Moral Judgment and Crime Drama: An Integrated Theory of Enjoyment

By Arthur A. Raney and Jennings Bryant

The article proposes a theoretical framework in which moral reasoning about mediated crime and punishment is defined and combined with existing, affect-driven entertainment theory to yield an integrated theory of enjoyment. The authors analyze how crime dramas serve as statements about justice and then address how moral deliberation about the propriety of those statements impacts enjoyment. The authors report research findings to support the analysis of cognitive processing during crime dramas distinct from affective processing. The article also suggests future means by which the integrated theory of enjoyment can be examined.

The findings from the 3-year National Television Violence Study confirm many people's greatest fears: Violence on television is indeed ubiquitous (Federman, 1998). Moreover, television programs and motion pictures containing extreme violence (e.g., professional wrestling, *Gladiator*) remain among the most popular. Many scholars have examined the appeal of this mediated violence, resulting in a rich, theoretically driven literature (Bryant, Comisky, & Zillmann, 1981; Geen & Quanty, 1977; Wakshlag, Vial, & Tamborini, 1983; Zillmann, 1998; Zillmann & Wakshlag, 1985). To date, the vast majority of this research has focused on affective processes (see Gunter, 2000); that is, enjoyment of media violence (as well as many other types of programming) is most often identified as an emotionally centered response to stimuli.

Though few would deny the inextricable connection between affective and cognitive responses, the latter has received little theoretical attention by entertainment scholars. The present project is an attempt to address this shortfall. The article proposes a theoretical framework in which cognitive processes—moral reasoning about media violence (in particular, representations of crime and punishment)—are more clearly defined and delineated. This framework, when combined with existing entertainment theories, yields a cohesive, integrated theory of enjoyment.

At the heart of the present study is the cognitive process referred to as moral judgment (also moral evaluation or moral deliberation; see Heider, 1958). How

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individuals develop a sense of moral propriety has received a fair amount of attention over the years (e.g., Piaget, 1948; Kohlberg, 1981). Many communication scholars have relied on this literature when commenting on the (assumed) role of moral judgment in media consumption and message interpretation; in fact, Potter (1998) identified the moral domain as one of four essential areas for development of media literacy skills. However, although scholars have noted the presence and importance of moral considerations in media behavior, few have examined the role moral judgments actually play in the entertainment experience. Crime-based entertainment would seem to offer an appropriate starting point for this formal investigation.

Presentations of criminal activity contain much more than mere acts of aggression and hostility. Every act of intentional violence, whether intended to provoke or retaliate, can be subjected to rigorous moral reasoning with regard to justice. Whereas various elements of this philosophical construct exist, the current project will center on retributive justice, the socially and legally sanctioned restoring of order following the infringement of social norms and rules (Heller, 1987).

Zillmann (1998) suggests that the justice presented in Western entertainment is typified by "the apparent euphoria of young men upon seeing the bad guys being riddled with bullets and collapsing in deadly convulsions" (p. 205). Moreover, recent findings concerning the types of justice outcomes that pervade television crime dramas (i.e., increased presentation of criminal suspects being murdered rather than arrested) are eye-opening to say the least (Raney, 1997). Ultimately, these presentations make a statement about what is fair and appropriate retribution; they convey a sense of justice to the audience. However, as Zillmann (2000) asserts, great variability exists between individuals with regard to basal morality. Therefore, viewers' judgments of the justice presentations will vary greatly. It is proposed that, as a direct result, enjoyment will also vary.

Defining the Justice Sequence

In order to understand how messages of justice are conveyed in entertainment fare, the term *justice* should be explicated more fully. For the purposes of the present analysis, the term is best understood in contrast with the term *injustice,* or "depriving someone of a legal right" (Mill, 1957). In entertainment media, an injustice predominantly takes the form of criminal—typically, violent criminal—activity. Justice is enacted by righting an injustice. In other words, the punishment for the crime is the means and measure of justice. Justice prevails when a criminal receives what he or she deserves or is owed (i.e., justice as deserts; Evans, 1981).

