no evidence linking Iraq and 9/11, 9% agreed with decision to go to war

Compared with 56% of those responding there was evidence

Extent of Misinformation

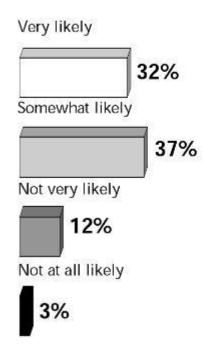
Perceived Iraq-Al Qaeda Relationship

(June - Sept 03)

Iraq was directly involved in carrying out the September 11th attacks 22% Iraq gave substantial support to al-57% Qaeda, but was not involved in the September 11th attacks 35% A few al-Qaeda individuals visited Iraq or had contact with Iraqi officials 30% There was no connection at all

Saddam Hussein and 9/11 Washington Post (Aug 03)

How likely is it that Saddam Hussein was personally involved in the September 11th Terrorist attacks?



PIPA/KN 10/03

PIPA/KN 10/03

Sources of Misinformation

Note prominence of Fox as a source of misinformed beliefs

News Source	Average rate per misperception
Fox	45%
CBS	36
CNN	31
ABC	30
NBC	30
Print media	25
NPR/PBS	11

Bottom Line: Iraq War as a Case of "Motivated Reasoning"

Strongest predictor of misinformation was respondent's political affiliation

• Republicans much more misinformed

Second strongest predictor was reliance on Fox News

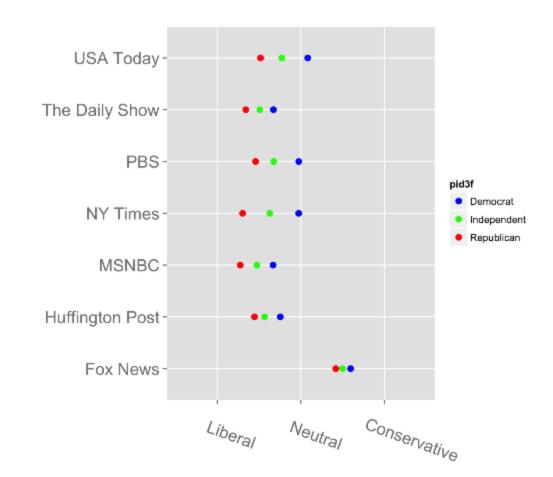
 Among Fox watchers who paid lots of attention to news 80% believed lraq was connected with Al Qaeda

Note negative effects of tuning in to PBS/NPR

 Regular viewers/listeners were more informed than misinformed

Perceptions of Media Bias (2012 data)

Polarization of politics has led to widespread perceptions of media bias



Summary

- U.S. news organizations, responding to market pressures, have softened the content of news programming
- European audiences tend to be more informed because of stronger regulations and presence of a public broadcasting network
- Implications: uninformed, misinformed,
 or informed citizens

Content Analysis – Research Designs

- I. Use analysis of text to shed light on attitudes and values
 - McClelland's analysis of children's fiction as a measure of "achievement motive"
 - Dodds-Danforth study of "happy" lyrics, blog posts, and State of the Union messages
 - Race-ethnicity of criminal suspects in local news as an indicator of prejudice

- II. Using content of news reports
 messages to assess "quality" of
 journalism/importance of market forces
 - Comparing public broadcasters and commercial broadcasters for extent of hard-international coverage

- III. Examining content to make inferences about effects of messages on behavior
 - Suicide notes
 - Diplomatic cables and onset of war

Stages of Content Analysis

- Identify relevant sources, identify the population of messages, and draw a sample
- Develop content categories
 - Categories guided by theoreticalconceptual considerations (e.g. market forces make news organizations overproduce soft news; campaign news dwells on "horse race" at the expense of policy)

Coding Scheme

- Content categories to reflect underlying concept
 soft news, objective news, news as negative,
 reliance on official sources, etc etc.
- Categories should be <u>exhaustive</u> and <u>mutually</u> <u>exclusive</u>
- Categorization process to be independent, i.e.
 categorization of any given message should not depend on categorization of previous message

Table of Contents

- Intro statement of the problem, why this is relevant/important; theory and hypothesis
- Outline your research design/strategy sample of news sources, coding scheme, inter-coder reliability
- Presentation and interpretation of results
- Discussion-Implications

Unit of Analysis and Reliability

- What gets coded words, sentences,
 paragraphs, entire news report
- holistic coding; roles played by men and women in advertisements; treatment of minorities in entertainment programs
- Issue of inter-coder reliability; have multiple coders categorize the same messages

Presentation of Results

- Tabulate results of coding word counts, percentages, column inches
- Interpret results in terms of theoretical expectations