GETTING STUDENTS PSYCHED: USING PSYCHOLOGY TO ENCOURAGE CLASSROOM PARTICIPATION

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INTRODUCTION

When a professor strides into the classroom and up to the podium, she might be forgiven for imagining herself a symphony conductor, baton in hand, ready to call her orchestra to attention. For what is a class but an effort to meld a diverse a group of performers, each with their distinct melodic voice, into a harmonious fusion of themes and concepts? But as much as we might visualize Leonard Bernstein at the head of the Philharmonic, most law school classes resemble a high school pep band practice—amateurs thrown together, playing off key. Although some students might tune their instruments eagerly, many have stage fright, and a few look poised to flee the stage. No music at all, let alone the complex polyphony of a symphony, is possible unless students participate in the enterprise. A variety of issues may contribute to the dissonance, including virtual distractions, but fear and anxiety, as well as a misunderstanding of the learning process, are often major roadblocks to a balanced, well-tuned and productive class experience.

Students feel stress in the classroom. Too much anxiety drains cognitive resources and interferes with the learning process, contributing to poor outcomes for students. Lack of control contributes to that stress. Students often have no idea whether the instructor will direct a question their way, and if that were to happen, how they would respond, and how they will sound to strangers, and even worse, friends. Moreover, they waste time, viewing precious learning

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¹ See Kevin Yamamoto, Banning Laptops in the Classroom: Is it Worth the Hassles?, 57 J. LEGAL EDUC. 477, 477 (2007).

² See Todd David Peterson & Elizabeth Waters Peterson, Stemming the Tide of Law Student Depression: What Law Schools Need to Learn from the Science of Positive Psychology, 9 YALE J. HEALTH POL'Y L. & ETHICS 357, 359 (2009) (noting problems of depression, stress, anxiety, alcohol and drug abuse in law students); Kennon M. Sheldon & Lawrence S. Krieger, Understanding the Negative Effects of Legal Education on Law Students: A Longitudinal Test of Self-Determination Theory, 33 PERSONALITY & SOC. PSYCHOL. BULL. 883, 883 (2007).

opportunities as threats to well-being. This essay offers six suggestions for acknowledging these problems and moving from law to psychology journals for possible solutions.

I. LOOK THE PART: FAKE IT UNTIL YOU MAKE IT

First, tell students to sit up and start taking control. Research shows how much posture can affect a person's mind—more than previously believed. Your mother might have told you to stand up straight and she was right. You feel stronger just by acting as if you are powerful and in control. Striking a commanding and open pose can actually change hormones and behavior. Several studies demonstrate that just practicing some of these poses for a few minutes in private led to physiological changes, including more confident and assertive behavior. Your body convinces your mind that you have the situation covered, and surprisingly, the mind goes along with it. The original research focused on high-stakes interviews and should catch students' attention not only for the classroom, but for job interviews as well.

When you talk about participation in class at the beginning of the semester, you can show a slide of power poses if you use PowerPoint. If pressed for time, you could direct students, before or after class, to view Amy Cuddy's short and popular TED talk, which details the benefits of power poses. In acknowledging the anxiety, you validate their problem, and simultaneously give them a tool to help alleviate the suffering. You may not want them leaning back expansively and putting their feet up on the desks during class, but invite them to practice those "CEO" or "Wonder Woman" poses in private before they come to class.

Power poses are an example of the larger point that expectations—both our own and others'—can guide performance. If we sit hunched over, expecting disaster, we can sometimes sabotage our own performance. Students need to learn how to shake up their negative expectations before they become self-fulfilling prophecies. Their expectations will be self-fulfilling if students shrink from participating in activities perceived as painful. They lose the ability to practice, get feedback, and generally improve at the craft. Moreover, they are less likely to be engaged with the material, and less satisfied with law school.⁶

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³ Dana R. Carney et al., *Power Posing: Brief Nonverbal Displays Affect Neuroendocrine Levels and Risk Tolerance*, 21 PSYCHOL. Sci. 1363, 1366 (2010).

⁴ See Amy J.C. Cuddy et al., *The Benefit of Power Posing* Before a High-Stakes Social Evaluation 9 (Harvard Bus. Sch., Working Paper No. 13-027, 2012), available at http://nrs.harvard.edu/urn-3:HUL.InstRepos:9547823.

