

خواننده گرامی

برای صرفه‌جویی در مصرف کاغذ و کاهش قیمت کتاب، پی‌نوشت‌ها و نمایه مفصل این کتاب را در نسخه کاغذی نیاورده‌ایم. برای دسترسی به این ۲ بخش و دریافت آن‌ها می‌توانید به آدرس تصویر مراجعه کنید یا با گوشی همراه خود بارکد زیر را اسکن نمایید

پی‌نوشت‌ها



سرنوشته



1. Cathleen Falsani, “Transcript: Barack Obama and the God Factor Interview,” *Sojourners*, March 27, 2012, sojo.net/articles/transcriptbarack-obama-and-god-factor-interview.
2. Dan Harris, *10% Happier: How I Tamed the Voice in My Head, Reduced Stress Without Losing My Edge, and Found Self-Help That Actually Works—a True Story* (New York: It Books, 2014).

مقدمه



1. “Pain of Rejection: Real Pain for the Brain,” CBS News, March 29, 2011, www.cbsnews.com/news/pain-of-rejection-real-pain-for-the-brain/.

این بخش در این لینک قابل مشاهده است:

selfcontrol.psych.lsa.umich.edu/wp-content/uploads/2017/08/Why-does-a-broken-heart-physically-hurt.mp4.

2. Janet Metcalfe and Hedy Kober, "Self-Reflective Consciousness and the Projectable Self," in *The Missing Link in Cognition: Origins of Self-Reflective Consciousness*, ed. H. S. Terrace and J. Metcalfe (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005), 57–83.

۳. تمام نکات اشاره شده در این پاراگراف در فصل‌های بعدی شرح داده شده‌اند و در جای خود به منابع آن‌ها ارجاع داده شده است. برای مطالعه بیشتر درباره تأثیر وراجی بر پیری در سطح سلولی به پی‌نوشت شماره ۵۵ فصل دوم مراجعه کنید.

4. Matthew A. Killingsworth and Daniel T. Gilbert, "A Wandering Mind Is an Unhappy Mind," *Science* 330 (2010): 932;

Peter Felsman et al., "Being Present: Focusing on the Present Predicts Improvements in Life Satisfaction but Not Happiness," *Emotion* 17 (2007): 1047–1051;

Michael J. Kane et al., "For Whom the Mind Wanders, and When, Varies Across Laboratory and Daily-Life Settings," *Psychological Science* 28 (2017): 1271–1289.

همان‌طور که مقاله کین و همکاران آشکار می‌کند، میزان پرسه‌زنی‌های ذهن مسلماناً در افراد مختلف متفاوت است. اعدادی که در این فصل گزارش کرده‌ام، همانند بیشتر آمارهای دیگری که در این کتاب ارائه داده‌ام، مقادیر میانگین هستند.

۵. مقاله‌ای که در سال ۲۰۰۱ منتشر شد سبب سیل پژوهش‌ها درباره «حالت پیش فرض» شد:

Marcus E. Raichle et al., "A Default Mode of Brain Function," *Proceedings of the National Academy of Sciences of the United States of America* 98 (2001): 676–682.

پژوهش‌های بعدی فعالیت حالت پیش فرض را با پرسه‌زنی ذهن مرتبط دانستند:

Malia F. Mason et al., "Wandering Minds: The Default Network and Stimulus-Independent Thought," *Science* 315 (2007): 393–395.

همچنین رک:

Kalina Christoff et al., "Experience Sampling During fMRI Reveals Default Network and Executive System Contributions to Mind Wandering," *Proceedings of the National Academy of Sciences of the United States of America* 106 (2009): 8719–8724

۶. همان‌طور که در فصل یک توضیح داده‌ام، حالت پیش فرض ما به استدلال کلامی محدود نمی‌شود. به عنوان مثال، ما هنگامی که ذهنمان پریشان است نیز می‌توانیم به استدلال دیداری فضایی بپردازیم. با این همه، استدلال کلامی بخش مهمی از پرسه‌زنی‌های ذهن را تشکیل می‌دهد. مثلاً در یکی از پژوهش‌های جدی در این حوزه، اریک کلینگر و دلبیو، مایلز کاکس به این نتیجه رسیدند که «محتوای فکری معمولاً همراه با مقداری تک‌گویی درونی است»

که چنین توضیحش می‌دهند: «من در تمام مدت فکرکردن داشتم با خودم حرف می‌زدم». سپس اشاره می‌کنند که «تک‌گویی‌های درونی، دست‌کم به اندازه‌ی تصویرسازی دیداری، از خصوصیات غالب جریان فکر هستند»:

Eric Klinger and W. Miles Cox, "Dimensions of Thought Flow in Everyday Life," *Imagination, Cognition, and Personality* 7 (1987): 105–128.

Christopher L. Heavey and Russell T. Hurlburt, "The Phenomena of Inner Experience," *Consciousness and Cognition* 17 (2008): 798–810;

David Stawarczyk, Helena Cassol, and Arnaud D'Argembeau, "Phenomenology of Future-Oriented Mind-Wandering Episodes," *Frontiers in Psychology* 4 (2013): 1–12.

7. Halvor Eifring, "Spontaneous Thought in Contemplative Traditions," in *The Oxford Handbook of Spontaneous Thought: Mind Wandering, Creativity, and Dreaming*, ed. K. Christoff and K. C. R. Fox (New York: Oxford University Press, 2018), 529–538.

هالور آیف‌رینگ مفهوم تفکر خودانگیخته را نوعی پرسه‌زنی ذهنی می‌داند که، همان‌طور که در بالا اشاره شد، معمولاً در بردارنده‌ی تک‌گویی درونی است. به‌طور کلی، این ایده که کلام درونی، در طول تاریخ، نقش برجسته‌ای در مذهب داشته است از سوی اندیشمندان بسیاری بررسی شده است. مثلاً کریستوفر سی. اچ. کوک می‌گوید «منسوب بودن صداها به منابع الهی در تجربه‌ی مذهبی معاصر انکارناپذیر است»:

Christopher C. H. Cook, *Hearing Voices, Demonic and Divine* (London: Routledge, 2019).

برای مطالعه‌ی بیشتر به منابع زیر مراجعه کنید:

Daniel B. Smith, *Muses, Madmen and Prophets: Hearing Voices and the Borders of Sanity* (New York: Penguin Books, 2007);

T. M. Luhrmann, Howard Nusbaum, and Ronald Thisted, "The Absorption Hypothesis: Learning to Hear God in Evangelical Christianity," *American Anthropologist* 112 (2010): 66–78;

Charles Fernyhough, *The Voices Within: The History and Science of How We Talk to Ourselves* (New York: Basic Books, 2016);

Douglas J. Davies, "Inner Speech and Religious Traditions," in *Theorizing Religion: Classical and Contemporary Debates*, ed. James A. Beckford and John Wallis (Aldershot, England: Ashgate Publishing, 2006), 211–223.

8. K. Majjer et al., "Auditory Hallucinations Across the Lifespan: A Systematic Review and Meta-Analysis," *Psychological Medicine* 48 (2018): 879–888.

9. Ron Netsell and Klaas Bakker, "Fluent and Dysfluent Inner Speech of Persons Who Stutter: Self-Report," *Missouri State University Unpublished Manuscript* (2017).

برای مطالعهٔ بیشتر به منابع زیر مراجعه کنید:

M. Perrone-Bertolotti et al., "What Is That Little Voice Inside My Head? Inner Speech Phenomenology, Its Role in Cognitive Performance, and Its Relation to Self-Monitoring," *Behavioural Brain Research* 261 (2014): 220–239;

Charles Fernyhough, *The Voices Within: The History and Science of How We Talk to Ourselves*.

بالین همه، شواهدی وجود دارد که نشان می‌دهد افرادی که دارای لکنت هستند حین گفتار درونی‌شان هم دچار خطا می‌شوند، درست مثل زمانی که از آن‌ها خواسته می‌شود واژهٔ دشواری را تلفظ کنند:

"Investigating the Inner Speech of People Who Stutter: Evidence for (and Against) the Covert Repair Hypothesis," *Journal of Communication Disorders* 44 (2011): 246–260.

۱۰. ناشنویانی که از زبان اشاره استفاده می‌کنند نیز «با خود حرف می‌زنند»، اما شیوه‌های بروز گفتار درونی در آن‌ها تفاوت‌ها و شباهت‌هایی با افراد شنوا دارد:

Margaret Wilson and Karen Emmorey, "Working Memory for Sign Language: A Window into the Architecture of the Working Memory System," *Journal of Deaf Studies and Deaf Education* 2 (1997): 121–130;

Perrone-Bertolotti et al., "What Is That Little Voice Inside My Head?"; and Helene Loevenbruck et al., "A Cognitive Neuroscience View of Inner Language: To Predict and to Hear, See, Feel," in *Inner Speech: New Voices*, ed. P. Langland-Hassan and Agustin Vicente (New York: Oxford University Press, 2019), 131–167.

برای مثال، پژوهشی با تصویربرداری از مغز دریافت که وقتی از ناشنویان خواسته می‌شود، در سکوت، جمله‌ای را با استفاده از زبان اشارهٔ درونی کامل کنند (مانند «من... هستم») همان نواحی قشر پیش‌پیشانی چپ فعال می‌شود که از گفتار درونی در افراد شنوا نیز پشتیبانی می‌کند.

Philip K. McGuire et al., "Neural Correlates of Thinking in Sign Language," *Neuro Report* 8 (1997): 695–698.

این یافته‌ها، به‌طور گسترده، در راستای پژوهش‌هایی هستند که نشان می‌دهند بین آن دسته از سیستم‌های مغزی که از زبان گفتاری و اشاره پشتیبانی می‌کنند، در افراد شنوا و ناشنوا، همپوشانی وجود دارد. برای فهم اینکه زبان اشاره و زبان گفتاری چطور می‌توانند مبنای عصبی مشترکی داشته باشند، مفید است که در نظر داشته باشید هر دو نوع این زبان‌ها تحت فرمان مجموعه اصول سازمان‌دهندهٔ همسانی هستند (مثل صرف، نحو، معناشناسی و واج‌شناسی):

Laura Ann Petitto et al., "Speech-Like Cerebral Activity in Profoundly Deaf People Processing Signed Languages: Implications for the Neural Basis of Human Language," *Proceedings of the National Academy of Sciences of the United States of America* 97 (2000): 13961–13966.

۱۱. رودنی کوربا از شرکت‌کنندگان خواست «گفتار درونی» ای را که از آن برای حل مسئله‌های کلامی ریاضی استفاده می‌کنند ضبط کنند، و بعد، آن راه‌حل را بلند و با جملات کاملاً خبری بیان کنند. سرعت عمل شرکت‌کنندگان در بیان راه‌حل، در سکوت، تقریباً یازده برابر زمانی بود که قادر بودند راه‌حل را با «گفتار بیانی» توضیح دهند. همان‌طور که این پژوهش نشان می‌دهد، درست است که ما قادریم در ذهنمان با جملات کامل فکر کنیم، اما گفتار درونی نیز قادر است شکل فشرده‌ای به خود بگیرد که بسیار سریع‌تر از بلندحرف‌زدن به فکر خطور می‌کند. برای مطالعه بیشتر به منبع زیر مراجعه کنید:

Simon McCarthy Jones and Charles Fernyhough, "The Varieties of Inner Speech: Links Between Quality of Inner Speech and Psychopathological Variables in a Sample of Young Adults," *Consciousness and Cognition* 20 (2011): 1586–1593.

