How do Indiana schools use school discipline? In the first briefing paper we explored controversies at the national level concerning the philosophy and practice of zero tolerance. That exploration found that many of the assumptions of zero tolerance are not supported by evidence. The data suggest that zero tolerance tends to be associated with a number of negative school outcomes, including school dropout, negative school climate, and racial disparities.

This information is mostly from studies at the national level, however, and does not necessarily tell us about school discipline in Indiana. Thus, in this briefing paper, we will describe school disciplinary practices in this state. Specifically, we will describe trends in the use of out-of-school suspension and expulsion in the state for the 2002-2003 school year, and the school and district characteristics that are associated with the use of suspension and expulsion. We will also report on a survey of Indiana’s school principals regarding school discipline. Finally, we will explore the relationship for Indiana’s students between student discipline and academic achievement.

What do the Data Say about Discipline in Indiana?

How Have Out-of-School Suspensions and Expulsions Changed Over Time?

Figures 1a and b show the out-of-school suspension and expulsion incident rates\(^1\) for the state of Indiana from the 1995-1996 to 2002-2003 school years.\(^2\) The data were drawn from the Suspension and Expulsion Report form from the Indiana Department of Education. The expulsion rate in Indiana increased from 1996, peaking in 1998 (Figure 1a). During this school year approximately 1 in 100 Indiana students were expelled from school. Since 1998, however, Indiana’s expulsion rate has steadily declined. During the 2002-2003 school year, Indiana’s rate was at an 8-year low.

Out-of-school suspension rates, however, show a different trend (see Figure 1b). The highest rate of out-of-school suspensions occurred in 1997 when there were 14 incidents per 100 students. Rates slightly declined from 1997 to 2000, but from 2000 to 2003, rates have steadily climbed. The most recent year of data available for this report, the 2002-2003 school year, shows that the out-of-school suspension rate is approaching the 1997 rate.
For What Infractions are Indiana’s Students Suspended and Expelled?

Figure 2 illustrates that a large majority of out-of-school suspensions occurred in two categories: Disruptive Behavior and Other. Specifically, these two categories accounted for 95% of all the out-of-school suspension incidents in the state. Far fewer incidents occurred for infractions related to Alcohol, Drugs, Weapons, and Tobacco. The categories of Disruptive Behavior and Other also make up a large majority (70%) of all expulsions (Figure 3). The category of Drugs also makes up a large percentage of expulsion incidents (22%). Of note, the category considered by most to be quite serious, Weapons, makes up only 4% of all expulsion incidents.

Are Suspensions and Expulsions More Likely to Occur in Certain Locales and Certain Levels?

Of the four major locale designations, urban schools use out-of-school suspension more than any other locale (see Figure 4). There were close to 25 out-of-school suspensions for every 100 students during the 2002-2003 school year in Indiana’s urban schools, significantly more than in the other three locales. There were no statistically significant differences by locale in the expulsion rate. Thus out-of-school suspension is used more often in urban schools, but expulsion rates are relatively evenly distributed across locales.

Both out-of-school suspension and expulsion rates differ by school level (see Figure 5). The out-of-school suspension rate is significantly higher in secondary schools (middle and high schools) as compared to elementary schools. The highest rate of out-of-school suspension occurs in middle schools, and this rate drops slightly from middle to high school. Rates of expulsion increase progressively from elementary to high school, with more than 1 in 100 high school students experiencing expulsion.
How are Suspensions and Expulsions Distributed across Schools?

Rates of school suspension and expulsion are by no means evenly distributed across schools. Figure 6 shows that schools with the highest out-of-school suspension rates make up a disproportionate number of the out-of-school suspensions in the state. Schools in the top 10% of out-of-school suspension rates account for more than half of all out-of-school suspensions in Indiana. Schools in the top 10% of expulsion use (Figure 7) also account for a disproportionate share, 25%, of all expulsions in Indiana.

Does Discipline Vary by Race?