Of utmost importance to the present study is the cognitive activity of a viewer comparing his or her notion of what is deserved (given the crime) to what is actually portrayed on screen and how this process impacts enjoyment. Zillmann (1998) suggests that this comparative process involves "little deliberate pondering of ethical principles" (p. 204). That may be the case, but that does not deny the existence or importance of the activity. In order to investigate the cognitive process, we must first understand how justice is presented within the drama.

A mediated presentation of justice is necessarily communicated by what will be termed a *justice sequence.* A justice sequence is a series of events that portray the committing of a crime and the ultimate consequences experienced by the offender. The justice sequence is composed of one or more scenes in which an instigational action (i.e., crime) and a retributional action (i.e., punishment) are presented. Though the two will be discussed subsequently, it should be noted that an instigational action is distinguished from a retributional action in that the two exist in a causal relationship, with the former necessarily preceding the latter in time. In other words, the initial activity in the justice sequence must be the injustice; the crime initiates the justice sequence. In contrast, actions that are directed toward righting the injustice created by the crime can be called the retributional action. That is, in response to the crime, one or more characters will act to make amends for the injustice by seeking to punish the perpetrator(s) of the crime.

With the presentation of both the instigational and retributional action, the justice sequence is completed, and an identifiable statement concerning justice can be ascertained. The macrostory of all drama seems to be that all injustice necessarily results in some restoration of justice; therefore, for every crime there must exist at least one, but possibly more than one, attempt at retribution. Punishment is not necessarily delivered all at once. For instance, an offender can be arrested in one scene (one retributional action), later released on a legal technicality (another retributional action), and finally murdered by a relative of the original victim (a third retributional action). In this case, the instigational action and all three retributional actions constitute the justice sequence. Furthermore, in cases where retribution is either unsuccessfully sought or not sought at all (as described earlier), the presence of no resolution is also a statement about justice. In such a case, the nonretribution is the retribution, and the viewer can ascertain a subsequent statement on justice.

To the extent that a crime is repaid with an equitable punishment, it is anticipated that audience members will reason that appropriate justice has been served. In like manner, when insufficient (or excessive) punishment is given, inappropriate justice will have occurred. Again, all justice sequences necessarily render a statement concerning justice, whether judged as appropriate or inappropriate. The determination of what is equitable, excessive, insufficient, or some combination thereof must be made by the viewer, based upon his or her notion of justice. This evaluative process is the focus of this study. Mediated portrayals of justice are not necessarily equivalent to a viewer's determination and evaluation of equity and propriety (if for no other reason than that people think differently). For that reason, the extent to which the two are similar or dissimilar should have some impact on the viewer's enjoyment of those portrayals.

Evaluating the Justice Sequence

The evaluation of a justice sequence is dependent upon the interaction of two main types of inputs: audience and message. These inputs involve a variety of factors that impact the evaluation of the sequence as a whole. Ultimately, though,

it is predicted that the interaction and the products of that interaction will impact enjoyment.

Audience inputs are those brought to the communication event by the viewer. Specifically, these inputs can be categorized as either affective (e.g., empathy toward victim) or cognitive (e.g., perceptions about the propriety or legality of action, attitudes about justice and punishment). Whereas some aspects of one's emotions are quite sensitive to change—mood, for example—others, like empathic concern, are fairly stable for mature adults. The latter are of utmost importance for the present study. The same can be said for the types of attitudes, beliefs, and values utilized during moral reasoning.[1] As a result, the audience inputs will remain fairly stable across viewing experiences.

Message inputs are content elements found in the justice sequence. Two types of message variables are central to the present discussion: character (e.g., victim, offender) and crime variables. These inputs are sequence dependent, that is, they vary from justice sequence to justice sequence within a dramatic presentation and certainly vary from drama to drama. In other words, different actors, with differing characteristics, portray victims and offenders within and between dramas—this is obvious. As a result the variability introduced yields highly idiosyncratic justice sequences.