۱۲. منظوم از «سخنرانی‌های سالانه رؤسای جمهور معاصر آمریکا در سازمان ملل»، همه سخنرانی‌های ارائه شده از ۲۰۱۱ تا تاریخ آخرین داده‌های موجود در سال ۲۰۲۰ است:

Gerhard Peters, "Length of State of the Union Address in Minutes (from 1966)," in *The American Presidency Project*, ed. John T. Woolley and Gerhard Peters (Santa Monica, CA: University of California, 1999–2020). <https://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/node/324136/>.

۱۳. روان‌شناسان، در طول تاریخ، از واژگان مختلفی برای اشاره به فرایندهای ظاهراً مشابه مرتبط با وراجی استفاده کرده‌اند (برای مثال، «نشخوار»، «پردازش پس‌رویدادی»، «خوداندیشی منفی عادی»، «استرس مزمن» و «نگرانی»). درست است که در بعضی موارد این آشکالی تفکر تکرارشونده منفی را تفاوت‌های ظریفی از هم متمایز می‌کند (نشخوار بیشتر بر گذشته تمرکز دارد، درحالی‌که نگرانی معطوف به آینده است)، اما دانشمندان غالباً آن‌ها را در بردارنده مؤلفه واحد «شناخت درجاماندگی» یا «افکار منفی تکرارشونده» می‌دانند. در این کتاب، برای انتقال این مفهوم از واژه «وراجی» استفاده کردم. برای بحث‌های دیگر پیرامون این موضوعات به منابع زیر مراجعه کنید:

Jos F. Brosschot, William Gerin, and Julian F. Thayer, "The Perseverative Cognition Hypothesis: A Review of Worry, Prolonged Stress-Related Physiological Activation, and Health," *Journal of Psychosomatic Research* 60 (2006): 113–124;

Edward R. Watkins, "Constructive and Unconstructive Repetitive Thought," *Psychological Bulletin* 134 (2008): 163–206.

چرا با خودمان حرف می‌زنیم؟



۱. برای اطلاع از مدت زمان پروژه به صفحه‌ی اروینگ در وب‌سایت دانشگاه منچستر مراجعه کنید:
[www.research.manchester.ac.uk/portal/en/researchers/andrew-irving\(109e5208-716e-42e8-8d4f-578c9f556cd9\)/projects.html?period=finished](http://www.research.manchester.ac.uk/portal/en/researchers/andrew-irving(109e5208-716e-42e8-8d4f-578c9f556cd9)/projects.html?period=finished).
2. Interview: Dr. Andrew Irving & 'New York Stories,' June 10, 2013, Wenner-Gren Foundation, blog. wennergren.org/2013/06/interview-dr-andrew-irving-new-yorkstories/; Andrew Irving, *The Art of Life and Death: Radical Aesthetics and Ethnographic Practice* (New York: HauBooks, 2017).
۳. برای مطالعه‌ی بیشتر درباره‌ی کار میدانی اروینگ در آفریقا به منبع زیر مراجعه کنید:
 Andrew Irving, "Strange Distance: Towards an Anthropology of Interior Dialogue," *Medical Anthropology Quarterly* 25 (2011): 22-44;
 Sydney Brownstone, "For 'New York Stories,' Anthropologist Tracked 100 New Yorkers' Inner Monologues Across the City," *Village Voice*, May 1, 2013.
4. Thomas Suddendorf and Michael C. Corballis, "The Evolution of Foresight: What Is Mental Time Travel, and Is It Unique to Humans?," *Behavioral and Brain Sciences* 30 (2007): 299-351.
۵. اروینگ اشاره کرده است که اگرچه شرکت‌کنندگان به موضوعات متنوعی فکر کرده‌اند، اما تعداد نفراتی که به مسائلی منفی مثل بی‌ثباتی اقتصادی و تروریسم فکر کرده‌اند او را به شدت تحت تأثیر قرار داده است.
 Brownstone, "For 'New York Stories,' Anthropologist Tracked 100 New Yorkers' Inner Monologues Across the City."
6. Eric Klinger, Ernst H. W. Koster, and Igor Marchetti, "Spontaneous Thought and Goal Pursuit: From Functions Such as Planning to Dysfunctions Such as Rumination," in Christoff and Fox, *Oxford Handbook of Spontaneous Thought*, 215-232;
 Arnaud D'Argembeau, "Mind-Wandering and Self-Referential Thought," in *ibid.*, 181-192;
 A. Morin, B. Uttl, and B. Hamper, "Self-Reported Frequency, Content, and Functions of Inner Speech," *Procedia: Social and Behavioral Journal* 30 (2011): 1714-1718.
۷. به پی‌نوشت ۸ در بخش مقدمه مراجعه کنید.
8. Michael L. Anderson, "Neural Reuse: A Fundamental Principle of the Brain," *Behavioral and Brain Sciences* 33 (2010): 245-313.

9. Alan Baddeley, "Working Memory," *Science* 255 (1992): 556–559;

همچنین رک:

Alan Baddeley and Vivien Lewis, "Inner Active Processes in Reading: The Inner Voice, the Inner Ear, and the Inner Eye," in *Interactive Processes in Reading*, ed. A. M. Lesgold and C. A. Perfetti (Hillsdale, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum, 1981), 107–129;

Alan D. Baddeley and Graham J. Hitch, "The Phonological Loop as a Buffer Store: An Update," *Cortex* 112 (2019): 91–106; and Antonio Chella and Arianna Pipitone, "A Cognitive Architecture for Inner Speech," *Cognitive Systems Research* 59 (2020): 287–292.

10. Nivedita Mani and Kim Plunkett, "In the Infant's Mind's Ear: Evidence for Implicit Naming in 18-Month-Olds," *Psychological Science* 21 (2010): 908–913.

برای مطالعه بیشتر رک:

Ben Alderson-Day and Charles Fernyhough, "Inner Speech: Development, Cognitive Functions, Phenomenology, and Neurobiology," *Psychological Bulletin* 141 (2015);

Perrone-Bertolotti et al., "What Is That Little Voice Inside My Head?"

11. Lev Vygotsky, *Thinking and Speech: The Collected Works of Lev Vygotsky*, vol. 1 (1934; New York: Plenum Press, 1987).

همچنین رک:

Alderson-Day and Fernyhough, "Inner Speech";

Perrone Bertolotti et al., "What Is That Little Voice Inside My Head?"

۱۲. برای مطالعه پژوهشی که بر پیچیدگی نقش والدین در اجتماعی شدن تأکید می‌کند به منبع زیر مراجعه کنید:

W. Andrew Collins et al., "Contemporary Research on Parenting: The Case for Nature and Nurture," *American Psychologist* 55 (2000): 218–232.

شرحی تازه‌تر بر نقشی که والدین در زندگی هیجانی فرزندان ایفا می‌کنند برآمده از یک فراتحلیل است که، به صورت آماری، نشان داده است ارتباط مثبت قابل توجهی مابین رفتار والدین و چندین سازگاری هیجانی در فرزندان وجود دارد. رک:

Michael M. Barger et al., "The Relation Between Parents' Involvement in Children's Schooling and Children's Adjustment: A Meta-analysis," *Psychological Bulletin* 145 (2019): 855–890.

۱۳. برای مطالعه و وسیع تر درباره نقش زبان در انتقال باورهای فرهنگی به منبع زیر مراجعه کنید:

Susan A. Gelman and Steven O. Roberts, "How Language Shapes the Cultural Inheritance of Categories," *Proceedings of the National Academy of Sciences of the United States of America* 114 (2017): 7900–7907;

Roy Baumeister and E. J. C. Masicampo, "Conscious Thought Is for Facilitating Social and Cultural Interactions," *Psychological Review* 117 (2010): 945–971.

14. Hazel R. Markus and Shinobu Kitayama, "Culture and the Self: Implications for Cognition, Emotion, and Motivation," *Psychological Review* 98 (1991): 224–253.

15. Adam B. Cohen, "Many Forms of Culture," *American Psychologist* 64 (2009): 194–204.

16. Laura E. Berk and Ruth A. Garvin, "Development of Private Speech Among Low-Income Appalachian Children," *Developmental Psychology* 20 (1984): 271–286;

Laura E. Berk, "Children's Private Speech: An Overview of Theory and the Status of Research," in *Private Speech: From Social Interaction to Self-Regulation*, eds. Rafael M. Diaz and Laura E. Berk (New York: Psychology Press, 1992), 17–54.

17. Paige E. Davis, Elizabeth Meins, and Charles Fernyhough, "Individual Differences in Children's Private Speech: The Role of Imaginary Companions," *Journal of Experimental Child Psychology* 116 (2013): 561–571.

18. Amanda Grenell and Stephanie M. Carlson, "Pretense," in *The Sage Encyclopedia of Contemporary Early Childhood Education*, ed. D. Couchenour and J. K. Chrisman (New York: Sage, 2016), 1075–1077.

۱۹. برای مطالعات روشنگر در این باره رک:

Arnaud D'Argembeau, Olivier Renaud, and Martial Van der Linden, "Frequency, Characteristics, and Functions of Future-Oriented Thoughts in Daily Life," *Applied Cognitive Psychology* 25 (2011): 96–103;

Alain Morin, Christina Duhnych, and Famira Racy, "Self-Reported Inner Speech Use in University Students," *Applied Cognitive Psychology* 32 (2018): 376–382;

Akira Miyake et al., "Inner Speech as a Retrieval Aid for Task Goals: The Effects of Cue Type in the Random Task Cuing Paradigm," *Acta Psychologica* 115 (2004): 123–142;

Adam Winsler, "Still Talking to Ourselves After All These Years: A Review of Current Research on Private Speech," in *Private Speech, Executive Functioning, and the Development of Verbal*

Self-Regulation, ed. A. Winsler, C. Fernyhough, and I. Montero (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2009), 3–41.

20. D'Argembeau, Renaud, and Van der Linden, "Frequency, Characteristics, and Functions of Future-Oriented Thoughts in Daily Life";

D'Argembeau, "Mind-Wandering and Self-Referential Thought"; and Morin, Duhnych, and Racy, "Self-Reported Inner Speech Use in University Students."

۲۱. مقاله زیر گزارش متقاعدکننده‌ای از پژوهش دربارهٔ رؤیا ارائه می‌دهد:

Erin J. Wamsley, "Dreaming and Waking Thought as a Reflection of Memory Consolidation," in Christoff and Fox, *Oxford Handbook of Spontaneous Thought*, 457–468.

