Compassion development in higher education

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Many schools of psychology and religious studies intend to promote the cultivation of compassion. Compassion is currently an integral area of study in psychology, religious studies, and higher education, specifically in faith-based higher education. While secular universities in the United States strive to generate disciplinary-based knowledge through scholarship, their ability to promote students’ use of the information they are learning to create positive social change has typically lagged. Conscious of the magnitude of today’s global issues and dissatisfied with the current disparity between the world’s reality and university curricula, scholars have begun to re-imagine the role of higher education in forming the leaders who will face our most exigent problems. The present article reviews how compassion can be integrated into university curriculum, specifically in faith-based institutions. The article also discusses how compassion can be measured throughout the course of undergraduates’ careers.

The Need for Compassion Development in a Disconnected World

In a world consistently divided by wars over government, religion, and racial and ethnic dominance, there are omnipresent messages of despair. From drug wars in Honduras to fighting in Syria, Iraq, and elsewhere, cruelty and brutality seem ubiquitous. Severe conflicts between groups and the resulting cruelty certainly do not escape the relatively peaceful United States.

Living in an increasingly technologically driven world, we can connect to others in multiple ways; yet, having access to the multitude of connections is not always for the better. On screens and in person, today’s college students are exposed to violent brutality and experience the highest levels of stress, anxiety, and depression ever reported (Trzesniewski & Donnellan, 2010). For example, from the Columbine High School massacre in 1999, to the Sandy Hook Elementary School tragedy in 2012, to the relatively recent shooting at the University of California, Santa Barbara in 2014, school shootings appear with alarming frequency across both secondary and higher educational systems.

While the future can look grim, there is hope in changing this progression in current and future generations. Few would disagree that humankind needs more compassion. The present article reviews the literature to date on compassion in faith-based higher education and discusses case studies at the University of San Diego and Santa Clara University. This article aims to show how educating our students to be compassionate could help transform our troubled and often remarkably uncompassionate world into a more humane and compassionate one.

Why Cultivate Compassion?

Humans have a natural capacity for compassion. While pre-existing trait levels of compassion have multiple origins, including genetic predispositions, early childhood experiences, and social expectations, current research demonstrates that compassion is a skill that can be taught (Jazaieri et al., 2013). Like a
plant, compassion can be cultivated from a seed. Similar to a plant’s steady blossoming, this process requires thoughtful care and a supportive environment.

Compassion, defined as “being moved by another’s suffering and wanting to help” (Lazarus, 1991, p. 289), is considered a desirable human trait and has been an important feature within religious and spiritual development for centuries. Altruism, a value closely related to compassion (Smith, 2009), is thought to have evolutionary roots because of its social desirability in groups and strengthening of maternal instincts (Darwin, 1871). Sober and Wilson (1998) found that groups with more altruists ultimately fair better than groups with fewer altruists.

Compassion begins with recognizing suffering. Recognition instigates thoughts and feelings of empathy and concern (Goetz, Keltner, & Simon-Thomas, 2010). To experience compassion, researchers, educators, students, administrators, and so forth, must acknowledge the presence of pain. Rather than rushing past that homeless person, for example, we must actually stop to consider how difficult his or her life must be. The pause invites us to step out of our usual frame of reference and view the world from the vantage point of another. This process subsequently motivates action to relieve the person’s suffering. Compassion thus involves sensitivity to the experience of suffering coupled with a deep desire to alleviate that suffering (Lazarus, 1991).

As such, compassion extends beyond merely feeling concern for others. Unlike other similar emotions, like empathy, compassion is an action-oriented affective state and generally consists of the following components: (a) an awareness of another’s pain, perception of reality, and psychological state; (b) a feeling of kindness; (c) a yearning to mitigate the suffering; and (d) doing what is within one’s ability to lessen another’s suffering (Goetz et al., 2010). Thus, compassion requires one’s strength to be with the suffering. Cultivating compassion is incredibly difficult but is thought to provide survival advantages. It increases the survival of offspring and is a desirable attribute in mate selection; compassion also enables cooperation with non-kin. From an evolutionary perspective, compassion is not a selfless emotion, but rather one that is governed by cost-benefit evaluations (Henrich, 2004).