Evaluating the Characters

As earlier stated, entertainment theory to date has primarily centered on the affective reaction of viewers. More specifically, the theories—the most prominent of which is disposition theory—have centered on emotional responses to characters (see Bryant & Zillmann, 1975). Using the language previously employed, the various applications of disposition theory (Oliver & Armstrong, 1995; Zillmann, 1991a, 1991b; Zillmann & Bryant, 1991; Zillmann & Cantor, 1977) can reasonably predict enjoyment in relation to the interaction of affective (audience) inputs and character (message) inputs. For our purposes, this interaction will be termed the judgment of characters.

Disposition theory claims that enjoyment is a function of dispositions toward characters involved in the presentation. More specifically, enjoyment is high when characters who are liked experience positive outcomes and when characters who are disliked experience negative outcomes (Zillmann & Bryant, 1994). The driving force behind disposition formation (i.e., judgments of characters) has heretofore been identified as empathy (Zillmann, 1991a).

Beyond empathy, what goes into the formation of dispositions is questionable. The field of social psychology lends several relevant streams of research. One easily accessible (and seemingly efficacious) manner of character evaluation is a measure of similarity or dissimilarity. Studies of in-group bias suggest that an individual's tendency will be to favor one's own group (Doise & Sinclair, 1973;

[1] Although researchers readily admit that tremendous variations in social justice exist between persons (Rose & Prell, 1955), most note that subjective, personal social justice remains relatively constant. Regardless of the notion of social justice held by a specific viewer, the evaluation of the justice sequence will involve the comparison of the notion held by the viewer to the one presented in the drama.

Howard & Rothbart, 1980; Locksley, Ortiz, & Hepburn, 1980; Sumner, 1906; Tajfel, 1970; Wilder, 1981). In some cases, an individual might rely on an availability heuristic that bases judgments on the ease with which the individual can bring something to mind (Schwarz et al., 1991; Tversky & Kahneman, 1973). In other cases, a similar process takes place when viewers access a representativeness heuristic (i.e., the classification of something based on how similar it is to the typical case) for the same situation (Tversky & Kahneman, 1973).

Often the source or basis of these evaluations can be explained in terms of stereotyping (Lippman, 1922). The majority of such research has been conducted with regard to ethnicity (e.g., Byrne & Wong, 1962; Rokeach & Mezei, 1966; Stein, Hardyck, & Smith, 1965) and gender (e.g., Deaux & Emswiller, 1974; Feldman-Summers & Kiesler, 1974). Communication scholars have shown that the media often perpetuate and reinforce these stereotypes with portrayals of various groups on camera (e.g., Baehr & Dyer, 1987; Ferrante, Haynes, & Kingsley, 1988; Gray, 1986; Greenberg & Brand, 1994) with negative effects (e.g., Donnerstein, Lintz, & Penrod, 1987; Tate & Surlin, 1976; Vidmar & Rokeach, 1974).

Although a more in-depth discussion of these processes is perhaps warranted, this incomplete list is intended to spark future research that investigates the factors that lead to disposition formation (which then impacts enjoyment).

Evaluating the Crimes

As with the character variables, the crime variables are sequence dependent. Because justice sequences can vary by the means (e.g., devastating force or physical power) and the motivations (e.g., resource gain or annoyance termination) for the crimes committed, it follows that various sequences will be evaluated differently. For instance, one sequence might be evaluated as more enjoyable than the next if the crime is deemed "more justifiable" given the motivation for the crime.