Figure 8 shows that discipline rates are not evenly distributed by race. The out-of-school suspension rate in the African American community is much higher than any other racial group. There were 40 African American incidents of out-of-school suspensions per 100 students during the 2002-2003 school year, a rate four times higher than that of incidents for White students. Similar trends were found for the Hispanic population. The rate of out-of-school suspension for Hispanics was two times greater than the rate for Whites. African Americans are roughly two and one-half times more likely to experience expulsion compared to Whites, while the Hispanic population was almost two times more likely than the White population to be subjected to expulsion.
For the most recent national data available, Indiana ranked first in the nation in its rate of school expulsion and ninth in its rate of out-of-school suspension use.

National Scope

For the most recent national data available, the Elementary and Secondary School Survey drawn from the United States Department of Education Office of Civil Rights for the 2000-2001 school year, Indiana ranked first in the nation in its rate of school expulsion and ninth in its rate of out-of-school suspension use. Like almost all states, Indiana shows disproportionate rates of suspension and expulsion for its African American students. Indiana is by no means the worst state in terms of disproportionality, however, ranking 30th in disproportionality in out-of-school suspension and 25th in disproportionality in expulsion.

At a preliminary presentation of these data before the Indiana State Legislature, the suggestion was made that Indiana’s relatively high rate of expulsion is a function primarily of definition—that since Indiana defines an expulsion as any school removal over 10 days, by definition the state will list more expulsions than other states with longer minimum lengths. In order to test this and other possible reasons for Indiana’s rate of expulsion, we examined and coded state definitions of expulsion in all fifty states. Of the 15 states that provide any minimum length of expulsion, we examined and coded state definitions of expulsion in all fifty states. Of the 15 states that provide any information about minimum length of expulsion, 10 days is the defining limit for all but three, and there were no significant differences in a state’s rate of suspension or expulsion based on minimum or maximum length of exclusion. Thus, Indiana’s high ranking in rate of expulsion and out-of-school suspension is not due to what is counted as the minimum length of expulsion.

There were however, three characteristics of state definition that were significantly associated with state rates of expulsion. First, states that allow school districts to expel students based on behavior that occurs away from the school campus have higher per capita rates of expulsion. Second, states with higher rates of expulsion explicitly list criminal violations as one behavior for which a student can be expelled. Finally, states with higher rates of expulsion explicitly give schools authority to use corporal punishment in school discipline. Indiana is among those states that allows expulsion for off-campus infractions and includes criminal violations in its list of expellable offenses. Although corporal punishment is allowed in Indiana schools, Indiana is not among those states that explicitly mention corporal punishment in their statutes governing school discipline.

How Do Indiana Principals Feel About Discipline?

In order to better understand principal attitudes towards school discipline, we developed an on-line survey on school discipline available to all principals in the state of Indiana during March and April, 2003. Principals were asked to rate their agreement with statements reflecting various attitudes about the purpose, process, and outcomes of school discipline; they also rated the usage of a number of preventive disciplinary strategies (e.g., bullying prevention, conflict resolution, security cameras) in their schools. The survey was completed by 325 principals across the state.

Some items elicited strong agreement. For example, 98.8% of responding principals felt that “Getting to know students individually is an important part of discipline” and that “Disciplinary consequences should be scaled in proportion to the severity of the problem behavior.” An overwhelming majority (98.5%) also agreed that “Teachers ought to be able to manage the majority of students’ misbehavior in their classrooms.”

There were other items, however, about which there was little consensus. Indiana’s principals were evenly divided over whether zero tolerance “sends a clear message to disruptive students about appropriate behavior in schools.” The relationship between discipline and academics was almost as controversial: While 44.9% agreed or strongly agreed that because of “high standards of academic accountability, some students will probably have to be removed from school,” an almost equal percentage (41.7%) disagreed or strongly disagreed with the statement.

Indeed, further statistical analysis revealed three distinct perspectives on school discipline among Indiana’s principals (see Table 1). These differences in perspectives appeared to vary with the principal and the school’s characteristics, and were found to be statistically related to student outcomes. It is interesting to note that only 29% of responding principals felt that “Getting to know students individually is an important part of discipline” and that “Disciplinary consequences should be scaled in proportion to the severity of the problem behavior.” A remarkably large percentage (41.7%) disagreed or strongly disagreed with the statement.