**A Spiritual Seed: Compassion, A Virtue Integral to Faith-Based Higher Education**

Founded by St. Ignatius of Loyola and several companions, including St. Francis Xavier, the Jesuits were founded in Paris in 1540. Jesuits are members of the Society of Jesus—a religious order of men in the Roman Catholic Church. The Society of Jesus is the largest Catholic male religious order in the world with approximately 18,000 members internationally (Curia Generalis, Society of Jesus, 2013).

The Association of Jesuit Colleges & Universities (AJCU) unites 28 Jesuit universities in the United States. While these colleges are spread throughout the country, their mission statements are based on Ignatian spirituality—sometimes called Jesuit spirituality—which is often described as a spirituality of finding God’s will for better decision making. Ignatian ideals such as *discernment*—the act of reflecting on the typical events in life and developing a practice of personal prayer to discover an openness to God’s guidance—as well as *service and humility*—the act of offering service to the poor and sick in the most humble ways—are integral to faith-based education which claims the cultivation of compassion as a primary purpose. Focused on educating the whole student, institutions in the AJCU help students discern, meditate, and reflect on their ethics and virtues across a wide range of disciplines and co-curricular activities. The mission statements of these colleges are to prepare “leaders dedicated to compassionate service” (Lovette-Coyler, 2013, p. 4).

Schools such as Biola University (evangelical Christian), Creighton University (Jesuit), and Naropa University (Buddhist) all connect the importance of community service back to the foundations of their respective faiths. The principles of service and faith-based engagement with the world are integral to the above universities’ vision. For example, Biola University’s (2014) mission statement reads: “The mission of Biola University is biblically centered education, scholarship and service—equipping men and women in mind and character to impact the world for the Lord Jesus Christ” (“Mission Statement,” para. 1). In the Christian faith, service is connected to the life and ministry of Jesus, asking Christians to follow His example through action.

The Society of Jesus, a Christian male religious congregation of the Catholic Church, is engaged in apostolic ministry in 112 nations on six continents. Members of the society are called Jesuits and work in education, intellectual research, and cultural pursuits. Jesuits also provide retreats and minister in hospitals and parishes. Hence, for the Jesuits, the concept of social justice is a key component to compassion cultivation. Compassion often appears in the values of Jesuit universities, which advocate for faith that does justice education. During a national justice in higher education conference held at Santa Clara University (SCU)
in October of 2000, Rev. Peter-Hans Kolvenbach, S.J., then Superior General of the Society of Jesus, said, “When the heart is touched by direct experience, the mind may be challenged to change” (Kolvenbach, 2000, “A. Formation and Learning,” para. 4).

This is at the core of a faith that does justice, and it inspired the creation of service learning components at many universities, including the Experiential Learning for Social Justice (ELSJ) requirement in SCU’s core curriculum. An integral part of the curriculum, the ELSJ requirement provides students with opportunities to “learn to perceive, think, judge, choose, and act for the rights of others, especially the disadvantaged and the oppressed” (Kolvenbach, 2000, “A. Formation and Learning,” para. 5).

Recognized throughout Silicon Valley as providing leadership for the integration of faith, justice, and the intellectual life, SCU’s Ignatian Center provides students with opportunities to serve others on a local and global level. Developed to promote the Jesuit tradition of education, the Ignatian Center bridges the gap between the classroom and the community and creates space for students, faculty, and staff to learn from their time with partners, be that at homeless shelters, multilingual/ESL educational programs, law clinics, church parishes, healthcare agencies, and senior centers. The center helps students fulfill requirements like the ELSJ.

When Rev. Peter-Hans Kolvenbach (2000) inaugurated Santa Clara’s sesquicentennial year, he reminded the university community of Pope John Paul II’s call that Catholic higher education should educate the whole person in solidarity with the real world. He explained that “Students, in the course of their formation, must let the gritty reality of this world into their lives, so they can learn to feel it, think about it critically, respond to its suffering, and engage in it constructively” (Kolvenbach, 2000, “A. Formation and Learning,” para. 5). Requirements like SCU’s ELSJ cultivate social justice, perspective, and civic engagement. Spaces such as The Ignatian Center help foster a disciplined sensibility toward power, an understanding of the causes of human suffering, and a sense of personal and civic responsibility for cultural change.