The presence of (or at least the allusion to) violence is practically certain for all justice sequences, given the present definition. Several investigations have suggested what is appealing about such violent presentations (see Zillmann, 1998, for an exhaustive review), but few have examined the role of the justice process. Most that have addressed the topic have focused on the desire to see the "good guy/gal" win and the "bad guy/gal" lose. This desire for and enjoyment of a just finality has been measured as a function of the level of suspense in the presentation (Zillmann, 1980; Zillmann, Hay, & Bryant, 1975), the level of anxiety created by the presentation (Bryant, Carveth, & Brown, 1981), and the viewer's preexisting apprehension toward crime and fear of victimization (Wakshlag, Vial, & Tamborini, 1983; Zillmann & Wakshlag, 1985).

Perhaps closer to the goals of the present investigation, a limited number of investigators have studied the role of moral judgment in the evaluation of justice restorations, which are typically brought about by a virtuous protagonist whose ends "justify the means" (Zillmann, 1991b; Zillmann & Bryant, 1975). In particular, Zillmann and Bryant (1975) investigated the appreciation of too mild, equitable, and too severe justice sequences by children at differing stages of moral development with three versions of a videotape fairy tale that had provocation and retaliation as the central theme. The researchers found that younger children (4-year-

olds), who were judged to operate out of an "expiatory retribution" schema, enjoyed the presentations more as the severity of the retaliatory acts increased. In contrast, older children (7- and 8-year-olds), judged to be at an "equitable retribution" stage of moral development, enjoyed the equitable presentation the most; the inequitable extremes (i.e., too mild or too severe) adversely affected enjoyment appreciably.

However, no study to date has attempted to analyze the enjoyment of various justice outcomes in relation to one's personally defined and held notion of social justice. Such an analysis is at the heart of the present model: It is suggested that the cognitive inputs interact with the crime inputs—a process termed the *judgment of justice*—to influence enjoyment. This is a similar process to the creation of dispositions in which the affective inputs interact with the character inputs and thus influence enjoyment.

The viewer (on some level of consciousness) compares his or her notion of proper justice to the one presented in the drama through the justice sequence. Therefore, the process of ascribing enjoyment to a crime drama is dependent upon the relative degree of correspondence between the viewer's sense of justice and the statement about justice made in the drama. Many scholars have suggested that this evaluative process indeed exists, but none to date have attempted to describe it in detail or to examine it empirically.

Whereas empathy and certain social-psychological processes influence a viewer's judgment of characters, it follows that certain quantifiable factors likewise impact the judgment of justice. Primarily, these factors constitute what can be called an individual's notion of social justice (Steensma & Vermunt, 1991). One such factor that has been previously identified is punitiveness, or attitudes concerning severity of punishment. Communication scholars (e.g., Carlson, 1985; Peterson & Thurstone, 1933; Surette, 1985) have measured attitudes toward severe punishment in relation to various communication issues. Furthermore, Pandiani (1978) and Surette (1985) each found that heavy television viewing, especially of crime shows, is positively correlated with views of support for punitiveness.

Another factor that presumably contributes to social justice is vigilantism; the term is generally used to refer to attitudes favorable to retribution and punishment enacted by private citizens or by unsanctioned law enforcement agents. Few communication scholars have focused investigations on vigilantism; however, several have identified the presence of vigilante acts in crime-related entertainment fare (Carlson, 1985; Dominick, 1973) and the potential effects of heavy consumption of such acts (Culver & Knight, 1979; Haney & Manzolati, 1984). Others have included scale items regarding vigilantism to measure various attitudes in regard to television viewing (Carlson, 1985; Peterson & Thurstone, 1933).

The two factors discussed above in no way constitute the totality of one's notion of social justice. A viewer's religious faith tradition, confidence in and past experiences with the criminal justice system, and socialization regarding propriety, among a multitude of other factors, surely also influence this construct. However, the point in identifying these factors is to speculate on their potential influences on the judgment of justice. As we will discuss shortly, future projects should