⁵ Amy Cuddy, *Your Body Language Shapes Who You Are*, TED (June 2012), http://www.ted.com/talks/amy_cuddy_your_body_language_shapes_who_you_are. A good example of a power pose is the clip of Leonardo DiCaprio shouting, "I am the king of the world" in the movie *Titanic*, but the *Titanic* imagery might cancel out the positive feelings of the moment. TITANIC (20th Century Fox 1997), *available at* https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=ItjXTieWKyI.

⁶ See Nisha C. Gottfredson et al., Identifying Predictors of Law Student Life Satisfaction, 58 J. LEGAL EDUC. 520, 520 (2008).

To prevent these outcomes, teach students how to fake the role of the confident learner until they grow into the role naturally.

II. PLAY THE ROLE OF A LEARNER: MISTAKES WILL BE MADE

Power poses may give one the confidence to participate, but on any given day, despite preparing, students will inevitably stumble or feel inarticulate in their responses. No amount of power posing will make you mistake proof. There will be plenty of days when efforts are clumsy as one attempts to gain expertise in the law. Mistakes are part of the learning process. The sooner students accept this principle, the faster students will learn.

Many questions in law school classes are genuinely tough and debatable. A good professor will not waste much class time on the easy points, but rather will try to take students to the next level in critical thinking. Once the preliminaries are out of the way, tougher questions and hypotheticals will appear. These questions allow students to practice applying the rule in different circumstances and highlight problematic implications of the rule. What if the offeror seemed drunk? What if the tortfeasor screamed, "Look out!"? Students may wrongly assume that they should know the answer to the question if they briefed the case. Rather, they have to think critically about the answer, and the class conversation is learning in action. Students, however, may feel confused because they do not automatically know the answer.

The problem, as one cognitive scientist succinctly summarized it, is that "the brain is not designed for thinking." A lot of our brain works on automatic pilot and functions outside our consciousness. Seeing and hearing are complicated, but for most of us, effortless. On the other hand, thinking is "slow, effortful, and uncertain." An expectation that the critical thinking process will be automatic creates dashed hopes and robs students of the needed confidence to forge ahead through difficult territory.

You should explain to your audience what is going on, a narration that will comfort the dazed and confused. Simply stopping after you ask that hypothetical question, "Would it make a difference if . . . ," and ask them, "Why am I asking that question?" Responses may vary, but even "I have no clue" opens the door to a discussion about what students should be doing with the class conversation to reveal how the class is solving new problems and honing critical thinking skills. Indeed, humans find pleasure in solving problems with the right amount of challenge, but acknowledge that thinking is hard. 10

Some students may treat class as a game of dodgeball with their assigned role to stay out of the line of fire. The professor needs to explain in plain terms

⁹ *Id.* at 4. ¹⁰ *Id.* at 10.

⁷ MARYBETH HERALD, YOUR BRAIN AND LAW SCHOOL: A CONTEXT AND PRACTICE BOOK 71–

⁸ Daniel T. Willingham, Why Don't Students Like School? 3 (2009).

what the student should be getting out of the questions and class, and may need to repeat the point occasionally. Making class objectives clear at the beginning of class helps emphasize the point. Rehashing the reading is not the point of the exercises, although they might have experienced some college classes where not much else happened.

To recap, the material is often difficult, and mistakes will be made. Student reluctance to step up is understandable but must be overcome. You might even note that their own perceived incompetence could be a sign that they are smarter than they think. The truly clueless often misunderstand their own incompetence, a phenomena known as the Dunning-Kruger effect. There is a difference, however, between overconfidence and taking on a difficult challenge with the intent to become more competent. Making mistakes while learning difficult material is natural and a part of the learning process. That process is complicated and messy and failure is an integral step on the path of mastery. Dedicated practice and feedback after attempts—what is going on in the classroom—is part of mastering the law. The goal is to learn what went wrong and to have the resilience to try again with the feedback from the last attempt.