A To-Do List or Calling? Religiosity and Compassion Fatigue

What elicits the strength for someone to be compassionate and sacrifice their self-interests to help another? Religion and spirituality appear to be a source of motivation that inspires compassion. More often than not, a spiritual or ethical belief system promotes the cultivation and expression of compassion (Armstrong, 2010). Deemed a virtue in numerous major world religions and philosophies, compassion, in religion and spirituality, functions at both a systemic and individual level. Religious and spiritual systems often prescribe and reward prosocial attitudes and behaviors, such as compassion.

Caring for others within a religious or spiritual context has been thought of as a ministry or calling. Caregivers are inspired to provide more energy and care (Mahoney, Pargament, Tarakeshwar, & Swank, 2001). For religious or spiritual followers, compassion might stem from the love they feel from God and/or other members of their faith. Therefore, compassionate acts are perhaps the means to transcend selfishness or to fulfill one’s divine calling in life. Alternatively, demonstrating compassion and care for others may be thought of as a moral code that followers must diligently uphold. The ways in which religious or spiritual beliefs form and promote compassion, which is then expressed through caregiving, might determine the benefits that individuals attain and/or the sacrifices a particular person experiences as a result of caregiving. In this respect, the practices that religious or spiritual systems promote can influence whether caregivers’ compassion leads to a rewarding experience or compassion burnout, also known as compassion fatigue.

Despite the many positive effects that can result from compassion that originates from religion and spirituality, there may also be a darker side. Religion and spirituality require that individuals engage in compassionate behavior, and such requirements could place undue burden on caregivers. Consequently, these caregivers may be at increased risk of becoming mentally and physically drained, thus resulting in compassion fatigue or burnout. This often happens when caregivers use negative religious coping frequently (Pearce, Singer, & Prigerson, 2006).

Likewise, many students attending faith-based colleges are required to engage in community service learning. While requirements such as these introduce students to opportunities ranging from immersion trips to building stronger connections with people in their community, these requirements also increase the load of responsibility the students carry. Given the academic demands placed on a typical college student, community service requirements—otherwise described as doing acts of care for those in need and suffering—may become overwhelming, and a student’s perception of religious or spiritual responsibilities might not provide the opportunity for the student to rest.

Compassion fatigue is most commonly studied among healthcare workers, clergy, volunteers, and
emergency care workers compared to college students or those in other professions. It has been hypothesized that compassion fatigue is more prevalent in the caregiving professions because the work requires that these professionals be present during the suffering of others. These demands can lead to depression, which decreases caregivers’ emotional energy level and their ability to be empathetic to a person in need (Cusi, MacQueen, Spreng, & McKinnon, 2011). Indeed, when professional caregivers experience compassion fatigue, they are inclined to be dissatisfied with providing compensation (Udipi, McCarthy-Veach, Kao, & LeRoy, 2008).

Even though compassion fatigue and burnout are possible when caregivers and students engage in acts of care, empirical research is needed to better understand how religious and spiritual guilt-driven motivations and perceived expectations may result in compassion fatigue. It might be that when individuals feel burned out, they are less able to utilize their spiritual resources or to have the emotional energy to experience compassion and empathy. For example, medical students who use religious or spiritual strategies to help them cope with stress report that they are less likely to burn out; these students also have greater career choice satisfaction (Wachholtz & Rogoff, 2013). Caregivers who use religious or spiritual coping report a positive caregiving experience and more satisfaction in their duties compared to those using non-religious coping strategies (Wachholtz & Rogoff, 2013). Whether or not the results prove the same for students at faith-based colleges is a topic that the present article will discuss later.

Millennials: More Gadgets to Connect but Less Connection to Real Relationship

As news of wars and shootings flood our inboxes, we can understand the value in compassion cultivation. We are drawn to compassionate people. Compassionate people take the time to connect to those in their local environment and beyond. Hence, we see the positive effect compassion has on others and the world (Armstrong, 2010). Researchers report that the Millennial generation—those born from the early 1980s to the early 2000s—is positioned to face more social problems than previous generations. However, they may be less likely to approach these important challenges with compassion, as previous research indicates that Millennials may tend to be more cynical and less trusting (Trzesniewski & Donnellan, 2010) as well as more narcissistic, materialistic, and individualistic (Twenge & Campbell, 2008). Additionally, social and cultural factors may negatively impact the cultivation of compassion among Millennials. In the words of Spandler’s and Stickley’s (2011) study:

Compassion can be facilitated or significantly inhibited within different social and cultural value systems. Yet it appears that dominant values in mainstream society are diametrically opposed to qualities associated with compassion. The neoliberal consensus on the necessity of market capitalism has led to the dominance of values around choice, independence, personal achievement, as well as competition, selfishness, and the pursuit of profit, status, and power. (p. 556)

Individualism and narcissism are the antitheses of compassion, which is born from being other-centered rather than self-centered. What can society do to shift away from individualism and toward compassion? What can educators do to address deficits in empathic and self-regulatory capacities that may contribute to aggressive or violent behaviors among youth? Faith-based higher education may offer a promising possibility.

