

پی‌نوشت‌ها



سرآغاز



۱. کلیه این نقل قول‌ها را می‌توان در زندگینامه خودنوشت مولیس یافت:

Mullis, K. (1999), *Dancing Naked in the Mind Field*, London: Bloomsbury.

وی آن‌ها را در وب‌سایت خود نیز منعکس می‌کند:

<https://www.karymullis.com/pdf/On-AIDS-and-Global-Warming.pdf>.

گفته‌های مولیس اغلب نقل صفحات وب و تالارهای گفت‌وگو درباره طالع بینی، تغییرات آب و هوایی و ثوری‌های توطنده پیرامون بیماری ایدز است. به عنوان مثال، در وب‌سایت یکی از برجسته‌ترین منکران ایدز، پیتر دوزبرگ، از او یاد شده است:

<http://www.duesberg.com/viewpoints/kintro.html>

همچنین می‌توانید مصاحبه‌های متعددی از درباره نظریه‌های توطنده ایدز در یوتیوب ببینید. مثل:

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=IlfgAvXU3ts&t=7s>

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=rycOLjoPbeo>

2. Gruber, M.L. (2013), 'The Incidence of Diagnostic Error in Medicine', *BMJ Quality and Safety*, 22(Suppl. 2), 21–7.

۳. شایان ذکر است که ادوارد دو بونو در کتاب هایش با موضوع پادگیری به تشریح «دام نیوگ» پرداخته است. به همین ترتیب، دیوید پرکینز، روان‌شناس دانشگاه هاروارد، نیز در کتاب *Outsmarting IQ* به «دام‌های نیوگ» اشاره می‌کند (سیمون و شوستر، ۱۹۹۵). ایده‌های پرکینز به ویژه، مبنای برخی از استدلال‌های من است و خواندن کتاب او را کاملاً توصیه می‌کنم.

۴. طبق گفته‌های کریستوفر روو، این جزئیات از ظواهر و شکل زندگی سقراط به طور گستره‌ای در چندین منبع تکرار شده است. تمام نقل قول‌ها نیز از ترجمه رwoo از کتاب *Damasio's Brain* افلاطون برگرفته شده است:

Rowe, C. (2010), *The Last Days of Socrates*, London: Penguin (Kindle Edition).
 تشابهات بین محکمه سقراط و تحقیقات درباره نقاط کور تعصّب یکی از نمونه‌های اثرگذاری فلسفه یونان بر اقتصاد و روان‌شناسی رفتاری است. نیک رومئو روزنامه‌نگار در مقاله‌ای برای مجله آینترنی Aeon به نمونه‌هایی از تأثیر قالب‌بندی، سوگیری تأیید و اثر لنگر در آموزه‌های افلاطون اشاره می‌کند: Romeo, N. (2017), 'Platonically Irrational', *Aeon*, <https://aeon.co/essays/what-plato-knew-about-behavioural-economics-a-lot>.

5. Descartes, R. (1637), *A Discourse on the Method*, trans. Maclean, I. (2006), Oxford: Oxford University Press, p.

[۱] فراز و فرود ترمیت‌ها: هوش چه هست و چه نیست؟



1. Shurkin, J. (1992), *Terman's Kids: The Groundbreaking Study of How the Gifted Grow Up*, Boston, MA: Little, Brown, p. 122.
2. Shurkin, *Terman's Kids*, pp. 513.
3. Shurkin, *Terman's Kids*, pp. 10916.
4. Shurkin, *Terman's Kids*, pp. 548.
5. Terman, L.M. (1922), 'Were We Born That Way?' *World's Work*, 44, 65–79.
 Quoted in White, J. (2006), *Intelligence, Destiny and Education: The Ideological Roots of Intelligence Testing*, London: Routledge, p. 24.
6. Terman, L.M. (1930), 'Trails to Psychology', in Murchison, C. (ed.), *History of Psychology in Autobiography*, Vol. 2, p. 297.

7. Terman, 'Trails to Psychology', p. 303.
 8. Nicolas, S., et al. (2013), 'Sick Or Slow? On the Origins of Intelligence as a Psychological Object', *Intelligence*, 41 (5), 699–711.
 9. White, S. H. (2000), 'Conceptual Foundations of IQ Testing', *Psychology, Public Policy, and Law*, 6, 33–43.
 10. Binet, A. (1909), *Les idées modernes sur les enfants*, Paris: Flammarion.
 11. Perkins, D. (1995), *Outsmarting IQ: The Emerging Science of Learnable Intelligence*, New York: Free Press, p. 44.
 12. Terman, L.M. (1916), *The Measurement of Intelligence: An Explanation of and a Complete Guide for the Use of the Stanford Revision and Extension of the Binet-Simon Intelligence Scale*, Boston, MA: Houghton Mifflin, p. 46.
 13. Terman, *The Measurement of Intelligence*, p. 6.
 14. Terman, *The Measurement of Intelligence*, p. 11.
 15. Shurkin, *Terman's Kids*.
 16. Shurkin, *Terman's Kids*, pp. 196–292.
 17. Honan, W. (9 March 2002), 'Shelley Mydans, 86, author and former POW', *New York Times*.
 18. McGraw, C. (29 December 1988), 'Creator of "Lucy" TV show dies', *Los Angeles Times*.
 19. Oppenheimer, J. and Oppenheimer, G. (1996), *Laughs, Luck ? and Lucy: How I Came to Create the Most Popular Sitcom of All Time*. Syracuse, NY: Syracuse University Press, p. 100.
 20. Terman, 'Trails to Psychology', p 297.
۲۱. به عنوان مثال، در چین، اکثر مدارس سوابق عملکرد هر کودک در آزمون‌های استدلال غیرکلامی را نگهداری می‌کنند. برای اطلاعات بیشتر به منبع زیر مراجعه کنید:
- Higgins, L.T. and Xiang, G. (2009), 'The Development and Use of Intelligence Tests in China', *Psychology and Developing Societies*, 21 (2), 257–75.

22. Madhok, D. (10 September 2012), 'Cram Schools Boom Widens India Class Divide', *Reuters*,
<https://in.reuters.com/article/india-cramschools-kota/cram-schools-boom-widens-indias-class-divide-idINDEE8890GW20120910>.
23. Ritchie, S.J., et al. (2015), 'Beyond a Bigger Brain: Multivariable Structural Brain Imaging and Intelligence', *Intelligence*, 51, 47–56.
24. Gregory, M.D., Kippenhan, J.S., Dickinson, D., Carrasco, J., Mattay, V.S., Weinberger, D.R. and Berman, K.F. (2016), 'Regional Variations in Brain Gyration are Associated with General Cognitive Ability in Humans', *Current Biology*, 26(10), 1301–5.
25. Li, Y., Liu, Y., Li, J., Qin, W., Li, K., Yu, C. and Jiang, T. (2009), 'Brain Anatomical Network and Intelligence', *PLoS Computational Biology*, 5(5), e1000395.

۲۶. برای اطلاعات بیشتر در این مورد به منبع زیر مراجعه کنید:

Kaufman, S. (2013), '*Ungifted: Intelligence Redefined*', New York: Basic Books (Kindle Edition)

به ویژه، می‌توانید به تحلیل او از تحقیقات بنیاد پوزس مراجعه کنید. این بنیاد دانشجویان را بر اساس معیارهایی فراتر از هوش سنتی و انتزاعی انتخاب می‌کند، از جمله از طریق مصاحبه‌های عمیق و بحث‌های گروهی که کیفیت خصوصیاتی مثل رهبری، ارتباطات، حل مسئله و مهارت‌های مشارکتی را می‌سنجد. اگرچه ممکن است نمرات استعداد تحصیلی تعدادی از دانشجویان پایین‌تر از حد معمول دانشگاه باشد، اما موقوفیت‌های آن‌ها در دانشگاه تقریباً برابر با سایر دانشجویان است.