22. Kieran C. R. Fox et al., "Dreaming as Mind Wandering: Evidence from Functional Neuroimaging and First-Person Content Reports," *Frontiers in Human Neuroscience* 7 (2013): 1–18;

Tracey L. Kahan and Stephen P. LaBerge, "Dreaming and Waking: Similarities and Differences Revisited," *Consciousness and Cognition* 20 (2011): 494–514;

Lampros Perogamvros et al., "The Phenomenal Contents and Neural Correlates of Spontaneous Thoughts Across Wakefulness, NREM Sleep, and REM Sleep," *Journal of Cognitive Neuroscience* 29 (2017): 1766–1777;

Erin J. Wamsley, "Dreaming and Waking Thought as a Reflection of Memory Consolidation."

۲۳. برای مطالعه بیشتر دربارهٔ نقش رؤیاها در شبیه‌سازی تهدیدها به منابع زیر مراجعه کنید:

Katja Valli and Antti Revonsuo, "The Threat Simulation Theory in Light of Recent Empirical Evidence: A Review," *American Journal of Psychology* 122 (2009): 17–38;

Antti Revonsuo, "The Reinterpretation of Dreams: An Evolutionary Hypothesis of the Function of Dreaming," *Behavioral and Brain Sciences* 23 (2001): 877–901;

J. Allan Hobson, "REM Sleep and Dreaming: Towards a Theory of Protoconsciousness," *Nature Reviews Neuroscience* 10 (2009): 803–813.

24. Arnaud D'Argembeau et al., "Brains Creating Stories of Selves: The Neural Basis of Autobiographical Reasoning," *Social Cognitive Affective Neuroscience* 9 (2014): 646–652;

Raymond A. Mar, "The Neuropsychology of Narrative: Story Comprehension, Story Production, and Their Interrelation," *Neuropsychologia* 42 (2004): 1414–1434;

Baumeister and Masicampo, "Conscious Thought Is for Facilitating Social and Cultural Interactions";

Kate C. McLean et al., "Selves Creating Stories Creating Selves: A Process Model of Self-Development," *Personality and Social Psychology Review* 11 (2007): 262–278.

برای مطالعه بیشتر درباره نقش زبان در استدلال سرگذشتی به منبع زیر مراجعه کنید:

Robyn Fivus, "The Stories We Tell: How Language Shapes Autobiography," *Applied Cognitive Psychology* 12 (1998): 483–487.

۲۵. برای تعریف داستان جیل بولت، از کتاب و سخنرانی تداون نقل قول کردم:

My Stroke of Insight: A Brain Scientist's Personal Journey (New York: Penguin Books, 2008) *Scientist's Personal Journey* (New York: Penguin Books, 2008), and her TED Talk, "My Stroke of Insight," www.ted.com/talks/jillbolte_taylor_s_powerful_stroke_of_insight?language=en.

همچنین سیاست‌گذارم از مقاله‌ای نوشته آیین مورین که مورد جیل بولت تیلور را در بافت گفتار خصوصی تحلیل کرده و من را به این سمت هدایت کرد که این مثال را در کتاب بیاورم:

Alain Morin, "Self-Awareness Deficits Following Loss of Inner Speech: Dr. Jill Bolte Taylor's Case Study," *Consciousness and Cognition* 18 (2009): 524–529.

26. Killingsworth and Gilbert, "Wandering Mind Is an Unhappy Mind."

[۲]

وقتی با خود حرف زدن اوضاع را بدتر می‌کند



۱. برای بازگو کردن داستان ریک آنکیل از منابع زیر نقل قول کردم:

Rick Ankiel, *The Phenomenon: Pressure, the Yips, and the Pitch That Changed My Life* (New York: PublicAffairs, 2017);

Gary Waleik, "Former MLB Hurler Remembers 5 Pitches That Derailed His Career," *Only a Game*, WBUR, May 19, 2017, www.wbur.org/onlyagame/2017/05/19/rick_ankielbaseball;

Rick Ankiel, "Letter to My Younger Self," *The Players' Tribune*, Sept. 18, 2017, <https://www.the-playertribune.com/en-us/articles/rick-ankielletter-to-my-younger-self-cardinals>.

2. Waleik, "Former MLB Hurler Remembers 5 Pitches That Derailed His Career."

3. MLB.com.

YouTube: https://www.youtube.com/watch?time_continue=5&v=KDZX525CSvw&feature=emb_title.

4. Baseball-reference.com: <https://www.baseballreference.com/players/a/ankieri01.shtml>.

۵. سیان بیلاک یکی از پیشروترین کارشناسان جهان است که دربارهٔ مختل شدن عملکرد افراد در شرایط فشار کار کرده است. به یکی از آثار او در منبع زیر مراجعه کردم:

Sian L. Beilock and Rob Gray, "Why Do Athletes Choke Under Pressure?," in *Handbook of Sport Psychology*, 3rd ed., ed. G. Tenenbaum and R. C. Eklund (Hoboken, NJ: John Wiley and Sons, 2007), 425–444.

6. Michael I. Posner and Mary K. Rothbart, "Research on Attention Networks as a Model for the Integration of Psychological Science," *Annual Review of Psychology* 58 (2007): 1–23.

7. Amanda Prael, "Simone Biles Made History with Her Triple Double—Here's What That Term Actually Means," *PopSugar*, Aug. 15, 2019, www.popsugar.com/fitness/What-Is-Triple-Double-in-Gymnastics-46501483.

Charlotte Carroll, "Simone Biles Is First-Ever Woman to Land Triple Double in Competition on Floor," *Sports Illustrated*, Aug. 11, 2019, <https://www.si.com/olympics/2019/08/12/simone-biles-first-ever-woman-landtriple-double-competition-video>.

8. Beilock and Gray, "Why Do Athletes Choke Under Pressure?"

توجه کنید که این اثر برای توصیف فرایندی که من نامش را «گسستگی» گذاشته‌ام از واژه «جداشدگی» استفاده می‌کند.

9. Sian Beilock, *Choke* (New York: Little, Brown, 2011).

10. Amitai Shenhav et al., "Toward a Rational and Mechanistic Account of Mental Effort," *Annual Review of Neuroscience* 40 (2017): 99–124.

11. Nelson Cowan, "The Magical Mystery Four: How Is Working Memory Capacity Limited, and Why?," *Current Directions in Psychological Science* 19 (2010): 51–57.

۱۲. ایدهٔ اثر مخرب درجاماندگی بر کارکردهای اجرایی از زوایای متعددی بررسی شده است:

Michael W. Eysenck et al., "Anxiety and Cognitive Performance: Attentional Control Theory," *Emotion* 7 (2007): 336–353;

Hannah R. Snyder, "Major Depressive Disorder Is Associated with Broad Impairments on Neuropsychological Measures of Executive Function: A Meta-analysis and Review," *Psychological Bulletin* 139 (2013): 81–132;

Tim P. Moran, "Anxiety and Working Memory Capacity: A Meta-analysis and Narrative Review," *Psychological Bulletin* 142 (2016): 831–864.

13. Nathaniel von der Embse et al., "Test Anxiety Effects, Predictors, and Correlates: A 30-Year Meta-analytic Review," *Journal of Affective Disorders* 227 (2018): 483–493.

14. Dianna T. Kenny, "A Systematic Review of Treatments for Music Performance Anxiety," *Anxiety, Stress, and Coping* 18 (2005): 183–208.

15. Alison Wood Brooks and Maurice E. Schweitzer, "Can Nervous Nelly Negotiate? How Anxiety Causes Negotiators to Make Low First Offers, Exit Early, and Earn Less Profit," *Organizational Behavior and Human Decision Processes* 115 (2011): 43–54.

16. Bernard Rimé, "Emotion Elicits the Social Sharing of Emotion: Theory and Empirical Review," *Emotion Review* 1 (2009): 60–85.

همچنین از سخنرانی زیر هم بهره گرفته‌ام:

Bernard Rimé, "The Social Sharing of Emotion" (lecture delivered at Collective Emotions in Cyber-space Consortium), YouTube, published May 20, 2013, www.youtube.com/watch?v=JdCksLisfUQ.

۱۷. اگرچه پژوهش ریمه حاکی از این است که انگیزه افراد برای صحبت درباره هیجان‌اتشان پدیده‌ای میان فرهنگی است، با این همه، میزان به اشتراک گذاشتن هیجان‌ات در فرهنگ‌های گوناگون متفاوت است. به منابع زیر مراجعه کنید:

Archana Singh-Manoux and Catrin Finkenauer, "Cultural Variations in Social Sharing of Emotions: An Intercultural Perspective on a Universal Phenomenon," *Journal of Cross - Cultural Psychology* 32 (2001): 647–661.

Heejung S. Kim, "Social Sharing of Emotion in Words and Otherwise," *Emotion Review* 1 (2009): 92–93.

۱۸. برای مروری بر این موضوع به منابع زیر مراجعه کنید:

Susan Nolen-Hoeksema, Blair E. Wisco, and Sonja Lyubomirsky, "Rethinking Rumination," *Perspectives on Psychological Science* 3 (2008): 400–424;

Thomas E. Joiner et al., "Depression and Excessive Reassurance-Seeking," *Psychological Inquiry* 10 (1999): 269–278;

Michael B. Gurtman, "Depressive Affect and Disclosures as Factors in Interpersonal Rejection," *Cognitive Therapy Research* 11 (1987): 87–99;

Jennifer L. Schwartz and Amanda McCombs Thomas, "Perceptions of Coping Responses Exhibited in Depressed Males and Females," *Journal of Social Behavior and Personality* 10 (1995): 849–860.

19. Nolen-Hoeksema, Wisco, and Lyubomirsky, "Rethinking Rumination"; and Lyubomirsky et al., "Thinking About Rumination," *Annual Review of Clinical Psychology* 11 (2015): 1–22.

20. Katie A. McLaughlin and Susan Nolen-Hoeksema, "Interpersonal Stress Generation as a Mechanism Linking Rumination to Internalizing Symptoms in Early Adolescents," *Journal of Clinical Child and Adolescent Psychology* 41 (2012): 584–597.

پژوهشی به‌همتِ جان کاسیوپو و همکارانش بیش‌ازپیش بر ارتباطِ دوجانبهٔ تنهایی و توجهِ معطوف به‌خود تأکید کرده است:

John T. Cacioppo, Hsi Yuan Chen, and Stephanie Cacioppo, "Reciprocal Influences Between Loneliness and Self-Centeredness: A Cross-Lagged Panel Analysis in a Population-Based Sample of African American, Hispanic, and Caucasian Adults," *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin* 43 (2017): 1125–1135.