In the words of His Holiness the Dalai Lama XIV (Lama, n.d.), “Compassion is not religious business, it is human business; it is not luxury, it is essential for our own peace and mental stability; it is essential for human survival.” From school shootings to civil wars to environmental pollution, it seems there are more world problems than solutions. However, the wisdom of the Dalai Lama (1991) reminds us that through compassion, “we gain strength to constructively solve the problems of the present” (p. 51).

Research supports His Holiness’s wisdom. Studies conducted at the University of Texas, Austin found that self-compassion as a trait is positively correlated with happiness, wisdom, optimism, personal initiative, curiosity and exploration, agreeableness, extroversion, and conscientiousness (Neff, Rude, & Kirkpatrick, 2007). The study reported that compassion is negatively correlated with measures of neuroticism. As a species, we understand the many benefits to being a compassionate person. How, then, does one cultivate compassion? When should this cultivation take place? Targeting younger generations is essential because the complex challenges of the globalized future rest in their hands.

Cultivating Compassionate Buds: Faith & Higher Education

Higher education is ideal for transformative learning. Seeds of care, empathy, interconnectedness—all of which encompass compassion—are planted during
these college years. Early research demonstrated that higher education has a significant and lasting impact on a person’s values, attitudes, and beliefs (Feldman & Newcomb, 1969). More recent research has examined the long-term effects of higher education—the lasting attitudes, beliefs, and activities of students several years after graduating (Pascarella & Terenzini, 1991). In addition to impacting future earnings and employment, a college education shapes a student’s cognitive, moral, and psychosocial characteristics. Thus, college is an optimal time to focus on compassion cultivation.

Serving the Garden of Compassion: Community Service Learning & Higher Education

Service learning, or community service learning (CSL), is broadly defined as allowing “students to gain a greater understanding of concepts while they contribute to their communities” (Billig, 2000, p. 658). CSL can guide students to grow in compassion, increase their awareness and understanding of social problems, instill a commitment to making the world a better place, and in some cases, demonstrate increased moral reasoning abilities (Bernacki & Jaeger, 2008; Gorman, Duffy, & Heffernan, 1994). After a time of blossoming and growth during the late 1980s and 1990s, CSL today is institutionalized and employed on many college campuses. Organizations such as Campus Compact and other state-, region-, and nationwide organizations support the ongoing development and refinement of the pedagogy. Literature to date shows the positive effects of community service learning in cultivating compassion during undergraduate years (Astin, 1993). While service learning is valued in undergraduate education, future research needs to assess fully the impact of CSL on the college students who participate in it.

A general consensus exists that service learning aims to connect students and institutions of higher education to the communities of which they are a part while instilling in the participating students the values of community and social responsibility (Neururer & Rhoads, 1998). Most definitions match community service to academic learning goals combined with intentional reflection on the service experience (Mitchell, 2008). This definition allows for greater diversity in practice. However, the literature is clear that CSL involves the integration of three components: service, classroom-based instruction, and reflection. More specific definitions include the creation of mutuality between higher education and the community; ideally, the community service should be aimed at real needs identified by the community. Additionally, while students bring the concepts and theories they learn in the classroom to bear on helping to solve community problems, the experience in the community and their reflection on it should enhance the personal and social development of the students. Even though the practice is diversified across campuses and colleges and definitions of CSL will continue to shift to accommodate the future, the primary role of service learning is clear: “Service, combined with learning, adds value to each and transforms both” (Honnet & Poulsen, 1989, p. 1).