۲۷. مقاله زیر، که توسط برخی از برگسته‌ترین محققان حوزه ضریب هوشی نگاشته شده است، به صراحت این نکته را بیان می‌کند:

Neisser, U., et al. (1996), 'Intelligence: Knowns and Unknowns' *American Psychologist*, 51(2), 77–101.

همچنین مقاله زیر را مشاهده کنید که تجزیه و تحلیل بیشتری از این ایده را ارائه می‌دهد؛ جمله زیر را در نظر بگیرید که برگرفته از این مقاله است: «بیش از یک صد سال تحقیق درباره آزمون‌های هوش نشان داده که نمرات آزمون‌های استاندارد هوش طیف گسترده‌ای از نتایج و دستاوردهای افراد را پیش‌بینی می‌کند، اما حتی پوپ‌اکرس‌ترین طرفداران آزمون‌های هوش هم قبول دارند که نمرات ضریب هوشی (و آزمون‌های نزدیک به آن مانند استعداد تحصیلی) در پیش‌بینی رفتارهای افراد در زندگی واقعی خود ناتوانند»:

Butler, H.A., Pentoney, C. and Bong, M.P. (2017), 'Predicting Real-world Outcomes: Critical Thinking Ability Is a Better Predictor of Life Decisions than Intelligence', *Thinking Skills and Creativity*, 25, 38–46.

28. Schmidt, F.L. and Hunter, J. (2004), 'General Mental Ability in the World of Work: Occupational Attainment and Job Performance', *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 86(1), 162–73.
29. Neisser, U., et al., 'Intelligence'. Strenze, T. (2007), 'Intelligence and Socioeconomic Success: A Meta-Analytic Review of Longitudinal Research', *Intelligence*, 35, 401–26.

۳۰. برای مشاهده منابع بیشتر در خصوص اشکالات ارتباط دادن ضریب هوشی به عملکرد شغای به منابع زیر مراجعه کنید:

- Byington, E. and Felps, W. (2010), 'Why Do IQ Scores Predict Job Performance? An Alternative, Sociological Explanation', *Research in Organizational Behavior*, 30, 175–202. Richardson, K. and Norgate, S.H. (2015), 'Does IQ Really Predict Job Performance?' *Applied Developmental Science*, 19(3), 153–69. Ericsson, K.A. (2014), 'Why Expert Performance Is Special and Cannot Be Extrapolated From Studies of Performance in the General Population: A Response to Criticisms', *Intelligence*, 45, 81–103.
31. Feldman, D. (1984), 'A Follow-Up of Subjects Scoring Above 180 IQ in Terman's Genetic Studies of Genius', *Exceptional Children*, 50(6), 518–23.
32. Shurkin, *Terman's Kids*, pp. 183–7.
33. Shurkin, *Terman's Kids*, p. 190.

۳۴. برای مشاهده تحلیل جدیدتری که به نتیجه‌گیری تقریباً مشابهی رسیده است، به مقاله تحلیلی دین سیمونتون در خصوص مطالعات تمن در زمینه نبیغ مراجعه کنید: «تفاوت افراد در سطح هوش عمومی شان تاثیر ناچیزی بر دستاوردها و شایستگی‌های اکتسابی آن‌ها دارد و قدرت اثرگذاری هوش نیز منوط به تعریف آن در حوزه‌ای مشخص است. در اصل، استعداد فکری باید به عنوان میزان شتاب در دستیابی به تخصص در یک حوزه انتخابی تعریف شود. علاوه بر این، تفاوت‌های شخصیتی و تجربیات اولیه رشد نقش مهمی را در پژوهش نبیغ ایفا می‌کند، اگرچه این عوامل تأثیرگذار نیز باید متناسب با حوزه خاص دستاورده باشند».

- Simonton, D.K. (2016), 'Reverse Engineering Genius: Historiometric Studies of Superlative Talent', *Annals of the New York Academy of Sciences*, 1377, 3–9.

۳۵. این مصاحبه در ابتدا در مقاله‌من برای بی‌سی فیوچر در سال ۲۰۱۶ منتشر شد:
<http://www.bbc.com/future/story/20160929-our-iqs-have-never-been-higher-but-it-hasnt-made-us-smart>

36. Clark, C.M., Lawlor-Savage, L. and Goghari, V.M. (2016), 'The Flynn Effect: A Quantitative Commentary on Modernity and Human Intelligence', *Measurement: Interdisciplinary Research and Perspectives*, 14(2), 39–53.

پژوهش‌های اخیر نشان داده است که اثر فلین تا حد زیادی می‌تواند در مدت زمان پاسخگویی به سؤالات اثربخش باشد. نسل‌های جوان این کار را با سرعت بیشتری انجام می‌دهند، گویی در جوان‌ترها تفکر انتزاعی به صورت خودکار انجام شده و به عادت طبیعی شان بدل می‌شود:

Must, O. and Must, A. (2018), 'Speed and the Flynn Effect', *Intelligence*, 68, 37–47.

۳۷. برخی محققان مدرن ضریب هوشی معتقدند که آموزش این دسته مهارت‌های تفکر انتزاعی می‌تواند راهی برای کاهش شکاف اجتماعی بین افراد دارای ضریب هوشی بالا و پایین باشد. اما اثر فلین نشان می‌دهد که آموزش برای مواردی مثل تفکر خلاق مزایای چندانی به دنبال ندارد. برای مثال به منبع زیر مراجعه کنید:

Asbury, K. and Plomin, R. (2014), *G Is for Genes*, Oxford: Wiley Blackwell, pp. 149–87.

۳۸. در حقیقت، شواهد و مدارکی وجود دارد که نشان می‌دهد خلاقیت در همان دوره کاهش یافته است، هم از لحاظ معیارهای آزمایشگاهی سنجش حل مسئله خلاق و هم از حیث سنجه‌های واقعی نوآوری، از جمله تعداد متوسط ثبت اختراعات توسط هر شخص. برای اطلاعات بیشتر به منابع زیر مراجعه کنید:

Kim, K.H. (2011), 'The Creativity Crisis: The Decrease in Creative Thinking Scores on the Torrance Tests of Creative Thinking', *Creativity Research Journal*, 23(4), 285–95. Kaufman, J. (2018), 'Creativity as a Stepping Stone toward a Brighter Future', *Journal of Intelligence*, 6(2), 21. Huebner, J. (2005), 'A Possible Declining Trend for Worldwide Innovation', *Technological Forecasting and Social Change*, 72(8), 980–6.

39. Flynn, J.R. (1998), 'IQ Gains Over Time: Toward Finding the Causes', in Neisser, U. (ed.), *The Rising Curve: Long-Term Changes in IQ and Related Measures*, Washington, DC: American Psychological Association, pp. 25–66.

40. Harms, P.D. and Credé, M. (2010), 'Remaining Issues in Emotional Intelligence Research: Construct Overlap, Method Artifacts, and Lack of Incremental Validity', *Industrial and Organizational Psychology: Perspectives on Science and Practice*, 3(2), 154–8. See also Fiori, M., Antonietti, J.P., Mikolajczak, M., Luminet, O., Hansenne, M. and Rossier, J. (2014), 'What Is the Ability Emotional Intelligence Test (MSCEIT) Good For? An Evaluation Using Item Response Theory', *PLOS One*, 9(6), e98827.