There were other items, however, about which there was little consensus. Indiana’s principals were evenly divided over whether zero tolerance “sends a clear message to disruptive students about appropriate behavior in schools.” The relationship between discipline and academics was almost as controversial: While 44.9% agreed or strongly agreed that because of “high standards of academic accountability, some students will probably have to be removed from school,” an almost equal percentage (41.7%) disagreed or strongly disagreed with the statement.

Indeed, further statistical analysis revealed three distinct perspectives on school discipline among Indiana’s principals (see Table 1). These differences in perspectives appeared to vary with the principal and the school’s characteristics, and were found to be statistically related to student outcomes. It is interesting to note that only 29% of responding principals felt that “Getting to know students individually is an important part of discipline” and that “Disciplinary consequences should be scaled in proportion to the severity of the problem behavior.” A remarkably large percentage (41.7%) disagreed or strongly disagreed with the statement.

Table 1. Representative Items Endorsed More Frequently by Principals with Different Perspectives on School Discipline*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Group 1: Prevention Orientation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Developing and implementing prevention programs pays off in terms of decreased disruption and disciplinary incidents</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Suspension and expulsion do not really solve disciplinary problems</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Students with disabilities who engage in disruptive behavior need a different approach to discipline than students in general education</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I feel it is critical to work with parents before suspending a student from school</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Conversations with students referred to the office should be factored into most decisions about disciplinary consequences</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Group 2: Support for Suspension and Expulsion</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Zero tolerance makes a significant contribution to maintaining order at my school</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Out-of-school suspension is a necessary tool for maintaining school order</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Most if not all disciplinary problems come from inadequacies in the child’s home situation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Disciplinary regulations for special education create a separate system that makes it more difficult to enforce discipline</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>My duties as an administrator simply don’t allow me the time to get to know students on an individual basis</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Group 3: Pragmatic Prevention</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Suspension and expulsion allow students time away from school that encourages them to think about their behavior</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Teachers at this school were adequately prepared to handle problems of misbehavior and discipline</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Least likely to believe that: Regardless of whether it is effective, suspension is virtually our only option</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Least likely to believe that: Violence is getting worse at my school</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* Unless otherwise noted, items listed are those that the group in question on average rated the highest of the three groups, and significantly higher than at least one other group.
principals felt their teachers were adequately trained by their teacher training programs to handle problems of misbehavior and discipline.

Results showed that about one third of the responding principals supported preventive approaches to school discipline (Group 1 in Table 1). These principals were also more likely to believe that it is critical to work with parents before suspension, that discipline should be adapted to meet the needs of students with disabilities, and that conversations with students are an important part of the disciplinary process. This perspective was found more often among female and elementary level principals, and among those principals whose schools had higher proportions of children from poverty backgrounds.

Other principals agreed that zero tolerance makes a significant contribution to maintaining order at their school (Group 2 in Table 1). Principals with this perspective were also more likely to believe that discipline problems stem from an inadequate home situation, that special education disciplinary regulations create a separate system that makes it more difficult to enforce discipline, and that they lack sufficient time to get to know students on an individual basis. This perspective was held more often among males and secondary school principals.

Finally, a third group emerged that might be termed a “pragmatic prevention” group. On the one hand, these principals agreed that out-of-school suspension and expulsion encourage students to think about their behavior, but they are also least likely to believe that suspension and expulsion were their only options. Principals in this group were least likely to believe that school violence was increasing at their school, and most likely to believe that their teachers were adequately trained in classroom behavior management. These principals were more likely to be male and about equally likely to be found at the elementary or secondary level.

The differing attitudes about discipline held by these three groups were related to outcomes. Schools with principals with a preventive perspective showed fewer suspensions for both serious infractions (e.g., drugs, weapons) and general disruptive behavior, and were more likely to report having conflict resolution, individual behavior plans, peer mediation, bullying prevention, and anger management programs in place. Principals more supportive of zero tolerance had higher rates of out-of-school suspensions, reported a lower use of preventive programs, and a more frequent use of metal detectors. Finally, in terms of outcomes, the third group more closely resembled the prevention perspective, with a lower rate of suspensions and a higher reported use of prevention programs than principals who supported suspension and expulsion.