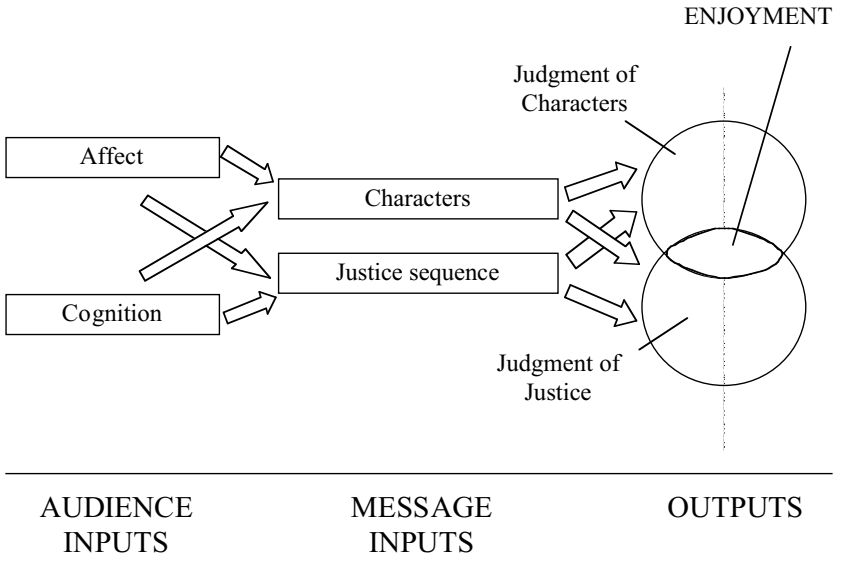

Figure 1. Integrated model of enjoyment for crime drama.

seek to isolate these (and other) factors and investigate their role in the enjoyment process via the judgment of justice.

Enjoyment

In the present model, enjoyment is in large part the product of the two evaluations: the judgment of characters (which is analogous to disposition formation) and the judgment of justice. This process is represented graphically in Figure 1. (Note: We do not suggest that these evaluations occur independently of one another; they certainly overlap on many levels. That is, certainly character variables influence one's evaluation of the crime and vice versa. This interconnectivity is reflected in the model.) As the model indicates, the audience inputs interact with the message inputs as described above, and the subsequent perceptions and evaluations yield judgments, which ultimately lead to enjoyment.

If enjoyment can be measured successfully, and if optimal conditions for dispositional affiliation toward characters and moral judgment can be achieved, then theoretically enjoyment can be maximized. That is, some media presentation, in theory, can be said to exist that will yield maximal enjoyment for any individual. Perhaps more useful (and accurate), however, is the notion of an enjoyment continuum, where one media presentation is more enjoyable than the next. If enjoy-

ment of crime drama is a function of judgments about the characters and the justice presented, then it follows that these judgments must also function on a continuum. In theory, each viewer has subjectively held ideal notions or schema of "perfect character" and "perfect justice" with which the particulars of any drama are judged.

Furthermore, it seems appropriate that the best way to assess these continua of judgments is congruency, perhaps operationalized as the inverse value of Δ, or difference score, between one's ideal character(s) and the characters presented. For instance, an individual's judgment of characters is based on the relative congruency between one's ideal notion of a "perfect character" and the attributes of the characters presented. The more that the depicted characters are judged to be similar to one's ideal notion, then enjoyment increases as good things happen to the characters.

Similarly, judgments of justice are based on the relative congruency between one's ideal notion of justice and the one presented in the drama. For every crime portrayed, a viewer decides (whether consciously or subconsciously) upon the most appropriate justice outcome for the crime. Viewers prescribe, based upon their individual sense of fairness or justice, what they believe is the proper punishment for the crime committed. As the portrayal of justice is judged to be similar to the viewer's sense of justice, then enjoyment would seemingly increase. Note that no assumptions are made concerning the level of consciousness at which these judgments are made, only that they are made.

For an example of this process, consider the jury in a criminal trial. A jury member typically determines and communicates what he or she thinks is the proper punishment for the crime (i.e., ideal sense of justice) to fellow jurors during the sentencing deliberations. In such situations, rarely is punishment that is enacted completely congruous to the ideal notion of justice held by each juror—that would mean that all 12 individuals hold the same sense of justice, which is unlikely. Nonetheless, each juror has, prior to the actual prescription of a justice outcome, derived an ideal notion of justice for the particular situation. The same may well be true for the case of the mediated justice sequence.