41. Waterhouse, L. (2006), 'Multiple Intelligences, the Mozart Effect, and Emotional Intelligence: A Critical Review', *Educational Psychologist*, 41 (4), 207–25. And Waterhouse, L. (2006), 'Inadequate Evidence for Multiple Intelligences, Mozart Effect, and Emotional Intelligence Theories', *Educational Psychologist*, 41(4), 247–55.

۴۲. در مقاله زیر، رابرت استرنبرگ به مقایسه نظریه‌های خود با نظریه هوش چندگانه و هوش هیجانی می‌پردازد:

Sternberg, R.J. (1999), 'Successful Intelligence: Finding a Balance', *Trends in Cognitive Sciences*, 3(11), 436–42.

43. Hagbloom, S.J., et al. (2002), 'The 100 Most Eminent Psychologists of the 20th Century', *Review of General Psychology*, 6(2), 139–52.

۴۴. استرنبرگ جزئیات بیشتر این موضوع را در پیوند اینترنتی زیر آورده است:
<http://www.cdl.org/articles/the-teachers-we-never-forget/>.

۴۵. برای دریافت اطلاعات بیشتر در این خصوص به منبع زیر مراجعه کنید:
Sternberg, R.J. and Preiss, D.D. (eds) (2010), *Innovations in Educational Psychology: Perspectives on Learning, Teaching, and Human Development*. New York: Springer, pp. 406–7.

46. Sternberg, 'Successful Intelligence'.

۴۷. برای مثال می‌توانید به منبع زیر مراجعه کنید:
Hedlund, J., Wilt, J.M., Nebel, K.L., Ashford, S.J. and Sternberg, R.J. (2006), 'Assessing Practical Intelligence in Business School Admissions: A Supplement to the Graduate Management Admissions Test', *Learning and Individual Differences*, 16(2), 101–27.

۴۸. جهت مشاهده جزئیات بیشتر پرامون مصاحبه شبکه پی‌بی‌اس با استرنبرگ به پیوند زیر مراجعه کنید:
<https://www.pbs.org/wgbh/pages/frontline/shows/sats/interviews/sternberg.html>.

۴۹. برای مشاهده خلاصه این یافته‌ها به منبع زیر مراجعه کنید:
Sternberg, R.J., Castejón, J.L., Prieto, M.D., Hautamäki, J. and Grigorenko, E.L. (2001), 'Confirmatory Factor Analysis of the Sternberg Triarchic Abilities Test in Three International Samples: An Empirical Test of the Triarchic Theory of Intelligence', *European Journal of Psychological Assessment*, 17(1), 1–16. Sternberg, R.J. (2015),

'Successful Intelligence:A Model for Testing Intelligence Beyond IQ Tests', *European Journal of Education and Psychology*, 8(2), 76–84. Sternberg, R.J. (2008), 'Increasing Academic Excellence and Enhancing Diversity Are Compatible Goals', *Educational Policy*, 22(4), 487–514. Sternberg, R.J., Grigorenko, E.L. and Zhang, L.F. (2008), 'Styles Of Learning and Thinking Matter in Instruction and Assessment', *Perspectives on Psychological Science*, 3(6), 486–506.

50. Sternberg, R.J. (2000), *Practical Intelligence in Everyday Life*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, pp. 144–200. See also Wagner, R.K. and Sternberg, R.J. (1985), 'Practical Intelligence in Real-world Pursuits: The Role of Tacit Knowledge', *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 49(2), 436–58. See also Caciolo, A.T., et al. (2006), 'Tacit Knowledge, Practical Intelligence and Expertise', in Ericsson, K.A. (ed.), *Cambridge Handbook of Expertise and Expert Performance*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

جهت مشاهده مباحث مستقل درخصوص مطالعات استرنبرگ به منابع زیر مراجعه کنید:

Perkins, D. (1995), *Outsmarting IQ: The Emerging Science of Learnable Intelligence*, New York: Free Press, pp. 83–4. And Nisbett, R.E., Aronson, J., Blair, C., Dickens, W., Flynn, J., Halpern, D.F. and Turkheimer, E. (2012), 'Intelligence: New Findings and Theoretical Developments', *American Psychologist*, 67(2), 130. And Mackintosh, N.J. (2011), *IQ and Human Intelligence*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, pp. 222–43.

۵۱. گزارش جامع APA درخصوص هوش، که در سال ۱۹۹۶ با عنوان «دانسته‌ها و ندانسته‌ها» منتشر شد، این طور نتیجه‌گیری می‌کند که، هرچند شاید انتقاداتی به این گزارش وارد باشد، نتایج تا به این لحظه مؤید تمایز بین هوش تحلیلی و هوش کاربردی است.

Neisser, et al., 'Intelligence'.

۵۲. برای مثال به این منابع مراجعه کنید:

Imai, L. and Gelfand, M.J. (2010), 'The Culturally Intelligent Negotiator: The Impact of Cultural Intelligence (CQ) on Negotiation Sequences and Outcomes', *Organizational Behavior and Human Decision Processes*, 112(2), 83–98. Alon, I. and Higgins, J.M. (2005), 'Global Leadership Success through Emotional and Cultural Intelligences', *Business Horizons*, 48(6), 501–12. Rockstuhl, T., Seiler, S., Ang, S., Van Dyne, L. and Annen, H. (2011), 'Beyond General Intelligence (IQ) and Emotional Intelligence (EQ): The Role of Cultural Intelligence (CQ) on Cross-Border Leadership Effectiveness in a Globalized World', *Journal of Social Issues*, 67(4), 825–40.

53. Marks, R. (2007), 'Lewis M. Terman: Individual Differences and the Construction of Social Reality', *Educational Theory*, 24(4), 336–55.
54. Terman, L.M. (1916), *The Measurement of Intelligence: An Explanation of and a Complete Guide for the Use of the Stanford Revision and Extension of the Binet-Simon Intelligence Scale*. Boston, MA: Houghton Mifflin.
55. Lippmann, W. (25 October 1922), 'The Mental Age of Americans', *New Republic*, p. 213.
56. Terman, L.M. (27 December 1922), 'The Great Conspiracy or the Impulse Imperious of Intelligence Testers, Psychoanalyzed and Exposed By Mr Lippmann', *New Republic*, p. 116.
57. Shurkin, *Terman's Kids*, p. 190.
58. Minton, H.L. (1988), *Lewis M. Terman: Pioneer in Psychological Testing*, New York, New York University Press.

‘۲] استدلال‌های آشفته: خطرات ‘اختلال منطق’



۱. این بخش برگرفته از متنابع زیر است:

- Ernst, B.M.L. and Carrington, H. (1933), *Houdini and Conan Doyle: The Story of a Strange Friendship*, London: Hutchinson. Conan Doyle, A.C. (1930), *The Edge of the Unknown*, London: John Murray. Kalush, W. and Sloman, L. (2006), *The Secret Life of Houdini: The Making of America's First Superhero*, New York: Atria. Sandford, C. (2011), *Houdini and Conan Doyle*, London: Duckworth Overlook. Gardner, L. (10 August 2015), 'Harry Houdini and Arthur Conan Doyle: A Friendship Split by Spiritualism', *Guardian*, <https://www.theguardian.com/stage/2015/aug/10/houdini-and-conan-Conan Doyle-impossible-edinburgh-festival>.
2. Wilk, T. (2 May 2012), 'Houdini, Sir Doyle Do AC', *Atlantic City Weekly*, <http://www.atlanticcityweekly.com/news-and-views/houdini-sir-doyle-do-ac/article-a16ab3ba-95b9-50e1-a2e0-eca01dd8eaae.html>.