Thus, there appear to be important differences among Indiana’s principals in their beliefs about school discipline. These differences in perspective are associated with different attitudes regarding parents, students, and special education disciplinary regulations. Finally, attitudes predict action in school discipline: Principals with a more preventive and collaborative orientation suspend fewer students and report a higher use of prevention programs in their schools than those who support the use of suspension and expulsion. Data on actual use of suspension and expulsion suggest that about two-thirds of responding principals use an approach yielding fewer suspensions while the remaining one-third are not only more supportive of suspension and expulsion as disciplinary tools, but are more likely to have higher rates of out-of-school suspension at their school.

How Are Discipline and Achievement Related?

Maintaining safety is only one purpose of a school discipline system; appropriate discipline also preserves a climate conducive to teaching and learning. Thus, it makes sense to explore the relationship between school discipline approaches and academic outcomes. To do this, we looked at the relationship between a school’s rate of out-of-school suspension and expulsion and the percent of students who passed both the Math and English/Language Arts sections of the Indiana State Test of Educational Progress (ISTEP).13

Figure 9 presents a graphic representation of achievement outcomes among schools with high rates of out-of-school suspension as compared to those with relatively low rates.14 It shows that schools with high rates of out-of-school suspension and expulsion have lower average passing rates on ISTEP than schools with low rates.

Could this simply be due to demographic factors? A more comprehensive analysis controlling for poverty rate, percentage of African American students, total school size, school type (elementary or secondary), and locale (urban, suburban, town, and rural) found that use of out-of-school suspension is negatively related to school achievement. Thus, regardless of many demographic factors, schools with higher out-of-school suspension rates have lower ISTEP scores.
Conclusions

In this report, we have attempted to describe trends, usage, and attitudes concerning out-of-school suspension and expulsion in Indiana. Like previous reports for other states and locales, we found that: (1) The use of suspension and expulsion is related to a number of school demographic factors, (2) a large majority of student suspensions are in categories that on the face of it are not the most serious infractions, (3) African American and Hispanic students are suspended and expelled at much higher rates than expected when compared to other subgroups, (4) principal attitudes toward school discipline differ in important ways and predict disciplinary practice and outcomes, and (5) schools with lower rates of out-of-school suspension have higher scores on statewide measures of achievement.

The use of out-of-school suspension and expulsion varies by level and locale. Indiana’s urban schools were found to have the highest out-of-school suspension rates. Further, out-of-school suspension rates were the highest at the secondary school level, especially in middle schools. Expulsion rates were evenly distributed across geographic locales, but greater at the high school level. Analysis of rates of suspension by school revealed that 10% of Indiana’s schools account for over fifty percent of all out-of-school suspensions, and 25% of expulsions. Very clearly then, there are schools that use out-of-school suspension and expulsion more frequently than others. Put simply, this suggests that high rates of out-of-school suspension are not widespread, but are confined to only some of Indiana’s schools.

A large majority of out-of-school suspensions and expulsions for the 2002-2003 school year were in two categories: Disruptive Behavior and Other. There could be two possible interpretations of this finding. First, since a very small percentage of suspensions and even expulsions in Indiana occur in response to the most serious infractions (e.g., weapons, drugs), it may be that a large proportion of suspensions and expulsions in Indiana are for behaviors that are not highly dangerous. On the other hand, the categories of Disruptive Behavior and Other are quite broad. Thus the large proportion of behaviors in those two categories could include both seriously disruptive and relatively minor disruptions to the school environment. Unfortunately, the current broad categories under which Indiana collects data on school suspension and expulsion are not sufficient to shed any light on which interpretation is correct.

These data also show that there are substantial racial disparities in the use of out-of-school suspensions and expulsions in the state, particularly among African American students. As noted in the first briefing paper, previous studies have found no evidence that such disproportionality is due to higher rates of misbehavior by minority students—if anything, African American students appear more likely to be suspended and expelled for more subjective and minor infractions. These data also revealed evidence of disproportionate suspensions and expulsions for Hispanic students. This finding is especially noteworthy, since this population is the fastest growing subgroup nationally and in Indiana. Together these data yield the disturbing conclusion that some racial/ethnic groups in Indiana are being subjected at a higher rate to school consequences that remove them from the opportunity to learn.