۲۱. برای مطالعهٔ بیشتر راجع به اینکه روابط اجتماعی معیوب چطور در احساس انزوای اجتماعی و تنهایی تأثیرگذار می‌گذارند به منابع زیر مراجعه کنید:

Julianne Holt-Lunstad, "Why Social Relationships Are Important for Physical Health: A Systems Approach to Understanding and Modifying Risk and Perception," *Annual Review of Psychology* 69 (2018): 437–458;

Julianne Holt-Lunstad, Timothy B. Smith, Mark Baker, Tyler Harris, and David Stephenson, "Loneliness and Social Isolation as Risk Factors for Mortality: A Meta-analytic Review," *Perspectives on Psychological Science* 10 (2015): 227–237.

برای مشاهدهٔ مطالعهٔ بیشتر دربارهٔ اثرات مسموم تنهایی و انزوای اجتماعی به منابع زیر توجه کنید:

John T. Cacioppo and Stephanie Cacioppo, "The Growing Problem of Loneliness," *The Lancet* 391 (2018): 426;

Greg Miller, "Why Loneliness Is Hazardous to Your Health," *Science* 14 (2011): 138–140;

Aparna Shankar, Anne McMunn, James Banks, and Andrew Steptoe, "Loneliness, Social Isolation, and Behavioral and Biological Health Indicators in Older Adults," *Health Psychology* 30 (2011): 377–385.

22. Susan Nolen-Hoeksema and Christopher G. Davis, "Thanks for Sharing That': Ruminators and Their Social Support Networks," *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology* 77 (1999): 801–814.

23. Thomas F. Denson et al., "Understanding Impulsive Aggression: Angry Rumination and Reduced Self-Control Capacity Are Mechanisms Underlying the Provocation-Aggression Relationships," *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin* 37 (2011): 850–862;

Brad J. Bushman, "Does Venting Anger Feed or Extinguish the Flame? Catharsis, Rumination, Distraction, Anger, and Aggressive Responding," *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin* 28 (2002): 724–731.

24. Brad J. Bushman et al., "Chewing on It Can Chew You Up: Effects of Rumination on Triggered Displaced Aggression," *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology* 88 (2005): 969–983.

25. Facebook Newsroom, Facebook, newsroom.fb.com/company-info/;

J. Clement, "Number of Monthly Active Twitter Users Worldwide from 1st Quarter 2010 to 1st Quarter 2019 (in Millions)," Statista, www.statista.com/statistics/282087/number-of-monthly-active-twitter-users/.

26. Mina Choi and Catalina L. Toma, "Social Sharing Through Interpersonal Media: Patterns and Effects on Emotional WellBeing," *Computers in Human Behavior* 36 (2014): 530–541;

Adriana M. Manago, Tamara Taylor, and Patricia M. Greenfield, "Me and My 400 Friends: The Anatomy of College Students' Facebook Networks, Their Communication Patterns, and Well-Being," *Developmental Psychology* 48 (2012): 369–380.

۲۷. پژوهش من و همکارانم نمونه‌ای از این اصل است که نشان می‌دهد استفاده منفعلانه از فیسبوک (یعنی گشت‌زدن در صفحات برای مصرف اطلاعات درباره دیگران) موجب افت تندرستی می‌شود، درحالی‌که استفاده فعالانه از فیسبوک (یعنی تولید اطلاعات در آن) چنین پیامدی ندارد. به منبع زیر مراجعه کنید:

Philippe Verduyn et al., "Passive Facebook Usage Undermines Affective Well-Being: Experimental and Longitudinal Evidence," *Journal of Experimental Psychology: General* 144 (2015): 480–488.

Philippe Verduyn et al., "Do Social Network Sites Enhance or Undermine Subjective Well-Being? A Critical Review," *Social Issues and Policy Review* 11 (2017): 274–302.

28. Jamil Zaki, *The War for Kindness: Building Empathy in a Fractured World* (New York: Crown, 2019); Frans B. M. de Waal and Stephanie Preston, "Mammalian Empathy: Behavioural Manifestations and Neural Basis," *Nature Reviews Neuroscience* 18 (2017): 498–509.
29. Rimé, "Emotion Elicits the Social Sharing of Emotion."
30. John Suler, "The Online Disinhibition Effect," *Cyberpsychology and Behavior* 3 (2004): 321–326; Noam Lapidot-Lefler and Azy Barak, "Effects of Anonymity, Invisibility, and Lack of Eye-Contact on Toxic Online Disinhibition," *Computers in Human Behavior* 28 (2012): 434–443; Christopher Terry and Jeff Cain, "The Emerging Issue of Digital Empathy," *American Journal of Pharmaceutical Education* 80 (2016): 58.
31. Committee on the Biological and Psychosocial Effects of Peer Victimization: Lessons for Bullying Prevention, National Academy of Sciences Report; Michele P. Hamm et al., "Prevalence and Effect of Cyberbullying on Children and Young People," *JAMA Pediatrics*, Aug. 2015; Robin M. Kowalski et al., "Bullying in the Digital Age: A Critical Review and Meta analysis of Cyber-bullying Research Among Youth," *Psychological Bulletin* 140 (2014): 1073–1137; Robert Tokunaga, "Following You Home from School: A Critical Review and Synthesis of Research on Cyber-bullying Victimization," *Computers in Human Behavior* 26 (2010): 277–287.

۳۲. معمولاً هیجانانگیز، به محض اینکه به شدیدترین حالت خود می‌رسند، رو به کاهش می‌گذارند:

- Philippe Verduyn, Iven Van Mechelen, and Francis Tuerlinckx, "The Relation Between Event Processing and the Duration of Emotional Experience," *Emotion* 11 (2011): 20–28; Philippe Verduyn et al., "Predicting the Duration of Emotional Experience: Two Experience Sampling Studies," *Emotion* 9 (2009): 83–91.
33. Caitlin McLaughlin and Jessica Vitak, "Norm Evolution and Violation on Facebook," *New Media and Society* 14 (2012): 299–315; Emily M. Buehler, "'You Shouldn't Use Facebook for That': Navigating Norm Violations While Seeking Emotional Support on Facebook," *Social Media and Society* 3 (2017): 1–11.
34. Jiyoung Park et al., "When Perceptions Defy Reality: The Relationships Between Depression and Actual and Perceived Facebook Social Support," *Journal of Affective Disorders* 200 (2016): 37–44.

۳۵. برای مطالعه دو شرح کلاسیک از نقش خودنمایی در زندگی روزمره به دو منبع زیر مراجعه کنید:

Erving Goffman, *The Presentation of Self in Everyday Life* (Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1959);

Mark R. Leary and Robin M. Kowalski, "Impression Management: A Literature Review and Two-Component Model," *Psychological Bulletin* 107 (1990): 34-47.

۳۶. رندی زاکربرگ این جنبه از فیسبوک را به خوبی در مصاحبه اش با نیویورک تایمز نشان داده است. خبرنگار از او می پرسد «در فیسبوک به خاطر چه چیزی بیش از همه احساس گناه می کنی؟». او جواب می دهد «من بازارباب هستم و گاهی تقریباً نمی توانم آن را از زندگی شخصی ام جدا کنم. دوستانی داشته ام که تماس گرفته و گفته اند که «زندگی فوق العاده ای داری». و من می گویم «من بازاربابم، فقط آن لحظاتی را پست می کنم که فوق العاده هستند».

Susan Dominus, "Randi Zuckerberg: 'I Really Put Myself Out There,'" *New York Times*, Nov. 1, 2013, www.nytimes.com/2013/11/03/magazine/randi-zuckerberg-i-really-put-myself-out-there.html.

37. Amy L. Gonzales and Jeffrey T. Hancock, "Mirror, Mirror on My Facebook Wall: Effects of Exposure to Facebook on Self-Esteem," *Cyberpsychology, Behavior, and Social Networking* 14 (2011): 79-83.

38. Leon Festinger, "A Theory of Social Comparison Processes," *Human Relations* 7 (1954): 117-140;

Katja Corcoran, Jan Crusius, and Thomas Mussweiler, "Social Comparison: Motives, Standards, and Mechanisms," in *Theories in Social Psychology*, ed. D. Chadee (Oxford: Wiley-Blackwell, 2011), 119-139.

گاهی خودمان را با دیگران مقایسه می کنیم تا ببینیم جایگاهمان در یک حوزه خاص کجاست. گاهی هم این کار را می کنیم برای اینکه حالمان بهتر شود (با مقایسه خودمان با کسانی که ظاهراً «پایین تر» از ما هستند)، یا راه بهبود ابعادی از زندگی مان را که برایمان مهم است شناسایی کنیم (با مقایسه خودمان با کسانی که ظاهراً «بالتر» از ما هستند). همچنین شواهدی هست که نشان می دهد مقایسه خودمان با دیگران راهی کارآمد برای سنجش و کسب اطلاعات درباره خودمان است.

39. Verduyn et al., "Passive Facebook Usage Undermines Affective Well-Being."

و هرچه بیشتر بابت عقب بودن زندگی مان از دیگران نگران و عصبی باشیم، عواقب بدتری نصیبمان خواهد شد. نمونه: مطالعه ای طولی که روی ۸۶۲ فرد جوان انجام شد نشان داد که افراد هرچه بیشتر به مقایسه منفی خودشان با دیگران در فیسبوک دست بزنند، بیشتر دچار نشخوار و احساس افسردگی می شوند:

Feinstein et al., "Negative Social Comparison on Facebook and Depressive Symptoms," *Psychology of Popular Media Culture* 2 (2013): 161-170.

همچنین رک:

Melissa G. Hunt et al., "No More FOMO: Limiting Social Media Decreases Loneliness and Depression," *Journal of Social and Clinical Psychology* 37 (2018): 751-768;

Morten Tromholt, "The Facebook Experiment: Quitting Facebook Leads to Higher Levels of Well-Being," *Cyberpsychology, Behavior, and Social Networking* 19 (2016): 661–666;

R. Mosquera et al., "The Economic Effects of Facebook," *Experimental Economics* (2019);

Holly B. Shakya and Nicholas A. Christakis, "Association of Facebook Use with Compromised Well-Being: A Longitudinal Study," *American Journal of Epidemiology* 185 (2017): 203–211;

Cesar G. Escobar-Viera et al., "Passive and Active Social Media Use and Depressive Symptoms Among United States Adults," *Cyberpsychology, Behavior, and Social Networking* 21 (2018): 437–443.

همچنین، به تازگی پژوهش‌ها نشان می‌دهند که این یافته‌ها به دیگر رسانه‌های اجتماعی نیز تعمیم پذیرند.

Eline Frison and Steven Eggermont, "Browsing, Posting, and Liking on Instagram: The Reciprocal Relationships Between Different Types of Instagram Use and Adolescents' Depressed Mood," *Cyberpsychology, Behavior, and Social Networking* 20 (2017): 603–609.

۴۰. پیامدهای منفی حسادت کاملاً اثبات شده‌اند. باین حال، حسادت خیلی هم بد نیست. حسادت در مقدار اندک می‌تواند کاربردی باشد، چراکه ما را ترغیب می‌کند خودمان را ترغیب کنیم.

Jens Lange, Aaron Weidman, and Jan Crusius, "The Painful Duality of Envy: Evidence for an Integrative Theory and a Meta-analysis on the Relation of Envy and Schadenfreude," *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology* 114 (2018): 572–598.