۳. دیوید هیوم، فیلسوف قرن هجدهمی، در کتاب دربار معجزات می‌گوید «هیچ گواهی برای اثبات معجزه کافی نیست، مگر اینکه آن گواه این باشد که بطلان آن معجزه از خود آن معجزه‌آساتر است». به بیان دیگر، یک ادعای خارق العاده به شواهد خارق العاده‌ای نیاز دارد.

4. Fox newsreel of an interview with Sir Arthur Conan Doyle (1927). Available at *Public Domain Review*, <https://publicdomainreview.org/collections/sir-arthur-conan-doyle-interview-1927/>.

5. Eby, M. (21 March 2012), 'Hocus Pocus', *Paris Review* blog, <https://www.theparisreview.org/blog/2012/03/21/hocus-pocus/>.

6. Tversky, A. and Kahneman, D. (1974), 'Judgment under Uncertainty: Heuristics and Biases', *Science*, 185, 1124–31.

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۹. افراد باهوش غالباً از قدرت محاسباتی قابل توجه‌شان برای دلیل تراشی برای باورهای خود و مقابله با استدلال‌های مخالف و کسانی که به باورهایشان تردید دارند استفاده می‌کنند.

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Flynn, D.J., Nyhan, B. and Reifler, J. (2017), 'The Nature and Origins of Misperceptions: Understanding False and Unsupported Beliefs about Politics', *Advances in Political Psychology*, 38(S1), 127–50. And also Taber, C.S. and Lodge, M. (2006), 'Motivated Skepticism in the Evaluation of Political Beliefs', *American Journal of Political Science*, 50, 755–69.

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۴۲. ظاهراً ۲۵ هزار دلار از درآمدهای خود از فروش کتاب‌هایش در تور کتاب‌فروشی آمریکا در سال ۱۹۲۲ را در این مرکز هزینه کرد.

Ernst, B.M.L. and Carrington, H. (1971), *Houdini and Conan Doyle: The Story of a Strange Friendship*, New York: Benjamin Blom, p. 147.

۴۳. کانن دویل در این سند موزه بریتانیا مزایای فراوانی را که از اعتقاد به روح‌گرایی نصیبیش شده است تشریح می‌کند:

<http://britishlibrary.typepad.co.uk/files/listen-to-sir-arthur-conan-doyle-on-spiritualism.mp3>.

۴۴. مصاحبه کوتاه شبکه فاکس با سر آرتور کانن دویل در سال ۱۹۲۷ را در این پیوند ببینید:
<https://publicdomainreview.org/collections/sir-arthur-conan-doyle-interview-1927/>

۴۵. آن طور که راسل میلر، زندگینامه‌نویس کانن دویل، می‌نویسد، «وقتی باوری در ذهن کانن دویل شکل می‌گرفت، دیگر کسی جلوه‌دارش نبود، هیچ چون و چاری را نمی‌پذیرفت و شواهد نقض دیدگاه خود را نادیده می‌گرفت و هیچ شکی به دلش راه نمی‌داد». میلر، ماجراهای آنژور کانن دویل، فصل ۲۰.

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۴۸. نمونه‌های دیگر را می‌توانید در مصاحبه زیر با جان موفات فیزیکدان بخوانید، از جمله اینکه اینشتین شواهد محکمی را درباره وجود سیاه‌چاله‌ها رد کرده است:

Folger, T. (September 2004), 'Einstein's Grand Quest for a Unified Theory', *Discover*, <http://discovermagazine.com/2004/sep/einstins-grand-quest>. See also Mackie, G. (2015), 'Einstein's Folly: How the Search for a Unified Theory Stumped Him until His Dying Day', *The Conversation*, <http://theconversation.com/einstins-folly-how-the-search-for-a-unified-theory-stumped-him-to-his-dying-day-49646>.

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۵۳. این موارد استثناست، اما موضوع سوگیری در امور علمی در سال‌های اخیر اهمیت بیشتری یافته است و این نگرانی وجود دارد که بسیاری از دانشمندان دچار نوع نگرش و تفکر امثال کانن دویل شوند. در دهه ۱۹۹۰ و اوایل دهه ۲۰۰۰ میلادی، روان‌شناس کوین دانبر سال‌های روی شکل تفکر دانشمندان در هشت آزمایشگاه مختلف به مطالعه پرداخت. او در جلسات هفتگی آن‌ها شرکت می‌کرد و درباره آخرین یافته‌هایشان با آن‌ها بحث و تبادل نظر می‌کرد. دانبر دریافت که سوگیری تأیید در آن‌ها بسیار زیاد است و بسیاری از دانشمندان به طور ناخودآگاه در نتایج آزمایشات تجربی‌شان دست می‌برند تا آن رامتناسب با فرضیه فعلی خود تحریف کنند یا به شکل ناخودآگاه به جست‌وجویی دلایل جدید و پیچیده‌تر می‌پردازند تا فرضیه‌های خود را متناسب با داده‌ها کنند. به نظر می‌رسد محققان پژوهشکی بیشتر در پی نتایج عامه‌پسند هستند و خطاهای جدی خود در روش‌شناسی تحقیق را نادیده می‌گیرند.

برای مثال می‌توانید به منابع زیر مراجعه کنید:

- Dunbar, K. (2000), 'How Scientists Think in the Real World', *Journal of Applied Developmental Psychology*, 21(1), 49–58. Wilson, T.D., DePaulo, B.M., Mook, D.G. and Klaaren, K.J. (1993), 'Scientists' Evaluations of Research: The Biasing Effects of the Importance of the Topic', *Psychological Science*, 4(5), 322–5.
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برای بحث بیشتر درباره این مناقشات رجوع کنید به:

- Butler, D. (2012). Nobel fight over African HIV centre. *Nature*, 486(7403), 301–2. <https://www.nature.com/news/nobel-fight-over-african-hiv-centre-1.10847>

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[۳] بلای دانایی: زشت و زیبای ذهن متخصص



۱. جزئیات تجربیات برندون میفیلد برگرفته از مصاحبه های با او و همچنین مصاحبه های مطبوعاتی
وی از جمله مصاحبه ویدئویی با اوپن دمکراسی مورخ سی ام نوامبر ۲۰۰۶ است:

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همچنین مرهونم به:

Mayfield, S. and Mayfield, B. (2015), *Improbable Cause: The War on Terror's Assault on the Bill of Rights*, Salem, NH: Divertir.

من بسیاری از جزئیات راباگراش دفتر بازرس کل مسئول رسیدگی به پرونده میفیلد توسط افبیای
تطبیق دوباره داده ام.

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3. Office of the Inspector General (2006), ‘A Review of the FBI’s Handling of the Brandon Mayfield Case’, p. 80, <https://oig.justice.gov/special/s0601/final.pdf>.
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‘Why Losers Have Delusions of Grandeur’, *New York Post*, 23 May 2010, <https://nypost.com/2010/05/23/why-losers-have-delusions-of-graneur/>. Lee, C. (2016), ‘Revisiting Why Incompetents Think They Are Awesome’, *Ars Technica*, 4 November 2016, <https://arstechnica.com/science/2016/11/revisiting-why-incompetents-think-theyre-awesome/>. Lam, F. (2017), ‘Trump’s ‘Dangerous Disability’? The Dunning-Kruger Effect’, Bloomberg, 12 May 2017, <https://www.bloomberg.com/view/articles/2017-05-12/trump-s-dangerous-disability-it-s-the-dunning-kruger-effect>.