III. ADOPT THE RIGHT MINDSET: THINK GROWTH

The goal of acknowledging the process as difficult is to return control back to the learner, who now understands the process better and is, at least theoretically, more on board to participate. The student's mindset about intelligence matters in the learning process. If you want to fare well, you must adopt what learning psychologists call a "growth mindset." If you believe that intelligence is fixed (you are what you were born with) you are less likely to do well in school than those who exhibit a growth mindset. Students may have some natural talents in the law, but whatever the starting point, research suggests if students understand intelligence as something that can grow—a skill you can develop—then they will perform better. Practice is the hallmark of a growth mindset.

If students embrace the idea that skills develop through practice and hard work, they are more likely to put effort into the project, and thus generate more

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¹¹ See Justin Kruger & David Dunning, *Unskilled and Unaware of It: How Difficulties in Recognizing One's Own Incompetence Lead to Inflated Self-Assessments*, 77 J. Personality & Soc. Psychol. 1121, 1127 (1999) (explaining that the unskilled are more likely to mistakenly rate themselves as higher in ability, while the more highly skilled misjudge their skill level as lower).

¹² See Benjamin S. Bloom, The Nature of the Study and Why It Was Done, in DEVELOPING TALENT IN YOUNG PEOPLE 3, 3 (Benjamin S. Bloom ed., 1985); K. Anders Ericsson et al., The Role of Deliberate Practice in the Acquisition of Expert Performance, 100 PSYCHOL. REV. 363, 400 (1993).

¹³ CAROL S. DWECK, MINDSET: THE NEW PSYCHOLOGY OF SUCCESS 7 (2006). See also Lisa S. Blackwell et al., Implicit Theories of Intelligence Predict Achievement Across an Adolescent Transition: A Longitudinal Study and an Intervention, 78 CHILD DEV. 246, 258–60 (2007).

growth over time. Students motivated by challenge rather than external rewards are more likely to have better results in school. ¹⁴ The easily discouraged, fixed mindsets often do not respond well to setbacks and feedback and often give up. A smart but fixed-mindset person may be passed by the less gifted but gritty believer in the growth mindset. They accept some instability as a part of the process. What we do with our gifts is the result of hard work. The following advice from learning psychologists summarizes the prayer of the committed learner:

Setbacks come with striving, and striving builds expertise. Effortful learning changes your brain, making new connections, building mental models, increasing your capability. The implication of this is powerful: Your intellectual abilities lie to a large degree within your own control. Knowing that this is so makes the difficulties worth tackling. ¹⁵

So, strive to inculcate an understanding that the brain has quite a bit of plasticity, but the students have to practice stretching it. ¹⁶ You have to help the first synapses connect before they begin automating the process themselves. Learning changes the brain; those synapses, like unused muscles, can be cranky through the first workouts. The goal of participation is not perfection, but rather it is learning through practice and feedback.

IV. DON'T WORRY ABOUT THE SPOTLIGHT: NO ONE REALLY CARES (AND THAT IS GOOD)

It might sound counter-intuitive to tell students that no one really cares, but it can be psychologically comforting. Students may fear that they will say something wrong and embarrass themselves in class in a way that will be indelibly fixed in classmates' memory. Moreover, they are worried that other people will notice their anxiety and racing heart, which can be highly salient to them. They are concerned that this anxiety will "leak out" and be visible to the class. What the students are feeling is the "illusion of transparency," or the

¹⁴ See Edward L. Deci et al., Motivation and Education: The Self-Determination Perspective, 26 EDUC. PSYCHOLOGIST 325, 331–32 (1991); Kennon M. Sheldon & Lawrence S. Krieger, Does Legal Education Have Undermining Effects on Law Students? Evaluating Changes in Motivation, Values, and Well-Being, 22 BEHAV. SCI. & L. 261, 263–64 (2004).

¹⁵ PETER C. BROWN ET AL., MAKE IT STICK: THE SCIENCE OF SUCCESSFUL LEARNING 201 (2014).

¹⁶ See HERALD, supra note 7, at 23–27 (2014); Carrie Sperling & Susan Shapcott, Fixing Students' Fixed Mindsets: Paving the Way for Meaningful Assessment, 18 LEGAL WRITING 39, 46–47 (2012).

¹⁷ See, e.g., Kenneth Savitsky et al., Do Others Judge Us as Harshly as We Think? Overestimating the Impact of Our Failures, Shortcomings, and Mishaps, 81 J. PERSONALITY & SOC. PSYCHOL. 44, 44, 54–55 (2001); see also Thomas Gilovich et al., The Spotlight Effect in Social Judgment: An Egocentric Bias in Estimates of the Salience of One's Own Actions and Appearance, 78 J. PERSONALITY & SOC. PSYCHOL. 211, 219–21 (2000).