۴۱. در مورد اینکه چرا، علی‌رغم پیامدهای منفی رسانه‌های اجتماعی، به استفاده از آن‌ها ادامه می‌دهیم می‌توان به سه علت اشاره کرد: الف) میل ما به اطلاع‌داشتن از وقایع اجتماع، که در هر لحظه می‌تواند از میل ما به رضایت از خودمان سبقت بگیرد؛ ب) میل ما به بازخورد گرفتن از دیگران؛ و ج) افراد درباره تأثیر استفاده از فیسبوک بر احساساتشان اغلب دچار اشتباه می‌شوند (یعنی بر جنبه‌های مثبت احتمالی رسانه‌های اجتماعی تمرکز می‌کنیم، و چشممان را بر زیان‌های احتمالی آن می‌بندیم [یا شاید حتی در وهله اول از اثرات مخربشان ناآگاهیم]). برای مطالعه بیشتر رک:

Ethan Kross and Susannah Cazaubon, "How Does Social Media Influence People's Emotional Lives?," in *Applications of Social Psychology: How Social Psychology Can Contribute to the Solution of Real-World Problems*, eds. J. Forgas, William D. Crano, and Klaus Fiedler (New York: Routledge-Psychology Press, 2020), 250–264.

42. Diana I. Tamir and Jason P. Mitchell, "Disclosing Information About the Self Is Intrinsically Rewarding," *Proceedings of the National Academy of Sciences of the United States of America* 109 (2012): 8038–8043

43. Geoff MacDonald and Mark R. Leary, "Why Does Social Exclusion Hurt? The Relationship Between Social and Physical Pain," *Psychological Bulletin* 131 (2005): 202–223;

Naomi I. Eisenberger, Matthew D. Lieberman, and Kipling D. Williams, "Does Rejection Hurt? An fMRI Study of Social Exclusion," *Science* 302 (2003): 290–292.

44. Ethan Kross et al., "Social Rejection Shares Somatosensory Representations with Physical Pain," *Proceedings of the National Academy of Sciences of the United States of America* 108 (2011): 6270–6275.

45. https://www.health.ny.gov/statistics/vital_statistics/2007/table02.htm.

46. Naomi I. Eisenberger and Steve W. Cole, "Social Neuroscience and Health: Neurophysiological Mechanisms Linking Social Ties with Physical Health," *Nature Neuroscience* 15 (2012): 669–674;

Gregory Miller, Edith Chen, and Steve W. Cole, "Health Psychology: Developing Biologically Plausible Models Linking the Social World and Physical Health," *Annual Review of Psychology* 60 (2009): 501–524.

47. Michele Hellebuyck et al., "Workplace Health Survey," Mental Health America, www.mhanational.org/sites/default/files/Mind%20the%20Workplace%20%20MHA%20Workplace%20Health%20Survey%202017%20FINAL.pdf.

۴۸. برای مطالعه بیشتر درباره اینکه شناخت درجاماندگی، که اغلب شکل نشخوار کلامی و نگرانی به خود می‌گیرد (به مقدمه رجوع کنید)، چگونه پاسخ استرس را به درازا می‌کشاند رک:

Brosschot, Gerin, and Thayer, "Perseverative Cognition Hypothesis"; Jos F. Brosschot, "Markers of Chronic Stress: Prolonged Physiological Activation and (Un)conscious Perseverative Cognition," *Neuroscience and Biobehavioral Reviews* 35 (2010): 46–50;

Cristina Ottaviani et al., "Physiological Concomitants of Perseverative Cognition: A Systematic Review and Meta-analysis," *Psychological Bulletin* 142 (2016): 231–259.

49. Andrew Steptoe and Mika Kivimaki, "Stress and Cardiovascular Disease," *Nature Reviews Cardiology* 9 (2012): 360–370;

Suzanne C. Segerstrom and Gregory E. Miller, "Psychological Stress and the Human Immune System: A Meta-analytic Study of 30 Years of Inquiry," *Psychological Bulletin* 130 (2004): 601–630;

Bruce S. McEwen, "Brain on Stress: How the Social Environment Gets Under the Skin," *Proceedings of the National Academy of Sciences of the United States of America* 109 (2012): 17180–17185;

Ronald Glaser and Janice Kiecolt-Glaser, "Stress-Induced Immune Dysfunction: Implications for Health," *Nature Reviews Immunology* 5 (2005): 243-251;

Edna Maria Vissoei Reiche, Sandra Odebrecht Vargas Nunes, and Helena Kaminami Morimoto, "Stress, Depression, the Immune System, and Cancer," *Lancet Oncology* 5 (2004): 617-625;

A. Janet Tomiyama, "Stress and Obesity," *Annual Review of Psychology* 70 (2019): 703-718;

Gregory E. Miller et al., "A Functional Genomic Fingerprint of Chronic Stress in Humans: Blunted Glucocorticoid and Increased NF- κ B Signaling," *Biological Psychiatry* 15 (2008): 266-272.

50. Julianne Holt-Lunstad, Timothy B. Smith, and J. Bradley Layton, "Social Relationships and Mortality Risk: A Metaanalytic Review," *PLOS Medicine* 7 (2010): e1000316.

51. Susan Nolen-Hoeksema and Edward R. Watkins, "A Heuristic for Developing Transdiagnostic Models of Psychopathology: Explaining Multifinality and Divergent Trajectories," *Perspectives on Psychological Science* 6 (2011): 589-609;

Katie A. McLaughlin et al., "Rumination as a Transdiagnostic Factor Underlying Transitions Between Internalizing Symptoms and Aggressive Behavior in Early Adolescents," *Journal of Abnormal Psychology* 123 (2014): 13-23;

Edward R. Watkins, "Depressive Rumination and Co-morbidity: Evidence for Brooding as a Transdiagnostic Process," *Journal of Rational-Emotive and Cognitive-Behavior Therapy* 27 (2009): 160-75;

Douglas S. Mennin and David M. Fresco, "What, Me Worry and Ruminate About DSM-5 and RDoC? The Importance of Targeting Negative Self-Referential Processing," *Clinical Psychology: Science and Practice* 20 (2013): 258-267;

Brosschot, "Markers of Chronic Stress."

۵۲. برای ربط دادن مفهوم بیان ژن به نواختن آلات موسیقی از منابع زیر استفاده کردم:

Jane Qiu, "Unfinished Symphony," *Nature* 441 (2006): 143-145;

University of Texas Health Science Center at San Antonio, "Study Gives Clue as to How Notes Are Played on the Genetic Piano," *EurekaAlert!*, May 12, 2011, www.eurekaalert.org/pub-releases/2011-05/uoth-sgc051011.php.

53. Steven W. Cole, "Social Regulation of Human Gene Expression," *American Journal of Public Health* 103 (2013): S84-S92.

همچنین از سخنرانی استیو در دانشگاه استنفورد نیز استفاده کرده‌ام:

“Meng-Wu Lecture” (lecture delivered at the Center for Compassion and Altruism Research and Education, Nov. 12, 2013), ccare.stanford.edu/videos/meng-wu-lecture-steve-cole-ph-d/.

54. George M. Slavich and Michael R. Irwin, “From Stress to Inflammation and Major Depressive Disorder: A Social Signal Transduction Theory of Depression,” *Psychological Bulletin* 140 (2014): 774–815;

Steve W. Cole et al., “Social Regulation of Gene Expression in Human Leukocytes,” *Genome Biology* 8 (2007): R189;

Gregory E. Miller, Edith Chen, and Karen J. Parker, “Psychological Stress in Childhood and Susceptibility to the Chronic Diseases of Aging: Moving Towards a Model of Behavioral and Biological Mechanisms,” *Psychological Bulletin* 137 (2011): 959–997.

۵۵. وراجی جنگال‌های خود را به شکل دیگری هم به دور دی‌ان‌ای ما می‌پیچد - از طریق تلومرهای ما. تلومر کلاهی کوچکی در انتهای کروموزوم‌هاست که از بازشدن دی‌ان‌ای، به‌گونه‌ای که بر سلامتی و طول عمر ما اثر بگذارد، جلوگیری می‌کند. تلومرهای کوتاه مسبب گروهی از بیماری‌های مرتبط با سن هستند. خوشبختانه، همه ما ماده‌ای شیمیایی به نام تلومراز در بدن خود داریم که قادر است طول تلومرها را حفظ کند. مشکل آنجاست که هورمون‌های استرس، مانند کورتیزول، بدن ما را از این ماده تهی کرده و روند کوتاه‌شدن تلومرهای ما را تندتر می‌کنند.

در سال ۲۰۰۴ الیسا اپل، الیزابت بلک‌برن، برنده جایزه نوبل، و همکارانشان پژوهش مهمی منتشر کردند که به بررسی ارتباط استرس در زنان طی یک بازه ده‌ماهه و طول تلومر آن‌ها می‌پرداخت. مطابق انتظار، هرچه زنان استرس بیشتری تحمل کرده بودند، طول تلومرهایشان کوتاه‌تر بود - و البته استرس محرک وراجی است، و وراجی محرک استرس مزمن. نکته قابل توجه‌تر اینکه تلومر زنانی که بیش از همه استرس داشتند، در مقایسه با زنانی که کمترین استرس را تجربه می‌کردند، چیزی معادل ده سال کوتاه‌تر شده بود.

Elissa S. Epel et al., “Accelerated Telomere Shortening in Response to Life Stress,” *Proceedings of the National Academy of Sciences* 101 (2004): 17312–17315.

برای مطالعه بیشتر به منابع زیر مراجعه کنید:

Elizabeth H. Blackburn and Elissa S. Epel, *The Telomere Effect* (New York: Grand Central Publishing, 2017).

Elizabeth Blackburn, Elissa S. Epel, and Jue Lin, “Human Telomere Biology: A Contributory and Interactive Factor in Aging, Disease Risks, and Protection,” *Science* 350 (2015): 1193–1198;

Kelly E. Rentscher et al., “Psychosocial Stressors and Telomere Length: A Current Review of the Science,” *Annual Review of Public Health* 41 (2020): 223–245.

56. Matt Kelly, "This Thirty-Nine-Year-Old Is Attempting a Comeback," MLB.com, August 2, 2018, <https://www.mlb.com/news/rick-ankielto-attempt-comeback-c288544452> (retrieved - February 9, 2020).

[۳]

کمی دورتر بایستید



۱. نام و بسیاری از جزئیات دیگر این داستان را به منظور حفظ گمنامی دانشجوی سابقم تغییر داده‌ام. مابقی ابعاد داستان واقعی‌اند. همچنین با یک پروفایل عمومی نیز مشورت کرده‌ام که، برای حفظ هویت صاحب آن، نامش را نمی‌آورم.