Again, if enjoyment is the product of the judgment of characters and justice, it follows that as each judgment approaches complete congruity between the viewer's notion of "perfect" and the presentation (i.e., theoretical maximum), then maximum enjoyment is likewise approached. Conversely, to the extent that either of the judgments does not approach its theoretical maximum, enjoyment is adversely affected. As Figure 1 indicates, maximal enjoyment is represented as the intersection of two axes. The two judgments converge on enjoyment along the vertical axis, such that lateral movement is impossible and meaningless. The levels of congruity between the audience and message inputs dictate the movement of the judgment factors toward enjoyment. As congruity increases, the judgment approaches its theoretical maximum, as well as theoretical maximum enjoyment. Maximum enjoyment is equated with maximum congruity between a viewer's attitudes and reasoning concerning an idealized notion of character and justice and that which is presented.

Testing the Theory

Although the primary purpose of the article is to propose an integrated theory of enjoyment that addresses both affective and cognitive processing, we would be remiss not to offer suggestions about how to evaluate the proposal. What follows is an initial testing of one aspect of the theory and a short discussion of other means by which the theory can be tested.

Procedures

The first relationship that must be evaluated is that of the judgments of characters and justice to overall enjoyment. Thus, the initial research question can be posed: Do the judgment of characters and the judgment of justice predict enjoyment of a justice sequence within a crime drama?

In an initial attempt to explore this question, 71 research participants (42 female, 29 male) viewed an 8-minute, originally produced video clip titled *Full-Court Pressure*. The clip summarized the plot of a "forthcoming, feature-length film," the story line of which followed the typical formula of a crime drama: An arrogant collegiate basketball star attacks his well-liked, grandfatherly coach after the player is suspended from the team for a lewd act. The coach is treated for minor injuries and released from the hospital, while the player is wounded during a scuffle with a security guard and subsequently sentenced to two years in prison. Following exposure to the video segment, the participants rated their enjoyment of the presentation, as well as indicated how much sympathy they had for the victim (i.e., judgment-of-characters measure) and the extent to which the villain deserved the punishment he received (i.e., judgment-of-justice measure).

To rate enjoyment of the video, respondents rated eight items concerning various entertainment aspects of the package: how exciting, suspenseful, and professional the video was, overall enjoyment, enjoyment of the subject matter, and enjoyment of the genre. The research participants also responded to two measures designed to assess their future intentions: how much they would like to see and how likely they were to watch the entire movie. All of the items (including the judgment-of-characters and judgment-of-justice measures) were scored on an 11-point scale with 0 representing the negative extreme (*not at all suspenseful*) and 10 being the positive extreme (*extremely suspenseful*).

Findings

The eight items assessing enjoyment of the experimental stimuli were subjected to a principal-components analysis with a Varimax rotation. The analysis suggested a single-factor solution; the eigenvalue for the enjoyment factor was 5.9, explaining 73.2% of the variance. Every item in each factor loaded at a value of at least $|.83|$. Cronbach's alpha was calculated at .94. As a result, the responses to the eight items were averaged for each participant yielding a single factor representing enjoyment.

The two items that measured the judgment of characters and judgment of justice, respectively, were subjected to a bivariate correlation analysis to determine the extent to which they measured similar processes. Again, the assumption is that

one (i.e., the judgment of characters/victim sympathy measure) taps more directly into affective processing, whereas the other (i.e., the judgment of justice/deservedness measure) taps more directly into cognitive processing. No significant correlation was found between the two items: $r = .19$, $p > .1$.