¹⁸ Thomas Gilovich & Kenneth Savitsky, *The Spotlight Effect and the Illusion of Transparency: Egocentric Assessments of How We Are Seen by Others*, 8 CURRENT DIRECTIONS PSYCHOL. Sci. 165, 165–66 (1999).

feeling that we wear our inner emotions on our sleeves. Scott Turow captured this feeling in his classic law school memoir *One L*, recounting the fear of his first class: "And beyond that remained the disquieting thought of getting called on, and, even worse, the paralyzing little possibility, no matter how remote, that I might be the initial victim. Ineptness could make me a legend. 'Remember Turow? Mann called on him and he passed out cold.'"²⁰

First, assure the students that there is no blooper reel at the end of the semester. Second, direct them to the research on spotlight bias, which suggests that they have a starring role only in their own head. A student may perceive that he or she is the focus of attention and the harsh judgments of others; however, in reality, not many people notice or care, and if they do notice, they are more charitable in their judgments than you might imagine.

Psychologists have studied the effects of social blunders on both the blunderer and observer.²¹ The situations varied from wearing an embarrassing t-shirt (think Barry Manilow)²² to setting an alarm off at the library. The results showed that the blunderer's mental anguish was far worse than the real-time judgments of the onlookers.

Part of the explanation for the spotlight bias is that we are inordinately preoccupied with what we are thinking, not with what others are thinking. That problem can lead us to overestimate our effect on others and underestimate the effect of others on us. One particular study has relevance for speaking in class. The psychologists had students try to solve a difficult set of word problems. The students who made these attempts predicted that observers of their efforts would lower their view of the students' intellectual abilities. That did not happen in the testing lab as the students under-predicted the empathetic responses of the observers.²³

The same phenomenon may be at work in class discussions where a student thinks they failed miserably at answering a question, and thus feel that they will be the object of snide thoughts or comments. Just as likely, however, other classmates are expressing silent gratitude that they managed to escape the spotlight. The professor, preoccupied with keeping the discussion moving, has jumped to the next point and even a brilliant performance could go unacknowledged, unfortunately.²⁴ No one is necessarily concentrating on you or that sin-

¹⁹ Thomas Gilovich et al., *The Illusion of Transparency: Biased Assessments of Others' Ability to Read One's Emotional States*, 75 J. PERSONALITY & SOC. PSYCHOL. 332, 332 (1998)

²⁰ SCOTT TUROW, ONE L 43 (Farrar, Straus & Giroux 1988) (1977).

²¹ See, e.g., Thomas Gilovich et al., The Spotlight Effect Revisited: Overestimating the Manifest Variability of Our Actions and Appearance, 38 J. EXPERIMENTAL SOC. PSYCHOL. 93, 94 (2002).

²² Gilovich et al., *supra* note 17, at 212.

²³ Nicholas Epley et al., *Empathy Neglect: Reconciling the Spotlight Effect and the Correspondence Bias*, 83 J. Personality & Soc. Psychol. 300, 304 (2002).

²⁴ See Terri LeClercq, Principle 4: Good Practice Gives Prompt Feedback, 49 J. LEGAL EDUC. 418, 423 (1999) ("All too often, however, the teacher does not let [the student] know

gle incident in class. You are just not as important in their narrative as you think, which is comforting to remember. If your peers are paying attention to your alleged stumbling response in class, they may be weighing that impression with others—your smile in the hallway or presence at a club meeting. If you do not mention your overly negative appraisal of your own performance, it will go unnoticed or quickly forgotten. They will probably not be reciting that tale of you talking in civil procedure at your twentieth law school reunion, unless you were one of those students who could not manage to let any of their thoughts in class go unexpressed.

Consider the worst case scenario, however. Maybe immature classmates snicker at your answer, or as Scott Turow imagined, you pass out cold. Another body of psychological inquiry has determined that humans are not particularly good at predicting their future emotional selves. For example, we might think we will never recover from some large or small trauma, and in fact, we often do with the passage of time and the flow of life events. Or we think achieving some goal will satisfy us completely, but once achieved, we are on to the next goal or desire. Understanding that we overreact to short-term emotions is critical to making good decisions generally.