Currently, little research has been conducted on the ability of CSL to achieve both academic and affective learning outcomes (O’Grady, 2000). The 1990s witnessed numerous assessment efforts on CSL; yet, the majority of the attention has been directed to academic goals. Research to date reports a significant but minor effects on the psychological, social, and cognitive development of undergraduate student participants. The modesty of the empirical findings may be explained by the methodological challenges and complications inherent in CSL assessment. These challenges include the intricacy of learning outcomes, the unpredictable nature of experiential education, the difficulty of creating suitable instruments to detect and measure shifts in students’ affective growth, the struggle to define relevant variables, and the challenge of controlling for confounding factors (Batchelder & Root, 1994). Thus, CSL assessment efforts can be sorted into two categories—those focused on academic skills and those focused on the personal, co-curricular development of the participating students.

Nurturing the Plant: Campus Compact

As stated earlier, Campus Compact is a national coalition of 1,100 colleges and universities including both two- and four-year institutions and public, private, and religious schools (Campus Compact, 2013). The coalition’s mission is centered on civic engagement that encourages greater involvement in public and community service as an integral part of higher education. The group aims to train students to engage in civic and social responsibilities and to deepen students’ abilities to improve their communities (Campus Compact, 2013). Campus Compact represents the first major movement toward including community service learning and civic engagement as a cornerstone of higher education, and there is a growing body of literature that suggests a connection between CSL and compassion development in higher education.
Compassion in Higher Education: A Discussion of the Current Literature

While university mission statements like the ones we have highlighted are compelling, almost no empirical research has examined the efficacy of such mission statements. Compassion has traditionally been reserved for parental and religious education. Nevertheless, compassion-related curriculum is becoming a trend in higher education and thus perceived as an integral part of holistic education (Campus Compact, 2013). Historically, research exploring compassion education has addressed the training of nurses, physicians, and other healthcare professionals (Shih et al., 2013). Such studies on compassion and education have focused on preventing burnout and sustaining compassionate care in nursing, counseling, and other helping professions (Shih et al., 2013).

While studies focused on compassion fatigue and prevention are undoubtedly invaluable, this research does not explore how compassion is cultivated over students’ undergraduate careers. Instead, the studies aim to help individuals who are already working in caregiving professions to maintain an appropriate level of compassion in their professional lives. Thus, healthcare professionals have numerous studies to examine, while educators have relatively few since there is little empirical research on the role of compassion in higher education.

The First Bud: A Compassion Study at the University of San Diego

An initial comprehensive study on compassion cultivation in undergraduates occurred at the University of San Diego (USD; Lovette-Colyer, 2013). The study examined the changes in compassion among undergraduates after completing their first two years of college. The study concluded that the majority of USD students experience a change in their levels of compassion during their first two undergraduate years but not always for the better. While 50% of the students demonstrated an increase in compassion, 35% decreased in compassion, and another 15% remained unchanged. Regression analyses showed that community service and immersion trips were associated with an increase in compassion and Greek life. Surprisingly, however, community service learning was associated with a counter-intuitive decrease in compassion.

To explain these lower compassion scores in relation to CSL, Lovette-Colyer (2013) proposed that some students had negative experiences at their placement sites. Such experiences could have negatively influenced how these students felt about community service in general. Other researchers argued that mandating participation in CSL could have created resentment within students toward the CSL experience and contributed to the drop in compassion scores, as it has been theorized that students who participate in community service by their own choosing are often more compassionate than those who do not seek out such experiences (e.g., Mills, Bersamina, & Plante, 2007; Plante, Lackey, & Jeong Yeon, 2009).

The Second Bud: A Compassion Study at Santa Clara University

Researchers at Santa Clara University (SCU) explored the factors associated with high and low compassion scores among graduating seniors (Callister & Plante, 2014). The study used data from four years of a Senior Exit Survey that graduating seniors complete each year. The survey included demographic information; student feedback on their opinions, beliefs, and college experiences both inside and outside the classroom; and the Santa Clara Brief Compassion Scale (Plante, Lackey, & Jeong Yeon, 2008). Given the extensive nature of the survey, students were unaware that their compassion scores were being measured.

Findings from this research suggested that several demographic factors influence compassion scores. For example, women had higher compassion scores than men. A common hypothesis for this finding is that women are socialized to be more outwardly caring and compassionate. However, whether the gender differences result from underlying biological or sociological factors remains speculative (Callister & Plante, 2014).