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۱۶. بخش اعظم این اطلاعات درباره زندگی دوگروت برگرفته از شرح مختصر زندگی او در بخش آبزور انجمان روان‌شناسی آمریکاست که در اول نوامبر ۲۰۰۶ در سایت این انجمان منتشر شد:
<http://www.psychologicalscience.org/observer/in-memoriam-adriaan-dingeman-de-groot-1914-2006#.WUpLDlTUDv>
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 همچنین به آرمایش پیگیری ویلیام چیس و هریت سایمون مراجعه کنید که شواهد بیشتری در مورد تأثیر تقطیع در عملکرد متخصصان ارائه می‌دهد:
- Chase, W. G. and Simon, H. A. (1973). Perception in Chess. *Cognitive Psychology*, 4(1), 55–81.
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- al. (eds), *Cambridge Handbook of Expertise and Expert Performance*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
21. Dobbs, D. (2006), 'How to Be a Genius', *New Scientist*, 191 (2569), 40–3.
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۲۵. برای یک مرور جامع از شواهد رجوع کنید به:

- Dane, E. (2010), 'Reconsidering the Trade-Off between Expertise and Flexibility: A Cognitive Entrenchment Perspective', *Academy of Management Review*, 35(4), 579–603.
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۲۸. برای مثال رجوع کنید به:

- Corbin, J.C., Reyna, V.F., Weldon, R.B. and Brainerd, C.J. (2015), 'How Reasoning, Judgment, and Decision Making Are Colored By Gist-Based Intuition: A Fuzzy-Trace Theory Approach', *Journal of Applied Research in Memory and Cognition*, 4(4), 344–55.

در فصل پیش رو همچنین توضیحات کامل‌تری پیرامون بسیاری از یافته‌های مطالب قبلی آورده شده است:

- Dror, I.E. (2011), 'The Paradox of Human Expertise: Why Experts Get It Wrong', in *The Paradoxical Brain*, ed. Narinder Kapur, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
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۸. باشگاه مناظرۀ بنجامین فرانکلین خرد را به این معنی تعریف می‌کند: «علم به اینکه در هر موقعیتی چه چیزی به صلاحمن است و بهترین راه‌های دستیابی به آن کدام است؟» همچنین، به باور آن‌ها، «هیچ‌کس همیشه و در همه‌چیز عاقل نیست، هرچند که برخی بیش از دیگران خرد پیشه می‌کنند»: *Proposals and Queries to be Asked the Junto*, 1732.
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- همان طورکه بایرن و اسونسون اشاره می‌کنند، روان‌شناسان پیشین ترجیح می‌دادند تباهه به «روان‌فیزیک» و بررسی پیوندهای میان محرک‌های فیزیکی و ادراک و احساس آدمی پیدا زند – مثلاً عناصر اصلی ادراک را بررسی کنند – و عقل را بسیار پیچیده‌تر از آن می‌دانستند که در آزمایشگاه مورد بررسی قرار گیرد. این موضوع تا قرن بیستم مسکوت ماند و در کتاب‌های مرجع مثل پیشینهٔ فکری روان‌شناسی (دانیل راینسون، ۱۹۷۶) و کتابچهٔ روان‌شناسی عمومی (بنجامین ولمن، ۱۹۷۳) مطلبی پیرامون آن نوشته نمی‌شد.
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مطالعات مختلف نشان می‌دهند که استدلال همراه با گشودگی فکری - مؤلفه‌ای مهم در تعریف گروسمن از خرد- به بهروزی و شادکامی بیشتر منجر می‌شود. همچنین این رویکرد فکری سبب می‌شود که افراد درباره عواملی که سلامتی شان را به مخاطره می‌اندازد کنیجکاویر شوند:

Lambie, J. (2014), *How to Be Critically Open-Minded: A Psychological and Historical Analysis*, Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, pp. 89–90.

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Lambie, *How to be Critically Open-minded*, pp. 193–7
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۵۳. برای بررسی این شواهد به منابع زیر مراجعه کنید:

- Nisbett, R.E., Peng, K., Choi, I. and Norenzayan, A. (2001), 'Culture and Systems of Thought: Holistic Versus Analytic Cognition', *Psychological Review*, 108(2), 291–310. Markus, H.R. and Kitayama, S. (1991), 'Culture and the Self: Implications for Cognition, Emotion, and Motivation', *Psychological Review*, 98(2), 224–53. Henrich, J., Heine, S.J. and Norenzayan, A. (2010), 'Beyond WEIRD: Towards a Broad-based Behavioral Science', *Behavioral and Brain Sciences*, 33(2–3), 111–35.

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- Cave, P. (2007), *Primary School in Japan: Self, Individuality, and Learning in Elementary Education*, Abingdon, England: Routledge, pp. 31–43, Smith, R. (1983), *Japanese Society: Tradition, Self, and the Social Order*, Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, pp. 68–105.
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[۵] قطب‌نمای عاطفی شما: قدرت خوداندیشی



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همچنین به مباحث جالب اوزن سدلر-اسمیت در مورد خلاقیت و شهود مراجعه کنید:

Sadler-Smith, E. (2010). *The Intuitive Mind: Profiting From the Power of Your Sixth Sense*. Chichester: John Wiley & Sons.

۱۳. فلدمان بر این داستان را در کتاب جذاب و گیرای خود بازگو می‌کند:

Feldman Barrett, L. (2017), *How Emotions Are Made*, London: Pan Macmillan, pp. 30–1.
من نیز یادداشتی در این باره برای بی‌بی‌سی فیوجن نوشته‌ام:
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Judgments', *Journal of Experimental Social Psychology*, 49(4), 719–25. See also Fenton-O'Creevy, M., Soane, E., Nicholson, N. and Willman, P. (2011), 'Thinking, Feeling and Deciding: The Influence of Emotions on the Decision Making and Performance of Traders', *Journal of Organizational Behavior*, 32(8), 1044–61.

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Herbert, B.M. and Pollatos, O. (2012), 'On the Embodiment of Emotion Regulation: Interoceptive Awareness Facilitates Reappraisal', *Social Cognitive and Affective Neuroscience*, 8(8), 911–17. And Kashdan, T.B., Barrett, L.F. and McKnight, P.E. (2015), 'Unpacking Emotion Differentiation: Transforming Unpleasant Experience by Perceiving Distinctions in Negativity', *Current Directions in Psychological Science*, 24(1), 10–16.