Finally, validating the technique of telling students about this research, researchers once again brought students into the laboratory and broke them into groups, assigning them the job of giving a speech with little preparation time. They assured one set of students by stating, "you shouldn't worry much about what other people think. . . . With this in mind, you should just relax and try to do your best. Know that if you become nervous, you probably shouldn't worry about it." That reassurance did not show up in the results of the speakers' perceived nervousness or the observers' ratings. A statistically significant difference appeared in both performers' and observers' ratings of nervousness, however, with the following *additional* information:

[R]esearch has found that audiences can't pick up on your anxiety as well as you might expect. Psychologists have documented what is called an "illusion of transparency." Those speaking feel that their nervousness is transparent, but in reality their feelings are not so apparent to observers. . . . In fact, observers aren't as good at picking up on a speaker's emotional state as we tend to expect. So, while you might be so nervous you're convinced that everyone can tell how nervous you are, in reality that's very rarely the case. . . . With this in mind, you

²⁶ See, e.g., Daniel Gilbert, Stumbling on Happiness 19 (Vintage Canada 2007) (2006); Timothy D. Wilson & Daniel T. Gilbert, Affective Forecasting, 35 Advances in Experimental Soc. Psychol. 345, 349 (2003).

whether an answer is correct or even in the ballpark. Instead, the teacher moves on to another topic or another student.").

²⁵ TUROW, *supra* note 20.

 $^{^{27}}$ Kenneth Savitsky & Thomas Gilovich, *The Illusion of Transparency and the Alleviation of Speech Anxiety*, 39 J. EXPERIMENTAL Soc. PSYCHOL. 618, 621 (2003). 28 $_{Id}$

should just relax and try to do your best. Know that if you become nervous, you'll probably be the only one to know.²⁹

Telling the students explicitly about the illusion of transparency removed some of its ill effects. So, too, if you discuss the issue with your class, it may improve both their willingness to contribute as well as their performance.

V. REFRAME THE FEELING: YOU ARE REALLY EXCITED

Another technique is to get the anxious to reinterpret their feelings (racing hearts, sweaty palms) as excitement. Both states have similar psychological effects; however, in a set of studies, participants in stressful performance situations who said, "I am excited" (as opposed to "I am anxious" or "I am calm") actually performed better. This change takes the threat mode of the anxious state and turns it into the opportunity moment of the excitement state. The excited people were judged as more persuasive and competent. Participation is an opportunity to contribute to the class, and that adrenaline rush is the excitement of being part of the conversation.

The key to this technique is giving students some colorable claim that they could be excited about the material. Beginning a class with mundane organizational details or jumping into a recitation of the facts of a case will not allow even the most suggestible of your class to indulge in the delusion of excitement. On the other hand, if you start the class with a hypothetical that asks students to ponder a problem that you will be working on in class, you get them thinking immediately and give them a context for wanting to figure out the answer. Of course, it helps if everyone participates in answering the question through some type of response system that requires everyone to commit.

In Constitutional Law, for example, I might ask them at the beginning of class whether falsely shouting fire in a crowded theater should ever be considered protected speech. Most students answer no because that is the typical gut reaction, but as we work through the cases, we talk about issues of intent (was it a mistake?) and likelihood of harm (was there actually a panic?). When I reask that question at the end of class, many students end up changing their minds because they now see situations where they are uncomfortable allowing the government to punish speech even for false statements of fact, let alone the speakers' opinions that form the basis for liability in several infamous cases that we read.³¹

Starting a discussion of gender classifications under equal protection could begin with a hypothetical about a law barring women working as prison guards in male prisons. The discussion brings out government and individual interests,

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³⁰ Alison Wood Brooks, *Get Excited: Reappraising Pre-Performance Anxiety as Excitement*, 143 J. Experimental Psychol.: Gen. 1144, 1153–54 (2014).