2. Ethan Kross et al., "Coping with Emotions Past: The Neural Bases of Regulating Affect Associated with Negative Autobiographical Memories," *Biological Psychiatry* 65 (2009): 361-366;

Ayna Baladi Nejad, Philippe Fossati, and Cedric Lemogne, "Self-Referential Processing, Rumination, and Cortical Midline Structures in Major Depression," *Frontiers in Human Neuroscience* 7 (2013): 666.

3. Ethan Kross and Özlem Ayduk, "Self-Distancing: Theory, Research, and Current Directions," in *Advances in Experimental Social Psychology*, eds. J. Olson and M. Zanna (Amsterdam: Elsevier, 2017), 81-136;

John P. Powers and Kevin S. LaBar, "Regulating Emotion Through Distancing: A Taxonomy, Neurocognitive Model, and Supporting Meta-analysis," *Neuroscience and Biobehavioral Reviews* 96 (2019): 155-173.

۴. برای مقدمه‌ای درباره مفهوم سیستم ایمنی روانی، رک:

Daniel T. Gilbert et al., "Immune Neglect: A Source of Durability Bias in Affective Forecasting," *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology* 75 (1998): 617-638,

5. Walter Mischel, *The Marshmallow Test: Mastering Self-Control* (New York: Little, Brown, 2014); and Walter Mischel, Yuichi Shoda, and Monica Rodriguez, "Delay of Gratification in Children," *Science* 244 (1989): 933-938.

6. Özlem Ayduk, Walter Mischel, and Geraldine Downey, "Attentional Mechanisms Linking Rejection to Hostile Reactivity: The Role of 'Hot' Versus 'Cool' Focus," *Psychological Science* 13 (2002): 443-448.
Cheryl L. Rusting and Susan Nolen-Hoeksema, "Regulating Responses to Anger: Effects of

Rumination and Distraction on Angry Mood," *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology* 74 (1998): 790–803.

7. Ethan Kross and Özlem Ayduk, "Facilitating Adaptive Emotional Analysis: Distinguishing Distanced–Analysis of Depressive Experiences from Immersed–Analysis and Distraction," *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin* 34 (2008): 924–938.

8. Aaron T. Beck, "Cognitive Therapy: Nature and Relation to Behavior Therapy," *Behavior Therapy* 1 (1970): 184–200.

Rick E. Ingram and Steven Hollon, "Cognitive Therapy for Depression from an Information Processing Perspective," in *Personality, Psychopathology, and Psychotherapy Series: Information Processing Approaches to Clinical Psychology*, ed. R. E. Ingram (San Diego: Academic Press, 1986), 259–281.

۹. برای بررسی پژوهشی کلاسیک که به اثرات مضر اجتناب اشاره می‌کند به منبع زیر مراجعه کنید:

Edna B. Foa and Michael J. Kozak, "Emotional Processing of Fear: Exposure to Corrective Information," *Psychological Bulletin* 99 (1986): 20–35.

همان‌طور که در متن اشاره کردم، افراد می‌توانند برای دستیابی به اهداف مختلف به فاصله‌گذاری روی بیاورند (به عبارت دیگر، از هیجانات خود اجتناب کنند، آن‌ها را به‌طور آگاهانه بپذیرند، به آن‌ها نزدیک شوند و تحلیلشان کنند). مانند چکشی که با آن می‌توان میخی را هم به دیوار کوبید و هم بیرون بکشید، فاصله‌گذاری هم کاربردهای چندگانه‌ای دارد. و مثل هر ابزار دیگری، سودمند بودن یا مضر بودن آن بستگی به این دارد که چه کسی و به چه علتی از آن استفاده می‌کند. در کاری که در این بخش از فصل سوم بررسی شده است، بر موقعیتی تمرکز کرده‌ام که، بنابر پژوهش‌ها، فاصله‌گذاری می‌تواند به افراد کمک کند تا فعالانه روی تجربیات منفی‌شان تأمل کرده و آن‌ها را درک کنند. برای بحث مفصل‌تر در مورد این موضوعات به بخش نتیجه‌گیری و منبع زیر مراجعه کنید:

Ethan Kross and Özlem Ayduk, "Self-Distancing: Theory, Research, and Current Directions."

10. Georgia Nigro and Ulric Neisser, "Point of View in Personal Memories," *Cognitive Psychology* 15 (1983): 467–482;

John A. Robinson and Karen L. Swanson, "Field and Observer Modes of Remembering," *Memory* 1 (1993): 169–184.

مردم معمولاً تجربیات منفی حاد خود را از زاویه دید غوطه‌ور/اول شخص به یاد می‌آورند:

Arnau D'Argembau, "Phenomenal Characteristics of Autobiographical Memories for Positive, Negative, and Neutral Events," *Applied Cognitive Psychology* 17 (2003): 281–294;

Heather K. McIsaac and Eric Eich, "Vantage Point in Episodic Memory," *Psychonomic Bulletin and Review* 9 (2002): 146–150.

بالین‌حال، خاطرات تروما و تجربیات خودآگاه به احتمال زیاد از زاویه دید بافاصله/ناظر به خاطر می‌آیند:

Lucy M. Kenny et al., "Distant Memories: A Prospective Study of Vantage Point of Trauma Memories," *Psychological Science* 20 (2009): 1049–1052;

Meredith E. Coles et al., "Effects of Varying Levels of Anxiety Within Social Situations: Relationship to Memory Perspective and Attributions in Social Phobia," *Behaviour Research and Therapy* 39 (2001): 651–665.

برای بحث درباره نتایج این تمایز برای تنظیم هیجان‌ات رک:

Ethan Kross and Özlem Ayduk, "Self-Distancing: Theory, Research, and Current Directions."

11. Ethan Kross, Özlem Ayduk, and Walter Mischel, "When Asking 'Why' Does Not Hurt: Distinguishing Rumination from Reflective Processing of Negative Emotions," *Psychological Science* 16 (2005): 709–715.

۱۲. نمونه‌های جریان کلامی که ذکر کرده‌ام از منبع زیر است:

Ethan Kross and Özlem Ayduk, "Making Meaning out of Negative Experiences by Self-Distancing," *Current Directions in Psychological Science* 20 (2011): 187–191.

13. Özlem Ayduk and Ethan Kross, "Enhancing the Pace of Recovery: Self-Distanced Analysis of Negative Experiences Reduces Blood Pressure Reactivity," *Psychological Science* 19 (2008): 229–231.

Rebecca F. Ray, Frank H. Wilhelm, and James J. Gross, "All in the Mind's Eye? Anger Rumination and Reappraisal," *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology* 94 (2008): 133–145.

14. Brittany M. Christian et al., "When Imagining Yourself in Pain, Visual Perspective Matters: The Neural and Behavioral Correlates of Simulated Sensory Experiences," *Journal of Cognitive Neuroscience* 27 (2015): 866–875.

15. Dominik Mischkowski, Ethan Kross, and Brad Bushman, "Flies on the Wall Are Less Aggressive: Self-Distancing 'in the Heat of the Moment' Reduces Aggressive Thoughts, Angry Feelings, and Aggressive Behavior," *Journal of Experimental Social Psychology* 48 (2012): 1187–1191.

Tamara M. Pfeiler et al., "Adaptive Modes of Rumination: The Role of Subjective Anger," *Cognition and Emotion* 31 (2017): 580–589.

16. Ethan Kross et al., “‘Asking Why’ from a Distance: Its Cognitive and Emotional Consequences for People with Major Depressive Disorder,” *Journal of Abnormal Psychology* 121 (2012): 559–569;

Ethan Kross and Özlem Ayduk, “Boundary Conditions and Buffering Effects: Does Depressive Symptomology Moderate the Effectiveness of Distanced–Analysis for Facilitating Adaptive Self–Reflection?,” *Journal of Research in Personality* 43 (2009): 923–927;

Emma Travers–Hill et al., “Beneficial Effects of Training in Self–Distancing and Perspective Broadening for People with a History of Recurrent Depression,” *Behaviour Research and Therapy* 95 (2017): 19–28.

برای مطالعه خلاصه‌ای از پژوهشی دربارهٔ پیامدهای بالینی فاصله و بحث دربارهٔ شیوهٔ عملکرد آن تحت شرایط مختلف رک:

Ethan Kross and Özlem Ayduk, “Self–Distancing: Theory, Research, and Current Directions.”

17. Louis A. Penner et al., “Self–Distancing Buffers High Trait Anxious Pediatric Cancer Caregivers Against Short– and Longer–Term Distress,” *Clinical Psychological Science* 4 (2016): 629–640.

18. Philippe Verduyn et al., “The Relationship Between Self–Distancing and the Duration of Negative and Positive Emotional Experiences in Daily Life,” *Emotion* 12 (2012): 1248–1263.

برای مطالعهٔ تکرار مفهومی این یافته‌ها که نشان می‌دهند فاصله‌گذاری عواطف مثبت را کاهش می‌دهد رک:

June Gruber, Allison G. Harvey, and Sheri L. Johnson, “Reflective and Ruminative Processing of Positive Emotional Memories in Bipolar Disorder and Healthy Controls,” *Behaviour Research and Therapy* 47 (2009): 697–704.

برای مشاهدهٔ داده‌های آزمایشگاهی که مزایای تأخیری فاصله‌گذاری را تأیید می‌کند رک:

Kross and Ayduk, “Facilitating Adaptive Emotional Analysis.”

19. Özlem Ayduk and Ethan Kross, “From a Distance: Implications of Spontaneous Self–Distancing for Adaptive Self–Reflection,” *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology* 98 (2010): 809–829.

20. Ray, Wilhelm, and Gross, “All in the Mind’s Eye?”

21. Patricia E. Schartau, Tim Dalgleish, and Barnaby D. Dunn, “Seeing the Bigger Picture: Training in Perspective Broadening Reduces Self–Reported Affect and Psychophysiological Response to Distressing Films and Autobiographical Memories,” *Journal of Abnormal Psychology* 118 (2009): 15–27.

22. Joshua Ian Davis, James J. Gross, and Kevin N. Ochsner, “Psychological Distance and Emotional Experience: What You See Is What You Get,” *Emotion* 11 (2011): 438–444.

23. David S. Yeager et al., "Boring but Important: A Self-Transcendent Purpose for Learning Fosters Academic Self-Regulation," *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology* 107 (2014): 558-580.
24. John S. Knox, "Solomon," *Ancient History Encyclopedia*, Jan. 25, 2017, www.ancient.eu/solomon/.
25. Robert Alter, *The Hebrew Bible: A Translation with Commentary* (New York: W. W. Norton, 2018).
26. Igor Grossmann and Ethan Kross, "Exploring Solomon's Paradox: Self-Distancing Eliminates the Self-Other Asymmetry in Wise Reasoning About Close Relationships in Younger and Older Adults," *Psychological Science* 25 (2014): 1571-1580.
27. Doris Kearns Goodwin, *Team of Rivals* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 2005).
28. Igor Grossmann, "Wisdom in Context," *Perspectives on Psychological Science* 12 (2017): 233-257.
29. Igor Grossmann et al., "Reasoning About Social Conflicts Improves into Old Age," *PNAS* 107 (2010): 7246-7250.
- Darrell A. Worthy et al., "With Age Comes Wisdom: Decision Making in Younger and Older Adults," *Psychological Science* 22 (2011): 1375-1380.
30. Grossmann and Kross, "Exploring Solomon's Paradox"; and Alex C. Huynh et al., "The Wisdom in Virtue: Pursuit of Virtue Predicts Wise Reasoning About Personal Conflicts," *Psychological Science* 28 (2017): 1848-1856.