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۲۸. برای مطالعه عمیق‌تر درخصوص مزایای ذهن‌آگاهی در تصمیم‌گیری به مطالب زیر مراجعه کنید:
Karelaiia, N. and Reb, J. (2014), ‘Improving Decision Making through Mindfulness’, forthcoming in Reb, J. and Atkins, P. (eds), *Mindfulness in Organizations*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press. Hafenbrack, A.C. (2017), ‘Mindfulness Meditation as an On-the-Spot Workplace Intervention’, *Journal of Business Research*, 75, 118–29.
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- J.F., Gaigg, S.B. and Calvo-Merino, B. (2018), 'I Can Feel My Heartbeat: Dancers Have Increased Interoceptive Accuracy', *Psychophysiology*, 55(4), e13008.
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۳۶. مطابق واژه‌نامه مریام-ویستر، این کلمه نخستین بار در سال ۱۹۹۲ در مجله لندن به کار رفت، اما اخیراً کاربرد آن متداول شده است:
<https://www.merriam-webster.com/words-at-play/hangry-meaning>.
۳۷. زیدی اسمیت درس دیگری را درباره تمایز احساسات در مقاله زیر درباره شادی درونی، «ترکیب عجیب ترس، درد و شعف»، به مارانه می‌دهد و دلایلی را برمی‌شمارد که نباید آن را بالذت (که معمولاً منشأ بیرونی دارد) اشتباه گرفت. این نوشتار، در عین آنکه بسیار پربار است، به خوبی نشانمن می‌دهد که چطور می‌توانیم آن احساسات و تأثیرشان روی خودمان را با دقت تحلیل کیم.
- Smith, Z. (2013), 'Joy', *New York Review of Books*, 60(1), 4.
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۴۳. می‌توانید مطالب بیشتر درباره این مزایا را در مقاله امی تامپسون، استاد زبان‌شناسی کاربردی در دانشگاه فلوریدای جنوبی، بخوانید:
- Thompson, A. (12 December 2016), 'How Learning a New Language Improves Tolerance', *The Conversation*: <https://theconversation.com/how-learning-a-new-language-improves-tolerance-68472>
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45. Andrade, J. (2010), 'What Does Doodling Do?' *Applied Cognitive Psychology*, 24(1), 100–6.
۴۶. بررسی و تحلیل سیلویا ماموجی از این یافته‌ها و نتایج مشابه آن را در نوشتار زیر بیانید:
- Mamede, S. and Schmidt, H.G. (2017), 'Reflection in Medical Diagnosis: A Literature Review', *Health Professions Education*, 3(1), 15–25.
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50. Casey, P., Burke, K. and Leben, S. (2013), *Minding the Court: Enhancing the Decision-Making Process*, American Judges Association. Retrieved online from <http://aja.ncsc.dni.us/pdfs/Minding-the-Court.pdf>.

۵۱. چهار مرحله ابتدایی این مدل به نوئل بورش، استاد مرکز آموزشی گوردن، نسبت داده می شود.
۵۲. مفهوم «شاپستگی بازتابی» در ابتدا توسط دیوید باوم، محقق دانشگاه اوپن یونیورسیتی در انگلستان، مطرح شد. او معتقد بود که، اگر متخصصی بخواهد روش های خود را به دیگران منتقل کند، باید قادر به تبیین و تحلیل آن باشد. اما دکتر پرت کراسکری نیز از این اصطلاح برای توصیف مرحله پنجم تخصص استفاده می کند که افراد متخصص می توانند از طریق آن سرمنشأ سوگیری های خود را شناسایی کنند.

[۶] ابزار مهم‌یابی: دروغها و اطلاعات نادرست را چطور تشخیص دهیم؟



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6. برای مثال به منابع زیر رجوع شود:

 - Kitai, E., Vinker, S., Sandiuk, A., Hornik, O., Zeltcer, C. and Gaver, A. (1998), 'Use of Complementary and Alternative Medicine among Primary Care Patients', *Family Practice*, 15(5), 411–14. Molassiotis, A., et al. (2005), 'Use of Complementary and Alternative Medicine in Cancer Patients: A European Survey', *Annals of Oncology*, 16(4), 655–63.
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۱۰. مقاله‌های پیش‌رو شامل خلاصه‌ای از این تحقیق هستند:
- Schwarz, N. and Newman, E.J. (2017), 'How Does the Gut Know Truth? The Psychology of 'Truthiness'', *APA Science Brief*: <http://www.apa.org/science/about/psa/2017/08/gut-truth.aspx>. Schwarz, N., Newman, E. and Leach, W. (2016), 'Making the Truth Stick & the Myths Fade: Lessons from Cognitive Psychology', *Behavioral Science & Policy*, 2(1), 85–95. See also Silva, R.R., Chrobot, N., Newman, E., Schwarz, N. and Topolinski, S. (2017), 'Make It Short and Easy: Username Complexity Determines Trustworthiness Above and Beyond Objective Reputation', *Frontiers in Psychology*, 8, 2200.
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17. برای کسب اطلاعات بیشتر درخصوص این اثر، منبع زیر را بخوانید:

Schwarz, N. Sanna, L.J., Skurnik, I. and Yoon, C. (2007), 'Metacognitive Experiences and the Intricacies of Setting People Straight: Implications for Debiasing and Public Information Campaigns', *Advances in Experimental Social Psychology*, 39, 127–61. See also Pluviano, S., Watt, C. and Della Sala, S. (2017), 'Misinformation Lingers in Memory: Failure of Three Pro-Vaccination Strategies', *PLOS One*, 12(7), e0181640.

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23. Pennycook, G., Cheyne, J.A., Koehler, D.J., et al. (2016), 'Is the Cognitive Reflection Test a Measure of Both Reflection and Intuition?' *Behavior Research Methods*, 48(1), 341–8.

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۲۵. بخش اعظم مطالعه حاضر درباره آزمون بازتاب شناختی در مقاله زیر تلخیص شده است:

Pennycook, G., Fugelsang, J.A. and Koehler, D.J. (2015), 'Everyday Consequences of Analytic Thinking', *Current Directions in Psychological Science*, 24(6), 425–32.

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27. Pennycook, G. and Rand, D.G. (2018), 'Lazy, Not Biased: Susceptibility to Partisan Fake News Is Better Explained by Lack of Reasoning than By Motivated Reasoning', *Cognition*, <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.cognition.2018.06.011>. See also Pennycook, G. and Rand, D.G. (2017), 'Who Falls for Fake News? The Roles of Bullshit Receptivity, Overclaiming, Familiarity, and Analytic Thinking', unpublished paper, <https://dx.doi.org/10.2139/ssrn.3023545>.

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این روش تفکر تحلیلی همچنین می‌تواند باورهای دینی و ماؤرا الطبیعه را تعديل کند:

Gervais, W.M. and Norenzayan, A. (2012), 'Analytic Thinking Promotes Religious Disbelief', *Science*, 336(6080), 493–6.

۲۹. مدت‌ها قبل از ابداع شکل مدرن آزمون بازتاب شناختی، روان‌شناسان دریافتند که می‌توان افراد را ترغیب کرد تا نسبت به اطلاعات دریافتی خود رویکردی تقاضانه در پیش‌بگیرند. در سال ۱۹۸۷، تعدادی سؤال به ظاهر پیش‌پاftاده با پاسخ‌های گمراه‌کننده در اختیار آزمودنی‌ها قرار گرفت. این فرایند موجب تضعیف اعتماد به نفس کاذب آن‌ها در آزمایش بعدی شد و سبب شد که میزان اعتماد به نفس‌شان منطبق با دانش واقعی‌شان باشد:

Arkes, H.R., Christensen, C., Lai, C. and Blumer, C. (1987), 'Two Methods of Reducing Overconfidence', *Organizational Behavior and Human Decision Processes*, 39(1), 133–44.

30. Fitzgerald, C.J. and Lueke, A.K. (2017), 'Mindfulness Increases Analytical Thought and Decreases Just World Beliefs', *Current Research in Social Psychology*, 24(8), 80–5.

۳۱. رایسنتون خود اذعان دارد که اسمای غیرواقعی بودند:

Hebert, H.J. (1 May 1998), 'Odd Names Added to Greenhouse Plea', Associated Press:<https://apnews.com/aec8beea85d7fe76fc9cc77b8392d79e>.