³¹ E.g., Abrams v. United States, 250 U.S. 616, 624–31 (1919) (Holmes, J., dissenting); Debs v. United States, 249 U.S. 211 (1919); Schenck v. United States, 249 U.S. 47 (1919).

as well as differences in sexual and gender identity, and race and gender discrimination. As we delve into the cases, we can revisit their predictions and responses. Instead of bringing in hypotheticals after the case, you start with a problem that relates to the topic area to generate interest. You show relevance at the beginning rather than waiting to connect everything at the end of class.

Perhaps these examples strike you as unexciting, but use your imagination in introducing the material for the day in a way that whets the appetite to learn it, whether by linking it to current events, future usefulness in practice, or just curiosity as to how the knotty problem you present at the beginning will unfold.

This technique takes advantage of testing students on the material. Learning theorists have discovered that testing early and often is good for learning.³² Now you might reasonably ask whether that holds true before even you, as the teacher, think students have had a fair opportunity to learn the material. It turns out that asking questions before the learner even delves into the material improves later performance.³³ Psychologists speculate that the attempt to respond creates a more receptive environment for learning, and when the true answer is later revealed, it sticks with the learner, even if the initial response was wrong.³⁴ So do not worry about wrong answers sticking with the students (if there is actually a right answer to the question you ask). The important point is that you caught their interest with the question.

VI. BEWARE OF THE BYSTANDER EFFECT IN THE CLASSROOM

More often than we would like, we read a story about some crime or accident where spectators did not help. People might hear the cries or calls for assistance, but no one takes action. This phenomenon is known as the bystander effect.³⁵ The theory is that no one takes action because most everyone thinks someone else will take action.³⁶ People are much more likely to help when they think they are the only ones available to help.³⁷

Psychologists have suggested that telling people about the bystander effect can lessen the effect.³⁸ If you know that everyone will be pawning off responsi-

³⁷ *Id*.

³² Brown ET AL., supra note 15, at 21; Andrew C. Butler, Repeated Testing Produces Superior Transfer of Learning Relative to Repeated Studying, 36 J. EXPERIMENTAL PSYCHOL.: LEARNING, MEMORY & COGNITION 1118, 1128-29 (2010); Jeffrey D. Karpicke & Janell R. Blunt, Retrieval Practice Produces More Learning than Elaborative Studying with Concept Mapping, 331 SCIENCE 772, 772 (2011).

³³ Brown ET AL., *supra* note 15, at 21–22.

³⁴ Nate Kornell et al., Unsuccessful Retrieval Attempts Enhance Subsequent Learning, 35 J. EXPERIMENTAL PSYCHOL.: LEARNING, MEMORY, & COGNITION 989, 996 (2009).

³⁵ John M. Darley & Bibb Latané, Bystander Intervention in Emergencies: Diffusion of Responsibility, 8 J. Personality & Soc. Psychol. 377, 381–83 (1968). ³⁶ *Id*.

³⁸ Arthur L. Beaman et al., *Increasing Helping Rates Through Information Dissemination:* Teaching Pays, 4 Personality & Soc. Psychol. Bull. 406, 406–07 (1978).

bility on other bystanders, you are more likely to take action when you are a member of the bystander group.

For law school, a version of the bystander effect can be a detriment to participation in classes. Cold calling can certainly produce a body to answer, but ideally an active group of learners will all participate without having to be drafted. When asking for volunteers, reliance on the other bystanders in class may produce either silence or the same loyal group of volunteers that is always at the ready to assist you. Inculcating a sense of responsibility for class participation and learning is important. Even the anxious must occasionally step out of the crowd to render aid despite the personal discomfort.

So tell your class about the bystander effect. First, it is an important principle to know in case you are one of a crowd passing someone who needs assistance. If you do not help, probably no one will. Second, students need to shake off the bystander effect in class. Diffusion of responsibility may contribute to a problematic learning experience for everyone. Occasionally, each student needs to step up and commit to helping the class move forward in the learning process even when it would be easier to sit back and free ride.

CONCLUSION

These six suggestions focus on encouraging students to take charge of their own learning through participation in the classroom. Drawing out the anxious and wary can be as challenging as preparing the substance of the material. Nevertheless, a student's success depends on the student's willingness to direct his or her own learning. Ultimately, no matter how scintillating your lectures, discussion questions, or visual aids, the ability to participate in the challenging project of learning the law will depend on the student's willingness to actively participate in the process. By confronting the issue and offering concrete suggestions, the instructor can give students tools for lifelong learning.