Similar to Armstrong’s (2010) ideas that compassion is at the heart of the world’s religions, Callister and Plante’s (2014) study also revealed that having any type of religious or spiritual practice is associated with higher compassion scores. Those who identified as religious or spiritual had significantly higher compassion scores than those who identified as secular. Moreover, those who attended a religious service, regardless of whether they identified with a religion, tended to have higher compassion scores than those who had never attended any religious gathering or service.

Callister and Plante (2014) suggest that social science and natural science majors tend to have a higher level of compassion because these students are already drawn to helping professions like medicine, nursing, and psychology. Engineering majors, however, tend to have lower compassion scores—a finding that may reflect the nature of their studies, which tend to focus less on relationships and more on problem-solving.
These results remain consistent despite the fact that engineering students at SCU are required to take ethics, diversity, and service learning courses as part of the university’s core curriculum. It is possible that SCU engineering students are less compassionate when compared to SCU students overall but are more compassionate when compared to engineering students at other universities. However, without an appropriate comparison group, it is difficult to draw conclusions.

In Callister and Plante’s (2014) study, another indicator of higher compassion scores was community service. This finding complements previous research, which suggests there are positive benefits to community service learning (CSL). Similar to Bernacki and Jaeger’s (2008) findings that CSL increased students’ feelings of empathy and compassion, Callister and Plante found that participation in community service, even to satisfy a class requirement, was associated with higher compassion scores. These results support the mission of programs like Campus Compact (2013) that aim to institutionalize volunteer work and community action as part of undergraduate programs.

Using multiple regression analysis, Callister and Plante (2014) concluded that the following five factors account for 40% of the variability in compassion scores: gender, political beliefs, attendance at a religious service, attendance at a racial/diversity awareness workshop, and completion of community service as part of a class. These variables reliably predicted students’ compassion scores. Because the three action-oriented variables are likely to be more malleable than the two trait-like variables, they should be considered as areas of potential intervention and impact for increasing students’ compassion scores.

**Future Gardens of Compassion?**

There are several limitations of the current review. For instance, Callister and Plante’s (2014) study used correlational analysis and, thus, did not allow cause-effect conclusions to be drawn. Additionally, no longitudinal or change-data was included in their study and measurements were based on self-reports; hence, demand characteristics may lead to biased results. Moreover, the samples in both studies were comprised of students at private, Catholic universities, and therefore, generalizability cannot extend to other universities.

Future research should create more objective, behavioral measures of compassion and should aim to include randomized trials and longitudinal methods with follow-up data and pre- and post-assessment scores. A range of universities (e.g., public, non-religious) should be included for results to be generalizable to more college students. Future research should also target a more diverse participant pool that includes higher representation of males and ethnic minority groups.

Nonetheless, while many factors influence students’ compassion levels, studies at SCU and USD suggest that specific activities are at least associated with higher compassion scores. For instance, spirituality along with service and immersion in diverse and oppressed communities play key roles in compassion cultivation. Based on the research discussed in this article, universities interested in compassion cultivation should consider investing resources in areas of spirituality and campus ministry, service projects and community service learning, and immersion trips or programs that expose students to diverse groups and ways of thinking (Callister & Plante, 2014: Lovette-Colyer, 2013).

Future research on cultivating compassion in higher education should include comparison universities of various affiliations such as public institutions and institutions from diverse religious traditions. Research should examine data from incoming freshman relative to their senior year and from students in their senior-year to many years post-college. Such data could offer insightful comparisons. For instance, freshman-to senior-year data would elucidate the influence of college programming and experiences in developing student compassion, while senior-year to post-college data would reveal the impact that college experiences had on students’ vocations and life paths and the degree to which their compassion levels changed after leaving the university setting.

Studies at both USD and SCU suggest that an essential part of compassion cultivation is engagement. Classroom learning, while integral to higher education, is insufficient by itself. The present article shows us that when learning is connected to engagement outside the classroom walls—whether it be through community service learning, attending a religious service, or going on an immersion trip—compassion is likely strengthened (Callister & Plante, 2014; Lovette-Colyer, 2013). In the words of the Dalai Lama (n.d.),

> We are visitors on this planet. We are here for one hundred years at the very most. During that period we must try to do something good, something useful, with our lives. If you contribute to other people’s happiness, you will find the true meaning of life.

An education that cultivates the spirit invests mental and emotional resources into doing something
References


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