32. Cook, J., Lewandowsky, S. and Ecker, U.K. (2017), 'Neutralizing Misinformation through Inoculation: Exposing Misleading Argumentation Techniques Reduces Their Influence', *PLOS One*, 12(5), e0175799.
33. Roozenbeek, J. and Van der Linden, S. (2018), 'The Fake News Game: Actively Inoculating against the Risk of Misinformation', *Journal of Risk Research*. DOI: 10.1080/13669877.2018.1443491.
34. McLaughlin, A.C. and McGill, A.E. (2017), 'Explicitly Teaching Critical Thinking Skills in a History Course', *Science and Education*, 26(1–2), 93–105.

برای بحث بیشتر درباره مزایای مصون‌سازی در آموزش مراجعه کنید به:

- Schmaltz, R. and Lilienfeld, S.O. (2014), 'Hauntings, Homeopathy, and the Hopkinsville Goblins: Using Pseudoscience to Teach Scientific Thinking', *Frontiers in Psychology*, 5, 336.

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۳۶. برای مثال به منابع زیر مراجعه کنید:

- Butler, H.A. (2012), 'Halpern Critical Thinking Assessment Predicts Real-World Outcomes of Critical Thinking', *Applied Cognitive Psychology*, 26(5), 721–9. Butler, H.A., Pentoney, C. and Bong, M.P. (2017), 'Predicting Real-World Outcomes: Critical Thinking Ability Is a Better Predictor of Life Decisions than Intelligence', *Thinking Skills and Creativity*, 25, 38–46.

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۴۲. یکی از این بحث و گفت‌وگوهای رامی‌توانید در وب‌سایت اسکپتیک بخوانید:

<https://www.skeptic.com/eskeptic/05-05-03/>.

۴۳. همچنین می‌توانید طرح درس دوره «مبانی شک‌گرایی» و فهرست کتاب‌های معرفی‌شده در این دوره را در وب‌سایت پایین دنبال کنید:

<https://www.skeptic.com/downloads/Skepticism101-How-to-Think-Like-a-Scientist.pdf>.

۴۴. برای اطلاعات بیشتر به این منبع مراجعه کنید:

Shermer, M. (2012), *The Believing Brain*, London: Robinson, pp. 251–8.

اگر به دنبال بررسی بیشتر در مورد مصون‌سازی شناختی هستید، مطالعه کامل مطالعات شرمر را بسیار توصیه می‌کنم.

[۷] لاک‌پشت‌ها و خرگوش‌ها: چرا افراد باهوش از یادگیری بازمی‌مانند؟



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۲. نوشتار پیش رو، که حاوی مصاحبه با یکی از دانشجویان سابق فایمن است، این تعریف را پیشنهاد می‌کند:

Wai, J. (2011), ‘A Polymath Physicist on Richard Feynman’s ‘Low’ IQ and Finding another Einstein’, *Psychology Today*, <https://www.psychologytoday.com/blog/finding-the-next-einstein/201112/polymath-physicist-richard-feynmans-low-iq-and-finding-another>.

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14. Von Stumm, S., Hell, B. and Chamorro-Premuzic, T. (2011), ‘The Hungry Mind: Intellectual Curiosity Is the Third Pillar of Academic Performance’, *Perspectives on Psychological Science*, 6(6), 574–88.
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- مطالعه‌ای که پیش‌تر انجام شده با اندکی اختلاف به همان نتایج رسیده است:
 Kang, M.J., Hsu, M., Krajbich, I.M., Loewenstein, G., McClure, S.M., Wang, J.T.Y. and Camerer, C.F. (2009), 'The Wick in the Candle of Learning: Epistemic Curiosity Activates Reward Circuitry and Enhances Memory', *Psychological Science*, 20(8), 963–73.
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- Esparza, J., Shumow, L. and Schmidt, J.A. (2014), 'Growth Mindset of Gifted Seventh Grade Students in Science', *NCSSMST Journal*, 19(1), 6–13.
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۲۸. برای اثبات مزایای رشداندیشی، به فراتحلیل زیر مراجعه کنید که صد و سیزده مطالعه را در این زمینه بررسی کرده است:
- Burnette, J.L., O'Boyle, E.H., VanEpps, E.M., Pollack, J.M. and Finkel, E.J. (2013), 'Mind-sets Matter: A Meta-Analytic Review of Implicit Theories and Self-regulation', *Psychological Bulletin*, 139(3), 655–701.
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۳۴. برای مثال می‌توانید به منبع زیر مراجعه کنید:

- Paunesku, D., Walton, G.M., Romero, C., Smith, E.N., Yeager, D.S. and Dweck, C.S. (2015), 'Mind-set Interventions Are a Scalable Treatment for Academic Underachievement', *Psychological Science*, 26(6), 784–93.

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- Sisk, V.F., Burgoyne, A.P., Sun, J., Butler, J.L., Macnamara, B.N. (2018), 'To What Extent and Under Which Circumstances Are Growth Mind-Sets Important to Academic Achievement? Two Meta-Analyses', *Psychological Science*, in press, <https://doi.org/10.1177/0956797617739704>.

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- Feynman, R. (1985). *Surely You're Joking Mr Feynman: Adventures of a Curious Character*. New York: W. W. Norton.

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- ایگور گرامین از قضادر یکی از جدیدترین مطالعات خود به نتایج مشابهی رسیده است: Brienza, J.P., Kung, F.Y.H., Santos, H.C., Bobocel, D.R. and Grossmann, I. (2017), ‘Wisdom, Bias, and Balance: Toward a Process–Sensitive Measurement of Wisdom–Related Cognition. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, advance online publication, <http://dx.doi.org/10.1037/pspp0000171>.
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۸] اندر مزایای دوای تlux: نظام آموزش آسیای شرقی و سه اصل یادگیری ژرف



۱. به جزئیات این ماجرا در یکی از مطالعات اولیه استیگلر اشاره شده است: Stevenson, H.W. and Stigler, J.W. (1992), *The Learning Gap*, New York: Summit Books, p. 16.

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Kornell, N., Hays, M.J. and Bjork, R.A. (2009), 'Unsuccessful Retrieval Attempts Enhance Subsequent Learning', *Journal of Experimental Psychology: Learning, Memory, and Cognition*, 35(4), 989. DeCaro, M.S. (2018), Reverse the Routine: Problem Solving Before Instruction Improves Conceptual Knowledge in Undergraduate Physics', *Contemporary Educational Psychology*, 52, 36–47. Clark, C.M. and Bjork, R.A. (2014), 'When and Why Introducing Difficulties and Errors Can Enhance Instruction', in Benassi, V.A., Overton, C.E. and Hakala, C.M. (eds), *Applying Science of Learning in Education: Infusing Psychological Science into the Curriculum*, Washington, DC: Society for the Teaching of Psychology, pp. 20–30.

۶. به طور مثال، به منابع زیر مراجعه کنید:

Kapur, Manu (2010), 'Productive Failure in Mathematical Problem Solving', *Instructional Science*, 38(6), 523–50. Overoye, A.L. and Storm, B.C. (2015), 'Harnessing the Power of Uncertainty to Enhance Learning', *Translational Issues in Psychological Science*, 1(2), 140.

۷. بحث سوزان انگل درباره کارهای روت گرانر و راشل براؤن در:

Engel, S. (2015), *The Hungry Mind*, Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, p. 118.

۸. برای بررسی این توهمنات فراشناختی، به مقاله‌های زیر مراجعه کنید:

Bjork, R.A., Dunlosky, J. and Kornell, N. (2013), 'Self-regulated Learning: Beliefs, Techniques, and Illusions', *Annual Review of Psychology*, 64, 417–44. Yan, V.X.,

Bjork, E.L. and Bjork, R.A. (2016), 'On the Difficulty of Mending Metacognitive Illusions: A Priori Theories, Fluency Effects, and Misattributions of the Interleaving Benefit', *Journal of Experimental Psychology: General*, 145(7), 918–33.