۳۱. چنین گرایشی را سوگیری حذف می‌نامند.

Ilana Ritov and Jonathan Baron, "Reluctance to Vaccinate: Omission Bias and Ambiguity," *Journal of Behavioral Decision Making* 3 (1990): 263-277.

۳۲. این مطالعه سه شرایط مختلف را در بر می‌گیرد که، در آن‌ها، از افراد خواسته شده برای شخصی غیر از خودشان تصمیمی درمانی بگیرند. به شرکت‌کنندگان به‌طور تصادفی یکی از این سه نقش داده شده بود: پزشکی که برای بیمار تصمیم می‌گیرد، پزشک سرپرستی که برای همه بیماران طرح درمان تعیین می‌کند، یا والدی که برای فرزندش تصمیم می‌گیرد. هرکدام از این شرایط «تصمیم‌گیری برای یک نفر دیگر» به قضاوت‌هایی انجامید که، در مقایسه با هم، مشابه و، در مقایسه با تصمیماتی که افراد برای خودشان می‌گرفتند، بهتر بودند. من، در راستای هدف متن، نرخ پاسخ‌های هر سه شرایط را میانگین گرفته‌ام.

Brian J. Zikmund-Fisher et al., "A Matter of Perspective: Choosing for Others Differs from Choosing for Yourself in Making Treatment Decisions," *Journal of General Internal Medicine* 21 (2006): 618-622.

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34. Daniel Kahneman, *Thinking, Fast and Slow* (New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 2011).
35. Qingzhou Sun et al., "Self-Distancing Reduces Probability-Weighting Biases," *Frontiers in Psychology* 9 (2018): 611.
36. Jun Fukukura, Melissa J. Ferguson, and Kentaro Fujita, "Psychological Distance Can Improve Decision Making Under Information Overload via Gist Memory," *Journal of Experimental Psychology: General* 142 (2013): 658–665.
37. Evan Polman, "Self-Other Decision Making and Loss Aversion," *Organizational Behavior and Human Decision Processes* 119 (2012): 141–150;
- Flavia Mengarelli et al., "Economic Decisions for Others: An Exception to Loss Aversion Law," *PLoS One* 9 (2014): e85042;
- Ola Andersson et al., "Deciding for Others Reduces Loss Aversion," *Management Science* 62 (2014): 29–36.
38. Ethan Kross and Igor Grossmann, "Boosting Wisdom: Distance from the Self Enhances Wise Reasoning, Attitudes, and Behavior," *Journal of Experimental Psychology: General* 141 (2012): 43–48.
39. Özlem Ayduk and Ethan Kross, "From a Distance: Implications of Spontaneous Self-Distancing for Adaptive Self-Reflection."
40. Eli J. Finkel et al., "A Brief Intervention to Promote Conflict Reappraisal Preserves Marital Quality over Time," *Psychological Science* 24 (2013): 1595–1601.
41. Dan P. McAdams and Kate C. McLean, "Narrative Identity," *Current Directions in Psychological Science* 22 (2013): 233–238.
42. Emma Bruhlman-Senecal and Özlem Ayduk, "This Too Shall Pass: Temporal Distance and the Regulation of Emotional Distress," *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology* 108 (2015): 356–375.
- Emma Bruhlman-Senecal, Özlem Ayduk, and Oliver P. John, "Taking the Long View: Implications of Individual Differences in Temporal Distancing for Affect, Stress Reactivity, and Well-Being," *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology* 111 (2016): 610–635;
- S. P. Ahmed, "Using Temporal Distancing to Regulate Emotion in Adolescence: Modulation by Reactive Aggression," *Cognition and Emotion* 32 (2018): 812–826;

Alex C. Huynh, Daniel Y. J. Yang, and Igor Grossmann, "The Value of Prospective Reasoning for Close Relationships," *Social Psychological and Personality Science* 7 (2016): 893–902.

۴۳. برای مطالعه گزارش‌هایی در این باره رک:

W. Pennebaker, "Writing About Emotional Experiences as a Therapeutic Process," *Psychological Science* 8 (1997): 162–166;

James W. Pennebaker and Cindy K. Chung, "Expressive Writing: Connections to Physical and Mental Health," in *The Oxford Handbook of Health Psychology*, ed. H. S. Friedman (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011), 417–437;

Eva-Maria Gortner, Stephanie S. Rude, and James W. Pennebaker, "Benefits of Expressive Writing in Lowering Rumination and Depressive Symptoms," *Behavior Therapy* 37 (2006): 292–303;

Denise M. Sloan et al., "Expressive Writing Buffers Against Maladaptive Rumination," *Emotion* 8 (2008): 302–306;

Katherine M. Krpan et al., "An Everyday Activity as a Treatment for Depression: The Benefits of Expressive Writing for People Diagnosed with Major Depressive Disorder," *Journal of Affective Disorders* 150 (2013): 1148–1151.

44. Jiyoung Park, Özlem Ayduk, and Ethan Kross, "Stepping Back to Move Forward: Expressive Writing Promotes Self-Distancing," *Emotion* 16 (2016): 349–364.

همان‌طور که پارک و همکارانش بحث می‌کنند، این به معنای این نیست که فاصله یگانه عاملی است که فواید نوشتن از احساسات را نشان می‌دهد.

[۴]

وقتی «من» می‌شود «تو»



۱. که به آن پدیدهٔ بادر-ماینهوف هم می‌گویند.

"Baader-Meinhof phenomenon, BaaderMeinhof," *Oxford English Dictionary*, April 6, 2020, <https://www.oed.com/view/Entry/250279>.

2. Interview by Michael Wilbon. Henry Abbott, "LeBron James' Postdecision Interviews," ESPN, July 9, 2010, https://www.espn.com/blog/truehoop/post/_/id/17856/lebron-james-post-decision-interviews

Jim Gray, "LeBron James 'The Decision,'" ESPN, July 8, 2010, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=bHSLw8DLm20>.

3. Malala Yousafzai, interview by Jon Stewart, *The Daily Show with Jon Stewart*, Oct. 8, 2013.
4. Brooks Barnes, "Jennifer Lawrence Has No Appetite for Playing Fame Games," *New York Times*, Sept. 9, 2015.
5. Julius Caesar, *Caesar's Gallic War: With an Introduction, Notes, and Vocabulary by Francis W. Kelsey*, 7th ed. (Boston: Allyn and Bacon, 1895).
6. Henry Adams, *The Education of Henry Adams: An Autobiography* (Cambridge, MA: Massachusetts Historical Society, 1918).
7. Sally Dickerson and Margaret E. Kemeny, "Acute Stressors and Cortisol Responses: A Theoretical Integration and Synthesis of Laboratory Research," *Psychological Bulletin* 130 (2004): 355–391.
8. Ethan Kross et al., "Self-Talk as a Regulatory Mechanism: How You Do It Matters," *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology* 106 (2014): 304–324.

۹. برای مطالعه و فراتحلیل تاریخی رک:

Allison M. Tackman et al., "Depression, Negative Emotionality, and Self-Referential Language: A Multi-lab, Multi-measure, and Multi-language-task Research Synthesis," *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology* 116 (2019): 817–834;

To Meisha Edwards and Nicholas S. Holtzman, "A Meta-Analysis of Correlations Between Depression and First-Person Singular Pronoun Use," *Journal of Research in Personality* 68 (2017): 63–68.

۱۰. دو پژوهشی که در متن درباره‌شان بحث کرده‌ام بعد از کار ما درباره‌ خودگویی منتشر شدند. با این حال، همان طور که مقالات ذکر شده در یادداشت قبلی نشان می‌دهند، پژوهش‌های مربوط به دهه‌ها پیش، از همان موقع، ارتباط بین کاربرد ضمیر اول شخص مفرد و تأثیرات منفی را آشکار کرده بودند. این مطالعات جدیدتر را به عنوان شاهدهی برای این ارتباط ذکر کرده‌ام، زیرا شواهد متقاعدکننده‌ای برای این ارتباط ارائه می‌دهند.

Tackman et al., "Depression, Negative Emotionality, and Self-Referential Language: A Multi-lab, Multi-measure, and Multi-language task Research Synthesis";

Johannes C. Eichstaedt et al., "Facebook Language Predicts Depression in Medical Records," *Proceedings of the National Academy of Sciences of the United States of America* 115 (2018): 11203–11208.

11. Ethan Kross and Özlem Ayduk, "Self-Distancing: Theory, Research, and Current Directions";

Ariana Orvell et al., "Linguistic Shifts: A Relatively Effortless Route to Emotion Regulation?," *Current Directions in Psychological Science* 28 (2019): 567–573.

۱۲. شایسته است بپرسیم که آیا کاربرد «آن‌ها» برای افرادی که هویت جنسی غیردوگانه دارند نیز نتیجه مشابهی ایجاد می‌کند یا خیر. اگرچه ما این ایده را مستقیماً نیازموده‌ایم، به لحاظ نظری، انتظار داریم که این ضمیر به شکل مشابهی سبب فاصله‌گذاری و تنظیم هیجان شود.

13. Kross et al., "Self-Talk as a Regulatory Mechanism";

Sanda Dolcos and Dolores Albarracín, "The Inner Speech of Behavioral Regulation: Intentions and Task Performance Strengthen When You Talk to Yourself as a You," *European Journal of Social Psychology* 44 (2014): 636–642;

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Ariana Orvell et al., "Does Distanced Self-Talk Facilitate Emotion Regulation Across a Range of Emotionally Intense Experiences?," *Clinical Psychological Science* (in press);

Jordan B. Leitner et al., "Self-Distancing Improves Interpersonal Perceptions and Behavior by Decreasing Medial Prefrontal Cortex Activity During the Provision of Criticism," *Social Cognitive and Affective Neuroscience* 12 (2017): 534–543.