Our analyses showed that Indiana’s high rates of suspension and expulsion are not due simply to differences among states in how expulsions are counted. Indiana’s minimum length of 10 days is similar to the vast majority of states that define any such minimum. Rather, states with higher rates of school expulsion are more likely to (a) allow expulsion for infractions taking place off school grounds, (b) explicitly list criminal violations as one infraction for which students can be expelled, and (c) explicitly allow corporal punishment in school disciplinary statutes. Indiana is among the states that include the first two of these three items.

Like much of the nation, Indiana’s principals appear to be sharply divided on the use of out-of-school suspension and expulsion for maintaining school order. About a third of responding principals endorsed more preventive alternatives, believing that such an approach can reduce the need for suspension and expulsion; another third of respondents appeared to be more supportive of zero tolerance, suspension, and expulsion. A third group endorsed some items favorable to a prevention approach, and some items indicating a willingness to consider suspension and expulsion. Most importantly, attitudes predict outcomes: Principals with more favorable attitudes toward suspension and expulsion had higher rates of suspension and expulsion than the other two groups of principals. Principals with the other orientations in contrast, were more likely to report that their school had in place programs such as conflict resolution, individual behavior plans, peer mediation, bullying prevention and anger management.

In particular, the importance of managing disruptive behavior emerged clearly. Like teachers in the recent Public Agenda report on school discipline, principals in this survey strongly believed that teachers should be able to manage most disruptions at the classroom level. Yet a large majority also felt that their teachers were not adequately prepared by their teacher training programs to manage student behavior in the classroom. Thus, both principals and teachers strongly agree that teacher training programs must provide pre-service teachers with the tools they need to address student misbehavior at the classroom level.

In this age of accountability in our nation and state, it has become an accepted fact of school life to evaluate school practices in terms of their impact on student achievement. Thus it is noteworthy that statewide data show that those schools with the highest rates of out-of-school suspension have lower passing rates on ISTEP than those with the lowest rates of suspension. Nor can these data be explained as a function of high or low poverty—the negative relationship between a school’s use of suspension and its average ISTEP scores continues to hold when poverty, race, and a number of other demographic variables are controlled. Thus, regardless of school demographics, schools with higher ratios of out-of-school suspension have lower average scores on ISTEP.

In summary, the Indiana data on suspension and expulsion present a mixed and complex picture. The rate of school expulsions is declining steadily, but the rate of out-of-school suspensions is at its highest in recent years. Indiana principals are sharply divided on their philosophies of discipline, but it appears that the extensive use of out-of-school suspension and expulsion is limited to a relatively small percentage of Indiana schools. The use of suspension and expulsion appears to carry significant risks for minority disproportionality and reduced academic achievement. Yet the number of Indiana principals who report that their school implements proactive alternatives to suspension and expulsion is highly encouraging.

Together these results suggest that there are effective disciplinary alternatives that are used in schools across the country and in Indiana to maintain a safe and productive learning climate without reducing student opportunity to learn. One previous study found, for example, that some schools with demographic profiles that would suggest high rates of suspension and expulsion somehow manage to avoid removing students. What do the schools most committed to these effective alternatives do? The third and final briefing paper will describe innovative practices of local educators in the state of Indiana aimed at creating school environments that are safe and conducive to learning.
End Notes

1 Indiana collects suspension and expulsion data by incident and thus reflects the duplicated count of incidents. Therefore, the data reflect the incident rate in the student population, not the rate of students suspended or expelled, which limits the conclusions that can be drawn. The incident rate per 100 students in the population, however, has been used in previous research and does provide a good index of the amount of suspensions or expulsions that are occurring within a given population. Incident rates are calculated by dividing the total number of incidents in a population with that population’s student enrollment, then multiplying by 100, yielding a standardized and comparable index. Raffaele-Mendez, L.M., Knoff, H.M. & Ferron, J.F. (2002). School demographic variables and out-of-school suspension rates: A quantitative and qualitative analysis of a large, ethnically diverse school district. Psychology in the Schools, 39, 259-277.