۹. برای کسب اطلاعات بیشتر درباره این یافته‌ها به مطالعات جدید و پیشین استیگلر مراجعه کنید:

Hiebert, J. and Stigler, J.W. (2017), 'The Culture of Teaching: A Global Perspective', in *International Handbook of Teacher Quality and Policy*, Abingdon, England: Routledge, pp. 62–75. Stigler, J.W. and Hiebert, J. (2009), *The Teaching Gap: Best Ideas from the World's Teachers for Improving Education in the Classroom*, New York: Simon & Schuster.

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۱۲. مباحث عمیق‌تر در این حوزه را می‌توانید در منبع زیر مطالعه کنید:

Byrnes, J.P. and Dunbar, K.N. (2014), 'The Nature and Development of Critical-analytic Thinking', *Educational Psychology Review*, 26(4), 477–93.

۱۳. برای مشاهده مقایسه‌های بیشتر میان فرهنگی، موارد زیر را مطالعه کنید:

Davies, M. and Barnett, R. (eds) (2015), *The Palgrave Handbook of Critical Thinking in Higher Education*, Netherlands: Springer.

۱۴. خلاصه جامعی از این تحقیق را در اینجا بخوانید:

Spencer-Rodgers, J., Williams, M.J. and Peng, K. (2010), 'Cultural Differences in Expectations of Change and Tolerance for Contradiction: A Decade of Empirical Research', *Personality and Social Psychology Review*, 14(3), 296–312.

15. Rowe, M.B. (1986), 'Wait Time: Slowing Down May Be a Way of Speeding Up!', *Journal of Teacher Education*, 37(1), 43–50.

16. Langer, E. (1997), *The Power of Mindful Learning*, Reading, MA: Addison-Wesley, p. 18.

17. Ritchhart, R. and Perkins, D.N. (2000), 'Life in the Mindful Classroom: Nurturing the Disposition of Mindfulness', *Journal of Social Issues*, 56(1), 27–47.

۱۸. اگرچه لاتگر در بررسی و تحقیق پیرامون مزایای ابهام‌آفرینی در آموزش پیش‌گام بوده است، اما دیگر دانشمندان نیز یافته‌های قابل توجهی در این زمینه داشته‌اند. به همین ترتیب، رابرتس اس. سیگلر و شیاودونگ لین دریافتند که، وقتی از کودکان خواسته می‌شود که از طریق پاسخ‌های صحیح و غلط به حل مسائل ریاضی و فیزیک پردازند، یادگیری شان در این دروس بهبود می‌یابد، زیرا این امر آن‌ها را ترغیب می‌کند تا راهکارهای جایگزین را در نظر بگیرند و روش‌های تفکر ناکارآمد را تشخیص دهند. برای مطالعه بیشتر می‌توانید به منابع زیر مراجعه کنید:

Siegle, R.S. and Lin, X., 'Self-explanations Promote Children's Learning', in Borkowski, J.G., Waters, H.S. and Schneider, W. (eds) (2010), *Metacognition, Strategy Use, and Instruction*, New York: Guilford, pp. 86–113.

19. Langer, *The Power of Mindful Learning*, p. 29. And Overoye, A.L. and Storm, B.C. (2015), 'Harnessing the Power of Uncertainty to Enhance Learning', *Translational Issues in Psychological Science*, 1(2), 140. See also Engel, S. (2011), 'Children's Need to Know: Curiosity in Schools', *Harvard Educational Review*, 31(4), 625–45.

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۲۱. برای مثال، مطالعه زیر نشان می‌دهد که فروتنی فکری بالا می‌تواند فاصله دانش‌آموزان قوی و ضعیف در میزان پیشرفت تحصیلی را کاملاً از میان بردارد:

Hu, J., Erdogan, B., Jiang, K., Bauer, T.N. and Liu, S. (2018), 'Leader Humility and Team Creativity: The Role of Team Information Sharing, Psychological Safety, and Power Distance', *Journal of Applied Psychology*, 103(3), 313.

۲۲. برای ملاحظه منابع این پیشنهادات به مقالات زیر مراجعه کنید:

Bjork, Dunlosky and Kornell, 'Self-regulated Learning'. Soderstrom, N.C. and Bjork, R.A. (2015), 'Learning Versus Performance: An Integrative Review', *Perspectives on Psychological Science*, 10(2), 176–99. Benassi, V.A., Overton, C. and Hakala, C.M. (2014), *Applying Science of Learning in Education: Infusing Psychological Science into the Curriculum*, American Psychological Association.

۲۲. برای اطلاعات بیشتر می‌توانید به پست ویلگی زیر به نوشته روان‌شناس و موسیقی‌دان، کرستین کارتز، مراجعه کنید:

<https://bulletproofmusician.com/why-the-progress-in-the-practice-room-seems-to-disappear-overnight/>.

24. Langer, E., Russel, T. and Eisenkraft, N. (2009), 'Orchestral Performance and the Footprint of Mindfulness', *Psychology of Music*, 37(2), 125–36.

۲۵. این اطلاعات در وب‌سایت IVA منتشر شده است:

<http://www.ivalongbeach.org/academics/curriculum/61-academics/test-scores-smarter-balanced>.

۹] ملزمات «تیم رؤیایی»: چطور ابرگروه بسازیم؟



1. Taylor, D. (2016, June 27), 'England Humiliated as Iceland Knock Them Out of Euro 2016', *Guardian*, <https://www.theguardian.com/football/2016/jun/27/england-iceland-euro-2016-match-report>.

۲. برای مثال به منبع زیر مراجعه کنید:

<http://www.independent.co.uk/sport/football/international/england-vs-iceland-steve-mcclaren-reaction-goal-euro-2016-a7106896.html>.

3. Taylor, 'England Humiliated as Iceland Knock Them Out of Euro 2016'.

4. Wall, K. (27 June 2016), 'Iceland Wins Hearts at Euro 2016 as Soccer's Global Underdog', *Time*, <http://time.com/4383403/iceland-soccer-euro-2016-england/>.

5. Zeileis, A., Leitner, C. and Hornik, K. (2016), 'Predictive Bookmaker Consensus Model for the UEFA Euro 2016', *Working Papers in Economics and Statistics*, No. 2016-15, <https://www.econstor.eu/bitstream/10419/146132/1/859777529.pdf>.

6. Woolley, A.W., Aggarwal, I. and Malone, T.W. (2015), 'Collective Intelligence and Group Performance', *Current Directions in Psychological Science*, 24(6), 420–4.

7. Wuchty, S., Jones, B.F. and Uzzi, B. (2007), 'The Increasing Dominance of Teams in Production of Knowledge', *Science*, 316(5827), 1036–9.

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9. Engel, D., Woolley, A.W., Jing, L.X., Chabris, C.F. and Malone, T.W. (2014), 'Reading the Mind in the Eyes or Reading between the Lines? Theory of Mind Predicts Collective Intelligence Equally Well Online and Face-to-face', *PLOS One*, 9(12), e115212.
10. Mayo, A.T. and Woolley, A.W. (2016), 'Teamwork in Health Care: Maximizing Collective Intelligence via Inclusive Collaboration and Open Communication', *AMA Journal of Ethics*, 18(9), 933–40.
11. Woolley, Aggarwal and Malone (2015), 'Collective Intelligence and Group Performance'.
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[۱۰] حماقت مثل آتشی شعله و رزبانه می‌کشد: فاجعه‌ها چرا خمی دهند و چگونه متوقفشان کنیم؟



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