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21. Robert Ito, "Fred Rogers's Life in 5 Artifacts," *New York Times*, June 5, 2018.
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23. Jeremy P. Jamieson, Wendy Berry Mendes, and Matthew K. Nock, "Improving Acute Stress Responses: The Power of Reappraisal," *Current Directions in Psychological Science* 22 (2013): 51–56;
- Adam L. Alter et al., "Rising to the Threat: Reducing Stereotype Threat by Reframing the Threat as a Challenge," *Journal of Experimental Social Psychology* 46 (2010): 155–171;
- Alison Wood Brooks, "Get Excited: Reappraising Pre-performance Anxiety as Excitement," *Journal of Experimental Psychology: General* 143 (2014): 1144–1158.
24. Kross et al., "Self-Talk as a Regulatory Mechanism."
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- Mark D. Seery, "Challenge or Threat? Cardiovascular Indexes of Resilience and Vulnerability to Potential Stress in Humans," *Neuroscience and Biobehavioral Reviews* 35 (2011): 1603–1610.
26. Lindsey Streamer et al., "Not I, but She: The Beneficial Effects of Self-Distancing on Challenge / Threat Cardiovascular Responses," *Journal of Experimental Social Psychology* 70 (2017): 235–241.
27. Rachel E. White et al., "The 'Batman Effect': Improving Perseverance in Young Children," *Child Development* 88 (2017): 1563–1571.
- استفنی و همکارانش اثر بتمن را در موقعیت‌های دیگری نیز بررسی کرده‌اند. از یک سو، آن‌ها نشان داده‌اند این ابزارها می‌تواند عملکرد اجرایی را در کودکان پنج‌ساله ارتقا دهد؛ رک:
- Rachel E. White and Stephanie M. Carlson, "What Would Batman Do? Self-Distancing Improves Executive Function in Young Children," *Developmental Science* 19 (2016): 419–426.
- آن‌ها در پژوهش دیگری نشان داده‌اند که این ابزار، هنگام کار بر روی وظایف خسته‌کننده‌ای که راه‌حلی ندارند، بر عملکرد کودکان زیر شش سال و کودکان آسیب‌پذیری که سطح خودمهارهای پایینی دارند تأثیر منحصر به فردی می‌گذارد:
- Amanda Grenell et al., "Individual Differences in the Effectiveness of Self-Distancing for Young Children's Emotion Regulation," *British Journal of Developmental Psychology* 37 (2019): 84–100.

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www.facebook.com/sheryl/posts/10155617891025177.0.

همچنین مراجعه کنید به گفت‌وگوی شریل سندبرگ با اپرا وینفری، برنامه «سوپر سول»، ۲۵ ژوئن ۲۰۱۷:

<http://www.oprah.com/own-super-soul-sunday/thedaily-habit-the-helped-sheryl-sandberg-heal-after-tragedy-video>.

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34. Orvell, Kross, and Gelman, "How 'You' Makes Meaning."

[۵]

اطرافیان؛ گاهی دوی درد، گاهی بلای جان



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سنجۀ مورد استفاده برای ثبت هیجانات توصیفی افراد پس از واقعه یازده سپتامبر شامل یک پرسش تشریحی بود که از شرکت کنندگان می خواست افکارشان را درباره یازده سپتامبر به اشتراک بگذارند. مؤلفان از این پرسش به عنوان شاخصی برای ارزیابی گرایش افراد به درمیان گذاشتن هیجانانشان با دیگران استفاده کردند (ص ۶۶۳-۶۶۵). مؤلفان به دقت نشان دادند افرادی که پرسش تشریحی را پاسخ داده بودند خواستار حمایت هیجانی بیشتری نیز بوده اند و، پس از حادثه، با دیگران درددل کرده اند (ص ۶۶۴).

برای مطالعه دیگر منابعی که نشان می دهند ابراز هیجانات همیشه هم سودمند نیست رک:

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George A. Bonanno, "Loss, Trauma, and Human Resilience: Have We Underestimated the Human Capacity to Thrive After Extremely Aversive Events?," *American Psychologist* 59 (2004): 20-28;

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۱۰. پژوهش‌ها نشان می‌دهند فقط فکرکردن به همدلی با دیگران کافی است تا، با فعال‌سازی یک تصویر فوری ذهنی از آن‌ها، مریی درونی افراد را مانند نسخه‌ای در ذهنشان فعال کند. به گفته ماریو میکولینسر و فیلیپ شیور که از روان‌شناسان پیشگام در پژوهش در حوزه تعلق هستند، نسخه ذهنی بی‌صدای ما چیزی مثل این است: «اگر با مانعی برخورد کنم و/یا پریشان و ناراحت باشم، می‌توانم از آدم مهمی کمک بگیرم، او حتماً کنارم خواهد بود و حمایت خواهد کرد، در نتیجه نزدیکی با آن آدم احساس آسایش و راحتی خواهم کرد، و می‌توانم به کارهای دیگرم برگردم.»

Mario Mikulincer et al., "What's Inside the Minds of Securely and Insecurely Attached People? The Secure-Base Script and Its Associations with Attachment-Style Dimensions," *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology* 97 (2002): 615–633

در مجموعه مطالعاتی که من همراه با همکارم ویوین زایاس، استاد روان‌شناسی کرنل، و شاگردانش در سال ۲۰۱۵ انجام دادیم، از این ایده مکتوب استفاده کردیم تا بررسی کنیم که آیا نگاه اجمالی به عکس آدم‌هایی که دل‌بسته‌شان هستیم کمکی به مدیریت و راجی‌مان می‌کند یا خیر. به ویژه، از افراد خواستیم تا به یک تجربه منفی که آن‌ها را دچار و راجی کرده فکر کنند، و بعد، از آن‌ها خواستیم به عکس مادر خودشان یا مادر شخص دیگری نگاه کنند. همان‌طور که میکولینسر و شیور پیش‌بینی می‌کردند، وقتی فرد به تصویر مادر خودش نگاه می‌کند از درد هیجانی او کاسته می‌شود و حال خودش را بسیار بهتر از قبل ارزیابی می‌کند.

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Jason S. Spendelov, Laura M. Simonds, and Rachel E. Avery, "The Relationship Between Co-rumination and Internalizing Problems: A Systematic Review and Meta-analysis," *Clinical Psychology and Psychotherapy* 24 (2017): 512–527;

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<https://www.pon.harvard.edu/daily/crisis-negotiations/crisis-negotiations-andnegotiation-skills-insights-from-the-new-york-city-police-department-hostagenegotiations-team/>.

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Brian Stelter, "Campaign Offers Help to Gay Youths," *New York Times*, Oct. 18, 2010; and Dan Savage, "Give 'Em Hope," *The Stranger*, Sept. 23, 2010.

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۲۲. اشکول رافائلی و مارسلی گلیسون، دانشمندان حوزه ارتباط، مروری جامع بر آثار حوزه حمایت اجتماعی ارائه می دهند:

Eshkol Rafaeli and Marci Gleason, "Skilled Support Within Intimate Relationships," *Journal of Family Theory and Review* 1 (2009): 20–37.

آن‌ها همچنین بحث مفصلی ارائه می دهند درباره انواع روش هایی که حمایت محسوس می تواند نتیجه معکوس بدهد. آن‌ها اشاره می کنند که این حمایت محسوس توجه فرد را بر منبع استرس معطوف می کند، احساس دین فرد نسبت به شریک زندگی اش را افزایش می دهد، و نابرابری های ارتباط را برجسته می کند، و در صورتی که حمایت همراه با انتقاد (هرچند با نیت خوش) باشد، ممکن است خصمانه به نظر برسد.

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Jakubiak and Feeney, "Affectionate Touch to Promote Relational, Psychological, and Physical Well-Being in Adulthood."

31. India Morrison, Line S. Loken, and Hakan Olausson, "The Skin as a Social Organ," *Experimental Brain Research* 204 (2009): 305–314.

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برای اطلاع از شواهد بیشتری که نشان می‌دهند فرایندهای به اشتراک‌گذاری اجتماعی به تعاملات رسانه‌های اجتماعی تعمیم می‌یابد ر.ک:

Mina Choi and Catalina L. Toma, "Social Sharing Through Interpersonal Media."

[۶]

از بیرون به درون



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D. Bradford Hunt, "What Went Wrong with Public Housing in Chicago? A History of the Robert Taylor Homes," *Journal of the Illinois State Historical Society* 94 (2001): 96–123; Hodding Carter, *Crisis on Federal Street*, PBS (1987).

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Roly Russell et al., "Humans and Nature: How Knowing and Experiencing Nature Affect Well-Being," *Annual Review of Environmental Resources* 38 (2013): 473–502;

Ethan A. McMahan and David Estes, "The Effect of Contact with Natural Environments on Positive and Negative Affect: A Meta-analysis," *Journal of Positive Psychology* 10 (2015): 507–519;

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«منابع محدود مغز»: برای مطالعه بحثی فوق‌العاده جامع به تمایز بین توجه ارادی و غیرارادی در خصوص طبیعت و بازیابی توجه رک:

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[۷]

جادوی ذهن



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- همچنین، شواهدی هست که نشان می‌دهد به‌جا آوردن آیین‌ها فعالیت سیستم‌هایی از مغز را که هنگام اضطراب در فرد فعال می‌شوند کاهش می‌دهد.
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Earl K. Miller and Jonathan D. Cohen, "An Integrative Theory of Prefrontal Cortex Function," *Annual Review of Neuroscience* 24 (2001): 167-202.

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نتیجه‌گیری



۱. این بدین معنی نیست که مراقبه و ذهن آگاهی سودی ندارند. مانند سایر تکنیک‌های بررسی شده در این فصل، این‌ها ابزاری هستند که در برخی موقعیت‌ها مؤثر واقع می‌شوند. نکته‌کلیدی‌ترین این است که این روش‌ها برای تمرکز مداوم بر زمان حال مفید (یا عملی) نیستند، زیرا درست انجام دادن این کارها مستلزم تعمق در آینده و گذشته است.

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3. U.S. National Library of Medicine, "Congenital Insensitivity to Pain," National Institutes of Health, Dec. 10, 2019, ghr.nlm.nih.gov/condition/congenital-insensitivity-to-pain#genes.

۴. تمرکز گسترده این واحد درسی، در این پروژه، این است که به دانشجویان بیاموزیم چطور با استفاده از راهبردهای متعدد بررسی شده در کتاب وراجی، و همچنین، ابزارهای دیگری که به صورت تجربی تأیید شده‌اند هیجانات خود را مهار کنند.

۵. این مطالعه در زمستان ۲۰۱۹ در دبیرستانی در ایالات متحده انجام شد. دانش‌آموزان به طور تصادفی در دو برنامه درسی دسته‌بندی شدند: برنامه درسی جعبه ابزار و واحد درسی «شاهد» که علم یادگیری را به آن‌ها آموزش می‌داد. این دو برنامه درسی را دانشمندان (آنجلادا کورث، دنیل ویلینگهام، جان جونایدز، آریانا اورول، بینجامین کاتز و من) و معلمان (ریانون کیلیان و کیث دسروسیرز) مشترکاً طراحی کرده‌اند.

۶. برای بحث پیرامون اهمیت استفاده منقطع از راهبردهای مختلف مدیریت هیجان رک:

Cecilia Cheng, "Cognitive and Motivational Processes Underlying Coping Flexibility: A Dual-Process Model," *Journal of Personal and Social Psychology* 84 (2003): 425-438;

7. James J. Gross, "Emotion Regulation: Current Status and Future Prospects," *Psychological Inquiry* 26 (2015): 1-26; Ethan Kross, "Emotion Regulation Growth Points: Three More to Consider," *Psychological Inquiry* 26 (2015): 69-71.