Finally, a linear regression procedure was used to investigate the predictive relationship between the two judgment variables and enjoyment. As projected in the theory, both the judgment-of-characters variable ($\beta = .36$) and the judgment-of-justice variable ($\beta = .27$) were significant predictors of enjoyment ($F = 10.5$, $p < .001$). Overall, the equation accounted for 21.3% of the observed variance.

Therefore, the findings do, in fact, suggest a relationship between the two independent measures of character and justice judgments and overall enjoyment.

Additional Evaluations

Given the above findings, we can proceed (cautiously) to suggest other means by which the theory can be tested. As previously mentioned, it is reasonable to expect that as the severity of the crimes and punishments portrayed in justice sequences vary, differences can be expected in the judgment of justice. One might suspect that certain crimes might be (relatively) too innocuous to engage moral reasoning (e.g., vandalism), and, therefore, the cognitive component might play a diminished role in enjoyment. Furthermore, it seems reasonable to expect that some crimes are so heinous (e.g., a brutal rape) that little to no variance exists among individuals with regard to their moral judgment of the crime; again, in such cases the cognitive dimension would play a diminished role in enjoyment. Therefore, studies that explore the relationship between moral judgments of propriety and various crimes and punishments are needed.

Furthermore, with regard to the judgment of justice, we suggest a need for investiging the process of comparing a viewer's notion of proper justice to the one presented in the crime drama. At question is the nature of this evaluatory process. It is reasonable to suggest that each individual maintains a latitude of acceptance in relation to the justice sequence, which encompasses his or her ideal but that also circumscribes other, either more or less severe, acceptable outcomes. In other words, individuals may be more willing to allow for a variety of justice outcomes given the specific crime or even the motivation behind the crime. For this reason, the latitude of acceptance is seen as dynamic.[2]

Returning to a previous example to further illustrate the latitude of acceptance: A juror who thinks that the ideal justice outcome for first-degree murder is the death penalty might also tolerate a sentence of life imprisonment without possibility of parole. However, that same individual might find a sentence of 10 to 15 years of imprisonment with the opportunity for parole after 5 years beyond the limits of propriety given the crime; therefore, the justice outcome in this case falls outside the person's latitude of acceptance.

A similar process is posited to exist in the viewing of mediated justice sequences. The viewer will generally allow for some latitude of propriety regarding

[2] Zillmann, 2000, noted the theorized existence of this phenomenon, in his terms the "latitude of moral sanction."

his or her ideal notion of justice in the given situation. In fact, it is reasonable to think that individuals are more willing to allow for fictional characters to receive "fictional" justice outcomes than they are willing to prescribe them in reality (Zillmann, 2000). Therefore, even though an actual outcome is quite dissimilar to the viewer's ideal, enjoyment can still be high if the outcome is within the boundaries of what the viewer will allow. Investigations into the nature of this theoretical process are needed.

Finally, as was mentioned earlier, much study is needed into the affective and cognitive processes that govern these character and justice judgments. As the theory suggests, variance in enjoyment is predicated on variance in the judgment of characters and justice, which is predicated on variance in the cognitive and affective inputs accessed by viewers during those judgments. It follows that by measuring the variance in factors like empathy, vigilantism, and punitiveness among viewers, one should be able to predict judgments of characters and justice, and thus predict enjoyment. This third area of research is likewise needed to validate the proposed theory of enjoyment.

Concluding Thoughts

The goal of this project is to suggest a theoretical framework in which enjoyment of a crime drama is understood both in terms of previously supported affect-driven processes and moral reasoning. To date, the overwhelming majority of enjoyment studies have relied upon emotional response as a singular predictor of enjoyment. Many have identified a cognitive component to the entertainment process, but not one has suggested exactly how such a component works. The present study is an attempt to do so. The resulting theory of crime-drama enjoyment is an initial step at understanding the role of cognitive processing in all entertainment experiences. It is our contention that one's moral judgment plays a significant role in the formation and ascription of concepts such as *enjoyment* and *liking*. It is our hope that this theoretical construction will prove useful in determining the level of that significance.

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