2 The 2002-2003 school year data were the most recent available at the time this report was generated.

3 The data in this analysis do not include the expulsion category of Legal Settlement, as there were only 14 incidents during this school year.

4 The expulsion category of Weapons combines the categories of deadly weapons, weapons, loaded firearms, and other firearms.

5 There are eight locale classifications assigned to schools from the United States Department of the Census. These classifications were collapsed to yield four categories: urban, suburban, town, & rural.

6 Analysis of Variance (ANOVA) revealed no significant differences among suburban, town, and rural designations.

7 Schools were broken into 10 equal groups according to their out-of-school suspension and expulsion rates.

8 Overall state rates were calculated by dividing the total incidents of out-of-school suspension or expulsion by the total number of school-aged youth in the state. This analysis included all 50 states and the District of Columbia.

9 A more complete description of these data can be found in the report, “Factors Associated with State Rates of Out-of-School Suspension and Expulsion” under the Supplemental Analyses link of the Children Left Behind website: ceep.indiana.edu/ChildrenLeftBehind.

10 Corporal punishment is not explicitly mentioned in the educational statutes in Indiana Code dealing with school discipline. Rather, school corporation personnel are given the right to “take any disciplinary action necessary to promote student conduct that conforms with an orderly and effective educational system” (IC 20-8.1-5.1-3). Specific permission to use corporal punishment is found in the juvenile justice section of the code (IC 31-34-1.15). The rate of students suspended or expelled, therefore, has been used in previous research and does provide a good index of the types of infractions for which students in Indiana are suspended and expelled.


12 The statistical technique, cluster analysis, identified unique groupings of individuals who share the same response pattern on a group of survey items.

13 Percent of students passing ISTEP was calculated by dividing the total number of students who passed both the Math and English/Language Arts sections by the total number of students tested in that school.

14 Schools were divided into four equal groups based on their out-of-school suspension and expulsion rates. High rates refer to schools in the top quartile (schools with a rate in the top 25%) and low rates refer to schools in the bottom quartile (schools with a rate in the bottom 25%).

15 A linear multiple regression equation was constructed with the school’s percentage of students passing both the Math and English sections of ISTEP serving as the dependent variable, and the school’s percentage of free and reduced lunch students (poverty), African American population, school size, school type, and locale entered as predictor variables.


17 In its most current session, the state legislature called for a measure (Senate Bill 104) which could enable educators and policymakers to better understand the types of infractions for which students in Indiana are suspended and expelled.


M. Karega Rausch is a doctoral student and research associate with the Initiative on Equity and Opportunity at the Center for Evaluation and Education Policy.

Russell Skiba is Director of the Initiative on Equity and Opportunity at the Center for Evaluation and Education Policy.
About the Children Left Behind Project

The Children Left Behind Project is a joint initiative of the Indiana Youth Services Association and the Center for Evaluation & Education Policy, funded by the Lilly Endowment, sharing data on the use and effect of school suspension and expulsion in the state of Indiana. The goals of the Project are two-fold:

1. To open a statewide dialogue concerning the best methods for promoting and maintaining a safe and productive learning climate in Indiana schools.
2. To initiate and maintain a forum for discussion between those in the juvenile justice system and Indiana’s educational system to ensure that methods chosen for maintaining order in our schools do not jeopardize the human potential of young people or the overall safety of communities.

A series of three briefing papers and an overall summary will be published in July 2004 for policymakers, educators, and community members and made available on the world-wide web:

- Zero Tolerance: The Assumptions and The Facts
- Unplanned Outcomes: Suspensions and Expulsions in Indiana
- “Discipline is Always Teaching”: Effective Alternatives to Zero Tolerance in Indiana’s Schools

All three papers, the summary and recommendations, and supplemental analyses and information can be found on the project web site: ceep.indiana.edu/ChildrenLeftBehind/

These efforts are based upon what we believe are two incontrovertible principles, principles that we hope will also guide the ensuing discussion:

1. Indiana’s schools have a right and a responsibility to apply methods that are effective in maintaining a climate that is as free as possible of disruptions to student learning.
2. Best practice suggests, and the No Child Left Behind Act mandates, that all educational practices employed in schools must maximize the opportunity to learn for all children, regardless of their background.